BYZANTINE CYPRUS
491-1191

CYPRUS RESEARCH CENTRE

TEXTS AND STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CYPRUS

– LXII –

BYZANTINE CYPRUS
491-1191

D. M. METCALF

NICOSIA
2009

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

Copyright © by the Cyprus Research Centre 2009

ISBN 978-9963-0-8115-8

Printed in Cyprus
by THEOPRESS LTD, NICOSIA
on behalf of the Cyprus Research Centre
P.O.Box 21952, 1515 Nicosia - Cyprus

CONTENTS

Foreword 17

Acknowledgements 27

A note on the spelling of names 28

INTRODUCTION

I. The three ages of Byzantine Cyprus: great prosperity; swift decline and impoverishment; gradual recovery ... 31

1. The scale of the catastrophe 36
2. The dilemma created by extreme contrast 41
3. The springs of renewal. 44
4. Quantified perspectives are unattainable. 46
5. Summing-up. 49

Appendix: Conspicuous wealth in sixth and seventh-century Cyprus. The Lambousa treasures, including the David plates. 51

II. The regional geography of Byzantine Cyprus 61

1. The regions and their productive potential 63
2. Field surveys 65
3. Village fairs 67

PART 1. STRANDS OF EVIDENCE

III. Changing hierarchies of provincial government: the sigillographic evidence 69

1. General principles of interpretation 70
2. The sixth and seventh centuries 76

3. The first third of the eighth century: from the genitive to the dative case 92
4. From *c.*730 to 867 99
5. From 867 to *c.*1040 104
6. From *c.*1040 to *c.*1118 109
7. The twelfth century 112
8. Summing-up 113
Appendix: Work in progress: how new discoveries of lead seals can sharpen the focus. 115

IV. Trends and local variations in the money supply: the numismatic evidence 141
1. The excavation-material from Salamis-Constantia, 491-1191 148
2. The excavation-material from Kourion, 491-1191 . 155
3. Excavation material from Paphos and the coast northwards 157
4. Regional variation: coins of the Alexandria mint ... 159
5. The Heraclian revolt, 608-610 159
6. The Cyprus mint in 626/7 - 628/9 163
7. NEA, a temporary Byzantine mint in 634-6 164
8. Gold hoards from the mid-seventh century: the flight from Egypt, 641/2 164
9. The INPER CONST coinage from the early 640s ... 164
10. Silver and copper coinage lost because of the Arab invasions (649 and 653) 169
11. Countermarking of the folles of Constans II 171
12. Arab-Byzantine fulus imitating the folles of Constans II 175
13. The transfer to Nea Ioustinianoupolis, 691- *c.*699 ... 176
14. Islamic copper fulus in eighth-century Cyprus 177
15. The late eighth and ninth centuries 178
16. The tenth century (to 965) 182
17. The eleventh-century recovery 183
18. Governmental spending in Cyprus from the mid twelfth century to 1184 184
19. The coinage of Isaac Comnenus, 1184-1191 185

20. Summing-up: variable density of the evidence, and short- and long-term trends 186
Appendix: a check-list of hoards and major site finds from Cyprus 189

V. Public inscriptions and their contexts: the epigraphic evidence 215
1. A mosaic from Kourion 217
2. A group of inscriptions from Constantia 217
3. An imperial rescript from Kythrea 219
4. The arches of Constantia's aqueduct 220
5. The Soloi inscriptions 221
6. An inscription recording the repair of the city walls of Lapithos 224
7. An Islamic tombstone from Paphos 225
8. The painted inscription at Kanakaria 225
9. The painted inscription at Syngrasis 226
10. The painted inscription in Holy Trinity church, Koutsobendes 226
11. *Anno mundi* datings in the twelfth century 227
12. Summary 227

VI. The province's trading partners in the Mediterranean world: the ceramic evidence 229
1. The import and export of amphoras and other wares 229
2. Chronologies at particular sites. The aftermath of the Arab raids 240
3. Domestic wares: the needful range of crockery for a household 243
4. The eighth and ninth centuries 243
5. General implications for the Cyprus economy 244
6. Late eleventh- and twelfth- century wares 245
Appendix: Glass: the historian's eye 247

VII. Styles of church architecture: changing fashions in the building of churches and monasteries 253

1. Stone drums, granite columns, marble columns 260
2. Village churches 261
3. *Opus sectile* floors 262
4. Destruction by Mu'awiya, or earthquake damage? Church building and repair in the 'dark age' 265
5. Landscape with domes 266
6. Summary 268

VIII. 'The trowel cannot lie': ambiguities in the interpretation of urban archaeology 269

1. Retrenchment after the Arab raids: a general theory 270
2. Ayios Philon (Karpasia) 272
3. Salamis-Constantia 276
4. The topography of Nea Paphos and its interpretation 281
5. Amathus, before and after the mid-seventh century . 288
6. Kourion and Paphos, after another earthquake or two . 292

Appendix: A glimpse of rural life in the sixth and seventh centuries: Alassa-Ayia Mavri 299

IX. Expressions of faithfulness: religious mentalities and the sense of Cypriot identity 301

1. Autonomy from Antioch: the apostolic Church of St Barnabas 308
2. The holy waters of Salamis 311
3. Floor and mural mosaics, and a seventh-century apologia for the veneration of images 313
4. An amulet from seventh-century Amathus 317
5. Old men remember the miracles of their youth 318
6. Relics and miracles, in an impoverished age 318
7. Relics, miracles, and the cult of Cypriot bishops in an age of renewal 320
8. Aristocratic and imperial support for prestigious monasteries 322

Appendix: literacy and sacred learning. Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1191 329

PART 2. THE CHANGING FABRIC OF SOCIETY

X. From 491 to 610 337

1. The legacy of late Roman Cyprus 346
2. Antecedents of the Church of Cyprus 351
3. Dual governance, by church and state 355
4. Taxation 359
5. Kourion, after the earthquake 361
6. Growing prosperity by the time of Justinian 362
7. Constantia, and the pilgrimage church of Campanopetra 366
8. Economic decline in western Cyprus, from the mid-sixth century? The regional influence of Paphos 371
9. Famine, pestilence, depopulation 373
10. Cyprus and the *coup d'état* of Heraclius 375
11. Summing-up. 378

XI. From 610 to 688 379

1. A Persian attack on Constantia, in 617? 383
2. Constantia's aqueduct 385
3. Monasticism before the Arab invasion 387
4. Distant thunder? Monophysitism and monotheletism 391
5. Two Arab invasions of Cyprus and their aftermath: a critique of the sources 395
6. Life at Constantia after 650 418
7. Summing-up. 422

XII. From 688 to 965 425

1. The foreign news: 'Cyprus attacked again' 434
2. The limited impact of iconoclasm on Cyprus 441

3. Internal evidence 447
4. Nea Ioustinianoupolis 450
5. Relocation: the case of Kourion; and the analogy of Paphos 445
6. The changing hierarchy of civil government 460
7. Lapithos, Kyrenia, and Polis 468
8. Isolated pockets of prosperity? The Karpas peninsula 472
9. The shift to settlements at higher levels? 474
10. How pervasive was the Arab presence in Cyprus? 478
11. The defence of the north: Maronite and Armenian villages 486
12. The migration of the cities, and the afterlife of their sites 490
13. Lives spent in one village: rootedness 494
14. Summing-up. 496

XIII. From 965 to *c.*1094 499
1. 'Sent out to govern' 502
2. The revolt of Bardas Skleros 507
3. The *Book of Curiosities*: a map of the ports of Cyprus from before 1050 507
4. The early history of Nicosia 511
5. Political aspects of the founding and growth of monasteries 517
6. Provincial separatism: the *coup* of Rhapsomates 521
7. Summing-up 526

XIV. From *c.*1094 to 1191. 527
1. The castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara 537
2. Nicholas Mouzalon, Eumathios Philokales, and Koutsobendes 539
3. Venetians settled in Paphos, Limassol, and Nicosia . 544

4. Supplies sent to the laura of St Theodosius the cenobiarch 546
5. 'The rightful judgement of God': foreign raids and natural disasters 549
6. Agriculture: self-sufficiency; the internal market; exports 552
7. Varangians in Cyprus 555
8. The early development of Famagusta 555
9. Isaac, emperor in Cyprus 558
10. Isaac's reign in retrospect 563
11. Summing-up 563

CONCLUSIONS

XV. The balance-sheet: provincial self-sufficiency and the effects of interventions by central government 567
1. The province in its time of prosperity 571
2. Defeat, and faltering recovery, but city life decays . 573
3. Imperial impotence or neglect 575
4. Cyprus shares its skills and its prosperity with others 577
5. Venice: sanctioned encroachment 577

XVI. Conclusion, and some remarks on future research. 579
1. The challenge of conflicting evidence 582
2. Lead seals, coins, and urban archaeology 586
3. Blood groups, DNA, and historical demography ... 590

Select bibliography 595

General index 629

TEXT FIGURES

1. Field walking and archaeological survey areas 67
2. Byzantine lead seal with the inscription 'Bismillah' ('in the name of Allah'). Second half of the seventh century? . 86
3. Lead seal of an architect or master mason? Second half of the seventh century 86
4. The common varieties of invocative monogram, Laurent Types I-XV. 94
5. Lead seal of Archbishop Epiphanius III, of the 'Photian' type. Late IX century. 105
6. Lead seal of Theodosius, spatharokandidatos and archon of Cyprus. X century? 105
7. Lead seal of Pantherios, bishop of Aradus (Schlumberger SBI 160). 117
8. Lead seal of the protospatharios and strategos Theodotos. ... 134
9. Lead seal of Nicetas, spatharios of the Kibyrrhaiotes (*BLSC* 152). 138
10. Histogram of single finds of coins from the Campanopetra sector, Constantia, 491-*c*.750. 149
11. Histogram of single finds of coins of Heraclius from the Campanopetra sector, Constantia. 151
12. Histogram of single finds of coins of Constans II from the Campanopetra sector, Constantia. 153
13. Histogram of single finds of coins from Kourion, 491-*c*.750. ... 156
14. Countermarked follis of Constans II. 172
15. Islamic copper fals, Miles pl. 6, 98. 178
16. Clipped dirhams from Paphos and its vicinity. 180
17. The two Soloi inscriptions. 222
18. Early Byzantine transport amphoras. Characteristic shapes, LRA 1-7. 232
19. Clay lamps from the episcopal precinct, Kourion. 242
20. Constantia. Sketch plan to show the main Byzantine monuments. 270
21. Paphos. Sketch plan to show the main Byzantine monuments. 282

22. The Mother of God, on the lead seal of a private person (Ioannes). 304
23. Lead seal of Iohannes, consularis of Cyprus. VI century? 359
24. Histogram of sherds from Panayia Ematousa. 364
25. Find-spots of coins from 688-965. Key: dots = Byzantine gold, open circles = Byzantine silver and copper. crosslets = Islamic coins. 431
26. Lead seal of Michael, archon of Cyprus. Late ninth/early tenth c. *DOC* 2.38.2. 440
27. Lead seal of a kourator of Cyprus, ho tou Barbarou. 500
28. Diagrammatic map showing the anchorages of Cyprus, from the *Book of Curiosities* (*c.*1020-*c.*1050). 509
29. Lead seal of 1217 showing the facade of the Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia. 514

FOREWORD

After just a few decades as an independent state, Cyprus has again become, what it has been for most of its history, part of a larger political grouping, in which much of the power resides at the centre. The European Union, to which Cyprus acceded in 2004, is not of course an empire, but it shows similar strong centralizing tendencies. Just as, during the last sixty years, federal law has encroached inexorably on state law in the United States, so the European Union seeks to keep up the momentum of change, seeing its manifest destiny as a unitary supra-national organization, flexing the political and economic muscle of a world power. Thus did the Byzantine Empire see itself. For anyone who is interested in the political processes in the Cyprus of today – and how should one be interested in history unless one is first interested in politics? – the island's history as a Byzantine province sets up many resonances with the unfolding developments of the 21st century.

To study that history is only possible from evidence relating specifically to Cyprus. Trends within the Empire as a whole were not necessarily matched in Cyprus. Written sources of information in the works of contemporary (or later) chroniclers, geographers, and historians, have in general been fully known to scholars for many decades. One cannot hope for much that is new from that direction – although the *Book of Curiosities*, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is an exception. Archaeology, on the other hand, and especially sigillography and numismatics, are steadily bringing fresh evidence to light, year by year. It is all this new material that makes it possible, and worthwhile, to reconsider the written sources, and to shift the focus down more narrowly, from the Empire as a whole to one constituent province. The history of a particular province or region becomes an appropriate project for study, as the archaeological harvest grows more abundant. Similar attempts have been made, or are being made, to exploit the possibilities through work on, for example, Bulgaria, Crete, Sicily, and Antioch. But make no mistake, Cyprus at present stands head and shoulders above the rest in terms of its potential, because there are so

many archaeological sites, so much provenanced material, and because it is all accessible to scholarship. The advantages are likely to persist for the foreseeable future: there is plenty still to do.

One says, about Byzantine Cyprus, its history; but a province does not really have its own history. That privilege is denied to it. For better and for worse, its history is subsumed in that of the empire of which it forms a part. A cost-benefit analysis of being a province will show a balance varying widely from time to time. Sometimes, the strategic interests of the empire may bring financial subsidies, cultural sophistication, and other benefits to the province; at other times the province may bear the brunt of foreign attacks directed against the Empire as a whole. The best interests of Cyprus were, whenever it was expedient, submitted to those of the Empire.

And yet, it would be an exaggeration to suggest that Byzantine provinces did not have their own individuality. The Empire was not exactly like the European Union, in which EU law is paramount, electronic communication is instantaneous, statistics abound, and non-compliance with the *acquis communautaire* is detected by frustrated auditors. Although the emperor and his close advisers received good intelligence in shaping their foreign policy, their statistical information was rudimentary. For that reason among others, there were limits to the extent to which provinces could be made to conform to a standard pattern. Each province had its own distinctive economic life and social fabric. Byzantium was monarchical, an early medieval empire whose frontiers were defined by other nations, often its enemies, and often of other doctrines or other faiths. Its provinces were held together by a shared political culture: self-image; manifest destiny; and Orthodoxy – and by the Empire's willingness, and its ability, to defend its lands by force of arms. In the sixth century Cyprus was just one of some 64 provinces which made up the Empire, and its population was no more than one per cent of the total. After the sixth century, power began to slip away from the centre. In the eighth century, for example, Cyprus was resistant to iconoclasm, and it was not brought to heel, even though iconoclasm was conviction politics on the part of the emperor, and strongly enforced elsewhere. In later centuries the Empire became increasingly ramshackle, and the student needs to ask himself or herself why that should have been so. Even as late as the twelfth century, a province was the natural-sized unit for the exercise of political power. Within his province, a self-willed governor might be more or less uncontrollable by the emperor. Contestations of power, between emperor and provincial magnates, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were not felt to be deeply shocking; they were just the stuff of politics. A

good deal depended on the emperor's personal capabilities and his perceived chances of effective action. Emperors came and went, and one could hope for better times.

Whoever was emperor, a province such as Cyprus paid taxes to the central government. The labour of its people helped to support the central élite and all the structures and the ambitions of empire. Indeed that has been perennially the case, whether Cyprus was part of the Byzantine Empire, or the Ottoman Empire, or the British Empire, right up until independence. At all times taxation was resented – sometimes, as it now seems to us, with reason. In retrospect the policies of the British government, for example, seem mean-minded and rigidly ungenerous. But until the rise of modern democratic ideals (alarmingly recent and still very far from universal) the exploitation of an empire's subjects was part of the natural order of things. A province was not meant to be governed in the interest of its people. Taxation, and resentment of it, enter into the historical record from time to time, but our sources have extremely little to say about the wealth-creation that kept the province afloat and sustained the tax-burden. Half the equation is missing from the surviving evidence. In that sense, the positive half of the dynamics of the provincial economy is documented only by the trend-lines and regional distribution-patterns of coin finds, and by such arid fragments as sherds of transport amphoras. We may catch a glimpse very occasionally of a wealth-creator such as Philentolos, who was evidently an entrepreneur with many irons in the fire. At all times, however, we may assume that people all over the province were doing their best to prosper, and to be happy, and that there was a wide spectrum of individual wealth and poverty; that debt, and exploitation of the vulnerable, were endemic; and that there was no safety-net against destitution, other than neighbourliness and charity.

Because information specifically about the provincial life of Cyprus is conspicuously thin in the written sources, and because these were often composed from the standpoint of Constantinople or of the imperial court and its milieu, one has to work hard to reconstruct even half the story of a province. There are many gaps in the evidence which cannot be filled. Where Cyprus is mentioned, it is usually from an outsider's point of view. That may mean, from a not very well informed point of view. Also, what was said may distort the facts because it was consciously written in a classicizing style. Likewise, modern Byzantinists have sometimes offered comments on the history of Cyprus using evidence from the Empire as a whole. This may serve their purposes, and it may be useful as revealing how Cyprus is likely to have shared in empire-wide trends, but it is perilously close to making bricks without straw. In the pages that follow,

that practice has been eschewed. One is not in the business of writing a history of the Byzantine Empire with illustrations drawn from Cyprus. All one's remarks are meant to be grounded in empirical data originating in Cyprus. At the same time, it is well to recognize, perhaps ruefully, that between the data and the judgement of their significance there is a no-man's-land of interpretation. Here, current political ideas may distort one's perceptions of the past – which is professionally to be deplored.

Thus, Dr Costas Kyrris, in his workmanlike and wide-ranging *History of Cyprus*, takes as one of his guiding themes the fate of Byzantine Hellenism. He writes, for example, 'The fortuitous "accident" of 1191 [Richard Coeur-de-Lion's seizure of Cyprus] seen from a distance appears to have had a deep meaning and significance for the destiny of Cyprus in subsequent centuries, a meaning which Isaac does not seem to have understood [sic]; for this reason he did not deal seriously with the new enemy and the "system" to which his power belonged. So he proved a myopic leader for the Hellenism of Cyprus . . . '[1] This is to impose modern ideas of Hellenism onto the events of the twelfth century – which Kyrris was certainly seeing from the far side of the historian's 'no-man's-land'. Nor did Kyrris stand altogether alone in seeing the Byzantine centuries through Hellenic-tinted spectacles. Professor Mango's entertaining exposition of the development of modern Hellenism, which radically re-invented itself in the nineteenth century, is a useful reminder.[2] The rational thinkers of the later eighteenth century had seen the Byzantine era as a sorry decline from classical Hellenism: Koraës branded it as the blackest reaction. The invention of 'romantic Hellenism' owes much to the nineteenth-century historian Paparrigopoulos and his book, *The History of the Greek Nation*.

How much better it is to begin from the empirical evidence belonging to Cyprus itself, and to draw only those perspectives which the detail seems to permit. Much of the first-hand, contemporary, local evidence from Byzantine Cyprus is non-literary: lead seals, for example, can inform us about the administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchies; coins and coin hoards can give indications about the monetary and economic history of the province; ceramics, too, can yield systematic information

1. Kyrris, 1985, p. 211.

2. C. Mango, 'Byzantinism and romantic Hellenism' (Inaugural Lecture in the Koraës Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, King's College, London, reprinted in *Byzantium and Its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and Its Heritage*, London, 1984, article I.

about the directions of imports and exports, and about long-term trends in prosperity; archaeology laboriously recreates episodes in urban history. These various strands of evidence can be woven together century by century – although it usually turns out that for a particular century, one or two strands are dominant, while others may be virtually non-existent.

It sometimes happens that particular aspects of the material evidence radically change our understanding of the whole situation. For example, the building of an inner city wall at Constantia, with a much reduced circuit, has been taken to imply a severe decline of the city, presumably as a result of the Arab invasion in 649 and the reprisals in 653; and St Willibald's remark about farmers leading their animals in what had been the urban area has been seen as buttressing that interpretation. The balance-sheet is, unfortunately, incomplete. It omits one strand of archaeological evidence which changes the whole picture. The coin finds from the Campanopetra sector of the excavations show that, while the old city centre was indeed lying in ruins, the south-eastern suburbium flourished well into the eighth century. We need to be cautious about what the evidence proves, or seems to prove, and what it merely suggests as a possibility. While the Campanopetra sector lay outside the periphery of our vision, it was possible to interpret the shorter inner wall in terms of urban contraction.

We should be eager to return again and again to the detailed evidence, to reconsider it. The excavators' finds are not something that can be interpreted, once for all, and then buried in an apotheke. So far as the literary sources are concerned, many lay persons see no problem. If they can understand the sense of the words, they are inclined to believe what they think they are being told. A more critical approach is in order. Chroniclers and historians of the time, however, generally offer a simplified view of their own past, which may well be wrong in detail, and sometimes even in its thrust. They may be bemused by the myths that they themselves, and their predecessors, have sought to create. It is prudent, therefore, to approach the written sources more circumspectly, and to ask (for example) how long after an event the account of it was written; how the writer might have acquired his information; and whether it betrays any prejudice or tendency. To the layman the reading of texts can seem more straightforward than it is or should be. When we were at school, we learned what our teachers were able to tell us, and we accepted and repeated what the text-book said. Later in life the same bookish approach may be difficult to shake off. It requires an effort of the imagination to reach past the printed page to the people whose lives we are concerned with. Merely reiterating an earlier historian's résumé can be a form of 'Chinese whispers'.

Often, the incidental remarks in the sources, offering interesting sidelights, are the ones that the text-book résumé omits; and if the summary is too brief, it may happen that the flavour, as well as some of the historical significance, of what is being said is lost to the reader in the process of abbreviation. Thus, for example, the archbishop of Cyprus, speaking at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 about a sermon of Leontios of Neapolis, makes the throw-away remark, 'We have got a lot of his sermons'. This has, frankly, no relevance at all to his theme of the rightness of venerating holy images. It is a side-line, but a most intriguing one. Does it imply that there was a library, in which books written before the Arab raids of 649-53 survived? – in the sacked city of Constantia, where the basilica of St Epiphanius had been reduced to a smoking ruin? – or if not there, then where?

The austere academic convention of assuming that the reader is familiar with everything that has previously been written on the subject, and at most merely needs to be reminded of it by a footnote, is more appropriate in a learned article than in a book in which the general reader may hope to find pleasure and profit. He or she is, frankly, unlikely to visit an academic library in order to follow up a footnote. If the detail has some general relevance, the reader deserves to have whatever is interesting rehearsed.

Side-lines apart, it is usually advisable to go back to the *ipsissima verba* of the text, in order to listen carefully to the tone of what is being said, and to consider its context. When one has learned the habit of doing that, one is in a much better position to perceive that modern commentators have often construed passages superficially or clumsily, introducing ideas that are not actually part of what the text says. They will, at best, derive from the modern scholar's general understanding of the historical situation. Reading four or five different modern glosses on the same passage in a well-known text is the quickest way to learn that scrupulous care needs to be exercised in interpretation. – This, after all, is the nobler part of the historian's craft.

Because of the 'no-man's-land' of general interpretation, the broader historical context of the event may and indeed should significantly influence one's understanding of it. And the contemporary testimony of non-written sources may throw a light on Cyprus from a quite different angle, causing us to reappraise our understanding of the document, sometimes quite radically. In attempting to evaluate what the primary sources tell us, then, and to incorporate it into a more comprehensive view, one finds that one is rarely discussing the details of what happened,

rather, the details of what later writers claim to have happened. The details may be of some forensic usefulness, but as to what actually happened, a broad, sensible view is usually the best that one can aspire to.

Perhaps surprisingly, it has to be said that the non-literary evidence, of archaeology, epigraphy, and even coinage, is also far from factual or self-evident. Conflicts of evidence between one category of source-material and another may reveal to us that our presuppositions about how the evidence should be interpreted are not as secure as we thought. It can turn out that there are wide areas where discretion and fresh thinking are called for. Between the detail, and the eventual perspectives, there is this wide area where expertise, having made its contribution, should no longer hold unquestioned sway. The generalist who takes his standpoint somewhere in the 'no-man's land', or perhaps even on this side of it, may need to make forays into the detailed evidence, but in the end it is his job to take a broad view, and a hard-headed view. A good early example is the essay which Robert Browning wrote, as long ago as 1977, on Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the early middle ages – a difficult topic indeed, where the views of many specialists are needed, but where none of them is able, on his own, to reach a comprehensive verdict. Scientists are thoroughly trained to be aware of the limitations of accuracy of their observations, and aware of what constitutes proof. Historians making broad generalizations are sadly not always so rigorous. In the long run it does the reputation of the discipline no good.

The critical weaving together of the various strands of specialist evidence is the distinctive skill of early medieval studies, a young discipline that in England (for example) is still growing towards maturity as it digests its successes. Insights gained into any one of the specialisms that have been mentioned may carry implications for some of the others. It is often through the sharing of ideas within the community of early medievalists that further implications are noticed and tested. And the Byzantine Empire, up to the twelfth century, certainly belongs to late antiquity and the early middle ages, rather than the high middle ages. All the critical self-discipline appropriate to early medieval studies applies: Byzantine studies are not unique or exempt. The exercise of scholarly judgement involves considering how far the patterns that seem to emerge can safely, or correctly, be generalized, and taken to be characteristic for the whole of the island of Cyprus, or for the whole of a major phase in our 700-year Byzantine period. Distribution-patterns, and topographical studies, repeatedly raise the question whether there were significant differences in the material culture between the northern and the southern coastlands of Cyprus, with their different maritime links, or

between the coastal cities and the inland settlements in the foothills of the Pentadaktylos and Troodos mountain ranges.

In writing this book I have tried to be forward-looking, in the sense of creating a framework of discussion in which other students can participate in the future, without having to start again from scratch. The aim has been to express a consensus, on which others can continue to build. For that reason chapter and verse have been provided, in the form of footnotes, so that anyone may verify for themselves the evidence on which particular statements rest. The counterpart of looking forward is sometimes to be reticent for the time being, showing a proper awareness that not all the answers are within our grasp. More fundamentally, each student is of course sovereign and, having revisited all the evidence, may judge that the perspectives offered here should have been drawn rather differently. Completely new information is coming to light at a brisk pace through archaeological field surveys and controlled excavations, stray finds of coins and of lead seals, reappraisals of church architecture, and so on. Sigillography, in particular, is in a phase of rapid progress. The attribution of bishops' lead seals to their correct dioceses, for example, or of those of illoustrioi to their correct cities, is brought nearer as new discoveries accumulate. The existing evidence acquires added value, and regional variation within Cyprus becomes more clearly defined. It becomes increasingly possible to break down the evidence into smaller local fragments, in order to focus on them more closely, and to reach a more secure judgement.

My attempt to do that has entailed an insistence on methodology, and on a critical assessment of the limitations of each of the various strands of evidence. This is definitely not something that a generalist can afford to leave to the appropriate experts, without himself or herself considering the detailed arguments. As well as that, however, (s)he needs to be clear about the most basic of arguments: what a particular class of evidence might, in principle, be sufficient to establish. The first part of the book, therefore, (after a general introduction) examines the evidence of each specialism separately, right the way through the seven Byzantine centuries, in order to create long perspectives, and in order to show how the material might be useful for a synthesis. Long perspectives are the key to the changing history of the Byzantine centuries, and they are the nearest one can get to a quantified description. Without long perspectives, one is at sea. As a programme of study, 'the sigillographic evidence' (or the numismatic evidence, or whatever) is not the same thing as 'the sigillographic facts'. The objective, here, is to identify, among the facts,

patterns and implications which should engage the attention of the early medievalist. The basic argument says that detail about office-holders can, in principle, tell us about the administrative history of the province. Numerous conversations and discussions, over the decades, have convinced me that unexamined or unexplained assumptions about the material evidence are a stumbling-block for the non-specialist (including those who are expert in other specialisms!) and that it is at the level of sound methodology that consensus has first to be built. And consensus-building is a different skill entirely.

Many of the detailed and even the broad conclusions, in each specialism, are to some degree tentative and subject to future revision as more evidence accumulates. That may come as a surprise to some readers. The local hesitations, obviously, should carry over into the synthesis, together with ideas and conclusions from other specialisms. With the evidence of lead seals, we have reached a point from which it is possible to foresee that a larger data-base will bring significantly greater certainty of interpretation. As new information comes to light, it needs to be integrated first into the over-all view of the particular specialism to which it belongs, and only then into the historical synthesis. That is one practical reason why an early medievalist, even though his objective is to produce a synthesis, needs to have a thorough understanding of the methodologies of his colleagues. He should not accept their conclusions uncritically, without understanding the reasoning by which they arrived at them – and that usually turns out to involve a hands-on acquaintance with the facts. Only thus can the project be forward-looking.

The second part of the book is intended to be a chronologically ordered study of Byzantine Cyprus, gathering together a wide range of aspects in each successive period, and considering how they interact. It would be a delusion to imagine that one could construct a continuous narrative of events. Some readers may have expected that that was how the book should be structured. But the inner logic of the linking passages would in that case be speculative – bricks made with imaginary straw. The style that has been adopted, therefore, is more in the nature of a series of vignettes, preceded by a general introduction for each chapter. Altogether the book contains approximately a hundred vignettes or mini-essays, each exploring some aspect of the evidence, and testing its reliability critically. By going through them patiently the reader should grasually acquire a 'feel' for Byzantine Cyprus. Several of the chapters in Part I have an appendix, providing a check-list or similar factual survey, or an excursus, with which (again) an early medievalist ought to be conversant, and may find handy for reference. The pace of change in the

political, economic, and social structures of Cypriot society, and in (for example) the size of the population are such that it seems appropriate to work through the 700 years roughly half-century by half-century (with what that implies about social and economic continuity).

I have been very sparing in making comparisons with other provinces, or with the Empire as a whole. Partly, that is because information about other provinces is rarely so full, nor of the same high quality, as the information now assembled about Cyprus. For the historian, it is, over all, less reliable. The time for synthesis still lies in the future.

When one is writing about the past, whether in the form of historical fiction or even – as in this case – in a monograph with the ambition of keeping detailed observation and historical synthesis as close to each other as possible, the book is always, however obliquely, about the time in which it was written. One is aware that Cyprus, in the early twenty-first century, is still a politically divided island, with a burden of military violence, trauma, and bitterness. It is the historian's privilege, however, to be god-like: benevolent and all-seeing, but detatched. As an example, Kyrris's partisan remarks on Byzantine Hellenism have been mentioned above. To try to remove all such modern reference would be to emasculate historical writing, and to turn it into something else, more appropriate to the pages of an encyclopedia. The historian should try to address his reader conversationally, and it is both inevitable and proper that both parties should be aware, indirectly, of the present as well as of the past.

Each chapter in Part 2 ends with a summing-up intended to focus the reader's attention on the decisive observations and arguments. It may even be helpful to read the summing-up before embarking on the chapter, as a kind of menu. Every well-presented book needs an index, and this one more than most, because the same topic or item of information is often mentioned in two or three places, in relation to different threads of general argument. The index should help the reader to make connections which may not be mentioned in the text – or at least to find again a remembered passage.

Acknowledgements

Dr Rolandos Katsiaounis, when he was Director of the Cyprus Research Centre, encouraged me to undertake the writing of this book, and the Centre has been completely supportive of the project, as of previous projects over many years. Collaboration has always been a pleasure. For the Centre, Dr Nikos Coureas was kind and helpful beyond the call of duty. Dr Tassos Papacostas, of Kings College, London, learned historian of Byzantine Cyprus, was an inspiration and was generous with practical help. He kindly found the time to read minutely an almost finished draft of the entire work, and tactfully saved me from a rich selection of misunderstandings, oversights, and blunders. Father Chariton of the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni offered valuable advice. My friend Professor Clive Foss from time to time drew my attention to publications that he had come across, always serendipitously. The Director of Antiquities and his colleagues in the Cyprus Museum granted me facilities to study Byzantine material in the Museum. The Oxford Society in Cyprus allowed me to try out ideas on them at one of their meetings. Above all, dear friends in Cyprus offered their loyal and generous personal support – among whom are Dr George Georghallides (former Director of the Research Centre, and co-editor of the fine volume, '*The Sweet Land of Cyprus*'), Mr Andreas Pitsillides, President of the Cyprus Numismatic Society, and Dr Kyriacos Economides. Their generous friendship over many years, and their love of Cyprus, found expression in many an enjoyable excursion, to places all over Cyprus. CAARI – the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute – was, as ever, a home from home, where successive Directors, Stuart (and Laina) Swiny, Nancy Serwint, Robert Merrillees and Tom Davis, as well as the Librarian, Mrs Diana Constantinides, and the Administrator, Ms Vathoulla Moustoukki made staying there a pleasure.

The usual disclaimer (that any mistakes and failings are mine alone) is probably more than usually necessary.

D. M. M.

A Note on the Spelling of Personal Names and Place-Names, and on Transliteration.

The style of personal names and of place-names, and the transliteration of phrases or passages from Byzantine Greek, in a book written in English, are three distinct problems, to none of which is there a fully satisfactory solution.

Consistency over personal names might seem desirable, but even that is not simple. The names of well-known historical figures, such as Justinian, or Maurice, or Heraclius, are in effect words in the English language. To write them otherwise is to retreat from the milieu of the English-speaking cultivated classes into a private world of Byzantinists, or even of Cypriot officialdom. English prefers to latinize Greek names, but sometimes omits the ending -us. (Indeed, Latin was the official language of government of Byzantine Cyprus, until the time of Heraclius.) That much is straightforward; but if some lesser individual is named Ἡράκλειος, what is one to do? In that case a version closer to the Greek, in fact a transliteration, preserving the ending *-os*, seems preferable. At first glance spelling the same name in two different ways may appear inconsistent, but there is an inner logic.

Byzantine titles are the next problem. Here, current academic conventions vary quite widely from country to country. In French, especially, offices and dignities are given a French form wherever there is an equivalent that should be clear: notaire, chartulaire, etc., even if the function of such an official in the modern world is not quite the same. In English too (including American English), *krites* will become judge, *hypatos* will become consul. That is a well-established tradition. But *ek prosopou*? – *dioiketes*? Again, inconsistency is not easily banished.

Place-names are just as intractable. The official forms, as used today on road signs, etc., in Cyprus, in conformity with an official scheme, have to serve the needs of foreign visitors speaking various languages. In a book written in English, however, the words should conform to the expectations of an educated English-speaking readership. In an English-language text, the names acquire English citizenship – and are expected to conform, within reason. 'Pafos', for example, offends the English eye, beyond what is tolerable. In effect, the official transliterations from the period of British rule are still entrenched, so far as English readers are concerned, for the names of well-known places. One continues to think of Kyrenia. For village names, etc., the transliteration (on any system) is unfortunately not reversible, which can be a nuisance. In the Appendix

to Chapter III I have added the Greek form of the find-spots here and there.

An academic monograph will be read by scholars of other nationalities too; but one cannot please everyone. French (to which all the same arguments apply, *mutatis mutandis*) prefers 'Amathonte' to 'Amathus'. At least French has some advantage in being able to distinguish eta from epsilon by using a grave accent – but it nevertheless needs to write 'Héraclius', because that becomes, after all, a word in the French language, and has to conform with the orthographic conventions of French in order to be readable.

Phrases or short passages from the primary sources can be transliterated into the Latin alphabet at best clumsily. The question here is the intended readership of the book. If it is meant to be wider that the international fraternity of academic Byzantinists (as this book is), even cultivated English readers may, alas, stumble. One does not wish them to lose the thread. There are arguments either way. On balance, it may be better not to transliterate, but to find some other way of helping the reader.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE THREE AGES OF BYZANTINE CYPRUS: GREAT PROSPERITY; SWIFT DECLINE AND IMPOVERISHMENT; GRADUAL RECOVERY

The Byzantine centuries in Cyprus are not unitary. Rather, they comprise three sharply contrasting periods. From the accession of the emperor Anastasius in 491 (taken here as a starting date[1]) until the devastating Arab raids of 649 and 653 and their protracted aftermath, the province enjoyed a high or even a very high degree of material prosperity that is quite difficult to envisage now. In the time of Heraclius the strategic value of Cyprus to the Empire became more apparent to the government, with corresponding benefits of subsidies to the island's economy. But the loss of Byzantine naval supremacy in the second half of the seventh century meant that the Empire was, in the last resort, unable from then on to repel any interference in Cyprus by the Caliphate. Only the northern coastlands, sheltered by the steep Pentadaktylos range, and with Byzantine naval power

1. The beginning of Anastasius's reign is a convenient moment, which post-dates the invention of St Barnabas, but antedates the Anastasian coinage reform (498). Coincidentally, it allows one to speak of a period of exactly 700 years, up until the conquest of Cyprus in 1191. When did the Byzantine period begin? The passage from late Roman to early Byzantine involves no sudden change (and indeed the term 'Late Roman' is commonly used by archaeologists in Cyprus to refer, rather confusingly, to the period right up to the mid-seventh century). It might have been justifiable to choose 330 (as Englezakis does) as the starting-point for this monograph. Englezakis, 1995, p. 42, in writing about the history of the Church of Cyprus, recognizes a similar three-fold division to the one discussed here: 'It is clear, moreover, that this period, 330-1191, cannot be examined as a unified one. In reality it falls into three phases' [330-699, 700-965, 965-1191].

a short sailing distance away, remained more securely within imperial protection. After 662, when Constans II turned to the West, there seems to have been a loss of will to recover control. The Empire acceded in 688 to a treaty status for Cyprus, which placed the (whole) province under financial tribute to the Caliphate, and which enforced a kind of neutrality. The treaty remained the international legal framework for some 300 years, during which the province was rather neglected politically, although by no means as isolated as has been claimed:[2] a range of Byzantine administrative officials were still appointed. There may perhaps have been enclaves where their writ did not run, but with such possible exceptions the whole province, north and south, was administered as part of the Empire.

The three hundred years from 662 onwards were the 'dark age' of early medieval Cyprus, when the economic indices turned dramatically downwards, in a decline that was reflected in many administrative changes. Cyprus fell into a degree of relative social and cultural impoverishment. A significant Arab presence as traders in the southern parts of the island, long after the withdrawal of their garrison in *c.*680/1, is demonstrable from written sources, from inscriptions, and from finds of Islamic coins and lead seals. In the decades around 800, for example, Paphos and its district had trading contacts not only with Syria but even with the Maghreb. Trade need not entail settlement, and it remains extremely difficult to estimate the extent of Arab landholding, a crucial question that remains in one's mind, even if it is unanswered.[3] Were people of different faiths living side by side amicably, or fairly amicably? Were there enclaves under Arab control? All that one dare venture is that the Arab presence was stronger in the south, and especially in the Paphos district.

The eventual Byzantine reconquest of the whole island in 965 led to only a very modest improvement in the economic fortunes of the province over the next 80 years. It was not until the 1040s or thereabouts that there was a distinct upturn – which certainly began before the First Crusade. The recovery was, however, most noticeable in the time of Alexius I (1081-1118), whose new awareness of the strategic importance of Cyprus (echoes of the seventh century) brought money into the province in the form of governmental spending, and brought it back into

2. e.g. by Dikigoropoulos.

3. A very early map of Cyprus, recently acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, shows Arabic place-names. It originates from eleventh-century Egypt. See below, chapter XIII/3.

touch with metropolitan concerns and taste. There was further intervention from the centre under John II and Manuel I. As a measure of returning prosperity, it has been suggested that between 965 and 1191, at a rough estimate some 200 churches were built or rebuilt in Cyprus, in various architectural styles.[4] Most of them were (necessarily) non-urban. They offer a clear indication of the economic recovery from the 'dark age'. There seems, surprisingly, to have been an economic flowering under the pretender Isaac Ducas Comnenus (1184-91). That new growth was temporarily checked, however, by the conquest of the island by the English king Richard Coeur-de-Lion, who swiftly stripped what wealth he could out of it, before moving on.[5] His arrival, in 1191, marked the end of Byzantine rule (although not of Orthodoxy, nor of Greek culture), and it is the end-date of this study – which thus concerns itself with a period of seven hundred years exactly, 491-1191.

Primary written sources for these seven centuries are thinly and unevenly spread and, what is more to the point, much of what they say is of limited use to the historian of Cyprus, because its accuracy cannot be completely trusted. Generally it was written from an outsider's perspective, usually by someone who had never set foot in the province, and often hundreds of years after the events that are mentioned. If earlier written sources underlie what (little) they say, one cannot easily judge how those sources were handled, nor whether their intention was respected and their thrust reproduced. In any case one could not easily, from the documents alone, acquire clear perspectives on the changes and contrasts between one century and the next, and certainly one would glean very little information about any regional or topographical differences within Cyprus, for example between the northern coastlands and the south, or between, say, Amathus and Salamis/Constantia. Where it is possible to establish them from the material evidence of archaeology, sigillography, etc., local similarities or differences can sharpen the focus, serving to confirm hypotheses about Cyprus as a whole, for which the

4. Papageorghiou, 1982. About 40 of the 200 preserve traces of frescoes.

5. The well-to-do were heavily mulcted by Richard during his brief control of Cyprus. But progress was resumed quickly under the first Lusignan rulers. Machairas conveys an impression of small beginnings, compared with the great wealth of Cyprus in the middle decades of the fourteenth century. This historical myth-making is questioned in D. M. Metcalf, 'Money in the Sweet Land of Cyprus', in *Κύπρος ἀπὸ τὴν προϊστορία στοὺς νεότερους χρόνους*, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 243-69, and cf. id., *The White Bezants and Deniers of Cyprus, 1192-1285*, (Corpus of Lusignan Coinage, ed. D. M. Metcalf and A. G. Pitsillides, vol. 1), at p. 124.

historical evidence may otherwise be ambiguous in its interpretation. The paucity of the written sources is (perhaps surprisingly) most severe in the sixth century, but it remains a serious problem for another 450 years, which include the 'dark age'. In this middle period there is a dearth of evidence of any kind, whether documentary or archaeological. What there is is so patchy that a correct understanding is difficult, but there are many glimpses of economic activity, which are puzzling to fit into the long-term perspective. Often the sources are open to either a 'minimalist' or a 'maximalist' interpretation.

Archaeology is always bringing grist to the mill, often in unexpected ways which stimulate fresh considerations. Through the systematic study of artefacts one becomes more aware of the limitations of the written word. Those limitations arise because the sources tend to be anecdotal in character, leaving much unsaid. The chronicler had a particular concern, and usually a particular bias. If something was worth writing down, it was often because it was remarkable. We are so used in our lifetime to the statistical description of almost everything, and to the official collection of statistics as an unquestioned instrument of government, that it is quite difficult for us to imagine an age which managed without such assistance. The other disciplines dealing with the material evidence give us the possibility to escape, at least in principle, from any bias or other limitations of the anecdotal evidence, and to create a context. This may help us to assess the historical significance of circumstances to which Byzantine writers were responding.

It is only in the final 130 years of Byzantine rule that the documentary material becomes sufficiently specific and varied, and sufficiently contextual, to encourage the writing of history as traditionally understood, that is to say, on the basis of written testimony. For the study of Cyprus in late antiquity and in the early middle ages, other kinds of evidence must provide much of the framework of our understanding, *faute de mieux*. Pottery studies, coordinated on a statistical basis, have yielded broad and impressively far-reaching conclusions about the economic bases of the island's prosperity in the sixth and early seventh century. Further, the extreme scarcity of ceramic evidence dateable between the late eighth and the late tenth centuries sets up a dramatic quantitative contrast with the preceding period. Secondly, lead seals, which again need to be studied comprehensively and statistically, provide us with far more detailed information about the local leadership and the imperial administrative personnel who ran Cyprus than could be gleaned from the written sources, and thence about sea-changes in the governance of the province. These changes can be quite closely dated.

Again, there is an 'empty' period from the early ninth to the late tenth century, from which there are extremely few lead seals found in Cyprus – in sharpest contrast, relatively, with the seventh-century hey-day. But those few are of crucial value. They are enough to negate the whole thrust of Dikigoropoulos's understanding of the 'condominium centuries', which was that the Cypriots governed themselves, at arm's length from the emperor, except that they chose to ask him to send a *basilikos anthropos* to head the island's secular administration.[6] Thirdly, the evidence of coins can be even more securely dated, whether they are Byzantine coins minted or countermarked in Cyprus, or hoards containing coins carried to Cyprus from Constantinople, from Syria or Egypt, or from other parts of the Empire (or from the Caliphate). Once again, the long perspective is of a dramatic, one might even say a catastrophic decline, – and of an eventual gradual recovery in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Site-finds of everyday copper coinage from controlled excavations of a few major sites allow us to construct long statistical series which illustrate changing levels of monetization of the island's economy. Although these are technically the least ambiguous and by far the most precise systematic evidence that we have, from which to contruct long perspectives of economic change, they are by no means without their problems of interpretation. At the crucial times, there are significant differences between the towns and the countryside. Fourthly, the history of church architecture has a similarly long-term contribution to make, both as regards the number and size of the churches that were built, and from the eventual introduction of Constantinopolitan styles from the late eleventh century onwards. The dating of church architecture in the middle period, however, is difficult, and is always going to be so.

All the strands of specialist evidence point in broadly the same general direction, namely towards three contrasting periods, namely of high prosperity, followed by severe decline and impoverishment, followed by gradual recovery. This should occasion the Byzantinist no surprise. Similar patterns of decline and recovery are well evidenced in other parts of the Empire, notably in central Greece, where the major American excavations at Corinth and Athens have yielded long perspectives and a wealth of archaeological information. There, the proximate cause of the decline lay with the Avaro-Slavonic incursions; and the recovery at Corinth, in particular, based on long-distance east-west trade in the

6. *BLSC* pp. 71, 120.

Mediterranean, achieved momentum already in the ninth century, much earlier than in Cyprus. In western Asia Minor, the collapse came earlier still in the seventh century, with the Persian advance.[7] For the historian, the most intriguing comparison with the trends in Cyprus lies in the city of Antioch, where the money economy seems to have weathered the decline more successfully, through Umayyad and well into Abbasid times.[8] The growth of Baghdad into a megalopolis intercepted and soaked up much of the long-distance trade that had previously reached the Mediterranean. But at Antioch, too, there was a substantial delay after the Byzantine reconquest before prosperity returned.

1. The scale of the catastrophe

In order to grasp the historical importance of the perspectives, we need to be able to assess their scale. If, today, the economy of a province declined by ten or even five per cent, newspaper headlines would be proclaiming a crisis, and would automatically describe it in numerical terms. The numismatic evidence reveals very clearly that in Byzantine Cyprus in the decades around 700 the everyday use of coinage declined, not by ten per cent, not by a quarter or a half, but by a factor of at least ten. That would seem to be tantamount to a massive collapse of the monetary economy, on such a scale that virtually all of the economic specialization and trade that was facilitated by monetary exchanges was presumably compromised, and with it the economic hierarchy of places that underpinned urban functions, and made city life viable. Was Cyprus then reduced virtually to a non-monetary economy of local self-sufficiency and village life, which became the norm for several centuries? One should hesitate. The monetary changes may exaggerate the presumed collapse of an organized economy. But first, how reliable is the evidence?

It is well known among local collectors that copper coins of Heraclius and of Constans II are by far the most abundant of Byzantine stray finds in Cyprus. On the other hand, any coins minted later than 668 are scarce indeed. Coins of Justinian II, or of Tiberius III, are close to the collectors' hearts, simply because of their rarity: not one escapes their notice. For every hundred seventh-century copper coins that are found in the countryside, certainly fewer than one eighth-century coin is found. The experience of the most knowledgeable collectors (based largely on metal-

7. Metcalf, 2001.

8. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997.

detector activity) suggests a ratio of 300:1 or even 500:1.[9] This ratio, which applies to the Byzantine countryside rather than to the towns, poses acute questions for the general historian. It is fair comment that, although there are plenty of signs of a general decline, one would never have ventured to envisage such an extreme and sudden contrast, without the statistical evidence of stray losses of coins.

Caution suggests one or two ways in which the historical reality may have been somewhat less extreme than the figures for coin losses suggest. First, while it is certainly true that hardly any more copper coins reached Cyprus after the departure of Constans to the West in 662, the copious supplies already in the island doubtless continued in circulation for several more decades. A hoard concealed in 700 will therefore look very much the same as one concealed in 670: the latest coins in both will in all probability be the same, namely folles of Constans, because the coins of Justinian II and of Tiberius III are so few.[10] They will perhaps be more worn by 700, but their workmanship is in any case so abominable that it is difficult to distinguish wear from slovenly striking. (One could add that the countermarking of Constans' post-651 coins has traditionally been dated to the reign of Constantine IV. That is arguably incorrect, and one should not rely on it for the historical picture.) Secondly, and of far greater historical importance, it is very clear that the ratio was less extreme on urban sites than in the countryside, i.e. monetary circulation survived for rather longer in the towns. Controlled archaeological excavations offer scientifically secure information, because they register all the coins found on the site. (In fact, the impressions of experienced

9. I made comments similar to these in the course of a Bank of Cyprus lecture (Metcalf, 2003, pp.34, 35), where I spoke of a ratio of 100:1. After the lecture, two or three very experienced collectors were chatting among themselves, and saying that 100:1 was far too generous an estimate, and that 300:1 or even 500:1 would have been more realistic. The clear tendency of their remarks was that the lecturer did not know what he was talking about. A kind and eirenic friend, who is also a very experienced collector, while agreeing with them, came to the defence of the lecturer, saying that a hundred was meant to be understood as just a symbolic number. The printed version of the lecture was modified accordingly. This anecdote is told here because it establishes so effectively the quality of the evidence and the scale of the disparity.

10. This is not quite true, in so far as it would be possible for a hoard concealed in 700 to contain the odd coin from Justinian II's first reign. But if the statistical expectation is that there will be at most one such for every hundred coins of Constans, it would need to be a very large hoard before the absence of Justinian's coins attracted attention. Hoards of less than a couple of hundred coins will be inconclusive. (There are further issues, that need not be discussed here, such as whether the known coins of Justinian II reached Cyprus before the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis.)

collectors as regards particular sites where detectorists search are just as reliable concerning the statistical contrast.) Both sources confirm, in differing degrees, that the discrepancy between the seventh century and the eighth is very large, and that coinage ceased abruptly to arrive from Constantinople by the mid-660s. Subsequently there are some hints of new initiatives from Constantinople, small-scale monetary interventions from the centre, for example under Tiberius III or under Nicephorus I. These are precious evidence for the reigns in question, but they are on a tiny scale compared with what had been routine in the years up to 662. Money from the Constantinople mint hardly reappears thereafter until the eleventh century. But what sort of ratios do the site-finds provide? The Constantia excavations of 1964-1974 recovered some 567 coins of Heraclius and Constans, just one of Constantine IV, but then 45 coins from the eighth century (half of them Arabic). The ratio is a mere 12:1, and the numbers are large enough for us to say that they are statistically significant. This is different by a very wide margin from the experience of collectors, gleaning material from non-urban sites. We have to discover a reconciling way to believe both, and it is obvious enough what it should be: there was a significant contrast between monetary circulation in the towns and in the countryside, after about 700. Might Constantia, the capital, be a special case? At first glance, perhaps it might, for the corresponding figures from the Kourion excavations of 1932-53, as published, were 64 coins of Heraclius and Constans, and none to follow. That is, however, principally a defect in our information. In her preface to the volume Miss Cox writes, 'few Arabic coins were found, and none included in this catalogue'. One sees what can happen when numismatists do not listen attentively to their historian colleagues. Crucially, those few unpublished coins would probably bring Kourion quite closely into line with Constantia.[11] The later excavations at Kourion, of the episcopal basilica, produced an appropriate quota of Byzantine coins from 685 to *c.*720, and of Islamic coins of a similar date-range.[12] From Paphos, combining the finds from various excavations, there are some 108 coins of Heraclius and Constans, none of Constantine IV, and ten from the eighth century. Thereafter, there is nothing until the eleventh century. An adequately consistent statistical pattern is emerging. One can now better appreciate the importance of the testimony of the

11. To match Constantia statistically, one would be looking for five eighth-century coins, as a central estimate. Margins of variation mean that anything from two to eight or nine would qualify as no different from five.

12. See below, p. 156.

detectorists, described above. What they had to say was indubitably reliable for our purposes, but it was not the rounded picture. Specifically, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries (and perhaps only for fifty years or so) there developed a very sharp divergence between the levels of monetization in the towns and in the countryside. Even in the towns there was a tenfold decline or thereabouts; but in the villages the use of money virtually disappeared, and did not return for nearly 400 years. After a couple of generations, the towns followed suit.

If the disappearance of stray finds of copper coins offers the clearest possible testimony to the collapse of the monetary economy, with the added bonus of topographical detail, the statistics concerning lead seals are just as dramatic. Out of roughly 1,400 lead seals from Cyprus, some 1,200 or about 86 per cent belong to the period up to *c.*715 x 725, i.e. they give the owner's name in the genitive rather than the dative case.[13] It is appropriate to exclude from these totals, for comparative purposes, some 180 specimens which were found together and constituted an archive. They are all of the early period, as the archive was concealed, or abandoned, in *c.*690. For the period from *c.*725 to *c.*850 there are perhaps 140 lead seals found in Cyprus; from then until *c.*1050 the merest handful; and from *c.*1050 until 1191 only about 50 found in Cyprus. One should hesitate to make a direct comparison between the totals for 491-*c.*725 and *c.*1050-1191, because sealing practices may have changed, but the short-term contrast, between the seventh century and the eighth/early ninth centuries, should be substantially reliable. It shows the same sort of ratio (say, 1,020 to 140, or 7:1) as do the coins. The numbers will in principle reflect the ratio of the over-all numbers of sealed letters or communications sent to and fro within the province. The total (1,020) seems to be weighted towards a phase of intensive administrative and other activity after 649, and up to *c.*725.

Even more significant (and scientifically much more secure) than the raw numbers is the virtual disappearance of certain categories of owners. A substantial majority of the pre-725 lead seals bear only a personal name, with no office or dignity, and would seem therefore to have belonged to private individuals, essentially businessmen. After *c.*725 there are virtually no such private seals from Cyprus until the late eleventh or twelfth century, and even then they are extremely few. Once again we are confronted by an unambiguously large short-term statistical contrast

13. *BLSC*, p. 30, based on the main catalogue. The figures offered there need to be adjusted to take account of the material in the Addenda, pp. 530-2.

between the seventh and eighth centuries. It is difficult to put an exact figure on it, but it might be nearer to 50:1 than 10:1. How exactly we understand it is a matter for discussion, – and for a certain vagueness, because the private lead seals cannot yet be dated at all accurately within the period 491-*c*.725. But the statistics surely reflect a profound social change, namely the virtual disappearance of an urban social class: the sort of people who had business dealings that made use of sealed correspondence. Merchants, exporters and importers, entrepreneurs such as Philentolos downwards, their world fell apart in the aftermath of the Arab raids. Of the refugees who left Cyprus in mid-century, they will have made up more than their share. Many of them will have been city-dwellers, but it was not the decay of the cities as such that destroyed their life-style, more the unravelling of an intricate web of specialized businesses and commercial transactions. That unravelling was in itself quite enough to cause the collapse of the province's economy.[14] Capital formation, entrepreneurship, and control moved elsewhere, and with them went the rewards of business initiative.

More closely linked to the decline of the cities is another stark statistical contrast. Up until *c*.705 the lead seals of the bishops of (many of) the 14 or 15 dioceses are very plentiful, because the bishops were active in administrative matters in their respective cities and dioceses.[15] After *c*.725, or even perhaps after *c*.705, although the series of lead seals of the archbishops continues, those of the other bishops virtually disappear.[16] The statistics, before and after, are from 74 to four. The ratio is another unambiguous reflection of change – apparently, administrative change. Perhaps bishops, too, were impoverished, or were no longer involved in urban life in the same way, or perhaps they no longer were called upon to do the sort of work that required sealed documents.

The same perception of collapse, based on pottery studies, has been well expressed by John Hayes, writing primarily about Constantia but also about Cyprus in general. He comments that 'up to 650, classic fine

14. These lines were drafted before the banking collapse of September-October 2008, when such events were difficult to imagine.

15. The qualifying clause, 'many of' is added, because we cannot yet attribute many of the lead seals of bishops to particular dioceses, and therefore cannot say whether or not they are as a category mostly from just a few dioceses. As further provenanced specimens are added to the canon the situation will, one may hope, improve.

16. *BLSC*, pp. 96ff. explains the figures in more detail.

wares and well-known types of amphora are to be found everywhere . . . From about 650 these importations cease, and local products take their place. . . . ceramics dating from later than the ninth century remain unknown'. Local wares are difficult to recognize, and even more difficult to date. But family life would have been difficult without at least one cooking-pot. Impoverishment is the theme. Speaking about the period from *c.*700 to *c.*1050 Hayes goes on to ask, rhetorically, 'Where are the traces for the archaeologist? Where did people live? Did they live without possessions such as good-quality pottery? Did they live in flimsy houses, not made of stone, and which have left no trace?' He goes on to mention 'the hypothesis of a major decline in the population, of which one does not know all the causes: politics? wars? famine? epidemics? or a simple dispersion of the population across the countryside?'[17] These are the very questions that still need to be fleshed out, placed in their regional context, and generally clarified.

2. Imagining prosperity: the dilemma created by extreme contrast

There is a similar dilemma at both ends of the middle period. If the 'dark age' was not, after all, a complete economic desert (and various items of evidence hint that it was not), it would seem to follow that the levels of prosperity before the mid-seventh century and after the late tenth century were correspondingly all the greater. Interpreting the eighth-century evidence is, even just in principle, by no means straightforward. For example, the sources speak of the annual payment of taxes of 7,000 gold solidi each to the Empire and the Caliphate. If these sums were really collected as monetary payments,[18] then one would expect that there was an island-wide monetary economy, with both gold and copper coinage in use, without which cash taxation would plainly have been impossible. The sums were renegotiated more than once, which implies that, into the eighth century, there was an expectation of collecting them. And in 913-14 Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus writes to the Caliph, claiming that the treaty obligation to pay the tax has been met uninterruptedly until that date. From the wording of his letter it is difficult to suppose that Nicholas is speaking about payments in kind. So

17. Hayes, 1980, at p. 376.

18. For what (little) it is worth, the eleventh-century map of Cyprus in the *Book of Curiosities* (below) is annotated: When Junādah, a tribesman of the Banū Umayyah, conquered the island, the terms of his treaty with the inhabitants were that they pay 14,400 dinars, a third of which was paid in kind, a third in cash and the rest deferred. This happened during the reign [sic] of Mu'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan'.

we are faced with a technical problem of interpreting the find-evidence. Are the few coin finds recorded from the 'condominium' centuries (which hint at episodic inflows, rather than the smooth uniformity which Nicholas seems to imply) all the archaeological traces that we need expect, from a system still capable of yielding tax revenues of 14,000 solidi per annum? That is a question that should give archaeologists pause. At the earlier end of this perspective, one may well ask oneself what had been the character of the economy of Cyprus when it was at least twenty or thirty times more monetized than it later became. Perhaps we should recognize that coin losses may not, after all, translate into a straight-line graph measuring prosperity. Thus, one could imagine that the difference between local self-sufficiency, even in lamentable poverty, and a very comfortable village life-style might only be three or four times as many monetary transactions. If there was a twenty- or thirty-fold difference, most certainly the land could not have been twenty or thirty times more productive. Where the profits went in the sixth and seventh centuries is not the problem: no doubt there was an upper class, including the old senatorial families, who lived in style and affluence;[19] and quite a lot of money was spent on building basilicas and other public buildings; and no doubt imperial taxes had amounted to a good deal more than 14,000 solidi. But where did the profits come from? In broad terms, the answer seems to be that until the mid-seventh century Cyprus was integrated into an inter-regional trading economy covering much of the East Mediterranean world, and that the specialized production and the export of surpluses were economically very advantageous compared with self-sufficiency. The evidence for the importance of inter-regional trade comes from pottery studies, which demonstrate clearly the movement of goods, especially from the sherds of transport amphoras, in both directions. Field surveys (and excavations) show that sherds of foreign wares were plentiful in Cyprus, and conversely Cypriot wares were plentiful at sites elsewhere in the east Mediterranean provinces. Again there is a problem of scale: just as coins can only provide direct evidence about the monetized sector of the economy, and cannot measure the balance between the monetized and the non-monetized sectors, so pottery can tell us about foreign trade, but cannot readily measure the balance between that trade and local exchanges, conducted within Cyprus.

Sherds of pottery cannot be dated as precisely as coins or even as lead seals. The excavated sherds from a sealed deposit such as in the infill of

19. See the Appendix to this Chapter.

a cistern or a well may comprise an assemblage of pieces all of much the same date, but a scatter of sherds as observed by field-walking reflects the accumulation of a period, perhaps a prolonged period, not of a moment. The archaeologists' consensus is nevertheless fairly specific, namely that imported wares virtually cease to occur at a date somewhere in the decades up to 700.[20] Local coarse wares, which are excessively difficult or one might even say impossible to date precisely, may have continued into the eighth century: there is interesting evidence from the basilica at Kourion, and even more so from the basilica on the acropolis at Amathus. In earlier excavations, scholars may have failed (no blame to them) to recognize eighth-century pottery for what it was. The general pattern, of prosperity followed by decline, is nevertheless very clear in terms both of quality and quantity.

Whereas the massive inflows of Byzantine coinage consigned by the central government to Cyprus cease quite abruptly just before the end of the reign of Constans II (668), no doubt in connection with the emperor's departure to the West, with very little sign of resumption until the time of Tiberius III (and then on only a trifling scale), the lead seals of imperial officials and of churchmen continued to be used until *c.*750, and in smaller quantities for another generation or so after that. There is thus a chronological discrepancy or divergence of evidence amounting to as much as 70 or 80 years between the coins and the lead seals. It may not be quite as sharp a divergence as at first appears, because coins could remain in circulation for decades after they were issued (whereas lead seals were only used once). Also, a few coins, both Byzantine and Islamic, continued to reach the cities of Cyprus, e.g. through trade, during the first quarter of the eighth century. These are good evidence of a continuing monetary circulation, if not of imperial intervention. Thereafter, up until the second quarter of the eleventh century, one may be tempted to invoke special circumstances for any that are found. A silver miliaresion of Artavasdus, 742-3, for example may have been carried to Cyprus by a supporter of the usurper, fleeing from Constantinople. If that interpretation is correct, it carries with it a hint that monetary circulation in general was at a low ebb: in better times, the coin would have disappeared into a sea of currency, and the statistical chances of its surfacing in the archaeological record would have been minute.

20. One can see that a diminution in the loss-rate towards the end might make interpretation additionally difficult.

From early in the ninth century and throughout the tenth, pottery (fine wares), coinage, and lead seals alike are relatively extremely scarce. It seems clear that the promotion of Cyprus to the status of a theme in the time of Basil I (868-886) (if that is indeed what happened) did not result in an increased level of sealing of correspondence by a newly-arrived wave of imperial administrative officials. There was definitely no abrupt change. Nor did the new status bring money into Cyprus. Nor, so far as one can see, was pottery newly available. Exactly the same observations can be made about the reconquest of 965, although there must surely have been administrative activity to register and administer any confiscated lands. That is a reminder to us that an absence of evidence may not, in this case, amount to straightforward proof of zero activity. One does well, therefore, to buttress the statistical overview with as much corroborative detail as possible.

In the same way that detectorists are very clear about the sudden and massive decline in stray losses of coins from the 670s onwards, whereas urban archaeology tells a different story, it may be that there is an as yet unevidenced contrast between the finds from the northern coastlands of Cyprus, north of the Pentdaktylos range, and the rest of the island. That could be the case either in the earlier eighth century, or after 965, or at both these times. Indeed, there might have been limited commercial and monetary activity throughout the 'dark age' at two or three ports on the north coast, such as Kyrenia, Lapithos, and Soloi, which did not spill over into the surrounding villages (cf. the numerical contrast discussed above), and which could be discovered only by excavations on precisely the right sites within those cities, perhaps waterfront sites. One hopes that changed present-day political conditions will eventually allow the possibility to be explored.

3. The springs of renewal

Unlike the seventh/early eighth century decline, which was triggered by catastrophe, the material evidence suggests that the eleventh-century recovery was a gradual, piecemeal process from small beginnings. Its sources are correspondingly more difficult to trace. It is distinctly visible in Nicosia and to a lesser extent in Paphos from the 1040s, but the first faint hints of what was to come are there, if one looks attentively, already in the first quarter of the eleventh century. There is what appears to be a major conflict of evidence, in that Arab geographers writing in the last quarter of the tenth century (confirmed by similar evidence from the first quarter of the eleventh century) speak in circumstantial detail about commodities being produced in Cyprus in abundance, and about how

advantageous it was for Muslim merchants to trade there.[21] On the one hand we are given to understand that Paphos became a remarkable international market-place. On the other hand the coins recovered in archaeological excavations include absolutely none from the last quarter of the tenth century, not even from Paphos. How is the conflict to be resolved? With due care and caution, obviously, and perhaps with a willingness to reserve judgement. It is quite implausible that the merchants who visited Paphos did all their trade by barter. Perhaps money changed hands not in Kato Paphos, but in the upper settlement of Ktima (from where there is far less archaeological evidence), and for one reason or another (as in the north) the monetary exchanges did not spill over into the surrounding villages – or not in any way that we have yet been able to detect. With time, the situation changed. The monetary recovery gained momentum substantially in the 1060s and 1070s (well before the First Crusade), and by the time of Alexius I (1081-1118) there had been at least a twenty-fold growth in the rate of stray losses of copper coins compared with the low point of the tenth century.

The fabulous and once-only collection of lead seals formed by George Zacos from material found in Istanbul includes a small proportion of pieces from Cyprus. We have to remember that Cyprus was just one province among fifty or sixty, whose imperial officials were reporting back to Constantinople. It is difficult to detect that a lead seal in the Zacos collection is Cypriote unless the inscription includes the formula 'of Cyprus' – or unless the lead seal was found in Cyprus. Fortunately it seems that the principal officers of state routinely used the formula 'of Cyprus'. But could there be lead seals of middle-ranking officials found at Istanbul which had been dispatched from Cyprus, lurking unrecognized – and at present unrecognizable – in Zacos and Veglery's great catalogue (or similarly in that of the Orghidan collection[22])? The small beginnings of the monetary recovery, and also the early stages of the new administrative cadre, are (almost by definition) weakly represented in the evidence, and may go back a few

21. See below, pp.484f.

22. Cf. *BLSC*, pp. 8-9. In comparing the material from Cyprus and from Istanbul, one should remember that Cyprus was but a tiny part of the Byzantine Empire, and that officials from all the provinces were also reporting back to Constantinople. The chances of a lead seal from some other province turning up in Cyprus are not zero, but they are small. The discovery in Cyprus of a new variety of lead seal of an official who might be expected to report back to Constantinople should routinely prompt a check in Zacos and Veglery. But discretion is required in handling this argument.

decades behind the date at which it becomes possible to detect them. There is nothing to suggest that they originally arose from a response by the central government to e.g. the Seljuk threat.

During the reigns of John II (1118-43) and Manuel I (1143-80), Cyprus profited from substantial inflows of money from Constantinople, as the strategic significance of the island vis-à-vis the Crusader states was recognized by the central government. The evidence comes mainly from coin hoards, comprising precious-metal third-hyperpyra, concealed from the 1150s onwards. Whereas the few known coin hoards from the 'dark age' tend to be small, consisting typically of just two or three coins, or occasionally as many as eight or ten, these hoards of third-hyperpyra, comprising typically a hundred or so gold coins, suddenly represent sums of money many, many times greater. There is a hoard of nearly 800 billon trachea, and another, from the capital, which probably contained 10,000 trachea. But they seem not to be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the circulation of small change, at least as reflected by stray losses. This disparity suggests that the injection of subsidies into the provincial economy was not an integrated process.[23] That in turn is evidence which suggests that the market (in the economist's sense of the term) was not working properly: much aid given to the third world today is wasted. If one were to rely only on site-finds or on lead seals, it would appear that there was even a decline from a high point under Alexius I. The resilience of the Cypriot economy is apparent, however, from the vitality of the monetary system under Isaac Comnenus (1184-91). The hoards from his reign revert to being quite small and modest, e.g. twenty or thirty billon or copper coins; and he was in no position to strike large amounts of precious-metal coins. This up-and-down pattern encourages the view that the previous big hoards of third-hyperpyra reflect governmental spending. The widespread occurrence of stray losses of Isaac's coins, and the level of their occurrence in controlled excavations, e.g. at Saranda Kolones, Paphos or in the Palaion Demarcheion, Nicosia, nevertheless points to a continuing economic vitality – which, obviously, owed nothing whatever to the help of the government in Constantinople.

4. Quantified perspectives are unattainable.

To say that the history of Byzantine Cyprus falls into three parts, then, is no mere literary device, even if the eighth-century transition was not

23. A comparable phenomenon, of gold coinage unsupported by a corresponding copper currency, has been noted in the Dobrudja in the tenth/eleventh centuries, where Byzantine military and naval forces guarded the Danube frontier.

as abrupt as has been imagined, and even if the tenth century is not as barren as some of the strands of evidence make it appear. Statistical series of long duration, which give an impression of decline and recovery from various aspects, are as near as we can hope to come to the data which a historian of the modern period would automatically expect to be available, and would rely on for a framework. For the Byzantine centuries, quantifying the downturn and the recovery is more difficult altogether. Close inspection of the evidence makes one begin to doubt whether the trend-lines can be relied on in a simplistic way. We should be on firmer ground if we had statistics for the population of Cyprus decade by decade (surely a major variable); the proportion of the population aged under 15 (probably at what we think of as third-world levels, at those times when the province was recovering from the disasters that had fallen upon it); the number of inhabitants of the various cities; the number of slaves; the unequal distribution of wealth between the social classes; a break-down of occupational categories (stonemasons? shipbuilders? miners?), with a recognition that individuals often made a living by combining various occupations, seasonally or otherwise; and the value of exports and imports, and the commodities involved. The tables and lists would no doubt contain some surprises. They would, in particular, completely dominate our understanding of the eighth to tenth centuries, where the available clues are so contradictory and perplexing. We are, alas, nowhere remotely near being able to compile such statistics. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the decennial censuses show that the population of Cyprus was growing at a rate of 12 to 15 per cent per decade. Something similar was no doubt demographically possible in Byzantine times.

Accurate perspectives are not to be obtained. But the position is even worse than that. Whole areas of economic activity have disappeared from our scholarly radar screen virtually without trace. For example, shipbuilding, for which there is some interesting evidence in the Lusignan period, was so far as one can judge an important activity in the sixth and seventh centuries, but we know almost nothing about it. There are no perspectives to estimate. Many hundreds of ships, we may be sure, were sailing in and out of the ports and anchorages of Cyprus; and the majority of those ships, one suspects, were built and fitted out in Cyprus. For a family to own a ship was a big step towards prosperity;[24] at the same time,

24. For many a year I bought my groceries, in Nicosia, at a small local store where the goods were stacked on very basic, home-made shelves, and where the shop-keeper had holes in his jumper. Eventually one day he drew from beneath the counter and offered

shipping was a rewarding investment for the rich. It offered a good rate of return on their capital. Philentolos, a wealthy public benefactor, was a ship-owner. Behind that brief statement lies a complex, vanished industry: a market in timber; construction skills; the business ability to make profitable voyages. Where, on the coasts of Byzantine Cyprus, were ships built? Where were their sails woven? Which were their home ports?

The early medievalist has to be prepared to give due weight to scraps of oblique information. For example, the Arab reprisals in 653 are said to have been provoked by Cyprus providing ships for the imperial fleet.[25] If that is true, the strategic response, mentioned so laconically, can only have rested on an established ship-building industry. It gives us an unexpected glimpse, too, of the condition of Cyprus (probably northern Cyprus) in the short period between the two raids. Likewise the inhabitants of Aradus who settled in Cyprus in 650 were, one need not doubt, ship-builders or sailors to a man. Another example: in the tenth century, Ibn Hawqal mentions the production (and export) of linen in Cyprus: we may assume that it was used for ships' sails. But where exactly in Cyprus was the flax grown? – and retted, and woven?[26] (Or was it imported?) In attempting to interpret fragments such as these, it helps if one tries to imagine the systematic view within which, ideally, the information would be located. It belongs, perhaps, to a too materialistic view of history to say that the constraints and opportunities which shaped individual lives, century by century, arose out of the fundamentals of shared wealth and prosperity. Nevertheless, that is the best way to approach the study of Byzantine Cyprus, merely because of the severe limitations of the documentary evidence. Social attitudes and mentalities were sometimes out of date or unrealistic. Also, not everyone thought alike: in contrast with the provincialism of many were the wider interests and outlook of a few. The attitudes of the monks were not necessarily typical of the laity. For all these reasons, a description of Byzantine Cyprus is not best served by a single, continuous narrative. Nor can one expect to be all-seeing. An analysis of the changing fabric of society as the background against which to interpret political events is, eventually,

me a glossy brochure for some holiday apartments near Polis. (Subsequently his daughter, bursting with pride, made sure that I understood that 'the family of me' were the sole owners.) My wife and I had a very agreeable holiday there, but when we thought to return, a couple of years later, the family had been bought out by a consortium, which was busy putting serious money into upgrading the development.

25. See below, p. 411.

26. The flax-weavers (*linyphoi*) of Salamis are mentioned in A.D. 130: Kyrris, 1985, p. 148.

the compromise that keeps detailed observation and historical synthesis as close to each other as is practicable.

5. Summing-up the argument.

If one imagines a graph representing the prosperity of Cyprus during the Byzantine centuries, it will show a swift and dramatic fall in the decades around 700. Monetary circulation declined the most, by a factor of a hundred or more, but other kinds of evidence tell the same story. We have to envisage a 20- or 50-fold decline. The line of the graph rises again, more gradually, from the mid-eleventh century through to *c.*1125 – but not, it seems, by such a dramatic factor. Does that mean that Byzantine Cyprus never recovered the prosperity it had enjoyed in the first half of the seventh century? That is very probably so, but the implications may not be as extreme as the argument makes them seem. The low section on the line of the graph, from say 750 to 1050, may not in fact have been completely flat: there may have been an almost imperceptible improvement over those ten or twelve generations, with the cumulative result that the base-line for recovery was significantly better than the nadir.

APPENDIX

Conspicuous wealth in sixth- and seventh-century Cyprus. The Lambousa treasures, including the David plates

It was possible for a few individuals to accumulate great wealth in Cyprus in the sixth and seventh centuries; and certainly the one or two extreme cases that we happen to know about did not exist in isolation, without a back-up of a social class of more moderate, but still outstanding wealth. Much of this wealth, at any particular time, was probably old money, typically in the hands of senatorial families. Doubtless entrepreneurs could also grow rich through trade, without becoming socially notable, and without leaving any trace in the written record. But it was in the service of the Empire that most of the seriously wealthy families had found their opportunity to rise.

The case of Philentolos, son of Olympios, of Constantia is well known for extraneous reasons: his behaviour provoked theological controversy. Generous and pious, and extremely wealthy, he paid for a large hospital and poor house in the capital. Unfortunately he was also notorious for his impropriety. When he died (in the 630s?) a synod tried to decide whether he should be buried in honour because of his philanthropy, or not, because of his immorality.[1] The meeting being divided, a compromise was proposed by the anchorite, abba Kaïoumos,[2] who suggested that Philentolos' soul would go neither to paradise nor to hell, but would linger in a middle ground – analogous with the later Roman doctrine of limbo. Philentolos was a shipowner, merchant, and landowner. Doubtless there were other wealth-creators in Byzantine Cyprus, whose names are no more.

1. Given the need for prompt burial, one asks oneself whether the synod just happened to be in session when Philentolos died.

2. Kaïoumos is said to have been living in enclosure at Famagusta. See below, p. 556.

A spectacular treasure was found on the north coast of Cyprus near Lambousa (the modern village on the site of the Byzantine city of Lapithos), in February 1902. Another treasure, which had come to light some time before 1897, was thought also to be from Lambousa. The circumstances of the first discovery are shrouded in silence, and no strict verification of the find-spot is possible, but it may safely be assumed to be from Lambousa. Both these treasures, it seems, were found accidentally by quarrymen, in the vicinity of the acropolis of Byzantine Lapithos. The first treasure included what seems to be a censer, hexagonal in shape, with images of Christ and the saints, and with three lugs for suspension.[3] There is also a dish which may be a paten, another dish, and some 36 spoons.[4] All the treasure except for a dozen spoons, or thereabouts, ended up in the British Museum. If the censer is correctly identified, the whole can be understood as a church treasure – perhaps belonging to the Acheiropoietos church, near the alleged find-spot. The second treasure included the famous David plates,[5] which have been frequently discussed, and illustrated, and which yielded up their secrets to scholarship surprisingly slowly, over a period of decades. Their magnificence and outstanding aesthetic quality are matched by the interest of their iconography for the historian. That is a topic which continues to attract research, but what we are concerned with here is the Cypriot context. The same treasure also included numerous items of gold, of greater intrinsic value at the time, and of paramount historical interest now, in particular a girdle made up from large consular medallions and consular gold solidi, mostly of excessively rare types; and an Epiphany/baptismal medallion, which had been worked up into an encolpion. The workmanship of the mounts of the girdle and the encolpion is so similar as to show that they were both converted into jewellery by the same goldsmith – doubtless at the same date.[6] There was much else: gold necklaces, pearls, and sapphires.[7]

3. It is illustrated by A. and J. A. Stylianou, 1985, pp. 28-9, Figs. 6 and 7.

4. Dalton, 1900. A. and J. A. Stylianou mention only 24 spoons, overlooking the remainder. For a bibliography, see Hill, vol. 1, p.268, n.2 and (more recently) Entwistle, 2002, p. 226. I am indebted to Dr R. Merrillees, who read this section and offered constructive comments. Dr Merrillees has recently lectured on the Lambousa treasures to the Society of Antiquaries of London. See now *Antiq Jl* 89 (2009), 1-15.

5. Dalton, 1906.

6. Grierson, 1961.

7. Apart from the items already mentioned, there were two gold necklaces, each with a cross; a necklace with beads and pearls; a pair of gold bracelets; a pair of gold earrings with sapphires; and three pairs of earrings with pearls.

One may mention a comparable treasure which was found about one mile from Kyrenia in 1883. It consisted of two gold bracelets, two finger rings, and two pairs of gold ear-rings, one chased, the other set with amethysts and pearls. This treasure was acquired by the Cyprus Museum.[8]

There need now be no doubt that the David plates, decorated with scenes from the Old Testament story of King David, and with David slaying Goliath as the centrepiece, reflect imperial propaganda, referring to an incident in the Persian war, when in 627 Heraclius fought in single combat with the Persian general Ratzis, slew him, and cut off his head. The resonance of this event with the biblical story is striking enough, but Heraclius seems to have wished to press the comparison further, seeing himself as the new David – like David, divinely chosen to rule, even though not the son of his predecessor.[9]

Nine plates, of various sizes, make up a set, showing the anointing of David, the marriage of David with Michal, David trying on Saul's armour, David slaying a lion, etc. All the plates bear the same group of imperial control stamps, dated by Erica Dodd to 613 - 629/30. The manufacture of the plates can therefore be quite closely fixed at the end of the Persian war, in 628/30. The stamps, like modern hall-marks, were primarily a guarantee of the high quality of the silver alloy. They were applied in an office of the Comes sacrarum largitionum, by a group of five (named) officials.[10] The largest dish (49.4 cm) shows in three scenes David slaying Goliath and cutting off his head.

This sumptuous silverware can hardly be other than a personal gift from the emperor to a highly favoured official. The suggestion that it is in restitution of silver comandeered in 621[11] does not meet the case:

8. CMC 4891-97. See Myres, *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist* for March, 1898.

9. The David theme is referred back (with benefit of hindsight?) to Heraclius's mind in 626, at the siege of Constantinople. The anonymous writer who commemorates the victorious outcome quotes Isaiah 37:25 – '"Thus speaks the Lord our God: I will defend this city to save it for me and for my servant David". For our emperor is a new David . . . '. For a full discussion see now A. Cameron, 'Images of authority: élites and icons in late sixth-century Byzantium', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, (University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979), Birmingham, 1981, pp. 205-34, at p.221. See also Wander, 1973 and 1975, followed by Alexander, 1977.

10. Dodd, 1961, cat. nos. 58-66. The marks are, as usual, each of a different shape: round (Theocharistos), hexagonal (indistinct name),square (Komitas), rounded arch (Theodoros Scholasticus), and cruciform (Kosmas). The congruence of the marks shows that all nine plates were stamped at the same time.

11. Kyrris, p. 173, suggests that the 'David plates' were made on the emperor's instructions in order to be given as imperial compensation to some eminent, wealthy Cypriot citizen (of Lapethos-Lambousa) whose silver had been confiscated in 621. This does not go far enough. Although the plates are unique today, other similar sets may have been made.

nothing half so splendid was needed merely to redeem a debt. It has been pointed out that the owner was not necessarily a Cypriot; and he may merely have arrived at Lapithos, in flight from Syria. While this is undeniably a logical possibility, there is nothing positively to commend it, and the rest of the treasure, including for example five bronze jugs or ewers, would hardly be something that an immensely wealthy family would think to carry with them, from Syria, in an emergency. It would be more logical to think that their flight, or departure, was from Lapithos, leaving their treasure concealed there. Or they may have been slain, after hiding their treasure. In support of a local provenance there are, of course, the other treasures from near-by.

There is for example a separate set of three further plates, one large and two smaller, all beautifully decorated with an ivy leaf wreath.[12] They could be part of the second treasure, or they could be a quite separate cache. One at least has a probable Lapithos provenance. Their date of manufacture is a little earlier, as is shown by the imperial stamps or hall-marks (see below): the bust of Heraclius is of variety 5 rather than 6c, and the group of five officials is different.

The medallion showing, on one side, scenes from Christ's nativity and, on the other, the Baptism in Jordan doubtless dates from 6 January 584.[13] The birth of Maurice's son was the first birth of a porphyrogenitus for almost 200 years; and of the three major festivals on which baptisms were preferably performed, Epiphany was deemed the most suitable.[14] Although the medallion was unique at the time of its discovery, various comparanda showing scenes from the life of Christ have since come to light.[15]

The (second) treasure will have belonged to a family whose head (in the late sixth century) was of very high rank, to qualify for medallions of 6 solidi – no-one much lower than a provincial governor.[16] The very

12. Dodd, cat. nos. 37-9.

13. It is fully described by Ross, 1957.

14. Grierson, 1961.

15. They are reviewed and illustrated in Metlich, 2006. Metlich expresses the opinion, p. 111, that the precise dating of the Epiphany medallion can no longer be upheld, a conclusion with which the present writer does not concur.

16. The Byzantine system of precedence was pervasive and strictly hierarchical. One can gain some understanding of the sentiments which it evoked by thinking of the British system of honours, which was also court-centred and imperial in scope. There are elderly ladies in England today who remember their young married life in the India of the Raj, when they routinely consulted their own copy of the official book of precedence before every dinner party, in order to work out exactly the order in which their guests should be seated at table. The award of the C.M.G., K.C.M.G., and G.C.M.G. in the 21st century is no longer generally treated with the same deference as it once was ('Kindly call me God'), and appears almost like a lottery in comparison with the rigidities of the Byzantine system.

largest medallions, weighing a pound, would be given only to royalty: the Merovingian king Chilperic received such pieces from Tiberius II. The Byzantine system of precedence was pervasive and strictly hierarchical. The gold in the Kyrenia girdle alone weighed about a pound, at a time when that would have been about a quarter of an average governor's salary,[17] and the Epiphany medallion weighed 109 grammes (with its mounts). To immobilize so much bullion in display was, truly, conspicuous wealth. Whether the head of the family who received the David plates in *c.*630 was the same individual, or of the next generation, more or less depends on whether the solidi and medallions are from Maurice's first or second consulship (583 or 602), but in any case the date of the Epiphany medallion, of 12 solidi, is generally considered to be 584, commemorating the birth and baptism of Maurice's son and heir Theodosius.[18] Again, such a spectacular medallion would only be given to someone of very high social status. All in all, that almost certainly implies two if not three generations of recipients.

The date or dates of concealment and/or loss of the treasures have been the subject of varied conjecture, some of it clearly mistaken.[19] A number of the pieces, in both treasures, bore imperial stamps, from the reigns of Phocas, Heraclius, and Constans II. The Arab raids of 649 and 653 are the obvious first guess, when it is said that people were, at best, allowed to depart from Lapithos, at the price of leaving behind their gold and silver. The problem of dating is unusual because the second treasure, certainly, and apparently also the first, preserved in an unworn state objects that were decades old or even generations old when they were finally lost. Given that spread of dates, the actual concealment could in principle have been substantially later than the *terminus post quem*. The transfer of population in 691 may seem unnecessarily late, but it is not ruled out by the objects themselves. There were four extraneous gold solidi confiscated by the authorities in 1902, which scholars have been

17. Grierson, 1955.

18. The obverse shows a whole range of scenes from the nativity stories, while the reverse has the baptism of Jesus by John, accompanied by the legend, 'This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased'. Rather over the top for modern taste. The medallion was originally stated to be cast, not struck, but X-ray diffraction analysis later showed that it was, in fact struck (Ross, 1957, p.261).

19. e.g. Grierson, 1955, suggested 'perhaps 608/10, or during the Persian invasion of Syria'. Erica Cruikshank Dodd's subsequent systematic study of silver stamps, and the dating of the David plates (which were part of the same treasure) to 629/30 narrow the possibilities.

inclined to dismiss as unrelated finds. One was of Maurice, two of Constans, and the fourth 'probably of Constantine IV'.[20] The first three could (subject to their exact dating) have been lost in 649/50. The last coin, if correctly identified, will be later than 668, and is in any case unlikely to be pre-649/50. The four coins cannot now be identified among those in the Cyprus Museum: their evidence is, alas, something that has become lost.[21]

The key, therefore, is the Lambousa hoard of 1906, comprising 131 gold coins of Heraclius and Constans II, together with two gold crosses and a rosary. The find-spot was described as at [i.e. in the vicinity of?] the Acheiropoietos. Under an agreement previously made with the bishop of Kyrenia by Chamberlayne, 88 of the coins passed to the Cyprus Museum, and 43 to the see of Kyrenia. Dikigoropoulos in about 1959 saw some of the coins of the bishop's share, which were 'mostly of Heraclius and Constans'. It may very reasonably be assumed from that, that the hoard was concealed and lost in either 649 or 653; but it would be nice to know which. At the time of writing the hoard has been unaccountably mislaid[22] – although Dikigoropoulos states specifically that the *ancien fonds* of the Cyprus Museum contained more than 88 gold coins, doubtless including those from Lambousa. An examination of these coins should reveal whether any of Constans with bushy beard are present: they would be proof of a date of deposit after 651.

It has sometimes been suggested that the first and second Lambousa treasures were both parts of one discovery. That claim is irresponsible. A letter written by a Greek Cypriot who was involved in the sale of the Epiphany medallion makes clear that it was found in the same earthenware pot as the girdle, and the jewellery.[23] The details are all much too circumstantial for one to suppose that the major part of a treasure found in the 1890s had been in limbo for several years. It is true that the behaviour of the original finders was secretive and illegal,[24] in

20. Could this be a four-figure solidus from the 660s?

21. There seems to be no positive reason for asserting that the four coins were unrelated to the treasure, other than a reluctance to envisage a date later than the middle of the century.

22. The 88 coins which fell to the Cyprus Museum ought to be in the Strong Room, among the gold coins of the *ancien fonds*. Dr Ino Nicolaou was unaware of them, and it would seem that they have not been examined since the late 1950s. The best efforts of the staff in October 2008 failed to locate the hoard, although the Byzantine copper coins of the *ancien fonds* are present and in good order.

23. Ross, 1957 quotes the letter in full.

24. Dalton, 1900 and 1906.

smuggling the first treasure out of Cyprus, at that time. Items were sold to various buyers, probably by or through different Cypriots. The full story is unlikely ever to be known. When the second treasure was found, the villagers who made the discovery again evaded Cypriot law, negotiating with dealers in Paris. But word of the treasure somehow leaked out, and the police suddenly surrounded and then searched the houses of the suspects, and found part of the second treasure. The larger and more important part was smuggled out and reached Paris, where it was openly on sale. The law was powerless, because it could not be legally proved that the dealer knew that the treasure came from excavations; and he was neither a British nor a French subject. So formidable a price was demanded that as late as the winter of 1905 it was still without a purchaser.[25] Meanwhile the villagers brought an action against the government, declaring that the objects were not excavated at all, but were family heirlooms! The law being an ass, they were successful, but the verdict was overturned on appeal. The plate, in the first treasure, with a bust of a saint (St Sergius?) is dateable by its stamps to 641-51.[26] The chances are high that the evacuation of Lapithos was a single event, and that the St Sergius plate provides the *t.p.q.* for the second treasure also, and maybe the third, if the set of three plates is indeed a separate discovery.

If the David plates are spectacular, the gold marriage-belt or girdle is in some ways even more so, affording as it does clues to the consular rank, over at least two or three generations, of the family who owned it. Four handsome medallions of six solidi (each weighing *c.*26.5g), struck from the same pair of dies,[27] show the emperor Maurice in a quadriga, representing the *pompa circensis* of the consular games. Whether they date from his first or his second consulship (25-31 December 583 or 6 July-23 November 602) is something about which numismatists have been uncertain. Grierson changed his mind.[28]

The solidi comprise one of Theodosius II (402-50) showing the seated figure of Constantinopolis; three from the joint reign of Justin I with

25. The eventual American buyer is said to have paid 4,500 English pounds.

26. Dodd 78.

27. Grierson, 1955 judges that they are struck, not cast, as had previously been thought.

28. Grierson, 1955 favoured the same date for the medallions and the consular solidi, namely 602, when Maurice was making gestures in an attempt to counteract his unpopularity. In Grierson, 1961, p. 223, note 18 he recorded that he had changed his mind, to 584. Morrison, 1970 inclines towards December 583. Hahn, in *MIB*, 1981 argues December 583 for the medallions and (firmly) 602 for the solidi, on the evidence of legend variations.

Justinian (April-August 527), one from the joint reign of Justin II with Tiberius II (26 September-5 October 578),[29] and eight consular solidi of Maurice. The solidi of Justin and Justianian were issued in some quantities, evidently for propaganda reasons to emphasize the collegiality of uncle and nephew.[30] Even so, they were and are rarities, which had to all intents and purposes disappeared from circulation long before the reign of Maurice. It seems obvious that these three pieces had been treasured by the family, to whom they had been given in 527. There is, *prima facie*, a similar case to be made for the coin of Theodosius, but of course one cannot find any numismatic support for an argument based on just this one coin. As regards the solidus of Justin II with Tiberius II, and also the consular solidi of Maurice, it cannot be over-emphasized how excessively rare they are. Even if the owner had been a sharp-eyed coin-collector (which he certainly was not), he could not have hoped to pick these eight coins out from among the solidi that passed through his hands. The consular theme of the solidi suggests that they were imperial donatives, received directly from the emperor, and kept and treasured in the family, just like those of Justin and Justinian. Even that is not a sufficient explanation. The recipients (grandfather and grandson?) were almost certainly of very high rank, and had been so probably since 583. Grierson makes the point that consular coins of Tiberius II are conspicuously absent from the treasure, even though they are not excessively rare items in general. On that view, the owner of the treasure rose to very high (consular) rank only after Maurice's accession;[31] but it seems that the family was already notable in 527.

Putting two and two together, one imagines that the David plates were a gracious, not to say spectacular, expression of gratitude from Heraclius, to someone of old family and high rank, whose forbears had already received marks of imperial favour during the reign of Maurice and earlier,[32] and who had given Heraclius valued support during his revolt

29. There is a light-weight solidus from the same obverse die, with a legend ending ΘS, which Grierson, 1955 took to be Antiochene, citing some Syrian hoard evidence in support. J. P. C. Kent in *Num. Chron.* 1959, 238-9, argues forcefully that both coins are Constantinopolitan. Hahn, in *MIB*, concurs.

30. A. R. Bellinger, 'The gold of Justin I and Justinian I', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 12 (1966), 90-2. Much the most thorough and exact analysis of these coins will be found in *MIB*, vol. 1, p. 45. The three Lambousa specimens are illustrated in Grierson, 1955. Note that they are of different varieties from each other.

31. Grierson, 1961.

32. One had wondered whether Aspagourios, having established control of Cyprus, was appointed to high office there. A family history of distinguished service going back to 584 probably rules him out as the recipient of the Lambousa treasure.

against Phocas – and why not in Cyprus, in 608-10? One ventures to think, even, of the governor of Cyprus. If that is correct, he was presumably residing in Lapithos from *c.*650 onwards, having transferred his residence there after the devastation of Constantia, and the wrecking of his palace (l'Huilerie?) at the time of the first Arab raid.

An account of a raid in 653 (written much later, and by no means an eye-witness testimony), and referring to *Lapathos*, was originally taken to mean Lapithos. That opinion was later discredited in favour of Paphos – largely, so far as one can make out, under the influence of the Arabic inscriptions found there (but there is in fact no reason whatever to date them to the mid-seventh century).[33] Although the status of the written source is not high, one has to say that the archaeology adds considerably to its plausibility. Nor have all the finds been mentioned. During the Ottoman administration, a jewelled cross was found on the acropolis.[34] Lambousa is archaeologically far from typical among the cities of Cyprus: it is a 'high-status site'. One could imagine that it became the capital of Cyprus in 649/50, and that its defences were breached and it was sacked in 653 – but that hypothesis may have to yield to the evidence of the coin hoard if and when it turns up. Whatever the exact date, there is strong archaeological evidence that the city was destroyed by fire.[35] The repairing of its walls by an eparch who was a *lamprotatos*,[36] i.e. an *illustris*, the highest of the three grades of nobility, hints that it may have remained the capital, even after 653.

Jewellery and plate associated with the highest social status has always had, archaeologically, an extremely low survival rate. Yet it did not – socially it could not – exist in isolation. We have to assume that what is known to us is only the tip of the iceberg. Items such as those in the second Lambousa treasure were brought out to be displayed and worn at great formal banquets, helping to celebrate and reinforce the social hierarchy. One may imagine the dinner table. No doubt the invited guests also wore their best clothes and jewellery – gold necklaces, pearls, sapphires, gold bracelets, and so on. The David plates may have belonged to much the grandest family in Cyprus, but there were many other families with social pretensions, and not a few of them were living in Lapithos when it was sacked.

33. As the Arabic inscriptions are undated, and indeed were unread at the time, this was a rash conclusion. See p. 458.

34. Myres, 1940-5, p. 74.

35. See below, p. 396.

36. Myres, loc.cit.

CHAPTER II

THE REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY OF BYZANTINE CYPRUS

In the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth,[1] various regions of Cyprus were well known for their specialized production of particular crops or for craft-based industries such as pottery or the making of goats'-hair panniers. In Solea and Marathasa silk-worms were kept, while Tillyria was a poorer region where charcoal-burners worked, and young pigs were bred, which were sold far and wide through the island to be raised and fattened for Christmas. At Mesoyi, just north of Paphos, hempen rope was made, from cannabis. Regional specialization had as its corollary an inter-regional exchange economy. It was to the advantage of the individual producer to do what he or she was best at, or what the opportunities of the terrain allowed. Local self-sufficiency was far from being the order of the day. From the Byzantine centuries, hardly any evidence of economic regionalism has survived (statistical observation being equally an eighteenth-century invention). The underlying geology of the island, however, was exactly the same, as was its topography. The flora may have been somewhat different. For example, there is some reason to suppose that the upland forest of scrubby oak, the Cypriot *latya*, may have extended much farther to the east towards Lefkara than it does in modern times. There may have been secular climatic changes. In any case, annual rainfall varied very significantly with altitude, as it does today, and the possibilities of irrigation depended, then as now, on perennial springs and streams. We are entitled to assume that the regional geography of Byzantine Cyprus was much the same as it is today, and we may go a step further and say

1. This chapter follows closely and summarizes the exposition in Ionas, 2005, and has benefitted also from a reading of Haldon, 1997 and Guillou, 1998. See, more generally, Laiou, 2002, including C. Morrisson and J. P. Sodini, 'The sixth-century economy', where there are some remarks on Cyprus at pp. 191-3.

that it seems likely (although it is not demonstrable) that, by trial and error, people had arrived at the truths of classical economics, as applied to their own advantage.[2] This is the crucial *caveat* in judging the nature of regionalism in the Byzantine centuries from what we know, much more securely and specifically, from the modern period. Attempts have been made to interpret the evidence from Lusignan and Venetian times, for which there is at least some local documentation.[3] These ideas have sometimes been transferred back to the Byzantine centuries, in particular the so-called 'condominium centuries', as regards the migration of people to higher levels, as a response to insecurity in the coastlands. The claim remains debateable, the insecurity residing mainly in the factual framework, or lack of it.[4] Global warming, and cooling, may have produced secular changes in the climate of Cyprus. The later fourth century, for example, witnessed severe drought.

One can sketch a division of Cyprus into smaller natural regions, then, with reference to their productive potential. Superimposed on that geographical pattern were the cities of Byzantine Cyprus. In terms of regional economies the question which arises is how far the provisioning of a city influenced land use and prosperity in the nearby districts. Constantia, until 649, was a populous city. No doubt many people in the countryside around Limnia and in the Yerokolympos valley made their living by supplying it. But did the economic tentacles of the capital reach as far as Kythrea? When Paphos had been the capital of the province, the coastal lands northwards towards Khlorakas and Kisonerga may have had a similar role, which they continued to exercise through into the early eighth century. Were the economic needs of Paphos also felt eastwards, for example in the 'condominium centuries', by Yeroskipou and in the surrounding district? On the north coast Lapithos benefitted from the springs in the hills behind, which permitted intensive cultivation of the coastal strip. Amathus had its own hinterland. Smaller cities could manage, no doubt, without the support of so much specialized production. Many families lived by turning their hands to a variety of part-time employment. If, however, they lived by ship-building or in naval bases, as at Kyrenia and perhaps at other small places on the north

2. There is much relevant wisdom in I. Christodoulou, *Inside the Cyprus Miracle. The Labours of an Embattled Mini-Economy* (Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, 2), University of Minnesota, 1992.

3. Grivaud, 1998; Guillou, 1998.

4. See below, pp.474-8.

coast, there will have been a workforce who had little time or opportunity to grow their own food.

Journeys took longer then than now. Using the new trunk road one can drive from Nicosia to Paphos in a little more than two hours, or perhaps nearer to four if one pauses for lunch at Khirokitia. Throughout the Byzantine centuries the same journey, for even the swiftest traveller, took days. If the transport of bulky goods was involved, four or five days would probably be needed. In the 'treaty centuries' the journey from Lapithos or Kyrenia to Paphos was even more burdensome. There are anecdotes of travellers who got lost, and needed to be directed by local shepherds. An Arabic geographer remarks, 'Cyprus has a circuit of 12 days' march'.[5] Today, in the face of an unexpected coincidence, we sometimes remark, 'It's a small world'. In thinking about Byzantine Cyprus we need to put that truism into reverse, and to remind ourselves seriously that 'it was a larger world'. Our reflections on distribution-patterns of categories of lead seals, or of Islamic coins, for example, should take the practical consequences of distances into account. Local attributions of lead seals are to that extent more plausible. Likewise, we take it for granted today that our supermarket shelves are stocked with goods from many countries; but when a twelfth-century Arab geographer speaks of the bazaars of Paphos 'where one finds every sort of provisions, manufactured goods, and merchandise', it is no trite remark. What was true in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was doubtless even more so in the sixth and seventh. It seems that the roads and trackways of Byzantine Cyprus were, after all, busy with the transport of goods which an exchange economy entailed. Coastwise shipping and maritime trade were, of course, the cost-effective ways of moving heavy goods. That raises questions about the origins and growth of inland towns, in particular Nicosia.

1. The regions and their productive potential

Land use in Cyprus is, and has always been, constrained by soil type and by the underlying geology, by the steepness and aspect of the slopes, by location, but first and foremost by the availability of water – from rainfall, from the rivers and streams, if they are perennial, from springs, and from artesian wells tapping into the aquifers. In many districts, without the possibility of irrigation, dry farming although less productive is the only option. Thus a map of annual average rainfall goes far to explain the regional geography of the island.

5. M. J. de Goeje, 1889, p. 84.

Less than 400mm of annual rainfall means a dry region; more, and agriculture is possible. It is, however, always fragile in semi-arid regions, being vulnerable to a succession of dry years. Much of the Mesaoria receives on average only 200 to 400mm of rain. Below 300mm, modern cereals cannot be grown without irrigation. In western Cyprus, where the humidity is often greater because of on-shore breezes, it is only necessary to go 10 or 15km inland (or even less), towards the Troodos, to reach a zone with an average of 500mm of rainfall. This upland zone, where agriculture is less precarious (but also less rich), extends eastwards to within about 20km of Larnaca. Much of the Troodos consists, of course, of steep, forested slopes, culminating in snow-covered summits which may receive over 1,000mm of precipitation.

One may distinguish the following types of landscape:

1. The high forests of the Troodos, with Troodos pine, Aleppo pine, and some cedar. These forest lands were found fit for monastic solitude from the eleventh century onwards; were they previously exploited at all? The economic constraints on logging include the costs involved in dragging the tree-trunks down to where they are needed. For special purposes requiring long, straight timbers, e.g. ship-building, the costs may have been acceptable. The supplying of very long roof-beams for the repair of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in the ninth century is documented.[6] Likewise the wooden roofs of the early basilicas, especially the largest of them, will have demanded carefully selected timber.

2. The upland regions of Pitsillia, Solea, Marathasa, and Tillyria differed in their detailed topography from one valley to the next. A dissected terrain was the setting for varied and small-scale production, encouraging an exchange economy. Ionas provides interesting examples from the modern period,[7] but one should hesitate to transfer this level of detail back into the Byzantine period.

3. The extensive limestone plateaux surrounding the Troodos uplands on the north and west were suitable only for dry-farming and pastoralism, with vines at the higher levels.

4. The coastal plains of the south coast, where the soils were fertile *terra rossa* or red clay, were agriculturally productive. It was possible to cultivate grain, vegetables, and citrus fruit. In the Paphos district these

6. See below, pp.438-9.

7. Ionas, loc.cit.

regions are watered by the Ezousa, Xeropotamos, and Dhiarizos rivers, and further east by the Khapotami and by the Kouris river (which in post-Byzantine times supported sugar-cane production). If there was Muslim rural settlement in the 'treaty centuries' (a contested idea), this region is probably where one should look for it.[8]

5. The Pentadaktylos range and the Karpas. The steep northern slopes are inhospitable, but there is a narrow alluvial strip along the coast. In the 'condominium centuries', when this coastland was the Empire's stronghold in Cyprus, the limited productive potential of the region was its drawback. Only Lapithos escaped this handicap: strong perennial springs in the hills behind Karavas and Lambousa permitted intensive cultivation of their little delta. The southern slopes of the mountain range, although gentler, are bare land, fit for little but pasture. If Maronite settlers were given land here, it may have been because it was relatively empty. The exception is Kythrea, where an excellent permanent spring creates an oasis of fertility. In the seventh century its water was conveyed 25 miles by aqueduct to serve the capital, Constantia.

6. The extensive central plain, stretching through the island from Lefka and Morphou to the Merarka, is mainly a region of dry farming. The limited rainfall is supplemented by water from wells, which reach aquifers not far beneath the surface. The vicinity of Nicosia (Strovolos, Lakatamia) was favoured by perennial springs.

2. Field surveys.

If our awareness of specialized economic activity adapted to the potential of each region rests wholly on modern evidence, field walking and archaeological surveys yield information which is genuinely from the Byzantine age. As a method, such enquiries have severe limitations because the categories of evidence which survive and which are to be found (by trained eyes) lying on the surface of the ground are extremely few – mainly sherds of pottery. Reading the evidence consists essentially of an elaborate series of regional and micro-regional comparisons: here, there are so many sherds per hundred metre square; there, there are five times as many. Here, the sequence of pottery types dwindles in the mid-sixth century; there, it continues well into the seventh. A strict methodology is called for, if comparisons are to be valid. It has to be said that, in one sense, field surveys do indifferently what a proper

8. See the discussion of an imperial estate, which may have been in Arab control before 965, lying between the Khapotami river and the coast, below, pp. 546-9.

archaeological excavation does well. On the other hand, surveys cover a far more extensive area systematically, and create a picture of the Byzantine rubbish (*inter alia*) which accumulated in the open countryside. The main contribution of the surveys to our understanding of Byzantine Cyprus arises from comparisons between the coastlands, and the inland districts. The coastal cities were where wealth was concentrated: how far, one may wish to ask, was that wealth shared in the countryside. The availability in the villages of, for example, Red Slip table ware may give a clue.

Field surveys have grown more ambitious and more intensive since Catling's work in the Kormakitis area in 1972, and in the inland section of the Yialias valley, near Potamia, in 1982. The Kormakitis survey led to the conclusion that the area was densely occupied in the sixth and seventh centuries, but was abandoned in the eighth; some coastal sites were abandoned earlier.[9] Since 1982, a good spread of regions of Cyprus has been sampled, including inland districts such as that around Politiko (with its history of mining at Tamasos).[10] The Vasilikos valley has been surveyed, with the benefit of being able to relate the findings to the intensively excavated sites of Kalavasos.[11] Likewise the Akamas peninsula, for which the documentary evidence is sometimes problematic, has been usefully studied in connection with excavation at Ayios Konon.[12] The hinterlands of Palaipaphos and of Amathus have been explored, with the same potential benefit.[13] The mine at Skouriotissa is included in the area of the Troodos Survey (see Fig. 1). The method's potential for Cypriot studies was examined at a conference in 2000, at which the methodological problems inherent in survey work were faced up to squarely.[14]

The great strength of survey work derives from its systematic sampling of wide stretches of countryside. Its major contribution to our understanding of Byzantine Cyprus is epitomised in the plaintive cry, used as the title of an article by McClellan and Rautman, 'Where have all the farmers gone?'.[15] From the Cypriot countryside in the seventh to tenth centuries, the archaeologists have found nothing. This is negative evidence *par excellence*.

9. Quilici, 1989.

10. Knapp and Given, 1996; id., 2004.

11. McClellan, Rautman, and Todd, 1993.

12. Fejfer and Mathiesen, 1991.

13. Sørensen et al, 1987; Aupert, 1996.

14. M. Iacovou, 2004.

15. McClellan and Rautman, 1995.



Fig. 1. Field walking and archaeological survey areas. 1. Kormakiti peninsula - Lapithos. 2. North-eastern Mesaoria and western Karpas. 3. Yialias valley. 4. Politiko and Mitsero area, Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP). 5. Vasilikos valley. 6. Amathus hinterland. 7. Kouklia: Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project (CPSP). 8. Akamas peninsula - Ayios Konon. 9. Troodos: Solea valley, Skouriotissa, Morphou Bay (TAESP). (After Papacostas, 1999.)

3. Village fairs

A hundred years ago many a village still had its paneyiris or fair, which took place outside the local church, on the day of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. As well as these small fairs, bigger ones took place at distant monasteries or churches, which might last for three or four days. At the bigger fairs, the sale of local produce and craftsmanship was supplemented by the sale of animals. Each villager went to the fair with his family, first as a religious observance, and secondly to buy a piglet, cow, or donkey, or a wooden bowl for mixing flour, or cooking utensils, cloth, shirts, grain, fruit, etc. for his family's needs. There followed a traditional feast of roast meat with wine, accompanied by songs, dance, and enjoyment.[16] As with the regional economies mentioned

16. L. and H. A. Mangolian, *The Island of Cyprus. An Illustrated Guide and Handbook*, Nicosia, 1947, p.136; R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society, and Politics in Cyprus During the Seecond Half of the Nineteenth century* (Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, 24), Nicosia, 1996, p.131 referring to official correspondence.

above, one cannot fully demonstrate that the picture was the same during the Byzantine centuries as it was just a hundred years ago, although one may suspect that village customs showed many similarities. Paneyireis certainly existed already in the seventh century, as we see from the anecdote about the reading of the Life of St Spyridon at Tremythous,[17] and again in the ninth century in the Life of St Constantine the Jew when, during the paneyiris, the bishop censed the singing relics in their cave.[18] And from the 770s or 780s we have the story of a man from Kition who, after decorating the church for the paneyiris (of the Holy Mother of God) on the 15th August,[19] was seized by excruciating pain, 'and he remained for two days of the festival lying down and suffering torture'.[20]

Machairas gives a list of relics of the saints in village churches, and for some of them he adds the date of the paneyiris. (Which came first, the relic or the dedication? – The question deserves detailed consideration.)

Successive editions of the *Handbook of Cyprus* published a list (originally compiled by C. D. Cobham) of some 250 fairs plus an unspecified number held near churches dedicated to St George. Thus, by no means every village had a fair. One could map the fairs, but detailed analysis would perhaps be superfluous, because the volume of goods traded will have varied in ways about which we have no information – and in any case the analysis could refer only to the nineteenth century. One sees from the list that some places have more than one fair annually; and there are far more fairs in August and September (after the harvest?) than in the winter. It is encouraging to see from Cobham's list that Kiti was among the places which had a paneyiris on 15 August (the Panayia, or feast of the Assumption) – after more than a thousand years.

One presumes that most of those attending the fairs will have travelled at most a few miles. Thus, the very basic exchange economy practised by the villagers was not really governed by complementary regional economies – except as regards the buying and selling of animals. The operation of the market (in the economist's sense of the word) was restricted by the costs of travel. For the ordinary villagers, it merely mitigated self-sufficiency. That perspective serves to underline the economic advantage enjoyed by the ports of Cyprus.

17. See pp.307f.

18. See p.319.

19. The date is specified by the archbishop, as recorded in the acts of the Council.

20. See pp.444f.

PART 1. STRANDS OF EVIDENCE

CHAPTER III

EVOLVING HIERARCHIES OF PROVINCIAL GOVERMENT: THE SIGILLOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

We know about some 1,400 lead seals from Cyprus,[1] of more than 900 different varieties, spanning the years from 491 to 1191. These are a tiny sample of those that were used and discarded in the island. They are nevertheless a major resource for the history of the Byzantine province, informing us in detail about the administrative structures of government and about how these changed century by century. It would be difficult to exaggerate their value to the historian, and it is growing all the time as further discoveries are added to the corpus, and as the chronology is clarified. Coinage has almost nothing to say about provincial administration; pottery certainly has nothing to say; architectural remains have nothing to say (except perhaps about patronage). Written documents occasionally name an official and tell us something about what he was doing in Cyprus, but apart from archbishops it is only occasionally that we are able to marry together a written record and a lead seal of the same individual. These written records are in practice so few and so scattered that one cannot securely reconstruct from them even the basic framework of the civil administration. Historically the most obviously precious among the finds, therefore, are the lead seals which inform us about the names, ranks, and offices of a great many civil administrative officials and military commanders, whose existence would otherwise be completely undocumented. Their lead seals are many times more plentiful than the documentary mentions. For that reason alone they would provide more secure perspectives. And, of course, this information is reliable: the owner

1. Leaving aside more than a hundred modern forgeries.

of a lead seal knew perfectly well what office and dignity he held, without possibility of confusion or literary affectation. To have made false claims to rank or office on one's lead seal would have been most imprudent, – risking being relieved of one's duties. Alongside the lead seals of officials and of notables, there are others of the bishops and of the metropolitans of Cyprus, and occasionally also lead seals of deacons. Again, these complement the written records in which bishops are mentioned. The lead seals are strictly contemporary evidence and – unlike some contemporary chroniclers, and even perhaps some modern historians – they have no axe to grind.

Within living memory, the many categories of public official in Cyprus had each their distinctive dress uniform (including even museum curators, whose uniform bore a certain superficial resemblance to that of tax officials). The prevailing social informality of today makes it quite difficult for us to enter imaginatively into the stiff and hierarchical mind-set of Byzantine administration.[2] The context of lead seals is a strict and even narrow-minded accountability, not only before the law but also in private life, as part of the social contract. Unfortunately most of those who used lead seals, whether they were important officials – naval commanders, tax-collectors, bishops, etc. – or whether they were simply private people, remain nothing more than a name to us. If we also had the letters or documents to which the lead seals were originally attatched, how incomparably richer our information would be! Alas, the documents have perished. All that we can do towards remedying the defect, and it is little enough, is to take account of the destination of the document, as indicated by its find-spot. That is because the ownership of the lead seal or, to speak more exactly, of the boulloterion with which it was impressed, is only half the story: the range of persons with whom the owner corresponded is the other half.[3] The great majority of the lead seals in our sample were dispatched to destinations in Cyprus, almost certainly from places also in Cyprus. Bishops sent sealed correspondence within their own dioceses, but also further afield – keeping in touch, perhaps, with their brother bishops. Some Cypriot seals have come to light in Istanbul, and a very few are from elsewhere, e.g. Syria.

1. General principles of interpretation

Although 1,400 lead seals may seem a usefully large body of evidence – and indeed it is, compared with, say, fewer than one hundred from Crete

2. British readers will draw parallels with imperial attitudes in India –the Raj. Indeed, some of those attitudes found their way to Cyprus in the colonial period.

3. Metcalf, 2003, pp. 393-401.

– they are only a minute surviving proportion of all the lead seals that were affixed to documents during the Byzantine centuries. If one looks at a lead seal in the same way that one looks at a medal, the mere fact that a named individual held a certain office or a certain bishopric at an approximately known date is historical information of a kind. But if we are to create wider historical ideas from the lead seals, it is essential to be able to treat them numerically as a random sample of what once existed,[4] and to construct from them a statistical series stretching through the centuries. Otherwise we risk introducing numerical distortions into our assessment of the frequency with which different categories of lead seals are found, e.g. the total numbers of those of bishops, compared with, say, the numbers of those for illoustrioi or stratelatai. Establishing perspectives on the randomness of the sample is therefore a vital preliminary step in their historical interpretation. Our lead seals from Cyprus include a certain number of duplicates (either of the same design or, even, struck from the same boulloterion). Statistical estimation based on the amount of duplication in the sample suggests that future discoveries still have the potential to double or treble the number of different varieties (currently a little over 900) known to us from the province. Finds are being published year by year; the additions that can be made since the writer's catalogue, *Byantine Lead Seals from Cyprus (BLSC)*, went to press are already sufficiently important to merit some after-thoughts on their historical interpretation, in an appendix to this chapter. One is optimistic that in time, and with good-will on the part of their owners, some hundreds more lead seals from Cyprus will be placed in the public domain, and we shall eventually reach if not completeness, a sufficiently complete list to be of great historical value.[5]

For each successive period within the Byzantine centuries we can in principle count up the number of surviving lead seals from Cyprus for each office of church or state. Having done that, attention will focus, in the first instance, on those offices which contribute the greatest number of seals. They will be seen as the offices which characterize the period in question. Any substantial change, over time, in the ranking order or in the

4. One can test the randomness or otherwise of the Cyprus Museum collection by comparing it with more recent finds in private collections. This is discussed at length in Metcalf, 2004, pp. 21-5, 29-31, and 39-50.

5. The lead seals take the study of Byzantine Cyprus to a greater level of detail. In English history the term 'namierization' refers to the early-modern researches of Sir Lewis Namier, who reconstructed the careers and connections of all the members of parliament, with valuable results.

proportions of the most plentiful offices will attract the historian's interest. In this exercise, the necessity of a random sample is again obvious. At the other end of the scale, there is less that the general historian can safely deduce, because offices represented in the sample in just ones or twos could be atypical or could be occurring accidentally.

Many of the lead seals from the sixth and seventh centuries bear only a personal name,[6] and are assumed to have belonged to private individuals, or conceivably to officials acting in a private capacity (although this is a superfluous hypothesis). Many more bear two monograms, one of which is a personal name, while the other, which cannot be elucidated with any certainty, might perhaps be the title of an office.

Of particular historical interest are moments or short periods of change when one dominant category of lead seal in replaced by another. It is on such changes that we should rely, in the first instance, because even an assemblage of seals which is perfectly random in respect of what turns up may nevertheless be biassed in its composition in ways that are not clear to us. For example, the lead seals of certain categories of officials might have survived more freely or in greater quantities at particular short periods. If we focus on broad changes in the composition of the assemblage, we should succeed in discounting or minimizing any technical distortions. Putting as close a date as possible on the transitions is important, if they are to be related to the general history of the Byzantine Empire, and of Cyprus in particular.

That said, the 1,400 available lead seals, if properly handled, constitute for historical purposes a good sample of what turns up. The considerable number of lead seals discovered since 1974 are, more exactly, a very good sample of what turns up in the south of the island. Only one group of lead seals has been published since 1974 from the occupied north, namely from Constantia. Fortunately, we have the Greenwood gift of 80 lead seals from Lambousa and Kyrenia.

The secular lead seals, even of high-ranking officials like archons or consuls, can very rarely be connected with individuals who are known to us from the written sources. The lead seals of the archbishops of Cyprus are, all the more for that reason, an important anchor-point for the sigillographer because they supply a number of fixed and certain dates, in a category of evidence where exact dating is hard to acquire. Bishops' lead seals have the same merit in principle, but in practice their contribution to

6. This is discussed in Chapter I, at p. 39.

the chronology is severely limited, both because our lists of bishops and their dates are extremely patchy, and also because most of the bishops' lead seals merely say 'N., bishop', without naming his see.

A cache or archive of lead seals is also a major resource, in so far as it puts the same date (to within a decade or so?) on the bulk of an assemblage of varieties, some of which might otherwise be difficult to assign even to their correct century, with certainty. In the standard works of reference,[7] great numbers of varieties are dated 'VI/VII century'. That has the substantial merit of being scrupulously honest, but it deprives the lead seals of much of their interest for the historian of Cyprus, because it is so vague that it leaves open the question whether individual varieties are from before or after the Arab raids. We are very fortunate to know, indirectly, of such an archive of at least 150 lead seals, comprising multiple examples from a dozen or more varieties. By further good fortune we are able to date it unambiguously by the lead seals of Archbishop Epiphanios II (*c*.680 onwards) which it includes.[8] His monogram is distinctive, and there is of course absolutely no room for doubt as to which Epiphanios is in question: the saint is much too early, and Epiphanios III is much too late. The other varieties in the same archive will similarly belong to the last quarter of the seventh century or thereabouts. One plentiful variety belongs to another archbishop, perhaps Epiphanius's predecessor. The archive (of which the exact find-spot within Cyprus and hence the ownership[9] is unfortunately shrouded in secrecy) was, to judge by its date, quite probably abandoned when the archbishop and his flock were transplanted to Nea Ioustinianoupolis in 690/1. That does not necessarily imply that the archive belonged to the archbishop. It included numerous specimens of the lead seals of two individual illoustrioi,[10] one of them being from Constantia (as it uses the same image of St Epiphanius as the archbishop's seals). Scholars might otherwise have been inclined to date it a good deal earlier.

Important as this archive is, it is alas far from being a typical discovery. There is a much smaller archive from the Campanopetra basilica at Constantia, which at least has the merit that its excavation is properly documented. At the eastern corner of the atrium, two new rooms were built, outside the curtain wall. Eleven lead seals were excavated there, which the excavators judged to be of the sixth/seventh centuries. One

7. e.g. Zacos and Veglery, or *DOC*.

8. *BLSC* 423 (22 specimens).

9. There is the merest suspicion that it may have been the archive of someone in Lapithos.

10. Petros (*BLSC* 190) and Stephanos (*BLSC* 192).

would guess that this archive was from after the Arab raids, and that it belonged to the church. Frustratingly, this potentially precious material disappeared without record in the events of 1974. On the north side of the atrium, another two rooms were similarly added; two lead seals and two coins of Constans II were found in them. One of the coins was minted in 655-7, and could have remained in circulation up to the end of the seventh century.[11]

Normally, lead seals are found singly. In urban excavations they have been recovered from building complexes, characteristically scattered here and there in the various rooms of a building. It seems improbable that they were dropped there while the building was in occupation, but in any case, when discarded they were presumably thought to be worthless – like the envelope of a letter today. Their find-spots may be assumed (as mentioned above), with reasonable circumspection, to be geographically close to the destination of the document to which they were attached. That might mean within a mile or so,[12] which is quite close enough to be of practical use. This question arises in connection with detectorists' finds. The finder may have reasons for not wishing to disclose the find-spot to the nearest ten metres; or he may merely not appreciate its potential interest for the history of Cyprus. A distribution-map of lead seals of, let us say, the archbishop will give us some idea of the cities or regions within Cyprus towards which his correspondence was mostly directed. And similarly, the regional distribution of lead seals of bishops or of illoustrioi should serve in the first instance to attribute them to their city of origin. For purposes such as these, a find-spot to within a mile is very acceptable (although one never knows what of interest may emerge from a more exact record). Then one can consider to what extent the bishops' correspondence was mostly within the territory of their respective cities. The wary historian may think, in light of what has been said above, that the arguments proceed first in one direction, and then in reverse, but it should be clear on reflection that in this case it is quite legitimate. Comparisons of different distribution-patterns will be the safest way to proceed, since the differences should discount some of the uncertainties.

Distribution-maps showing the island-wide diffusion of particular varieties of lead seal, then, are one potentially valuable *instrument de travail.* The same data can be handled also in another way. Where a site, such as

11. See p. 371.

12. Lead seals discarded among domestic rubbish might, for example, have been carted away to be spread as manure on fields at some distance.

Amathus, or Lambousa (Byzantine Lapithos), or Khlorakas (near Paphos) has yielded, over the years, a considerable number of lead seals, the assemblage from one place can usefully be profiled, and compared with that from another. If the numbers are substantial the profiles, and comparisons between them, can give a statistically adequate idea of regional variation in the character of stray losses.

Just as successive geological strata are characterized by the fossils they contain, one dominant species or group of species eventually giving way to another,[13] so it seems to be with the lead seals. Illoustrioi, having been thick on the ground up until the 680s, soon thereafter disappear rather abruptly from the record, to be replaced for a while by honorary eparchs as a dominant category. In the first quarter of the eighth century consuls and dioiketai (in charge of tax assessment) make their appearance, as do droungarioi (naval commanders) and various kinds of spatharioi. Lead seals of the officials who were at the head of the administration of the province, with the title 'archon of Cyprus', persist from the mid- or late-eighth century through the ninth and again in the tenth centuries, but they too eventually fall out of the record. (Cyprus and Crete seem to have been governed similarly in this respect. But the characteristic office of archons of Crete was cut short by the Arab conquest from the 820s onwards.)

In the last third of the eleventh century and the first part of the twelfth, the lead seals show us that the government of the island was shared between a 'judge of Cyprus' and a 'katepano of Cyprus', the coexistence of these two principals reflecting the separation of civil and military powers. The numbers of lead seals from this late period are far, far fewer than in the seventh century. Fortunately their administrative significance is clear, and as the family names of the holders of these high offices are included in the legends of their lead seals, we can see that they were often members of powerful and distinguished families from elsewhere in the Empire, career administrators in the imperial service, who may have carried out a tour of duty in Cyprus, before or after serving in other provinces, or at court. Thus from the latter part of the eleventh century (if not indeed from as early as 965), the island was governed in a colonialist fashion, the emperor keeping a degree of direct control over it by making the senior appointments. The

13. This important scientific insight was the achievement of William Smith in 1795. (S. Winchester, *The Map that Changed the World. The Tale of William Smith and the Birth of a Science*, London, 2001, pp. 121-5. With lead seals, as with fossils, there are of course some very long-lived categories. Spatharioi, for example, are attested from an early date.

situation was almost certainly quite different from what it had been in the sixth and seventh centuries. In that earlier period individuals rarely employed family names (more's the pity, the sigillographer may say), but of course that does not mean that they were not from families of standing and influence. Even though we are deprived of information about their connections, we may be confident that lead seals of officials in the imperial service doing a tour of duty in Cyprus were relatively few in the sixth and seventh centuries, except perhaps for the governors, compared with those of the local ruling class.

Finally, the aristocratic or nepotistic style of governance by the Comnenian 'clan' has left only a very light footprint: hardly any lead seals (found in Istanbul) are recognizably from twelfth-century Cyprus.

The reliability of these general conclusions depends at all points upon having a sufficiently large sample to allow us to identify not only the dominant categories of lead seals but also any subsidiary varieties which show signs of turning up regularly. It also depends upon our being able to date the lead seals sufficiently closely for the discrete or successive character of the groups to be established. Provided that these conditions are met historians should be able to rely upon the main perspectives created by the sigillographic data – which greatly enrich, or even control, our understanding of the administrative history of the province.

2. The sixth and seventh centuries

One might have imagined that there would be a drastic decline in the volume of sealing activity in Cyprus in the decades following the Arab raids of 649-53, and also a hiatus during the years when the archbishop and some of the Cypriots were in Nea Ioustinianoupolis (691-*c.*705), – and perhaps especially a cessation of sealing activity by the absent archbishop, if not also by officials and notables involved in the governance of the island. Of the few hundred individuals (at any one time) who had regularly sealed their documents in the years up to *c.*650 some had been killed, some had been transplanted, others had been led away into slavery, others had fled. Those who remained were no longer well-to-do, and their social preeminence was no longer protected by the majesty of the law, nor by custom. As well as the population transplanted to the Hellespont, another part of the (surviving) population was taken prisoner to Syria, by the Arabs. It seems that they too were repatriated in *c.*705-6. Whether they recovered their property in Cyprus is an open question. Doubtless their hard experience left them poorer. During this period Cyprus, although by no means totally depopulated, had certainly lost much of its upper and middle classes, and will surely have suffered severe administrative dislocation. It

was in effect a disaster area, in which staying alive was the best that many individuals could hope for, and in which normal government will almost certainly have been suspended, except perhaps in the northern coastlands. One might imagine, therefore, that sealing would have been in marked decline. Surprisingly, in the second half of the seventh century and the first quarter of the eighth, the exact opposite is true. It would seem that efforts towards reconstruction generated intensified administrative activity, which is reflected in a dramatic rise in the loss-rate of lead seals.

Even so, the 690s mark a convenient break (partly because of the existence of the large archive from *c.*690). The first main period into which the sigillographic evidence from Cyprus falls will be up to that date: for convenience, we shall speak about the two hundred years from 491 to 691. Most of the lead seals which use the genitive case – and that is to say, most of the lead seals found in Cyprus – will belong to the sixth or the seventh century, while a minority, still using the genitive case, run through from 691 to *c.*710 x 725.

Well over two hundred of these lead seals using the genitive case (excluding the material in the archive) name an office or dignity. These are, to the best of our belief, stray losses (and therefore a good random sample), nearly all found in Cyprus.[14] In ranking order the two most plentiful offices/dignities which dominate the list, by a long way, are bishops, and illoustrioi. Out of 200 plus, there are more than 70 lead seals of bishops in our sample, and almost 50 of illoustrioi (excluding specimens in the archive). These are followed, in ranking order, by 40 lead seals of stratelatai, and 20 of metropolitans. If we add together the total for the metropolitans and their suffragan bishops (since the archbishop was also a diocesan), the prominence of the episcopate in the governance of the province, or at least in those aspects of governance that called for sealed documents, is quite dramatic. Like their counterparts in certain other provinces of the Empire,[15] bishops evidently had a leading role in furthering justice and welfare in their cities. Although they were normally appointed from among monks, they will often have been men of social and family background. The same was more obviously true of illoustrioi. Illoustrios was the senatorial dignity: those so honoured were doubtless notables, belonging to old-established families, and – again – playing a leading role in the governance of their cities. Note that their lead seals name their dignity, but no specific office.

14. A small proportion are from Istanbul.

15. Particularly, Browning has suggested, Dalmatia.

The governors of Cyprus, meanwhile, are represented by very few lead seals – few, certainly, found in Cyprus. The governor held the rank of consularis (exconsul) or hypatikos (apo hypaton). We know of just one lead seal of an official who is 'vestitor and consularis *of Cyprus*'.[16] At a guess it is from the sixth century. Possibly rather later is a seal variety which reads '*Genethlios / exconsul et patricius*' (note the order, office followed by rank).[17] It presumably belonged to another governor, and could perhaps be Heraclian in date (as it exists in several specimens). There are rather more specimens with the dignity apo hypaton. Some of them use the genitive case,[18] and will belong to the later seventh or early eighth century, while others, not dissimilar in style, are invocative, and will be from the second quarter of the eighth century or thereabouts.[19] Although none of these adds 'of Cyprus', honorary consul was still quite a high rank, and one wonders whether these similarly could be the lead seals of governors. The omission of 'of Cyprus' means that comparable specimens found in Istanbul may not be recognizable as Cypriot, unless they happen to be duplicates from the same boulloterion as one from Cyprus.

Kyrris suggests that consulares governed Cyprus (as an unarmed province) until 649.[20] Whether he judged that they were replaced soon after the Arab raids by archons is not altogether clear. If that was his opinion, it was presumably based partly on the acceptance as genuine of a particular lead seal variety in the Cyprus Museum collection which is very probably a modern forgery of an archon's lead seal. (Is it, however, a complete fabrication, or was there a genuine prototype?) What is certain is that the lead seals with the rank of apo hypaton reflect a post-650 phase. Kyrris is inclined to attribute to the time of Tiberius III the administrative reforms which gave military control of Cyprus to the commanders of the Kibyrrhaiote theme.[21] (This would be a subtle breach of Cyprus's treaty status of neutrality.) In any case the administrative history offers an extra reason to question the authenticity of the only allegedly pre-725 lead seal of an archon of Cyprus.[22]

16. *BLSC* 140, possibly from the sixth century.

17. *BLSC* 20, with discussion of the etymology and of the curious case-ending in *-um*.

18. *BLSC* 165, Sergios, 166, Theodoros, 164, Manuel (indeclinable?), and maybe some others with monograms.

19. Especially *BLSC* 163, Ioannes, known from seven specimens, including two from Lambousa and Lythrankomi respectively.

20. *History*, p.161.

21. ibid., p. 178.

22. Namely *BLSC* 111.

In sharpest contrast with the abundance of the lead seals of bishops and illoustrioi, lead seals of palatine officials, or of persons sent out by the central government to play a part in running Cyprus (let alone imperial lead seals), are extremely few.

Statistically it is clear enough that the finds of lead seals are by no means distributed evenly through the sixth and seventh centuries. There is a small cluster of distinctive lead seals from the reign of Heraclius, totalling a mere dozen (plus three imperial lead seals). It seems that they are distinctive because they are of palatine officials, and not simply because they are characteristic of their date of issue. The discussion of they is deferred for a few paragraphs. Subsequently there is a strong upturn in sealing activity, with a peak in the reigns of Constans II (641-68) and Constantine IV (668-86), i.e. after the Arab attack on Cyprus, which one might have imagined would have resulted in reduced sealing activity. It appears, however, that lead seals are far more plentiful from the period after the loss of the mainland provinces, first to the Persians and then to the Arabs. The main ambiguity about this contrast arises from the bilingual seals (not a large group), which are difficult to date and could in some cases be relatively early, e.g. from the sixth century. The 'eagle' seals found in Cyprus appear to be essentially from the second half of the seventh century, with only a few from the early part of the eighth.

In support of this unexpected trend, the lead seals of the bishops, and later archbishops, of Constantia up to 691 are a crux. A dozen different varieties are known, from over 50 specimens. Attention will focus on those of Arkadios I (625-41), Sergios (*c*.642-55), and Arkadios II (fl. *c*.680). The lead seals of Epiphanios II have already been mentioned. Their position in the series is a secure anchor-point. Lead seals with the monogram of Arkadios (I or II) are plentiful enough (although they do not occur in the large archive that has been mentioned). On the other hand no seals have been attributed to the intervening archbishop, Sergios with any certainty. The apparent absence of lead seals of Sergios led the writer to suggest, in *BLSC*, that the specimens which Dikigoropoulos attributed to Sergios' predecessor Arkadios I (with the title only of bishop, not archbishop) may in fact be from the earlier part of the pontificate of Arkadios II.[23] But Noret has pointed out[24] that Sergios was the first Cypriot prelate who is definitely known to have used the title of archbishop. (Even as late as 681,

23. *BLSC* pp. 89-91. The lead seals now to be attributed to Arkadios I show St Epiphanius holding the Book of the Gospel.

24. Noret, 1986, pp. 450f.

the provincial signatories to the Sixth General Council describe themselves merely as 'humble bishop' or 'unworthy bishop', – i.e. former monks?. At this time, even the pope in Rome, patriarch of the West, describes himself in official documents simply as 'bishop, and servant of the servants of God'.) Provided that the change of practice was clear-cut, that rules out the attribution of the lead seals of Arkadios reading merely 'bishop' to the early years of Arkadios II. It remains the case that no variety has been recognized with the name of Sergios. But it now seems that there are lead seals which may well belong to Bishop Ploutarchos (*c*.590-*c*.625). They already show the distinctive Constantian image of St Epiphanius. The dies are larger and coarser than those for later archbishops.[25] Another name which should have been recognizable from its monogram, if any of his lead seals had turned up, is that of Archbishop Philoxenos (fl. 533). The necessary letters Φ and Ξ should have been visible. None is known. In short, we cannot point to lead seals of any sixth-century archbishops of Cyprus before Ploutarchos, and from his pontificate there are only a couple. Meanwhile, it must be admitted, there are various lead seals which are generally similar in style to those of Epiphanios and Arkadios, with on the obverse the same facing bust of St Epiphanios, or of a bishop-saint iconographically indistinguishable from him, but with a reverse monogram which remains enigmatic, but contains a central X. It seems that they can hardly be later in date than the years in Nea Ioustinianoupolis, because the design of the archbishops' seals was subsequently changed. Can they be accommodated into the later seventh century?

It seems, then, that the surviving lead seals of the bishops or archbishops of Constantia can be traced back as far as the time of Ploutarchos (who was responsible for rebuilding much of the aqueduct at Constantia). The numbers of specimens surviving (leaving aside the Petrakides archive) increases significanly after the Arab attack on Cyprus, which seems to have prompted a wholly unusual level of administrative activity to deal with the dislocation and damage. Lead seals of earlier archbishops may have existed, but may be much less numerous, and may by mere chance be absent from our sample (although 50 plus is a good-sized sample). Or they may exist but we may be failing to recognize them, simply because they are of a different design, lacking the 'logo' of the city of Constantia, namely the bust of St Epiphanios. (On one variety the bust is accompanied by an inscription giving the name in monogram form, *O ayios Ep.*[26]).

25. *BLSC* 413 and 419 are probably the same variety, and in any case are both similar in style.

26. *BLSC* 422. This variety might be expected to have some special significance, but it is not clear to the writer where it fits in.

If lead seals of the bishops of Constantia are either scarce or absent before *c.*600, and uncommon until *c.*650, we should not be surprised if the same turns out to be true of the seals of the suffragan bishops – and perhaps even of the civil authorities as well. The same dislocation and damage caused by the Arab raids may have boosted their sealing activity too. The evidence from personal names, such as has been rehearsed for the archbishops, is not available for the other bishops. One is disposed to think, nevertheless, that their frequency may follow a similar chronological pattern.

Illoustrioi, who enjoyed the dignity accorded to senators, have left numerous lead seals. The social background of the illoustrioi of Cyprus in the later seventh century cannot, unfortunately, be documented. Like so many dignities, that of illoustrios went downhill. It has even been suggested that the illoustrioi of our lead seals may have been nothing more than military officers of middling rank. One ventures to doubt that. Their status is best judged empirically, from the patterns created by the lead seals. The historical background is that Constantius II founded the Constantinopolitan senate in 357. By 387 its ranks had been swollen to 2,000 members. Already in the time of Justinian it was recruited only by appointment to a high office which automatically carried the dignity of illustris. The lower categories of nobility, clarissimus and spectabilis, were already much debased.[27] The illustriate whom we observe in Cyprus in the second half of the seventh century were presumably mostly of old families, which clung to the senatorial title. Although we cannot be certain, it seems very unlikely that they were all the retired holders of high office. Cyprus was not a retirement island. The power they exercised locally was because they were entrenched and well-to-do local notables. Our first task is to localize them to their cities. This can partly be done already, and one is optimistic that we are on the cusp of further progress. In the Petrakides archive from *c.*690 there were 23 identical specimens of the lead seal of Stephanos, who was evidently from Constantia, as he used the same design of the bust of St Epiphanios as the archbishop. Another illoustrios, named Petros, of whom there were 16 lead seals in the archive, was arguably from Lapithos, although his lead seals have also been found at Amathus and Kourion. These men, and others like them, will have played an active role in their cities, in the work of reconstruction in the second half of the seventh century.

27. A. H. M. Jones, *The Late Roman Empire, 284-602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 527-30.

In passing, one may mention that St Gregory, the sixth-century bishop of Tours, came of distinguished senatorial families on both his father's and his mother's side. In his famous *History of the Franks* he remarks that, of the 18 bishops who had preceded him in the see of Tours, all but five were his blood relations. Although nothing quite like that can have happened in Cyprus, the aristocratic status and ramifying family connections of the old senatorial families, and their distinguished service to their cities, are to be presumed.[28] No doubt the families were connected by marriage alliances. We are informed in general terms that St John the Almsgiver was of distinguished family background on both his father's and his mother's side. Alas, we know nothing more about the illoustrioi than their names. In so far as one can safely judge from style (which is not always a precise exercise) a few of their lead seals, but one would judge not many, will antedate 649; and just one or two appear to be post-700. How many families of senatorial rank were there in Cyprus in the seventh century? One can only guess. Perhaps between a dozen and twenty? The known lead seals of illoustrioi yield a list of a dozen names,[29] and it is doubtless incomplete. Even so, there may well have been some cities where there was no senatorial family.

The illoustrioi were in any case assisted in their social and administrative tasks in the second half of the seventh century by a certain number of other able men, who were not of the same distinguished background, but who had been educated and trained as lawyers: their lead seals give their qualification as scholastici.

The task of localizing completely the known illoustrioi will require substantially more provenanced finds of their lead seals than we have at present. But varieties with the bust of St Epiphanius will surely belong to Constantia. The find-evidence encourages one to think that the activity of individuals was, indeed, significantly localized: one may draw attention, for example, to Theodoros Tourokles.[30] Five of his lead seals are on record, of which the three that are provenanced are all from Khlorakas. Perhaps he was from Paphos. At the same time, lead seals of a single individual occasionally turn up at localities far apart, e.g. the Constantian Stephanos (mentioned above), at Paphos.[31] A distinctive style of die-engraving links

28. As a modern analogy, one may mention that when Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived in Cyprus in 1878, a speech of welcome was made by the bishop of Kition, in Larnaca, and similar speeches of welcome were made by the local notable Lucas Paissiou in Famagusta and by local notables in Limassol.

29. *BLSC*, p.76.

30. *BLSC* 292-3.

31. *BLSC* 830.

Petros (mentioned above) and Leontios. Ioannes Plagiotes was probably from a south-coast city.[32] Kosmas will be from the north;[33] and so on. Eventually it will be fruitful to compare and contrast the distribution-patterns (including same-name divergences) of illoustrioi and stratelatai.

Even if it is broadly true that both episcopal and secular official lead seals are relatively much fewer before 649, one should hesitate to conclude that bishops and illoustrioi came to social prominence only at about that date. Historical common sense suggests that from late Roman times right through to the mid-seventh century, Cyprus was essentially self-administering within the Empire, no doubt within the framework of its ancient cities, and of the dioceses that were based upon them. Fifteen cities are listed, but they were very unequal in size. After the capital, Constantia, where power was concentrated, Amathus may perhaps have ranked next (even if it is a myth that it was the residence of the dukes in the later sixth century. The term 'dukes' is doubtless an anachronism: no lead seals have been identified naming dukes of that date, nor are any likely to be.) It is still a distant dream to be able to attribute lead seals to the bishops of each and every one of the 15 cities, mainly because the name of the city is not often mentioned on the lead seal. Exceptions are (unexpectedly) Karpasia, Kition, and Soloi. Otherwise the evidence can only come from contrasting distribution-maps based on large numbers of provenanced lead seals. By good fortune we can identify two or three varieties of the episcopal seals of Amathus, from their distinctive iconography, which corresponds with that of the anonymous church seals of Amathus.[34] Moreover, their provenances are quite strongly localized in and near that city.[35] The anonymous lead seals of the churches, e.g. of the church of Lapithos, may in general be even more localized than those of the bishops. That is an encouraging first step. The same style of argument, from the localization of varieties, can be applied to lead seals that seem to belong to a bishop Paulos of Paphos, whose lead seals are now on record from Khlorakas and Paphos,[36] and similarly with Ioannes, bishop of Lapithos.

Numerically, the lead seals of stratelatai rank next after those of bishops and illoustrioi, with 40 finds from Cyprus. Many of these are in the

32. *BLSC* 188.

33. *BLSC* 323.

34. *BLSC* 477-8.

35. *BLSC* 444. Three out of five recorded specimens are from 'Limassol district', Amathus harbour, and Amathus. A fifth is from Ayios Tichonas, Amathus.

36. See no. 901 below.

old collection of the Cyprus Museum, without a more exact provenance. There are no archaeological contexts by which they could be dated, and that has led to the suggestion that many of them will date to the period of the struggle against the Persians and the Arabs, when stratelatai fighting on the mainland sent their dispatches – with seals attatched – back to military headquarters in Cyprus. That would place the lead seals before the final capitulation of Alexandria in September 642.[37] One very much doubts whether that chronology is correct, in view of the more general pattern of an upturn in the second half of the seventh century. In one case at least, the same distinctively-named individual, Ioannes Plagiotes, sealed as a stratelates, as an illoustrios, and as an apo eparchon, doubtless in the late seventh and/or early eighth century. It would seem that after the Arab invasion Cyprus, which had been an unarmed province, was so no longer. The style of the lead seals of stratelatai is widely varied, and one would guess that, although most of them are probably from the second half of the seventh century, a few could range from the sixth century to the eighth. Isidoros, whose lead seal is bilingual, may for example be relatively early.[38] Several varieties exist in up to four specimens, and others are from up to three boulloteria, which indicates very active sealing. As regards the 'mainland' hypothesis, the geographical distribution of lead seals of stratelatai within Cyprus implies local activity, with finds from Dromolaxia (near the Salt Lake),[39] Khlorakas, Lambousa, several from the Limassol area, Paphos vicinity (*BLSC* 900), Politiko,[40] Pyla,[41] and a (?)late specimen from Saranda Kolones, Paphos.[42] Negative evidence of their absence or scarcity at Constantia should be taken into account. If dispatches had been sent back to Cyprus from the mainland they might, admittedly, have been placed in an archive, which modern searchers have not found. But the scattered finds just mentioned imply, at least, some other kind of activity as well. And it was not confined to the north of the island.

Whether the stratelatai whose seals have been recorded from Cyprus included professional soldiers, drafted into the province from elsewhere to cope with the emergency, or were mainly drawn from the same local ruling

37. A stratelates could be either a magister militum, or an officer of relatively low standing. See *ODB*, s.v.

38. *BLSC* 31.

39. *BLSC* 53.

40. *BLSC* 287.

41. *BLSC* 52.

42. Awaiting publication by Dr A. Dunn.

class as the illoustrioi, is an interesting question. The lead seals suggest that some were almost certainly local, but others may have been incomers. A soldier's lot was not a happy one, in the seventh century. It might involve fighting, from time to time, but many of his days were spent in building walls. The repairs and strengthening that were undertaken in Cyprus were perhaps similar to what happened in western Asia Minor, where Sardis, in particular, has yielded detailed archaeological evidence.[43] Perhaps our stratelatai were using their lead seals to report to their superior officers on the completed stretches of wall they had rebuilt! A clue pointing to a rather higher status comes from the lead seals of the stratelates Ioannes, which have been found right along the south coast – at Pyla, Limassol, and Paphos.[44]

Occasionally, the same individual might be both a stratelates and an illoustrios (although not demonstrably at the same time): the distinctively named Ioannes Plagiotes is the clearest case. He was evidently from Amathus. It was also possible to combine the offices of stratelates and droungarios[45] – another clue to status.

There are also no fewer than 185 lead seals showing an eagle with raised wings as their obverse type. All but a few use the genitive case. Some occur in the Petrakides archive, from *c.*690. A small minority of the total belonged to office-holders – chartulary, illoustrios, imperial mandator, prakteios, primiscriniarios, scribon; and later, honorary eparch and consul. Most varieties, however, were the lead seals of private individuals. This whole category is puzzling: could anyone choose to use the 'eagle' design? – or were they connected with the imperial service? We simply do not know whether the 'eagle' design (which is in no way confined to Cyprus) carried a message about the owner's status. There is no doubt a broad clue in the contrast between Cyprus and Istanbul, where the 'eagle' seals continue plentifully into the eighth century. Among the finds from Cyprus there are very few which use the dative case.[46] The 'eagle' design was rarely employed after *c.*720, presumably because of the province's changed political circumstances. Whatever the historical explanation of the 'eagle' seals, they more or less dominate the later seventh-century material numerically.

43. C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1976, at pp. 61f.

44. See no. 901 below.

45. *BLSC* 254.

46. See the essay in *BLSC*, pp. 101-11, which sketches a comparison with the material in Zacos and Veglery.

Within this large class of material, the most remarkable piece is one that combines the eagle with a crude copy of an Arabic inscription, reading '*Bismillah*', in the name of Allah (Fig. 2). Its owner was presumably a Muslim in the service of the imperial administration.



Fig. 2. Lead seal with the inscription 'Bismillah'. *BLSC* 356. The workmanship is certainly Byzantine, and the provenance Cypriot. The boulloterion may have been engraved by the same die-cutter as *BLSC* 354-5 (Stephanos); it is virtually certain that the date is later than the Arab invasion of the mid-seventh century. The angular treatment of the Cufic script strongly suggests a craftsman unacquainted with Arabic.

Another appears to have the bust of St Epiphanius above the eagle's head,[47] surely a pointer to Constantia (where it was found) if not necessarily to the archbishopric. A third, of elegant workmanship, has above the eagle's head the tiny image of the lifting tackle used to lift heavy blocks of stone into place, doubtless the symbol of an architect or master mason (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Lead seal of an architect or master mason. *BLSC* 372. Instead of the usual monogram or crosslet, it has above the eagle's head a tiny image which represents the tackle used to lift blocks of dressed stone into place. A forked chain attatched to the upper ends of the X-shaped tackle transfers the force sideways when the block is lifted. The workmanship of the dies, and the form of the monogram, are exceptional, and one might well imagine that the owner had come to Cyprus from elsewhere.

Next, we turn back to the period before the first Arab raid in 649, in search of any evidence which might help to corroborate the statistical trend

47. Perna and Metcalf, 2008.

described above. There is a little stylistic group of lead seals, alluded to above, which share two distinctive Heraclian monograms. The monogram should perhaps be resolved as *Theodoros* (the brother of Heraclius) but that does not change one's idea of their date.[48] They offer some positive encouragement, by default, to think that the second half of the seventh century witnessed a strong upturn in sealing activity, especially, perhaps, by those involved in government. There are just 13 of these Heraclian lead seals recorded from Cyprus, with provenances at Khlorakas (2), Paphos, and Amathus.[49] The offices and dignities which they name are quite unlike those found plentifully in the second half of the seventh century. They include the combinations primicerius and patricius (note that the dignity is here named after the office, contrary to subsequent practice), cubicularius and chartularius, cubicularius and basilikos, scholasticus, scribon, illoustrios, and chartulary. Some of these offices are palatine. As a little group, these lead seals offer clear evidence of the involvement of the central government in the affairs of Cyprus. Their general context, fairly obviously, was the imperial government's new attention to Cyprus because of its strategic significance vis-à-vis the threat to the nearby mainland – an attention also seen, for example, in Heraclius's supporting the repair of the aqueduct at Constantia (a desirable infrastructure for the marshalling of troops there) and in the minting of copper coinage at a newly-created mint in Cyprus, just in the years 626-9. One may note that among the duties of a chartulary were the supervision of payments to soldiers, and keeping the muster-roll up to date. Two of the three imperial lead seals of Heraclius, on which the bust of Heraclius Constantine is diminutive, are probably from early in the reign, while the third, found on the north coast, is from after 629.

The lead seals with Heraclian monograms are distinctive both in their style and in their titulature, perhaps just because they are palatine. Of similar date, perhaps, is the lead seal of a magistros called Bonos, who may quite possibly be the same Bonos, patricius and magistros (= magister militum) who was regent during the campaigns of Heraclius.[50] There is in any case quite a series of lead seals (not from Cyprus), running on into the eighth century, of other individuals who are similarly described as patricius and magistros.[51] They make it clear that magistros was in this case an office

48. I am indebted to Professor Dr Seibt for this comment. Cf. P. Lampinen, 'Countermarked Byzantine folles and the identification of a new imperial family member', in K. G. Holum et al., (eds.) *Caesarea Papers*, 2, Porstmouth, R.I., 1999, pp. 399-404.

49. *BLSC* 4-10.

50. Zacos and Veglery 295 (4 specimens).

51. ZV 437, 7737, 831, 947, 966, 1927, etc.

rather than a dignity. Stylistically the lead seal of Bonos could, so far as one can at present judge, stand early in the series.

Straightforward imperial lead seals are extremely few among finds from Cyprus. Three out of the four that can be mentioned are of Heraclius, dateable to 613-29 (2) and 629-31. The latter was found at Lambousa,[52] and is suggestive of imperial administrative activity or intervention there even before the Arab raids. Shipping from Constantinople may have made landfall there. Thus it seems that the city did not acquire its administrative importance simply and solely as a result of the flight from Constantia.

Only one unequivocally sixth-century lead seal is recorded from Cyprus, namely the earliest of the four published imperial lead seals. It is of Tiberius II (578-82).[53] There may well be quite a few more of early date, among the bilingual seals,[54] and perhaps among the ostensibly private seals, e.g. those with a facing bust of the Mother of God on the obverse, and with a monogram or inscription consisting simply of a personal name. But many of these Mother of God seals appear from their size and style to be post-649. The bilingual seals, again, quite possibly include a proportion which belong to the sixth century – including a handsome bilingual specimen reading *Sergiou scriniar' / scrini' Cypri*, belonging to the head of the writing-office or archive of the governor.[55]

The general tendency of the detailed evidence is that the lead seals, as far as we understand them at present, offer almost no firm conclusions about the sixth century. Because of the relative scarcity of the possibly sixth-century official seals, the perspectives are unclear. If a lead seal names an office which is very rarely recorded anywhere, let alone in Cyprus, that may be a pointer to a pre-Heraclian date, e.g. tribune,[56] or hypodektes,[57] both found at Kalavasos – but one is only guessing. (Are these two lead seals telling us something about the early Byzantine history of Kalavasos?)

52. *BLSC* 2a, b, and 3.

53. *BLSC* 1.

54. *BLSC* 15-55.

55. *BLSC* 40: 'scriniarius of the scrinium of Cyprus' – found, appropriately enough, at Constantia. The scriniarius was presumably in charge of the governor's writing-office and archive. This lead seal, previously known only from a drawing, is now in Turin. The drawing does not do justice to the quality of the lead seal. For a photograph, see now Perna and Metcalf, 2008.

56. *BLSC* 38. Perhaps a paymaster (tribunus aerarii) rather than a middle-ranking military officer (tribunus militum). This office is lacking in Zacos and Veglery.

57. *BLSC* 186. The office is lacking in Zacos and Veglery.

The mix of private and official seals may have been different in the sixth century from what it was in the seventh. Bilingual seals are mainly, although certainly not always, private. It is theoretically possible that some seals with monograms which we cannot develop belong to sixth-century officials. There are sundry other seals which could be of sixth-century date, e.g. many of those depicting animals or birds. Uniface, conical seals confirm the statistical trend: they are doubtless early, and they are by no means plentiful in Cyprus.

Of course, one hopes that as new discoveries are added to the data-base, possibly from stratified archaeological excavation, the sixth century will come into sharper focus, at least here and there. At present it is a blur. We have so little direct evidence of any kind, about sixth-century Cyprus, that the evidence of the lead seals, even if it is a little imprecise, will be worth recovering. But that is unlikely to change the general assessment that lead seals really come into their own in Cyprus only after 649.

A strategy which, one might imagine, should help to give at least a general idea of what the earlier material might look like is to cast an eye across to Syria and Palestine, where the sixth/seventh century seals will almost all, presumably, antedate the final Arab conquest in 637-8. Given the continued inflows of Byzantine coinage into the region through the reign of Constans II, one may hesitate over the absolute character of the terminal date, especially as regards personal seals found in Antioch, and episcopal seals more generally. Arab rule was over a multi-ethnic state, and showed (at first) a degree of religious tolerance. But there is surely an expectation that any seals of government officials will be pre-638.

Cheynet has published the lead seals in the museums of Antioch and Tarsus, which derive from finds (essentially casual finds) made in Cilicia and Syria.[58] They include some 97 lead seals belonging to the seventh century or earlier. Of these, 21 are of officials, none are of the church, and the rest carry only a personal name or are difficult to resolve. Secondly, Dr Nesbitt has published 45 lead seals of the sixth/seventh centuries recovered at Caesarea Maritima from the vicinity of the governor's palace and the adjoining *horrea* (warehouses). Of these 45, 35 were legible. They included one imperial seal, and a uniface seal of Heraclius, five official seals, 3 ecclesiastical, and 25 with simple names or ambiguous iconography. At Caesarea there is a strong presumption that

58. J.-C. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des Musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), 391-478, 16 plates.

all the seals (except possibly the ecclesiastical) will be pre-638. The imperial seal is sixth-century in date.

The Antioch/Tarsus material in particular includes a higher proportion than one would find in Cyprus of seals of small module (12-14mm), often with block monograms. One's impression is that these may well be relatively early in date, e.g. sixth century, reflecting the more modest fashion of the period. The same may then be true of the lead seals of small module from Cyprus, and also some other slightly larger lead seals with similar block monograms. One can point to between ten and twenty lead seals from Cyprus which might fulfill the criteria, i.e. not many.[59] The proportion is much higher on the mainland.

The lead seals of officials found in Syria and Palestine are of interest to us for the list of offices which (presumably) characterize pre-638 material, among which one may mention consul (A7), eparch (A33-4), honorary consul (A5), honorary eparch (T4), illoustrios (T8, A9), kandidatos (A6), kommerkiarios (C5), numerarius (A31), palatinus (T32), patricius (A10-11, T12, A13-16), and stratelates (C7). When one examines these individual seals, there is very little overlap with material from Cyprus. The lead seal of a palatinus attracts notice (and has been mentioned above[60]), as do those of patricii. Resting comparisons on single specimens is hazardous, however: T12, found at Mersin, is almost certainly post-725 in date (patrikios, a larger, invocative lead seal using the dative case), as is T100, from the environs of Tarsus.

One notes the virtual absence of 'eagle' seals in the material from Antioch, Tarsus, and Caesarea. It suggests that the numerous 'eagle' seals from Cyprus may belong essentially to the period after *c.*650. They occur in the Petrakides archive, in multiple specimens, but there seem to be hardly any from after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis – which is puzzling, as there are plenty of specimens of other designs from after *c.*705.

No precise conclusions should be drawn, therefore, from comparisons with the material from Antioch, Tarsus and Caesarea, other than that the pre-638 material in Cyprus is almost certainly far from abundant. That is in line with the earlier evidence of conical seals, and also with that of the Heraclian seals. An increase in sealing activity in Cyprus from the middle

59. *BLSC* 57, 68, 73, 80-1, 85, 90, 94, 96, 99, 102, 569, 648, 820, 861.

60. Professor Sode, in her review of *BLSC*, insists on a much earlier dating of the lead seals of palatini from Cyprus (*BLSC* 233-4) than was there proposed. This seal from Tarsus would tie in with that observation.

of the mid-seventh century onwards is manifestly not a reflection of prosperity or of better times. Little as we know about the sixth century in Cyprus, it was certainly a wealthy period compared with the decades which followed the Arab raids. From the lead seals, one would not have begun to suspect it.

As regards the period 491-691, one should ask how many of the lead seals found in the soil of Cyprus originated in other provinces. The answer seems to be, not very many; but it is difficult to give a complete answer. Unless the place of origin is indicated in the inscription (which is rarely the case in the sixth and seventh centuries), the only proof which could in principle arise would be if a good number of specimens of a variety were found elsewhere, and just one in Cyprus. That applies uncontroversially, for example, to the imperial lead seals of Heraclius, of which three have been found in Cyprus, but more than twenty elsewhere. Obviously they are metropolitan in origin. A certain number of lead seal varieties found in Cyprus can be matched in the catalogue by Zacos and Veglery, which implies a provenance, very probably, in or near Istanbul. They may have been sent from Constantinople to Cyprus. (But Zacos is known to have acquired a modest number of lead seals in Cyprus).

Three specimens have been found in Cyprus of the little lead seal of Theodoros, metropolitan of Tyre.[61] One of the three was found at Khlorakas, and a second very possibly at Amathus. There is also an early lead seal of a deacon of the church of Tyre.[62] This material can now be seen as analogous with lead seals of the bishop of Aradus, found in Cyprus. He evidently moved to Cyprus with his flock when in 650 they were driven out by Mu'awiya.[63] The metropolitan of Tyre and his flock may similarly have found asylum in southern Cyprus, after the Arab conquests on the mainland. The three or four known lead seals certainly imply that many documents were sealed by the metropolitan: it seems that he was accorded some administrative status in exile.

Finally, one may mention the lead seals of Georgios, 'monachos', from the 680s. They certainly cannot belong, as Dikigoropoulos allowed himself to suppose, to the famous Cypriot monk who was condemned by the iconoclast council of 754. Nor can they have anything to do with the George of Cyprus (or of Lapithos), the dating of whose geographical

61. *BLSC* 489.

62. *BLSC* 490.

63. See below, pp.116-18.

memoir has been discussed by Honigmann.[64] Crucially, the ten known specimens (all or almost all from the Petrakides archive, therefore from the 680s or thereabouts) are from no fewer than nine different boulloteria. What monk had occasion to engage in so much correspondence? It would be difficult to point to another seal variety in Cyprus which is known from so many boulloteria – and nine is, after all, the minimum. The only escape from the quandary that one can suggest might be that, obvious though *monachou* seems as the solution of the reverse monogram, it has perhaps been misunderstood.

3. The first third of the eighth century: from the genitive to the dative case

The changeover from the genitive to the dative case is an Empire-wide phenomenon, and an Empire-wide problem of dating for the sigillographer, to which there are no simple answers, and little enough straightforward evidence. The transition may have occurred at different dates in different parts of the Empire, e.g. it may have begun earlier in the West.[65] It is worth emphasizing, therefore, that the case for *c.*715 x 725 which is argued here is meant to apply to Cyprus, and is based on the totality of the evidence from Cyprus. They may have done things differently elsewhere. In Cyprus the Petrakides archive, which is perfectly securely dated by lead seals of Epiphanius II, shows no sign of the onset of the dative case. The transition in Cyprus can be located within a large body of sigillographic evidence from the experimental phase of the invocative monogram type. The analysis of this material takes account not only of a rich variation in the forms of the monogram, but of how that correlates with different categories of owners of lead seals.

Indeed, the most interesting short period in the sigillography of Byzantine Cyprus, a short period of rapid change, runs from *c.*705 (the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis, and Justinian II's overtures of friendship towards the Caliphate) until *c.*730 (the onset of the First Iconoclasm). A lot of administrative initiatives are crowded into this period. Towards its end there is a defining moment when lead seals, which had hitherto given their owner's name in the genitive case ('[the lead seal] *of* N.') switched to the dative case ('[O Theotoke, lend your aid] *to* N.') It would doubtless be an oversimplification to think that this transition, introducing

64. Honigmann, 1939, pp. 49-69.

65. I am indebted to Professor Dr Werner Seibt, who has drawn my attention (pers.comm.) to the evidence from Carthage, where it is clear that the first use of the dative case occurs already *c.*670.

an expression of piety, occurred overnight. Existing boulloteria will have continued in use. We do not know how long an overlap there was in practice, and we do not know at all exactly what date to put on the change.[66] It is nevertheless a major plank in our understanding of the administrative and other changes that occurred so swiftly in the governance of Cyprus, to be able to say that lead seals using the genitive case are from before *c.*715 x 725, while those using the dative are from after the same transition. Invocative lead seals from the episcopal precinct at Kourion span this transition.[67]

Whole categories of lead seals, of particular offices or dignities, such as illoustrioi, or honorary eparchs, or consuls, can be located chronologically by reference to the transition. Some offices or dignities are restricted to the period of the genitive case. Others, very usefully for us, overlap the transition, occurring with either the genitive or the dative case. Widening the scope of these observations somewhat, the Petrakides archive from the 680s gives us a good sample of the styles of engraving which were then in fashion. The absence from the archive of specimens in a style which we can recognize and are inclined to associate with the early eighth century is not, perhaps, conclusive evidence that they did not yet exist, but it is a strong indication.

Widening the scope at the other end of our period of rapid change, we can say that certainly by the middle of the eighth century, if not sooner, an invocative cruciform monogram which is solved as *Theotoke boethei to so doulo* had become the usual obverse design of innumerable varieties of lead seals, for imperial officials of every kind, throughout the Empire. When exactly it began is not an easy question: perhaps quite early in the eighth century. In the jargon of the trade, this particular design is referred to as Laurent Type V. The letters Θ, E, O, T, K, B can be arranged around the arms of the cross in a great variety of slightly different ways. Laurent published a diagram of 15 of the more commonly found variants, numbered I-XV (Fig.2). Laurent Type V became the standard variant, occurring on great numbers of lead seals.

66. See N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington, D.C., 1986. Note at pp. 38f. a lead seal of Tervel, caesar (705-18, of Laurent Type V, but using the genitive. Cf. p.36, no. 23, dated to *c.*695, using the dative!

67. See below, pp. 130-3.

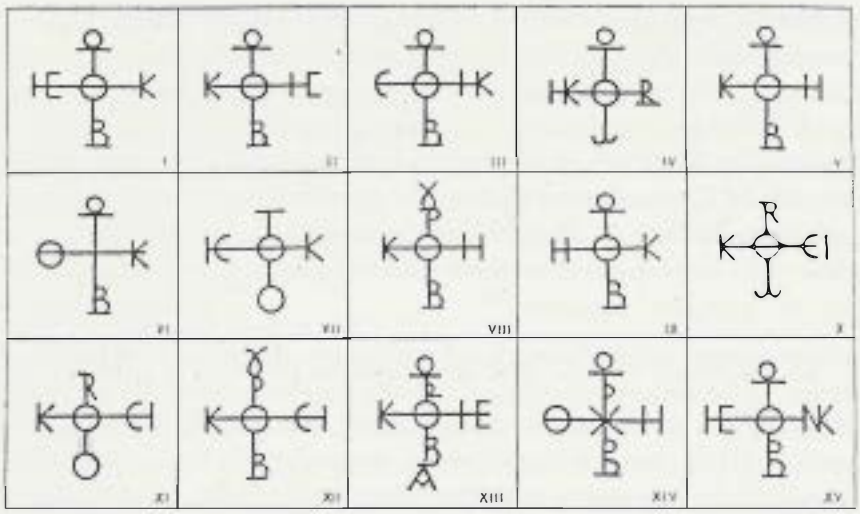


Fig. 4. The common varieties of invocative monogram, Laurent Types I-XV.

It is clear (as will be explained more carefully below) that before the Empire's boulloterion-makers settled down to the dull uniformity of Type V, there was an experimental phase, lasting one would guess up to ten years, when other variants were used (and Type V was just one among several, and by no means the most usual). During this early phase, the words *to so dou/lo* in the angles of the cross, which are absolutely standard in Type V, are omitted or are replaced by a personal name. The lead seals of the experimental phase are usually quite small, whereas during the currency of Type V they become much bigger and heavier. This experimental phase in Cyprus lies almost wholly before the abandonment of the genitive case.

The relative chronology is clear; but what about absolute dates? There is a mature example of Laurent Type V naming the strategos of the Karabisianoi, which might seem to be of some interest. Hélène Ahrweiler has suggested that the theme was dissolved because of the failure of the Karabisianoi to defend Constantinople in 717/18; but one would be very reluctant in light of the Cypriot evidence to try to accommodate the experimental varieties before that date. It is surely preferable to recognize that the Karabisianoi survived for longer than she postulated.

For what it can contribute to the Cypriot chronology, one would much prefer to rest a case on the (rare) lead seal of an archon of the Kibyrrhaiotes, from the experimenal phase: it bears the personal name Tarasios in the angles of the cross (cf. Lykastos, below). Theophanes refers to a strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotes in 732, which makes it probable (although not absolutely certain) that the lead seal of Tarasios (who was a

consul as well as an archon, thus arguably the head of the administration) is earlier than that date.[68]

During much of the experimental phase in Cyprus the lead seals continue to use the traditional genitive case, when the dative would have been correct ('O Theotoke, lend your aid **to/of** N.') They are (still) mostly the lead seals of private individuals;[69] and their names, wherever legible, are in the genitive case. There are seventy-odd specimens, and they are found all over the island, north and south (which is of considerable historical interest for the condition of Cyprus in the aftermath of the Arab raids. Amathus is well represented.). One senses that they have more of a story to tell than is yet apparent.[70] The cruciform monogram variant is usually an irregular one, not among Laurent's fifteen. Type I is also quite common, and II, III, V, and IX are recorded.

As well as sixty or more private lead seals there are a dozen naming an office or dignity, – of which half are of honorary eparchs,[71] three are of consuls,[72] one of a droungarios,[73] and one of a spatharios.[74] Only one or two of these are manifestly from boulloteria made by the same engravers as the private varieties.[75] Note the absence of illoustrioi: they have disappeared from the scene.[76] The idea that these honorary eparchs had previously been eparchs seems completely implausible, given the large number of individuals who are on record from Cyprus, compared with the scarcity of lead seals of eparchs in Cyprus.

The invocative monogram, in its early, experimental forms, appears also on 'eagle' seals, either in miniature above the eagle's head i.e. between its raised wings, or as the obverse type. The general significance of the 'eagle' category of lead seals remains a historical puzzle. Could anyone choose to use this design, or was it the badge of a certain class of owner –

68. Zacos and Veglery, 2408. See the commentary on the specimen. See also the introductory commentary in *DOC* 2.59.

69. *BLSC* 126, 376, 397-8, 713-47, 816, 826, 870, and see 840-1. Also 925, 927, 929.

70. Note that there are multiple specimens (a high survival-rate?), and two or more recognizable styles of engraving, e.g. one with an elongated diamond-shaped theta.

71. *BLSC* 176, 179a-c, 181, 296.

72. *BLSC* 132-3. 134 is later in date.

73. *BLSC* 153.

74. *BLSC* 257.

75. Perhaps 179.

76. *BLSC* 732 is conjecturally of an illoustrios, but it is against the flow of the evidence.

as it might be, military personnel seconded to other duties? One good clue is that there is the sharpest of contrasts between the rich material found in Istanbul, where the miniature invocative monogram is seen on something like 79 out of 152 varieties in Zacos, or 52 per cent, whereas in Cyprus it accounts for only three or four per cent.[77] It seems that either there was a different custom in Cyprus or, more probably, that the use of 'eagle' seals virtually ceased in the province before the general introduction of the miniature invocative monogram above the eagle. The obvious thought which occurs to one is that it ceased by *c.*705. This observation may eventually contribute to establishing a more precise chronology. The few examples found in Cyprus include both Laurent Type V,[78] (with one from the episcopal basilica at Kourion[79]) and also experimental types.[80]

There are also three or four finds from Cyprus with a full-sized invocative monogram on what we must call the obverse, the eagle occurring on the reverse. They tend to be of Laurent Type I.[81] Provisionally, there is a contrast in the distribution-pattern within Cyprus between this general type, and that discussed in the preceding paragraph: one has the intriguing provenance of Potamou tou Kampou (close to Soloi). The statistical evidence is, of course, altogether flimsy, but if it were to be confirmed by future discoveries, one might be led towards the idea that there were different boulloterion-makers in the north and south of the island in the early eighth century.

The lead seals of imperial spatharioi would seem to reflect the dispatch to Cyprus of a cadre of administrative officials, probably after 705. One such official is a kandidatos and imperial spatharios *tou Chrysotriklinou*. No specific office or function is mentioned on this group of lead seals. Spatharioi in the early eighth century were sufficiently senior to be the strategoi of themes. (With the progressive inflation of dignities, they later gave way to spatharokandidatoi, and then to protospatharioi.) This phase in Cyprus seems to have begun shortly before the dative case was introduced: there are three varieties using the genitive,[82] then the one

77. *BLSC*, pp. 106f.

78. *BLSC* 400, still using the genitive, and now Kourion 6 (illegible).

79. Dunn no. 6, in Megaw, 2007; no. 927 in the Appendix to this chapter.7

80. *BLSC* 402 (Laurent -) from Lambousa, and 840 (cf. Laurent Type II) from Polis.

81. *BLSC* 333 (from Amathus?), 376 (Potamos tou Kambou), 397, and 398 (probably Paphos).

82. *BLSC* 259, 255, 256.

mentioned above with an experimental invocative monogram,[83] then others of the mature Laurent Type V.[84]

A very similar chronological spread characterizes the lead seals of consuls, of which there are at least ten – three using the genitive[85] and seven the dative case.[86] What were all these consuls doing in Cyprus, and did they out-rank the spatharioi? The nature of their activity in Cyprus is puzzling. Their lead seals do not name any office (although there are others that do, e.g. consul and droungarios). Sergios is the most interesting, in so far as he had also held the office of eparch, in Cyprus; and his name, in monogram, also appears on the lead seals of lesser officials.

A distinctive and intriguing variant of the above, again using the dative case, has 'May the Mother of God of Sozopolis come to the aid of Theodoros the consul'.[87] This invocation, even more intriguingly, is also used by another consul, Nicetas. Theodoros has left two, if not three lead seals in Cyprus: one from Polis, and another (in the Hubbard collection) perhaps from the north coast. Patriarch Germanos in his famous letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis in the 720s cites the miraculous image at Sozopolis, adding that it had stopped being active.[88] To understand this opaque remark, we might note that the date is close to the onset of iconoclasm (726 in the capital, 730 generally throughout the Empire).

Two other lead seals of officials, which use the dative case, raise the question whether there was not a chronological overlap or a period of mixed use of the genitive and dative cases, lasting perhaps for as much as a decade. If for no other reason, people could remain in office for several years. Narses, whose lead seal has his name in the angles of the cross, N / A / P / C, was an honorary eparch and imperial vestiarios.[89] Lykastos, whose (medium-sized) lead seal reads L / V / KAC / TW in the angles of the cross, was consul and droungarios.[90] It is a distinct possibility that both these

83. *BLSC* 257.

84. *BLSC* 260, 261, 262.

85. *BLSC* 132 (and cf. 333 = 376), 135, 136.

86. *BLSC* 133, 134, 137, 320, 823, 138 and 824.

87. *BLSC* 138 and 824. Cf. no. 320.

88. I am indebted to Professor Cyril Mango for his comment on the letter, defending its authenticity.

89. *BLSC* 296.

90. *BLSC* 150.

men were sent to Cyprus from elsewhere, and that their boulloteria were made elsewhere.

There are a few other lead seals which also read *Theotoke boethei,* but in the form of a three- or four-line inscription (not a cruciform monogram), followed by the owner's name in the genitive case. Among them are to be found several lead seals of honorary eparchs[91] and one of a consul.[92] Is this group earlier than the experimental invocative monogram seals, or concurrent with them, or later? It seems difficult for it to be later, as it uses the genitive case. Perhaps it should be seen, tentatively, as concurrent (and non-Cypriot in origin?), given the existence of a couple of similar pieces using the dative case.[93]

Another design of lead seals of honorary eparchs lacks the invocative cruciform monogram entirely. In so far as it is chronologically distinct, and uses the genitive case, it will almost certainly be earlier in date, although still post-700. Eight individuals are known,[94] of whom the most interesting is the readily recognizable Ioannes Plagiotes. This same man had sealed as illoustrios[95] and as stratelates,[96] these two lead seals being clearly related in their style. Both have an Amathus provenance. It would seem that Ioannes was a notable of Amathus who survived the 690s, and returned to public service as an honorary eparch. The unusual columnar inscriptions on his lead seals as illoustrios and as stratelates suggest that they are the work of the same boulloterion-maker, and close to each other in date. Could he even have held both offices concurrently?

Another individual who perhaps had a similar career was Kosmas. He too sealed as illoustrios, and also (later?) as honorary eparch, always using seals with the standard 'eagle' obverse design, and all with *Sergiou* in monogram above the eagle. The monogram offers some sort of guarantee that we are talking about only one Kosmas. He used (at least) three boulloteria as illoustrios, of which the third is sketchily engraved, and might date (conjecturally) from the 690s, when better workmanship was not to be found. (Whether or not that conjecture is correct, we may note

91. *BLSC* 183, 827-9. Note the Polis provenances.

92. *BLSC* 135.

93. *BLSC* 768, 770.

94. *BLSC* 169 (Bodianos), 170 (Georgios), 171 (Iannourios), 172-3 (Ioannes), 174 (Lamprotatos), 321 (Kosmas), 828 (Sergios), 829 (Stephanos).

95. *BLSC* 188.

96. *BLSC* 281.

that perfectly competent boulloteria were obtainable again in Cyprus from very soon after 705/6.) Kosmas's unusually large and handsome lead seal as honorary eparch[97] is known from at least seven specimens found in Cyprus. Soloi is the only exact provenance.

The Sergios named on the obverse is presumably the eparch, of whose lead seals featuring John the Baptist four boulloteria are known.[98] Certainly the same Sergios also sealed as consul.[99] One specimen for each office is provenanced to the north coast (Lambousa, or just possibly Kyrenia). That very probably means that Kosmas was a northerner too.

Archbishops' lead seals of a design not found in the Petrakides archive appear, presumably after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis, since they add *Kyprou* in the angles of the cruciform monogram.[100] They are certainly later in date than Epiphanios II. The historian of Cyprus, looking for a context for them, will be inclined to move them forward a few more years, to after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis – an event which the lead seals are perhaps alluding to by adding for the first time the archiepiscopal title 'of Cyprus'. The names of the archbishops are still in the genitive case. There are 24 specimens, with provenances widely through Cyprus, including the cities of the south coast. Bishops' lead seals, however, seem virtually to disappear after 705/6.[101] If there are any, still using the genitive case but dateable to the first third of the eighth century, they have not yet been identified as such.

4. From c.730 to 867

In this period, the number of lead seals from Cyprus falls off abruptly. The use of lead seals by private individuals dwindles and vanishes. Urban decline is reflected in the almost complete disappearance of bishops' lead seals. One assumes that bishops continued to be chosen, and continued to care for their flocks. But their secular role in the governance of Cyprus would seem to have been drastically curtailed – or to have left no record in sigillography.

97. *BLSC* 321.

98. *BLSC* 157.

99. *BLSC* 123.

100. *BLSC* 452-4 (24 specimens), including provenances Amathus (2), Constantia (2), Lambousa/Kyrenia, and Paphos.

101. One is intrigued by the closely-related pair of varieties, *BLSC* 450 and 850, of a bishop Zenobios. See also *BLSC* 460-2.

The mature Laurent Type V invocative type dominates most of this period. It replaces the experimental variants, perhaps as early as the 730s and, so far as we can judge, continues in use through much or most of the first half of the ninth century. A listing of the mature Laurent Type V lead seals from Cyprus presents a totally different picture from the heavy concentration on just a few offices seen in the second half of the seventh century. The fossils which characterize this geological stratum, so to speak, are as varied as can be, the only function which stands out by its frequency being dioiketes – paradoxically, in a period from which there are extremely few coin finds. Archon, consul, and spatharios appear more than once. Bishops and even archbishops cease to seal to any extent. The (alphabetical) listing is at variance with the experience of collectors in the south of the island. In so far as the lead seals are finds from Cyprus, which most of them are (except that those of dioiketai tend to be from Istanbul), they perhaps reflect the pre-1974 situation, i.e. they tend to be from the north. Time will tell. The numbers refer to *BLSC*.

Archbishop 458, 851
Archon 114-15
Chartulary of the Vestiarion 131
Consul 134, 137, 823
Dioiketes of Cyprus 141, 142a,b, 143a,b,c, 144
Droungarios 151
Ek prosopou 156
Epi ton Deeseon 159
Epi ton Oikeiakon 160
Kandidatos 205 (Laurent VIII)
Komes tou Stablou 214
Kleisourarches 212
Kommerkiarios of Cyprus 215
Kommerkiarios 220
Logothete of the Dromos 832
Pistikos 237
Protospatharios 241
Spatharios 260, 261-2
Uncertain 302, 306

Extra-provincial
Spatharios of the Kibyrrhaiotes 152
Metropolitan of Caria 485
Strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotes 270, 271
Strategos of Sicily[102] 268
Strategos of Sicily 836
Strategos 272

A droungarios with the rank of consul has been mentioned above (Lykastos). There are a couple of other lead seals which are earlier in date (using the genitive case),[103] and a third which uses the dative but which seems to be early. All these seem to reflect a phase of naval activity

102. Not Seleucia: see the corrigenda to *BLSC*, p. 139.
103. *BLSC* 153, 154.

involving Cyprus, in the first half of the eighth century. Their inscriptions do not associate them specifically with Cyprus, but their provenances do. A much larger and somewhat later lead seal from the maritime theme of the Kibyrrhaiotes describes the owner, Nicetas, as an imperial spatharios of the Kibyrrhaiotes (Fig. 9, below).[104] Ostrogorsky has suggested that the theme of the Karabisianoi was divided, already by 732, into two commands, namely the coasts and islands of (western) Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean Sea. Each part was governed by a droungarios. Our seal, which is in the small collection of lead seals of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, may be presumed to have been found in Cyprus. Contacts between Cyprus and the Kibyrrhaiote theme are further illustrated by two lead seals of strategoi of the Kibyrrhaiotes, of which one was excavated at Constantia,[105] and the other is in the old collections of the Cyprus Museum.[106] A third lead seal of a strategos, which does not specify its theme, was found near Bellapais.[107] Their dates are difficult to assess closely – possibly in the third quarter of the eighth century? The provenances are interesting, e.g. for the continuing history of Constantia, and perhaps hinting at the requisitioning of timber from the mountains. One notes with interest a lead seal of an archon of the Kibyrrhaiotes (who was also a consul).

The naval activity which these lead seals reflect should be seen in connection with the contemporary seals of consuls etc.[108]

Around the middle of the eighth century (the 740s?) a useful fixed point is provided by the lead seals of Archbishop Damianos. Their iconography illustrates contacts between Cyprus and Crete.[109] Specimens have been found at Constantia and at Kourion, and also on the mainland at Byblos.[110]

We turn now to the later part of the eighth century and the first part of the ninth. Lead seals of the standard design with an inscribed invocative monogram, Laurent Type V, remained in fashion, but they tended to be bigger and heavier, and with a more cultivated style of lettering. We have

104. *BLSC* 152. The interpretation offered there (d = droungarios) now appears to the writer to be unsatisfactory. See p.138.

105. *BLSC* 271.

106. *BLSC* 270.

107. *BLSC* 272a. This strategos seems to have corresponded prolifically.

108. See pp. 97 and 100.

109. *BLSC*, pp. 85f.

110. *BLSC* 455.

a lead seal of Leo, logothete of the Dromos which, to judge from its large size and its style, dates from the late eighth or early ninth century. It is thought to have been found at a coastal location close to Polis. The logothete of the Dromos was the official most concerned with the processes of diplomacy. The occurrence of this lead seal in Cyprus seems to imply a continuing imperial concern with the province, whatever the exact nature of the logothete's mission. Various other lead seals are known of a Leo as logothete of the Dromos, presumably the same individual, but on these he has the rank of protospatharios, whereas on the specimen found in Cyprus he has the lower rank of spatharios. A Leo holding the office of logothete of the Dromos is mentioned in 762:[111] it is tempting to suppose that it is his seal, although from its style one might have expected a date some decades later. Perhaps the diameter of a lead seal was partly a matter of rank.

Other seals found on the same occasion and in the same coastal area show a most unusual concentration of eighth-century material, and include more than their share of lead seals of high-ranking individuals, some of which have already been mentioned above: two consuls,[112] a late example of a spatharios and stratelates,[113] an honorary eparch, a completely new variety of a lead seal of an archbishop,[114] and a technically interesting lead seal of Bishop Zenobios, which makes a pair with a related specimen discovered earlier.[115] Although the finders judged that all the seals were lost or thrown away on the same occasion, a broader analysis makes it seem very improbable that they are all closely of the same date. Remembering also the lead seal of an archon of Cyprus found nearby, one wonders whether Polis may not have acquired an administrative role in the eighth century - being about as far away as it was possible for a coastal location to be, from the threat of further Arab raids – and conversely as near as possible to Constantinople.

The Polis find is a little curious among the lead seals of late eighth- or ninth-century lead seals of archons of Cyprus, in that it omits to mention the owner's dignity (imperial spatharios?). Was the boulloterion of local workmanship (and if so why), or was it in some sense early and experimental?

111. Theoph. 431, 10.

112. *BLSC* 823, 824.

113. *BLSC* 837.

114. *BLSC* 851.

115. *BLSC* 850.

Perhaps the most intriguing, historically, of the Laurent-Type V lead seals from Cyprus are two specimens belonging to a kleisourarch Theodoros – the military commander of a frontier zone. Although its inscription does not mention Cyprus, the provenance of the first specimen is secure, as it was part of the Hubbard collection. The second, which is very similar, and doubtless of very much the same date, was in an old Cypriot collection. It could theoretically have been bought abroad, but one is inclined to accept it as a seal found in Cyprus. To judge from their style and size, their date would seem to be similar to that of the lead seal of an archon found near Polis, – let us say, not too much before or after 800.[116] Lead seals of kleisourarchs are rare: Zacos and Veglery catalogue five, all of Laurent Type V, although of rather larger diameter than our two. Unlike ours, they all specify their kleisoura.[117] Four of them are of Seleucia. In light of the whole range of evidence relating to northern Cyprus in the eighth and ninth centuries, it seems probable that the Cypriot lead seals refer to a kleisoura (or kleisourai) in the Pentadaktylos range.[118]

If the lead seals of kleisourarchs are the most intriguing novelty among the invocative monogram type, another, of a 'silentiarios and kommerkiarios of Cyprus',[119] is the most challenging for our understanding of the island's trade and prosperity in the later eighth/earlier ninth centuries. Its exact date cannot be established (Zacos, who does not illustrate it, suggests mid-ninth century, which now seems on the late side) but it seems very safe to say that it will antedate the elevation of Cyprus to a theme in the time of Basil I. This kommerkiarios was not part of a crop of new officials brought in with the strategos.

At some stage the invocative monogram type, Laurent Type V, was superseded, and a patriarchal cross-on-steps design became quite widespread. This new type was used by an archon of Cyprus, Theodosios. Two specimens are known (from the same boulloterion, so far as one can judge). The question for the historian is whether this design precedes or whether it was used concurrently with the so-called 'Photian' type, showing the bust of the Mother of God, and which is securely dated to *c.*870-930. Can the introduction of the patriarchal cross-on-steps type precede the

116. *BLSC* 212.

117. Lead seals of kleisourarchs of unspecified kleisourai are so rare that one would be inclined to attribute the recent specimen to Cyprus even if it did not come from an old Cypriot collection.

118. Hubbard resided at Kyrenia; but also he is known to have bought lead seals from Petrakides, who might have acquired them anywhere in the island.

119. *BLSC* 215. The seal, with an over-all size of 27mm, is not illustrated by Zacos.

elevation of Cyprus to the status of a theme? We have a lead seal of 'Photian' type, of a certain Michael, spatharokandidatos and archon of Cyprus; and others of the Theodosios mentioned above, who was also a spatharokandidatos and archon of Cyprus. Leo Symbatikes, however, very early in the tenth century, was described as protospatharios and archon; and we have lead seals of a different archon Michael, who was likewise a protospatharios. On his lead seals the patriarchal cross is floriated. He, and they, surely belong to the tenth century. Nesbitt, in *DOC* 2, suggested a tenth-century date for the lead seal of Theodosios; whereas Vecchi, cataloguing the other specimen (which is of exactly the same date) says ninth century. Unfortunately that is the state of the art. One is inclined now to concur with Vecchi – and to date the 'Photian' lead seal of archon Michael early within the date-bracket proposed by Nesbitt, i.e. late ninth century. The historian's question is whether the ranking associated with a particular office was rigidly observed (spatharios, spatharokandidatos, protospatharios), or whether an individual might be appointed to an office, with a rank one grade below what he was entitled to expect, and might be promoted (or 'made up', as one said in one's army days) after a couple of years of satisfactory service. One hesitates to give a definite answer, except to observe that any deviation was in one direction, namely to be under-ranked. In the tenth century, the archon was properly a protospatharios.

The lead seal of an Archbishop Theodoros, found near Polis, may have belonged to the prelate who is mentioned in the Kanakaria inscription from the 860s or thereabouts.[120]

Of non-Cypriot lead seals found in Cyprus, of the period up to 867 (other than those of the Kibyrrhaiote theme already mentioned), there are extremely few. One may mention that of the ecumenical patriarch Theodotos I (815-21).[121] During his pontificate the Second Iconoclastic Council was convened in Constantinople.

5. From 867 to c.1040

Two specimens are known of the late-ninth century lead seal of the archon Michael,[122] which falls into a stylistic group labelled by Nesbitt 'the Photian type', and dated by him *c.*870 - *c.*930.[123] Michael held the rank of

120. *BLSC* 851.

121. *BLSC* 480.

122. *DOC* 2.38.1 and (from the same boulloterion) Zacos II, 852; *BLSC* 112.

123. J. W. Nesbitt, 'A question of labels: identifying inscriptions on Byzantine lead seals, ca.850-ca.950', *SBS* 4 (1995), 53-62.

spatharokandidatos. Both specimens come from Istanbul, as does the similar lead seal of Archishop Epiphanios III (floruit 870),[124] who is known to have corresponded with Photius (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Lead seal of the 'Photian' type of Archbishop Epiphanius III. Found at Istanbul. *BLSC* 459. Note the characteristic 'herringbone' drapery. After Bryer, 1970.

The naval campaign of 911 seems not to have left any sigillographic traces. Leo Symbatikes, as mentioned above, was protospatharios and archon at that time, with responsibilities connected with the defence of the seas. His lead seals have not come to light. There is indeed just one specimen apparently of the Photian type or of a sub-Photian type found in Cyprus. It is on a planchet smaller than the dies, but one can make out that it is of a spatharokandidatos (personal name illegible). It was found at Larnaca. No office is specified: there is no room at the end of the reverse inscription for 'archon of Cyprus'. It has to be said that a preponderance of the lead seals in Nesbitt's list of 39 specimens of the Photian type are of high officials, and mostly churchmen. One wonders whether the Larnaca find could be connected with the initiatives of Leo VI concerning the church of St Lazarus, but that is merely a guess.



Fig. 6. Lead seal of Theodosios, imperial spatharokandidatos and archon of Cyprus. *DOC* 2.38.2. IX century. Italo Vecchi sale 17 (15 December 1999), lot 1340. 13.02g. A perfectly struck and beautifully preserved specimen, cf. *DOC* 2.38.2, which is damaged along the line of the channel.

A lead seal with floriated patriarchal cross in a private collection in Cyprus is of a Ioannes, who was a primikerios and hebdomarios.[125] The

124. A. Bryer in *Kypriakai Spoudai* 34 (1970), 19-25; Laurent, *Corpus* V /3, 2015.

125. *BLSC* 162.

latter was a palatine appointment. Might this lead seal date from after 965, reflecting the new interest of the central government in the affairs of Cyprus?

Of all the lead seals from 867 to *c.*1040 so far mentioned, no more than three were found in Cyprus. The contrast with the seventh century is extreme. The elevation of Cyprus to a theme, with what that implies of a renewed interest by the central government, was certainly not accompanied by an upsurge in sealing, either within Cyprus or in correspondence directed to Constantinople. We cannot point to any lead seals that might be connected with the campaign of 911; nor with the reconquest. Sealing in Cyprus was at the lowest possible ebb. The government of the island probably continued to be in the hands of an archon. Where he had his seat is unknown.

The reconquest of 965 was swiftly followed by the appointment of a strategos. Our knowledge that this was so rests on the Escurial *taktikon* (dating from *c.*971 x 975), which indicates that the strategos of Cyprus ranked below that of the Kibyrrhaiotes but above that of Crete. Assuming that this was not a dead letter, one wonders for how long the province continued to be governed by strategoi. Only one lead seal of a strategos has been recognized,[126] and its attribution to Cyprus is not without its difficulties. The original reading of the lead seal is endorsed by Dr Wassiliou-Seibt,[127] who proposes a date of *c.*1020-1040. If that is correct, the province will presumably have been governed by a succession of strategoi from 965 until at least *c.*1020. That seems to create difficulties for the interpretation of the other lead seals of similar date from Cyprus. If they are indeed post-965 they will necessarily have belonged to officials of middle rank, and not to a principal officer, whether civil or military, if they are to be judged compatible with government of the province by a strategos.

Not only are there very few lead seals that can be assigned (even tentatively) to the years 965-1043; those few are of different offices from the kinds regularly found from the 1060s onwards. There is the lead seal, from that period or only a little later, of an epi tou Chrysotriklinou, who was a protospatharios, holding an office (illegible) 'of Cyprus'.[128] Its provenance is presumed to be Istanbul. An appointment from the centre seems intrinsically likely. The lead seal of a certain Leo, asekretis and judge

126. The lead seal of Theodotos, in Berlin, is discussed, and its reverse is illustrated, at p.134.

127. Wassiliou-Seibt, forthcoming.

128. *BLSC* 117.

of Cyprus, has been dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century.[129] Next one may mention two lead seals owned by spatharokandidatoi (by this stage only a middling dignity), no office being specified. Both have the facing bust of a saint.[130] They differ from the later eleventh-century seals, which regularly specify the office or offices held. For that reason one would prefer to assign them to a prior phase. One of them was probably found at or near Amathus, while the other is in a private collection in Cyprus. A smaller specimen belongs to a spatharokandidatos who was apparently also a strator.[131] Altogether, one has the impression that, slender as the evidence is, it suggests positively, and not merely by default, that a rather different style of administration characterized the first sixty or seventy years after the reconquest. Whether it was headed by a strategos may be judged to be still an open question.

The facing bust of a saint was a new fashion in the design of lead seals in the first half of the eleventh century – often but not always a military saint. Again, it would be rash to assume that this fashion was exclusive of other designs. Variation in the style of lettering in the inscriptions suggests that these lead seals with the bust of a saint could easily span 50 years or more. There are three specimens of lead seals of officials with the title 'kourator of Cyprus'.[132] These are presumed to have been in charge of the domains of the crown, possibly assembled from the lands abandoned by the Arabs after 965. Note that the kourator's responsibilities were island-wide: there was a precedent for the formula 'of Cyprus' in the title of the archon. The horreiarios of (?)Paphos, Basil, of whom two lead seals have survived, will have been in charge of the warehouses where agricultural production was stored.[133] He may have been a subordinate of the kourator. Again, the provenance is Istanbul, and Seibt has queried the reading 'Paphou': the lead seal may after all not be Cypriot.

The provenance is the same for the lead seals of a kommerkiarios of Attaleia and Cyprus, who in his military career had been an imperial standard-bearer. There is another lead seal, of a kommerkiarios of Cyprus and Attaleia.[134] The alternation of the names of the provinces is curious.

129. Wassiliou and Seibt, 2004, no. 192, and below, p.136, no. 935.

130. *BLSC* 263, 264, and cf. the distinctly earlier 567.

131. *BLSC* 258.

132. *BLSC* 224, 225a and b. None of these was found in Cyprus.

133. *BLSC* 185. But see W. Seibt, in *SBS* 8, p.198, suggesting Paros or Poros. Certainly the title 'of Paphos' is curious.

134. *BLSC* 216, 217.

Attaleia was a major port of entry for goods from the Levant, and it may be that Cyprus was linked with it because it was *en route*. It seems that after 965 Cyprus shared in this long-distance trade, which perhaps revived after the Byzantine recapture of Antioch.

Of any of the successors of Epiphanios III as archbishop in these two hundred years, no lead seals have been recognized. Again one may comment that sealing was at the lowest possible ebb. There are just four lead seals of bishops, but it is difficult to say whether they belong before or after the middle of the eleventh century. A specimen naming Epiphanios, monk, bishop of Paphos may be the earliest of the four.[135] The other three are mentioned below.

Of private lead seals, none has been recognized. Of lead seals originating in other provinces, one might mention one of a protospatharios and strategos, Paraskoudinos.[136] Again it is conjectural whether it falls before or after the middle of the eleventh century. A monastic lead seal, of the laura of St Sabas, was found in the Limassol district.[137] Another monastic lead seal probably somehat later in date, is from the laura of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch, in the Judaean wilderness.[138]

The first half of the eleventh century, then, saw the small beginnings of a revival of sealing activity, affecting both the northern and the southern coastlands of Cyprus. The revival seems to reflect, or to be concurrent with, an economic recovery. Two lead seals are known of kouratores of Cyprus. Agricultural production (for export) on the lands of the crown may be symptomatic of a more widespread increase in activity. Cyprus may also have profited to some extent from long-distance trade. The *Book of Curiosities*[139] refers to this same period.

Administrative changes began to be seen towards the middle of the century. At the time of the revolt in 1041/2 Theophilos Erotikos was the governor (katepano), and Theophylaktos was protospatharios, judge, and dioiketes. Their lead seals are not known. One would have supposed that someone who combined the functions of judge and tax-collector would have needed to seal documents. Perhaps one should envisage that the lack of such lead seals from our record may be merely an absence of evidence, not negative evidence.

135. *BLSC* 471.

136. *BLSC* 283.

137. *BLSC* 495.

138. See pp. 126 and 546-9.

139. Below, pp.507-11.

6. From c.1040 to c.1118

The last third of the eleventh century was marked by an upsurge in sealing activity, which looks quite dramatic when set alongside the first two-thirds of the century. In the longer perspective, however, this peak bears absolutely no comparison with the sixth and seventh centuries. We are looking at a total of 60 or 70 lead seals from the years *c.*1040 to 1191, whereas there are well over a thousand from the sixth and seventh centuries. Moreover many of the 60 or 70 come from Istanbul, not from the soil of Cyprus. A caveat: whereas a numerical comparison between the first third and the last two-thirds of the eleventh century should be perfectly secure, the long-distance comparison between the seventh century and the eleventh is less so. Practices of sealing may have changed. Nevertheless, we can safely assert that the far greater total, and even more the variety, of the lead seals from before 700 are testimony to a level of prosperity that Byzantine Cyprus was never to see again. The eleventh- and twelfth-century lead seals almost all belonged to high officials, who used them to authenticate their dispatches to Constantinople, far more than they used them for correspondence within Cyprus. Lead seals of minor officials and of private persons are virtually absent. (Could that be because they now sealed with wax?) Symptomatic is a humble anonymous lead seal (n.b. not wax), such as a professional scribe might attatch to a letter dictated to him by an illiterate correspondent (*BLSC* 806).

The second half of the eleventh century saw the disappearance of archons, spatharioi,[140] spatharokandidatoi, and protospatharioi, and also the appearance in Cyprus of a new range of secular offices, the various principals being designated 'of Cyprus' (as the archons had been). In the Empire at large, there had been a gradual shift from strategos to doux as the head of the provincial administration. Antioch, for example, seems to have been constituted a duchy from its reconquest in 969, by the amalgamation of a number of small themes.[141] In Cyprus, new hierarchies of government are not attested until about the middle of the eleventh century, by which time, if not considerably sooner, strategoi had disappeared. In 1042, the governor's title is katepano of Cyprus, while the head of the civil administration, still with the increasingly old-fashioned rank of protospatharios, combined the roles of judge and dioiketes. The civil and military functions were in principle separated, although it seems that through most of the third quarter of the eleventh century one

140. But note *BLSC* 834.

141. Cheynet, 2006, pp.1-2.

individual was in control of both, and had both titles.[142] On the civil side there was the judge of Cyprus, and the anagrapheus of Cyprus (replacing the now old-fashioned title of dioiketes). At a date before 1055, St Lietbert, bishop of Cambrai, was detained for several days by the katepano of Cyprus.[143] By the twelfth century the governor's title had changed to doux of Cyprus (or of the Cypriots). Another katepano of Cyprus, Michael, was also judge, with the rank of vestes, a dignity which seems to have disappeared by the end of the reign of Constantine X.[144] The same Michael, presumably, is mentioned as vestes and doux of Cyprus.[145]

Officials who were in post concurrently each had the designation 'of Cyprus': that implies a kind of collegiality in the government of the province. Even within the second half of the century, and into the beginning of the twelfth, there was evidently some development and change in the naming of offices, which should help us to construct a chronology. The great offices of state were generally held by members of distinguished families, as one posting in a career in the imperial service which took them to various provinces. Because the lead seals include in their inscription the family name of the owner, there is the potential of identifying him and connecting him with mentions in the written sources. That should serve to anchor the chronology. Whether it is enough to define a peak in sealing activity from the 1060s onwards remains to be decided. But it seems historically worth-while to try to assess whether the the new activity was in full swing, for example, before the beginning of the reign of Alexius I (1081). When one comes to survey the evidence, the anchor-points are fewer than one perhaps imagined. One has to rely on the hypothesis that fashions changed in an orderly way, and that ranks and titles did not proliferate without rhyme or reason.

The principal or senior office is placed last in the title, as usual. An alphabetical list of senior offices includes the following (with *BLSC* reference numbers):

1 Judge and **anagrapheus** of Cyprus (106) (cf. Theophylaktos, above)
2 Proedros, judge, and **anagrapheus** of Cyprus (107-8)
3 Kouropalates and **doux** of Cyprus (146, 148)

142. This emerges rather clearly from the list of officials presented in Wassilious-Seibt (forthcoming).

143. Mango 1985, p.190, note 66.

144. *BLSC* 209, at least two boulloteria.

145. Mango, 1985, ibid, notes 67, 68.

4 Protonobelissimos and **doux** of the Cypriots (147)
5 Protoproedros and **doux** (149)
6 Asecretis and **judge** of Cyprus (199)
7 Magistros, bestarches, katepano, and **judge** of Cyprus (200)
8 Protonotarios and **judge** of Cyprus (201)
9 Protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou, notary, and **judge** of the Hippodrome and of Cyprus (202)
10 Patricius and **judge** of Cyprus (930)
11 Bestarches, judge, and **katepano** of Cyprus (207)
12 Magistros and **katepano** of Cyprus (208)
13 Bestes, judge, and **katepano** of Cyprus (209)
14 Magistros, bestarches, and **katepano** (of Cyprus?) (210)
15 Proedros, topoteres, and **katepano** of Cyprus (211)
16 **Kommerkiarios** of Cyprus and Attaleia (218)
17 **Proedros** (240)

Chronologically the most precise evidence is from the lead seals of Konstantinos Euphorbenos Katakalon, who is known to have served as doux of Cyprus twice, first at a date before 1094, when he still held the rank of kouropalates, and then in 1102-4, as protonobelissimos (items 3 and 4 in the list). Elpidios Vrakamios, who was also kouropalates and doux of Cyprus, will have held office at a similar date, or possibly rather earlier (in the 1080s). One specimen, in the *ancien fonds* of the Cyprus Museum, may have been found in the island.[146] If the office of doux superseded that of katepano (but note the references in 1036 and 1042, above), some of the lead seals in the list may be earlier than those of Vrakamios. The evidence could be confusing. A lead seal of Nikephoros Melissenos, from *c.*1060/1070, combines the military and civil functions: he was both katepano and judge (item 7 above). Another lead seal of the same man describes him only as katepano, and does not specify Cyprus (item 14).[147]

The rank of protospatharios seems to have become obsolete by *c.*1060. One may therefore, tentatively, place a relatively early date on item 9. As for the remaining items in the list, it will be prudent to reserve judgement on their exact date. Several are thought to be from the time of Alexius I, including one of Leo Pleures, protoproedros and doux, for which a provenance in Nicosia is probable. Altogether, the lead seals create the impression of a strong military emphasis in the government of Cyprus.

146. *BLSC* 148b.

147. See the discussion in Seibt and Zarnitz, 1.2.11.

A non-Cypriot lead seal which very probably antedates the reign of Alexius I is of Apnelgaripes, who was the Armenian magistros of Tarsus under Michael VII (1071-8). It is intriguing that he should have been in contact with Cyprus at this date.[148]

One other Cyprus provenance is certain: a lead seal found in Kyrenia harbour, in the mud, is of Pegasios, topoteretes and katepano. A topoteretes was the second-in-command of a tagma. Katepano, as distinct from katepano of Cyprus, could have been a middling military command, rather than a principal office of the provincial administration. The obverse shows the Mother of God *orans*, a design seen also on four private lead seals of the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. One of these is from Polis,[149] one from Athna,[150] and both the others are also from Cyprus.[151]

There is just one lead seal of an archbishop[152] which may be tentatively dated to the last third of the eleventh century or thereabouts: like the private seals it shows the Mother of God *orans*. There was, perhaps, less occasion for the archbishops to write to Constantinople than for the secular officials to do so, and the ratio of surviving ecclesiastical to secular lead seals may therefore be misleading.

A lead seal of the patriarch of Antioch, Nicephorus the Black, dating from the 1080s, was found in the Dhekelia area, to the south-west of Pyla.[153]

7. The twelfth century

Several lead seals of the archbishops of Cyprus have been dated to the twelfth century, and attributed e.g. to the vacancy which followed the resignation of Nicholas Mouzalon in *c.*1110,[154] to John the Cretan (1152-74),[155] and to Sophronios (in office in 1191).[156] These three lead seals give the archbishop the title 'poimenarches of the Cypriots' – cf. the twelfth-century usage of 'poimen (= metropolitan) of Crete'.

148. *BLSC* 227. In the Cyprus Museum but without specific provenance.
149. *BLSC* 573.
150. *BLSC* 858.
151. *BLSC* 574-5.
152. *BLSC* 463.
153. *BLSC* 486.
154. *BLSC* 464.
155. *BLSC* 465.
156. *BLSC* 466.

The lead seals of bishops reappear, in very modest numbers. There are specimens belonging to the bishops of Arsinoe (Polis), Kition, and Paphos.[157]

The peak of secular sealing activity seems to have been in the late eleventh century and through the reign of Alexius I. It is reasonably clear that far fewer lead seals have survived from the rest of the twelfth century. Why that should be so is puzzling. There is a handsome lead seal of the ecumenical patriarch Loukas Chrysoberges, 1157-70, almost certainly found in Cyprus. He adjudicated the claim of the bishop of Limassol to have been wrongfully dismissed. That may well be the context for the lead seal found in Cyprus. Of secular lead seals, one of the pansebastohypertatos Konstantinos is connected with some probability with a son-in-law of Alexius I.[158] Another, of the sebaste Anna Doukaina, is of eleventh- or twelfth-century date. A third, of the sebastos Theodoros, was found at Aradhippou. A fourth, from the end of the twelfth century or even later, is of Leo Philes, sebastos. But of the judges and dukes of Cyprus, there is no sign.

8. Summing-up.

The key idea which shapes the foregoing analysis is that, for each successive period in the history of Byzantine Cyprus, there are one or more characteristic offices or dignities. In the same way that particular fossil species characterize successive geological strata, there are dominant categories of seals. The analysis relies on the availability of a random sample of finds of lead seals.

Close dating is usually difficult. It is by great good fortune, therefore, that an archive of some 160 lead seals, discovered in the late 1930s, should be dated by 20 or more specimens belonging unequivocally to Archbishop Epiphanius II. The archive was very possibly abandoned at the time of the transfer of population to Nea Ioustinianoupolis.

The first third of the eighth century is a period crowded with change. Lead seals from these years have much to contribute to the administrative history of Cyprus.

From then until the creation of the theme of Cyprus, in 965 or soon after, surviving lead seals are few, and varied, with no characteristic or

157. *BLSC* 468-70.

158. *BLSC* 235, found at Xylotymbou.

dominant office except (puzzlingly) dioiketes. The province was governed by an official with the title of 'archon of Cyprus' for most or all of this period.

The reconquest of 965 certainly did not result promptly in more sealing. Moreover the offices represented between then and *c.* 1040 are again very varied, and create an impression of an *ad hoc* style of administration, quite different from what was to come later in the eleventh century. Although Cyprus was, at least for a short time, a theme, no lead seals of its strategos are recorded, the one apparent exception being mininterpreted. Archons reappear, now with the higher rank of protospatharios rather than spatharios.

From *c.* 1040 there is an upturn in sealing, and the governance of Cyprus is shared between two principal officers, respectively military and civil, namely a katepano (who was in effect the military governor), and a judge, who was also in charge of taxation. The title of katepano later gave way to that of doux (no doubt with the same function), and dioiketes gave way to asekretis.

The Comnenian period has left remarkably few lead seals in Cyprus.

APPENDIX

Work in progress: how new discoveries of lead seals can sharpen the focus

Three lead seals from the 1930s, from the collections of Sir Harry Luke, have turned up; they include one piece of the bishop of Aradus, of considerable historical interest. A provisional account of the Gunther bequest to the American Numismatic Society, New York can now be offered.[1] A group of lead seals found at (modern) Paphos or in its vicinity is particularly welcome, both because its character as a random sample is guaranteed (the scientific value of randomness can hardly be over-emphasized), and because it happens to include a specimen of the Judaean laura of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch, with intriguing implications for the history of Cyprus in the 'dark age'. The lead seals from the episcopal basilica at Kourion are reviewed; their dating is radically important for the archaeologist's general interpretation of the site. And a few crumbs of information are rescued from the French excavations at Campanopetra, Constantia, disrupted in 1974. New finds of lead seals continue to accumulate, since the publication of the catalogue, and there are two or three specimens which were accidentally omitted. The lead seals in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which include three from Cyprus, have been published since *BLSC* appeared.

For convenience the new material is numbered from 885 onwards, in continuation of *BLSC*. Reviews of *BLSC* have pointed out some useful corrections,[2] which are mentioned below.

1. The writer offers his thanks to Dr Stolyarik, Collections Manager at the American Numismatic Society, for her kind and prompt help is providing images and details.

2. Review by Professor Claudia Sode in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

1. A lead seal of the bishop of Aradus, from the Sir Harry Luke collection

The rocky islet of Aradus (Arwād), a mere 800 by 500m in extent, lay 2km offshore from the coast of southern Syria. A small city or *kastron* existed there, with walls 10m high, built of massive blocks. The islet sheltered two good anchorages, and the inhabitants were sea-faring people. In the seventh century they had their own bishop, a suffragan (it seems) of the metropolitan of Tyre. After devastating Cyprus in 649, Mu'awiya returned to Aradus and besieged that city, without success. His campaign was overtaken by the onset of winter. The next year he returned and subdued the island, using various siege engines. He broke down the walls and burned the town. 'And', says al-Balādhurī, 'it has remained deserted to this day'. The citizens were permitted to depart, and to go wherever they wished.[3] The sources do not mention Cyprus as a destination, but a lead seal of Pantherios, bishop of Aradus, in the Cyprus Museum's *ancien fonds*,[4] has been seen as evidence of their re-settlement.[5] Unfortunately that lead seal falls under the strong suspicion of being a modern forgery. It may be authentic, but from its 'feel', one had doubts. The (unprovenanced) specimen which Schlumberger published in 1900, together with the hypothesis of Sathas, could have given the pretext to a modern forger. Much more probably, however, there will have been a genuine specimen somewhere in this early history, which the forger took as his model (and partly misunderstood). This prototype is likely to have been found in Cyprus. The third example that has now come to light puts the problem in an altogether more favourable perspective: it is unquestionably genuine, and was certainly found in Cyprus. It was acquired by Professor J. R. Stewart from the collection of Sir Harry Luke, together with two other Byzantine lead seals in indifferent condition and of no particular historical interest.[6] All three were very firmly (and multiply) ticketed by Stewart, 'found in Cyprus'.

3. L. I. Conrad, 'The conquest of Arwād: a source-critical study of the historiography of the early medieval Near East', in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, *Problems in the Literary Source Material*, edited by A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, Princeton, N.J., 1992, pp.317-401. Agapios's account of the siege goes back to Theophilus of Edessa, writing in *c.*750. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia* (Mango and Scott), and Paul the Deacon, in PL 95, col. 1049.

4. *BLSC* p.522, F.23.

5. C. N. Sathas, in 2, 1873, p. 24, n.1; dismissed by Hill, vol. 1, p. 327.

6. Mrs Eve Stewart some eight or nine years ago generously gave to the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum a large collection of plaster casts of Lusignan and other coins from her late husband's papers. The three lead seals were buried among them.

885. Patherios, Bishop of Aradus



↑ 23mm; 17mm, 16mm.

Obv. Π[A]N/ΘHPI/OV Wreath border upwards.

Rev. ЄΠI/CKAP/AΔ& Wreath border, upwards.

The letter A on the obverse is obscured by damage.

The specimen, of which Schlumberger published a line-drawing in 1900 (Fig.7), was communicated to him by his good friend Maxe-Werly. The piece in Vienna which Laurent edited in 1965[7] is apparently a facsimile of the same. The original is stated to be worn in the lower field, which probably explains the misreading -OC for -OV on the obverse.[8]

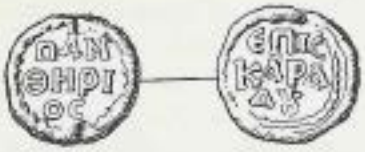


Fig.7. Lead seal of Pantherios, bishop of Aradus (Schlumberger, SBI 160).

The doubts expressed in *BLSC*, p.522 about the authenticity of F.23 could even be strengthened. The maker seems to have failed to understand the reverse inscription, using a Δ for the first A in Aradou: it is seriffed as a Δ. But he must have had a model, and there are reasons to doubt whether Schlumberger's line-drawing was the inspiration – the initial cross on F.23, as well as the blundered inscription, and the ending -OV (the V is faint but visible).

Conrad expresses scepticism over the evidence for re-location to Cyprus, remarking that it is unknown how or why the lead seal of Bishop Pantherios came to Cyprus. While there was only one specimen provenanced to Cyprus (and that one in fact a forgery!), that was an argument which could not be denied, even if one was less than happy with it. As we now know, however, it is not a singleton. There are two other specimens, of which one at least was certainly found in Cyprus. Given that

7. V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire Byzantin*, vol. V.2. *L'Église*, Paris, 1965, pp. 368f., no. 1535, referring to Vienna no. 315.

8. See Fig. 7.

two if not three boulloteria are now on record, one must assume that the surviving specimens are merely a very small sample of the lead seals that were impressed.

If it is, after all, true that the bishop of Aradus migrated to Cyprus with his flock – sea-faring folk, whose skills and aptitudes would be a welcome recruitment after the raid of 649, the historical implications of the bishop's sealing documents in Cyprus[9] are, provisionally, intriguing. Even in the interval between the raids of 649 and 653 it seems that Cyprus was a viable new homeland for refugees. And Bishop Pantherios seems to have taken part in the work of reconstruction. One cannot formally demonstrate that more than one boulloterion was used in Cyprus, but there is a very reasonable presumption that that was so – in which case, he was playing an active part in public affairs. It may be that the Aradians (who had, incidentally, survived on their home islet as a Christian enclave for several years after the Muslim conquest of most of Syria) did not have Greek as their first language: we know very little about them.[10] They may even have been monophysite by inclination. Either way, it is natural to suppose that they would have maintained a sense of communal identity through loyalty to their own bishop. That may have been tolerated. The hierarchy of the Church of Cyprus had other things to deal with in the 650s.

This hypothesis should encourage us to think again about the lead seals of the metropolitan of Tyre, of which three, it seems, (from two boulloteria) have been found in Cyprus, as well as one of the deacon of the church of Tyre. *BLSC* 489a is, one has to say, suspiciously similar in the details of its outline to the example published in 1900 by Schlumberger.[11] It was communicated to Schlumberger by his colleague M. Pottier. But perhaps this was (is) the specimen already in the Bibliothèque nationale. The question comes to mind whether this bishop and his flock, too, were permitted to settle in Cyprus, and whether they too had Aramaic and Syriac as their native and liturgical languages.

The other two lead seals which Stewart acquired from Luke may be described as follows:

9. Not altogether certain: he could in principle have been sealing documents which had Cyprus as their destination.

10. *Brill's New Pauly*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2002, s.v. talks mostly about the Syro-Phoenician commercial town (Erruwad).

11. It is perhaps mere coincidence that this lead seal and the one of Aradus appear next to each other as nos. 159 and 160, and that Schlumberger employs the same formula in describing both: 'Ce très ancien et très prècieux sceau . . . m'a été communiqué par . . . '

886. (345 bis) Konstantinos?

23mm; 21mm, 19mm.↑



Obv. Eagle. Above, crosslet. Border (obscure).

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with K to left, N to right, AW ligate below, TS above. Narrow wreath border, upwards (visible on the right side).

The letter C required to complete the name *Konstantinos* is not obvious. The treatment of the eagle's wings is distinctive and unusual. The reverse die is appreciably off-centre.

887. (545). N.



Obv. Mother of God. Crosslets. Wreath border upwards.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with Π to left, NC ligate to right, AW ligate below, and S above. Crosslets in upper angles, and stars in lower angles. Wreath border, upwards.

The letter C makes the reading suggested in *BLSC* (Appion, Apollo) difficult. This specimen is clearly by the same die-engraver, but almost certainly from a different boulloterion from 545.

2. New York: the Charles G. Gunther bequest, 1952.

Mr Gunther was the owner, eventually, of the Cyprus Mines Corporation, and had opportunities to acquire coins and lead seals in the course of his business. The better specimens of his lead seals were retained by the Cyprus Museum (see *BLSC*, pp. 41 and 49), but some 14 pieces were received by the American Numismatic Society, and accessioned under 1952.196. One lead seal from Mr Gunther's collection was the gift of Mr Christian G. Gunther in March 1949, accessioned under 1952.142. The lead seals are uncleaned and, in most cases, encrusted, making exact

identification difficult. A couple are worn completely flat, and one item is a lead weight rather than a lead seal. The identifiable pieces are listed in the same section order as used in *BLSC*. The dimensions are approximate.

Two specimens of the Olympos variety (*BLSC* 105), one of an 'eagle' seal of Anastasios (*BLSC* 331), and one of Archbishop Epiphanios II (*BLSC* 423) are almost certainly from the Petrakides archive, either bought from Mr Petrakides or (much less probably) directly from the finder.

Section B.



888. Bilingual lead seal (note the shape of the letter G). 9.92g. 19mm; 16, 16mm.

Obv. Cruciform monogram, Є to right, Β below, Ϫ above.

Rev. Centrally, Π[ ]G.[C] above. Wreath border.

1952.142.546. (Chas. G. Gunther coll. (lot 2).

Section C.

889. (105). Block monogram. Olympos. a) 10.49g., 22mm; 16.5, 16.5mm. 1952.196.165.

b)17.5mm; 16, 15mm. 1952.196.167.

These seem both to be further specimens from boulloterion 5 (faint traces of - H - below inscription).

Section E.

890. (331). 12.52g. 21mm; 17, 18mm.

Obv. Eagle.

Rev. +AN/ACTA/CIOV. ANS 52.196.174.

Possibly from the same boulloterion as five others. Petrakides supplied three of these to the Cyprus Museum, and Hubbard had one.

891. (354)/ 6.87g. 19mm; 18, 18mm.

Obv. Eagle.

Rev. +CTЄ / ΦAN/OV. ANS 52.196.173.

892. (369). Anastasios? 9.67g. 19mm; 16, 17mm.

Obv. Eagle. Above, monogram, with ?? Α to left, TϪ above.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with A to left, N to right, G (latin letter?) below, and TX above. ANS 1952.196.171.

893. 5.20g. 17mm; 13, 13mm.
Obv. Eagle.
Rev. Obscure. ANS 52.196.172.

Section G1.

894. (423) Archbishop Epiphanios II. 9.02g. 15mm; 15, 15mm.

Obv. Bust of St Epiphanius.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, *Epiphaniou*. ANS 1952.196.170.

There are at least 16 specimens of this variety in the Cyprus Museum ex Petrakides, and Hubbard had two.



895. (449). Bishop Thomas. 7.18g. 17mm; 17, 17mm.
Obv. Bust, (?)nimbate, with rather flat-topped head (obscure).
Rev. ΘΩ [MA]/CЄ[ΠIC]KOPO. Border. ANS 52.196.164.
It is not certain that this is exactly the same variety as 449.

896.(= 453j/454g) Archbishop Konstantinos/Ioannes. wnr. 20mm; 19,18mm.

Obv. Bust of St Epiphanius, bearded, nimbate. (No crosslets.)

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with pendent N to right. ANS 52.196, labelled Gunther collection. The obverse of this lead seal, as illustrated in *BLSC* p. 367, belongs to another specimen (see note under 453j, of which the obverse (p. 366) is in fact this Gunther specimen.

Section I.



897. (cf. 795?). 25mm; 18, *c*.17mm. wnr.

Obv. Obscure. ?? Bust or half-length figure, holding staff or sceptre. Raised portions of the design to left and right are reminiscent of *BLSC* 795.

Rev. +ΘЄ/OΔOC/IOV in bold lettering, seriffed. Wreath border, upwards. ANS 1952.196.166

ANS 1952.196.168, 169 were found illegible, and 175 is a square weight.

3. The bishops of Kition

Father Chariton, of the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni, has written about the lead seals of the bishops of Kition (Stavrovouniotes, 2005), attributing some additional specimens to the see. To the three certain specimens (*BLSC* 425, 426a, b), he adds the recent find from Kalokhorio (10 km west of Larnaca) of a bishop Theodoros, diocese unnamed (*BLSC* 849, there attributed very tentatively to Kition). Its obverse shows the Mother of God Hodegetria. The reverse (new direct photograph, enlarged) is generally quite similar in style to *BLSC* 425. The provenance strengthens the suggested attribution. If the Hodegetria was the logo of Kition (cf. the lead seals of Constantia with the bust of St Epiphanius, or the distinctive standing figure on the lead seals of Amathus), the other lead seals on which it appears (*BLSC* 510-515) might belong to lay persons of the same city, in the same way as the Constantian varieties *BLSC* 231, (archiepiscopal?) notary, 291, zygostates, also 300, and 187, 192, and 195, illoustrioi. Again, 512 and 513c were found locally to Kition.

Father Chariton's other suggested additions to the canon (*BLSC* 97, 440d, and F.31) are a little more speculative, although one can say that 97b is from near-by Kellia. On the date of the latter (around 700) see the commentary on no. 909 below. He defends the authenticity of one specimen at least of F.31, reading Marsos rather than Narses, and he offers another known instance of the name (see his p. 164, n.54). F.31 (whether a or b or both, or a missing prototype), reading MAP/COV/– //ЄΠI/CKOΠ/OV can now be readmitted to the canon of genuine lead seals, through the recent discovery of another specimen, in a private collection, which Fr. Chariton says is from the same boulloterion, at Aradhippou, i.e. close to Larnaca. Given the apparent slight differences between the two previously recorded specimens of F.31, careful publication with a good photograph is desirable. The new provenance makes it probable, although not certain, that the bishop in question was bishop of Kition: there is a tendency, no more, for lead seals to be found within the diocese to which they belong. It might be truer of some dioceses than of others. (Note the episcopal lead seal, below, in similar style, excavated at Kourion.) *BLSC* 848 (from a private collection in Larnaca), meanwhile, indubitably reads NAP/COV//ЄΠI/CKOΠ/OV. The writer's original condemnation of F.31 was uninfluenced by the need to explain M for N. His

thought was that a forger, who was acquainted with bilingual seals using Latin letters, thought of the name Marcos. The discrepancy remains a problem.

If *BLSC* 848 and related material belong to a bishop of Kition, the question arises whether they are earlier or later than the stylistically quite different 425-6. Comparanda in the same general style are *BLSC* 427 (Ioannes, bishop of Soloi, again with a line under the personal name); 438 (Paulos, bishop, found at Khlorakas, and very close in style to 848). The absence of related material in the Petrakides archive suggests a date before the 680s.

A few more provenances local to the diocese remain a desideratum. As for the date-range of the non-episcopal lead seals, *BLSC* 510 and 511 could be as early as the time of Heraclius. There is a general presumption that the peak in sealing activity belongs, at Kition as elsewhere, to the second half of the seventh century and possibly the early eighth. The quite high survival-rate of the seals of Iordanes points the same way.

Archaeological investigations at Larnaca have until now yielded extremely little of relevance to the period 491-*c.*700, other than the famous mosaic, of course. That adds to the scientific value of the lead seals.

4. A random sample of lead seals from Paphos

Because only a minute fraction of all the lead seals once attatched to documents have survived, it is a task of some delicacy to decide how far what is available in collections is typical. In *BLSC* the Cyprus Museum collection was assessed by comparing it with the completely independent material gathered in recent decades. It emerged that the *ancien fonds* was based on a discerning collection, rich in 'interesting' lead seals, and far from being a random sample, e.g. in respect of the relative proportions of official and private lead seals.[12] Whereas material from all over Cyprus seems to show a similar chronological trend (the great majority of the lead seals being from the VI/VII centuries), regional differences are to be expected, perhaps for example because the lead seals of the local bishop or of local illoustrioi are better represented. There are still all too few regions or localities from which there is a statistically adequate sample of what is found locally, to enable us to judge how far localization was a factor. Material from the occupied north would be particularly welcome, because

12. *BLSC*, pp. 39-44.

the northern coastlands seem to have had a rather different political history in the 'condominium cenbturies'. The material reported here comprises 27 lead seals gathered up unselectively one by one in a roughly three-year period. They are from modern Paphos and its vicinity, but probably not to any extent from Khlorakas. Some of them are hopelessly illegible and others are in poor condition, but it is quite safe to say, for example, that only one out of the 27 is Islamic, and only two are from later than the eighth century. The legible pieces are edited below, arranged in the same order as *BLSC*.

B. Bilingual seals



898. (26 bis) Ioulianos?

18mm; 15mm, c.15mm. ↑ 5.88g.

Obv. Cruciform monogram with uncertain letter(s) to left, Ρ to right, Α below, and Ϫ above.

Rev. Three-line inscription, Ч[Г]/[І]ɑ n/[·]

The reverse reading is conjectural. For the style of the lettering, in particular the open ɑ, cf. *BLSC* 27, 28, 30.

899. (41bis). Sergios



18mm; 15mm, 16mm. ↑ 5.47g.

Obv. +/CЄP/ΓIϪ/+ Wreath border upwards.

Rev. +/SЄP/GIЧ/+ (?) Wreath border upwards.

On the reverse the second crosslet is placed centrally.

D. Offices and dignities



900. (282) Ioannes, Stratelates

6.50g ↑ 18mm; 16mm, 17mm.

Obv. [+]/IWA/NNȣ Wreath border downwards.

Rev. CTRA/THΛA/TOV Dotted border.

From the same boulloterion as *BLSC* 282, 3. Two other specimens (from boulloteria 1 and 2) are from the Limassol area and Pyla. Thus, provenances for the variety now extend along the south coast.

G1. Archbishops and bishops of the Church of Cyprus



901. (438) Paulos, Bishop (of Paphos?)

7.74g. ↑ 22mm; 18mm, 19mm.

Obv. +/ΠAV/ΛOV Wreath border, downwards.

Rev. +ЄΠIC/KOΠ/OV Wreath border, downwards.

From the same boulloterion as *BLSC* 438 from Khlorakas (imperfectly edited), which makes it probable or even very probable that Paulos was bishop of Paphos.

H. Other seals of the Church



902. (501bis) Theodoros, Deacon of Lapithos

8.86g ↑ 18mm; *c.*16mm, *c.*16mm.

Obv. +ΘЄ/OΔW/POV Border.

Rev. ΔIA/KGΛ/ΠΘ Segmented or wreath border.

The letter following K (which has a mark of abbreviation) looks at first glance like iota, but it seems to be a long-tailed sigma. It is possible that there is a missing letter after Λ (A?).



903. N., koinobiarchos of the laura of St Theodosios

12.02g. ↑ 22mm; c.21mm, 20mm.

Obv. Bearded nimbate bust of saint, *orans*. Columnar inspection, +ΘЄ/O/ΔO to left.

Rev. Five-line inscription. KOINO/BIAPXOЧ/CΦPAΓ[IC]/ΘЄOΔO/CIOV Bold ornamental border.

Late XI-first half of XII century? A dodecasyllabic inscription. This lead seal is fully discussed below, p.546-9. The style of the obverse bears a strong family resemblance to that of the lead seal of the lavra of St Sabas (*BLSC* 495), found in the Limassol district, for which a X/XI century date was proposed. While *BLSC* 495 is doubtless the earlier of the two, one would wish to keep their dates not too far apart.

I. Images of the saints

904. N.

10.45g. ↑

Obv. Bust of saint.

Rev. Cruciform monogram with M to left, K to right, AX below, ϒ above.

905. N.

9.37g. ↑

Obv. Bust of saint?

Rev. Cruciform monogram . Stars added in 3rd and 4th quarters.



906. N.

7.38g. ↑

Obv. Bust of Mother of God, *orans*.

Rev. Four-line inscription.

XI-XII century. Note that the obv. inscription is reduced to Μ Θ, as on *BLSC* 858.

J1. Double-monogram seals



907. (666) N., Bishop?

6.24g. ↑ 24mm; 20mm, 19mm.

Obv. Cruciform monogram, with Ε to left, Σ to right, Ο below, Ρ and doubtless Ϧ above. Wreath border, upwards.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with Ε to left, Π to right, Κ below, and Ϧ above. Wreath border, upwards. (Cf *BLSC* 676).

There are two other specimens, from (a) Khlorakas and (b) Khlorakas/Emba respectively. This specimen, with some damage, is from an extremely similar boulloterion to (a). The reverse appears to be the same (details of wreath at 9 - 11 o'clock), while the obverse differs slightly possibly through recutting? Possibly a bishop of Paphos, but lead seals reached Khlorakas from a wide hinterland.

J2. Invocative monograms



908. N.

13,58g. ↑ 18mm; 17mm, 17mm.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent Type -), with Η to left, Ε to right. In the lower left quadrant, a lightly engraved Α. In the upper right quadrant, a row of small pellets.

Rev. Π-monogram with Ε, Κ, Ϧ above (*episkopou*), and uncertain triangular feature centrally.

This lead seal, with its unusual Π-monogram, is comparable with *BLSC* 97 (Theodosios, bishop). The lightly-engraved Α is paralleled by a lightly-engraved Ν on *BLSC* 97a and ? Θ on 97b. Using bold and light lettering in

the same design is idiosyncratic and very unusual, and hints at a local boulloterion-maker. The lead seal edited here belongs to the experimental phase of the early eighth century, and thereby suggests a later date than one might otherwise have guessed for *BLSC* 97, around 700. Father Chariton Stavrovouniotes has attributed *BLSC* 97 to Kition on the evidence of a find from Kellia, nearby (see above). The Paphos provenance leaves the question of the attribution much where it was, except for the idiosyncracy of the engraver. The two varieties certainly belong closely together.

K. Various



909. N.

7.62g ↑ 20mm; *c.*18mm, *c.*16mm.

Obv. Standing, facing figure, nimbate. Undertype: at 9-10 o'clock, a deeply modelled facing head.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with N to left, ? E to right, ? O below, large Y above.

At first glance the standing figure might be a Hodegetria, but closer inspection suggests a re-used planchet.



910. N.

5.44g. ↑ 20mm; *c.*16mm, *c.*16mm.

Obv. A -monogram, laterally reversed, with KPV attatched to right, small crosslet above, ? other letters to left (missing). Partial border to lower right.

Rev. Five letters arranged cross-wise, to read ΦΩC vertically, (?) ZΩH horizontally.

Compare the style of lettering and the absence of borders of *BLSC* 96 = 99, both from Khlorakas. Perhaps relatively early in date.



911. N.

8.85g. ↑. 21mm.

Obv. XЄ/BO[H]/ΘI

Rev. ΠIA/MXN/✳

The large, straggling lettering suggests the work of an unskilled engraver. The designs lack a border. Cf *BLSC* 781, 783.

Conical Lead seal



912. N.

9.03g. 21mm; 15mm.

Laterally reversed N -monogram, enclosing A and another letter; P to left (rectè right). TO and V above.

Islamic lead seal



913. N.

4.41g. ↑ 16mm.

The cufic inscription, being partly off the flan and in any case written rather untidily, is difficult to read. The writer is indebted to Mr N. D. Nicol who has advised that the consonants could be read in more than one way, but (on the writer's suggestion) that, yes, 'Qubrus' was not impossible. A second specimen from the same boulloterion might clarify the reading.

Illegible
914-924.

5. A lead seal from Constantia

A lead seal from the French excavations of Constantia, from a heap of marble slabs stacked in readiness for burning in a lime-kiln,[13] apparently dates the kiln to before *c.*715 x 725. As much of the lime-burning activity on the site has been interpreted as being at a much later date,[14] one could wish to be very sure about the archaeological context of the find.

925 (544). Paulos.



Obv. Bust of the Mother of God.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, *Paulou.*

As *BLSC* 544 (a different boulloterion). Before 725.

6. The lead seals from the episcopal basilica, Kourion, reviewed

Eight lead seals from Kourion, of which one is largely illegible, are published by Dr A. Dunn in Megaw, 2007. They are critical for the interpretation of the site, in so far as four of them have invocative monograms, which suggest that they are of early eighth-century date. There should now be little doubt that they post-date the earthquake for which Megaw proposes a *t.p.q.* of 685/6, and which in his view brought urban life at Kourion to an end. The lead seals indicate otherwise, and so do the excavated coins. A general discussion of the site will be found in Chapter VIII. The seven legible lead seals are re-edited below. Their dimensions are quoted from Dunn's text.

D. Offices and Dignities
926 (190). Petros, Illoustrios



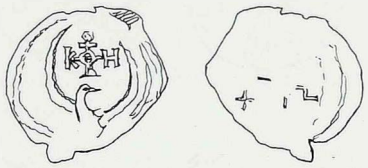
13. See Argoud, *Salamine* XI, Figs. 288 and 289.

14. See below, pp. 421-2.

21mm; 19mm. ↑.
Obv. Monogram, *Petrou*. Wreath border, upwards.
Rev. Monogram, *illoustriou*. Wreath border, anti-clockwise.

Dunn, no. 2. CB 1448. SW court SE, layer 4 (cf.930, from layer 5, and 931, on pavement). Probably the same boulloterion as the lower illustration on *BLSC*, p. 244. The variety is dated to the 680s by its occurrence in the Petrakides archive. See the note on *BLSC* 190.

E. 'Eagle' lead seals



927. N.

21mm, 19mm. ?↑.

Obv. Eagle. Above, invocative monogram, Laurent Type V.

Rev. Traces of cruciform monogram?

Dunn, no. 6. CB 1570. Narthex, N2, layer 4. Dunn appears to suggest that the reverse type is also an eagle. The obverse monogram, Laurent Type 5, in mature style, is plentiful among the lead seals from Istanbul, but very scarce in Cyprus (see *BLSC*, pp. 106-7). The date of this specimen is debateable, but the author's view is that it post-dates the experimental phase of invocative monograms, therefore *c.*725 or later. The eagle's wing to the right is attatched lower down than the other wing, cf. *BLSC* 400 (with the same obv. monogram).

G1. Episcopal lead seals of the Church of Cyprus



928. N., Bishop
22mm, 20mm. ↑.
Obv. Obscure. (Probably a two- or three-line inscription with crosslets above and below.) Dotted border.
Rev. Three-line inscription, Є [Π] Ι/CΚΟ /ΠΟΥ , crosslets above and below. Dotted border.

Dunn, no. 1. CB 3447. Unit 2, layer 2. The first Π of *episkopou* looks strange – as if with a small omega (of classical form) between two vertical strokes. The reverse legend is untidily set out. A similar design was employed in several dioceses, and may eventually be dateable as a group. Late 7th century?

J2. Lead seals with invocative monograms.



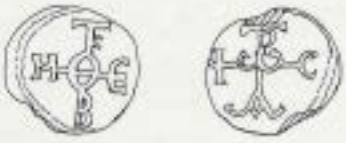
929. N.

20mm, 18mm. ↑.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent Type –) with ΘЄ to left, H to right, KTO above, B below. Indistinct border.

Rev. Cruciform monogram with (?) bold Γ and smaller Λ to left, X centrally, uncertain bold letter to the right, TϏ above, Ѡ below. Bold grained border.

Dunn, no. 3 (as Antiochos). CB 3310. Atrium SE, Layer 2. The style of engraving of the reverse is unusual, with a combination of bolder and lighter strokes. As the reverse monogram includes the letter Ϗ, it is not clear whether the letters Ѡ are a case-ending, or belong in the middle of a name or office. The date is therefore ambiguous, but it may be early eighth century, during the experimental phase of the invocative monogram.



930 (732). N. ?Ioannes, Illoustrios

18mm, 16mm. ↑.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent Type –), with M to left, Θ centrally, Є to right, T and K above, and B below. ?Wreath border.

Rev. Cruciform monogram with N to left, Ѡ centrally, C to right, (and Ϗ ?) above, ΑѠ ligate below. ?Wreath border.

Dunn, no. 4. CB 2752. Baptistery narthex N, layer 2. On the obverse, the M is surely to be read as H. The O above the T is absent, cf. Laurent Type VII. Neat workmanship. Dunn reads Stratoni, but the reverse design is

essentially identical with *BLSC* 732 (Ioannes, illoustrios), which certainly includes *ou*. Date: early eighth century (experimental phase). Note that 732b is from Polis.



931. N.

18mm, 14mm. ↑.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent Type I). Dotted border.

Rev. Cruciform monogram, with ϺЄ ligate to left, Ⲥ (or Γ?) to right, Ⲱ below, ? O above. Dotted border.

Dunn, no. 5. CB 1607. SW court SE, layer 5 (cf. 925 and 931). The letter Θ is diamond-shaped, cf. *BLSC* 714A, but for a closer match to the style of this boulloterion, see *BLSC* 729. Date: early eighth century (experimental phase).



932. N.

23mm, 19mm.

Obv. Very obscure, possibly a figural type. Elaborate wreath border.

Rev. Obscure. Perhaps the lower half of a design with wreath border upwards (see sketch), and an inscription ending Ⲙ in very bold strokes. But above, in tiny letters, there appears to be a line of inscription including the letters KAN or BAN.

Dunn, no. 7. CB 2074. SW court SW, on pavement. Half a lead seal, broken along the string course. Date: best judged from the context (cf. nos. 925 and 930): late seventh century?. The wreath border apparently precludes a bilingual lead seal. Baffling, but potentially soluble.

933. N.

20mm.

Obv. Facing bust.

Rev. Obscure.

Dunn, no. 8. CB 3554. Unit 6, layer 3 (see p. 66).

7. Another strategos of Cyprus?: Theodotos

Was Cyprus governed by a strategos from 965 onwards? Yes, we must accept that it was, on the testimony of the Escurial *taktikon*, (*c*.971 x 975), which ranks the strategos of Cyprus below that of the Kibbyrrhaiotes but above that of Crete. Was it only for seven years, or was it for substantially longer? A lead seal which entered the Berlin Coin Cabinet in 1922 was reported as being of Theodotos Diotenes, imperial spatharios and strategos of Cyprus. With the kind help of Prof. Dr Bernd Kluge and of Prof. Dr Claudia Sode, the writer was able to study excellent photographs, greatly enlarged. To judge by its design and style, the lead seal dates from the late tenth or the eleventh century. The saint on the obverse is doubtless St Nicholas. The reverse inscription is in five or more probably six lines, the sixth being very weakly struck. The lettering is carefully executed with good spacing, and it is all carefully seriffed – which is a valuable guide to decipherment. Close inspection suggests the reading A rather than R in line 3, because the B in line 1, and also the K, have a humped lower loop. The owner of the boulloterion, therefore, was of the rank of protospatharios. The fifth line has been read as KVΠP, but that seems extremely doubtful. The letters are somewhat indistinctly struck. The letter that has been read as Π seems rather to be an A with a long thin serif above, cf. the letter Δ in the third line, and the A in the fourth line. An alternative reading is tentatively offered , in the sketch, Fig. 8. It is based on a careful study of the enlarged photograph, and a tracing from it, to read [K]PAPΓT, for which no solution suggests itself. There is room for a sixth line, but the lead seal is blank, except for what may be the beginning of the first letter. Professor Dr Seibt has kindly examined the photographs and discussed the solution.[15] He suggests a date of *c*.1020-1040, and is disposed to give the attribution to Cyprus the benefit of the doubt.



Fig. 8 Lead seal of the protospatharios and strategos Theodotos (reverse only, enlarged).

15. In correspondence, September-October 2008. The writer is grateful for Professor Seibt's guidance, even if he has shown the temerity to debate it.

At least, there need now be no doubt that the owner was a protospatharios (not a spatharios), and a strategos. Greater difficulty lies in the fifth line, where the supposed name of the strategeia, KVΠP, is followed by what looks like [Γ] T. A Cypriot lead seal of this date might be expected to say KVΠPOV, full stop. Here, there was presumably a sixth line of the inscription, and Professor Seibt detects the faint traces of a Δ, and is willing to conjecture that there may have been a surname. How the original publication found *Diotenes* in the inscription is a complete mystery. Dr Wassiliou-Seibt would emend that to *Diogenes*.[16]

Further difficulty lies in seeing how the lead seal might fit in with others from Cyprus from the first half of the eleventh century. In 1042 Theophilos Erotikos was katepano of Cyprus, and from then on, through the eleventh century, the governor of Cyprus was a katepano, not a strategos. A date of *c.*1020-1040 would still be possible. It would carry the almost certain implication that Cyprus continued to be administered as a theme from 965 until the 1020s. Given the extreme paucity of lead seals from that sixty-year period, the lack of any other lead seal of a strategos is not a counter-argument. If we could date any lead seals of archons to that same period, the problem of Theodotos would be resolved. If there are to be none, the lead seal of an archon Michael, protospatharios, with a floriated patriarchal cross as its type (*BLSC* 111A), must be moved back to a date before 965. In the present state of our understanding of the stylistic development of the patriarchal cross design, that seems barely possible. The lead seal of Bardas, who was a protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and '[...] of Cyprus' (*DOC* 38.3; *BLSC* 117) will surely be post-965. Another lead seal for which a date in the second quarter of the eleventh century has been suggested is of a judge of Cyprus, Leo. Was he the colleague of a katepano?

The problems might be resolved conclusively by the discovery of even just two or three more lead seals dateable to the end of the tenth or the first quarter of the eleventh century. Meanwhile, it is prudent to reserve judgement.

8. The lead seal of an eleventh-century judge of Cyprus

Professor Cheynet has re-edited[17] a lead seal of the second half of the eleventh century, naming Cyprus, originally published by Lihachev.[18]

16. Wassiliou-Seibt (forthcoming). The writer is grateful for a sight of Mrs. Dr Seibt's paper at the Cyprological Congress prior to publication.

17. J. C. Cheynet, 'L'apport de la sigillographie aux études byzantines', *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 62 (87), (2003), 47-58 at p. 54.

18. Lihachev, 'Istoricheskoe znacenie', *Aujourd'hui à Moscou*, 3rd. ser., no. 4, pl. 6, 25.

934. Theodoros, Patricius and Judge of Cyprus

Obv. Half-length figure the the Mother of God, holding the Christ-child on her right arm. MP ΘV

Rev. Inscription in five lines.

ΘKЄRΘ/TѠCѠΔOVΛ/ΘЄOΔѠPѠ/ΠIKIKKPIT/TOVKΠP

Θ(εοτό)κ β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ) Θεοδώρω π(ατρ)ικί(ω) κ(αὶ) κριτ(ῇ) τοῦ Κύπρ(ου).

Second half of the XI century.

9. Three lead seals in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Wassiliou and Seibt, in their catalogue of the Byzantine lead seals from Austria,[19] include three belonging to Cyprus.





935. Leo, Asekretis and Judge of Cyprus

27mm; 20mm.

Obv. –⁘ –/KЄBO/[.]ѠCѠΔ/ΛЄONT/H

Rev. ∂CH/KPHTI/KPIT/KVΠPϒ/– X –

Wassiliou and Seibt, 192; Münzkabinett 304. Second quarter of the eleventh century. Comparanda are not easily found, but cf. ZV 2883.





19. Wassilious and Seibt, 2004.

936. Michael, Magistros and Katepano of Cyprus

32mm; 29mm.

Obv. The archangel Michael, holds labarum and globus

Rev. +KЄP/Θ/TѠCѠΔȣ/MIXAHΛ/MA/ΓICTPSKA/TЄPANOV/KVΠPȣ/ – · –

K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ)/Μιχαὴλ μα/ γίστρ(ῳ) (καὶ) κα/τεπάν(ω)/Κύπρου

Wassiliou and Seibt 275. MK 305. Mid-eleventh century. There is another specimen, in poor condition, in IFEB.

937 (148). Elpidios Brachamios, Kouropalates and Doux of Cyprus. From the 1070s or early 1080s.

10. Additional provenanced lead seals

The following provenanced specimens, not included in *BLSC*, can be briefly reported:

Amathus. A lead seal of Bishop Theodoros was found in a tomb at the church of Ayios Tichonas. Aupert, 1996, pp.64 and 158.

Ayios Georghios tes Peyias. *BLSC* 107. Leontos Kouneres, proedros, judge, and anagrapheus of Cyprus, last third of the XI century. A third specimen, on a large flan, broken: about two-thirds survives. Paphos Museum, MII 3326/47.

Constantia. The lead seals published in 1887 by A. Palma di Cesnola, and illustrated by line-drawings in his volume, *Salaminia* were donated in 2006 to the Museo di Antichità at Turin. They have been republished (Perna and Metcalf, 2008), and one can now see that they are without exception pierced. This feature is without parallel in *BLSC*. It indicates that the lead seals had been picked up in the vicinity by villagers and worn as amulets.

Excavation of the Campanopetra basilica yielded 13 lead seals, now lost. One, however, is illustrated. *BLSC* 544. Sal. 4567 (Fig. 289) is a third specimen of this variety. At the eastern corner of the atrium, two new rooms were built, outside the curtain wall. Eleven lead seals were excavated there, which the excavators judged to be from the sixth/seventh centuries. On the north side of the atrium, another two rooms were similarly added: two lead seals and two coins of Constans II were found.(one minted in 655-7). One would guess that all this archival material is from after the Arab raids.

We have, in addition, illustrations of two other lead seals from the Huilerie sector, namely no. 7497, from the sector exterieur Est, and 5808, from couloir A. Both are illustrated on pl. 39.

Kourion. in 1974 the South-West Court of the episcopal basilica yielded two lead seals (Megaw, 1976).

Paphos region. An Islamic lead seal of an unrecorded variety.

11. Corrigenda to *BLSC*

Bishops and archbishops of Constantia. The writer would now wish to qualify the suggestion in *BLSC* (p. 92) that there are no lead seals attributable to Ploutarchos (*c*.590-*c*.625). Although *BLSC* 413 = 419 appear to have a small letter M to the left of the monogram, which is surplus to requirements, one hesitates to rule out *Ploutarchou, episcopou*. The Λ might be found with the Α; and the central Χ belongs to the personal name.

Droungarios? *BLSC* 152, an eighth-century lead seal with invocative monogram of Laurent Type V, was read as 'Nicetas, imperial spatharios and d(roungarios) of the Kibyrrhaiotes. That now seems to the writer to be unsatisfactory. The seal is perhaps the clumsiest specimen of Laurent Type V that one has seen (Fig. 9). It lacks *to so doulo* in the angles of the cross (local workmanship?). The reverse, which is literate but very badly laid out, with straggling and uneven lines of inscription, appears to read (in line 3) ΙϢϹΔΤϢΝ with the Ϲ being cut over an underlying Κ. Probably this should be read as *so doulo*. The owner of the lead seal will have been a spatharios *tout court*.



Fig. 9. Lead seal of Nicetas, spatharios of the Kibyrrhaiotes (BLSC 152). Sketch, traced from enlarged photograph.

Isaac Comnenus. *BLSC* 412. This variety was unfortunately attributed to the usurper: the writer ought to have known better. Schlumberger, 'Sceaux, VI', 38f, no. 312 gave to Isaac a seal type which names an Isaakios, despotes. As Zacos and Veglery cat. 2702 rightly point out, this can only refer to the sebastocrator Isaac, the brother of Alexius I, and have nothing

to do with Cyprus. See Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 425; Zacos and Veglery, vol. 1, Part 3, pp. 1489-90. For an imperial seal of the emperor Isaac I see W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, Part 1, *Kaiserhof*, Vienna, 1978, no. 20 (pp.90-1), n.10

Palatinus. Professor Sode in her review of *BLSC*, remarks on the early date of *BLSC* 233-4 (*BZ* 99/1 (2006), 256), correcting the proposed 'seventh or even early eighth century', and insisting that they are certainly earlier. Cf. G. Millet, 'Sur les sceaux des commerciaires byzantins', in *Mélanges Gustave Schlumberger*, 1924, pp. 303-27, at pp. 308-9, and Fig. 31. The lead seal (of Theodoros) there illustrated is the selfsame one as in Schlumberger's *Sigillographie*, p. 562, which was then in the de Vogüé collection. See also Orghidan 253, again of Theodoros, from a fifth boulloterion, reading ΠΑΛ/ΤΙΝΟ/V✱ Note the interesting provenance of *BLSC* 234c (Lefka), which hints at a possible connection with the mining industry.

The stylistically similar 298 (Theodoros, Zauna) should go with 233-4.

Strategos. *BLSC* 268 should be given to Sicily, not Seleucia.

CHAPTER IV

TRENDS AND LOCAL VARIATION IN THE MONEY SUPPLY: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Coin hoards of known provenance within Cyprus, and also archaeological site-finds, have a special claim upon the Byzantinist's attention, because so many of the coins are exactly dated, to the year in which they were made. That is the case with the larger copper coins, up to the early eighth century. Gold coins rarely bear annual dates, but even so they can usually be dated to within four or five years. There are no margins of uncertainty, and there is no vagueness, as there usually is, for example, with Byzantine lead seals. There is a real possibility, therefore, of associating coin hoards with particular events. More fundamentally than that, coin finds from Cyprus may serve to inform the Byzantinist about the state of the island's monetary economy, and in particular about the ways in which that economy changed over time, and about any regional differences in the composition of the currency within Cyprus. The make-up of the currency, in terms of its age-structure, the proportions of coins from different mints, and the different coin denominations which were most plentiful in it, can provide clues to the economic and fiscal activities which the currency facilitated. Again, changes over time will be of special interest to the historian.

Nearly all the coins which circulated in Byzantine Cyprus were minted elsewhere: mainly in Constantinople with its satellite mints of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, but also in Antioch, Alexandria, and other less productive mints within the Empire – as far afield, even, as Sicily.[1] From 641 onwards,

1. There are three major catalogues of Byzantine coins, but the standard reference is the Dumbarton Oaks catalogue (*DOC*). Volumes 1 to 4 are relevant. References to *DOC*, below, are given in three ways. 1) Page references, e.g. *DOC* p.123 (with the volume number if it is not obvious.) 2) References to types or varieties, using the catalogue numbers, e.g. Anastasius I, *DOC* 6. These are numbered from 1 for each reign. Individual specimens in the collection are catalogued as 6.1, 6.2, etc. 3) References to classes (= types), e.g. the folles of Constans II are divided, in *DOC*, into 11 chronologically successive classes. These are referred to as *DOC* Class 8, etc.

the activity of provincial mints was severely curtailed, and virtually all the coins found in Cyprus are necessarily from Constantinople. Both before and after that date, many of the Constantinopolitan coins probably reached the island as direct consignments destined for governmental spending, but some, e.g. coins of Alexandria, may very safely be assumed to have arrived in a context of buying and selling by private individuals. The same may, of course, be true of the coins minted in Constantinople, which supplied most provinces of the Empire, and which could have reached Cyprus from e.g. southern Asia Minor. Consignment apart, the sources of the coins (up to 641) may hold clues to the connections of Cyprus with other provinces. Those connections may vary, to some extent, from one region of Cyprus to another, e.g. coins minted in Antioch may be somewhat more plentiful in the eastern coastlands of the island, while those of Alexandria are more plentiful in the Paphos area, northwards as far as Cape Drepanon, and perhaps along the south coast. Such regional differences in the composition of the currency within Cyprus are good evidence of a tendency for its regional economies to be less than fully integrated with each other. The need for large random samples of what is found in particular districts should be apparent; but randomness even more than size is the *sine qua non*.

As well as Byzantine coins, which make up well over nine-tenths of the evidence, Islamic coins are also occasionally found in Cyprus. Within our time-frame of 491-1191, they are almost all from the late seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries, and are of particular interest as evidence for the nature of the Islamic presence on the island during the earlier part of the 'condominium centuries'.[2] Again, the mint-places of the coins (if known) may control their historical interpretation.

The preceding 'Arab-Byzantine' series (so called), i.e. imitations of Byzantine folles struck in Syria or Palestine in the second half of the seventh century,[3] seems to be very infrequent among detectorists' finds

2. Various catalogues are in use, and new ones are forthcoming, which tend to supersede the classic British Museum catalogue, J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins*, London, 1956. See *inter alia* the *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen, Palästina*, IVa, *Bilād ăs-Šām* I, edited by L. Ilisch, Tubingen 1993.

3. This is currently a very active field of research. See for example M. Phillips and T. Goodwin, 'A seventh-century Syrian hoard of Byzantine and imitative copper coins', *Numismatic Chronicle* 157 (1997), 61-87; H. Pottier, *Le monnayage de la Syrie sous l'occupation perse (610-630)*, (Cahiers Ernest Babelon, 9), Paris, 2004; H. Pottier, I. Schulze and W. Schulze, 'Pseudo-Byzantine coinage in Syria under Arab rule (638-c.670). Classification and dating', *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 154 (2008), 87-155; and C. Foss, *Arab-Byzantine* Coins (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, 12), Washington D.C., 2008.

from Cyprus (except, perhaps, for close copies of coins of Constans II, which may pass unrecognized by collectors).[4] If found in Cyprus they are of historical value as evidence for contacts at that stage with the mainland under Sasanian or Arab rule, all the better because the users would not readily have been able to distinguish them from genuine Byzantine coins.

The only other broad category of coinage that need be mentioned comprises west European coins. In the twelfth century, travellers and pilgrims who made landfall in Cyprus on their way to (or from) the Holy Land spent coins which very occasionally survive as stray losses.

Similary it may occasionally be possible to detect that a hoard of Byzantine folles originated in a certain part of the Empire, if its make-up is at variance with what is normal in Cyprus. For example, a hoard from Constantia with a *t.p.q.* of 607/8 has an excessively high proportion of coins minted in Nicomedia (as measured against the proportion from Constantinople). The sum of money may have been brought to Cyprus only shortly before *c.*608 from that part of the Empire.[5]

Byzantine Cyprus had its own mints for four or five short periods, first during the Heraclian revolt, (?)summer 608 or later to the end of 610, when both gold and copper were minted, in very small quantities. The *moneta auri* may have remained in Cyprus from then on into the 620s, or it may have become a peripatetic military mint: we do not know its whereabouts. In any case, its solidi and fractions are extremely scarce. Secondly, in Heraclius's regnal years 17 to 19 (626-7 to 628-9) significant quantities of copper coins were struck with an unambiguous Cyprus mint-signature. Some of them entered the local currency, but they were mainly, it would seem, for use in Syria.[6] In the later seventh century a major exercise of countermarking the post-651 copper folles of Constans II was undertaken in Cyprus. The countermarked coins themselves are very plentiful, but they still present the numismatist, and thereafter also the monetary historian, with interesting challenges of interpretation.[7] Fourthly, there are some small tetartera of Alexius I (1081-1118) which are peculiar to Cyprus, and which were doubtless minted on the island. Their historical context is the new strategic importance of Cyprus to the Empire,

4. Excavation coins are the yard-stick, because collectors in Cyprus buy coins from Syria, and then keep no accurate records of where their coins came from.

5. See p. 191

6. See below pp. 163f.

7. See below pp. 171-5.

vis-à-vis the Seljuks and the Crusaders. Finally, in the late twelfth century the despot Isaac Comnenus, with imperial pretensions, carried out an ambitious programme of striking his own coins in Cyprus, setting up mints in more than one city, and striking electrum, billon, and copper denominations.[8]

Numismatic evidence has, as already mentioned, the considerable merit for the historian of being closely dated, always to the reign of a particular emperor, usually to a shorter period within that reign, and often (until almost the end of the seventh century in Cyprus) to an exact date, namely the regnal year of the emperor. No other category of evidence is systematically so precise and trustworthy, except for rare instances of dated inscriptions. These dates or date-ranges are completely secure – with the proviso that they relate, of course, to the dates when the coins were minted, and not to the dates when they were lost. The difference may sometimes be only a matter of a year or two, but it can easily be several decades. That can sometimes be a major impediment to interpreting site-finds and stray finds. Hoards are usually more amenable, unless they are very small: the concentration of coins in the years leading up to the *terminus post quem* narrows the likely date of concealment. Only hoards can show us, by their age-structure, how long *on average* particular varieties of coinage remained in circulation – some quite briefly, others for an extremely long time. But it is necessary to exercise caution in arguing from the general or the average, to the particular. The *terminus post quem* of a hoard is determined by the date (of minting) of the latest coin included in it. In favourable circumstances it may be reasonably clear that the actual date of concealment was only a year or two later, but a knowledge of the development of the currency in the succeeding years is needed. Another aspect is that the money that the owner of a hoard set aside may not have been altogether typical of the currency at large, as people tended to prefer the best available coins, carefully selected over time. If on the other hand a hoard was concealed hastily, for example in the face of a military threat, it may faithfully reflect whatever the owner happened to have in hand in the moment of peril. A single hoard will offer ambiguous evidence. Nevertheless, when a chronological sequence of a good number of hoards builds up into a consistent story, its evidence is to that extent highly reliable. An up-to-date check-list of hoards, in chronological order, is an essential working tool for the monetary historian. General historians, too, will find that they understand the arguments better if they are, at least, acquainted

8. See below pp. 185f.

with such a check-list – which appears as an Appendix to this chapter. For example, the hoards from Cyprus concealed (and never recovered) from the mid-seventh century through to the end of that century offer the Byzantinist a complex body of information relating to the time of the Arab raids and their aftermath which is completely independent of the written sources, and is specific to particular localities in Cyprus. It is of solid historical importance, and deserves more meticulous analysis than it has sometimes received, as regards probable dates of concealment.

A sudden peak in the rate of hoarding, i.e. hoards per year, will probably reflect troubled times, in which people were killed or exiled, and so were unable to recover their property. But hoards and stray finds behave quite differently from each other: they obey different historical laws. For a statistical series reflecting levels of activity in the monetary economy, accidental losses of single coins offer much the better index, because it was when coins changed hands that they were most at risk of being lost. The ideal form of evidence, to create historical perspective, consists of a large assemblage of single finds from the controlled excavation of a major archaeological site. From such an assemblage one may compare the finds from adjacent periods, let us say, the sixth and seventh centuries respectively, or the seventh and the eighth, as a way of establishing long-term trends in the monetary affairs of Cyprus. A simple comparison between, say, the sixth and the twelfth century is more dubious, as so much may have changed meanwhile. Finds from a single complex of buildings cannot necessarily be relied on to the same extent, because the complex may have changed its function, e.g. from commercial to residential, with a significant change in the characteristic rate of stray losses of coinage. Over-all statistics from a large site, with building complexes in varied use, are needed. Salamis-Constantia is the premier site for sixth- to eighth-century Byzantine Cyprus. It may one day be rivalled by Kourion-Episkopi when the finds from various recent excavations have been added to what is already published. Paphos also has a range of sites, which can usefully be amalgamated to provide a single long-term series. These three places offer the possibility of statistically sound regional comparisons between the north-east and the south-west of Cyprus. At all three locations, the site-finds are (within our time frame of 491-1191) most numerous in the seventh century, and dwindle away to almost nothing during the eighth century and thereafter. One would very much like to be able to compare an assemblage of finds from Lambousa or Kyrenia – or elsewhere in the northern coastlands, where Byzantine administrative control was stronger in the 'condominium centuries' than it was in the south. For the eleventh and twelfth centuries, recent excavations in Nicosia promise to be another major source for establishing trends from the 1040s onwards.

Stray finds from rural sites tell much the same story, so far as one can judge, as those from the major urban centres, – except in the first half of the eighth century. The practical problems of using them are that the totals are not large enough, and that very few of the detectorists who have found the coins have conscientiously made a point of retaining everything.[9] Thus the crucial quality of randomness is in certain respects lost. With detectorists' finds, unlike finds from controlled excavations, it is only rarely that one can feel confident of having a truly random sample. Randomness is essential for the kind of numerical comparisons on which the historian must constantly rely. There are, meanwhile, other ways in which stray finds can make a useful contribution to the monetary history of Byzantine Cyprus.

Byzantine coinage was in three metals, namely gold, silver, and copper. For the twelfth century, mention should be made of two more, electrum and billon (i.e. debased gold and debased silver). Everywhere in the territory of the Empire, and throughout the centuries, it is normal that most of the site- and stray finds are copper or billon coins, of low value. We must assume that people took much greater care not to lose silver or gold coins, which were more precious to them. For much of the seventh century, for example, it seems that a solidus was worth several hundred folles. On the other hand, if well-to-do people were hoarding their wealth, they preferred to store it in the better-quality coins. Thus, hoards tend to be composed of gold coins, whereas stray losses are almost all small coppers. The silver hexagram of the seventh century, and the silver miliaresion of the eighth to tenth centuries fall between the two, and may perhaps be under-represented in the record of finds from Cyprus; the same argument applies to silver dirhams, which are distinctly more plentiful. Hoards of copper, which form an apparent exception to this rule, are normally worth less than even one gold coin – often much less. Occasional stray finds of fractional gold coins (see below) may offer evidence for the limited availability of silver.

The long statistical series of site-finds are virtually all of copper: we have nothing equivalent for silver or gold. Our knowledge of trends in the currency in precious metals (which, in terms of book-value, may well have been the greater part of the whole) is thus very defective. The number of different dies from which a coin type was struck gives us some idea of the scale of the issue; but the type may well have been used throughout the Empire, not just in Cyprus. Fortunately for the historian, the accidental

9. They may do so for ten or twenty years, making a virtue of it, and then turn round and dispose of part or all of the collection.

losses of low-value, everyday coins are in principle a better measure of trends in the volume of transactions. That is because gold coins, and in particular solidi, served also as a store of value. The quantities of them in private hands in Cyprus may reflect an interaction between the province's balance of payments situation and the demands of taxation. They will not necessarily have been directly related to the volume of transactions.

It is reasonably clear that in the sixth and seventh centuries, gold semisses and tremisses (half- and third-solidi) were widely available and in use in Cyprus. Unlike solidi they turn up not infrequently as stray losses.[10] The two denominations, distinguishable from each other by their reverse designs, were often of slovenly manufacture. Individual coins tended to remain in circulation, on average, for decades. There is a small hoard from Ayios Georgios tes Peyias; and others of a similar character are known, e.g. one with an extended age-structure running from Zeno to Maurice. Fractions remained in common currency up to the time of Justinian II. It is possible that they had a role in the taxation system.

The Anastasian currency reform, which was undertaken soon after our starting-date of 491 (probably in 498), seems to have been implemented immediately in Cyprus: a small hoard from recent excavations comprises four varied small-module folles all of the early variety without officina-numeral. It will have been concealed *c.*500-05.[11]

Because the same coins, minted in Constantinople, might be used in any part of the Empire, it is more than difficult to judge, or even to guess, what was the scale of the stock of currency in Cyprus. Only if a particular coin-variety were exclusive to Cyprus, and tended not to be carried abroad, could one hope to use it diagnostically as a marker, to gauge the whole from the part. That would apply to the consular coins of Heraclius, the

10. Note, for example, a semis of Maurice which was a surface find at Salamis, half a mile south-west of the Vouta (A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs, in *JHS* 12, 1891, 59-188, at p. 169); a semis of Phocas from the Saranda Kolones excavations (Metcalf, 2003, cat. no. 10); a tremissis of Justinian II from the Salamis bench deposit (Catling, 1970); and another tremissis of Justinian II from the episcopal basilica at Kourion, found where a masonry bench on the east side of the atrium had been removed (Megaw, 1979). A little hint, in the last two, of money-changers using these stone benches (which, unlike the tables in the gospel story, could not be overturned...) as a place to ply their trade?

11. Pers. comm. Dr P. Flourentzos. On the lighter (introductory, or experimental) weight-standard of the folles without officina numeral (median 7.95g, cf. c.8.65g for those with numeral) see D. M. Metcalf, *The Origins of the Anastasian Currency Reform*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 87-90.

countermarked coins of Constans II, and the issues of Isaac Comnenus, but not to anything else.

In order to compare the scale of the monetary economy in Cyprus in the sixth century with what it became in the second half of the seventh, after the Arab raids, the only available method that suggests itself, in default of counting dies, is to compare the volume of site-finds from these two successive periods, from excavations such those at Constantia. It would certainly be prudent to repeat the exercise using the material from Kourion, and perhaps similarly from the Paphos area, to ascertain whether the trend was similar in each case. In this way it may be possible to cast a ray of light on the history of sixth-century Cyprus, about which the primary sources otherwise do extraordinarily little to create a reliable long-term perspective.

1. The excavation-material from Salamis-Constantia, 491-1191.

The finds from the excavations in the late 1950s, which Dr Dikigoropoulos recorded, remain unpublished except for those from the 'condominium centuries' listed in an appendix to his DPhil thesis.[12] They are in the Cyprus Museum, where they await cataloguing.

The principal source of information for the time being is the material from the University of Lyon excavations between 1964 and 1974, published by Callot.[13] There are no fewer than 810 identifiable Byzantine (post-491) coins, plus a further 213 that were illegible. There are also 24 Islamic coins, i.e. 2.3 per cent of the identifiable pieces. To the total of 1,047 should be added a fair number of the little nummi of the fifth century, which almost certainly remained in circulation in quantity after 491 and through most or all of the sixth century. Some 240 of these miserable scraps of metal are listed among the illegible finds, and it could be that roughly a hundred of them were in fact lost after 491. The practical difficulties of recovering such small objects in an excavation, except by running a metal-detactor carefully over the spoil, means that the recorded total is merely a minimum. It is, neverthless, historically useful evidence of the everyday use of coins of trifling value in the market-place. Nummi apart, the total of 1,047 includes just one hoard of 11 coins. The remaining 1,036 pieces, which seemed all to be single finds, should approximate to a random sample of the currency of the Cypriot metropolis, and by far the

12. Dikigoropoulos 1959.

13. Callot 2004.

best such sample from any site in Cyprus. They were gathered from a wide area. The sector of the excavations designated Campanopetra (and including the basilica so named) covered 6,000 square metres. About three-quarters of all the coin finds came from that sector.

The hoard of 11 coins was concealed in or after 607/8, but it included seven if not eight coins of Justin II, a reminder that Byzantine coppers, too, might be a generation old when they fell out of circulation. Moreover, the ratio of coins minted in Constantinople against those minted in Nicomedia (5 : 5) was very different from what we see in the site at large. That suggests that the money in the hoard had only recently been brought to Constantia, from the metropolitan region. Its owner had apparently hidden it hastily, in a rather unsuitable place.[14]

In order to obtain a general perspective on the stray losses, the period covered by the copper coins (491-741; later centuries are a blank) was sub-divided, and for each reign or group of reigns, the average number of losses per year was calculated. In the histogram (Fig. 10), the *area* of each

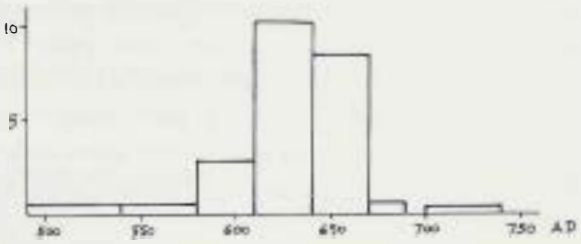


Fig. 10. Histogram of single finds of coins from the Campanopetra sector, Constantia, 491-c.750.

step corresponds with the total number of coins from that short period, while its *height* is in relation to the loss-rate per year. The diagram reveals, what might otherwise not have forced itself upon one's attention, that the loss-rate varies by a factor of as much as 20. From 0.5, it rises to about 3 under Maurice, and then to 10 in the time of Heraclius, and 8 under Constans II. After 668, the rate falls abruptly back to around 0.5. Thus, perhaps surprisingly, the loss-rate under Justinian II is very similar to what it had been under Justinian I. Constantia's monetary economy was apparently at its most intense during the reigns of Heraclius and Constans II. Any temptation to assume that the numerous coins of Heraclius and of Constans are not 'proper' stray losses, but rather are caused by the Arab

14. See p. 191.

raids, should be submitted to a consideration of the age-structure of the currency as it was in 649. The histogram is intended to give an impression of the levels of monetary transactions within the city. For that purpose it is an imperfect indicator, for various reasons, but primarily because it is based on the dates when the coins were minted. They remained in circulation for varying lengths of time, e.g. some of the coins of Heraclius may well have been lost during the reign of Constans, and (which is more crucial to the historian) some of the coins of Constans during the reign of Constantine IV and perhaps even into the eighth century. With that caveat, the broad picture is very clear. It shows how different the seventh century was from the sixth, and the eighth from the seventh.

The question which next comes to mind is whether single finds from other sites generate histograms with a similar over-all shape, or whether there are significant differences in the changing scale (and composition) of the currency in different parts of the island; in other words, was governmental spending in the seventh century concentrated in Constantia, or did the dramatically increased monetization of 610-668 extend throughout Cyprus. That is certainly a worth-while question. There is also the matter of differences between town and countryside. The occurrence of post-668 coins among detectorists' finds (mainly from the countryside?) is minimal – almost certainly lower in percentage terms than the proportion at Constantia. A comparison with the site-finds from Kourion and Paphos is the next step. First, however, we should look at the Constantia finds in rather more detail.

Of the stray losses from the sixth century, almost half are from the reign of Maurice (582-601). Taking into account the lengths of the respective reigns, coins of Phocas are also well represented. Although some or even many of these coins of Maurice and Phocas could have been lost after 610, it seems reasonably clear that in the 580s the levels of monetary exchanges in Constantia increased significantly. That may reflect the growth of a craft/industrial proletariat. There will in any case have been a new appreciation of the strategic location of the city, which was well placed to offer logistical support for military campaigning on the Syrian mainland.

The extremely scarce coins of the revolt of the Heraclii (*c.*608-10) – scarce because they were minted in relatively trivial quantities – are represented by just one specimen from the Constantia excavations, even though some of them were minted in the city. That one find is a follis with the mint-signature *Alexand* (discussed below).

If the coins of Maurice are plentiful, those of Heraclius and of Constans II are abundant: over 550 specimens (cf. only 14 from the reign of

Justinian!). From the reign of Heraclius there are 309 specimens plus, no doubt, a few of the illegible pieces. They comprise 204 folles, 12 of the 30-nummia denomination, 69 half-folles, 16 decanummia, and one pentanummium, plus just two Alexandrian coins (a 12-nummium and a 6-nummium). No silver hexagrams were found in the French excavations, and no gold tremisses, semisses, or solidi, although these will undoubtedly have been in use in the city. The proportion of half-folles (69 out of 309, or 22 per cent, is again unusually high, suggesting a local preference for that denomination – just as there was a preference at Antioch for pentanummia (a preference which is not repeated in Cyprus). The chronological distribution of the folles through Heraclius's reign is shown

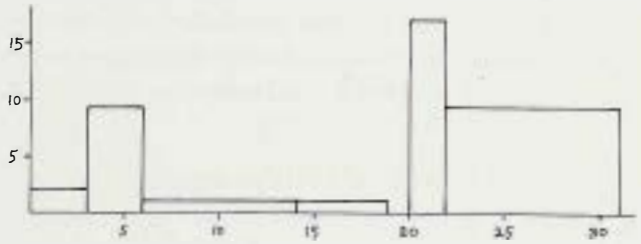


Fig. 11. Histogram of single finds of coins of Heraclius from the Campanopetra sector, Constantia.

in Fig. 11. The diagram, with two sharp peaks relating to the years 612/13 to 617/18 and 629/30 to 630/1, necessarily refers to the dates when the folles were minted, and very possibly also to the approximate dates when they were consigned to Cyprus. It does not of course imply that there were two similarly pronounced blips in the loss-rate (coins per annum) in those same years. If a large new consignment of coins was put into circulation, the loss-rate will no doubt have risen, possibly quite sharply for a time, but a good proportion of the coins dated to Years 3-6 (612-18) will have been lost steadily through Years 7-20 as well, generating a more even profile. The same will be true for the years from 629 onwards. The diagram under-states the accession of new money at that time, by plotting only the 35 finds of folles of Type 5A, and omitting the 12 30-nummia, and the 53 half-folles of Types 5A and 5B. It is safe to say that regnal year 20 (629-30) marks the beginning of a substantially higher level of consignment of coinage to Constantia, and correspondingly higher levels of monetary transactions there. The heavier, reformed coins of Class 5 are not specific to Cyprus: they were minted in Constantinople for the needs of the whole empire. But clearly, the reform followed swiftly on the triumphal return of Heraclius to Constantinople in 628, and was part of a reform programme which included, in 629, a change of protocol when 'our divine

emperor Flavius Heraclius' became 'Heraclius basileus' (Flavius being omitted). The reforms, including the monetary reform, embraced Cyprus, of course. But the jump in the loss-rate of coins at Constantia is not dependent on the situation generally in the Empire: it is an independent local phenomenon.

There are just two folles of the Cyprus mint, both of regnal year 17 (626/7), and of the smaller, neater stylistic variety on well-rounded flans.[15] It is clear that this type, which was issued on some scale, was not used in Constantia to any significant extent.

Coins of Heraclius bearing one or two countermarks were in all probability revalidated in Caesarea (or less probably in Antioch) in the mid-630s. Specimens found in Cyprus are therefore interesting evidence of monetary contacts with the mainland after its loss to the Empire. There are four such coins from Constantia (and others in hoards from Kharcha, Athienou, and Kyrenia (1939).[16])

From the reign of Constans II there is one gold coin, which should perhaps be thought of as a mini-hoard rather than an accidental loss. There are 234 identifiable or partly identifiable folles, including 62 of the facing bust type ('INPER CONST') debateably attributed to Heraclonas (641) but more probably of 643-4, and doubtless a good many more of Constans' coins among the illegible pieces. All Constans' coins bear the Constantinople mint-signature[17] (but one wonders whether the INPER CONST issue may not have been minted in Cyprus). Some of them were subsequently countermarked, in Cyprus. Many escaped this revalidation, either because they were accidentally lost before it happened, or for some other reason. Out of 234 site-finds from Constantia, only 66 are countermarked (28 per cent.). If that is characteristic of the coins circulating in the capital, it certainly sharpens the interest of the hoards (see the Appendix: Soli, and Larnaca) in which *all* the coins of Constans are countermarked. Among the Constantia finds, the countermark is hardly ever applied until after *DOC* Type 4, i.e. until after Year 7 (647/8) – or, in effect, until Year 11, as minting (in Constantinople) was in abeyance in Years 8-10. It therefore seems that, coinciding with the Arab raids on

15. Some scholars have argued that the issue is to be divided on stylistic grounds into coins minted in Cyprus, and others minted on the mainland. The Constantia finds have a bearing on this controversy, which is rehearsed below.

16. Economides 2003.

17. The general opinion would certainly be that they were minted there, and that should be taken to be the case unless proved otherwise.

Cyprus, there was a hiatus in consignments of new folles, and – historically more intriguing – that by *c*.651, with the introduction of Type 5, the folles dating from the first decade of the reign had largely disappeared from the currency. Just a few specimens of Types 1-4 are countermarked, and they, obviously, must have survived, up to the time when countermarking was taking place. In later hoards, Types 1-4 are very few. From Type 5 onwards, roughly half the single finds from Constantia are countermarked. The age-profile of the single finds is summarized in the diagram (Fig. 12), where the shaded areas indicate the countermarked coins.

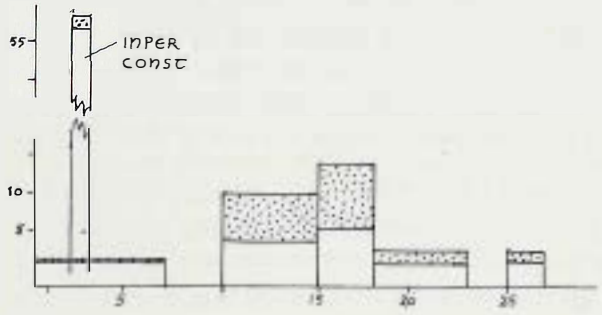


Fig. 12. Histogram of single finds of coins of Constans II from the Campanopetra sector, Constantia.

Folles of Constans II were extensively imitated in Syria after it had passed under Arab rule. Any such coins occurring as site-finds in Cyprus are interesting evidence of monetary contacts after the conquest. At Constantia there are 18 such coins, of which five are countermarked with a star or with the Arabic word 'tayyib'.[18]

At the end of Constans' reign, consignments of copper coins to Cyprus from the (sole) mint in Constantinople ceased abruptly. The excavations yielded just one coin of Constantine IV, a 30-nummium. The decanummia which are so plentiful in the metropolitan area are absent.[19] (But there

18. An essential contribution to the problems of chronology is M. Phillips and T. Goodwin, 'A seventh-century Syrian hoard of Byzantine and imitative copper coins', *NC* 157 (1997), 61-87. See also T. Goodwin, 'Arab-Byzantine coins – the significance of overstrikes', ibid. 161 (2001), 91-109. The t.p.q. of the hoard is 657/8, but the authors point out that the main influx of official Byzantine coins into Syria ceased after 658. A large hoard buried in the 670s, however, might have been expected to contain at least one or two specimens of Constans Class 9 or 11, and of the Cypriot countermarked coins. All these are generally to be found, albeit in small numbers, as stray finds from Syria (p.63).

19. There was one, and also a half-follis, in the earlier excavations at Constantia by Dr Dikigoropoulos.

are four in the Pano Kyrenia hoard, which shows that they might occasionally be carried to Cyprus by private individuals.) Of course, that does not mean that the currency of the city disappeared, even if the motor of the monetary economy was disrupted. A part at least of the existing stock of coins of Constans will have continued to circulate. Next there are seven folles from the first reign of Justinian II (686-95), dated (where legible) to Years 1, 2, and 3 (685/6-687/8). It was Justinian who transplanted a certain number of the Cypriots to the Hellespont, in 690/1.[20] The seven coins would fit neatly in date before the exile. Given the virtual absence of coins of Constantine IV, even seven coins seems to represent some sort of new initiative: a measure of financial support for Cyprus in 686-8. This initiative is part of the context in which the decision was taken to recruit skilled ship-builders and mariners to a new city on the Hellespont; it did not come completely out of the blue.

The story that the transplantation was revoked after seven years is just that – a story, told to Constantine Porphyrogenitus. One should hesitate to interpret the numismatic evidence on the assumption that 699 is a securely attested date. It is more likely that the return, in so far as there was any sort of mass event, was in 705 or 706, after the return to power of Justinian II. The excavations yielded a significant number of coins minted between 690/1 and 705/6: although they could all, in principle, have been brought to Constantia by the returning Cypriots in 705/6, one would prefer to think that they reflect continuing contacts with Constantinople. The emphasis on half-folles is something new: four of Leontius (695-8), and nine, plus two folles, of Tiberius III (698-705). One's interpretation of these little coppers should take into account their very limited occurrence elsewhere in Cyprus.

Ten early Islamic fulus are an intriguing element among the finds. Their precise dating is controversial and in any case imprecise, but the best guess is that they mostly reached Constantia in the early eighth century, and that they belong essentially to the currency of the first half of that century. Their numbers are thus significant compared with the numbers of post-668 Byzantine coins: about half as many. They were probably accepted at par. They include pieces from the mints of Damascus (2), Homs (2), Tabariyya (2), and Baalbek. But they may all have reached Constantia via Antioch, where the American excavations have yielded numerous fulus from these and an even wider range of mints. The coin of Heraclius countermarked 'tayyib', mentioned above, is also of Umayyad date.

20. Englezakis, 1990.

Stray finds from Constantia then cease (as regards their date of issue), even in the Campanopetra sector of the excavations. Monetary circulation, on a greatly reduced scale, may have taken several more decades to wind down. There are two separate finds of gold coins of Constantine V, from 741-51 and 751-75 respectively, which are better regarded as mini-hoards than as stray losses. They may perhaps relate to some specific episode in the history of Constantia which is lost to us. The first came from the Campanopetra sector, the second from the complex referred to as l'huilerie.

The absence of late eighth or early ninth century dirhams, whether whole or clipped, probably amounts to negative evidence, since they are not uncommon in the south of the island. The loss-rate of silver coins, however, is normally very much lower than that for copper on an excavated site.

Numismatic silence then descends on Constantia until the reign of Basil II, from which there is one gold histamenon. The final find is a twelfth-century hoard of 18 French billon deniers from the time of the Crusades, brought from the region of Chartres.[21] Its deposit is unlikely to be earlier than *c.*1098, and may be from well into the twelfth century. That is intriguing. Was Constantia still an inhabited place when the hoard was concealed? By the time of Wilbrand of Oldenburg, in the early thirteenth century, it was 'the site of some city now destroyed'. Even its name was unknown to him. By then, certainly, the capital had been transferred to Nicosia.

2. The excavation-material from Kourion, 491-1191.

The Kourion excavations of 1932-1953 produced 132 identifiable minimi, some of which were certainly, and more of which were probably, minted after 491. They begin with several imperial nummi of Anastasius. The minimi reached Cyprus during the sixth century from as far afield as Italy and Tunisia: Vandalic coins of Hilderic (523-30) and Gelimer (530-3), and Ostrogothic coins of Theodoric (493-526) and Baduila (541-55). Nine-tenths of the minimi, including a further four hundred illegible

21. Coins of Chartres are one of the varieties named by Raymond of Aguilers as having circulated among the members of the First Crusade. The writer was inclined to date the Constantia hoard to that occasion or at least to the early decades of the twelfth century (D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2nd edition, London, 1995, pp. 19f.), but see now the thorough study by G. Glücksmann and R. Kool, 'Crusader period finds from the Temple Mount excavations in Jerusalem', *Atiqot* 26, 1995, 87-104 at pp. 95f., proposing a date later in the twelfth century for a hoard of coins of Chartres, in a context dated by a lead seal of Pope Alexander III, 1159-81.

pieces,[22] were recovered from the archaeological investigation of the water system of the city. Then there were 153 Byzantine coins properly speaking, from the reign of Anastasius I onwards. Almost all the recovered coins of Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian are also from the water system. All the coins were published with exemplary care by Dorothy Cox. The total of 153 can be reduced to 152, if a gold coin of Heraclius is regarded as a mini-hoard rather than a stray loss. They begin with several nummi of Anastasius. There have been several more recent excavations at Curium, for which final reports are awaited. The latest stray finds from Megaw's excavation of the episcopal precinct are the two coins of Tiberius III already mentioned, and six Islamic coins, comprising one pre-reform and five post-reform Umayyad or early Abbasid issues.[23] But we do not yet know how these numbers relate proportionally to the sixth- and seventh-century finds, and so are not able to compare the site with Constantia. There is also an Islamic dinar of AH 102 (= AD 720/1), which may be considered as a mini-hoard. The transfer of the cathedral a little way inland to Episkopi is dated by Megaw on archaeological grounds to the time of Tiberius III or a year or two earlier. There is no good reason to think that the Nea Ioustinianoupolis episode affected Kourion.

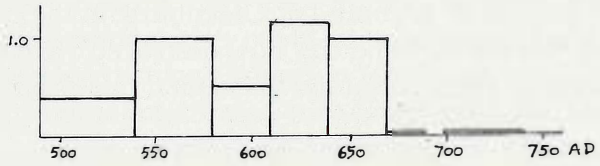


Fig. 13. Histogram of stray finds of coins from Kourion, 491-c.750.

Although the coins from the earlier excavations are much fewer in number than those from Constantia, they are enough to allow an over-all comparison. The histogram which they generate (Fig. 13) is very different from that for Constantia. The twenty-fold rise in the first half of the seventh century at Constantia is matched at Kourion by a rise which is only two or three-fold. The contrast can be described in two ways: either by saying that there are relatively far more coins from 491-582 at Kourion, or by saying that the peak of 610-68 is far more pronounced at Constantia. Constantia was unquestionably the seat of the metropolitan already in the

22. Many of these were described as being of 'Vandalic' fabric, i.e. thickish coins, 8-10mm in diameter.

23. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997.

sixth century, but we know very little about the headquarters of civil government. The statement that Amathus was the residence of the dukes of Cyprus in the later sixth century finds no echo in the sigillographic evidence, and may be garbled, but it could contain an element of truth. Constantia seems to have owed its apogee to decisions made by Heraclius, in response to the strategic needs of the time. In any case, the contrast with Kourion is sharp. The ratio of coins of Maurice and Phocas shows a decline at Kourion compared with the preceding period. Issues of the Antioch mint make up nearly a third of the coins of Maurice.

Within the reign of Heraclius, the pattern is not significantly different from that seen at Constantia. Much the same is true for the reign of Constans.

Coins minted in Alexandria comprise 5 out of 152, or 3.3 per cent. Even though only five coins underlie the comparison, that is significantly more than the 0.7 per cent at Constantia.

Eight Islamic coins were recovered from the excavations of the episcopal basilica. They are omitted from Miss Cox's monograph. One was Arab-Byzantine, of the mint of Baalbek, five were post-reform fulus from the early to mid-eighth century AD, and one was an Abbasid dirham, probably from the first half of the ninth century. The eighth coin was a gold dinar.

Half-a-dozen eleventh- and twelfth-century coins are mentioned later in the chapter.

3. Excavation material from Paphos and the coast northwards.

There are 61 coins from the excavations of the Odeion, the Gymnasion, and the Asklepieion, all from before 668 except for one coin of Alexius I.[24] They include a small but interesting hoard of six folles of Constans II, from 659/60 or later, which should be excluded, making the total 55. The great majority are of Heraclius and Constans, with just four from 582-610. Ten (out of 21) of the coins of Constans post-date the sack of 653, as does the little hoard, which is probably later than 659.[25] It seems probable that they continued to circulate during the Arab occupation of Paphos, even if that began only in *c.*662.

The 55 stray finds include seven of Alexandria, or 13 per cent. The proportion is so much higher than at Kourion (but see below) that one must

24. Nicolaou

25. See the entry in the Appendix, under 659/60, for more detail.

think of commercial contacts with Egypt, centred on Paphos. Although these Alexandrian coins, mostly of Heraclius, could in principle have reached Paphos mainly after 650, that hypothesis has little to commend it. One of the seven coins is of the large, thick type which *DOC* attributes to Heraclonas.

From the excavation of Saranda Kolones, close by, there are 65 Byzantine coins of the sixth to eighth centuries, plus seven Islamic coins, and a further useful selection of 11 coins from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. That does not include a hoard of 74 folles dating from the 640s. The age-profile of the series is much the same as usual. Six of the folles of Constans II, all six dating from 651/6, come from the fill of a well, and should perhaps be thought of as a hoard, although they were found scattered vertically through a metre of fill. There is also a gold semis of Phocas, bringing the total down to 58 plus 7, or 65. The coins could have been thrown into the well in *c.*655. Again there are coins of Constans which post-date the sack. From Saranda Kolones there are just three coins of Alexandria, bringing the combined proportion down to 8 per cent.

Coin losses at Saranda Kolones after the Arab garrison was withdrawn in *c.*680 comprise a half-follis of Tiberius III, and at least five of the Islamic coins, from the early to mid-eighth century AD. As usual, it is possible that coins of Constans remained in circulation, but one's instinct is somewhat against their continuing so far into the eighth century, here at Paphos. It seems that there was a phase (as also at Constantia) when fulus made up a significant part of the currency. Two if not three of the finds were minted in Tabariyya, which is curious.

Stray finds from Khlorakas, about five miles to the north of the harbour area, certainly include a dramatically high proportion of Alexandrian coins – possibly even higher than from the Paphos excavations. This is a good example where the validity of the comparison depends on the random quality of the finds.

The coins from the excavations at Cape Drepanon await publication. It is said that they peter out towards the end of the reign of Heraclius. There are some detectorist's finds from Ayios Georgios, which include a little hoard of gold fractions, apparently from the early sixth century.[26] The proportion of Alexandrian coins at Cape Drepanon is not yet known.

26. They are accessioned in the Paphos Museum under MP 3326. The author was able to see only two out of half a dozen specimens.

4. Regional variation: coins of the Alexandria mint.

African copper coins may be presumed to have reached Cyprus through commercial contacts, and not by consignment. The events of 608-10 could possibly be another context for their arrival. From the Constantia excavations there were six Alexandrian coins, namely five dodecanummia and one hexanummium — thus 0.6/0.8 per cent of the finds. They were distributed through the possible range of dates of issue: one each of Justinian, Justin II, Maurice, and Phocas, and two of Heraclius. (All these, except the two of Heraclius, could have been in circulation in 608-10.)

At Kourion the corresponding percentage was 3.3 (5 coins out of 152). At Paphos (the Odeion, etc.), the figure was 13 per cent (7 out of 55), and at Saranda Kolones, 8 per cent (3 out of 65). At Khlorakas the percentage is again high (10-20 per cent?).[27]

At Kalavasos-*Kopetra* there is only one Alexandrian coin, but as there were only a dozen Byzantine coins over-all, the value (subject to wide margins of statistical variation) is *c.*8 per cent. The same comment applies at Ayios Philon, where one 6-nummium of Heraclius was recorded among a small handful of finds.

From the 'long' sixth century, 491-610, there is as yet extraordinarily little that can be used to construct a trend-line for monetary developments or changes in the province. Indeed, one thing that is already clear is that there was no single trend-line. In different cities, the volume of monetary transactions evolved differently. Constantia shows a strong upturn perhaps as early as the 580s, but it really became a bustling place only from c.610. Inflows of Alexandrian coins were relatively much greater at Paphos, Khlorakas, and along the south coast, than they were in the capital. Our knowledge of the availability of gold coinage in the sixth century is virtually a blank: no hoards are on record. There are hardly any hoards, even, of copper. Coinage offers us no clues about the effect, if any, that Justinian's revised administrative arrangements may have had on the economic life of Cyprus; and it is a matter of pure conjecture how severe were the ravages of successive waves of the plague; the scale of Maurice's resettlements of monophysites from eastern Syria after 577, or of Armenian refugees from Arzanene after 588 are in no way elucidated by numismatic evidence (except, perhaps, the Mazotos hoard, *q.v.*).

5. The Heraclian revolt, 608-610.

Coins of the Heraclian revolt are excessively scarce and sought after by

27. Detectorist's finds, conscientiously retained.

collectors. There are fewer than half a dozen specimens in existence which bear the mint-signature *Kuprou*. They comprise folles, and two kinds of decanummia, one of which bears the indictional date 14 (23 September 610-22 September 611). Heraclius was crowned emperor on 5 October 610. The folles and the other variety of decanummium bear the enigmatic date 3 (is this Year 3 from when the revolt was raised?). The facing busts of the two 'consuls' are (both) crowned, which leads Hahn, in *MIB*, to think that they were minted soon after word had reached Cyprus of the younger Heraclius's coronation. Either that, or they belong in the short period 23 September to, say, late October or early November 610. No specimens whatsoever of any of these undoubtedly Cypriot coins are known to have been found in Cyprus, although of course the tiny handful of unprovenanced specimens could have been. The folles are very similar in design but differ somewhat in style from those with the mint-signature *Alexand*. On these, the Heraclii are uncrowned. There are folles and half-folles, both dated either 13 or 14 (609/10, 610/11). Grierson in *DOC* argues for the traditional attribution to Alexandretta (*Alexandria ad Issum Syriae*), mentioning some stray finds reportedly from Syria and the Lebanon. Hahn in *MIB* prefers an attribution to Alexandria. One specimen from the Constantia excavations has been mentioned above, and there is one, of a new variety with sceptres (and with the imperial name written HERACLIOI), from the Larnaca district.[28] There are just one or two others with Cypriot provenances.[29] Hahn envisages that the Alexandria mint was transferred to Cyprus; but it struck folles and half-folles in Year 14, both bare-headed and crowned, and there is the difference in the style of the dies. It would seem, therefore, that another mint was set up in Cyprus, and that it favoured decanummia rather than halves. These quite elaborate minting arrangements were quickly overtaken by events – which might or might not explain the rarity of the *Kuprou* coins, and likewise the longer-running *Alexand* issues. It is puzzling to understand the mentality which saw the need to set up these mints, and which then used them so little. One can see that the Heraclii might not have wished to make payments in coins bearing the prortrait of Phocas, but the disparities in volume remain difficult to explain. At all events, Heraclius was not just on a flying visit to Cyprus: the province was being recruited to his cause. Things went smoothly enough for Heraclius in October and November 610, but it was obviously prudent not to dismantle the arrangements in Cyprus too hastily.

28. Oeconomides 1999.

29. E.g. one in the Ashmolean Museum ex Palma di Cesnola.

Thus far, the outline of the arguments concerning the copper coins of the revolt is not too complicated, and in spite of remaining ambiguities, some historical ideas emerge. The interpretation of the gold coinage, by contrast, involves the non-specialist in some purely numismatic arguments concerning the significance of style, and die-links, where he may well feel that he cannot securely tread. The dumpy fabric of the Carthaginian solidi of the Heraclii identifies them uncontroversially. They fit into the date-sequence at that mint. Between the Alexandrian solidi, however, and those which Hahn gives to Cyprus (all with bare-headed portraits), there are few formal differences. One can see very clearly that there are two distinct styles of die-cutting, but that does not quite amount to proof that there were two mints. The crux is that the first Cypriot solidi are dated 11 (607/8). Can Heraclius have had effective power in Cyprus at that date?[30] Since the publication of *MIB*, Hahn has revised his opinion, in order to consider the possibility that on these coins of Year 11 the date is a meaningless copy of an Alexandrian coin, and that they were in fact struck only in 610. Hahn records five specimens of *MIB* 3 with reverse legend VICTORIACONSVLIA (i.e. the reverse legend ends IA), plus a matching tremissis, *MIB* 7. *MIB* 3 is very similar in its legends, etc. to the Alexandrian issue *MIB* 2. The (Cypriot) solidi with date Γ (*MIB* 4) have a different reverse legend, VICTORIAAVCCΓ, but are die-linked to *MIB* 3. While *MIB* 2 and 3 would seem to be parallel issues, it is obvious enough that *MIB* 3 and 4 are by a different die-cutter to the Alexandrian *MIB* 2. Otherwise, the numismatic arguments remain ambiguous, and depend partly on the number of specimens. On the one hand, most of the production from the obverse die in question seems to have been for the variety *MIB* 3. On the other hand, one might have to postulate that the obverse die was put away, and brought out again only after an interval, to strike *MIB* 4. Only hoard evidence could now remove the uncertainty.

There is, meanwhile, a unique gold solidus of Phocas, which *MIB* attributes to 'an eastern military mint, (?)Cyprus', with a peculiar date, IIΓ (*iota pi*), which Hahn interprets as referring to the lustrum 607/12;[31] and another, with the distinctive portrait of Phocas but the name of Heraclius (!), also dated IIΓ (*MIB* III, 76). The corresponding solidi attributed by Hahn to Alexandria are dated 11, 12, and 13, i.e. their issue was spread over about eighteen months or longer – which has some bearing on the attribution of the copper. Another Cypriot variety of solidus, dated 3

30. The question is discussed below, in Chapter X.

31. *MIB* 30, a coin now in the British Museum.

(610/11) is from the same obverse die as the first. Hahn dates it to after Heraclius's coronation on 5 October 610. The reverse uses the plural in VICTORIA AUGG. One can't argue with a die-link. It may be that the bare-headed obverse die had been kept, and was brought out of store for hasty use in October/November 610. It would seem likely that no solidi were minted at Constantia in 608/9 or 609/10. Doubtless we are talking about very few dies in total. There are also semisses and tremisses. According to *MIB* these are all Cypriot, not Alexandrian. The interested reader may pursue them in *MIB*.

There was a renewed need for the minting of gold in 610/11, and this time, for copper as well. What was the copper needed for, and why only at this late stage?

Among the folles of Heraclius found plentifully by detectorists all over Cyprus, it is safe to say that not one in a thousand is consular. An average pair of dies was capable of striking several thousand coins. Now, we do not know whether the dies for the consular coins were used to their technical capacity, nor whether the coins were put into circulation exclusively in Cyprus. Assuming for the moment that they were, the number of ordinary folles of Heraclius circulating in Cyprus (over a long reign) was on the scale of a thousand times several thousand – i.e. several million. That is a very rough measure, no doubt, but it may serve as a reminder of the level of monetization in seventh-century Cyprus.

One never knows when new evidence may turn up, which will perhaps help to correct or to focus the arguments that have been briefly sketched above. General historians may well content themselves with the broad view that the gold of the Heraclian revolt was struck on a minute – a truly minute – scale compared with the Constantinopolitan issues before or after 610. A proper die-corpus would underline the point. The Cypriot issue has left virtually no trace in the finds record, and is of Cypriot interest mainly for what it says about the province's availability to the Heraclian cause.

It seems that the moneta auri which originated under Phocas and was taken over by Heraclius and transferred to Cyprus may perhaps have remained there; or it may have been relocated further east. There are rare solidi dated I (612-17), IX (617-22), and IΠ (*iota pi*) (622-7). There were six specimens of these in the hoard of Aydin II, from Egypt, t.p.q. 625, of which two are from the lustrum 622-7.[32] Another specimen from this lustrum has been found certainly in Cyprus.

32. See *MIB* III, pp.89-90 and nn. 21-2.

6. The Cyprus mint in 626/7 - 628/9.

For a brief period, within Heraclius's regnal years 17-19 (626/7-628/9) an imperial mint was set up, which struck folles with the mint-mark *Kupr*, in substantially greater quantities than the folles of 608-10. They are found most frequently in Syria and the Lebanon, and are very thinly represented at the major sites in Cyprus.[33] But they are by no means as rare as has been claimed, as stray finds from Cyprus. Their unusual occurrence (i.e. mainly outside their home province) is best understood in a political or military context. The exact circumstances are conjectural, but we may imagine that troops raised in Cyprus to take part in Heraclius's compaigns on the mainland were supported by a military chest of newly-minted folles.[34] Was this simply because copper was produced in Cyprus?

Alternatively, Pottier and Schulze suggest that, rather than financing Byzantine troops campaigning against the Persians, the coins were actually a subvention to the Persian general in Syria – in effect backing him against the Sasanian ruler.[35]

There is a large series of early Arab-Byzantine coins on halved old flans of distinctive shape, which often have a garbled version of the KYΠP mint-mark.[36] Although there are plenty of crude imitations, which were doubtless manufactured on the mainland, claims that many or even all of the regular Cypriot coins were minted there are intrinsically improbable.[37] They rest merely on the relative abundance of mainland finds. A proper stylistic analysis of this little series is needed, based on a die-corpus, and tied into a distribution-map of finds from Cyprus.[38] Imitations may of course occasionally have found their way from the mainland to Cyprus.[39] A sufficiently wide-ranging programme of lead-isotope analysis might succeed in establishing the (Cypriot?) source of the copper, and might show a difference in that respect between the originals and the copies.[40]

33. Constantia, 2; Kourion, 2; Paphos, 0.

34. Sigillographic evidence cannot be precisely dated, but cf. *BLSC* nos. 4-7.

35. Pottier and Schulze 2008 (see n. 3 above).

36. Goodwin, 2005.

37. Pavlou in ONS; Phillips and Goodwin; Schulze (see n. 3 above).

38. A retired coin dealer and friend has described to the author his experience of Cypriot collectors on their regular visits to the London firm where he worked, bringing their duplicate coins of Isaac Comnenus to sell to him, but always wishing to buy Heraclian coins of the Cyprus mint.

39. e.g. Cox, Curium no. 716, apparently of Year 16? And see the specimen in the Paphos hoard of 1980.

40. Unless copper of Cypriot origin turned out to have a very distinctive isotope 'fingerprint', the project might not be cost-effective.

A corpus would permit an exercise in die-estimation, which would give a useful idea of the total output of the Cyprus mint.

7. NEA, a temporary Byzantine mint in 634-6: not Cypriot?

Some rare folles and half-folles of Heraclius, of regnal years 25 or occasionally 26, are the product of a temporary mint signing either CON E, CON N, or NEA A (a useful illustration that CON need not mean Constantinople). They have from time to time been found in Cyprus, leading to the thought that the Neapolis in question might be Limassol,[41] rather than the more obvious candidate, Nablus, in Palestine.[42] There were two specimens in the Athienou hoard, *t.p.q.* 643/4, and two other are known from Cyprus. The obvious context for these coins is the war on the mainland.[43] One of the Athienou coins bears two countermarks, which were almost certainly applied on the mainland.

On balance it is unlikely that the mint is Cypriot, but one should be alert for further specimens found locally, which might shift the balance of the argument.

8. Gold hoards from the mid-seventh century: the flight from Egypt, 641/2.

Although the gold solidi of Constans II, unlike his folles, do not bear a regnal year date, some of them bear an indictional date, and in any case, changes in their design allow us to distinguish, perfectly securely, those minted before the invasion of 649 from those minted from 651/2 onwards. The Constantinopolitan solidi of *DOC* Classes I (beardless bust) and II (short beard), from 641-7 and 647-51 respectively, include a sequence with the indictional dates E, S, Z, and H (H = 649/50).[44] In 651/2 a conspicuous new design was introduced (*DOC* Class III), with a bust of Constans with very long beard and moustaches, deliberately reminiscent of the coinage of his grandfather Heraclius in his campaigning days .[45] This was no doubt part of the same initiative whereby a new design of folles was introduced, in Year 11 (651-2, minting having been in abeyance (for copper) since about the end of Year 7).

41. Donald, 1991-4a, with bibliography; id., 1991-4b.

42. Hahn, *MIB* vol. 3, p. 110 and pl. 12, X23-4 (CON N and NEA A).

43. A point emphasized by Roever, 1991-4.

44. *DOC* hesitates between interpreting these as regnal or indictional dates. *MIB* argues that they are indictional. There is only one year's difference.

45. This was a substantial issue from all ten officinae, plus two supplementary series reading CONOBI and CONOB+ in the exergue.

Various hoards of gold coins, and also hoards of copper,[46] have been referred to in archaeological publications as dating from the Arab raids, with the implication that their owners failed to recover their money because of the raids. That claim, made without due care and circumspection, is often incorrect. Although it is, in principle, plausible enough that the events of 649 and (to a lesser extent) 653 should have resulted in the non-recovery of a family treasure or of a merchant's working capital, and although it would seem appropriate if the Arab raids had generated a cluster of precious-metal hoards, the *terminus post quem*, in conjunction with the age-structure of a hoard is decisive, especially for gold. In various ways the Lambousa hoard of 1906 is historically the most interesting, because the city of Lapithos has yielded so many other treasures of supposedly similar date. One would like to be able to say whether the hoard is from 649 or 653. If any solidi with long beard are present in a hoard, it cannot have been concealed in 649. If there are none, it does not follow with the same certainty that the hoard is earlier than 651 (even though that may be the *prima-facie* conclusion), since there could have been an interruption in the supply of newly-minted gold to Cyprus.

The earliest of the hoards under consideration is from Mandres (Famagusta district), terminating apparently with solidi of Heraclius minted in 632 x 635/6. It has an extended age-structure, with 16 out of the 26 coins being earlier than the reign of Heraclius.[47] The hoard terminates with a couple of the 'three standing figures' solidi on both of which Heraclonas is shown as a diminutive figure – quite a scarce variety, which hints at a date early in the 'three standing figures' type. The hoard may originally have been larger.

The Larnaca (Telegraph Office) hoard of 1951 comprises 42 gold coins, of which 36 were acquired by the Cyprus Museum. Of these, no fewer than 19 are of the 'three standing figures' type; and among these 19, only two show Heraclonas as a diminutive figure. The *t.p.q.* is 641, and one will strongly suspect that the hoard is, essentially, a sum of money brought to Cyprus by someone fleeing from Alexandria at the time of its capitulation. Arabic forces invaded Egypt at the end of 639. When news of the death of Heraclius reached Alexandria the people there were demoralized, and in April 641 the city capitulated. The citizens negotiated

46. The Kourion hoard, *t.p.q.* 613, is the most egregious example.

47. One has wondered, even, whether two small hoards might be involved, but at the date of discovery (6 coins purchased in 1947 and a further 20 of the same date-range in 1950) such coins were modestly priced.

a truce. Alexandria was finally occupied in September 642. There is one coin with a numeral E in the right field of the reverse, which shows Heraclonas crowned (unlike the earlier three-figure varieties) and which Hahn is disposed to date to July-November 641. The Limassol (Molos) hoard is of exactly the same character, with a *t.p.q.* certainly in 641, and again a weighting with the 'three standing figures' type. It was lost at the sea-shore or even in the sea. Again one strongly suspects that it is money in flight from Alexandria. It is a substantial sum of money, in excess of two pounds of gold. There are astonishingly few instances of die-duplication within the hoard.[48] It may have belonged to a well-to-do merchant, or it may possibly have been an official treasure-chest.

It is unlikely that the owners of these two hoards from the south coast were the only individuals to flee from Alexandria to Cyprus. One should be on the look-out, therefore, for other hoards with a similar *t.p.q.* – and not loosely assume that they date from 649. The complete absence of coins of Constans II is surely plain enough evidence precluding an attribution to 649.

The Tremetousia hoard of 1956 comprised 33 gold coins terminating with 11 of Constans II, of which at least two are dated by Hahn to 648/9. There is a very reasonable presumption that the hoard was both concealed and not recovered because of Mu'awiya's first raid. Most of the coins of Constans are in very fresh condition or even *à fleur de coin*, but one or two, e.g. a piece minted in 644/5, have seen some use. It is also true that a majority of the 16 'three standing figures' solidi in the hoard are in equally fresh condition or *à fleur de coin*, which suggests that they had lain untouched for ten or more years in someone's treasure chest. That part of the hoard may yet again be money that had arrived from Alexandria.

The Lambousa hoard of 1906 was divided between the Cyprus Museum (88 coins) and the bishop of Kyrenia (43 coins). The Museum's holdings are among the *ancien fonds*, not specifically identified as coming from the hoard. It is believed that the Lambousa coins run up to the mid-century; and it seems that there are hardly any specimens in the *ancien fonds* showing Constans with a long beard.[49] It is a fair guess, therefore, that the hoard was lost not later than 653. A closer examination of the hoard is not possible at present, as it cannot be found in the strong-room of the Cyprus Museum.

48. The scarcity of die-links and the range of officinae even among the most recent coins suggests that clusters of die-duplicates, as originally issued from the mint, had become dispersed in the processes of exchange.

49. See the Appendix in Dikigoropoulos, 1961.

In summary, then, one may ask the sceptical question, 'If we did not know about the Arab raids from written sources, would it be clear from coin hoards that something disastrous happened, widely in Cyprus, in the years on either side of 650?'. The candid answer would seem to be, 'No'. The gold hoards discussed above are to be dated as follows:

Mandres	632 x 635-6
Larnaca	641
Limassol	641
Tremetousia	648/9
Lambousa	not known, but probably before 653.

Over these two decades, the age-structure of the gold currency in Cyprus was greatly modified, as the hoards indicate, and that is some sort of guarantee that their respective *t.p.q.* are to be believed.

This is quite a strange picture, and difficult to understand. Unless the balance were to be changed by future discoveries – which is special pleading and in any case not very likely – it seems that the invasions (for they were substantially more than raids), did not result in the concealment and non-recovery of numerous hoards of gold, even though there are quite a few of copper. What had become of the gold currency that flowed into Cyprus in 641? Were the well-to-do better able than the poor to flee from the island, taking their wealth with them?

It should be mentioned that after 642, Alexandria was not a forbidden city to Christians. The archbishop of Crete, for example, had been there in 656, before travelling home via Cyprus.

9. The INPER CONST coinage, from the early 640s.

The enigmatic INPER CONST folles, which are particularly plentiful in Cyprus and virtually unknown elsewhere, are very unusual when set against Constans' many types of folles in that their obverse type is a facing bust rather than a standing figure or figures. The imperial legend is also highly unusual, harking back to much earlier coinages. The pointed numeral M on the reverse is also anomalous. The bust appears to be beardless. Difficult as it often is to be sure about the priority of overstrikes, Grierson's attribution to Heraclonas has not found favour. It is undoubtedly the case, however, that the average weight of the INPER CONST coins is heavier than any of the types in the name of Constans, e.g. in the Kharcha hoard, 5.6g against 5.4g for Constans Class 1, 4.9g for Class 2, and so on.[50] In spite of their exergual reading, CON, should one

50. *DOC* vol. 2, p.25.

contemplate the radical idea, even, that they were minted in Cyprus? There is now general agreement that, whatever its date (Year 3) may be exactly, the INPER CONST type has to be accommodated at or somewhere near the beginning of the reign of Constans II. Given all the anomalies,[51] it is unfortunately difficult to see what would constitute proof.

Very confusingly, an extremely scarce variant on which the bust shows traces of a short beard, and on which the reverse legend *Ana/neos* is arranged differently (*DOC* Class 2, *MIB* 169),[52] is dated IA (= Year 11 = 651-2). It undoubtedly belongs just before, or with, the reformed folles of that year 11, as some sort of revival of the earlier issue. There are three specimens from the Constantia excavations, against 59 of the earlier variety. A high proportion of the coins of *DOC* Class 2 are countermarked (see below), whereas Class 1 is very rarely countermarked.[53]) Does Class 2 reflect some new initiative from Constantinople? – or were these coins also minted locally?

It seems, then, that *DOC* (Heraclonas) Class 1, i.e. the main INPER CONST issue, was struck in the third regnal year of Constans (643/4), possibly in Cyprus, and that either it was preceded by *DOC* Classes 1 to 3 of Constans, which were minted in Years 1 and 2, 2, and 3 respectively, or it was concurrent with Class 3. The Maroni-*Petrera* hoard, in which the INPER CONST type is not yet present, suggests that it is later in date than Class 2, at least. But the hoard is much too small for its absence to be statistically reliable. At Constantia, the INPER CONST coins are roughly two and a half times as plentiful as Classes 1-3. And those three classes are frequently absent from Cypriot hoards which contain numerous specimens of the INPER CONST type. Certainly, Cyprus was flooded with great quantities of that type. This has been tentatively connected with the final capitulation of the great city of Alexandria in September 642[54] – an event which at the time must have seemed almost as cataclysmic as the threatened fall of Constantinople itself in 626. Would Cyprus be next? (Indeed, the Arab raids were only a decade away.) Perhaps the revival of the INPER CONST type in 651-2 was a response to the first Arab raid, in 649: it too was perhaps a local issue.

51. Bendall's 'Turkish' hoard (*DOC* vol. 2, p. 25) is an obstacle: perhaps a deliberately misleading provenance?

52. *DOC* Heraclonas Class 2. Date and officina obscured by countermark.

53. Among the Constantia finds, Callot recognized three specimens of Class 2, of which two are countermarked.

54. Metcalf 2003.

The curious evidence of the hoards, which is tabulated below, should not lead us to try to overturn the numismatic consensus on the dating of the INPER CONST type, but it does call for explanation. Superficially, the hoards appear to indicate that the INPER CONST issue should precede *DOC* Classes 1-3 of Constans. As this must be ruled out, the finds may have the potential to demonstrate aspects of the consignment of coinage in seventh-century Cyprus.

	DOC Classes 1-3	INPER CONST	Class 4
Maroni	2	-	-
Athienou	-	9	-
Paphos 1980	-	5	-
Paphos (S.K.) 1984	-	27	-
Kyrenia 1939	4	37	-
Kornos cave	2	8	-
Kharcha	11	69	8

Perhaps official payments were sent out from Constantia, in INPER CONST coins, being dispatched to e.g. Paphos in preparations for a threatened invasion.

At all events, there is a significant group of hoards that all terminate with the INPER CONST type, and which may be from 643/4, or a year or two later (since Class 4 was not a copious issue). There are other irregularities at about this time. The INPER CONST type was imitated, presumably in Syria or Palestine. An imitative specimen (of unknown origin) occurs already in the Paphos (1980) hoard, i.e. this Cypriot issue was copied almost immediately.[55] The specimen in question has the further distinction of being overstruck on an (Arab-Byzantine) imitation of a Heraclian follis of the Cyprus mint.

10. Silver and copper coinage lost because of the Arab invasions (649, 653).

Archaeological evidence points to the abandonment of settlements in about the middle of the seventh century, and the pattern of finds of coins of Constans II has been adduced in support of the idea that the Arab invasions of 649 and 653 were responsible. There is then a temptation to indulge in circular argument, and to date the evidence of decline generally to the mid-seventh century, without much in the way of rigorous proof. There is, as we have seen, no obvious cluster of gold hoards attributable to the invasions. Even more clearly, there is no conspicuous concentration

55. See the Appendix for the Paphos 1980 hoard, *t.p.q.* 643/4.

among hoards of copper, which might have been concealed in face of the threat. Given the abundance of stray finds of coins of Heraclius and of Constans, that can hardly be because few people in 649 had money to conceal. Other than those who perished, perhaps they were able to take their money with them.

Silver hexagrams have very rarely been reported from Cyprus, and there are certainly no hoards of them. There was just one specimen, from Kouklia, minted apparently in 648 x 651/2.[56] It could have been lost at the time of the first Arab invasion.

The copper coinage of Constans is represented in a series of ten or more hoards with *t.p.q.* 643 or later, in which the presence or absence of *DOC* Class 5, introduced in 651/2, is the watershed. Again, there is no obvious blip in the number from *c.*649-53. The hoards are not as large as one could wish for this exercise, and the coins are often not very clearly legible, as regards their date. Of Classes 1-4, Class 1 is generally more plentiful. A small hoard, therefore, which terminated with Class 1 might in fact have been lost because of the first Arab raid. The available hoards, with suggested dates of loss (n.b. not *t.p.q.*) are:

	Heraclius Year 20-.	Constans Classes 1-4	INPER CONST	Class 5 later
Probably before 649				
Athienou	12	-	9	- -
Paphos 1980	30	-	5	- -
Paphos 1984	38	-	27	- -
Possibly 649/653				
Kornos cave	7	2	8	- -
Kyrenia	46?	4	37	- -
Kharcha	79	19	69	- -
Possibly 653 (or later)				
Paphos	-	-	-	(1 + 5)
Certainly later than 653				
Soloi	-	1	-	29 17
Larnaca	-	3	-	128 373
Pano Kyrenia	-	-	-	11 37 (+24)

56. Recorded by Dikigoropoulos, 1961 as *BMC* pl. 31, 9, which is probably *MIB* 144.

The table divides dramatically enough into two halves. Virtually all coins minted before 651 disappear after that date.[57] The Soloi and Larnaca hoards are large enough for the disparity to be clear (but note that they were concealed in 660 or later). In so far as it is very unlikely that Classes 1-4 were demonetized in connection with the new coinage of Class 5, their disappearance is perhaps the most telling part of the numismatic evidence for the havoc wrought by the Arab invasions of 649 and 653. Except for Athienou (and 'Larnaca'?) the hoards are all coastal. Kornos cave suggests flight. Hoards concealed in face of a threat will contain whatever coins people had to hand at that moment. It is significant, in that case, that they are composed almost exclusively of folles, with very few half-folles or smaller denominations – which inflation had probably caused to fall almost out of use.

The listed hoards contain only copper coins. For all or all but one of them (Larnaca), that is no surprise, as they were worth less than a solidus, or even less than a tremissis. As for the Larnaca hoard, there may be a clue to its character in the fact that it unusually large and that all the coins are countermarked. Otherwise the hoards represent very modest sums of money held, no doubt, by private individuals.

In the Constantia excavations, stray losses of Constans's folles do not peak at 649, nor do they dwindle thereafter. Indeed, there are distinctly more folles minted in 651-668 than there are from 641-650. Taken on its own, that might seem to answer the question, but in fact a more subtle approach to the data is needed. It turns out that there is a clear contrast in statistics between the central area of the city, where coin losses are few after 650, and the Campanopetra sector, where they are relatively abundant.[58]

11. Countermarking of the folles of Constans II.

The argument for attributing the countermarking exercise to the reign of Constantine IV no longer looks as secure as once it did.[59] The extremely scarce coins with (formally) the same countermark, but which are of Constantine IV, in fact use a slightly larger version of it. The monogram is the same, but the cartouche is larger. We do not know how long the countermarking continued: it could have been a one-off exercise, and

57. At the episcopal basilica at Kourion, a small group of coins from the floor of the alley between the basilica and the baptistery included three folles 'of 641-51' (Megaw, 1976, p. 369). See below, p. 173.

58. See the discussion in Chapter XI.

59. Grierson's arguments are set out in *DOC* vol. 2, pp.57-8.

consequently dated by the latest coins on which the countermark is found; or it could have been practised over several years, in which case only the end-date is determined by the latest coins. It evidently began not earlier than the bearded INPER CONST type (*DOC* Class 2) and Constans Class 5, that is to say not earlier than Year 11 (651/2), and it terminated later than the issue of Types 9 (Years 19-23) and 11 (?Years 26-27). Even if it was applied only to Constans' coins, its date could have been close to the beginning of the reign of Constantine IV – or even into his reign, since so few of his coins reached Cyprus. Indeed, the cessation of consignments from Constantinople could have been the context for the exercise. Against that view, there is a group of six coins from the fill of a well at Saranda Kolones, Paphos, some if not all of which are of Class 5, and at least three of the six are countermarked. If the infilling of the well had occurred in the time of Constantine IV, the emphasis on Class 5 (in so far as it is a fact) would be curious.

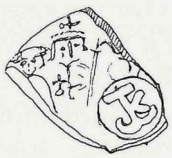


Fig. 14. Countermarked follis of Constans II.

The hypothesis of a single, swift operation is probably incorrect, to the extent that countermarking continued for a minimum of two or three years. The proof of that comes from a comparison of the Soloi hoard with the Larnaca hoard. The latter terminated with 160 folles of Class 9, 5 of Class 10, and 80 of Class 11, all countermarked. The Soloi hoard (which was much smaller) terminated with seven countermarked folles of Class 9. The absence of the scarce Class 10 from Soloi (it is also entirely absent in the Constantia excavations) may be merely statistical; the deposit could perfectly well date from the end of Class 10. But the absence of Class 11 is more problematic. Taken at face value, it implies that countermarking had begun before the introduction of Class 11, i.e. that it continued at least for a couple of years, 666-8; that is to say, during the reign of Constans II. If that is correct, the exercise (which is purely Cypriot) was not an initiative of Constantine IV.

Could it, in fact, have begun significantly earlier still? In order to prove, simply and conclusively, that it had begun, say, during Class 5 (dated to Years 11-15), one would need a hoard clearly terminating with Class 5 which already included some countermarked coins. No substantial hoard

of that kind is on record, – but conversely neither is a hoard dating from Class 5 (or Classes 6, 7, or 8) which is free from countermarking.

There is just one intriguing little group of coins, excavated in the basilica complex at Kourion. They were found on the floor of the alleyway between the basilica and the baptistery, in the stratum above the paving, and comprised four coins – one of Heraclius (*DOC* Class 2), and three of Constans with cursive M (*DOC* Classes 1-4, minted in the 640s).[60] Although the numbers are too small for the conclusion to be statistically secure, the tabulation in the preceding section, which suggests very strongly that Classes 1-4 disappeared from circulation in *c*.650, – that, and the surviving coin of Heraclius – would indicate a date of loss in the 640s or early 650s. One of the coins of Constans is countermarked, with the laterally reversed variant of the usual countermark. Because of that, the final report dates the loss of the coins to the 680s. To a numismatist that seems strained, or even contrary to good sense.[61]

There are other aspects of the evidence, which enable us to develop a more elaborate hypothesis. It is clearly not the case that consignments of copper coins from Constantinople were received by the authorities in Constantia, who countermarked them (all) before putting them into circulation. Nor is it plausible (as we shall argue) that at a date very late in Constans' reign the authorities withdrew many of the existing stock of coins, counterstamped them, and re-issued them. Only about half the Constantia site-finds (from Year 11 onwards) are countermarked, and only about 30 per cent. of the coins in the Pano Kyrienia hoard are countermarked. And yet some sums of money (the Soloi and Larnaca hoards) were 100 per cent. countermarked. That is the dilemma.

And here is a possible clue. Among the identified coins in the Pano Kyrenia hoard, *t.p.q.* 668, the proportions of coins of Constans that are countermarked decrease type by type: Class 5, 73%, Class 6, 63%, Class 8, 14%. Class 9, 0%, Class 11, 0%. (Unidentifiable as to class, 21% countermarked.) It is more than difficult to see how this pattern could have arisen if there had been a short, sharp countermarking exercise in *c*.668. Coins in circulation would, so far as one can see, have had an equal chance of being withdrawn and countermarked, irrespective of their class. But the

60. Megaw, 2007, nos 43, 58-9, and 62. The last is as *DOC* 61a, countermarked. Confusingly, no. 59 is also said to be countermarked.

61. At Constantia, the countermarked coins include extremely few with cursive M – the survivors, no doubt, in a currency from which they had virtually disappeared.

observed pattern (which percentage-wise is numerically rather clear-cut) could hypothetically have arisen if, year by year or from time to time between *c.*651 and *c.*668, some 5 or 10 per cent, say, of the currency was gathered in, randomly in respect of type (through taxation, for example?), countermarked, and put back into use. The Constantia site-finds, on the other hand, will have been lost at a steady rate through that same period (and beyond), and the totals for each class will in principle approximate to an average of the state of the currency year by year. Thus, stray coins lost during the currency of Class 5 will have been, let us say, only 5 or 10 per cent. countermarked, and so on progressively, until the eventual average is close to the observed 50 per cent (23/47), – which is significantly less than in Pano Kyrenia. This numerical modelling is quite hypothetical, and it rests heavily on just one hoard. The Paphos well-deposit seems to involve countermarked coins of Class 5, which if one could be certain that the illegible specimens were no later would clinch the case. More hoard-evidence will certainly be needed. But the problem looks to be within sight of being soluble. The countermarking, very occasionally, of a half-follis is a small pointer in favour of the fiscal hypothesis.

Until either the long or the short chronology is clearly established, it is premature to ask what the purpose of the countermarking was. The hoard evidence already tends to show that it was not a revaluation exercise by Constantine IV. If, as is beginning to seem probable, it was carried out over a period of years, from *c.*651 (*c.*653/4?) until *c.*668 or later, i.e. in the period after the Arab raids, the fiscal hypothesis will encourage the historian to think that imperial administration, including the consignment of coinage from Constantinople, and the certainty of taxation, returned to normal. Papacostas's remark that the Arab raids were 'merely a hiccup' would gain some additional force. The hoards will also have the potential to reveal any differences which there may have been in the composition of the currency regionally within Cyprus, and thus to give us some idea of the impact of Byzantine financial administration in different parts of the island.

The Constantia material includes just four specimens (out of 66 countermarked folles) or 6 per cent, on which the countermark is laterally reversed. It occurs on Class 5B, 6 (2 specimens), and 9. It has been seen as merely an accidental error on the part of the die-cutters. The mistake could have occurred more than once, no doubt. In the Kourion hoard it would seem to be early. The straightforward interpretation would be that it happened mostly at a late date, during or after the issue of Class 9, and that old coins, of Classes 5B and 6, received the same mark at that time. Among 120 coins from the Larnaca hoard now in the British Museum, all countermarked, 11 (or 9 per cent) have the countermark laterally reversed.

They are of Classes 1-4, 5 (3 specimens), 7, 8 (2 sp.), 9, and 11 (3 sp.).[62] The higher percentage in the hoard (9 per cent against 6 per cent) reflects the composition of the hoard, class-wise.

Alternative hypotheses, mentioned only for the sake of completeness, are that the mistake was made repeatedly (in which case the evidence would be consistent with the fiscal hypothesis); or that the laterally reversed monogram was the signature of another countermarking centre. For that there is at present no evidence,[63] but it would make much better sense.

12. Arab-Byzantine fulus imitating the folles of Constans II.

Dikigoropoulos, in an appendix to his thesis, gave a list of some 30 Islamic copper coins which he had located in the store-rooms of the Cyprus Museum. They are mainly of unknown provenance, but include four from Constantia, and one from Paphos. He identified them mostly by reference to the plates in an article by Kilbride,[64] which illustrated 63 specimens from Palestine. As an interim presentation, pending their full republication, the following comments should give a useful idea of the more plentiful varieties that had accumulated in the Cyprus Museum up to 1961.

There were just three of the mint-signed coins, of Hims /Emesa (bust, EMICHC), Tiberias (three figures, TIBERIAC) and Helioupolis (two figures). Then there were fifteen close copies of coins of Constans II. Of these, three were referred to Kilbride, pl. 25,22, two to pl. 25,27, and three to pl. 26,45var., plus five more variants of these same, and another two from Constantia (one from 'a burnt layer'). Two specimens which were identified by reference to a monograph on rare Islamic coins by Miles[65] are of a type that is now known to have been struck at about ten mints, almost identically. The Cyprus finds, which deserve careful publication, will not necessarily be from Banyas, as Miles's specimen seems to be.[66] The remainder of the thirty defied exact attribution; two of these were, again, excavation coins from Constantia.[67]

62. Schulze, pp.30-2.

63. For the Soli and Pano Kyrenia hoards, see Schulze, pp. 32-3.

64. A. S. Kilbride, 'Coins of the Byzantine-Arab transition period', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 13 (1948), 59-63 and pll. 24-26.

65. G. C. Miles, 'Rare Islamic coins', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 118 (1950), pl. 6, 98. Now ANS 1917.215.3324. 23mm, 3.61g. Suggested mint Nablus, but Ilisch prefers to read Baniyas.

66. I am grateful to Mr Tony Goodwin for his advice. Cf L. Ilisch, 'Münzstättennotizien, 6'.

67. In all, 15 of the 30 specimens are illustrated on pl.l. 32/33 of Dikigoropoulos's thesis.

Given that Kirkbride illustrates numerous specimens that are more obviously imitative, often with added patterns and features not found on the Byzantine prototypes, the range of style of the finds from Cyprus seems to have been quite narrow. The important hoard published by Phillips and Goodwin pushes the *t.p.q.* of these Constans imitations back into the 650s or 660s. They were circulating in Cyprus in the second half of the seventh century, after the Arab raids. A contrast with site-finds from more recent archaeological excavations on urban sites, which have yielded a rather higher proportion of post-reform Umayyad or early Abbasid fulus, suggests that the Museum had acquired selectively the interesting specimens from rural sites, while not bothering to acquire hundreds of official coins of Constans II. The sharp contrast between rural sites and urban sites (where monetary circulation continued for longer, into the eighth century) has been demonstrated above.[68] As regards the four finds from Constantia, they were presumably from the central sectors, and not from the Campanopetra sector, where monetary circulation continued for longer than in the centre.[69]

13. The transfer to Nea Ioustinianoupolis, 691-c.705.

Although there is an archive of lead seals, there are no coin hoards of which the composition suggests that they were abandoned in 691, with the possible exception of one from Ayios Philon. That could be because those who departed mostly took their money with them, or because they were drawn mainly from the population of Constantia,[70] or because Cypriot rural society was at that point very impoverished, or it could be just by chance that none has come to light. So few new coins had been added to the stock of currency that hoards from 691 cannot readily be distinguished among those with a *t.p.q.* in the 660s or 670s. A neat demonstration that a hoard was from *c.*691 would be if it included one or more coins of the first reign of Justinian II. But as the Constantia site-finds show, and as the general experience of collectors confirms, such coins are so few, in relation to the (no doubt) surviving coins of Constans II, that a hoard would need to be large before one would venture to construe the absence of Justinian's coins as proof that it was earlier than 685. The Ayios Philon hoard, mentioned above, is the strongest candidate. It consisted of only 15 coins of Constans, mostly from late in the reign, with three from 663-6. The

68. Chapter 1, pp. 37f.

69. See pp. 420f.

70. Whose hoards, if any, would have been concealed within a restricted geographical area, and therefore less likely to be found by chance.

excavators observed that they were all much worn. On that evidence alone, if the observation was correct, the hoard could even be from the early eighth century.

By no means every soul was transplanted from Cyprus, and those who remained might in principle have concealed sums of money during the years following 691. Any such hoard would be impossible to distinguish from one concealed in or before 691, unless it terminated clearly with coins of Leontius (695-8). There are four half-folles of Leontius from the Constantia excavations, but in default of proof to the contrary it is possible that they were brought back from the Bosphorus by returning Cypriots. Those of regnal year 4 post-date the traditionally quoted date of return, in 699/700, but that date is in all probability too early.

After the return, there was a modest renewal of commercial life at Constantia (or perhaps not as modest as a glance at the numbers might suggest, if coins of Constans II continued to be used). There are four copper coins of Leontius and 11 of Tiberius III. On balance it seems likely that, few as the site-finds are, coin was consigned to Cyprus by the central government during these reigns. That view is strengthened by the fact that copper coins of Tiberius III have also been found elsewhere in Cyprus, e.g. Kourion and Saranda Kolones; and, perhaps of greater significance, there is a solidus of Tiberius from Lapithos. But of the coins of Leo III and his successors of the Isaurian dynasty there is almost no trace.[71] That should probably be interpreted in terms of Cyprus losing its place on the agenda of the central government; the island ceased receiving financial support in the form of consignments of coinage.

14. Islamic copper fulus in eighth-century Cyprus.

The early Islamic fulus (sing., fals) cannot be dated at all exactly, either as to their dates of minting or (more to the point) the dates between which they were in circulation in Cyprus. Early to mid-eighth century is perhaps the best guess. At Saranda Kolones, paradoxically, Islamic coins were not in regular use while there was an Arab garrison stationed at Paphos (if indeed that was its whereabouts), but they were to be found after the garrison was withdrawn. Similarly at Constantia, there is a phase when fulus seem to have been a significant element in the petty currency. Fulus have been recovered in the Kourion excavations, and also a gold dinar,

71. In May 1953 ther Cyprus Museum bought a semis of Leo III and Constantine IV from Kolokassides (provenance unreported, but doubtless Cypriot); also a solidus of Basil I.

minted in AH 102 (AD 720/1).[72] All this hints at rather more peaceful contacts, in which Muslims paid their way.

Although the evidence is as yet barely sufficient, it seems that there is a contrast in the distribution patterns between the fulus, and the dirhams dating from the early ninth century (see below). Relatively speaking, the fulus seem to be mainly an urban phenomenon, whereas the dirhams are absent from the excavated urban sites, and seem to be more widely scattered through the countryside. Moreover, differences in the range of mints represented, in particular an emphasis on fulus of the mint of Tabariyya at Paphos, which is not fully repeated at Constantia, indicates a petty currency localized within each of the main towns separately. The two specimens of uncertain mint, mentioned above and identified by reference to a coin of (?)Baniyas (Fig. 15) are unfortunately unprovenanced. On this reading of the evidence the end of urban life, even at the major centres of Constantia and Paphos (and Amathus?) came in the second half of the eighth century. There are two stray finds of fulus, one from the Paphos area and one from Kophinou (23 km SW of Larnaca), plus two unprovenanced finds.



Fig. 15. Islamic copper fals, Miles pl. 6, 98.

Useful as the coins are, it is the archaeological evidence of impoverishment which tends to control our ideas about the character of settlement at Constantia in the eighth century. Rural activities and crafts on the former urban site may have persisted among the imposing architectural ruins. There may, however, have been more specific reasons for change. Constantia may have ceased to be a seat of civil government (as it surely had been in the seventh century) at a date somewhere in the middle of the eighth century, or into its third quarter, when there is some reason to think that Polis took on a new importance.

15. The late eighth and ninth centuries.

Where previously there had been many hundreds of stray finds, those from the eighth century are dramatically fewer, and those from the late

72. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1995, p.8.

eighth and ninth centuries can almost be counted on the fingers. They are almost all Islamic silver dirhams, but there are also a couple of gold pieces. A half or more of the dirhams are clipped down to a diameter of around 12mm. Very occasionally the clipping is roughly done, leaving a rounded polygon. This only serves to draw attention to the fact that nearly all the clipped coins are carefully rounded: time and care were expended on clipping them. They are not accompanied, among the stray finds from Cyprus, by contemporary Byzantine miliaresia, clipped or otherwise. It is difficult to understand what the intention of the clipping was; although the diameters are fairly consistent, the weights are variable. Such clipped dirhams are occasionally to be seen in general collections,[73] but provenances other than Cyprus have not been reported: provisionally, therefore, it would seem that they were clipped on Cyprus. The phenomenon is rather difficult to date, because the clipping inevitably removes the outer circle of legend, which includes the hijra date. There are two very similar Abbasid dirhams of al-Mansur, AD 754-75, which attract notice – one unclipped and one clipped, both from the Larnaca area.[74] Style can give a good general idea. The unclipped dirhams tend to be from before the beginning of the Civil War which broke out in AD 809 after the death of Harun al-Rashid. Dikigoropoulos recorded three such dirhams, namely two of al-Rashid, – and one of al-Amin (A.D. 809-13).[75] Their mint-places are unremarkable: the major mints of Madinat al-Salam and Muhammadiya. There is a cluster of hijra dates in the late eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, including a copper fals from Coral Bay.[76] The clipped specimens, so far as one can judge, may well have been minted over a similar date-range, but of course the clipping itself could have been later. Moreover, it could have been in practice for a long time. Coin no. 3 in Fig. 16, below, is necessarily post-900. In all the uncertainties, the best systematic information about the dirhams comes from their provenances. Since those published in 1995 and 1997,[77] four more clipped dirhams have come to light, one by one, from modern Paphos and its hinterland. Those shown in Fig. 16 are the harvest of just a few years: they represent a chapter in the monetary history of the Paphos district.[78] Most remarkable among

73. Inf. courtesy of Mr Steve Album.

74. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997, nos. 4 and 5.

75. In an Appendix to his thesis, nos. 38-9 (al-Rashid), and 40 (al-Amin).

76. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997-9.

77. i.e. since the publication by Pitsillides and Metcalf.

78. I am grateful to the finders, and to my colleague Doug Nicol, who skilfully identified the clipped coins.

them are two which are certainly north African, and which may reasonably be assumed to have reached Cyprus direct from the Maghreb, rather than



Fig. 16. Islamic coins from Paphos district. Nos. 1-2. Idrisid, AH *c.*175-220 (AD *c.*790-835). 1.393g and 1.254g No. 3. Abbasid, al-Muktafi, AH 289-95 (AD 902-8). 1.256g No. 4. Unidentified, Abbasid? 0.879g.

via Egypt or Syria. No such clipped pieces were recorded in the excavations of the major sites, and that may be taken as fairly good negative evidence – although the absence of the silver coins might be because of their higher intrinsic value. Perhaps the most intriguing find-spot is Halefka Pass, in the Pentadaktylos range, where a half-dinar of al-Mansur of A.D. 763/4 came to light. A dinar found in association with solidi of Theophilus offers a reminder that the date of loss may be significantly later than the date of minting. Many of the silver dirhams, clipped or unclipped, lack any exact provenance, and one has to consider whether the minority of pieces which have a known find-spot might be a biassed sample. There is no reason to think so, and the situation should improve as the data-base grows. Coins are now found inland, and at higher levels, e.g. at Moutoullas and at Omodhos. The Islamic lead seals from Limnati and Lophou may belong to a similar distribution-pattern. There seem to be quite a lot of dirhams from the Larnaca district, and even more (as has just been said) from the vicinity of Paphos.

The latest of the dirhams is dated A.H. 235 (849/50), and is from the Damascus mint. Unlike any of the earlier pieces the clipping of the flan, to 17mm, is noticeably angular, leaving a rounded polygon.[79] Whether this is characteristic of a later phase remains to be discovered.

79. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997, no. 8 and illus. 6.

A dirham from the Kourion excavations is illegible as to its date, but appears to belong fairly early in the Abbasid period – say, the first half of the ninth century or thereabouts.

The dirhams are still open to various speculative interpretations, depending on their date of loss. They suggest, but they do not strictly imply, the presence of Arabs on the island, for they could have been used by the Byzantine population. (That is not true of the Islamic lead seals.) The clipped coins imply a local economy, and it is doubtful whether they would have been acceptable back in the Caliphate. Perhaps their functions were connected with the estates confiscated by the Arabs, which the sigillographic evidence hints may have existed right up to the reconquest, when they passed under the management of kouratores. (But there is as yet no evidence to suggest that enclaves of Arab settlement had a distinctive currency.)

Byzantine silver miliaresia were the counterpart of dirhams. They were first issued in Constantinople in the time of Leo III, and became very plentiful under Leo IV. They have not turned up in Cyprus prior to the eleventh century. At Constantia and at other excavated sites, one should perhaps not expect them, for the standard reason that they were more valuable coins, of which people took good care. One apparent exception to this rule is a miliaresion of Artavasdus and Nicephorus, 742-3, from Panayia, on the outskirts of Kormakiti; it was found in a destruction layer. A special explanation for its presence in Cyprus comes to mind: this coin might have been carried to the island by a supporter of the usurper, fleeing after the recapture of Constantinople.[80] (Similarly, a follis of Leo V, 813-20, from Polis may have been carried by a monk fleeing from iconoclasm.[81]) It is a probable corollary of these special explanations that the whole currency of the district must have been very small: otherwise, the odd imports would have disappeared into it, leaving no statistical trace.

Miliaresia also are occasionally found clipped down, in Cyprus – but not until the late tenth/early eleventh century, a couple of hundred years later than most of the clipped dirhams. Can there be any continuity or connection between the two categories? Caution compels one to mention the speculative possibility that the clipped dirhams are similarly late in date (having been confiscated in 965?). But until a hoard turns up containing both kinds, the hypothesis may be disregarded as far-fetched.

80. Metcalf, 2001, p.138. The date of loss could be appreciably later.

81. The same explanation has been offered for Sicilian folles of Leo V found in distant Cherson, from the R. N. Bridge collection now in the Ashmolean Museum.

Byzantine gold coins of Nicephorus I (803-11) have been found in Cyprus[82] in proportions which should attract the historian's curiosity. One imagines that the central government took some particular short-term initiative involving Cyprus. From then on through to the reigns of Theophilus (829-42), Michael III (842-67), Basil I (867-86), and Leo VI (886-912) they have been found in Cyprus in minimal quantities.[83] The occurrence of gold again attracts attention, in that in a 'normal' monetary economy, one would expect it to be supported by a much more plentiful supply of copper. Gold on its own hints at governmental action. The finds are usually although not exclusively from the north. Thus, there is a follis of Nicephorus I from Kazaphani (between Kyrenia and Bellapais); and a follis of Leo V dated to his sole reign (813) was excavated at Polis.

Very small hoards are the order of the day. Two gold coins of Nicephorus I were apparently found together, although their find-spot is unknown. Three solidi of Theophilus together with the dinar of al-Mansur mentioned above, were found at Ayios Symeon (Karpasia). Another solidus of Theophilus is recorded from Evdhimou, and one of Michael III from Vasilia, again on the north coast just west of Lapithos. The northerly distribution pattern seems rather clear. To set against the foregoing list, there is just one solidus of Basil I, probably from Leonarisso. It seems safe to assert that the creation of Cyprus as a theme did not bring a significant increase of Byzantine gold – or copper – to the island.

Although the Constantia excavations yielded two separate finds of single gold coins of Constantine V (741-75), there is nothing comparable from the city from the ninth century. That might be just by chance, but in view of the list of finds from elsewhere, it may be because Constantia, by the late eighth century, had lost all pretension to being an urban centre.

16. The tenth century (up to 965).

Of all the Byzantine centuries, the tenth century has the fewest coin finds. From the years up to 965, a couple of folles of Leo VI have been seen in recent years, regrettably without provenance, and a couple more from the time of Constantine VII. That is all, among many hundreds of stray finds from the south of the island. The experience of the leading collectors offers secure evidence of their extreme scarcity. There is, need

82. e.g. in a couple of unpublished hoards, of which the historical interest far outweighs their size.

83. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, Appendix. See below.

one say, nothing from the major archaeological sites, other than a solidus of Constantine VII with Romanus II, dateable to 945-59, from the inland site of Dali.[84] There is just one find of a gold coin, of Constantine VII, from the Morphou area.

The numbers are so tiny that it is hazardous to conjecture a trend-line. The naval campaign of 911 may have marked the beginning of a more interventionist phase on the part of the central government. The interest of Leo VI in St Lazarus, and work on his church at Larnaca, which might have been expected to generate some monetary activity, has not left anything in the way of recorded coin finds from the Larnaca area.

In the summer of 965 Byzantine forces occupied Cyprus in strength, but again the reconquest clearly did not bring coinage flooding into the island, whether of gold, silver, or copper.[85] The issues of Nicephorus II Phocas (963-9) and of John I Tzimisces (969-76) are virtually lacking, except for finds from Aloni and Trachoni.[86] Also lacking is Class A1 of the Anonymous folles, which began, according to the testimony of Scylitzes, in 971. Class A2, which was in issue until c.1030, is seen very occasionally in western Cyprus; and there was one from the Kourion excavations, one from Tremetousia, and another from Kato Lakatamia.[87] Yet another comes from Athna. What is new here is that these places are inland. In other provinces of the Empire, by contrast, folles of Class A are very plentiful, and – more significant – they are much more plentiful than Classes B or C. There exist imitations of Class B folles, of much later date.[88] Finds from Cyprus therefore need to be scrutinized closely.

A couple of clipped-down miliaresia of the late tenth century have been mentioned: they are clearly post-reconquest losses.

17. The eleventh-century recovery.

The administrative recovery is very clearly attested by a sharp upturn in the numbers of lead seals, in the last third of the eleventh century. In the numismatic evidence, the first sign of a reviving monetary circulation (other than the clipped miliaresia of Basil II with Constantine, mentioned

84. Nicolaou, 1989, no. 68. *DOC* Class XV.

85. Unless for example, in Kyrenia, from where we have insufficient information.

86. See the Appendix.

87. CM 1950 - IV - 4; and for Lakatamia, CM 1956 - V - 21, presented by someone in the village.

88. Identified in *DOC*.

above) comes from finds of the anonymous folles of Classes A2, B, and C, from the 1020s to 1040s. One may mention a coin of Class A2 from Tremetousia,[89] another from Kato Lakatamia,[90] and a third coin of Class A from Athna.[91] A coin of Class B comes from Omodhos,[92] and one of Class C from the Kourion excavations. There is also a specimen of Class B from Khrysohorafan, nine miles south-east of Kyrenia.[93] Classes B and, especially, C are also the first distinct evidence that Nicosia had become the capital of Cyprus: specimens have been found in recent excavations. A little hoard of Class C, and a single find, have been excavated similarly at Paphos.[94] There is also a specimen of Class C excavated at Polis in 1984 – at which time it was the next find in date, from the excavations, after one of Leo V. It has been suggested that the sudden upturn in the numbers of site-finds with Class C is to be connected with Constantine Chage's suppression of the revolt of Theophilus Eroticus, in 1042/3.[95] Class C bears as its obverse type the icon of Christ Antiphonites, to which the Empress Zoe had a particular devotion. Its introduction has accordingly been dated to 1042,[96] although it could in principle have been a little later. The Cypriot evidence offers some support for the proposed date.

From about the middle of the century the recovery gathered pace, as evidenced by the growing numbers of site-finds from recent excavations in Nicosia. By the time of Alexius I (1081-1118) low-value coins were quite plentiful. It seems that a mint was opened in Nicosia, where a distinctively Cypriot type of tetarteron was minted.[97]

One has the impression from limited and unsystematic evidence that recovery was not on a rising trajectory during the reign of Manuel I (1143-80). Although his tetartera are quite plentiful, they do not significantly exceed those of Alexius I in numbers, except perhaps in Nicosia.

18. Governmental spending in Cyprus from the mid-twelfth century to 1184.

A completely new monetary phenomenon appears in *c.*1150: numerous

89. CM 1950-IV-4.

90. CM 1956, V-21, presented by someone in the village.

91. CM 1962, xii-29. From 'Pilaton'.

92. CM 1946, X - 4.

93. CM 1957/XII - 14/1.

94. Lichocka, 1984.

95. Metcalf, 2005.

96. *DOC* II, p. 681n.

97. See below, ch. XIV.

large and valuable hoards are concealed and not recovered. Whereas tiny hoards had been the norm for hundreds of years, suddenly we see a treasure containing nearly 800 billon trachea, and another (much more valuable) with well over a hundred precious-metal (electrum) third-hyperpyra. Because of the numerical contrast, there need be very little doubt that these, and others like them, reflect governmental spending, arising from a new awareness of the strategic significance of Cyprus vis-à-vis the Crusader states of the mainland.

The stock of precious metal was supplemented repeatedly. A chronological series of hoards running through the reign of Manuel I and on as far as that of Isaac II comprises six successive types, which make their appearance in the hoards successively.[98] The earlier hoards in the sequence are from inland: Lazania, Stroumbi, Nicosia (well attested), and Akhera.

19. The coinage of Isaac Comnenus, 1184-91.

Not only did the despot Isaac Comnenus strike coinage in his own name, but he did so ambitiously and on a considerable scale, striking (rare) electrum third-hyperpyra, and plentiful billon trachea and copper (or billon) tetartera, the last two certainly at more than one mint-place (doubtless Nicosia and Limassol[99]). Both the trachea and the tetartera contain the usual small amounts of silver.[100] It is surprising that Isaac did not see fit, for propaganda reasons, to remint more of the existing stock of electrum coins which was presumably still above-ground in Cyprus.

Bendall[101] has proposed a classification into three or even four successive issues, at each of two mints. But the first issue was by far the largest. And Nicosia minted the lion's share. The products of the two mints can be distinguished by the pendilia of the despot's crown, which are more elaborate at Nicosia. The first issue at the other mint, he suggests, may have been contemporary with the second issue at Nicosia.

There is a good specimen of *DOC* 6 from Mandres (Famagusta district).[102] Two tetartera were excavated at Kourion, both of which are

98. For the details, see the Appendix to this chapter.

99. A secure starting-point for mint-attribution is now in existence, namely material from controlled excavations by Violaris in Nicosia.

100. Metcalf, 1977 and 1978.

101. Bendall, 2005. This supersedes earlier work by Hendy.

102. CM, kept with the Mandres hoard.

of types attributed to the second mint. At Saranda Kolones, on the other hand, the types represented are Nicosian. That suggests a south-coast location for the second mint, and if that is correct, one assumes that it was at Limassol.

20. Summing-up: variable density of the evidence, and short- versus long-term trends.

The major (although not the only) contribution that coin finds can make to our understanding of Byzantine Cyprus is through establishing historical trends in the quantities of coins accidentally lost. By far the most abundant are losses of copper coins of Heraclius and Constans II. Gold coins were rarely lost accidentally, and our knowledge of them comes not from single finds but from hoards – which obey quite different laws. Some of the gold hoards are, not surprisingly, from the time of the Arab invasions of 649 and 653, but others are definitely a few years earlier, and seem to represent money brought to Cyprus in 641-2 by refugees from Alexandria. Even in the middle years of the seventh century, however, it is clear that most people had only copper coins to hoard. Regional differences within Cyprus, for example in the occurrence of coins of the Alexandria mint, are a reminder that contacts and commercial exchanges were often by sea, and that the currency of Cyprus was not of a uniform composition throughout the island.

After the departure of Constans II to the West in 661/2, the supplies of coinage reaching Cyprus from Constantinople declined drastically – or, one might say, during the reign of Constantine IV they ceased. Between the late seventh century and the early eighth, the accidental loss-rate fell a hundred-fold or more, in the countryside. This statistic doubtless represents the collapse of a money economy in the countryside, and points to profound social and commercial changes. As evidence it looks very secure, because the change happened so quickly; but the working hypothesis that quantities of accidental losses are a measure of the scale of the monetary economy is problematic. Stray losses from the period from 491 to *c.*578 are surprisingly few, at a time when Cyprus was surely prosperous. Perhaps losses were few because life was secure. In the late seventh/early eighth century, the course of development differed considerably in town and countryside: in the larger towns, copper coinage remained in use on a reduced scale for another generation. That much is clear; but in practical terms it becomes much more difficult to describe the currency as it was in the eighth to tenth centuries, simply because there is only a hundredth as much evidence. If members of the public could be persuaded to report stray finds of coins as they come to light, it should eventually become

possible to describe the monetary trends of these centuries, thus creating valuable new historical information. It will still be the case, however, that there are puzzling conflicts of evidence between documentary mentions of taxation and, especially, of international trade in these centuries, and the relatively very exiguous archaeological evidence. Clues to a better understanding of this conflict of evidence will perhaps emerge from regional differences, in particular as between the northern coastlands and the rest of the island, and probably also as between town and countryside. As things stand at present, inflows of coinage into Cyprus appear to have been episodic, e.g. the arrival of Islamic dirhams at the time of the Civil War in the Caliphate; or through initiatives in the reign of Nicephorus I. Interesting as these episodes are, they do not alter the perception that single finds of coins are relatively extremely few.

There is no sign of a monetary recovery under the Macedonian dynasty (as there is, for example, in central Greece). Nor do coin losses recover promptly after the reconquest of 965. The green shoots of monetary recovery were slow to appear. They received a stimulus in 1043, noticeable in Nicosia, when Constantine Chage was sent to Cyprus to put down an insurrection. But they never again reached the levels, as measured by single finds, seen in the seventh century. One should be very cautious about assuming that eleventh- and seventh-century statistics are directly comparable. Short-term contrasts, e.g. between the 1030s and the 1040s, will command greater confidence, because differences in the social and economic contexts 'before' and 'after' will include far fewer imponderables.

Renewed government interest in the strategic value of Cyprus to the Empire led to inflows of high-value coins, which have been found in a series of hoards. The seizing of power by Isaac Comnenus introduces intriguing short-term contrasts. Finds from his reign can still yield fresh information and new ideas. But the whole Byzantine coinage system in Cyprus was brought brusquely to an end by Guy of Lusignan, who imposed a new pattern of western-style every-day coinage, while retaining (on a severely limited scale) the debased gold hyperpyra on scyphate flans, like those of the Comnenian emperors.

APPENDIX

A check-list of coin finds from Byzantine Cyprus, 491-1191

Historians and archaeologists need to understand that a list in which the hoards are arranged in chronological order creates a rolling perspective and facilitates numerical comparisons between one hoard and the next, and thus helps to show how the composition of the currency, and in particular its age-structure, changed over time. Normally such changes are gradual and progressive, but if old coins were officially withdrawn from circulation, or if the social and economic life of Cyprus was disrupted, as happened because of the Arab raids, they might be sudden.

An example will serve to make the uses of a check-list clearer. Suppose that one asks oneself whether coins of Heraclius remained in circulation during the reign of his successor Constans, and if so, to what extent and for how long. Only hoards can provide an answer because single finds cannot, in principle, be closely dated. One does not know when a single find of Heraclius was lost. Suppose that coins of Heraclius continued to make up half the currency (of copper coins) until the time of the first Arab raids. Then the archaeologist's attempt to date the abandonment or down-grading of a site by the coins that he finds in a destruction layer may be less secure than appears at first glance, unless they are very plentiful. At least we should recognize that two or three coins, however well stratified, are unlikely to be a large enough sample to provide a close dating, simply because two or three coins, drawn at random from a half-and-half currency of coins of Heraclius and Constans could, by chance, quite easily be of Heraclius.

Similarly, non-numismatists may be too ready to connect destruction and abandonment with the Arab raids of 649 and 653, on the evidence of a few coins of Constans, without properly considering how long those coins might have remained in circulation. A careful comparison of the hoards from up to *c.*650 with those from the following years suggests that much

of the earlier currency disappeared either at that point or after a decade or so, although not necessarily uniformly throughout Cyprus. Thus, the check-list should be required reading for archaeologists. And for monetary historians it is an indispensable working tool, to be kept up to date as new hoards come to light.

One will also read the check-list in conjunction with the evidence from major series of site-finds (Constantia, Curium, Paphos). A sufficient volume of single finds is a *sine qua non* simply for statistical reasons. Also, the sites need to be sufficiently extensive to include a variety of building complexes, which may have had different histories of use, i.e. which will have flourished over different time-spans. Hoards and site-finds will normally be complementary, in that hoards will favour the larger denominations of coin, whereas stray losses will be heavily biassed towards the lowest-value denominations, e.g. folles in hoards of Byzantine copper coinage, but pentanummia or even nummia as site-finds. Gold (and silver) coins are to all intents and purposes a 'blind spot', about which site finds are silent. A good assemblage of site finds from a large site should approximate to a statistical series of long duration.

Single finds from the period 700-1050 have been included in the check-list, on the grounds that anything from the condominium centuries is precious information, and that, at a time when Cyprus was relatively impoverished, any that are of gold are likely to have been deliberately concealed rather than accidentally lost: they are likely to be, in effect 'hoards' comprising a single coin. Of course, no proof can be offered, and a gold coin which had fallen into a privy or a drain will doubtless have been an accidental loss.

References are, in general, to *MIB* as far as it goes, and thereafter to *DOC*. CM = Cyprus Museum. *NR* = *Numismatic Report*. AE = copper, AR = silver, AV = gold.

The *terminus post quem* given as part of the heading for each hoard in the list is merely the (earliest possible) date of the latest coin identified in the hoard. The actual date of concealment may have been significantly later. But judgements about the degree of wear of badly-struck copper coins are subjective and fallible, except in very broad terms.

Amathus, c.2006 **c.500-505**

4 AE

Small-module folles of Anastasius without officina-marks.

To be published. See p. 147.

Ayios Georgios tes Peyias, c.1990 **c.500-550**

Incompletely examined hoard of fractions, (?) Marcian to Anastasius.

Paphos district museum, MTI 3326/1-7

Mazotos, 1980 **575-6**

21 AE, found in a field in the vicinity of Mazotos.

Justinian I (11). Folles of CON. Years 12, 13, 13, 16, 21. NIKO. 17. KYZ. 26. THEUP 23, 25, 33, 36.

Justin II (10). CON 2, 6. NIK● 7. KYZ 8, 11. THEUP 2, 5, 8, 8, 10.

Fully published in Pitsillides, 2000-1, where almost all the coins are illustrated. Note that, although they were nearly 40 years old at the time of concealment, the oldest coins are not greatly worn. Folles of this size are probably too large to be much represented among site-finds. Nine out of the 21 coins are of the Antioch mint. Among the latest coins in the hoard, the folles of Constantinople are under-represented, while Antiochene folles are over-represented. Could this sum of money have been brought to Cyprus by fleeing monophysites after the Persian invasion of eastern Syria in 577? Mazotos is about 10km SW of Kiti, and about 2 or 3 km inland.

(Katydhata, 1934 **late VI century)**

11 AE.

CM. Inv. no. 1934/II - 27/6-16. Not, after all, a hoard.

Salamis-*Constantia*, 1973 **607/08**

11 AE from the Temple of Zeus, just in front of the second marble step of the ramp.

Justin I or ?II, K.
Justin II, 5 folles, 2K.
Maurice, K.
Phocas, 2 folles

Published in Callot, 1985 and Callot, 2004. The ratio of coins minted in Constantinople and in Nicomedia (5 : 5) is very different from the corresponding ratio among the site-finds and, indeed, generally. That suggests that the money may only recently have been brought to Constantia from somewhere in Asia Minor within the orbit of Nicomedia. Its owner had apparently hidden it hastily (but the coins were in two rouleaux, of folles and half-folles respectively), in what seems a rather unsuitable place.

Kourion, October 1979 **613**

81 AE

Justin I (2), Justinian (5), Justin II (6), Tiberius II (5), Maurice (28), Phocas (6), Heraclius (1); similar, not exactly identified (28). The coins are folles

(42) and half-folles (11) from the mints of Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, and Antioch. They were originally in a sack.

From the episcopal basilica. M. F. Hendy, 'Late Roman and early Byzantine coins', in Megaw, 2007, pp. 400-21. From unit 23N, layer 7 (part of the episkopeion). The hoard was accompanied by North African pottery, which was lacking in the upper levels of the shaft. (But note that the hoard did not include any Carthaginian coins). Near the top, a large water-pot was found.

In an interim report (Megaw, 1993, p.59) the excavator had described the hoard as having been 'evidently [*sic*] thrown down there as the Arab raiders approached'. That assertion is wholly unwarranted, and is tantamount to saying that there were no occasions when hoards were lost, between 613 and 649. The composition of the hoard bears no resemblance to that of hoards lost in the mid-century. To imagine that it was set aside soon after 613, but that its owner threw it into a latrine shaft only in 649 defies belief. Various scholars have postulated a Persian attack on Cyprus in *c.*617, and Professor Foss has referred to a coin hoard from Paphos concealed at about that date. The currency in the Kourion hoard looks so much older than even that in the Paphos hoard that one should be prepared to countenance the idea that the single identified coin of Heraclius was a subsequent addition to a sum set aside a few years previously.

Kourion **613**

1 AV

Heraclius, 613-30.

Cox, 1959.

Paphos, c.1959 **616/17**

117 AE, all folles except for 1 K of Maurice and 1 K of Heraclius.

Tiberius II (7): CON, 4, NIKO, 2, THEUP, 1.
Maurice (13): CON, 2, THEUP, 11 (Years 1 or 2, 2, 3 (2), 5 (2), 8 (3), 9.) All 11 have M, not cursive m, i.e. they are from 589/90 onwards.
Phocas (1) CON.
Heraclius (96): These are of *DOC* Class 1 (28) (9 are certainly CON, while 4 more published as CON have chlamys and are presumably NIC, 8 more are NIC and 7 are KYZ. *DOC* Class 2 (50, including one half-follis), NIC (8), TES (3), SEUSU (2). Of the 50 coins of CON, 12 are of Year 3, 5 are of Year 4, 17 of Year 5, 5 of Year 6. Of *DOC* Class 3 there are just 3 specimens (Years 6, 7, and ?). Barbarous, 2.

The coins of Seleucia, which determine the *t.p.q.*, are of Year 7, i.e. very recent at the date of concealment, and might hint that a sum of money had been brought from Syria; but the suggestion which has been made that

this hoard is evidence of a Persian invasion in 617 is to say the least premature. Found by children playing near a ruined church. Donald and Whitting, 1967; 1972. All the coins were said to be fairly worn. The two coins of Seleucia determine the *t.p.q.* One wonders whether the Antiochene component may not have entered the currency of Cyprus during Maurice's reign. Although the Antioch mint was no longer producing imperial copper coinage, there are Syrian imitations of Heraclian coins which could in principle have entered the hoard.

Mandres (Famagusta district), 1947 **632**
26 AV

Justinian I, solidus, facing bust.
Justin II, semis.
Tiberius II, 2 solidi and a ?tremissis.
Maurice, 5 solidi, of which one has a star in the obv. field (*MIB* 11?) and one has stars in field r., obv. and rev.
Phocas, 2 solidi, 2 semisses, 2 tremisses.
Heraclius, solidus, alone; 2 solidi with two busts, Heraclonas smaller; one with two busts of similar size; 3 with two busts, Heraclius with long beard; one with three stdg. figures, Heraclonas small, *MIB* 39 (632-635/6); 2 tremisses.

Provisional listing by DMM, November 2007. CM 1947 VIII - 15 (6 coins, purchased from C. Koutsoftas of the Forestry Dept.) and 1950 IV - 17 (20 coins), purchased. Both parcels were of similar age-structure. There are several settlements called Mandres. This one, in Famagusta District, is on the southern slopes of the Pentadaktylos range, 7 miles north-west of Trikomo and 3 miles south-east of Akanthou.

Omodhos, 1946 **634**
25 AE

Heraclius, 3 folles of Year 20, one of 21, one of 22, 3 of 23, and 7 of 25 (634/5); 9 with date illegible; Thessalonica, one follis of Year 14.

CM 1946 X 4.

Limassol (Molos), c.1953 **641-2**
178 AV, from the waterfront.

Heraclius, 158 solidi, 8 semisses, 12 tremisses. In the Cyprus Museum, 175 coins are identifiable. Two busts (*DOC* Class II), 22; with long beard (= *DOC* Class III), 96; three standing figures (*DOC* Class IV), 38. The latest coins, all showing Heraclonas crowned, are dated Year 11 (638/9), *MIB* 45, 3 specimens; 639/40, *MIB* 48, 4 sp.; 640/1, *MIB* 50, undated, 9 sp.; and 641, *MIB* 53, E to right, 6 sp. Thus 22 solidi, or 14 per cent of the hoard were less than four years old when concealed. Hahn dates MIB

53 to ? July - November 641. *MIB* 52 (with K to right) is absent from the hoard.

Nicolaou and Metcalf, 2007 gives a fully-illustrated publication of the hoard. Found at the foreshore, opposite the end of Christod. Hadjipavlou Street, during the construction of a pier. Carried to Cyprus from Alexandria? *JHS* 73 (1953), 137.

Larnaca, 1950 **641-2**
42 AV (36 in CM)

Maurice, 3.
Phocas, 2,
Heraclius, 31, namely two busts, 10, of which 4 show Heraclius Constantine smaller and one of these has a K in the right field; three stdg. figures, 19, of which only two show Heraclonas smaller (*MIB* 39). Of the remaining 17, 5 have nothing in the right field (*MIB* 50?), one has a monogram in the right field, others have monogram left, with I or IA ligate right (*MIB* 43, 45;637/8, 638/9) and two have E (*MIB* 53, July-November 641); two tremisses, one with K in right field. Thus the *t.p.q.* of the hoard is identical with that from Limassol, and it is even more heavily weighted with coins from 638-41.

Provisional listing, DMM, November 2007. On 16 January 1951 the CM acquired 16 coins, and on 5 February a further 20. One need not doubt that they are from the same source, as the composition of both parcels seems to be very similar. The *t.p.q.* is evidently identical with that of the Limassol hoard, and it is even more heavily weighted with coins from 638-41. Carried to Cyprus from Alexandria?

Ayios Dimitrianos, Kythrea, 1952 **after 641**
9 AE

Heraclius, 4,
Constans II, 4,
illeg., 1.

CM 1952 VI-27. The find-spot is said to be an ancient settlement, part of old Chytroi.

Maroni-*Petrera*, 1992-3 **643/4**
11 AE

Heraclius, Class 4 (1), 5 (1), 5a (1), 5b (3), 6 (2), Uncertain (1).
Constans, Class 2, Year 2 (1), Class 2bis, Year 3 (1).
Disposition: CM.

Ponting, 1994.

It is probable, but not quite certain, that this is a hoard: it was found near the cistern: cf. Manning et al., 1994, 356-67. The (certain) absence of the INPER CONST type, in a hoard recovered in controlled archaeological

excavations, is intriguing. The proportion of coins of Constans to Heraclius is much lower than in hoards ending with INPER CONST. This seems to amount to evidence that INPER CONST dates from Year 3 (and not from the reign of Heraclonas).

Athienou, [before 2000?] **643/4**
23 AE

> Heraclius, two standing figures, one of Year 14, the rest of Year 20 or later (12).
> – , Neapolis. One coin with NEA in the exergue and with two countermarks; the second with N in place of the officina-numeral (2).
> INPER CONST (9).

Pers. comm.

The fact that the (rare) coin with mint-mark NEA is countermarked shows that (wherever it was struck, Nablus or Limassol) it had almost certainly been in Syria/Palestine (? Caesarea) before being carried to Cyprus.

The weight of scholarly opinion is that the INPER CONST issue belongs to Year 3 of the reign of Constans, rather than to Heraclonas, three years earlier, as attributed in *DOC* (see the summary of the arguments in *NC* 2003, at pp. 206-7.) Do this hoard, and others below, show that whatever the dating (641 or 643), INPER CONST coins were present in Cyprus in large numbers before those of Constans, Years 1 and 2 (and 3)? Or is the absence of Constans, Classes 1-3, simply a matter of statistical chance in a total of only 23?

Athienou is one of a sizeable group of hoards of which the formal *t.p.q.* is 643/4. One will ask oneself whether their concealment could have been as late as 649, the date of the first Arab raid. One would then have to account for the absence of coins of Class 4, minted in Years 4, 5, 6, and 7 (644/5 to 647-8). Again the question is whether this could be a matter of statistical chance – or possibly regional variation in the composition of the currency in different parts of Cyprus.

Paphos, 1980 **643/4**
35 AE (or more)

> Heraclius, Constantinople mint, after 631 (30).
> INPER CONST, Year (?)2, overstruck on Heraclius, Cyprus mint, var with CIIP (*DOC* 184a.2), doubtless imitative, cf. Goodwin Type B? (1); Year 3 (4).
> Dispersed.

Vlamis in NR 11, item CNR/203. See T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage* (Studies in the Khalili Collection, vol 4), The Nour Foundation, London, 2005.The same comment on the *t.p.q.* applies, as above under Athienou.

Kornos cave, 1955 **643/4**

17 AE

Heraclius, *DOC* Class 5 (Years 20-24), (6); class 6, (1).
Constans, *DOC* Class 3, (2).
INPER CONST, *DOC* Classes 1 and 2, (8). On coins of Class 2, the emperor wears a short beard.

Catling and Dikigoropoulos, 1970. Note their Appendix, modifying the attributions proposed in the text. The cave lies west of ancient Lapithos, at 2,500 feet above sea level. The cache included intact Cypriot Red Slip table ware, and a local wheel-ridged cooking pot. Initially dated to 747 (!!), Megaw's revised opinion was that the coins were concealed or lost by population fleeing from the Arab raids (Megaw, 1986, 505). If there really are coins of INPER CONST, Class 2 (bearded, dating from 651) the dating would be plausible but note the absence of Class 4 (Years 4, 5, 6, and 7).

Paphos (Saranda Kolones), 14 June 1984 **643/4**

74 AE

Justin II (1).
Heraclius, *DOC* Class 2 (1), Class 3 (2), Class 5 (32), Class 6 (6).
INPER CONST (27). Uncertain (5).

D. M. Metcalf, 2003, 205ff and 221-3 (detailed catalogue). The absence of Constans, Classes 1 to 3 is here more of a problem, given the larger size of the hoard.

Kyrenia (Chorafi tou Kyrillou), 1939 **643/4**

89 AE, together with a triple suspension chain

Maurice, 1 K.
Heraclius, 44 M, 1 K. Three of the folles are countermarked, namely two of Year 20, and one of Year 24.
Constans, 41 M, 2K. These are of DOC Class 1 (4), and INPER CONST (29 + 8). Two half-folles are probably of similar date.

CM Register, 1939 IX - 11. Megaw, 1937-9. Found while excavating air-raid trenches south of the (law-)courts. The coins, which were brought in by G. Anastasiou, included (according to the Register) two half-folles of 662/3. Otherwise the coins of Constans are pre-651 One is tempted to suggest that the half-folles are either intrusive or possibly misidentified. Cf. the Pano Kyrenia hoard, below.

Karpasia, 1970 **643/4?**

58 AE (or more)

Presumed (from the *t.p.q.* indicated by Vlamis) to include coins of Constans II: '56 coins of the Constantinople mint'. Among them, 2 of

Heraclius, Years 20 and 21 respectively each with two countermarks of *DOC* Class F.

Vlamis, *NR* 11, CNR/200. Dispersed. No further details. One may assume that there were no countermarked coins of Constans in the hoard, as Vlamis's formula of recording would have distinguished them. Karpasia here refers to the whole peninsula.

Kouklia **647**
1 AR

Constans, hexagram, as *BMC* pl. 31, 9 (?= *DOC* Class 2, 647-51).

Dikigoropoulos, 1960, App. IA, no. 2. Hexagrams are extremely scarce among finds from Cyprus.

Tremetousia, 1955 **648/9**
33 AV

Maurice, 2.
Heraclius, two busts, 2; three stdg. figures, 17; semis, 1.
Constans, 8, semisses, 3.
Maurice, *MIB* 6, etc., E; another, with H (fresh).
Heraclius, with Heraclius Constantine, full-size, Θ, fresh but slightly buckled. Heraclius with long beard, (?recut as) Δ, very fresh but slightly buckled, graffiti. The three standing figures coins include *MIB* 39, with B, and S; *MIB* 40, Θ, *MIB* 44, with I in right field, *MIB* 45, with IA and IB (3), *MIB* 46, CONOB+, IA, *MIB* 50, monogram to left, nothing to right, plus another, sold to Stewart, *MIB* 53, E in right field; semis.
Constans, with short beard, CONOBC; CONOB+ with I in right field. With slightly fuller beard, CONOB (3), CONOBS (2), and with Z in field, *MIB* 16-17, minted 648/9. Semisses, 3: one is *à fleur de coin*, another is fresh.

Provisional listing by DMM, November 2007. On 5 January 1956 the CM bought 34 Byzantine coins from a Mr K. Kirlappos of Koutea. The coins are registered as being from Tremetousia.

The hoard is heavily weighted with solidi of Heraclius from *c.*635 - 641. This element may reflect money brought into Cyprus by individuals fleeing from Alexandria in 641. The hoard contains at least one coin dated 648/9, which had just arrived in Cyprus if it was probably concealed at the time of the Arab raid of 649. Coins of Constans with long beard (minted from 651) are absent from the hoard, which makes it unlikely, although not impossible (among just eight solidi), that the occasion of loss was the Arab raid of 653.

Kharkia (Kharcha), 1944 **648/9**
169 AE

Justin II (1 follis).

Heraclius (79): *DOC* Class 5 (65 M, 2 K). Two of these are neatly countermarked in the exergue. One has *DOC* cmk. G, and the other has cmk. G (or H?).
Constans (89): Class 1 (6), Class 2 (5), INPER CONST, (69), INPER CONST, Sicily (1), Class 4, Years 5 (5), 6, 7, and uncertain, = (8).

CM 1944/X - 13/1. Found in the locality Palioklisia or Katarakti, *c*.24km E of Kyrenia along the coast road. Published in detail in Dikigoropoulos, 1956. For an analysis of the metrology of the Kharkia coins, see *DOC* vol. 2, pp. 25f., where it is shown that the coins of the INPER CONST type are slightly heavier than those of Constans. Two INPER CONST coins in the hoard are apparently overstruck on Constans: ibid., 391-2.

Salamis-*Constantia*, March 1966 **651**
1 AV

Constans II, solidus, Class III (651-4). 4.21g.

Helly, in *Salamine*, IV (1973), 197; Callot no. 705 (illus.). Found in the room at the NW angle of the eastern courtyard, on the paving of the gutter. Fresh condition.

Lambousa-*Lapithos* (Acheiropoietos), 1906 **after 641 (649 or 653?)**
131 AV

Gold coins of Heraclius and Constans II, with a few earlier pieces.

Cyprus Museum Committee minute-book, Minute 2 of 22 November 1906. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, p. 24: he saw 19 of the coins in the Kyrenia see's treasury, which he said were 'mostly of Heraclius and Constans'. (That may mean that there were two or three of Maurice or Phocas.) The Commissioner of Kyrenia, Major Chamberlayne, assigned one third of the hoard to the bishop of Kyrenia, and lodged the balance of 88 in the safe of the Kyrenia treasury. These in due course came to the Cyprus Museum. With the coins were found two gold crosses and one rosary or bracelet. That and the find-spot hint at ecclesiastical ownership. The 88 were stated by Dikigoropoulos to be among the *ancien fonds* of the Cyprus Museum without specific identification. In spite of a thorough search in the strong-room of the Museum, the writer was unable to see the hoard in either 2007 or 2008. It is thus nearly fifty years since the coins were examined.

In *c*.651 Constans introduced a new design of solidus, showing him with a long bushy beard; these should serve to determine whether the hoard was concealed in the first or second Arab raid. It seems that the *ancien fonds* includes only two solidi of Constans later than 649 (which could therefore have been concealed in 653 or later). If the hoard had been concealed in 653 one might have expected more than two. There are in the *ancien fonds*, according to Dikigoropoulos, just three further solidi of Constans from 654

onwards. It seems possible, therefore, that the Lapithos hoard could be from 649; or it could of course be even a few years earlier than that. The exact composition of the hoard is of much potential interest, not only for its date of loss (which should determine the date of destruction by fire of Lapithos), but also for the composition of the currency in Lapithos at that time, as compared with the various gold hoards from *c*.641-2.

Paphos-*Saranda Kolones* **651/2**
6 AE

Constans. Class 5 where legible.

D. M. Metcalf, 'Byzantine, Islamic and Crusader coins from Saranda Kolones, Paphos', *NC* 163 (2003), at pp. 210f. From the fill of a well. Some if not all the coins are of Class 5, and at least three of them are countermarked. It is not clear whether they should be regarded as a hoard, because they were found scattered through almost a metre of fill. *If* all six coins were of Class 5, the implications for the date at which countermarking began would be far-reaching. The alternative, namely that the coins were lost in the time of Constantine IV, and that they just happen to be of Class 5, is difficult to accept. Megaw, 2007 is disposed to date the fill of the well to after an earthquake which damaged Paphos in *c*.685, a suggestion which does not command much confidence.

Kilani, 1965 **651/2**
47 AE (or more)

Coins 'of Constantinople' [Constans II?] (26). INPER CONST, Year 3, (6). Constans with Cypriot countermark (15).

Vlamis, *NR* 11, CNR/201. Dispersed. The *t.p.q.* depends on the date for the introduction of countermarking. The actual date of concealment may have been significantly later.

Unknown locality, before 1976 **651/2**
27 AE.

Constans II, countermarked.

Coin Hoards II (1976), no. 334; Vlamis, *NR* 11, CNR/203. Private collection.

Paphos (Odeion), 14 June 1978 **659/60**
6AE

Constans, one follis of Class 9 (659/60), cat. no. 101, and five earlier folles of Constans, not securely identifiable, but all five countermarked, therefore very probably post-651.

Nicolaou, 1990, pp.202-3, nos 101, 107-11 (four are illus.). From Square OO 14 at depth 11.20m. The proportion of countermarked coins of Constans II among the single finds is lower – apparently 5 out of 9.

Soloi, 1927 **659/60**
47 AE

Constans, Classes 1-4 (1), 5 (29), 6 (5), 7 (1), 8 (4), 9 (7).

The hoard was found by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition during excavations of the theatre, within a very small area just outside the eastern entrance of the scena building, and about 1m above bedrock. For the numismatic detail, see Westholm, 1940. Of the seven coins of Class 9, no. 42 was described as being of 659/60, no. 43 as cf. *BMC* 209, and the others as similar. The coins are said to be worn, but the absence of Class 11 makes that observation and the date of concealment, problematic. Coins minted before 651/2 are virtually absent from the hoard. There are numerous comments on Westholm's attributions, in *DOC* vol. 2, pp.38n, 41n, 57, 63, 91n, 231n, 398n, and 407. It seems that *all* the coins in the hoard were countermarked (*DOC* p.57), with possible implications for the *t.p.q.* The summary here is taken from Phillips and Goodwin, 1997, at p. 87. The authors remark that both Classes 5 and 9 marked a change of weight-standard – Class 5 a reduction, and Class 9 an increase; and that both were preceded by a period when no folles were being struck (p.77). Note the absence of the INPER CONST type; but *DOC*, p.398n, states that there was one of the scarce INPER CONST Class 2.

Ayios Philon-*Karpasia*, c.1980 **663/4**
15 AE

Constans. Most are from late in the reign, and three are from 663-6. All were said to be much worn. Two at least are countermarked.

Du Plat Taylor and Megaw, 1981. The coins were concealed in a wall. Could the date of concealment be as late as, e.g., 690/1?

Larnaca, 1858 (the 'Warren' hoard) **666**
512 AE

Constans, Classes 1-4 (3), INPER CONST (1), Class 5 (128), 6 (62), 7 (7), 8 (59), 9 (160), 10 (5), 11 (80). Note that *BMC* 273 (pl.26, 5) and 274 are Arab-Byzantine three standing figures 'KYΠP' coins, countermarked.

For the find-spot, see Dikigoropoulos, 1960, App. IB; the hoard was originally published in Warren, 1861. Warren wrote, 'All these coins, without, I believe, one exception, are countermarked with the monogram of Constans II'. Note that, again, there are virtually no coins in the hoard minted before 651/2 (less than 1 per cent). The summary here is taken from Phillips and Goodwin, 1997, at p. 87.

Pano Kyrenia, 1965 **668**
73 AE

Constans II (69) and Constantine IV (4). Constans: INPER CONST (1), *DOC* Class 5 (11, of which 8 are countermarked). Class 6 (8, of which 5 c'mked), Class 8 (14, of which 2 c'mked), Class 9 (9), Class 11 (2); not clearly identified, but none before Year 11 (24, of which 5 c'mked). Constantine IV, *DOC* Class 1 decanummia (4).

Schulze and Goodwin, 2005, pp. 23-56. The hoard was found 1 km south of the coast. In all 20 out of 69 coins of Constans are countermarked (29 per cent).

The hoard is of interest for the four decanummia of Constantine IV. How these four coins arrived in Cyprus, and the date of concealment, are perhaps related questions.

Profitis Elias, Lythrodhonta, 1939 **685**
1 AV

Justinian II (1st reign), tremissis, *DOC* 14.

CM 1939/III - 25/1. *RDAC* 1937-9, 211. This Profitis Elias (there are others) is a monastery 3 miles SE of Makheras monastery.

Ayia Trias, Karpasia, before 1973 **VIIth century?**

32 AV solidi of various emperors. Dispersed.
Vlamis, 1973, no. 145.

Lapithos, near, 1949 **698**
1 AV

Tiberius III (698-705). *BMC* pl. 40, 8.

From the locality Petromandres. CM 1949/VI - 2/1. The loss of this coin may post-date the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis.

Paphos area **c.700**
1 AE

Islamic fals, c.700-c.730 AD

Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997.

Kophinou **c.700**
1 AE

Islamic fals, c.700-c.730 AD.

Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997 (illus., p. 7, no. 1). Kophinou is 7km inland, and c.12 km NE of Kalavasos.

Paphos (vicinity), c.2004 **718**
1 AV

Third-dinar, Umar II, AH 100 (AD 718-19).
Identification courtesy of Mr N. D. Nicol, Ashmolean Museum.

Unknown provenance, 1941 **c.720**
1 AV

Leo III, 717-41.

CM. Another solidus of Leo III, cf. *DOC* 3-5, was acquired from a private collection in 1945. Given the scarcity of Leo's coins in Cyprus, one wonders whether both could have come from a hoard.

Panayia (Kormakiti) **742**
1 AR

Miliaresion, Artavasdus and Nicephorus, 742/3.

Found in a destruction deposit. Catling, 1972

Salamis-*Constantia*, September 1970 **741**
1 AV

Constantine V (741-775). Solidus, *DOC* Class 1.

Callot no. 990. From the Campanopetra sector. Found at the SW angle of a large cistern, and 20cm above the bottom.

Salamis-*Constantia* **751**
1 AV

Constantine V. Solidus, *DOC* Class 2.

Callot no. 991, and Argoud, Callot and Helly, 1980, p. 41. From the Huilerie sector. Found in what appears to have been a dwelling, later in date than the main building, and installed partly on top of the apsidal structure and of corridor A.

Angolemi, 1953 **751**
1 AV

Constantine V with Leo IV, solidus.

CM 1953 - II - 25. Angolemi is about 4 miles inland from Morphou Bay.

Moutoullas **754**
1 AR

Dirham, clipped and pierced. al-Mansur, 754-75. (illus, 1997, no. 3)

On the northern slopes of the Troodos, near Kalopanayiotis. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997. Papacostas remarks that it 'clearly ended up there as an ornament and not as a result of commercial exchange'. It is true that the piercing is unusual.

Halefka Pass **764**
1 AV

al-Mansur, half-dinar, dated AH 146 (AD 763/4).

CM. Listed by Dikigoropoulos in his thesis. Halefka (Halevga) is 4 to 5 miles NE of Kythrea. Cf Ayios Simeon (below), for a slightly later dinar.

Paphos (vicinity), c.2000 **773**
1 AV

Dinar, al-Mansur, AH 157 (AD 773-4).

Identification courtesy of Mr N. D. Nicol, Ashmolean Museum.

Ayios Symeon, Karpasia. **784/5**
See below, under 830.

Omodhos **late 8th/early 9th c.**
1 AR

Clipped dirham
Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1995, p.11

Larnaca district **late 8th/early 9th c.**
2 AR single finds

1. Dirham, unclipped, al-Mahdi, 775-85, Madinat as-Salam, 161 (777/8). Slightly crinkled. (illustrated, 1997, no. 4)
2. Very similar, but mint and date clipped away. The edges appear rounded, and the coin is to some extent worn. (illus., 1997, no. 5)

Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997

Unknown localities **late 8th/early 9th c.**
7 AR single finds

1-2. Dirhams, early Abbasid, apparently no margin.
3. Dirham, early Abbasid, with crude epigraphy. 0.83g (illustrated, 1995.)
4. Clipped dirham, probably AH 194-6/AD 809-12, Madinat al-Salam. 1.03g (illus., 1995)
5. Similar. 1.43g (illus., 1995)
6. Dirham, rolled up when found, and unrolled before identification. AH 156/AD 773. Madinat al-Salam. (illus., 1997, fig. 2)
7. Dirham, clipped, al-Rashid, 786-809. The mint is probably either Madinat al-Salam or Muhammadiya. (1997, cat. no. 7)

Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1995 and 1997 (with some duplication).

Unknown locality (??Polis), 2003 **803**
c.20 AV

The hoard of solidi was said to have included five or more coins of Nicephorus I and two types of Constantine/Leo.

Said (truthfully?) to have been found in a coastal area near Polis.

Unknown locality **803**
2 AV

Nicephorus I (803-811).

CM. Listed by Dikigoropoulos. Two coins apparently found together.

Kokkinochoria **803**
*c.*8 AV

Hoard terminating with four solidi of Nicephorus I, varying in style.

Said to have been found under a slab in a house.

Kazaphani? **803**
1 AE

Nicephorus I

Probably from Menes, near Kazaphani (between Kyrenia and Bellapais). Dikigoropoulos, 1960. This is one possible location for a cave with the relics of the Ayii Phanentes, mentioned in the life of St Constantine the Jew.

Trimithi, 1957 **803**
1 AE

Nicephorus I, *DOC* 5.

CM 1957/XII - 10.

Coral Bay, 1996 **804**
1 AE

Fals, Harun al-Rashid, AH 189, al-Rafiga

Found near the coast in a bay just south of Coral Bay, c.10km north of the centre of Paphos. Pitsillides and Metcalf 1999, 41-2.

Ayios Symeon, Karpasia, 1960 **830**
4 AV

Theophilus (829-842), three solidi, *DOC* 3,and also a dinar of al-Mansur, dated 784/5 (and believed by Dikigoropoulos to have been found together).

CM 1960 -II - 16 and II - 23/2-4. The Museum acquired one solidus of Theophilus, and then a few days later two more plus the dinar – which was more than 40 years old when the hoard was concealed. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, p. 287. Ayios Symeon hill (Trachonas) is 4 miles SE of Yialousa: Trachonas-Khalasmata is the name of a forest immediately east of Ayios Simeon. Cf. Halefka Pass, above.

Evdhimou (Melanda) **829**
1 AV

Theophilus, solidus.

CM. Listed in Dikigoropoulos, 1961. Found in the locality Melanda. Evdhimou is 16 miles W of Limassol and 2 or 3 miles S of Prastio.

Vasilia (Lambousa) **856**
1 AV

Michael III (842-67), *DOC* 3.

CM 1940 - IV - 25. Purchased from Ioannis Aristedou. Vasilia is 2.5 miles west of Lambousa, i.e. below the Kornos mountain. Listed by Dikigoropoulos.

Unknown locality 849/50
1 AR

Dirham, clipped, al-Mutawakhil, Dimashq, 235 (849/50). Angular clipping, leaving a rounded polygon. (illus., 1997, 6)

Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1997

Ayios Epiktetos, 1941 870
1 AE

Basil I with Constantine and Leo, *DOC* 10.

CM 1941 - XII - 5. Acquired from a villager. Ayios Epiktetos is on the north coast, 4 miles east of Kyrenia.

Askas 867
1 AE

Basil I.

In the Troodos, west of Palechori. Pitsillides collection.

Leonarisso (?) 867
1 AV

Basil I (867-86)

CM. Listed by Dikigoropoulos. The provenance of this coin is not certain. Leonarisso is 6 miles SW of Yialousa.

Nicosia, 1934 886
1 AE

Leo VI

Dikigoropoulos, 1960, App. IB.

Statos, 1948 886
1 AE

Leo VI (alone: seated on throne), *DOC* 5.

CM 1948 - V - 12. From 'the vicinity of Statos'. By no means the most plentiful variety of follis from Leo's reign. Statos is in the southern foothills of the Troodos just south of Ayia Mone.

Morphou area 913
1 AV

Constantine VII (913-959).

CM. Listed by Dikigoropoulos.

Dali, 1970-77 **945**
1 AV

Constantine VII with Romanus II, *DOC* Class XV (945-59).

Nicolaou, 1989, no. 68. (Could have been lost as late as the reconquest?)

Alona, 1948 **963**
1 AE

Nicephorus II Phocas, *DOC* 8.

CM 1948 - V - 31.

Aloni (Agros), c.1930 **963**
1 coin

Nicephorus II Phocas.

Grivaud, in his *Villages désertés* (Grivaud, 1998), mentions a coin of Nicephorus II from Aloni 'found at this abandoned settlement site, near Agros' apparently in 1930. (There is also a nearby village called Alona.) If there are in fact two different coins, they perhaps hint at the discovery of a small hoard, from which the 1948 coin had stayed in the hands of a local family.

Trachoni, 1951 **963**
1 AV

Nicephorus Phocas, *DOC* 1.

CM 1951 - XI - 16. 'In a field by the village of T.' (1.5 miles south of Kythrea).

Salamis-*Constantia* **1005**
1 AV

Basil II with Constantine VIII. *DOC* Class 6 (1005-25).

Callot no. 992. Helly pp.198-9. Found in the Campanopetra sector, on the paving of the main (i.e. western) entrance of the western court.

Kythrea-*Ayios Demetrianos* **1035**
3 AE

Anonymous folles, Class B (described as Michael IV, *BMC* no. 6).

RDAC 1937-9, 211.

Polis excavations **c.1030**
1 AE

Class C follis

Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1995

Paphos excavations *c.*1042
3 or 4 AE

Anonymous folles, Class C. Perhaps a little hoard of 3 coins, plus one outlier or separate loss.

From a room in the East Wing of the Villa of Theseus. Lichocka, 1984.

Unknown locality **1092**
[10] bil. trachea

Alexius I, struck with small dies.

Disposition: Limassol Castle Museum.

Salamis-*Constantia* **1098?**

18 bil. deniers

County of Blois and Chartres, type chinonais (immobilized). PA 1731. Mint of Chartres (17). Duchy of Normandy. Rouen mint. Dumas, 1979, pl. 18, 22-3 (1).

Helly, p.199. Callot. All 18 coins are illustrated, and their weights recorded. Found near the entrance of the basilica of Campanopetra, giving onto the western courtyard, and in the interior of the courtyard.

Dating these coins is very difficult. Callot would accept a date soon after the First Crusade. G. Glücksmann and R. Kool, 'Crusader period finds from the Temple Mount excavations in Jerusalem', *'Atiqot* 26 (1995), 87-104 draw up a corpus of hoards of coins of Chartres. They suggest the second half of the twelfth century, or even the late twelfth century. That is no doubt correct for the Jerusalem (Temple Mount) hoard, but the Constantia hoard may be somewhat earlier.

Lazania, 1936-7 **1143**
784 bil. trachea

John II (1118-1143), First type (bust), 229, Second Type (standing figure) (403).
Manuel I (1143-1180), First type (bust), 152

Mattingly, 1937-9. Discovered while digging in a vineyard at the locality Syricha, 2 miles S from the crest of the road above Lazania, and 4 miles SE from Gourri.

Manuel's first type is dated by Hendy 1143-(?)1152. The ratio of coins of John to those of Manuel favours a fairly early date.

Stroumbi, 1945 **1143**
4 bil. trachea

John II, first type (bust), second type (stdg. fig.), 2.

Manuel I, first type (bust).

CM 1945 - IV - 2. Stroumbi is about half-way between Paphos and Polis, inland.

Nicosia, 1915 **c.1155**
17 El

John II (6). Variety A, 3, Variety B, 3.
Manuel I (11). First coinage 2, Second coinage 3, Third coinage 4, Type D, 2.

Found while digging foundations in 'Koulermos Khani'. Sold secretly; the Museum succeeded in securing the above 17 coins. *Ann. Rep. of the Curator of Antiquities, 1916* (Nicosia, 1917), p. 23. Doubtless the main part of the same hoard, which was said to have been found in Nicosia in the early 1920s, and was sold on the London market:

117 El.

John II (82). Variety A, 30, Variety B, 52.
Manuel I (35) First coinage 2, Second coinage 9, Third coinage 23, Type D, 1.

Donald and Whitting, 1971, 75-84.

This seems to be the earliest in a series of sizeable hoards of electrum third-hyperpyra, which no doubt reflect governmental spending in Cyprus during the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-80) and up to the unsuccessful attempt by Isaac Angelus (1185-95) to dislodge the usurper Isaac Comnenus. There are six different types of electrum third from Manuel's reign, all plentiful in the Cyprus hoards. One of the six is (improbably?) attributed to the mint of Thessalonica.The six are presumably successive, and their sequence is clear enough from a tabulation of the hoards, namely First coinage, Second coinage, 'Thessalonican' type, Type D, Type E, Type C. The Nicosia hoard terminates with a single specimen of Type D which may, however, be intrusive. The ratio of coins of John to Manuel is high, which favours as early a date as possible. The absolute chronology of the six types is still a matter of guess-work: let us guess at a *t.p.q.* of 1155. (The raid of 1157 comes to mind as a possible context for the hoard.) The Akhera hoard (below) adds Types D and E to the sequence (t.p.q. 1165?), and the Morphou hoard, in which the ratio of coins of John to Manuel has dwindled to 4:34, adds the sixth type, C (*t.p.q.* 1170/1175?). *DOC* offers a somewhat later chronology.

Akhera: Ayios Panteleimon, 1985 **1165?**
145 El.

John II (43), Manuel, First coinage (1),, Second coinage (22), 3rd coinage (29), Type D (32), Type E (15).

Flourentzos and Nicolaou, 1987. The hoard, which is fully described and illustrated, including drawings of the graffiti on the coins, was found 9 metres W of the SW corner of the monastery.

Morphou, 1958 **1175?**
80 El (approx.)

There are 38 coins in CM, namely John II (4), Manuel I, Second coinage (7), 3rd coinage (4), Type D (3), Type E (7), Type C (13).

Metcalf, 1991. Found in the courtyard of a house in Ayios Georghios Street, not far from Ayios Mamas church.

Neokhorio/Drousia, c.1966 or earlier **late XII century**
El

Some of the coins were handed in by the finder to the Limassol District Museum. No details available.

Metcalf, 1991. Found during ploughing near an old ruined chapel, in the Tattari locality.

Nicosia, before 1945 **1184**
Billon trachea of Isaac Comnenus. No detail, and now dispersed.
Vlâmis, *NR* 1973, 62-4; ibid 1974, 74-9, V/*NR* 144.

Larnaca, c.1974 **1184**
57 Bil trachea of Isaac Comnenus

Nicosia mint, First issue (*DOC* 2).

Hendy, 'Seventeen hoards', in *Coin Hoards* 6 (1981), no. 241, p. 69.

Unknown locality, 1992 or earlier **1184**
33 billon trachea of Isaac Comnenus.

All as *DOC* 2 (Nicosia, 1st issue)

Classical Numismatic Auctions, mail bid sale 20, March 25, 1992, lots 318-328 (3 illus.). One wonders whether this was part of the 1988 hoard (below).

Nicosia, c.1960 **1185**
*c.*10,000 billon trachea, the latest of Isaac II.

There were at least a few coins of Alexius I, and a significant number of John II and of Manuel's first two issues. That suggests that the hoard was withdrawn, at least in part, from the currency of Cyprus, rather than being from the campaign chest of Isaac II's expedition to recover the province (in which treasure-chest such old coins would be unlikely). Found with plates, in a large beehive-shaped vessel.

A. G. Pitsillides, pers. comm. Hendy's Nicosia (II) hoard is a parcel of 306 coins from this hoard, formerly in the Barber Institute, Birmingham University, and donated by that museum to the Municipal Museum, Nicosia. The Petrakides Collection hoard is another parcel, of 81 coins, now in CM. Found near the cathedral of Ayia Sofia, in a khan.

Karpasia **1185**
Electrum trachea, including coins of Andronicus and Isaac.

Metcalf, 1991.

Limassol area **1185**
14 or 15 billon trachea of John II, Manuel I, and Isaac II, together with tetartera, which were of Manuel, with one of Isaac Comnenus.

Metcalf, 1991.

Nisou **1185**
5 AE (or more)

Isaac Comnenus, 4. Alexius I, post-reform, 1.

Vlamis, NR 11, CNR/204. Dispersed.

The ANS (G. C. Gunther) hoard **c. 1188**
15 billon trachea of Isaac Comnenus.

Nicosia mint, First Issue (*DOC* 2), 9 sp.
- , Second Issue, (*DOC* 3), 4 sp.
Limassol mint, *DOC* 4, (Hendy's first, but Bendall's second issue), 2 sp.

Hendy, in *DOC*

Unknown locality, c.1988 **c.1190**
50+ billon trachea and 12 tetartera of Isaac Comnenus.

Trachea. Nicosia mint, First Issue, (*DOC* 2), c.50 specimens, including several with retrograde legends.
- , Third issue (Bendall, 2001), ?4 sp.
Limassol mint, (*DOC* 5) (= First issue?), 1 sp.
Tetartera. Nicosia mint, Third issue (*DOC* 8), c.12 sp.

Bendall, 2005, giving a careful reconstruction of the hoard's composition as gradually revealed on the market.

SITE-FINDS

Constantia excavations, 1964-1974
810 identifiable Byzantine coins, plus 213 illegible, less 11 in a hoard, *t.p.q.*

607/08; 13 Arab-Byzantine, 10 Umayyad, 1 countermark. Some fifth-century nummi will be post-491 losses.

Anastasius (7), includes 2 nummia; 2 small-module; one 5-nummium of Antioch.
Justin I (7) incl. 2 half-folles; 3 5-n.; 1 (follis) of Antioch.
Justinian I (14) incl. 3 nummia; 1 10-n. and 2 5-n. of Antioch; 1 12-n. of Alexandria.
Justin II (6) incl. 1 half-follis and 2 10-n. of Antioch; 1 12-n. of Alexandria
Tiberius II (9), incl. 1 follis and 2 half-folles of Antioch.
Maurice (61), incl. 8 half-folles and 1 10-n of Thessalonica; 13 folles, 6 half-folles and 1 10-n. of Antioch; 1 12-n. of Alexandria.
Phocas (22), incl. 2 folles, 1 half-follis and 2 10-n. of Antioch; 1 12-n. of Alexandria.
Heraclian revolt (1). Follis, Alexandria, Year 13.
Heraclius (309), incl. Constantinopolitan folles of *DOC* Classes 1-4, 51; Class 5A (large), 31 plus 4 c'mked; 5B, 80; 6, 5; 30-nummia (= Class 5A), 12; half-folles, Classes 1-4, 14; Class 5, 53; 10-n., 14; 5-n., 1. Thessalonica, 10; Nicomedia, 8, Cyzicus, 1, Cyprus, 2. Alexandria, 1 12-n., 1 6-n.
Constans II (258), incl. 1 gold solidus, and 234 folles, of which 66 are countermarked: DOC Classes 1-4, 24. 'Heraclonas' (INPER CONST), 59 plus 3 bearded. Class 5A, 10, 5B, 19, plus Class 5 (indeterminate), 18. *MIB* 171, 1. Classes 6-8, 40. Class 9, 20. Class 11, 12. Half-folles, 6. 10-n., 13.
Constantine IV (1)
Justinian II (7). All half-folles, Years 1, 2 (2), 3, illeg. (3)
Leontius (4). Half-folles, Years 1, 2 (2), illeg.
Tiberius III (11). Folles, Years 1 and 4. Half-folles, incl. Years 1 (3), 2, 4 (3).
Arab-Byzantine (13), imitations of Constans II.
Umayyad (10), fulus of various mints
Countermark, tayyib (1).

Kourion excavations, 1932-1953

a) From 1932-53, published by Cox.

Minimi (132). Vandals: Hilderic, 523-30 (5), Gelimer, 530-3 (4). Ostrogoths: Theodoric, 493-526 (1), Baduila, 541-55 (4). A further 400 illegible pieces, many of them being of 'Vandalic' fabric, i.e. thickish, 7-8mm.
Anastasius (14): 9 minimi, 5 pentanummia, of which 2 are of Nicomedia and one is of Antioch.
Justin I (6) including 2 folles and 3 pentanummia.
Justinian (28): 3 Constantinopolitan folles, of which one is as *BMC* p.33, 73, one K (*BMC* 102), 3 10-n., 3 5-n. Nicomedia, one follis, Cyzicus, one 10-n. Alexandria, 4 12-n., one 6-n. Carthage, BMC Vandals p.liv, 1.
Justin II (12): 3 folles, 4 half-folles, one 5-n. (cast copy). Cyzicus, one half-follis, 2 5-n.
Tiberius II (6): Nicomedia, 3 folles of Year 7. Antioch, 2 of Year 5. Alexandria, one 12-n.

Maurice (13): Constantinople, one follis, 3 half-folles, one 10-n. Nicomedia, one follis, Year 6. Thessalonica, 3 half-folles. Antioch, folles of Years 2, 8, and 12. Half-follis of Year 3.
Phocas (2): Thessalonica, one half-follis, Antioch, one follis.
Heraclius (36): Folles, Years 3-5 (6), Year 11 (3), Years 20-21 (12), Year 30 (2). 30-n., (2). Half-folles, Years 10, 12/15, and 20 (2). Nicomedia, Year 3, bust (1), Years 3 (2) and 6. Cyzicus, Year 3, bust. Cyprus, an imitation on a thin flan, Year 16, mint-mark retrograde and blundered. Alexandria, one 12-n.
Constans (28): 643-4, bust (9, none countermarked), 641-51 (2), 651-6 (5, of which 3 countermarked),655-8 (6, of which 4 countermarked),659-64 (3, of which 2 countermarked), 663-6 (3, of which 2 countermarked).
Anonymous A (1).
Anonymous B (1).
Constantine X with Eudocia, *BMC* 18ff (1)
John II (1). *DOC* 14.
Isaac Comnenus. *DOC* 9 (1). *DOC* 10 (1).

b) From the excavations of the epicopal basilica precinct, 1956, 1959, 1987-9. Published by Hendy, in Megaw, 2007, pp. 400-21. The summary below combines Hendy's Lists I and II His list III adds 44 unidentified late fifth-century coins, most of which will also have been lost after 491.
Anastasius (2).
Justinian (3, incl. an Alexandrian 6-nummium).
Justin II (4).
Maurice (13).
Phocas (1).
Heraclius (18, incl. 2 Alexandrian 12-nummia).
Constans II (25, of which 11 were minted pre-651 and 14 from 651 onwards. Of the 14 only 3 are noted as c'mked).
Constantine IV (1 gold solidus).
Justinian II (4).
Leontius (1).
Tiberius III (2).
Leo III? (2).

Paphos excavations.
Some 150 Byzantine and contemporary coins from excavations on various sites in Nea Paphos.

a) From the House of Dionysos, excavated 1962-78 by K. Nicolaou: 3 finds. I. Nicolaou, 1990, pp. 92f.

Justinian, nummus.
Heraclius, follis of Year 13; half-follis.

b) From the Odeion, the Gymnasion, and the Asklepeion. From the Odeion: I. Nicolaou, 1990, pp. 192-204, nos. 52-112 (62 coins less a hoard of 6 coins)

Vandalic and other nummi, 3.
Anastasius, 5-n.
Justin I, two folles, one 5-n.
Maurice, two half-folles (found separately).
Phocas, follis.
Heraclius (24): folles of Years 4, 6, 10-20, 17 (2, found separately), 20 (3), 22 (2), 24, 25 (2), 26.
– half-folles, Years 12 or 22, 20, 21, 23.
– Alexandria (4 or 5).
Constans II (27): folles of Years 3 (INPER CONST), 1-10 (3), 11-15 (3, of which 2 cmked), 15 (2, both cmked), 19 or later (4, one cmked), uncertain (1).
– half-folles, Years 17, 20 (2), 22.
– Sicily, Years 1-6, (1)
Alexius I, tetarteron.
Of 4 West European coins, 2 might possibly be losses pre-dating 1191.

c) From the Gymnasion (Agora?), Nicolaou, p. 208
Phocas, Alexandria (1)
Heraclius, Alexandria (1)

d) From the Asklepeion, Nicolaou, p. 209
Heraclius, follis, Year 30.

e) Saranda Kolones. 84 site-finds, of which VI-VII century, 65, Islamic, 7, XI-XII century, 12. Metcalf, 2003.

Anastasius, small-module follis, 1.
Justinian (imitative?), 1.
Justin II, 10-n., 1.
Tiberius II, follis, 1.
Maurice, folles (3, of which one CON, one Antioch, one illeg.), 20-n., 10-n. (could be Tiberius II?
Phocas, semis, 1, folles, 2, 10-n., 1.
Heraclius, *DOC* Class 2 (3), 3 (1), 4 (3), 5a (3), 5b (4), uncertain, (6), Alexandria, (3).
Constans II, *DOC* Class 1 (1), INPER CONST (2), Class 4 (2), Class 5 (10), 6 (1), 8 (1), 10 (1), Sicily (1), Unidentified (2).
Justinian II, CON (1), Syracuse (1).
Tiberius III (1)
Arab-Byzantine (3)
Umayyad, post-reform (4)
Alexius I (1)
Manuel I (4), Isaac Comnenus (5)
Alexius III (1)

f) Villa of Theseus. Lichocka, 1984, publishing 223 coins from eight campaigns. Byzantine coins are rare, but note 4 Anonymous folles of Class C from the rooms of the east wing of the palace.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR CONTEXTS: THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Public inscriptions, whether in the form of mosaics, or stone tablets, or painted inscriptions, were mostly put in place to commemorate some public benefaction. If the donor of a prestigious public building was the emperor himself, a permanent reminder might be deemed politically appropriate. Improving the infrastructure was in the imperial interest; and an impressive inscription tended to enhance authority and the esteem in which the emperor was held by his subjects. Bishops or local administrative officials who shared in the cost and saw to the work might claim the same justification for commemorating their benefaction. The church of St Barnabas, for example, built by Archbishop Anthemios at the site of the invention, with financial aid from the emperor and from the notables of Constantia, was improved by Anthemios's successor Archbishop Philoxenos, who recorded what he had done by means of an inscription which said, 'This and yet another building were erected under Philoxenos'.[1] There may very well, of course, have been an earlier and grander inscription put up by Anthemios, which has not survived: the recovery-rate of inscriptions, often in broken and scattered fragments, is probably very low. For private individuals who, in the old Roman style, performed liturgies for their city, placing their name before posterity was a gratification to which they also may have felt entitled – however far they were from heeding the scriptural injunction not to let their left hand know what their right hand was doing.[2]

Another category of public inscription, the imperial rescript, escapes any moral opprobium. It was a working document, displayed in public to remind anyone who was otherwise disposed that the emperor had given

1. Mitford, 1961, no. 20 (pp.120f.).

2. Mt 6:1-5 ('Take heed that ye do not your alms before men', etc.}

his judgement in a dispute, or had determined that a certain course of action was to be observed.

There are really very few inscriptions known from Byzantine Cyprus – the merest handful, in any category. Dr Ino Nicolaou has for a great many years maintained an annual record of newly-discovered inscriptions of every kind. Many of them are funerary. The proportion of post-Roman pieces in her corpus is minimal. In short, the classical tradition, which was still alive in Cyprus in the time of Heraclius, did not survive for long thereafter. Such evidence as there is from the Byzantine centuries has recently been reviewed by Dr Papageorgiou.[3] Monumental inscriptions, carved in stone, are at home in public spaces. They are essentially an urban, even a metropolitan, phenomenon: and the classical city, with its public life-style, was fatally compromised by the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century. Another cause was the decline in literacy in the general population. Although undeniably impressive, inscriptions lose most of their point if hardly anyone can read them. The Muslims who subsequently settled in Cyprus had grown up in a cultural milieu embedded in late antique Christian culture, and they adopted a good many of its traditions. Paphos has yielded a significant number of simple lapidary inscriptions carved in Arabic script, on re-used columns and opus sectile floors. This says something about their literacy.

In later centuries, painted inscriptions in churches, commemorating a founder or benefactor or a rebuilding, are the last remaining form of public inscription. They are known, for example, from the ninth century and from the twelfth. Even caves might be decorated in the same way – the retreat, no doubt, of an ascetic: 'Remember, Lord, thy servant Georgios, deacon / and Theophilos, monk'.[4] Literacy had become largely the preserve of the church, and of a small governing class; and inscriptions had moved out into the countryside. Painted inscriptions were not, however, a novelty. A cistern at Constantia has preserved examples from the late fifth or sixth century and, probably, the seventh.[5] There are also Islamic painted inscriptions, from Paphos.

For the historian, inscriptions offer information which should be thoroughly reliable. They were open to public scrutiny. If anything in the inscription were untrue, it would quickly be discredited. That should apply,

3. Papageorgiou, 2003.

4. Du Plat Taylor, 1935.

5. Du Plat Taylor, 1933.

for example, to the numbers killed in the Arab raids, mentioned in the Soloi inscriptions.[6] Chroniclers are routinely accused of exaggerating large numbers, such as the size of armies. It was much easier for them to succumb to the temptation of doing so, than for the instigator of a public inscription. On the other side of this question, one should recognize that the information is normally favourable, and episodic. It is unlikely to give a fair and balanced picture. For one resident of Kourion who had prospered, and who gave his native city a public building,[7] there will have been a hundred who were much less successful.

Because of their paucity, the available inscriptions may strike us as miscellaneous in character. New examples may still come to light, particularly through archaeological excavation, and the information they contain may well be novel.

1. A mosaic from Kourion.

A fifth-century mosaic inscription from Kourion, at the entrance to a building complex with a long and varied history, speaks of a major benefaction by a native of the city. 'Eustolios, having seen that the Kourians, although previously very wealthy, were in abject misery, did not forget the city of his ancestors, but first having presented the baths to our city, he was then taking care of Kourion as once Phoebus, and built this cool sheltered refuge from the winds'.[8] Similar sentiments are expressed in an inscription from Constantia which refers to 'Valerius of the clean hands who by his sacred laws and unsullied commands has led Cyprus back to her ancient splendour'.[9] The earthquakes of 332/3 and 342 had severely damaged Salamis, which had been refounded in 346 as Constantia. At Kourion, the earthquake of *c.*370 had been catastrophic. For those two cities at least, the later fourth and early fifth centuries had been a period of impoverishment and gradual recovery.

2. A group of inscriptions from Constantia.

Justinian spent very large amounts of money on numerous building works throughout the Empire. Procopius, who catalogues them in his *De Aedificiis*, has hardly anything to say about Cyprus. Nevertheless, the

6. See below pp. 221-4.

7. See below, section 1.

8. H. W. Swiny, 1982. A mid-fifth century date for the mosaic is indicated in Michaelides, 1987.

9. Mitford and Nicolaou, 1974, no. 46.

province or at least its capital city benefitted from the investment boom. Three inscriptions, discovered during the early excavations of Constantia (1952 onwards) together suggest that there was a substantial initiative in *c.*542-3, under the consularis Ioannes. Of course, the construction or restoration of churches and other public buildings was a more or less perennial activity throughout the Empire, in which from time to time imperial subsidies signalled a style of cooperation between the emperor and his bishops or local officials – a helping hand that offered a categorical instruction. Our sense of the apparently exceptional activity in Constantia in *c.*542-3 rests only on the epigraphical evidence that happens to have been discovered. But the city was, in the years 1952-74, quite extensively excavated without finding further inscriptions from, e.g., other decades in the sixth century. Nevertheless we should hesitate to assume that our knowledge gives a balanced view. Unless they are commemorated by a dateable inscription, monumental works and (even more) refurbishments are very difficult to date precisely.

An inscription found in 1958 referring to a reconstruction in the baths (on the northern edge of the city) names a hypatikos whose personal name begins with the letter I – perhaps the consularis Ioannes.[10] At the end of the same month (November 1958) there was found close by another inscriptional slab.[11] It was in a very fragmentary state, but all the fragments were found on the same day, in the area of the sudatorium. The letter-forms were considered to be characteristic, in Cyprus, of the reign of Justinian, being similar to those in the rescript from Kythrea.[12] The inscription refers to the restoration of the tank and bath room under Consularis Ioannes in Year 7 of [gap], indiction zeta.[13]

Thirdly, there was found in the central sudatorium, among debris from the walls of that room, an inscribed slab which was originally at least 1.2 metres wide, and which was of an excellence such as to suggest that it could speak for the whole city, not just for the gymnasium and baths.[14] It refers to 'the good basileis who in their loving kindness [and their piety] renewed [and embellished] this city'. The excavator, Dr Dikigoropoulos, originally

10. Mitford and Nicolaou 1974, no. 49.

11. ibid., no. 48.

12. If, as argued below, the rescript is later in date, this argument becomes rather debateable.

13. After the discontinuance of the consulship in 542, official usage gave dates by the indiction and the regnal year.

14. ibid., no. 43.

suggested a seventh-century date, taking the emperors to be Constans II and Constantine IV (654-68); but more recent expert opinion is that the palaeography is characteristically sixth-century. That being so, the good emperors will more probably be Justinian and Theodora (she died in 548).[15] Even if the baths were repaired after the Arab raids (as seems probable, taking into account the whole of the archaeological evidence from the complex[16]), one would wish to say on grounds of epigraphy that this was a sixth-century inscription, which was merely replaced, or which retained its old position.

One sees from the above details just how tenuous and tentative the epigraphic evidence may be, even for a high-profile imperial initiative in the capital city of Cyprus – and how it was initially perfectly possible for a responsible scholar to suggest a date that, on mature reflection, now seems a hundred years too late. A more comprehensive view, embracing the other public buildings of Constantia that have been excavated, can no doubt be constructed around the conclusions relating to *c.*542-3, but one should recognize that its claims to be purely factual are tenuous, at least until proved otherwise.

3. An imperial rescript from Kythrea.

A fragment of an imperial rescript from Kythrea has been known since the nineteenth century. Another fragment of the same inscription, found more recently, was edited by Mitford, who was inclined to attribute it to Justinian.[17] The name of the emperor, however, has been deliberately erased. The fragments are mainly from the beginning of the inscription, setting out the imperial titulature. Sodini[18] has made a comparative study of the (very conservative, archaizing) titulatures of sixth-century emperors, from which he concludes that the rescript is not of Justinian, but more probably of Tiberius II, or (better) Maurice. In the Kythrea inscription he detects a degree of muddle in the various honorific titles, which he is prepared to put down to provincial laxity. The use of the title *basileus* is in any case unexpectedly early – it did not become standard until 629.

Chrysos sees the key evidence in the erasure of the emperor's name, and points out that Phocas was the only emperor, in this period, to suffer an official *damnatio memoriae*.

15. The claim that Theodora was from Cyprus was false, except in the sense that her father, Akakios, is said to have been a Cypriot.

16. See below, pp. 276-81.

17. Mitford, 1950, pp.133-4

18. Sodini, 1974.

The rescript was addressed to an official with the high dignity of [*lampr*]*otatos* – most probably the governor. What instruction it conveyed, we shall never know, unless some more fragments are found.

On a more detached view, the question suggests itself why a rescript should have been sent to a little place like Kythrea. It is only a guess, but a possible guess would be that Phocas planned – perhaps even began – to repair and reinstate the aqueduct, fed by the perennial spring of Kephalovryso, and issued an instruction to the governor that no-one was to interfere with this project by diverting the waters to other purposes.[19] When Phocas was overthrown by Heraclius the project, which was so obviously beneficial for Constantia, was continued. Phocas's name was defaced, but the rescript was not torn down, because it was still essential to safeguard the water supply.

4. The arches of Constantia's aqueduct.

Eight surviving inscriptions record successive stages in the building of the aqueduct above ground, where it was carried on masonry arches across the plain southwards of the village of Ayios Serghios, the final stage of the route from Kythrea to Constantia. Two of them were found *in situ*, let into into the still-standing piers between the arches, two or three courses below the moulding which marked the base of the channel.[20] The rest had been plundered for re-use in other buildings, along with many other blocks, no doubt, from the arches. Several of the inscriptions were found in Ayios Serghios, or had been removed from there to Larnaca or to Famagusta. Another came from Trikomo. Their source is easily recognizable, because they employ almost identical formulas: 'With the help of God, these [so many] arches have been made, under N.' [name of the archbishop, Ploutarchos or Arkadios] – followed by an indictional date.[21] Where a month is also given, it is in the spring: winter was, understandably, the building season. Each inscription, in four to six lines, was on a slab with dimensions of up to a metre, and with lettering five or six centimetres high. The earliest surviving inscription (in so far as they are legible) seems not to have been the first, for it uses the word 'also' – 'There have been made

19. It hardly amounts to a supplementary argument in this context, but one recalls that the citizens of Constantia were initially disposed to offer resistance to Aspagourios – out of loyalty to Phocas?

20. For a photograph, see *BCH* 85 (1961), p.288, fig. 42, and for the inscriptions, Sodini, 1998.

21. The dates which could apparently have been in either of two indictions, have been thoroughly elucidated by Sodini, 1998, pp. 625, and 629-33.

also these three arches under Ploutarchos, archbishop, in the eighth year of the indiction' [619-20]. The layman's question will be, why was it thought desirable to put up an inscription on a far-from finished aqueduct, and to add similar inscriptions year by year as the work progressed? Was it simple pride in a difficult job well done? Or did the archbishop wish to distance himself from the original instigator, Phocas? Or had Heraclius said, 'Do it, and when I return from campaigning I shall wish to see distinct progress'? Or was there friction: did the archbishop wish to place on record that he, and not the governor, had financed the work? (Sodini suggests that the project continued even during a vacancy.) Who came, and was impressed by these interim inscriptions, out in the countryside? It is curious. The final inscription, in eight lines, records the completion of seven arches thanks to 'the subsidies of Flavius Heraclius, our *despotes* crowned by God, from the hippodrome, in the sixth month, the fourth year of the indiction'.[22]

5. The Soloi inscriptions.

A long inscription, excavated in 1974 in the atrium of the ruined cathedral of Soloi, consists of two panels, the first surviving with 15 complete lines of inscription, the second, partly damaged, with 21 lines.[23] It was put in place in 654/5 by the bishop of Soloi, to mark the repair and restoration of his basilican complex after the Arab attack of 649 and the reprisals of 653. It also describes the toll of those killed or led away caprive throughout Cyprus. Curiously, it seems that a virtually identical copy of the inscription was erected inside the cathedral itself.[24] A fragment of this second inscription, incomplete, (obviously), cannot be from the first, which it replicates. It reveals exactly the same text as on the more complete copy from the atrium. The aesthetic quality of the lettering on both copies is quite high, but hardly classical.

Why two copies? The only common-sense explanation that comes to mind is that one copy was a replacement for the other. Which was the original? Might the church have suffered damage and become no longer accessible? Or could it conceivably have been the other way round: perhaps

22. Sodini, pp.624-5, insisting that the indictional date is four, not six. This could, within Heraclius' reign, be February 616 or 631, and Sodini is in no doubt that the later date is correct.

23. First published in Des Gagniers and Tinh, 1985, where Fig. 118 is a photograph of the two panels lying face up on the ground, at the moment when they were uncovered, about a metre apart.

24. ibid., Fig. 121.

the walls of the atrium collapsed? When might this have happened? – after 654/5, no doubt: one wonders about earthquake damage. We can at least suggest that the two inscriptions were not cut at the same time, because a detailed comparison shows that they are by different hands. The diagram, Fig. 17, which sketches the fragment and places next to it the corresponding part of the larger surviving stone (which is more weathered) shows that on

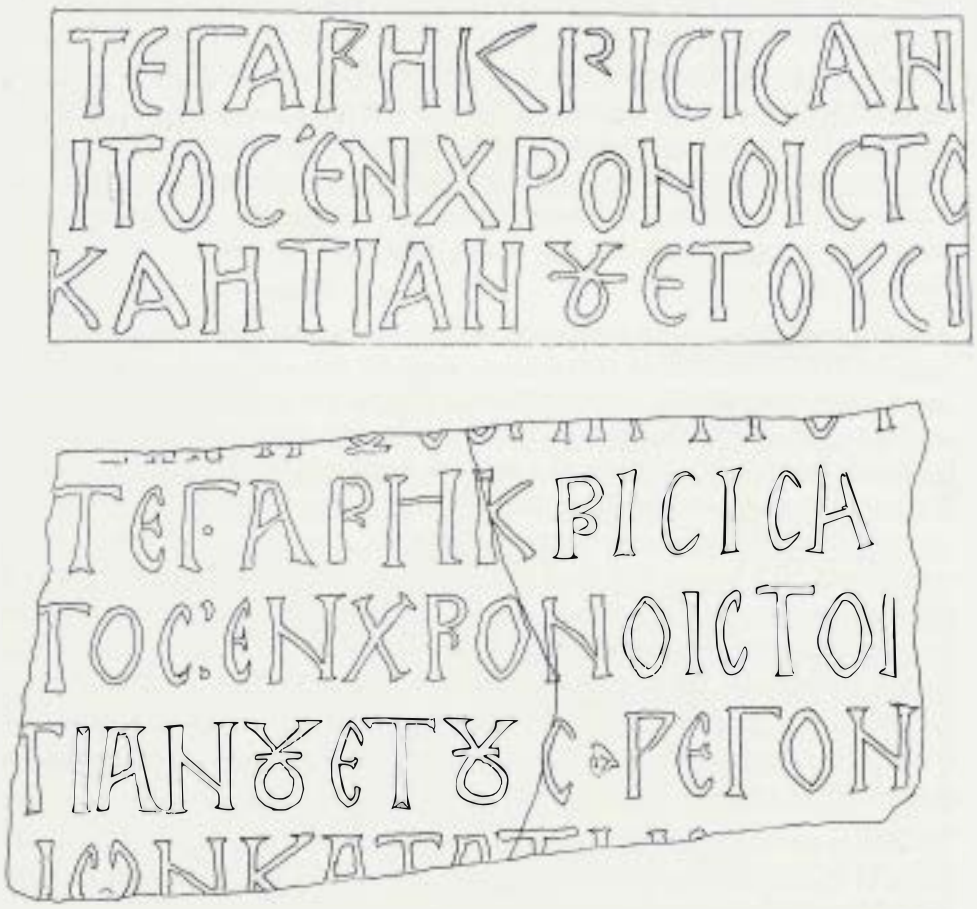


Fig. 17. The two Soloi inscriptions (below, fragment (cracked) and above, the corresponding text on the version from the atrium). After photographs by Des Gagniers and Tinh, 1985.

the fragment the lunate letters C and E routinely have hook-like ends. The letter P (rho) is treated differently on the two inscriptions, and the letters A on the fragment have flat tops. ETOUC is written differently. If the replacement hypothesis is correct, the date of the second inscription will presumably have been at a time when it still seemed important to preserve the memory of the traumatic events that the Cypriots had suffered. Note

that the Canadian excavations identified a destruction phase of the basilica, dated perhaps by an eighth-century Constantinopolitan pot. It would seem that the atrium version (on which we have to rely for our reading, because so much more of it survives) is a faithful, letter-by-letter copy, and we must trust that that applies to the dates and numbers. The second craftsman will surely have had the whole of the shattered inscription to work from, and will not have ventured to alter what was in front of him.

The inscription records that 'At that time, in Year 7 of the indiction, 365 of the era of Diocletian [August 648-August 649], because of our sins, there took place the attack on the island. Many were killed, and about 120,000 were led away as prisoners. Again, subsequently (πάλιν δὲ τῷ ἐπελθοντι χρόνῳ), the island suffered a new invasion, more lamentable than the preceding one, in the course of which a greater number of people fell under the dagger and were led away prisoner . . . except 50,000 ([αἰχμάλωτοι χιλιά [δες] ὡσει πεντήκον[τα] . . . destroyed by fire . . . the whole of the episcopal [palace] . . . of the saints . . . of good appearance . . . in great haste . . . reconstructed the buildings which had collapsed, had made a roof, had raised them again on their foundations, and finished the work in Year 13 of the indiction, 371 of the Diocletianic era'. Grasping the sense of the second half of the inscription relies on a certain amount of conjectural filling of the gaps.

The two dates mentioned specifically in the inscriptions (365 and 371, corresponding with the date of the first attack, and secondly with the date when the inscription was erected) are expressed in terms of the indictional year and, most unusually, the year of the Diocletianic era (not otherwise used outside Egypt). One might have expected regnal years of Constans II.

Feissel[25] asserts (flatly) that the expression τῷ ἐπελθόντι χρόνῳ refers unambiguously to 'the following year', i.e. 649/50. Kyrris[26] dissents, arguing that the word *etos* (year) is used in reference to the first raid, but *chronos* (time) in reference to the second – which, unless it were a literary device to avoid repeating the word *etos*, could well mean 'some time later', e.g. two or three years later. He offers other relevant examples where the word *chronos* clearly has that more general meaning. Al-Balādhurī dates the second raid circumstantially to AH 33 (AD 653/4), as a reprisal for activities in AH 32 (AD 652/3) contrary to what had been agreed. Although he was writing long after the event, his use of the Hijra date hints

25. Feissel, 1987.

26. Kyrris, 1997, p.637, n. 34.

at reliance on some chronicle or other written source. Feissel's position entails disregarding what al-Balādhurī says. One is inclined to concur with Kyrris. As the inscriptions were put up in 654/5, a third raid (if one followed Feissel), in 653/4, could hardly have passed without comment, unless perhaps it was localized and in the south of the island.

As between 649/50 and 653/4, coins might seem to offer an independent form of evidence, securely dated year by year. Happily, new and easily recognizable coin designs were introduced at the Constantinople mint in Year 11 (651/2). Even if the date on a badly-struck follis is illegible or uncertain, one can tell categorically whether it post-dates 650. Arguments turn, however, on the assumption that consignments of coinage reaching Cyprus from Constantinople were made up of nothing but newly-minted coins, i.e. that the date on the coin is the date when it arrived in the province. A coin of Year 11 must necessarily have been lost later than that date; but a coin of Year 7, for example, could have been lost either before or after 653. Given a decent number of single finds, from a well-defined context, one can be reasonably sure but still not absolutely certain, that the absence of coins of Year 11 or later among them indicates earlier loss. One would in any case expect most coin hoards associated with the Arab raids to be from 649 rather than 653, because the first raid had left the surviving Cypriots impoverished. In short, the numismatic arguments, although promising, are far from watertight.

The primary purpose of the Soloi inscriptions seems to be not so much their ostensible purpose of recording the work of repair, as creating a permanent memorial of the death toll and, more specifically, the numbers of prisoners taken out of Cyprus by the Arabs in two successive raids. In that sense the inscriptions are pan-Cyprian in their intention. Was the bishop of Soloi adopting a senior role, after the destruction of Constantia? And was the erection of one copy of the inscription in the atrium because of a wide intended readership?

6. An inscription recording the repair of the city walls of Lapithos.

Excavations at Lambousa in 1913 yielded an inscription commemorating the refortification of the city by the eparch Leontios: ἐκτίσθη τὰ τείχη ἐπὶ Λεοντίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπάρχου.[27]

Leontios was of the high nobility, (lamprotatos = illustris), very possibly the governor of Cyprus. The inscription, which is undated, has been

27. Myres, 1940-5, at p.75.

attributed to the proconsul Cl. Leontichus Illyrius, in the mid-third century.[28] Given the simplicity of the wording, the different name (Leontios), and the office (eparch), one ventures to raise the possibility of a much later date. Taking into account the evidence for the capture of Lapithos in the course of the Arab raids, one obvious context would be that the repairs were carried out after 653/4, or even after 648/9, and perhaps concurrently with, or soon after the repairs at Soloi. If that dating is correct, the implications for the administration and political history of Cyprus reach far and wide: provincial government headed by an eparch rather than by a consularis (which ties in with other evidence from lead seals), and the probable transfer of the seat of civil government from (ruined) Constantia to the northern coastlands, sheltered by the Pentadaktylos range and defensible with Byzantine naval support e.g. by the Kibyrrhaiote squadron.

7. An Islamic tombstone from Paphos.

An Arabic inscription, bearing the clear date Muharram 164 (= AD September/October 780) was cut on a column of Proconessian marble re-used from a church. It was found in 1936 in Kato Paphos by workmen digging the foundations for a house on the waterfront. 'O God, forgive 'Abd al-Rahman, son of [mtrh] al-Shiblī of the people of Egypt'.[29] The fact that 'Abd al-Rahman was of Egyptian (not Syrian) extraction hints that his presence in Paphos was in the context of trade between the ports of Paphos and Alexandria. The re-use of a fine marble column shows certain social pretensions; and the erection of an inscribed tombstone would seem to imply that there were other Muslims in Paphos or visiting it, able to read the message. It also hints at some expectation of permanency.

8. The painted inscription at the Kanakaria church, Lythrankomi.

A badly damaged painted inscription in the Kanakaria church in the Karpas peninsula mentions Patriarch Solomon of Jerusalem (fl. *c.*860 x 865), and also an archbishop Theodoros (of Cyprus). The inscription perhaps commemorates building work or restoration of the church, with its revered mosaic.[30] Megaw has offered a tentative transcription.

28. Kyrris, 1985, p. 153.

29. Megaw, 1950. Megaw comments, unconvincingly, that the tombstone proves that some of the Muslim invaders had settled in Cyprus. Higher up the column are the remains of other words, which seem to be earlier in date: 'Umar. This is inscribed twice.

30. Megaw and Hawkins, 1977, 147-9; Papacostas 6A. 70.

The inscription is of particular historical interest because of its date: the only dateable inscription from the depths of the 'treaty' centuries. The floruit of the patriarch suggests that it should be seen in relation to the imperial government's attempt to reassert control over Cyprus, during or perhaps shortly before the reign of Basil I. The lead seal *BLSC* 851, of an Archbishop Theodoros, presumably belonged to the individual mentioned in the inscription.

9. The painted inscription at Syngrasis.

Deep in the countryside, a couple of miles west of Trikomo, the church of Ayios Prokopios at Syngrasis has a long, painted inscription, high up on an arch in the south-western corner of the church. It probably refers to a burial in the church floor directly underneath the inscription. Its interest is all the greater because it is from the late tenth century, a time from which there is little evidence of any kind for the conditions of life in Cyprus. Thirty-five lines in an uncial script survive, although much damaged. The inscription mentions a shipwreck, with the loss of its cargo. It seems that the author of the inscription was a survivor of that wreck, that he settled at Syngrasis, and that he married a woman named Irene, whose death perhaps ten years later is commemorated. The inscription then goes on to locate this event in the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025), during the revolt of Bardas Skleros (976-9), and during the pontificate of Archbishop Epiphanios IV.[31]

Although much is uncertain, because of the damage to the inscription, it seems to be essentially funerary in character. It has important implications for the date of rebuilding of the church, which are discussed elsewhere.

10. The painted inscriptions in Holy Trinity church, Koutsobendes and at the Phorbiotissa, Asinou.

Eumathios Philokales, who was doux of Cyprus (for a second time) in the years from *c.*1110, paid for the building and decoration of a church at Koutsobendes.[32] His donation is recorded in painted inscriptions at the foot of the north-eastern and south-eastern piers of the church, i.e. to left and right of the bema. That on the south-east, on a panel measuring 67cm high and 89cm wide, is in iambic trimeters, and in capital letters 5cm high. It reads, 'Loving Thee greatly, O Thou who art worshipped in three persons – principle without beginning, nature primordial, might

31. Papacostas, 1999, 6A.97, and Figs. 226-7. The inscription is transcribed, with a commentary, in Section 6F (vol. 2, pp.170-2); an updated account in Papacostas, 2002.

32. Papacostas, 1999, 6.A, 64.

invincible, alone transcending all substance – the doux of Cyprus Eumathios Philokales, the very first among the nobelissimi,[33] built unto Thee this church from the very foundations to expiate the wicked actions that he has erred in committing'. This is high-flown theology: one wonders who composed these verses for Philokales.

There is a donor's painted inscription at the Panayia Phorbiotissa church at Asinou, too. Here, the tone is humbler and more devout. The magistros Nicephorus Ischyrios records his patronage (at a date around 1100), in an inscription which reads, 'Having been blessed in this life with many things, of which thou, o Virgin, wast seen to be the provider, I, Nicephorus magister, a pitiful supplicant, erected this church with longing, in return for which I pray that I may find thee my patron in the terrible Day of Judgement'.[34]

11. Anno mundi datings in the twelfth century.

Again at the Phorbiotissa, there is a funerary inscription which reads, 'The servant of God Gephyra died December 17th, indiction 15, 6614'. (This corresponds to 1106.) Similarly at Holy Cross, Pelendri an inscription records that the church was 'renovated and painted through the donation and desire of George the priest and of the other priests ... in the year 6680'. (This corresponds to 1171/2.)

12. Summary.

Public inscriptions from the sixth century and later are very few in Cyprus – the last vestiges of a classical civic tradition. There is a fifth-century mosaic inscription from Kourion which is of historical interest for the beginnings of the economic recovery of Cyprus, already at that date; and there are monumental inscriptions from Constantia from the time of Justinian which refer to the embellishment of the city's public buildings. But by far the most important inscription historically is that from the basilica at Soloi, giving details about the death and enslavement of population in the course of the first and second Arab invasions.

The tradition of public inscriptions, which had been essentially urban, found a faint continuation in the countryside in later centuries, in the form of painted inscriptions in churches. One such is from the time of Basil I or thereabouts. From the period of the eleventh- and twelfth-century recovery the inscriptions, in sophisticated style, usually commemorate high-status donors.

33. In plain language, he held the rank of protonobelissimus.

34. Stylianou and Stylianou, p. 114 and fig. 57.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROVINCE'S TRADING PARTNERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD: THE CERAMIC EVIDENCE

Assemblages of sherds of pottery from archaeological excavations and, on a wider scale, from field surveys (if they are recorded non-selectively so as to provide a random sample), should offer powerful evidence for long-term trends in the economic life and in the prosperity of late Roman and Byzantine Cyprus, creating information that would otherwise be totally inaccessible.[1] It is, moreover, evidence about the broader perspectives of economic history, rather than about isolated and possibly atypical events. In that sense, it is the kind of evidence that delivers useful generalizations to the historian; with the proviso that field surveys focus on the rural situation. Pottery use in urban settings could in principle have followed a somewhat different trajectory. That may make a systematic difference in times of upheaval or rapid change, e.g. in the later seventh and eighth centuries. Urban evidence is, in any case, at best much more broadly based. The prolonged excavation of a large site comprising a variety of building complexes brings great scientific benefits, in that it should yield a spectrum of the different types of pottery in use, in different social contexts, and should allow their relative abundance to be quantified.

1. The import and export of amphoras and other wares.

The pottery can be related to economic history in two distinct and complementary ways. First, Cypriot wares, especially transport amphoras, found on archaeological sites outside Cyprus, e.g. in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Cilicia, or the Aegean offer direct evidence of export trade. Conversely, foreign wares found in Cyprus offer equally direct evidence of imports. Central to this double argument are amphoras, in which a range of

1. Iacovou 2004, publishing the proceedings of a symposium, offers a thorough survey of the whole topic.

different goods could be shipped, eg. oil or wine.[2] Equally specific as to source and destination are fine wares such as Cypriot Red Slip or Phocaean Red Slip ware. Secondly, a more local argument, although certainly with broad implications, can be developed from regional differences in the assemblages of sherds, e.g. from a string of ports all along the south coast of Cyprus.[3] Differences between the finds from the hinterland of one port and of the next can attest to the local manufacture of pottery, and to the local vitality of economic activity. The conclusions from these two lines of argument can to some extent be combined, allowing us to observe, for example, that the trading economies of north and south Cyprus were essentially separate from each other, the north trading in the first instance with Syria, and the south with Egypt and Palestine.[4] Further, one may detect differences in the assemblages of amphora sherds between ports and the rural hinterland.

Whereas a diversity of ports in Syria and Palestine will have had contacts with Cyprus, as ships engaged in *cabotage*[5] sailed along the Levant coast, the trade out of Alexandria was of a different order of magnitude altogether. The grain fleet which carried the *annona civica* each year to Constantinople[6] made landfall on the coast of south-west Cyprus, bringing trade to Khlorakas[7] and conspicuous prosperity to Peyia.[8] Specialized production in the Nile valley produced huge surpluses, but tended to leave Egypt short of other commodities, such as olive oil and wine. Cyprus (and not just the south-west of the island) was able to export oil to Alexandria, where there is ceramic evidence in the form of Cypriot wares.[9] And of course, Alexandria itself was a megalopolis, with a huge urban population needing supplies. Conversely, the little town of Ayios Georgios, the port near the promontory of Cape Drepanon, where the ships could pause, developed from 330, and seems to have flourished particularly under Justinian I. Peyia grew rich from this passing trade.[10] The capture of Alexandria by the Persians in 618 and

2. Eiring and Lund, 2004 edit the proceeedings of a symposium on transport amphoras and trade.

3. Rautman, 2000.

4. Jacobsen, in Eiring and Lund, op.cit.

5. This term, which occurs in the literature, simply means coastwise trading.

6. Teall, *DOP* 13.

7. Exceptional numbers of lead seals, as well as coins, have been found at Khlorakas.

8. Bakirtzis 1995, 1999; Rautmann 2000.

9. Majcherek, in Eiring and Lund, op. cit.

10. Bakirtzis, loc.cit. (The present village may represent a move inland, at a somewhat later date.)

the city's eventual capitulation to the Arabs in 642 brought the *annona civica* to an end. But the ceramic evidence from Alexandria hints that oil imports from Cyprus remained steady for some time after that date.[11] Although forbidden to Muslims wine, too, may have been imported – e.g. for the use of the Orthodox and the Coptic communities.

From Kalavasos-*Kopetra*, on the south coast, the evidence of trade amphoras is well studied.[12] It employs the classification into Groups LRA 1-7 originally devised by Riley in 1979.[13] Some idea of the distinctive shapes of the major types may be gained from Fig. 18. Identification is easy if the amphora is intact or substantially preserved. With smaller sherds, one must trust to expert eyes. Group LRA 1 accounts for up to 70 per cent of all the amphora material found at Kopetra. The rest is made up of LRA 2 and LRA 3 from the Aegean, LRA 4 from the Gaza area and LRA 5/6 from Palestine, and LRA 7 from Egypt.[14] The LRA 1 material is of mixed origin. About six-tenths of it seems to be from the mainland, while a fifth is Cypriot, either from the lower Mesaoria or from the south coast.[15] Thus it seems that over all about 70 per cent of the amphora material from Kalavasos is non-Cypriot.

At Panayia Ematousa (Aradhippou, inland from Larnaca), the regions of origin of the amphora sherds are perhaps roughly comparable with what is reported at Kalavasos. LRA 1 could account for 75 per cent of the material, while the Palestinian LRA 5 makes up 8 or 9 per cent, LRA 4 from Gaza is absent, and the Egyptian type, Egloff 172 is less than one per cent. Aegean wares are absent.

11. Majcherek.

12. Rupp 1986; Lund 1993; Rautmann 2000.

13. J. A. Riley, 'The coarse pottery from Berenice', in J. A. Lloyd (ed.), Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice) II', *Libya Antiqua*, Suppl. V, 2, pp. 91-467.

14. Rautman 2000.

15. Jacobsen 2004.

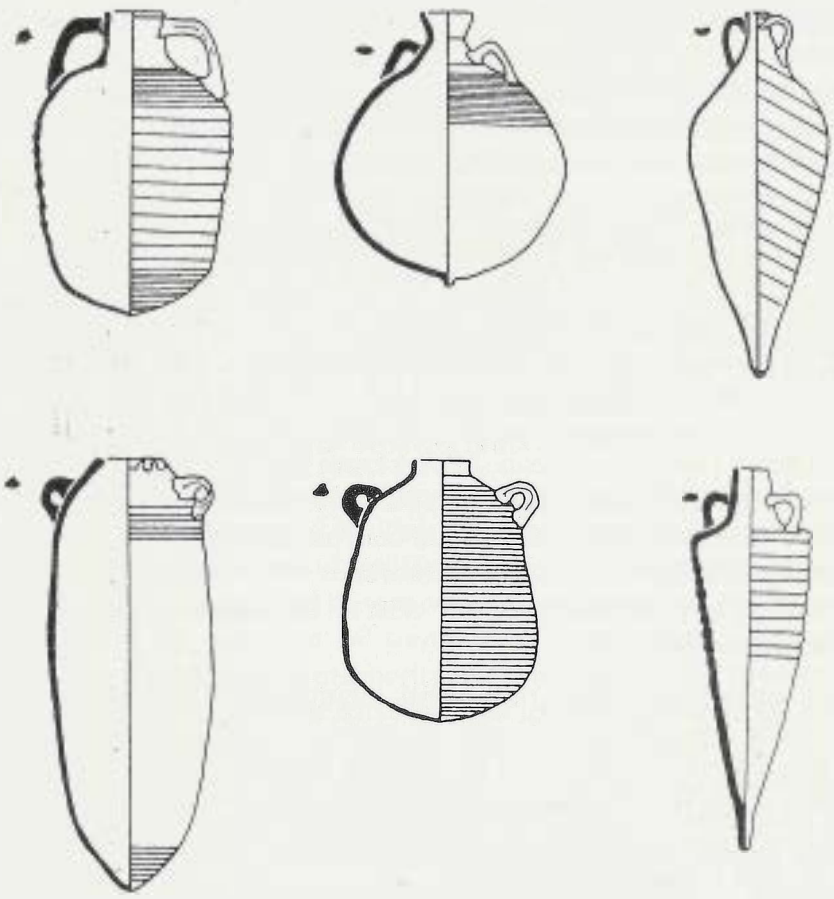


Fig. 18. Early Byzantine transport amphoras. Characteristic shapes of Types LRA 1, 2, and 3 (top row), and 4, 5-6, and 7 (bottom row). After Riley, 1977.

In the CPSP survey area in south-western Cyprus,[16] on the other hand, LRA 1 contributes 31 per cent, LRA 4 adds 5 per cent, and LRA 5/6, another 7 or 8 per cent (leaving more than half the sherds as 'other'). Assuming that 'other' is essentially a 'don't know' category, it seems that the ratio of LRA 4 and 5 to LRA 1 is distinctly higher than at Panayia Ematousa, a reflection perhaps of the widespread trading contacts of Paphos.

Thus it has become very clear as amphora research progresses that LRA 1 is an omnibus classification, including pots from kilns at a number of

16. See p.67.

different sites, and even different regions. Many are still considered to be from Antioch and its region. Some are now judged to be from northern Syria and/or Cilicia, while others are certainly from southern Cyprus.[17] Unless the regional origins of the amphoras can be systematically clarified, their interest to the general historian will remain to some extent compromised. At Dreamer's Bay (Akrotiri-Vounari tou Kambou), for example, the finds are predominantly of LRA 1, but among them there are two recognizable fabrics, named 'Workshop X' (which is probably Cypriot), and a more yellowish fabric, which may be Cilician. LR 3A and LRA 4 and 5 are poorly represented, whereas LRA 6 (here Egyptian) is more plentiful.[18]

There is no sign at Dreamer's Bay of the particular LRA 1 fabrics associated with Paphos, Zygi, Amathous, or 'Workshop ZA'.[19] Likewise at Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik, some distinctive LRA 1 material is found which resembles that of Workshop X, but which is possibly local. All this is unambiguous evidence, of excellent scientific quality. The discovery of a kiln site can clinch the geographical origin of a particular LRA 1 fabric. If an excavation yields numerous wasters,[20] they may be taken as clear evidence of a kiln. Such a site was explored at Paphos, on the coast to the east of the city, about 300m outside the ancient walls. As well as LRA 1, there were sherds tentatively identified as LRA 13, and also several lamps of Oziol type 19.[21] Another kiln site has been found at Zygi.[22] The general context is evidently of an active coastal trade which was conducted through a range of ports, large and small, all along the south coast. To the extent that the assemblages of pottery at each of these port sites, or at many of them, are distinctive, it almost certainly implies that each little hinterland was connected into inter-regional trade through its own port. So far as the pottery evidence goes, it suggests that the rural economy of a large part of the southern coastlands was geared into a trading economy, and not just the hinterlands of two or three major ports. Rautman's phrase, 'the busy countryside' is felicitous. (A hypothetical possibility is that the distinctive character of the various assemblages might arise from their having different date-ranges. One need not take the idea seriously.)

17. Jacobsen 2002.

18. Leonard and Demesticha 2002.

19. Empereur and Picon, 1989; Demesticha 2003.

20. Cf. *ARDAC* 1988, p. 60, referring to thousands of wasters.

21. Demesticha and Michaelides, 2001, (provisional study of the sherds).

22. Manning et al., 2000.

Because LRA 1 takes the lion's share, future progress is heavily dependent on making secure a more refined classification into sub-groups of LRA 1, anchored by the evidence of kiln sites, and supported by more petrographic evidence than has yet been undertaken. As one can see from the dates of publication, this is a young subject, which is still developing. It will no doubt be desirable to re-visit the material from earlier excavations. One can readily see why museums need to maintain working collections of sherds, bulky as they are. Rautman and colleagues have suggested a subdivision into LRA 1(1), from Cyprus, and LRA 1(2) and LRA 1(3), from Cilicia and northern Cyprus respectively.[23]

It seems likely that wine and oil were traded between regions in Cyprus.[24] That raises the possibility that amphoras were re-used,[25] with their consequential transfer from one Cypriot site to another, thus blurring or even changing the regional patterns upon which the student would like to base conclusions. That problem aside, one can see the possibility that a quantitative approach to the investigation of Cyprus's long-distance trade might take the form of a matrix analysis of the various LRA groups (and sub-groups) at sites across the Near East and the Aegean. This would, up to a point, be a method of studying the relative volume of Cypriot exports to different destinations.[26] Discretion is called for, however, because a Cypriot representation of e.g. ten per cent of the imports at one place may not have the same significance as ten per cent at another. One might be comparing ten per cent of x with ten per cent of y.

For the general historian who is seeking to benefit from their evidence, it is the dating of the amphora sherds – and indeed any other sherds – which is their least satisfactory aspect. If one is fortunate to be considering a sherd which happens to include the distinctive details, of rim or foot or whatever, on which the classification is based, it may be dateable to within about half a century. Many of the sherds in a random sample will be less amenable. And if one is contemplating a scatter of sherds across the landscape, their exact dates one by one (if it were possible to know them) would normally range over a couple of centuries at least. One cannot envisage any circumstances, not even the effects of a neutron bomb, in which the sherds from a field survey would all be of the same date. That

23. Rautman, Neff et al. 1999.

24. Sørensen and Jacobsen, 2006, vol. 2, p. 56.

25. Cracked or broken pithoi might even be repaired with lead clamps. Of course a pithos was much more expensive and less moveable than an amphora.

26. Tomber 1993.

is because the rubbish from a settlement was thrown away over generations. Thus the evidence of the sherds for chronology is doubly vague – first as regards the individual pieces, and secondly as regards any assemblage. To say this is in no way to denigrate the expertise and hands-on judgement of the archaeologist, who through handling many hundreds of sherds should develop almost a 'sixth sense'. An example will make the historian's predicament clearer. The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project explored systematically an area in the north-central foothills of the Troodos, between Politiko and Mitsero. Digesting the evidence of great quantities of sherds noticed on the surface, by various individual archaeologists, the survey team were able to discover that, whether by quantity or by weight, over a timespan from the second to the seventh century AD, imported wares were relatively uncommon vis-à-vis local wares until the fifth century. At that time there was a sudden increase in imported wares, to their highest relative level, followed by a gradual decline towards the seventh century.[27] The team gained an impression of 'an even "carpet" of sherds at a low level of density', which they interpreted as having arisen in the perennial process of fertilizing the fields by the transport of manure and general rubbish.[28] The Survey's results are full of interest, and the handling of the evidence is exemplary. They create facts of cardinal importance about Byzantine Cyprus, and potentially about regional differences within Cyprus, which could have been obtained in no other way. The cautious general historian's only hesitation is that the dates cannot claim to be precise in relation to major historical events, such as the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century. The double blurring of the chronology, described above, cannot be circumvented; no matter how expert and lynx-eyed the archaeologists may have been. Even if the trend-lines for the sherds appear to fit neatly with the major events (and it is not clearly the case that they do), any argument *post hoc propter hoc* based upon it will not overcome that limitation. The matching of the patterns is not a matter of hard fact, and the ceramic evidence may have to defer, in questions of exact dating, to other categories of evidence, such as that of coinage. There are further problems of methodology, which archaeologists discuss among themselves, such as the visibility of the material.[29] They may add extra dimensions of uncertainty.

27. In the report, this conclusion is followed by a more detailed analysis of the different wares.

28. This process is well described, in Knapp and Given 2004, p.84.

29. Rupp 1986.

A radical challenge to received opinions comes from the discussion of finds from a University of Sydney excavation in the vicinity of the Hellenistic theatre in Nea Paphos.[30]

The finds are late Roman rather than early Byzantine, falling well before our start-date of 491, but they are still worth mentioning here as a cautionary example. The area was abandoned after a severe earthquake at the end of the fourth century; its abandonment makes the architectural evidence more certain. Well stratified and sealed deposits associated with a major road are dated by coins – in total, over 200 coins. They allow the associated varieties of pottery to be dated much more closely than has hitherto been the case, at least as regards their *terminus ante quem* (they could be residual or redeposited). The archaeologists' preliminary assessment was that the commonly accepted date range for some of the Hayes types of Red Slip ware could not be sustained. Types which had generally been assigned to the mid- to late sixth century are present in contexts dated by coins to between 350 and 450. If that is correct it is devastating; if it is not correct, the archaeologists have a lot to answer for. Hayes's own work was not based on a large number of stratigraphic examples from sealed contexts. The theatre site seems to hold out the promise of a securely-dated typology for fine wares, cooking pots, plain wares, and amphoras to be anchored in the late fourth century. This will not necessarily challenge the dating of very similar wares to the time of the Arab raids in the mid-seventh century, on the evidence of associated seventh-century coinage, but it clearly amounts to a caution against many of the general arguments for sixth-century decline in south-western Cyprus. The chronological value of the ceramic evidence in relation to particular events is still, and perhaps always will be, potentially deceptive unless it is well supported by numismatic evidence. That is the hard truth as the general historian will see it.

With this cautionary example in mind, one may well look critically at the frequency curve of sherds from Panayia Ematousa (see Fig. 24, below) and ask oneself whether its later, fifth/seventh-century profile (the one that we are concerned with) is to be believed implicitly. One would not wish to question its general thrust; and as has been pointed out, the percentage increases between one half-century step and the next are large enough to absorb a certain amount of imprecision in the original identification of the sherds. But a scientific limitation of field surveys seems to be that it is difficult to revisit the evidence in such a way as to reconsider or to up-date the individual attributions. Sherds do not lend themselves

30. Rowe, 1999.

well to photographic publication, and storing only a selection of what has been recovered from a site carries obvious risks to randomness. The situation is not for that reason hopeless: there will be other field surveys, in the future, which will benefit from the improvements that are steadily being made through the archaeological discovery of sealed contexts. One can only hope that future surveys will confirm the conclusions drawn from the earlier ones, and that they will replicate each other, broadly speaking, making their collective evidence for trends of *longue durée* secure.

After the earthquake of *c*.370 at Paphos, fixed points to which one can anchor the rest of the chronological sequence are hard to come by. The very best that one could hope for would be a shipwreck, of a cargo-ship laden with amphoras, and with some coins on board, entrusted perhaps by a passenger to the captain for safe keeping, and found by the underwater archaeologists in that part of the wreck where the captain's cabin was located. (That ambitious hope was more or less fulfilled at Yassi Ada.[31]) In such circumstances the amphoras would all be of the same date, for which the coins give a *t.p.q.* and, in effect, a far closer dating than would otherwise be available. And as a bonus, intact amphoras allow a study of the variability in their profile or their petrology which might exist at a particular moment.

Other fixed points seem of disappointing quality in comparison. Possibly the best is at Saranda Kolones, where an ash layer (which the excavator associated with Arab destruction in Paphos in *c*.653) sealed the filling of a well-shaft, in which were found various amphora necks of seventh-century types.[32] The *t.p.q.* may be correct, but to assert that a sub-group of the classification was being discarded only until *c*.650, and not thereafter, would be to run the risk of falling into a circular argument.

At the copper-mining site of Skouriotissa, there is a slag-heap at the western side of the mining area, 300m long and up to 18m high, which is full of pottery, said to date from the late fourth to the early seventh century; Phocaean Red Slip ware, identified as being of the sixth century, is particularly plentiful,[33] and LRA 1 is dominant among the amphoras. There is much in that discovery for the general historian to seize upon and

31. G. F. Bass, 'Underwater excavations at Yassi Ada: a Byzantine shipwreck', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1962, 537-64; id., 'Underwater excavations at Yassi Ada, 1962-63', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 13/1 (1964), 41-51.

32. Megaw in DOP 26 (1972), 322ff.

33. Jacobsen 2002.

ponder. If the miners were eating off fine wares, they were nothing like the forty-niners of California, with their billy-cans. The main point is that the ceramic evidence as described offers unambiguous evidence that copper production continued – and evidently on some scale – through the Early Byzantine period, specifically in the sixth century. How else could we have known that? So far as one is aware, one could not. Certainly, there is no documentary evidence. Industry on that scale is likely to have had consequences in the region. The prompt repair of the basilica at Soloi, for example, may owe something to the wealth which had flowed into the bishop's coffers through the export of vitriol or of processed copper. The wider significance of the suggested date-bracket, 'up to the early seventh century', surely merits the scrupulous and detailed description of the evidence, in terms of the excavations and stratification of the slag-heap, before it is all disturbed by the reprocessing of the slag. Perhaps one should just be grateful for the main point, which after all adds a new aspect to the economic history of Byzantine Cyprus.

Another Roman mining-site, a little further inland at Xyliatos-Mavrovouni, showed a peak of pottery sherds in the sixth century. Only a few fragments of LRA 1 have been identified, and the more common types appear to be local.[34] The contrast between the two sites implies an altogether more modest enterprise inland, away from the prosperous Solea valley. It may simply be that the copper-rich vein was worked out in the sixth century. Xyliatos may be the exception that proves the rule: in general, and especially along the south coast, there is little reason to think that imports into urban centres or ports reveal a more complicated pattern than is seen at secondary (rural or inland) sites.

The methodological caveats directed towards the evidence of trade amphoras apply with much the same force to the fine wares labelled Cypriot Red Slip pottery. Like the amphoras they too were exported across the Near East and the Aegean. And conversely Phocaean Red Slip wares were imported, from the west coast of Asia Minor – as seen for example at Skouriotissa. At Kalavasos-*Kopetra* the Red Slip Ware evidence overlaps with and supplements that from the amphoras: Cypriot Red Slip predominates, and most of it is judged to be late, belonging to the seventh century. Phocaean Red Slip ware is the second best represented category (even here in the south of the island), and it too continued to reach the site in the seventh century. Egyptian Red Slip ware is found, and African Red

34. Jacobsen 2002.

Slip ware is a small but historically interesting part.[35] At Amathus, the excavations of the basilica on the acropolis yielded African Red Slip of the late fourth/early fifth century, followed (in the judgement of the excavators) by a gap from *c.*420 to *c.*570, and then resumed finds running up to *c.*660. The gap of more than a century is attributed by them to the consequences, at Carthage, of the Vandal invasions.[36] Another anchor point for the classification and chronology of Red Slip ware is the déblais of the episcopal basilica at Kourion, dated by coins, where Egyptian A is common enough.[37]

Cypriot Red Slip LRD table ware has been classified into a series of (overlapping) chronological sub-varieties, of which the Amathus (acropolis) excavations, for example, yielded Hayes's varieties F1 (*c.*370-480), F2 (*c.*450-c.600), and F9 (*c.*580/600-*c.*700).[38] These sherds comprise two distinct fabrics, which implies that there were two centres of manufacture in Cyprus for LRD ware. Finds of both are represented also at Dhiorios, in the north. Where the two production centres were remains to be determined. Anchor points for the more exact dating of the Red Slip wares include the Kornos cave site, of which the occupation is dated to the 640s by a small coin hoard, *t.p.q.* 643/4, and where two dishes of Cypriot Red Slip ware can in all probability be assigned to the same date – although slip ware dishes may on average have had a somewhat longer life than amphoras.[39]

In so far as the assemblages of sherds can be dated – and that is to say, within a broad band of dates, and without any pretence of speaking to the nearest decade – two further (linked) exercises are possible, which are potentially of real historical interest. First, one may speak about changing proportions of groups of different geographical origin, from one century to the next. And secondly, one may speak of changes in the volume of the sherds from one century to the next. Thus, for example, in the valleys of south-west Cyprus (the valleys of the Ezousas, Xeropotamos, Diarizos, and Khapomati), field surveys led the archaeologists of the Canadian Palaipafos Survey Project to recognize that the use of fine wares increased through the fifth century, culminating in the early sixth. Thereafter there was a gradual decline from *c.*550, with dwindling quantities of the imported Phocaean Red Slip ware. Cypriot Red Slip is found for longer, declining in

35. Rautman 2003.

36. Touma, 2001.

37. ibid., pp. 376f.

38. Hayes, 1972; Touma, 2001, p.273.

39. Hayes.

the later seventh century.[40] The implication is that the prosperity of the district and also its foreign contacts were at a peak in the early years of Justinian's reign. Or (perhaps one should add) thereabouts.

Similarly, the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (around Politiko and Mitsero) identified a peak in the fifth century. They too identified African Red Slip and Phocaean wares, which were slowly edged out from the statistics by Cypriot Red Slip ware – which itself disappeared after 600.[41] Thus, this northward-looking inland region seems to have reached, and passed, its time of greatest prosperity at much the same date or perhaps slightly earlier than the south-west, but in any case well before the Arab raids.

Even inland, the villagers participated in the general prosperity of Cyprus. It is one of the great strengths of the ceramic evidence, and an advantage not shared by the evidence of coins or lead seals, that one can in principle make eminently well-founded statistical comparisons, of like for like, involving inland districts. The scatter of amphora sherds at a coastal site, e.g. a harbour site, may perhaps be chronologically more compact than sherds from a rural setting in the Troodos foothills, but their chronology is still subject to the limitations that have been discussed above.

Justinian's military successes in the West, it has been claimed, fostered wider trading links throughout the Mediterranean;[42] and, more locally, the same emperor's re-organization of the grain supply to Constantinople is suggested as the reason for exceptional prosperity at Peyia.[43] Yet whatever the limitations of the ceramic evidence for precise chronology, it is reasonably clear that there is no general upturn in Cyprus in the mid-sixth century, which might have been seen as following directly from the Justinianic reconquests or reorganization. The trends were much longer-term, presumably reflecting wider tendencies, in the realms of demography, climate change, the Justinianic plague, etc.

2. Chronologies at particular sites. The aftermath of the Arab invasions.

If sites along the south coast are each characterized by the output of a local kiln, stylistic assessment leading to comparisons between the date-range at one site and another will involve the assumption that the local potter followed the general fashion closely.

40. Rupp, 1986; Lund, 19xx.

41. Knapp and Given 2004.

42. Majcherek.

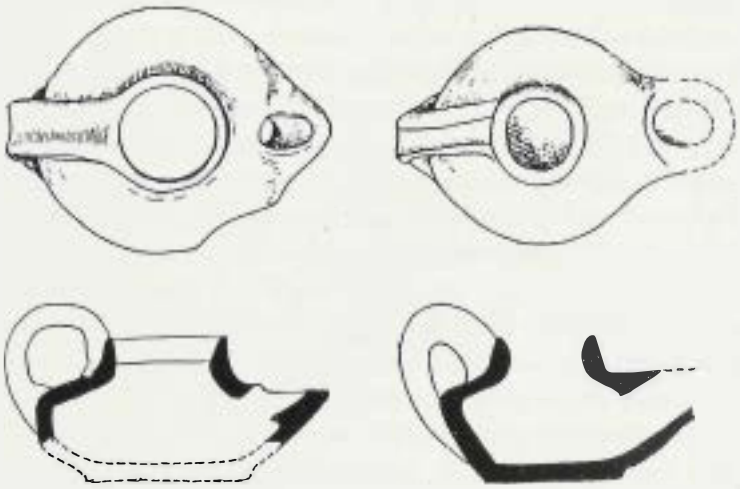
43. Bakirtzis 1995, 1997. Papacostas demurs.

The handling of the ceramic evidence for chronology is at its best when all the material from the excavation of a large complex of buildings is systematically described by an experienced ceramicist, paying attention to fabrics as well as to forms, and re-examining the material from older excavations to verify the identity of fabrics at different sites within Cyprus, and indeed elsewhere. The basilican site on the acropolis at Amathus is a good example, where both local and imported wares have been found – cooking-pots from Dhiorios, in the north of the island; lamps from Syria and Palestine; and terra sigillata from Asia Minor and from North Africa. The date range of activity on the site is defined by the predominance of Cypriot amphoras of LRA 1a, which very soon take over from LRA 1. Palestinian amphoras, LRA 5, are found on the site, with a suggested date of *c.*670-*c.*700 (as also at Kourion and Paphos). These point, rather surprisingly, to continued overseas trade well after the date of the Arab raids of 649-50 – and also well after the date when Palestine passed out of Byzantine control. Their occurrence at Paphos raises questions connected with the presence of the Arab garrison. For them at least, trade with Palestine would presumably have presented no political difficulties.

From the last, and historically the most intriguing, phase of occupation of the site, there are modelled ceramic cooking-pots, etc., which were inferior substitutes for the better-quality wares that were, evidently, no longer obtainable, or perhaps just no longer affordable by whoever was living up there. The excavation of a cistern, with a depth of seven metres, yielded three layers which have been interpreted as belonging (from the bottom up) to the phase of demolition of the basilica; a phase of destruction of the site; and finally a phase of abandonment of the cistern. Sherds of modelled ceramic were found especially in this latest layer. It would seem to belong to the very end of the seventh century (or even the beginning of the eighth?). Confirmation of the ceramic chronology on the acropolis at Amathus comes from coin finds which include folles certainly post-dating 653, on the floors of the northerly annexes to the basilica. Finally, there are a few sherds which resemble Arab or Umayyad ceramics from Apamea, Jerash, and elsewhere on the mainland. Whether these are later in date than the modelled ceramics is difficult to determine archaeologically; they are in any case few, and the acropolis would seem then to have been abandoned for centuries.

When an excavation yields closed deposits, e.g. in the fill from a well, they may offer exceptional opportunities to establish a relative chronology, and also to see what types or styles were synchronous. If such deposits include coins, they may even contribute to an absolute chronology. No clearer example could be found from Cyprus during the Byzantine

centuries than the cistern on the acropolis at Amathus. There is comparable evidence from Kourion, where again the general interest of the material lies mainly in the period after the Arab raids. Much of it comes from fills overlying the main buildings, i.e. after their original purpose was abandoned. In its style this material was judged to relate closely to two good closed deposits. These are a cistern in the South-West Court (the deposit being dated as regards its *t.p.q.* by a solidus from early in the reign of Constantine IV, accidentally dropped into the cistern while it was still functional), and secondly the South water tank. In the abandonment phase of the site one sees the continued use of Roman-style fine red wares, and also of the local thin-walled, ribbon-handled cooking pots (which can be paralleled in eighth-century Constantinople). The amphora varieties from this same, later seventh-century, phase suggested to the excavators that the old trade patterns were becoming fragmented, as communities had to become more self-reliant. They detected an Umayyad element among the sherds. They also spoke of 'a more shadowy later phase, documented in various parts of the site', with two new and distinctive types of cooking pots, of which one was imported, while the other, presumably local, was hand-made and thick-walled. From the eighth-century phase there were also plain wheel-made lamps of the standard Arab type (Fig. 19) – or, as the excavator's report phrases it, 'of Arab appearance'.[44]



32 39

Fig. 19. Clay lamps from the episcopal precinct, Kourion: no. 32, the standard Arab type; no. 39, another version, in different ware. After Hayes, in Megaw, 2007.

44. Megaw, 2007, pp. 435-83.

3. Domestic wares: the needful range of crockery for a household

Usefully dateable evidence of the range of pottery from a large building complex – albeit an unusually high-status dwelling – comes from the French excavations of l'Huilerie, at Constantia. The material from that sector of the excavations is almost exclusively Byzantine in date, and may be assumed to be almost all from before 649. In so far as it was abandoned rather than discarded, it is informative of the household economy: but perhaps the better stock was carried away. Diederichs[45] catalogues 48 amphora fragments, four embossed dishes, a cooking-pot with lugs (diameter 23 cm, found actually in the residence), five pitchers, a jug with a spout (diameter 14 cm),[46] and a set of six identical small plates, which were found together with coins, some of which were of Heraclius.[47] Other plates, examples of Late Roman D ware up to 35 cm in diameter, were found.

4. The eighth and ninth centuries

After the second quarter of the eighth century, or thereabouts, ceramic evidence is sparse in the extreme, and uncertain as regards local wares. Finds appear to be confined to just two or three urban sites, but that could be merely an effect of their scarcity. Contrary, i.e. rural evidence is offered by pottery of plain white Byzantine types, possibly of the ninth century, found in the Phileri cave, which seems to have been a monastic cell.[48]

The Canadian excavations at Soloi yielded an eighth-century Constantinopolitan ware pot from the destruction phase of the basilica, along with several amphoras which Hayes judges to be of the ninth century. Two plates from the destruction layers are, he observes, the last known imports of ceramics until the twelfth century.

At Saranda Kolones in 1981-3, the excavators took soundings to try to establish when the castle was built. In the projecting corner towers of the square central building (and only there), the builders had not cleared the site down to the rock. The floor level in the corner towers was six steps above that in the central court, and the existing layers were to that extent undisturbed. In the north-east tower was found a paved floor, and other remains of an eighth-ninth century occupation. The walls of the south-east

45. Diederichs, 1980, p. 60.

46. Cat. no. 303.

47. Cat. nos. 284; 285-91.

48. Du Plat Taylor, 1935.

tower enclosed considerable remains of a building eventually destroyed by fire, where there were quantities of glass and wasters. From the excavation of this glass factory came not only glass, but amphoras of types not found in seventh-century contexts in Cyprus. Based on comparisons with material from Istanbul and from Black Sea sites, Hayes suggests a late-eighth to early-ninth century date – or perhaps even mid-ninth.[49]

5. General implications for the Cyprus economy.

Everything that has been said so far is succinctly summarized by Hayes: until the early seventh century, Cyprus is part of a world in which inter-regional commerce is very active, and prosperity is widespread. Imported fine wares and amphoras are found in considerable quantities. Even into the seventh century they occur widely throughout Cyprus, although with some regional variation. Later in the seventh century this plethora of evidence, which lends itself so well to statistical comparisons (if only the groupings are securely categorized), dwindles to the merest trickle of imports, and local products take their place.[50] These local products, it need hardly be said, are exceedingly difficult to categorize and to date accurately. Of imported wares individual sherds, almost, become worthy of note, just because they are so scarce. The published material is largely restricted to a few urban sites: Constantia, Paphos, Soloi. The picture presented by archaeologists in Greece is very different: at many sites, coin losses cease but pottery (and lead seals) continue in the eighth century.

Note well: 'local products take their place'. To assert that a village ceased to be inhabited because fine wares disappear from the archaeological record at a certain point is unsafe. It may perhaps be true that the able-bodied population of a village were carried off into slavery at the time of the Arab raids, and that those who were left became refugees, but the mere disappearance of fine wares is not a sufficient proof. The general historian will, excusably, be sceptical of claims based on ceramic evidence that sites were abandoned in the mid-seventh century, unless the question of local wares is addressed.[51]

49. Hayes, in Megaw, 1971, at pp. 376f.

50. Hayes 1980.

51. Fejfer and Hays 1995, on the Akamas district.

Adam Smith has taught us that nations are well advised to concentrate on producing what they are best at producing cheaply, and to exchange their surpluses with their neighbours, for what they lack. In that way all parties will be better off than they would be in economic isolation. In the sixth century, and until about the middle of the seventh, Cyprus was evidently acting in accordance with this sage advice. Its coastlands, perhaps especially its southern coastlands, participated in a maritime economy of interregional exchanges. The benefits extended into the inland districts. Almost everywhere, we see a busy countryside. It is clear that by about the end of the seventh century these exchanges were drastically curtailed. Cyprus became impoverished (and perhaps also depopulated). What is less clear is the extent to which the impoverishment was directly attributable to the cessation of foreign trade. We may assume that, as expounded by Adam Smith, Cyprus had been better off because of its exports and imports; but by how much? After all, a self-contained economy within the island might still be expected to entail a hierarchy of town and countryside, and specialization of labour and exchanges between regions with different economic potential. The downturn, as reflected by the ceramic evidence (inter alia), was dramatic. It poses severe problems of interpretation.

6. Late eleventh- and twelfth-century wares.

The economic recovery in Cyprus beginning in the eleventh century might be expected to have been accompanied by new pottery sequences, in both coarse and glazed wares. The early glazed wares are recognizably different from those of the next century.[52] The developing city of Nicosia should be the place for key sites, and one hopes that it will be, but proper systematic excavation in the capital has only been in progress for the last few years. The task of identifying coarse wares, wholly dependent as it is on good dateable contexts, has made only limited progress.

Work at Saranda Kolones, Paphos in the early 1980s yielded some fragments of glazed vessels from the date of construction of the Crusader castle, all of which were imported pieces. Five were Byzantine, two were Ayyubid, one was Seljuk, one was early tin-glazed protomaiolica ware, possibly from Brindisi or Sicily, and two were identified as Aegean. The general impression is that the province had grown quite cosmopolitan, but some of these sherds could, of course, have reached Cyprus after 1191. Among the unglazed wares there was judged to be no single fragment that could be regarded as a forerunner of the wares produced by the local

52. I am indebted to Mr Violaris, the excavator, who discussed his work in progress with me.

potteries in the thirteenth century: it seems that they were not yet working (at least, in the Paphos region) in the twelfth century.

In the Paphos district in particular, the volume of finds of fine wares (mostly sgraffito wares) increases markedly, beginning soon after the Lusignan conquest. Whether the increased volume is to be explained by the new political importance of Paphos is not yet entirely clear. On the one hand, there is the coincidence of date; on the other hand, it seems that Paphos already had a certain commercial importance in the twelfth century, attested by the presence of Venetians. Twelfth-century wares are not restricted to Paphos: they reached the countryside. The CPSP survey in 1982-3 recognized imported wares from Greece, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. A piece is recorded, for example, from Kannaviou-Khryseleusa, some 20km inland from Paphos.[53]

At present it does not seem likely that ceramic type-sequences from the eleventh and twelfth centuries will ever be as critical for the history of Byzantine Cyprus as the evidence from the sixth and seventh centuries, but they will doubtless have their own considerable interest.

53. Gregory, 1987, p. 272.

APPENDIX

Glass: the historian's eye

An English hymn-writer of the early seventeenth century found this analogy for seeing what is eternal, through things temporal: 'A man that looks on glass, / On it may stay his eye; / Or if he pleaseth through it pass, / And then the heaven espy'.[1] The historian will stay his eye on glass from the Byzantine centuries for long enough to understand the technology of its manufacture,[2] but will be mainly concerned to glimpse, through it, the social context of its use. Was glass handled on a daily basis by ordinary people throughout Cyprus, or only by the well-to-do, or by those in cities? Where were glass vessels made, and were they marketed there at the glass factory gate, or were they transported through Cyprus using mules or donkeys? Questions such as these go well beyond the remit of the glass technologist.

Leontios of Neapolis has a story, in which the modern reader may detect an element of comedy, about Symeon the Holy Fool trashing the wares of a Jewish glass-merchant (a tale which is not free of religious prejudice, quite apart from its credulity). The setting of the story is Syria, not Cyprus, but we may assume that Leontius expected that the details would not be a deterrent to his hearers, and indeed he may have embellished his tale from his own local knowledge. Symeon was sitting and warming himself near a glass-blower's furnace. The glass-blower, who was Jewish, was making drinking-glasses. Symeon made the sign of the Cross over a finished glass, which broke. He continued in this vein, until he had broken seven glasses.[3] How widespread were glass-blowers in Cyprus? Could one expect to find one (or more) in every town? – A

1. George Herbert (1593-1632), from the hymn, 'Teach me, my God and King'.

2. For an introduction to the subject, with a good technical glossary and an extensive bibliography, see M. Spaer, *Ancient Glass in the Israel Museum. Beads and Other Small Objects*, Jerusalem, 1991.

3. Krueger, 1996, pp. 165f.

furnace hot enough to melt glass is not, after all, high technology, if the glass-blower was using ready-made glass. That was generally the case, for it seems that clear glass was not made from raw materials in Byzantine Cyprus. Quartzite sand of the necessary purity was not to be found on the island. True, sand could be dug at Parekklisia, but it was fit only for making coloured glass. It was necessary therefore either to import the finished product (which happened with high-status glass vessels in the twelfth century) or to import blocks of frit (i.e. half-made glass, a mixture of silica sand, with an alkali and some lime) to be fused and worked locally. Cullet (scrap glass) was reusable; adding it to the frit aided fusion. Although not especially costly, it was probably worth recycling. Symeon's hapless victim doubtless put the broken pieces of his glasses back into the furnace.

There is a considerable quantity of archaeological evidence concerning glass recovered in archaeological excavations in Cyprus, but the vast majority of it refers to Hellenistic and Roman glass.[4] Unless Byzantine glass (of the sixth to eighth centuries) is found in a closed context of known date, how can one be sure that it is Byzantine? What is securely known about the typology and, more exactly, about the chronology of the types of Byzantine glass can be written on a potsherd, almost. The brittleness of glass exacerbates the problem: complete vessels are exceptional, and tiny fragments are impossible to classify, except by their fabric, e.g. 'a pale greenish tinge'. As an example of how a chronology has to be constructed piece-meal, one may mention a drinking glass with a flat folded foot, found with a coin of Justinian II, and judged accordingly to be of a shape that was a later stylistic development than those of the mid-seventh century.[5] From the 'dark age' there is even less evidence (but what there is, is especially precious to the historian). From the eleventh and twelfth centuries the evidence is again very sparse, and there is a problem in determining whether archaeological finds antedate the beginning of Lusignan rule in 1192.

Amid these severe technical difficulties, here and there the historian may come across a nugget of information which is of some help. Thus,

4. O. Vessberg, 'Roman glass in Cyprus', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 7 (1952), 109-65; O. Vessberg and A Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. I/4, *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus*, Lund, 1956, pp. 128-75. 193-219, especially pp. 216-17; P. Åstrom, 'Collections of Cypriote glass', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 5 (1964), 123-58; Megaw, 1971; Chavane, 1975; J. W. Hayes, *Roman and Pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum, A Catalogue*, Toronto, 1975, pp. 123-31; Young, 2007 (valuable recent survey).

5. Young, 2007, pp. 493f.

at Dhiorios (inland from Kormakitis), where bell-shaped goblets with cone feet were a standard type, Catling notes that the lack of small pottery drinking vessels on the excavated site suggests that by the seventh century glasses were the normal vessel for drinking wine. This observation, which brings us information on the use, rather than merely on the manufacture, of the glass is all the more valuable in so far as Dhiorios was an inland, rural location.[6] It is borne out by the sherds of glass drinking vessels found quite widely scattered over the excavated area at Alassa, in or above the (well-stratified) seventh-century destruction layer.[7] Likewise at Kalavasos-*Kopetra*, another non-urban site, there is plenty of glass from Areas II, IV, and VI, including stemmed drinking vessels, hexagonal bottles, bowls, flasks, and even an unguentarium.[8]

There is a touching example from (again) Alassa, where a tomb contained the mortal remains of a child aged seven to nine, who had been buried with six blue and green glass bracelets on her arms. This little girl, cherished and no doubt mourned, is the only small child who emerges as more than a statistic, in the pages of our book.[9]

What glass can tell the historian about the social fabric depends on the uses to which the glass was put. Wine glasses were an everyday commodity for many people, whereas liturgical glass and the familiar hanging lamps with three handles were of higher status, – the latter associated particularly although perhaps not exclusively with churches. A few hanging lamps were found at Saranda Kolones[10] (where there is a strong presumption that they are of later date than the Arab raids, the Arab garrison, etc.). There is also a hanging lamp from Kourion, from near the Paphos Gate.[11] Liturgical glass also includes the lamps used in polykandela, which might hold ten to 16 individual lamps.[12] Was window glass, which denotes a degree of architectural affluence, also restricted to cathedals and other basilican churches? - At Ayios Konon, outside one of the houses excavated there, there was a heap of broken glass including

6. Catling, 1972; id., 1974.

7. Flourentzos, 1996.

8. Rautman, 2003.

9. Infant mortality, and mortality among children, is usefully documented at Alassa: see below, pp. 299f.

10. Megaw, in *DOP*, 1972.

11. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 96 (1972), 1082f., fig. 95; Young, 2007, pp. 495-6.

12. Young, 2007, pp. 497-8.

window glass, that had been swept up. Had it come from the house (as appeared to the excavators to be the case), or from the nearby basilica? In either case, had it been tidied up to prevent children cutting themselves on the slivers or animals swallowing them, or was it preparatory to sale for recycling? Tesserae (many of which were of glass or were glass-coated) were high-technology, and were almost certainly restricted to ecclesiastical use. At Ayios Philon, the excavators recovered glass wasters with squarely broken edges, which they suggested might possibly have arisen during the production of tesserae.[13]

We do not know how many glass factories there may have been in early Byzantine Cyprus. The word 'factory' may create an impression of complex industrial activity, whereas the minimum may just have been a furnace capable of melting frit, such as is mentioned in the story of Symeon the Holy Fool. Given the transport costs, using mules or donkeys, and even more the risks of breakages,[14] it would seem reasonable that there should have been at least one in each large city. Factories are identifiable by the occurrence of wasters, – such as were found at Saranda Kolones. Several pieces of cullet and wasters were excavated at Kourion, suggestive of local manufacture. Du Plat Taylor and Megaw found wasters at Ayios Philon. There may even have been manufacture at Dhiorios; again, as we may judge from Leontius's story, that is no big deal.

The production of glass vessels continued after the Arab raids: that is perfectly clear. It means that there was still a market for the product. A drinking glass found in association with a coin of Justinian II has already been mentioned. The glass factory on the (later) castle site at Paphos has been firmly dated to the late eighth/early ninth century, by reference to eighth-century amphora sherds from the same context, and also a couple of fragments of glazed white ware dishes, of similar date.[15] Hayes has also identified a workshop of the 7th-9th century at Soloi.[16]

Ampullae of pilgrim-flask shape (used for holy water or oil) were recovered from excavation of the harbour basilica at Kourion, where it seems that there was a cult of St Hermogenes.[17] The terminal date, and

13. Du Plat Taylor and Megaw, 1981.

14. The construction of canals in eighteenth-century England was of significant economic benefit to manufacturers such as Josiah Wedgwood, by reducing the breakages that occurred with pack-horses.

15. Hayes, in Megaw 1972, p. 340.

16. Hayes, 1975, p. 124, n.2.

17. Young, 2007, p. 500.

the probable date of loss, will be the earthquake which severely damaged the basilica. Where the ampullae were made is unknown.

Window glass was made by the cylinder process, namely by blowing a cylinder, which was then split open lengthwise and opened out.[18] Large quantities of window glass were found at Kourion, in the south-west court of the episcopal basilica, in a deposit that is dated by a half-follis of Justinian II.[19] (This does not prove manufacture at a date after the Arab raids: for that one should turn to Episkopi.) The writer has himself seen window glass lying on the gravel path when he was visiting Cape Drepanon.

From the historian's perspective the value of the archaeological evidence, in detail, turns on our ability to date the glass. The nearest thing to a sealed deposit is a pottery jar from Ayios Philon containing 71 stems of wine-glasses presumably set aside to be recycled, and with a suggested *t.p.q.* of *c.*666.[20] From the episcopal precinct at Kourion there are half-a-dozen carefully excavated contexts,[21] several of which are from the late seventh or even the early eighth century, dated by coins of Justinian II or of Constantine IV. Specifically, the excavators noted: Context 1, mid-sixth century, a glass bowl or lamp, and a wine-glass. Context 3, late seventh century, in a water tank, flasks, wine-glasses, a lamp, an ampulla, a jar, a bowl, and window glass. Context 4, late seventh century, large quantities of window glass. Context 5, late seventh or early eighth century, in a cistern, in which was found a gold solidus of Constantine IV, and stratified above it, fragments of lamps, wine-glasses, flasks, and window glass.[22] The archaeology clearly implies that the glass was fulfilling its functions at a time a generation or more after the Arab raids. There is a relative concentration of fragments of bottles and flasks (which were utilitarian containers for wine and water) in the atrium area north of the basilica. All that is perfectly clear. The historian will note with a degree of anxiety, however, Context 7, the fill in a latrine shaft, in the lowest layer of which there were some fragments of bowl-shaped lamps and some flasks, stratified in close association with a coin hoard, *t.p.q.* 613, which the excavator perversely dated to the time of the Arab

18. ibid., p. 509.

19. Megaw, 2007, p. 487.

20. Young, 2007, pp.492f., 496f.

21. ibid.

22. Young, 2007, pp. 486-7.

raids. Above these was a coin from 632-41.[23] Did the cataloguers of the glass say to themselves, 'It's strange! The hoard dates from *c*.650, we're told, and yet the vessels look more like 610 or 620 to us.' Apparently not. In short, the chronological scheme is still sketchy in parts. Moreover, the lamps and wineglasses found at the Saranda Kolones glass factory, from the late eighth/early ninth century, are technically so close to those from the Kourion contexts that they have been seen as evidence of technical continuity, in a 'well-founded and robust glass industry'.[24] Cyprus in the later seventh and eighth centuries was not in a condition of unrelieved impoverishment, in which 'squatterization' was the norm. Some people, at least, were buying glass vessels.

We turn finally to late Byzantine Cyprus, from which there is much less evidence – perhaps merely because there are fewer archaeological contexts. Megaw published a high-quality blue glass scent bottle (height, 17cm) embellished with gold and enamel and decorated with pictures of birds. A similar piece was found at the glass factory in Corinth. The loss of the bottle from Saranda Kolones was dated to the earthquake of 1222.[25] It had almost certainly been imported, very probably after 1191 (when the castle was built and occupied), thus falling outside the scope of our enquiries. Such precious and charming objects will, however, have been treasured by an individual or by a family often for decades. In any case, the international trading of such high-status objects began earlier. A somewhat similar bottle from Saranda Kolones, with birds in a roundel decoration, is dated by Megaw to the first half or the middle years of the twelfth century.[26] It should be seen as another little sign of the growing personal wealth of an upper class in twelfth-century Cyprus.

From the eleventh, twelfth, and later centuries, there is oblique evidence of the uses of glass vessels from their depiction in manuscript miniatures or in mosaics.[27]

23. ibid.

24. Young, 2007, p. 511.

25. Megaw, 1959, 60.

26. Megaw, 1972, 321-43.

27. A. M. Talbot, 'Evidence about Byzantine glass in medieval Greek texts from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005), 141-5; M. G. Parai, 'Representations of glass objects as a source on Byzantine glass: how useful are they?', ibid., 147-71.

CHAPTER VII

STYLES OF CHURCH ARCHITECTURE: CHANGING FASHIONS IN THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES

The churches and monasteries of Cyprus include virtually the only body of architectural evidence surviving from the period 491-1191, other than city walls, some walls and towers at St Hilarion and Buffavento, and (perhaps) parts of Kyrenia Castle. The churches have been the main focus of the architectural historians' interest. Their ground plans and the architectural solutions to roofing a large space have been intensively studied. At the same time art historians have been concerned with their decoration with mosaics and frescoes. All this has generated an extensive specialist literature.[1] In the early basilicas especially, some of the details of the ground plan may arise from liturgical requirements,[2] for example in processional baptisteries, or in the outer corridors that are integral to some pilgrimage churches. Otherwise, mere stones have little to contribute to our understanding of the life of faith. The decoration of the churches, and in particular the holy images, are more directly informative from that point of view. They are discussed elsewhere in this volume.[3] They are also important, quite often, in interpreting the chronology of the church building which they decorate.

Both architecture and decoration can also be viewed by the historian in a more secular aspect: changing styles and fashions may reflect the society which wanted the churches and which, ultimately, paid for their construction and upkeep. Fashion, too, may point very clearly to influences reaching Cyprus from outside the province. New styles usually had a wider cultural context, originating from the wealth and sophistication of the

1 The name of Dr Papageorghiou is associated especially with this achievement.

2. Megaw, 1974.

3. See pp. 313-16.

capital, either directly (metropolitan influence[4]) or via Palestine or some other province (just as surely imperial influence). High quality, whether of architecture or of flooring is also in itself evidence: some outstanding churches were constructed and decorated with no expense spared. Influence was sometimes, but by no means always, accompanied by the emperor's financial generosity. It is obvious that there are certain periods of greater imperial outreach affecting Cyprus, namely the mid-sixth/early seventh century and the late eleventh/twelfth century.

The whole of this network of considerations relies upon our being able to date the construction, rebuilding, refurbishment, or decoration of a church. In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries donor inscriptions may provide exact and certain answers. All through the earlier Byzantine centuries, chronological precision and certainty of dating are the bugbears, so far as the general historian is concerned. Unless the impressive researches of the architectural historians and art historians can be convincingly dated, the detail remains of somewhat antiquarian interest. The wholesale destruction of churches during the Arab invasion of 649 and the punitive raid of 653 is a fixed point. Destruction by fire has left archaeologically abundant evidence. Churches could also be damaged or even destroyed by earthquake – although rarely so catastrophically as at fourth-century Kourion, where the fallen columns pointed uniformly to the epicentre. For dating one is reliant on archaeological evidence, essentially the recovery of coins, pottery, or lead seals from sealed contexts, e.g. under floors or pavements. Such evidence is sparse, but important.

A recent survey[5] of the varied and changing styles of architecture favoured through the seven Byzantine centuries appears to offer a systematic framework of information about the large number of churches and monasteries, of whose fabric sufficient remains for their architectural character to be assessed.[6] On a broad canvas, that is to say in general terms, it does indeed provide a good framework, but, as has been emphasized above, it is sometimes merely an assumption that the chronology of

4. 'Metropolitan or provincial?' is a key phrase, given currency by Megaw, 1974. The antithesis opens up opportunities for debate. It has the merits and demerits of brevity. One might wish to expand 'metropolitan' to 'metropolitan/imperial'; and 'provincial' in any case just means local.

5. Papacostas, 1999. Note the exact title of the thesis: 'Byzantine Cyprus, the Testimony of Its Churches, 650-1200'. The period 491-650 is not covered, unless a church destroyed in the Arab raids was subsequently rebuilt on the same site.

6. id. The survey also provides a useful bibliography for each building discussed.

individual buildings conforms to the trend. In particular, the interval of time between a church's falling out of use, for whatever reason, and its rebuilding was by definition a time of inactivity, and is something for which it is difficult to gather clear archaeological evidence. There may be coins and pottery from the phase of construction, also from the phase of destruction, and from the subsequent use of the site for other purposes. A church of which little but the foundations or footings survives today may have been robbed of useful building material very promptly, or it may have stood as a ruin for centuries. Churches were rebuilt on the surviving foundations of a good many of the late antique basilicas which had been destroyed, apparently, in the mid- or late-seventh century. Those foundations were sometimes judged to be still usable by builders at a later date – even, at a much later date. The Bedestan Gothic church in Nicosia is an example. Another church on top of an old one should provide a *terminus ante quem*, but what happened in the meantime, i.e. how long the gap was, is unlikely to be established with sufficient certainty, as regards dating, to please the general historian.

Moreover, dates of construction are still, and always will be, to some extent a matter of informed opinion. To take an extreme example, 'the group of vaulted basilicas in the Karpas peninsula . . . has been variously dated to the 6th, the mid-7th, 8th/9th, late 10th, and even the 12th century . . .'[7] Although extreme, that example is not altogether unfair. Papacostas has recently written, apropos the church of Ayios Prokopios at Syngrasis, 'Had the painted inscription [dating from 977-9] not survived in Saint Procopius, the church would probably have been ascribed a later, 11th or 12th-century date, based solely on meagre stylistic grounds and on the unambiguous evidence for a marked increase in building activity in the course of that period. . .'[8] He encapsulates the general problem of interpretation perfectly. With that background of disagreement and uncertainty among the experts, it will be understandable if historians are unwilling to rely too trustingly on expert testimony. Nor should it be surprising if they wish to be made aware of the exact quality (and quantity, sometimes very little) of the archaeological evidence upon which a dating rests. Moreover, the uncertainties occur where they matter most to the general historian, namely in relation to the 'dark age'. It is, frankly, impossible to determine from the evidence of architectural construction and style whether a church was rebuilt between 650 and 700, or after 700;

7. Papacostas, 1999, p.145.

8. Papacostas, 2002, p.61.

and it sometimes seems to be equally difficult to know whether a church was built in the tenth century, or in the eleventh/twelfth.[9]

Were churches definitively damaged and destroyed in 649 and/or 653, or were they damaged but capable of being repaired – like the cathedral complex at Soloi, which was swiftly made good, as an inscription informs us? Was their use as churches then resumed until the early eighth century (or even later)? Speculation has been influenced by the old idea, certainly mistaken, that the transfer of population to Nea Ioustinianoupolis in 690/1 was a major demographic event. One should expect no simple answer, no uniform history which applies to all churches throughout Cyprus: that much should be obvious. After 653 Byzantine control was firmer in the northern coastlands, and that is part of the background to the repair of the complex at Soloi. The secure dating of one building cannot safely be generalized, to interpret others. Fortunately, coins of Constans II minted after 651 circulated in great quantities in Cyprus. If they are countermarked, as many of them are, their evidence for chronology becomes more interesting – and more controversial.[10] Where they have been found on church sites, they offer evidence of some sort of continued use of the site after the Arab invasions. Their loss, however, could have been in the context not of worship but of some secular use of the site – even 'squatterization', the makeshift use of old buildings by impoverished inhabitants. Likewise with ceramic evidence: what sort of pottery would one expect to find on a church site if the church was being used for liturgical purposes? Lamps, yes; but amphoras? Cooking-pots? Even meticulously recorded evidence is not always straightforward in its more general interpretation.

We may make so bold as to think that styles of church architecture, on their own, ought to be useful to date the construction of a building to within a hundred years or so. Styles of *opus sectile* flooring show a chronological development, although only in very broad terms, and with

9. Note the analogy of English church architecture, where the suggestion has been made that the 'Decorated' and 'Perpendicular' styles belong essentially before and after the ravages of the Black Death respectively, the plainer style reflecting the harder times of the second half of the century. The topic is less speculative in fourteenth-century England, because there is a substantial amount of documentary information about individual churches, by which a chronology can be anchored. There are, incidentally, roughly 8,000 extant pre-Reformation churches in England.

10. It used to be accepted that the countermarking exercise took place in the time of Constantine IV, but this is now disputed: see pp. 171-5.

technical problems arising from re-use of the *crustae*.[11] And if (in the later Byzantine centuries) frescoes survive, they may offer a narrower and more reliable date on stylistic grounds, although only as an interim unless it is perfectly clear that the decoration is of the same date as the construction. Sometimes, new images were painted on top of old ones.

The architectural ground-plans of the churches can be categorized, e.g. the basilica, the cross-in-square church, the dome-hall type, the domed octagon, and so on. That might seem like an exercise with more appeal for architectural than for general historians, but it yields a broad conclusion which is certainly of general interest. The later categories only became widespread in Cyprus long after the first examples appeared elsewhere in the Empire. Until the eleventh century, the choice of plan in Cyprus was for a long time conservative, not to say old-fashioned (for reasons that are not clear). Then, building styles which had been widespread elsewhere for centuries finally made their way into the island. But for most of the Byzantine period, basilicas continued to be built and kept in repair. The categories therefore offer no simple or well-spaced guide to chronology. There were, it is true, variations in the construction of basilicas. The late antique column basilica, with three or more aisles, and with a wooden roof structure (supporting a tiled roof), gave way to the pier basilica, and to a vaulted roof. After 653 it became more difficult to import marble columns, at least until *c*.705. Cost may have been a major deterrent thereafter.

Most (but not all) of the late antique basilicas were eventually replaced, again with basilicas, which sometimes had the same dimensions as before (being raised on the old foundations), but which sometimes were on a more modest scale. This retrenchment presumably indicates either a decline in population, or impoverishment, or both – or perhaps more exactly, a lack of resources on the part of those who undertook the rebuilding. It has sometimes been seen as a consequence of the Arab invasions and the loss of population in the second half of the seventh century. As a generalization that may be true enough, but in individual cases, confirmation of the dating from other evidence is desirable.

Any churches of which the original construction is securely dateable to the mid-eighth century onwards – the dark age of Byzantine Cyprus – are of an obvious and special interest to the historian. They are few indeed. The case of Syngrasis, mentioned above, stands as a warning. There is a

11. Daszewski and Michaelides, 1988, p. 91.

major increase in levels of building and rebuilding activity in the eleventh century, which accelerates further into the twelfth century. Within this late surge of development monasteries, of substantial foundation, take on a new relative importance.

The Byzantine churches still standing, or rebuilt, or of which the foundations have been explored by archaeological investigation, or where 11th- or 12th-century paintings have been discovered, currently number something over 120.[12] The total increases, and will no doubt continue to do so, as later layers of fresco or plaster are removed, revealing earlier paintings on sections of wall incorporated into later buildings. In addition there are some 36 other churches, attested in written sources, which were very probably in existence before 1191. And there are about 85 monasteries, attested in the sources, which have some claim (often rather tenuous) to have been founded before 1191.[13] How complete this tally is – whether four-fifths, or three-quarters, or two-thirds – it is impossible to say.

What is clear is that, if we restrict the enquiry to the period before the year 1000, the statistics fall sharply, to about 35 surviving churches, plus ten or 12 monasteries. The record for the five centuries up to 1000 may be significantly less complete than for the final two centuries. In particular one wonders whether there were, in the sixth and seventh centuries, village churches which were less substantial or less distinctive structures, which are virtually unrecognizable in the archaeological record. From our own experience of the faith today, we may be inclined to suppose that any sizeable village would have needed a church, and we may speculate that that may have been the case. But our expectation could be unrealistic. Leontios of Neapolis speaks of village people coming into the city for the eucharist. This methodological difficulty, of an absence of evidence which may or may not amount to negative evidence, applies especially to the period 491 - *c.*650, from which there is so little written testimony in this respect (but what little there is contains a few surprises). The impoverishment and demographic decline of the condominium centuries make it all the more possible that small churches, which may or may not have suffered during or after the Arab invasions, might lie neglected, and eventually be lost completely, simply through depopulation and neglect. Other than that, one can be moderately optimistic: in general, churches enjoyed a protected status in a Christian society. Purloining their dressed

12. Pers. comm. Dr. Papacostas, who maintains a data-base. The number is gradually increasing, and will presumably continue to do so.

13. These numbers derive from the survey in Papacostas.

stone blocks for re-use elsewhere probably required a degree of social consent from the local community, even if they were no longer in use.

The general historian will wish to consider the evidence of the churches with the same motivation as he or she examines the evidence of seals, coins, or pottery, that is to say, not so much as an architectural historian, but rather looking for patterns or episodes that are historically revealing. His concerns are different from those of the specialist. True, he needs to be familiar with the detail and to understand the architectural arguments, in order to reach his own judgement on whether the dating and the builder's intentions have been established securely enough to support any general historical conclusions which suggest themselves.

The historical evidence of the early churches begins from the distribution-patterns which they generate within Cyprus. A map of all the sixth- and seventh-century basilicas (whether much or little remains to be seen today) might perhaps be expected simply to reflect the pattern of the more important centres of population — and thus to be characterized by a mainly coastal distribution. Even with such a simple generalization, one should exercise restraint, and not over-interpret the distributional evidence. Who decided to build a new church, or to replace an old one? If it was the local bishop, he may have been able to call on financial resources gathered from elsewhere in his diocese. In any case, a church building offers evidence of the intention or the ambition of its founder specifically for the decades when it was planned and built. Thereafter it stood, maybe for centuries, precluding the need for further expensive building activity.

Secondly, not all churches were equal. One should take some account of their size, from the mighty seven-aisled basilicas of St Epiphanius at Constanta or of the Panayia Chrysopolitissa at Paphos — the latter with an interior space of 2000 square metres — to more modest buildings elsewhere. The average basilica had an interior space of 200 to 300m². One may readily suppose that in the sixth century Constantia and Paphos were the two largest cities in Cyprus, with Amathus making a third. The 15 cities named in the list given by Hierocles in *c.*535[14] were doubtless very unequal in size. Tamasos, Kirboia, and Chytri will have had populations a mere fraction of those of the top three. Karpasia and Kyrenia may also have been towns of modest size.[15] But their episcopal churches may have been planned to allow room for people from the surrounding villages, or to accommodate large numbers of pilgrims.

14. See p. 348.

15. At Karpasia, the basilica had an interior space of c.260m².

1. Stone drums, granite columns, marble columns.

The columns which supported the roofs of the basilicas of the fifth century were constructed of stone drums, and the capitals were likewise of stone. That was so in the great church of St Epiphanius at Constantia, where the capitals were of Corinthian type.[16] Similarly at Soloi and at Ayia Trias, the columns were composed of stone drums, finished by capitals with a simple moulding.[17] By the early sixth or even the late fifth century, however, greater elegance was desired. Marble was the material of choice; but no good-quality marble was mined in Cyprus. The cathedral church of Ayios Philon (Karpasia) seems to have been among the first for which marble columns and capitals were imported. In a display of opulence it had columns and capitals of pink marble, brought from Asia Minor.

The basilicas of the sixth century in Cyprus regularly use imported columns, usually from the Proconnesus.[18] This was the case at Peyia, for example,[19] and at Polis.[20] How were these columns, which must have weighed two or three tons at the least, lifted off the ship that brought them to Cyprus? One assumes that the workmen must have constructed some sort of crane, to hoist the columns out of the ship and swing them ashore. What was the crane made from? Wood? The subsequent task of transporting them (on rollers – and necessarily up a slope?) to the site of the basilica, of lifting them firmly onto their base, and of causing them to stand firmly, exactly upright would be less nerve-racking, compared with getting the columns safely onto dry land It would, nevertheless, require a large team of competent workmen, to say no more; and one can see practical reasons, apart from reasons of sentiment, why sites within a stone's-throw of the beach, as at Cape Drepanon or at Campanopetra, were chosen.

It was not beyond human determination, however, to transport marble columns and capitals to the centre of the island. The four columns and two of the capitals in the choir of the Lusignan cathedral at Nicosia were perhaps re-used from the Byzantine cathedral of Ayia Sophia, a domed four-column cross-in-square structure.[21]

16. Megaw, 1974, p. 62 and fig. 12.

17. ibid., p. 64.

18. e.g. at Cape Drepanon (Peyia) in all three basilicas; and at Polis; Sodini, 1989; Megaw, 1974, p. 63.

19. Megaw, 1972.

20. Ćurčić, 1986.

21. Strictly speaking, this is speculative, as the columns could have come from some other site. Papacostas, 1999, p.148; 6.B.II.34, and Fig. 305. See now Papacostas, 2005, at p. 21, with references to Papageorgiou, 1995 and to Enlart, p. 97, fig. 34.

On the coast, too, as an alternative to importing columns, it was sometimes practicable where ruined Roman buildings existed (destroyed by earthquakes), to recover and re-use ancient columns. Many, perhaps most of the granite columns belonging to Byzantine basilicas are re-used Roman columns, transported from where they stood or lay, and re-erected. Some 95 have been analysed chemically in order to discover their geological source.[22] Almost all are from the Troad, with just two or three from Aswan. Of those that were analysed, 22 had subsequently stood in the great Chrysopolitissa church at Paphos (where some at least are from the sixth-century re-modelling), and two were from the harbour church, the Limeniotissa.

The distribution within Cyprus of granite columns is heavily concentrated in Paphos (the Roman capital city) and probably[23] also Salamis-Constantia. An exception is Kourion, where the episcopal basilica had granite columns, with bases and capitals of marble. But none are recorded from Amathus, or Old Paphos, or Ayios Georghios. Paphos is where the wealth was in Roman times; and their virtual absence elsewhere is therefore an argument of sorts (although almost superfluous) to say that, in the late antique basilicas, the granite columns are indeed re-used rather than newly imported.

In the impoverished conditions of the eighth century and later, the cost of importing columns was probably prohibitive. Instead, masonry piers were built to support the roof. At inland sites, where columns could be obtained only with great difficulty, pier basilicas may have been substituted from an earlier date. But for us that could quickly become a circular argument. We are not in a good position to generalize: archaeological evidence of columns and capitals survives only incompletely. There are many basilicas where very little of the antique structure has been recovered, above the foundations.

2. Village churches.

From the age of the urban basilicas, only a few village churches are known, from archaeological evidence. These are especially informative for the early medievalist, in that they can more safely be assumed to be a direct reflection of the needs and aspirations of the village. At Kalavasos, a flourishing large village with a population which has been estimated at a

22. Williams-Thorpe and Webb, 2002.

23. Salamis was not surveyed by Williams-Thorpe and Webb, because of the occupation of the north.

thousand at most,[24] or possibly even just 500, not one but two three-aisled basilicas have been excavated, one of them of late antique date (with *opus sectile* floor – see below) in Area V of the excavations, and another of the sixth century in Area II. That seems a quite lavish provision. If everyone in the village went to a church service at the same time, *en masse*, it would have been needed; but it is not what one would expect. The building of churches, beyond what was strictly necessary, may have been a mark of devotion. People loved their villages, and building a fine church was a way of showing their local pride.

At Ayios Konon, in the Akamas, a three-aisled column basilica with narthex was built in *c.*600. It was similar in style to the Cape Drepanon basilicas (perhaps even by the same team of workmen), but smaller and more modest, using local limestone rather than marble.[25] Again, one is mildly surprised by the level of provision, especially in light of arguments about the region's decline in prosperity from around the mid-sixth century.

At Maroni there is a late antique church complex.[26] At Alassa the basilica and nearby graves have been excavated.[27] Just south of Syngrasis, there was a late antique basilica, which was given an *opus sectile* floor in the sixth century. All these were substantial buildings, and the list of sites could undoubtedly be extended.

3. Opus sectile floors.

When the great civic basilicas of Cyprus were built, in the later fourth and fifth centuries, they were provided with mosaic floors. The designs that were used varied. At St Epiphanius, Constantia, for example, where the work may be early, the style is quite austere. At Ayios Georgios, by contrast, it is more exuberant.

Floors eventually wear out, and need to be replaced; and fashions change. At Soloi, mosaics of the second half of the fourth century, and also of the early fifth, and of the late fifth/early sixth, were eventually all covered over by the more elegant *opus sectile*, in a reconstruction in the first half of the sixth century. Similarly at the Chrysopolitissa curch, the mosaics of the fourth and fifth centuries were covered over in the sixth by new

24. An alternative estimate of 500 has been offered.

25. Fejfer and Hayes, 1995, p. 67.

26. Manning et al., 1994, pp. 356-67.

27. Flourentzos, 1996.

pavements, using *opus sectile* in the nave, but mosaic again in the aisles. *Opus sectile* had come to be seen as a higher-status flooring: in the (sixth-century) baptistery at Kourion, the platform in front of the apse, where the bishop stood, was in *opus sectile*, whereas the rest of the pavement was of mosaic work.[28] In the Bedestan in Nicosia, the opus sectile work is judged to be of the sixth century, whereas the apse seems to be fifth-century.[29]

What exactly was this *opus sectile*? Attractive patterned floors were made using small geometrically shaped pieces of marble or limestone of different colours (*crustae*), carefully fitted together and bedded in mortar. Such floors are a regular feature of church architecture throughout most of the Byzantine period in Cyprus. *Opus sectile* was not confined to churches, but it is in the ruined basilicas from the period of the Arab invasion that it has mostly been studied.[30] Sometimes the pavements are a rag-bag patchwork of pieces laid without symmetry or harmony, but usually they are composed in panels, and at best they correspond with and enhance the architectural plan of the building.[31] Even though *opus sectile* floors were non-representational, their geometric patterns could be very decorative. They include geometric 'carpets' in stone – a hint that rugs were used as furnishing in the homes of the well-to-do, perhaps just in the winter months.[32] Again, from the champlevé simplicity of the early period, there was a progressive tendency towards brightly coloured decoration. This love of rich colour is commemorated in an inscription on a circular plaque excavated in the Campanopetra basilica. Only fragments of it survive, but it seems to speak of many-coloured work, of star-like éclat ([π]οικίλον ἀστε[ριαίον]. . . ἔργον Ἰωα[ννου]).[33]

At first sight it might seem that a typology of the floor patterns – a chronological scheme of their changing patterns – could offer evidence for the chronology (or at least the relative chronology) of the basilicas themselves. This hope is largely misplaced. The choice of a pattern was of no great consequence, and the repertoire, including the revival of old patterns, was wide. Sometimes, for example, large slabs of handsomely veined marble were arranged with care, and were set off by patterns of

28. Daszewski and Michaelides, 1988, at p.91 for Kourion.

29. Michaelides, 1993, fig. 20.

30. Michaelides, 1993, p.77.

31. The subject is systematically and thoroughly explored in Michaelides, 1988 and id., 1993.

32. Although it is not surprising, this is very early evidence for the use of rugs in Cyprus.

33. J. Pouilloux, in *BCH* 94 (1970), 264 and figs. 123f.

much smaller *crustae*.[34] It is conventional to date the refurbishment to the middle of the sixth century, i.e. to the reign of Justinian – encouraged, perhaps, by the thought of the embellishment of Constantia in the early 540s. This last is an *ignis fatuus*, luring archaeologists into unwarranted precision. The process is likely to have been spread out over decades: bishops were in general not impulsive and self-indulgent people who were so fashion-conscious that new floors became for them an immediate must-have.

The laying of *opus sectile* was no doubt a job for a specialist,[35] but it was normally not remotely such skilled work as the creation of mural mosaics. Some of the surviving floors testify to the very moderate ability of those who made them. A few are magnificent. The work in the baths at Campanopetra, a *trompe l'oeil* shield pattern, is artistically superb, and if that was the artistic standard in a mere bath-house we may presume that the floors in the basilica itself (which do not survive) were of a similar high quality – or even higher, although that is quite difficult to imagine.

In so far as such a task can scientifically be undertaken, Michaelides has sketched a chronology, drawing upon the evidence from churches in other parts of the Empire. Fifth-century work (of which not much remains in Cyprus) might be patched and rearranged: a marble plaque commemorating the generosity of Valerius, probably in 431, seems to have been repositioned in the 540s.[36] The sixth century was the hey-day for geometrical patterns using small *crustae*. Important evidence is that identical designs are found in other provinces (in Syria and Asia Minor) and even in Rome, in churches dateable to the sixth century.[37] A diamond-shaped 'tray' motif is similarly widespread.

There is good evidence that the *opus sectile* technique continued to be practised after 649-53, but it becomes much less common – if only because building activity was scaled back. An incontrovertible eighth-century example comes from Episkopi, where at the Saraya site a new floor was made from re-used *crustae*, and champlevé panels demonstrably retrieved from Kourion.[38] Likewise at the Limeniotissa church in Paphos, *crustae*

34. Michaelides, 1993, p. 74 and fig. 38.

35. The same craft is still practised today in Morocco and, doubtless, in other countries of the southern Mediterranean world.

36. Michaelides, 1993, pp. 90f.

37. ibid., p. 73.

38. ibid., p. 78.

which had been stripped from the nave of the basilica were re-used to make a floor in a room on the north side of the former basilica, built over the ruins of an annexe.[39] Although not high technology, the careful shaping and matching of *crustae* was time-consuming enough to make their re-use seem worth-while. At the church of Ayios Heracleidios, at Tamasos, there is a late *opus sectile* floor.[40]

In the later eleventh century, the art was revived, following recognizably metropolitan styles, which used large slabs of marble and, creating a contrast, very small *crustae*.[41] The southern church at Koutsobendes is, again, an example where the date is incontrovertible.[42] At Ayios Lazaros, Larnaca, the original floor seems to be from the late eleventh century. And at Ayios Georghios tou Kastrou, Kyrenia, a twelfth-century date is indicated, although there the materials appear to be re-used from a floor of much earlier date.

4. Destruction by Mu'awiya, or earthquake damage? Church building and repair in the 'dark age'.

Slobodan Ćurčić has proposed that 'the wholesale destruction of Early Christian basilicas on the island was the result of repeated earthquakes rather than the Arab invasions, as has generally been believed'.[43] This is at best a broken-backed proposition: no doubt one half of it is true, namely that there was repeated earthquake damage during the period from *c*.650 to 965 and beyond; but the converse does not follow. There is the clearest possible epigraphic and archaeological evidence that the major urban basilicas were destroyed in the course of the Arab invasions. The Soloi inscriptions speak of destruction by fire and collapsed buildings; at St Epiphanius, Constantia the walls and columns were subjected to calcination by great heat; in Paphos at the Limeniotissa church there was a thick layer of burnt debris; on the acropolis at Amathus, the unused missiles of the defenders were found in the destruction layer of annexes north of the basilica complex; at Kalavasos, corpses were flung into the crypt of the church. It seems that throughout the island (and not just at Constantia and in the north), its wooden-roofed basilicas were often deliberately destroyed, perhaps in the course of armed resistance to the invading forces.

39. ibid., p. 77.

40. ibid., 1988, p. 86, n. 18.

41. See above, pp.263f, n.34!

42. ibid., pp. 80-1, and figs. 25-30.

43. Ćurčić, 2000, p.9, citing Ćurčić, 1999 (which offers very little by way of support).

Some churches, in remote places such as the Karpas peninsula, may have escaped, but the programme of destruction was general. The evidence has been acquired by careful excavation. The absence of similar archaeological evidence elsewhere (e.g. at Soloi) is insufficient to prove that the Arab invasions were not to blame, unless it were meticulously demonstrated: we know that at Soloi they were. One could say, in defence of Ćurčić, that there are dozens of other basilicas, excavated only summarily, about which his hypothesis might still be true. The excavators would have mentioned evidence of destruction by fire if they had come across it; but the burnt layers may well have been denuded by the passage of time.

Earthquakes in post-491 Cyprus are almost completely undocumented until *c.*1160. Neophytos mentions the Limeniotissa church at Paphos as having been damaged at that date.[44] Earthquakes of varying severity there will have been, but the chronological record of them is a blank. Further major earthquakes of great destructive force, such as devastated Kourion, Paphos, and Salamis in late Roman times, are neither known nor suspected. Yet one cannot rule them out. Even such a cataclysmic event might have escaped written record (except, perhaps, in the Soloi inscriptions – where it would probably have been ascribed to the people's sins). Earthquakes rating much lower on the Richter scale would have been a seven-days' wonder, undeserving of record. But they could well have been enough to weaken the structure of the basilicas.

With the first half of Ćurčić's proposition, therefore, one is more or less in agreement. The response to the experience of earthquake damage was to shore up the fabric by repeatedly piling additional masonry against the original wall, thus making it much thicker, by replacing wooden roofs with vaulted ones, and by reducing the height of the building.[45] Experience taught the builders what they needed to do, and thus a regional style developed. The process of structural reinforcement is well documented, for example, at the Kanakaria church at Lythrankomi.[46]

5. Landscape with domes.

With returning prosperity, the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed widespread church-building. The fashion for plain-roofed basilicas in the late antique style, which had long been superseded in most provinces of

44. Papacostas, 1999, 6.B.II.23.

45. Ćurčić, 2000, pp.10-11.

46. Megaw and Hawkins, 1977; reviewed by Ćurčić in *Speculum* 55 (1980), 812-16.

the Empire, was finally abandoned in Cyprus. The new churches were almost invariably domed. The dome was an architectural solution to spanning a large clear space. It was also strong, offering quite good protection against minor earthquake damage. Frankly, however, the spaces to be spanned were not particularly wide. They offered no technical difficulty to the old solutions. The choice to use domes should be seen, therefore, as a matter of taste. Domes could create a more subtle and a more elegant space for the worshippers, although sometimes at the price of reduced visibility. One suspects that an important part of the motivation was the outward appearance of the churches – the creation of a day-to-day sacred landscape.[47]

Three such distinctive architectural solutions have been categorized, namely the domed cross-in-square design, the dome-hall church, and the domed octagon.[48] The ground-plan of the cross-in-square solution consists of a cross with square-ended arms of equal length, and at the centre four columns or piers which support the central dome, and which are linked to the outer walls by arches. There is usually a sanctuary attached at the east, commonly with apsed bays. The dome-hall design is a more elongated version, in which the nave or katholikon is divided lengthways into three bays, the central one being domed. The dome supports are engaged on the lateral walls. The eastern and western bays are normally barrel-vaulted. The domed octagon, which is less widespread in Cyprus, is an architecturally sophisticated solution, in which the transition from the rectangular ground-plan to the circular dome is achieved by rounding off the corners of a square, using squinches to create an octagon on which the dome rests. In this way a larger dome could be created, with more congregational space beneath.

The earliest domed cross-in-square church that has been recognized in Cyprus is Ayios Antonios at Kellia, where successive layers of votive fresco panels on the piers, dating from as early as the late ninth or early tenth century,[49] provide a *terminus a quo*. It is not clear whether the church was

47. The corresponding motivation in the West was to create towers, sometimes topped by spires. These were visible from a long distance. The towers, which originally offered a stronghold, came to be used as bell-towers, the ringing of church bells being a cherished part of life. The landscape was sacralized not just visually, but audibly too. These attitudes came to Cyprus with the Lusignans, but are restricted mainly to the Latin cathedral churches.

48 This brief exposé follows Papacostas, 1999, pp. 143-61. The domed hexagon, seen at the Apsinthiotissa church, in the foothills of the Pentadaktylos, near Sychari, is a variant of the domed octagon. See Papacostas, 1999, 6.A.14.

49. Epstein, 1988, pp. 57-60. Papacostas, 1999, p. 147, figs. 26-30, and 6.A,9. It is suggested that the earliest fresco is a Crucifixion on the south-east pier.

originally monastic. Next, there is Ayios Prokopios at Syngrasis, with a *terminus a quo* in the late tenth century. There are at least fifteen more domed cross-in-square churches, but they are from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are distributed widely through the island.[50] Normally, they are built with piers, but a couple attract attention because they use columns. At Ayios Georghios, in Kyrenia Castle, the columns are in all probability re-used. The cathedral of St Sophia, Nicosia may similarly have had columns, subsequently re-used in the thirteenth-century Gothic church.[51] (But the source of the columns cannot be proved. They may even have been brought from elsewhere).

Of dome-hall churches, probably the earliest is Ayios Georghios Aphendrika, which may be from the ninth or tenth century.[52] Papacostas lists 34 churches in this category.[53] Their distribution through the island includes a couple of intriguing clusters. One, at and near Koutsobendes, includes the Apsinthiotissa church just to the west of Buffavento, and possibly quite early. The other cluster is in the south-east of the island, and comprises churches built of ashlar, even if not the very best ashlar.[54]

There are just five domed octagon churches, and again they are localized. It seems that St John Koutsobendes may have been the model for the other four. The Apsinthiotissa is a variant, being hexagonal.

6. Summary.

The general historian, sceptical and ungrateful creature that he is, will often wish to reserve judgement on sequences based on architectural styles, unless the dating can be independently confirmed. Similarly, he will wish to keep in mind that churches were from time to time refurbished, and that their mosaic and/or *opus sectile* floors present independent dating problems.

Metropolitan or imperial influences are most obviously reflected in churches of exceptional scale and sumptuous quality.

51. ibid., p. 148; and id., 2005, p.21.

52. ibid., 6.A,40.

53. ibid., Table 10, and map, Fig. 319.

54. ibid., 6.A,6 (Ayios Andronikos, with triple-apse window), 19 (the Archangel Michael), 27 (Panayia Chortakion), and 108 (Ayios Theodoros of Chortakia).

CHAPTER VIII

'THE TROWEL CANNOT LIE': AMBIGUITIES IN THE INTERPRETATION OF URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY

In days of old, when archaeologists dug with spades, some historian remarked, rather cattily, 'The spade cannot lie, but that's because it cannot talk'. He missed the point. It is the archaeologists who do the talking, and often their first impressions of what they have excavated turn out to be wrong – sometimes, even, egregiously wrong. The early medievalist cannot afford, therefore, to accept politely whatever he is told by the excavator. It behoves him to become embroiled in the debate over detail. The scholarly community may hope to get it right eventually, but that may be only after much reconsideration.

The exploration of a site is time-consuming and very expensive. Moreover, the archaeologist has only one chance, in the sense that contexts and stratification are destroyed in the very act of exploring them. Not all archaeological projects have been equally well conducted – nor, of course, have they been equally lucky in the results they obtained. The purposes of an excavation, in relation to previous interpretations, and (even more) the recording of the results in such a way as to meet future needs, are often imperfectly thought through. The layman tends to imagine that conclusions are trowelled directly out of the soil: that is not so. Conclusions emerge slowly and tentatively, and are almost always subject to revision. That is why the exploration of a major site, continued over decades, and investigating not one but a good number of complexes, which have had different urban functions, is usually the most cost-effective and influential kind of archaeology. The interpretation of a site involves an awareness of many other comparable excavations. What has been found, and what has been achieved, need to be in the public domain. That is where museums are essential. Artefacts need to be stored accessibly, so that the problems of a site can, so far as possible, be re-visited readily by other scholars, perhaps decades later, as new hypotheses come to mind, ideas become clearer, and identifications more secure or exact. The archaeologist never knows what

he may find, and a Mediterranean-wide or Europe-wide network of scholarly contacts and shared information are part of the necessary input.

1. Retrenchment after the Arab invasions of Cyprus: a general theory

Dikigoropoulos, whose Oxford DPhil thesis was approved in 1961,[1] and who was conducting archaeological excavations in Cyprus over the same years during which he was writing his thesis, developed the idea that not

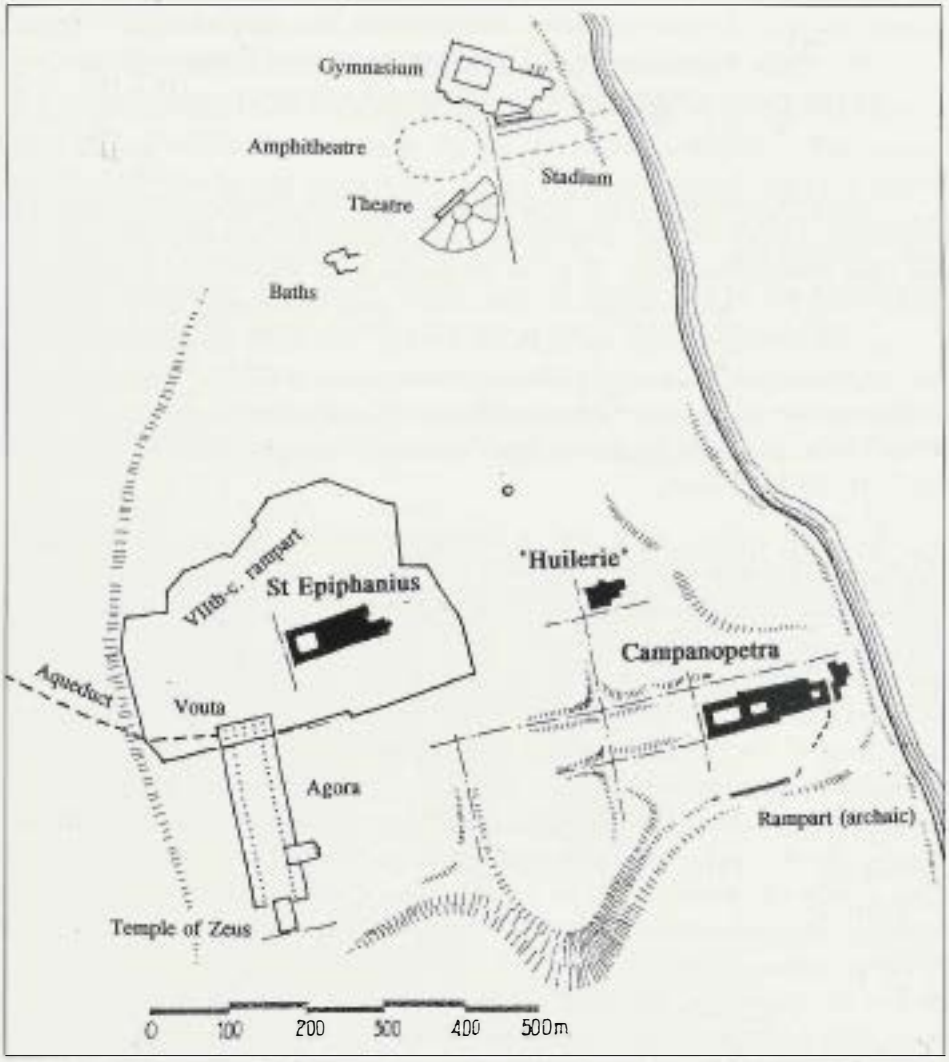


Fig. 20. Sketch-map of Constantia, to show the location of the main Byzantine building complexes mentioned in the text. (After Argoud.)

1. Dikigoropoulos, 1961.

only at Constantia (where the evidence seemed to him to be particularly clear) but also in other cities following the destruction of 649 new city walls were built, enclosing in each case a much smaller area than that of the late classical city (see Fig. 20). He offered sketch-maps showing quite specifically the probable course of these seventh-century walls at Lapithos, Soloi, Polis, and Peyia.[2] They enclosed the principal church of the city. He found evidence at Constantia, Lapithos, and Karpasia that the new walls were of hurried and careless construction in their upper courses. In so far as the facts were correctly observed by him, and in so far as the evidence was sufficiently characteristic, his interpretation of it is of much historical interest. Unfortunately one doubts whether it is now possible to revisit or to verify it. Whether it meant merely that in each place the remaining citizens were subject to much the same constraints of shortage of time, manpower, and money, or whether the architectural similarity actually implied a concerted, province-wide policy was left an open question.

Even at Constantia, the evidence for dating the new walls is fragmentary and difficult. Dikigoropoulos was of the opinion that in the capital the walls were 'in all likelihood' from the time of Justinian II.[3] He drew attention to a countermarked coin of Constans II, in their eastern part, associated with the foundation trench. On the other hand, in 1957 investigations of the wall revealed that burnt matter had been used in the mortar, which perhaps suggested that it was post-649. Another coin, an Islamic post-reform fals[4] associated with the destruction layer, led him to develop a second stage of his theory, namely that the wall was dismantled by the Arabs after the emigration to Nea Ioustinianoupolis in 690/1. Thus according to him the wall had a remarkably short life. The young Dikigoropoulos's thesis was a brave and exciting step forward at the time, but to erect such far-reaching theories on the slender evidence mainly of just a couple of coins, even if their contexts are well recorded, was obviously hazardous. One would like, above all, to see the archaeological evidence thickened up. We now have much richer additional information relating to Constantia in the first half of the eighth century, from the French excavations. The continuity of urban life through the 690s does not preclude the dismantling of the new walls, but it certainly puts the episode, or rather the alleged evidence, in a new light. As regards a concerted policy, one can see that if the northern coastlands were being firmly governed by

2. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, plates 22, 21, 20, and 27 respectively.

3. ibid., p. 211.

4. ibid., p. 287, no. 26, identified by G. C. Miles, and doubtless post-695.

a Byzantine official, walls might have been built at Polis, Soloi, Lapithos, and Karpasia within a fairly short period, presumably by soldiers. Peyia might not have fitted into the same pattern. At Constantia it seems that the Byzantine authorities judged that they had a free hand, without threat of reprisals from the Arabs, but their ability to protect the city may have been more open to challenge than it was to the north of the mountain range.

The Cypriots may well have drawn the correct conclusions for their military strategy from their traumatic experiences in 649-53, namely that city walls make a safe stronghold – if there are enough resolute and able-bodied citizens inside to man them. Defeat had taught them that their ancient city walls were too long for them to defend, certainly with the reduced manpower left to them. They therefore resolved to build shorter walls, in order to be able to resist attack in the future. They were not reduced to despair and inaction, and there was nothing to prevent them from setting to work to rebuild their defences, and their cities. A general theory such as that of Dikigoropoulos has, at any rate, the merit of stimulating discussion. It hints at a severely diminished urban population, for whom their cathedral church was a focal point, and it implies also a will to recover. What is needed, for each city independently, is a greater amount of detailed archaeological evidence, with very careful attention to context.

2. Ayios Philon (Karpasia)

As a favourable example, let us consider the exploration of the early Christian buildings at the episcopal city of Ayios Philon, the ancient Karpasia, excavated by Joan du Plat Taylor and A. H. S. Megaw.[5] It seems that the main public buildings were abandoned at some stage in the (later) seventh century, and for the historian the basic question is, self-evidently, how this abandonment should be dated in relation to the Arab attack, in mid-century. When the buildings were abandoned, a fine layer of silt and rubbish accumulated (i.e. streets were no longer swept clean after rainstorms), and over that layer, blown sand had drifted. Evidence of abandonment does not come much better than that. But at what date? In principle, the blown sand will have sealed in any evidence among the rubbish, guaranteeing a *terminus post quem*. In this case, unfortunately, the rubbish contained no nuggets of information. If one took the view (which in the past has often been taken) that the transfer of population to Nea

5. Taylor and Megaw, 1981. Publication was many years after the excavations took place.

Ioustinianoupolis was wholesale, one might wish to ask whether the abandonment could be as late as 691. If, on historical rather than archaeological grounds, one doubts whether the evacuation was anything like island-wide, one will be less inclined to interpret the evidence in that way. Conclusions are liable to be influenced by a wider set of ideas. At some stage in the seventh century the harbour area was enclosed, it seems, with a fortification wall.[6] It has been suggested (*pace* Dikigoropoulos) that the fortification was undertaken as a response to a Persian attack on Constantia (and other coastal sites?) in 617, i.e. that the wall at Ayios Philon was built in *c.*620. The historical evidence for that attack, which is discussed in another chapter, is unconvincing, and the archaeological evidence for it at Ayios Philon is not much better. The wall has been used to support the evidence for a Persian attack[7] – an argument which verges on the circular. Balandier however has urged that the walls, and also those at Amathus, Aphrodision, Constantia, Lapithos, and probably Paphos were newly built not in the 620s but in response to the Arab raids.[8] Dikigoropoulos, as we have seen, favoured a date in the time of Justinian II. Thus we have a range of suggested dates to choose from. One seventh-century wall looks much like another,[9] and unless it is well-preserved and of careful workmanship, how can one exclude the possibility that it was not built all at one time? Artefacts trapped underneath or within the wall are the best independent dating evidence, especially if several separate finds tell the same story. And indeed, broken amphoras judged to be dateable to the late sixth century were found sealed into the wall at Ayios Philon. They provide a *t.p.q.*, and it may be thought that they favour a date for the building of the wall in *c.*620 rather than in the 650s. Most amphora sherds are however not exactly dateable, and this is a good example of the sort of material evidence that may deserve to be re-visited as amphora studies progress. At some stage also the cathedral precinct was reconditioned. A coin from the earlier part of the reign of Heraclius, found under a floor, again offers a *t.p.q.* The excavators say 'not before *c.*620'. Such a coin is very unlikely to have been lost at the time of Justinian II, but one hesitates to rest too much on a single coin. Only if there were three or four single finds of coins of similar date sealed under the floor, all Heraclian, would they (virtually) rule out a post-650 date. One would prefer to envisage a complex architectural history of the site, including a phase of refurbishment around 620.

6. ibid., at p. 249.

7. Chrysos, 1993, at p. 12.

8. Balandier, 2003.

9. That is, of course, if it exists, and is not merely a robbed-out trench!

It is worth mentioning that 29 identifiable Byzantine coins in all were recovered from the excavations (as well as the hoard mentioned below). Other than the hoard, they comprised a follis of Maurice from a grave; a pentanummium of Justinian; an Alexandrian hexanummium of Heraclius; four folles of Heraclius; and nine or ten folles of Constans, including at least two that are countermarked, and one that seems to be an Arab imitation. Several of the coins of Constans are identifiably of types struck after 650. They testify, at a minimum, to continuing urban life – but what quality of life?

Makeshift repairs and the blocking of doorways in the buildings around the baptistery were interpreted as evidence of 'squatterization' after 650. The (inelegant) word 'squatterization', for which one might substitute 'camping out', seems to imply some degree of breakdown in the social fabric. Does the archaeology really support that idea? Perhaps 'impoverishment' would be enough? A hoard of 15 copper coins of Constans II concealed in a wall near the north-east corner of the baptistery is dated by folles of 663-6.[10] This *t.p.q.* at least is perfectly clear. However, all the coins in the hoard appeared to be much worn. That being so, a date of concealment of 690/1 is perfectly possible, and the hoard could even be from the early eighth century. Thus, abandonment was not total, until a date certainly later than c.665, and (if the coins really were worn) probably very late in the seventh century, or even into the eighth. Impoverishment is clear, but civic squalor need not mean that Ayios Philon was utterly deserted.

Eventually, a new church was built, over the nave and south aisle of the old basilica. It dates from the eleventh or early twelfth century.[11] There is a presumption that the old basilica had stood as a ruin for centuries, but that is not something that archaeology is well able to demonstrate. It seems, from the written evidence of the *Book of Curiosities*,[12] that the port was functional in the early eleventh century. The suggestion that the bishop's seat was removed to nearby Rizokarpaso is unsubstantiated by early evidence (such as was recovered with *éclat* at Kourion/ Episkopi).

The archaeological discoveries at Ayios Philon that have been summarized and criticized refer almost exclusively to the seventh century.

10. See the plan of the excavated area in Taylor and Megaw 1981. It is reproduced in Papacostas as Fig. 213. The find-spot of the coin hoard is indicated.

11. Papacostas, 1995, 6.A, 94.

12. See p.510.

What about earlier chapters in the life of this little harbour town? Archaeology has much less to say. The building of the basilica has been dated variously to the late and to the early fifth century.[13] Like other early basilicas, including the much larger basilica of St Epiphanius, it originally had narrow passages cut through the apse walls, to provide an internal way across the whole width of the east end, in the sanctuary.[14] The church is chiefly remarkable for its use, at such an early date, of pink marble columns and capitals, the marble being imported from Asia Minor.[15] The fine processional baptistery is of a well-known type, seen also at Kourion and Constantia.[16] The *opus sectile* floors in both the basilica and the baptistery are dated by Michaelides to the time of Justinian, when refurbishment in this way was, as we have seen, widespread in Cyprus.[17]

What, then, should one think about the equally impressive basilica and processional baptistery at Ayia Trias, some 20 km to the west? The need for two such churches is not obvious, in the sense that the population of the whole Karpas peninsula cannot have been great. The church at Ayia Trias was built with stone columns, provided with capitals with a simple moulding, as at Soloi. That suggests an earlier date than the marble columns at Ayios Philon. The width of the sanctuary was confined to the central aisle. The elaborate mosaic floors appear to be relatively early.[18] Taking all the architectural details into account, and considering in particular the quality of both baptisteries, should one contemplate the rather radical interpretation, that the bishop of Karpasia moved his seat from Ayia Trias to a newly-constructed basilica at Ayios Philon, in the late fifth century? This suggestion, if it has no other merit, should at least serve to draw attention to how very little we know about the Karpas peninsula in the sixth century.

13. Megaw, 1974 speaks of the late fifth century, but in 1993 he says the early fifth century, referring (for the date) to Du Plat Taylor and Megaw, 1981, pp. 249f. and attributing the building to St Philon himself, who died in 405.

14. Megaw, 1974, p. 64, n.25.

15. ibid. The style of carving of the capitals suggests the date. For the context, see above, pp. 260f.

16. See the plan of the basilica and baptistery in Megaw, 1974, p. 66.

17. Michaelides, 1987, Pl. 65, 66. Michaelides, 1993, p. 74 explains that the original mosaic-decorated naves of many of the old basilicas were re-floored with *opus sectile*. A photograph of the new work in the south passage at Ayios Philon, ibid, p. 92, fig. 11, and diagrams of the patterns of the *opus sectile* in the baptistery, ibid., p. 95, figs. 17 and 18.

18. Megaw, 1974, p. 67; A. Papageorghiou, in *Apostolos Barnabas* 28 (1967), at p. 83 mentions a coin of Honorius in the foundation of the floor of the north aisle.

3. Salamis-Constantia.

From 1952 onwards, Karageorghis and Dikigoropoulos, both recently-appointed young archaeological officers, worked in parallel on the archaeological investigation of Constantia (Fig. 20, above). Their preliminary task was to remove vast quantities of blown sand.[19] Tedious as this was, the sand had preserved, and guaranteed, important evidence. Karageorghis's diary account[20] includes the following highly significant and important archaeological record: 'Traces of the fire which destroyed the city were still visible on the sandstone surface of the walls of the public buildings when they were excavated and thick layers of ash were mixed with fallen débris all over the city'.[21] In so far as Karageorghis's generalization was justified – and we have absolutely no reason to doubt it (nor any opportunity to confirm it) – the evidence shows that very little had been done in the seventh century to clear away the ash and débris. The blackened walls had not even been washed clean by years of rain and weather before being protected by the blown sand. Thus the archaeological record, far more reliably and circumstantially than the written record, bespeaks widespread destruction by fire, and general abandonment of all the central area of the capital city, or at the very least civic neglect, directly after the fire. One assumes, correctly or otherwise, that most of the population will have been killed, or will have fled.

The discoveries of 1952 confirmed what had already been observed by the architect Jeffery when the great basilica of St Epiphanius was discovered in 1924, namely that it had been entirely destroyed by fire, and that walls and columns had been subjected to calcination by great heat.[22]

Further, there is a certain amount of archaeological evidence of 'squatterization', which must belong after 650. Thus, for example, the investigation of the East Stoa in 1953-4 recognized squatters' structures 'which took shape within its walls after the decay of the city following the Arab raids, but before its final abandonment.'[23] Although low-grade, makeshift structures are, in this context, perfectly clear in the

19. A characteristic of this stretch of coastline - cf. the place-name Ammochostos.

20. Karageorghis, 1999.

21. ibid., p.16. Being ever greedy for detailed information, one would have liked a plan of the city showing exactly which walls were fire-blackened and where ash layers were observed. This is quite a good example of the one-chance nature of archaeological investigation.

22. Jeffery, 1928.

23. *JHS* 74 (1954), 175.

archaeological record, their exact dating is another matter, even if a few coins were found nearby. One should hesitate to assert from the archaeological evidence alone that the squatterization (or poor-quality repair) was directly post-650 rather than, say, post-691. Also there is an area of potential ambiguity between the general perception of widespread fire damage and abandonment on the one hand, and on the other, small 'islands' of continuing (or resumed) habitation.

There is excellent epigraphical evidence for the urban renewal of Constantia which the excavator (Dikigoropoulos) initially interpreted as referring to the fortification and partial repair of the city after the Arab raids. An important inscription, excavated in the gymnasium and baths on the northern edge of the city, speaks of 'the good basileis who in their loving-kindness and in their piety renewed and embellished this city'.[24] Dikigoropoulos thought that the (un-named) emperors were Constans II and Constantine IV.

The evidence which persuaded him of a late date for the refurbishment of the public baths was as follows. Rooms around the open court were abandoned, and used as a dumping ground for débris. The mortar of the repaired walls of the main building contained burnt wood grain. And the edicules in the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of the open court were dateable by coin evidence (as to their period of use, rather than their construction?) to the first reign of Justinian II, 685-95, or even a little later.[25]

On mature judgement it appears that the inscription is certainly from the sixth century, and almost certainly refers to Justinian and Theodora. The epigraphists summarize their general position by saying, 'That Salamis, sacked and its population massacred, should now [after 649] indulge in a *floruit* is to us barely credible. To build or strengthen then a fortification is one thing: to restore and adorn a bath complex ouside the city's perimeter is something very different.'[26] The reader will perceive that that assessment rests not simply on 'the facts' (although the style of the lettering of the inscription is factual enough, and weighty) but also on a general historical stance.

If we seek to reconcile the two positions, we can accept the epigraphists' dating of the inscription, but at the same time challenge their common-

24. See Chapter V.

25. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, p. 211, and see *Arch. Reports* 1955, p. 44 and Dikigoropoulos's coin no 876 (a half-follis).

26. Mitford and Nicolaou, 1974, p.6.

sense view that in the second half of the seventh century the capacity did not exist for a restoration. If a professional archaeologist adduces numismatic dating for an *opus sectile* pavement and for the edicules, it is improper simply to disregard what he says. But it seems that there was an error of the imagination, in telescoping a lengthy time-scale, and in rejecting the idea of a resolve to recover after 649. The site of the Public Baths had a long and complex history. While Dikigoropoulos is firm in his dating of the final refurbishment he notes specifically, for example, that the Valerius inscription formed an integral part of an *opus sectile* pavement of the sixth century – which was excavated under his direction.[27]

At some point, then, the decision was taken by the authorities (what authorities?) to contract. A new defensive wall was constructed, enclosing a much smaller area of central Constantia and protecting, primarily, the shrine of St Epiphanius, and the water supply of the Vouta (again, see Fig. 20). Was the new wall built late in the seventh century, as the excavator, Dikigoropoulos, supposed,[28] – or is it, as Chrysos hints, attributable to Heraclian times, a response to the threat of raids which Cyprus suffered during the Persian occupation of Syria and Egypt?[29] In 1958 the western and southern course of the wall was exposed, showing that it was intended to enclose the Vouta. A trench dug across the western sector of the fortification showed that the new wall had been constructed *outside and parallel to* the aqueduct serving the Vouta (completed well after the postulated Persian raid), giving a total thickness of about 20 feet, including the earth filling between the two structures. Crucially, coins of Heraclius were found in the material accumulated outside the aqueduct, into which the foundation trench of the new wall was cut.[30] One of these coins was dated to 630 x 641.[31] The coins which Dikigoropoulos excavated in connection with the new wall are listed in an appendix to his thesis: four of Heraclius; and, of Constans, one from 651-6, three from 659-60 and three from 662-3, plus one of Constantine IV.[32] In so far as all these coins

27. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, p. 208, n.1.

28. *RDAC* 1940-8, p.96.

29. Chrysos, 1993, p. 12.

30. Megaw, 1957, p.32. The implication is that these coins of Heraclius were lost during the construction of the aqueduct, and that they provide a *terminus ante quem* for the building of the wall.

31. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1958', *JHS* 79 (1959), 32. A revised opinion in Megaw, 1986, p.508, n.17.

32. This last not consigned from Constantinople: it is a countermarked coin of the Sicilian mint, *BMC* pl.37, 16.

relate to the construction-date of the wall (which is not a guaranteed fact), it would seem that that might have been in the 660s or 670s – or even after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis (remembering that coins could remain in use for decades), in token of the resolve to make a new beginning.[33] Without much more detailed contexts, the archaeological conclusions from the coins are less than completely certain, but they point to a date after 668, and the most reasonable understanding is that this wall is from no earlier than the second half of the seventh century, and has nothing to do with a Persian raid. That was Dikigoropoulos's conviction, and one may without hesitation concur.

Confirmation came in 1973 and 1974 from the excavation of the Temple of Zeus.[34] Damaged by earthquakes in 332 and 342, the remains of the classical building were repaired, by the time of Justinian at the latest, and converted (almost certainly) into a church or episcopal offices. Traces of plaster decoration of a (Christian) religious character were found. In the early seventh century the (?)church was partially destroyed by fire. Traces of the fire were observed on the paving slabs of the cella and of the prodromos, and also in the house constructed to the south-east of the podium. Subsequently, the damaged building was used as a quarry, for stone blocks with which to build the new, inner wall. Crucially, large numbers of coins of Constans were recovered from the material which filled the extraction trenches. It seems that these may have run up to as late as *DOC* Class 9 (659 onwards).[35] Here, at last, is cogent supporting evidence. One could harmonize it all by saying that the new walls were begun in *c*.660 x 663, and took some years to complete.

Which came first, the inner fortification wall, or the new and much smaller church of St Epiphanius, which lay within it? Archaeological investigation in the 1950s revealed the remains of a timber-roofed three-aisled basilica, with arcades supported on masonry piers, built within a south-eastern annexe of the great seven-aisled basilica which the Arabs had destroyed by fire. Connected with it, outside its western end, was a

33. Dikigoropoulos lists the single finds from his excavation of the wall, with the letter W against them. Had the dating problem been uppermost in his mind at the time, he would perhaps have left more detail about the contexts. On the other hand, perhaps there were no more details.

34. Argoud et al., 1975.

35. In Callot, 2004 various coins of Constans are identified as having come from the Temple of Zeus sector, but it is not specified that they came from the extraction trenches. The complete list is: *DOC* Classes 1-4 (3), Heraclonas (6), Class 5 (3), Class 6 (1), Class 9 (3), a half-follis of Class 6, and a pseudo-imperial coin, cat, no. 1081. Also 6 illegible specimens.

chapel with a tomb – presumably the tomb of St Epiphanius, still standing where it had originally been located, in the south-east annexe of the destroyed basilica (a rather common position in the early period). Papacostas suggests that the date of construction of the timber-roofed basilica was 'late seventh/early eighth century', mentioning seventh-century sherds excavated under the bema.[36] This estimate of date could apply equally well to the years before or after the transfer to Nea Ioustinianoupolis, and the material from the bema area appears to be inconclusive in that respect. Megaw in his 1986 paper, 'Betwixt Greeks and Saracens' expressed his then current view about the inner defensive wall: 'I now believe that this was built in the 640s in anticipation of a rumoured Arab assault . . .'.[37] This opinion was expressed twelve years after the excavation of the Temple of Zeus: it appears quite indefensible. It is interesting evidence of his approach to the historical problem. He went on to suggest that the church was built 'possibly not until after Justinian II's futile attempt to establish Archbishop John and his flock at or near Cyzicus'.[38] The trowel cannot lie, and in this case it was decidedly laconic. Megaw's historical interpretation of the church of St Epiphanius cannot be said to derive from detailed archaeological evidence, except in the broadest sense. Rather, it derives from his idea of the course of events in Cyprus – as must ours, deriving from our somewhat different ideas, first about the date of construction of the defensive wall, and also about the history of Constantia and its suburbs between 649 and the mid-eighth century. That is perfectly in order, but it is well to understand that one is not merely expounding the archaeological evidence, which would permit a variety of datings. One's inclination is to think that the new church was constructed soon after 649. Its timber roof is appropriate at an early date, but it is not exact or conclusive evidence.

Finally, the 'Salamis bench deposit', a small-scale excavation in the public baths complex, published by Catling and Dikigoropoulos in 1970, similarly yielded coins of Heraclius and of Constans II, which were interpreted, no doubt correctly, as belonging with the destruction débris. In his thesis[39]. Dikigoropoulos describes the construction of the bench in the West Stoa as having been in two layers, one of loose earth and rubble,

36. Papacostas, 1999, 6.A, 37 and Fig. 90 (plan), referring to Dikigoropoulos, 1961, pp. 182-9.

37. Megaw, 1986, at p. 508.

38. ibid., p. 509.

39. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, pp. 326-7.

the other very hard. Both layers contained coins of Heraclius. The bench was faced with sandstone, etc., including the limestone torso of a statue. The *t.p.q.* for its construction was given by a coin of Constans II, Year 22 (662/3). The repair of the bench was dated by a clay lamp from the first half of the eighth century – which suggests a date after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis. There was also a coin of Justinian II found over the rubble foundation of the open courtyard of the public baths building.[40] It also could be an early eighth-century loss.

4. The topography of Nea Paphos and its interpretation.

Paphos has been intensively studied archaeologically, especially with reference to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[41] The evidence relating to Byzantine Paphos has been summarized by Megaw;[42] and there are numerous detailed reports by Daszewski, Megaw, Michaelides, Papageorgiou, and others. Nevertheless we should remind ourselves that the excavated sites yield only glimpses of the city's life, and even the main perspectives often rely on limited archaeological evidence, and are still open to debate. We may remind ourselves that, before the onset of modern tourism, Nea Paphos had shrunk to a mere fishing village, and that parts of the old walled city were under the plough. Seventh-century sherds, and sixth- and seventh-century coins were recorded. A certain amount of destruction of archaeological stratification may have occurred.[43]

Like Kourion, Paphos was extensively destroyed by a major earthquake in *c.*370. St. Jerome, in *c.*390, confirms that it had been reduced to ruins.[44] It was however quickly restored, as a Christian city, as testified by the building, perhaps as early as the late fourth century, of a very large, seven-aisled basilica – known to us as the Panayia Chrysopolitissa. The extensive use of spolia has been seen as a sign of austerity.[45] In wealthier times, in the sixth century, the church was remodelled as a five-aisled basilica, at considerable expense. Pairs of unusually large granite columns were introduced at the eastern end of the church (not a refurbishment that could be fitted in between one Sunday and the next), and paving of coloured marble was laid.

40. Note another coin of the same emperor from l'huilerie.

41. K. Nicolaou, 1966; Maier and Karageorghis, 1984.

42. Megaw, 1986; Megaw, 1988.

43. Dikigoropoulos, op.cit. p. 229.

44. Vita S. Hilarionis, 42 (PL 23, col. 52).

45. Megaw, 1988. Also, of course, spolia abounded at the time.

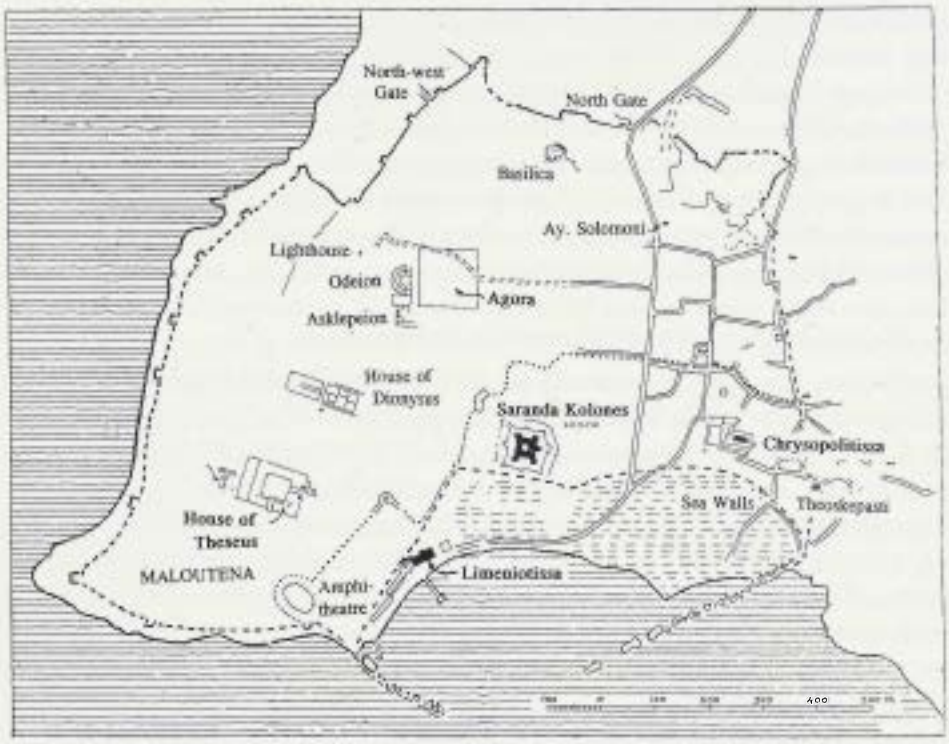


Fig.21. Paphos. Sketch-plan to show the location of the main Byzantine building complexes mentioned in the text. (After Megaw.)

Although no longer the provincial capital of Cyprus, Paphos still had its Hellenistic walls and, to a certain extent, its classical lay-out, including (one assumes) a functioning forum (see Fig. 21). The former governor's palace, however, which had been restored in the fifth century (even though the governor had already transferred his seat to Constantia?) seems to have been abandoned at an unexpectedly early date, when it was allegedly occupied by squatters.[46] Daszewski suggests the beginning of the sixth century or even the late fifth century, on the basis of ceramic evidence. It is difficult to see what archaeological information would allow one to be so precise. The evidence seems to be that in the final phase large hearths were installed in Rooms 41 and 44A of the South Wing of the palace, and the back of Room 44 was transformed into a basin for the quenching of quicklime.[47]

46. *BCH* 95 (1971), 414. But perhaps the governor kept up a residence at Paphos?

47. Daszewski et al., 1984, at p. 296.

The harbour and shipyards had been damaged by isostatic changes at the time of the major earthquake of the late fourth century, and were never the same again, although parts of the triple basin continued to be used, and were evidently worth guarding by military forces, until the earthquake of 1226. The Chrysopolitissa church was less than a hundred metres from the old sea wall; and the Limeniotissa church, 600 metres farther west, was even closer to the waterside. Right in the north of the city there was a third basilica. The population of sixth-century Nea Paphos was apparently still substantial.

From the century and a half from 491 up to the Arab invasions of 649 and 653 direct archaeological evidence of the housing of the inhabitants of Paphos or of their economic activity is practically non-existent. Oblique evidence is available here and there, for example by a kiln site where amphoras were made.[48] Moreover, our knowledge of the topography of Paphos in the sixth and first half of the seventh centuries derives from three or four sites only. At least two-thirds of the area within the walls, away from the waterfront, is archaeologically a blank. Stray finds of coins of this period are on record from Saranda Kolones[49] and also from the Odeion (i.e. the vicinity of the forum – see Fig. 20),[50] from the Gymnasion,[51] and from the Asklepeion.[52] Any coins from the Chrysopolitissa or the Limeniotissa await publication.

The destruction of those churches is without question attributable to the Arab raids. Débris was found by the excavators still lying in the narthex, and there was evidence of 'squatterization' on the north side. A specifically dated testimony to the Arab presence in an unnamed city, most probably Paphos, is the funerary inscription of one 'Urwa bin Tabit, who died in May 650. It was reported by al-Harawi, from Sicily, who arrived somewhere in Cyprus in the 1170s. He saw the (re-used) inscription built into a wall of 'the eastern church' (Ay. Kyriake?).[53] If the unnamed city

48. Demesticha and Michaelides, 2001.

49. Metcalf, 2003.

50. Nicolaou 1990, pp.192-9, cat. nos. 54-84 are from up to 650. A few of the coins of Heraclius could be losses from the Arab raids, but only, one would judge, a few. Most are earlier losses. Note two coins found on the 11th row of seats from the orchestra, viz nos. 68 (621/2 or 631/2) and 87 (643/4).

51. ibid., p.208, nos. 6 and 7, just two coins, intriguingly both of the Alexandria mint.

52. ibid., p.209, no. 3 – Heraclius, dated 639-40.

53 J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi Bakr, Guide des lieux de pélerinage*, Damascus, 1957.

was indeed Paphos, this probably amounts to evidence that Paphos was sacked in the raid of 649, and it excludes 653, which is a useful piece of historical information. But it is intriguing. Did Mu'awiya's occupation of Cyprus last until May 650?

Evidence of further destruction by fire is to be observed at the Saranda Kolones site, where an ash layer sealed the filling of a well-shaft, in which were found various amphora necks of seventh-century types.[54] Half-a-dozen folles of Constans II, including one of *DOC* Class 5, which were excavated from the filling of (the same, or another?) well apparently have a *t.p.q.*, as a group, of 651/2.[55] This would preclude their having been thrown into the well, along with rubbish, on the occasion of the first Arab raid on Cyprus. (But cleaning-up operations could, of course, have been delayed for years.) If their loss could be assigned to the period up to the period up to 653/4 (which is not by any means certain as a *terminus ante quem*) they would offer evidence of the arrival and dispersion in Cyprus of consignments of coinage, between the two raids.[56] One would wish to see confirmation.

A hoard of 87 folles also from Saranda Kolones is more problematic, as its *t.p.q.* is clearly established by 27 specimens of the INPER CONST type (643/4), with no coins dated between then and 649. The temptation to explain it by reference to the Arab raids is to be deplored: among 87 coins there would certainly have been some minted in the years 644-9. Some sort of response by the central government to the fall of Alexandria in 642 is an altogether more prudent hypothesis, given the gold hoards of similar date from elsewhere in Cyprus.

Megaw suggested that a new land wall was constructed in the mid-seventh century, enclosing a much-reduced fortified area, adjoining the waterfront. From the Amphitheatre (which became a bastion) it ran north-eastwards, to enclose the Limeniotissa church, Saranda Kolones, and the episcopal precinct, joining the Hellenistic and Roman east wall near Ayios Georghios. A sea wall completed the circuit of defences. Relying on the analogy with the inner circuit of walls at Constantia, for which Megaw was disposed to accept a date before the Arab raids (a view rejected in the preceding section here), he proposed that at Paphos similarly the walls were

54. Megaw, 1972, at pp. 322ff.

55. They were scattered through a metre of fill.

56. The traditional date of the second raid, rather than Feissel's 650, has been argued in these pages. There remains the possibility that the loss of the coins was later than 653/4.

thrown up in expectation of an Arab incursion.[57] One very much doubts whether the analogy with Constantia holds good,[58] but in any case, a distinctly later date, as originally proposed by Dikigoropoulos (above), is to be preferred. Defending a circuit of walls is entirely dependent on a sufficiently large and resolute force of citizens to man them and to repel an attacking force. It is virtually certain that Paphos fell to the invaders and, if al-Harawi has been correctly understood, that it fell during the invasion of 649. Mu'awiya's attack was not a lightning raid: it was a determined and successful assault, which may have involved the use of siege engines and so forth, and which was followed by destruction of churches, perhaps because the citizens were holding out in them. There is some ambiguity as to whether those same churches were then brought back into use as mosques. Rows of burials have been excavated, the skeletons all of young people, with their hands crossed over their breasts. That implies mass burial with Christian rites. The absence of any old people or children suggested that the dead might have been among the defenders of the city.[59] Had the old and the young been allowed to depart?

The existence of an inner ring of fortification by no means necessarily implies that habitation was thereafter confined within it. It was not so at Constantia, nor need it have been at Paphos. Megaw envisages that from 653/4 Nea Paphos was an Arab city, from which the Christian population had been expelled. That is mere speculation, unworthy of a historian.[60] The very idea that there was an Arab garrison at Paphos in the 660s and 670s, which Megaw did not for a moment doubt, is unsupported by evidence. After the Arab garrison was withdrawn in *c.*688, (Megaw's thesis continues) the Christians were able to return, and the city was shared between Arabs and Christians, who occupied essentially separate quarters – and, by the time of St Willibald, were doing so very amicably. All this is fantasy. The Christian population who returned were concentrated (Megaw suggests) around the episcopal precinct, while to the west, an enclave was created for an emir (of Cyprus), in the vicinity of the Limeniotissa church, of which the apse and nave seem to have been converted into a mosque. The excavations yielded half-a-dozen Arabic inscriptions – four of them on two marble columns found in the basilica

57. Megaw, 1988, p.144. But on p.145 he notes that, if future excavation should prove a later date, the wall might have been built by the Arab garrison, i.e. probably in the 650s.

58. See above.

59. *ARDAC* 1987, at p. 64.

60. Metcalf (forthcoming).

in the campaigns of 1967, a fifth again on a marble column which came from the north colonnade, and a sixth, engraved on a rectangular slab, re-used as part of a new floor of an entrance vestibule on its north side.[61] The atrium was completely reshaped by the construction of dwellings and blacksmith's forges. The first five inscriptions, in particular, have been seen as evidence of the presence of an Arab garrison, but one has an eighth-century date, and we should not jump to any conclusions, or assumptions, about the others. They may be irrelevant to the history of seventh-century Paphos. In any case they do not offer chronologically secure evidence.

There are Islamic coins among the excavation-material from Saranda Kolones; but they are mostly post-688.[62] The Chrysopolitissa excavations yielded a gold dinar.[63] The absence of similar material at, for example, the Odeion, could be simply because the sample there is small.[64] But it needs to be said firmly that Islamic coins are at best secondary evidence of Arab occupation: one would not venture to argue that there was an Arab garrison at Constantia, and yet there are just as many Islamic coins there.

The Polish expedition found, in 1965, the tomb of an Arab just at the south-east corner of the House of Theseus (the former governor's palace). The topographical implication is that the site lay outside the then inhabited area; unfortunately the date of the tomb is not accurately known.[65]

Attractive as the hypothesis of shared occupation in separate quarters may have seemed to Megaw, one has to say that it rests on the slenderest of evidence, from a minimal number of sites, mostly in the southern third of the city. And damagingly, there are substantial indications of an Islamic presence in the 'Christian' quarter, in the form of a good number of Islamic inscriptions and also the gold dinar mentioned above from the Chrysopolitissa church,[66] as well as from the Limeniotissa.

Five Arabic inscriptions, now in the Paphos Museum, were published

61. *BCH* 92 (1968), 351; Megaw, 1988, p.146; for the inscription, *BCH* 93 (1969), 564.

62. Metcalf, 2003, cat. nos. 66-72, of which 69-72 are early to mid-eighth century.

63. *ARDAC* 1986, p. 49.

64. And, if we are talking about the situation post-688, the city may to a significant extent have contracted towards the waterfront.

65. Daszewski, in Megaw, 1986, at p.518.

66. ibid. p.146, n.28, and BCH 114 (1990), 982.

67. A. S. Abul-Jadayel, I. Fadel, and M. 'Uthmān, 'Five Arabic inscriptions from Paphos', in V. Christides, 2006, pp.115-20 and cf. pp. 54-5.

with photographs and translations in 2006.[67] These are presumably the ones found in the Limeniotissa church, although that is not made clear. Only one of them is dated, namely to AH 101 (AD 719/20). Christides sets this into the general context of the second siege of Constantinople in 716. The other inscriptions will not necessarily be of similar date (even if that is *prima-facie* likely). No. 4 is a prayer for a governor (wilāyah) named Hajar bin Hisān. What one can say is that there is absolutely no reason to see any of the five as proof that the garrison mentioned by al-Balādhurī was stationed at Paphos in the 660s and 670s. It may have been so: it is a very reasonable guess. But the undated inscriptions on the columns are in no sense clear evidence for it. If the date of the governor were known, that might be good evidence; if the date of the lead seals found at Paphos and reading 'Qubrus' were known, that could be good evidence of Arab residence. But as things stand, all the definitely dated evidence of an Arab presence in Paphos and its district is from the eighth and ninth centuries, and would seem to be commercial in its context.

Again, Megaw's belief that the Christian inhabitants were exiled from Paphos (which is pure supposition[68]) from 654 until the withdrawal of the garrison comes up against the plentiful and clear-cut evidence of coins of Constans II minted in the 650s, excavated at Saranda Kolones,[69] and also at the Odeion (i.e. the Forum), where the stray losses are scattered widely over the site.[70] There is among them a little hoard of five coins, all countermarked, plus a sixth, dating from 659/60 or later. Byzantine coins could, in principle, have been changing hands among Muslim users, but these are, at least, coins minted in Constantinople and consigned to Cyprus after the Arab raids. Those with countermarks are, arguably, testimony to Byzantine taxation in Cyprus during the 650s.[71] It would be quixotic if an Arab garrison handled money for day-to-day needs in the form of Byzantine coins, whereas Islamic coins circulated in Paphos soon after the garrison was withdrawn. More to the point, if an Arab garrison was not in fact installed in Cyprus until *c.*663, the numismatic evidence takes on an entirely different complexion.

68. It does not derive from any written source, but merely from the idea that the Arab garrison would have found it intolerable to have Christians living within the walls with them. In any case, al-Baladhuri does not say that the garrison was stationed at Paphos.

69. Metcalf, 2003, cat. nos. 42-62.

70. Nicolaou, 1990, cat. nos. 92-111. The exact find-spots are recorded.

71. The numbers are obviously too small to be statistically reliable, but it is intriguing that the proportion of countermarked coins among the stray losses from the Odeion is distinctly lower than in the little hoard. At Saranda Kolones, most the the Class 5 folles are countermarked, but not those of Classes 6-10.

About the topography of Paphos after the 660s and onwards into the early eighth century, very little can be deduced from archaeological evidence. Silence descends, simply because there are virtually no recently-minted coins in circulation (and little help from ceramics), by which any feature could be dated. The older coins of Constans, from 651 onwards, probably remained in use for a couple of decades or more, and we cannot detect their exact date of loss or *t.p.q.* except in the case of hoards.[72] Inflows of new copper coinage into Cyprus were cut off when Constans departed to the West. But it is the same silence that descends throughout Cyprus. In that sense the absence of coinage does not illuminate particular circumstances in Paphos.

Even if monetary circulation was drastically curtailed, some economic activity persisted, or perhaps returned. The glass factory which existed on the Saranda Kolones site in the later eighth or early ninth century implies the division of labour, specialized production, and money changing hands. It is true that a significant number of clipped dirhams of just that period (late eighth/early ninth) have been found one by one in the Paphos area, but to connect them with the life of the city begs various questions about urban function.

5. Amathus, before and after the mid-seventh century

Amathus, with its fine acropolis, was until 649 one of the great cities of Cyprus. Thereafter it declined, and eventually almost disappeared,[73] leaving Limassol, about 8km further west along the coast, as the regional centre. There is a parallel of sorts with Constantia, which was abandoned (certainly by the twelfth century) in favour of Famagusta, a similar distance away. Amathus and Limassol (Neapolis, later Nemesos), however, coexisted. The bishops of both cities were signatories to the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Both cities are still listed, for what it is worth, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[74] The site of Amathus has been explored archaeologically since the nineteenth century. Intensive work by the French

72. A University of Catania expedition in 2007 found a hoard of 113 coins of the seventh century, in or near the Archaeological Park, behind the old Apollo Hotel.

73. There are some small signs of activity in the twelfth century, but they may not amount to much, and are certainly not evidence of continuity: Papageorghiou, 1993, at p. 37, n.34.

74. At some stage the dioceses were amalgamated, under the bishop of Amathus (evidently the senior bishop).

mission, mainly on the acropolis, but also in the ancient harbour area, has been carried out annually since 1975,[75] and the Department of Antiquities has conducted some twenty campaigns in the lower town, exploring the agora (with its porticoes and water supply), a large complex about 100m west of the agora, the harbour, and a small basilica at the foot of the acropolis.[76] Most of the work has been concerned with the archaic and classical periods, but there is much also from the Byzantine period, both in the lower town, and on the acropolis. The eastern suburbs, which were intensively occupied in the fifth to seventh centuries, have left fewer archaeological traces.[77] Some of this, in particular the work in the lower town, has so far received only interim publication.[78]

It used to be thought that Amathus did not survive the Arab invasion of the mid-seventh century. The city was certainly ruined and impoverished at about that time. However, there are some signs of continuing activity. A defensive wall was constructed north of the agora,[79] and the cisterns at the north-west of the agora were rearranged.[80] Unequivocal evidence of continued occupation is provided by the common coins of Constans II minted after 653,[81] and (better) by lead seals of the later seventh and early years of the eighth century. Until proper, comprehensive catalogues of all the Byzantine coins from the various sites within Amathus have been published (as they have for the French excavation at Constantia), it will not be easy for a monetary historian to judge the decline. As at Constantia, one will look for possible statistical contrasts within the city.

The lead seals of Bishop Theodoros of Amathus are so plentiful that

75. There is an extensive series of publications, which are listed in the bibliography in Aupert, 1996, pp. 195-7.

76. Brief interim reports in *BCH*, etc.

77. P. Aupert, A. Hermary et al., 'Rapport sur les travaux de la Mission française à Amathonte en 1991', *BCH* 116 (1992), 755-91, at 784-90 (map, p. 785, showing the area stretching southwards of Parekklisha and Pyrgos).

78. *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities* 1986, 54; 1990, 51; 1994, 76-7; 1995, 4; 1996, 47-8; 1997, 50-1; etc.

79. *ARDAC* 1986, 54-7.

80. *ARDAC* 1988, 47.

81. When these are countermarked, they have been assumed in the excavation reports to date from the time of Constantine IV. This may not be so, and the coins deserve to be reexamined in detail in order to establish comparisons with the site finds from Constantia and elsewhere.

one presumes that they belong to a period of reconstruction, after the Arab raids.[82] They are unusually tightly localized in their provenances. Four are from, respectively, a tomb at the church of Ayios Tychonas; Amathus harbour; Amathus (unspecified); and Limassol district.[83] The same is true of the anonymous lead seals of the Church of Amathus: two are from Amathus itself, while one is from further away, at Pissouri.[84]

Lead seals from the early eighth century are distinctly plentiful, including for example one of Archbishop Theodoros from Constantia, excavated in the lower town,[85] and a similar piece, slightly later in date;[86] two with invocative monograms, from the harbour area,[87] and another, similar;[88] two lead seals of honorary eparchs,[89] one of a dioiketes,[90] and one of a droungarios.[91] Thus, Byzantine administration continued, and Amathus was in contact with the archbishops in Constantia. Losses of lead seals dwindle rather abruptly after the experimental phase of the invocative monogram type, and before the introduction of Laurent Type V – that is, so far as one can judge, around 715 x 725 – thus, much the same as at Kourion.

It is more intriguing that the foreign trade of Amathus also seems to have continued, after the Arab raids. Palestinian amphoras, with a suggested date of *c*.670-*c*.700, have been excavated on the acropolis. Lamps from Syria and Palestine, and terra sigillata from Asia Minor and from North Africa are also recorded.[92] There are large quantities of sherds of the sixth and seventh centuries from a well on the landward side of the ancient harbour area.

Wonderfully clear ceramic evidence was secured from the excavation of a cistern on the acropolis, seven metres deep, in which the fill comprised three chronological phases.[93] At the bottom was material which the

82. See the general arguments, at pp.79-81.

83. Aupert mentions the find from Ayios Tychonas. For the others, *BLSC* 444.

84. *BLSC* 479c. It may be that they are also from the second half of the seventh century.

85. *BLSC* 452d, dated arguably after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis.

86. *BLSC* 454e.

87. *BLSC* 724c, 738b.

88. *BLSC* 736d.

89. *BLSC* 174, 178.

90. *BLSC* 144.

91. *BLSC* 150.

92. Pralong, 1994.

93. ibid.

excavators associated with the destruction of the basilica. Secondly, there was a phase connected with the demolition of the site. At the top, there was a phase of abandonment, which yielded modelled ceramic cooking-pots – inferior substitutes for the better-quality wares that were, evidently, no longer obtainable or affordable. This latest phase was judged by the excavators to belong to the very end of the seventh century or even the beginning of the eighth. The impression of impoverishment, taken together with occupation by squatters of the basilican site, is somewhat out of step with the evidence outlined above for foreign trade and regular governance. Could the cooking pots be a generation later in date than was supposed? Or do they illustrate the hazards of basing conclusions on just one complex within an urban site? Had the economic life of the city withdrawn to the lower town, leaving the acropolis as a poor district? The acropolis has also yielded a few sherds which resemble Arab or Umayyad ceramics from Apamea, Jerash, and elsewhere on the mainland. Whether these are any later in date than the modelled ceramics is difficult to determine contextually.[94]

When we turn back to consider the century and a half from 491 to 649 there is, paradoxically, much less archaeological evidence. In the lower town there was a fifth-century three-aisled basilica, of modest size – 20m by 12m.[95] This was presumably the cathedral church of Amathus. The extra-mural church of Ayios Tychonas is early, and might even date from the time of the saint, who died in 402 x 408.[96] It is apparent that the meticulous excavation of the basilica on the acropolis currently dominates a picture which should contain much more – and which will do so when the Department of Antiquities' excavations are fully published. The temple of Aphrodite, which had been adapted as a Christian church at the beginning of the fifth century, was plundered to build the new acropolitan basilica, with its large, square courtyard (52m by 48m). The work is dated by finds from beneath the paving of the atrium, and sherds beneath the *opus sectile* of the basilica (assuming that these pavings were original). Splendid as the church was, it was not the cathedral: it is clear that it had no baptistery. Its function, e.g. as a focus for pilgrimage, has not yet been

94. Pralong, 1994.

95. *BCH* 86, 412; 90, 386.

96. St Tychon is remembered as (only) the second bishop of Amathus. He is credited with overturning the idols and, whip in hand, chasing the priestess Anthousa from the temple of Aphrodite. (Is there a hint here that paganism persisted in Amathus?) His tomb (at the church named for him?) became a place of healing and exorcism. He is referred to as 'the holy thaumaturge Tycho', when St John the Almsgiver was buried nearby (Delehaye, p. 244).

fully elucidated. The famous gigantic vases stood in the eastern corner of the atrium.[97] The central and southern naves and all the apses of the basilica were floored with *opus sectile*, while the rest of the building was paved with gypsum. Fallen tesserae found in the sanctuary provide the evidence for a mural mosaic, and there were numerous fragments of champlevé, some of which (deriving presumably from the earlier church) were re-used in the *opus sectile*. The basilica had a short life. It was the last stronghold of the defenders in 649. The remains of their stock of missiles were found in the destruction layer, north of the north wall of the atrium.

The ancient southern wall of the acropolis, whose function was to keep attackers at bay (but which failed to do so), had been damaged by the earthquake of *c.*365. There is some archaeological evidence to suggest that it was repaired, perhaps as part of Justinian's programme of fortification of the Empire – or perhaps a little later, since columns from the temple of Aphrodite were built into the new masonry.

6. Kourion and Paphos, after another earthquake or two

The Arab invasion of 649 and/or the reprisals of 653 have in the past been blamed, as usual, for the final demise of Kourion, but that was an ill-informed judgement, which paid scant attention to the stray finds of coins from the excavations of 1932-53. They included a significant proportion of folles of Constans II minted from 651 onwards. Of these, two-thirds were countermarked – which makes their date of loss a few years later still. In all, 28 coins of Constans were identified, and there was one of Justinian II. Coin losses continued into the early eighth century.

Megaw, in his final report on his excavations of the episcopal basilica and its precinct, advances another explanation: Kourion was finally abandoned because of earthquake damage, *inter alia* to the water supply. To the remnant of the city's population, who had stayed on after the Arab invasion, the loss of their water was the last straw. The meticulous excavation of the site, and its publication in splendid detail,[98] yielded very clear evidence of earthquake damage, for which Megaw offers a *t.p.q.* of 685/6. In particular, the south-west corner of the narthex of the cathedral collapsed. After the débris (and the paving on which it lay) had been removed, a diagonal wall was built as an emergency measure to close the gap and to support what remained of the structure.[99] It was an inelegant

97. One, which is now in the Louvre, was removed by the French navy in the early nineteenth century.

98. Megaw, 2007.

99. ibid., p.174.

architectural solution. Megaw mentions that in the harbour church, at the foot of the Kourion bluffs, there is further ample evidence of seismic destruction, and none of rebuilding.[100] The numismatic evidence from this lower basilica awaits publication.

As regards the date of the earthquake, he draws attention to a floor deposit in the south-eastern corner of the South-West Court of the basilica complex, consisting of a countermarked follis of Constans II, together with a half-follis of Justinian II (685-95), which gives us a well-attested context for a *t.p.q.* of 685. This original deposit was covered by successive accumulations of earthquake débris.[101] Another indication of the date of the earthquake is offered: in the covered cistern in the South-West Court a solidus of Constantine IV, minted after 668 but no later than 673, was found in a thin deposit of clean earth at the bottom of the cistern, i.e. accidentally dropped in while the cistern was still functional. Above were layers of débris, from after the failure of the water supply.

Megaw extends his hypothesis to include Paphos as well as Kourion. Recalling that the great earthquake of *c.*370 had its epicentre offshore, and that it devastated both cities, he suggests that the later earthquake may likewise have had its epicentre in much the same position. As evidence of its effects on Paphos he cites the fill of a well just to the south-east of the outer south-eastern tower of Saranda Kolones. Three countermarked coins of Constans II (for which he would have accepted the current view that they were from the time of Constantine IV) were found there, in a context of post-earthquake clearance (thrown into the well was the débris of buildings, including worn paving stones).[102]

The trowel cannot lie, and the trowel is not responsible for the subsequent discussion. Megaw is too attached to his hypothesis, and does not interpret the totality of the evidence as impartially as one could wish. One adjustment is very simply made: the date of 685/6 implied for the earthquake rests on the coins from the South-West Court, and is in fact only a *t.p.q.* The folles of Constans, and the scarce coppers of Justinian II and of Tiberius III were generally the latest Byzantine issues to reach Cyprus, and they may all have remained in circulation for several decades longer. The published finds from Kourion are not yet sufficiently numerous to support a more exact interpretation. But the solidus of

100. ibid., p.175.
101. ibid., p.175.
102. ibid., p.562.

Constantine IV, with its admirably clear context, would apparently favour as early a date for the earthquake as possible – namely early in the first reign of Justianian II – unless of course it was lost accidentally in the cistern some years before, and had no connection with the earthquake! The gold tremissis of Justianian II which was found in the waiting-room in the north range of the atrium, lodged in a joint between the stone top of a bench and the wall behind it,[103] should be seen in another light. There is another tremissis, also of Justinian II, from Constantia, found in an extraordinarily similar context of a crack at the back of a stone bench. One wonders whether money-changers had sat there, plying their trade, changing gold for copper. Was this before or after the earthquake? Only if one believes that life ceased in the city could one feel sure that it was from before. The tremissis could in principle have reached Kourion very swiftly soon after the beginning of Justinian's reign, allowing us to date the earthquake to 686/7, but the argument teeters.

Was Kourion finally and completely deserted after the earthquake (apart from the demolition men)? Evidently not, unless one were to move the earthquake to a considerably later date. The Islamic copper coins from Kourion include five of post-reform date, i.e. minted after *c.*695. They presumably reached Kourion by sea, in the course of trade. Two of them[104] were found in close proximity to each other, perhaps even a mini-hoard, while the three others are scattered over the site. We must assume that a great many more were in use in Kourion in the first decade or the first two decades of the eighth century. There is also a gold dinar, minted in AD 720/1, unfortunately lacking an exact find-spot within Kourion. And there is an Islamic funerary inscription, probably of the eighth century, carved on a (standing) column of the sea-shore basilica. Had the Arabs driven the Kourians out of their city, and taken it over for their own purposes? No, the evidence points more towards peaceful coexistence. Byzantine coppers were in use too, at the same time and in the same sectors of the site. All the coins could, of course, have been handled by men of either faith. But more to the point, there are three Byzantine lead seals of private individuals, from the episcopal basilica site, which are of the early (experimental) 'invocative monogram' category, but already using the dative case. They would seem to be from *c.*715-725 onwards. They were found respectively in the Atrium SE, the Baptistery narthex N, and the

103. ibid., p.176, and p.414, no. 78.

104. Brown nos. 3 and 5, in Megaw, 2007.

South-Western Court SE.[105] And there is a beautifully preserved lead seal of Archbishop Damianos, from the 740s.

The lead seals are, unexpectedly, our most exactly dated evidence from the eighth century. They are chronologically an unusual group (when compared with the material from other cities), being quite sharply concentrated in a period of two or three decades, *c.*710 x *c.*730. The numismatic evidence, which is less precise (since dates of loss will be later than dates of minting – but by how much?) is capable of referring to the same short period. It looks as though there may have been a phase of activity, on the part of Byzantine inhabitants of Kourion, in the years following Justinian II's overtures of friendship to the Caliphate, in 705-6.

If the earthquake was in or soon after 686, or indeed if it occurred at any later date in the seventh century, we would have to say that it was not terminal. Perhaps it was only a moderate earthquake, which did a certain amount of structural damage, particularly to the harbour church, and which damaged the water pipes distributing water to the episcopal precinct, but which was (surely) nothing remotely like the earthquake of *c.*370 in its severity. The city remained in Christian occupation, and Muslim traders called there, in the first two decades of the eighth century or even for rather longer. They may even have lived there. An Umayyad amphora, probably Egyptian, adds to the evidence, as do clay lamps of the standard Arab type (see Fig. 19). And there is an Arabic inscription scratched on one of the marble columns of the lower (beach) basilica. It is probably funerary, but undated, naming a certain 'Abd Allāh ibn Nufayl.[106] Was he resident in Kourion at the time of his death? An eighth-century date is conjectured for the inscription: was the lower basilica used for prayer by Muslims? The parallel with the more numerous Arabic inscriptions from Paphos is in any case striking. When, then, was the new basilica built at Episkopi? Clear dating indications are lacking, and not too much remained at the Sarayia site for the archaeologist to explore, because the building was put to other purposes in the Venetian period. Marble slabs were certainly removed from the old basilica and re-used in the new one, but when?

In Kourion itself, the best of the archaeology comes from the Waiting Room area of the old basilica (units 25-27). The earth that replaced the

105. Dunn, nos. 3, 4, and 5, in Megaw, 2007. See now pp. 132f. above, nos. 929-31.

106. The inscription was made while the column was still standing. The reading is by Prof. Robert Hoyland (UCLA): Papacostas (forthcoming).

robbed paving slabs in unit 25 yielded a half-follis of Justinian II and a post-reform fals. The same deposit, in the adjacent unit 26 included a follis tentatively attributed to Leo III. In the east bay, the floor deposit produced a follis of Tiberius III, a half-follis apparently of Leo III, and another post-reform fals. The waiting Room area was also the location of the bench behind which the gold tremissis of Justinian II was found. Altogether, nine coins were found in the subdivided waiting room, beneath the débris of its final collapse. That adds up to plentiful evidence of use of this space as late as *c.*720, and very adequate dating evidence. The same chronology is demonstrated in the South-Western Court, where two lead seals of the early eighth century were recovered. Also a half-follis of Justinian II was found, at the bottom of layers of accumulated débris.

Megaw clung to the view that all this could be accounted for in terms of the work of demolition men. But it became necessary to extend the hypothesis by speaking of 'the continuation of salvage and demolition into Leo's reign', i.e. from *c.*686 until *c.*720, or 35 years – during which time Byzantine lead seals attest a Christian population, and Islamic coins and pottery attest Muslim trade, while clay lamps and a funerary inscription attest Muslim residence. The demolition men were a necessary hypothesis for Megaw, because he believed that the earthquake had destroyed Kourion.

Finally there is an Abbasid dirham from the excavations, judged to be from the first half of the ninth century. It fits into the later part of a wider pattern of losses of silver dirhams, many of them from Paphos and its region. About half of them (but not this one) are clipped down in size. They reached Cyprus, necessarily, by sea, and their loss-rate will have been far lower than that of copper fulus: that is to say, few though they are, they reflect a substantive phase of the currency of southern Cyprus.

The archaeological evidence of earthquake damage at Kourion is perfectly secure. One's judgement of the date of the earthquake, which is not, considered in isolation, a big issue, depends on a careful handling of the numismatic and sigillographic evidence. One hopes that the focus may in due course be sharpened by additional evidence from the harbour church (to which all the same caveats will apply). Extending the argument to include earthquake damage at Paphos, however, reveals Megaw's bias. 'It is already well-established', he says, 'that the occupation of Paphos during the Umayyad invasion of 653 involved the expulsion of the citizens and the establishment there for some thirty years of a substantial Arab garrison, accompanied by numerous camp followers'.[107] That really is headstrong. It

107. Megaw, 2007, p. 175.

was well established only in Megaw's imagination, and by repetition. How would an archaeologist claim to have knowledge of numerous Islamic camp followers? (Female skeletons?) The written sources do not even mention Paphos in connection with the garrison. Much less do they speak about the expulsion of the Christian citizens. The term 'substantial' presumably refers to the figure of 12,000 in the sources. It has been pointed out that the agreement to withdraw the garrison was mutual: the same number, 12,000, of pro-Byzantine Mardaites were to be withdrawn in the Lebanon. As regards Cyprus, the figure may be notional. It sounds like more than enough personnel to secure the harbour of Paphos, night and day. The agreement to withdraw was made in 680/1. One would suppose that it was implemented quite promptly. Only if one envisages a delay until the treaty of 688, i.e. by special pleading, can Kourion and Paphos be plausibly connected by an earthquake in *c.*685/6. Megaw's reason for postulating a long delay lies with the (then unread and unpublished) Arabic inscriptions on the columns at the Chrysopolitissa. He notes[108] that the columns were inscribed while still standing (i.e. before the earthquake) with the names and places of origin of deceased men (he says, of the garrison), in early Arabic script. Exceptionally, one column was inscribed lengthwise (i.e. after falling). It seemed to Megaw to offer evidence that the practice of commemorating the dead in this way was mostly before the earthquake, but continued for a short time after it. It was necessary therefore to postpone the departure of the (presumed) garrison until after the earthquake, which in turn entailed placing the earliest possible date on the earthquake – thereby doing some despite to the numismatic evidence from the reign of Justinian II and later, and ignoring much of the sigillographic evidence. The best that one could do with all this would be to de-couple Kourion and Paphos, to abandon the hypothesis of a single earthquake with its epicentre in the same vicinity as that of *c.*370, and to accept, with some reserve, the evidence of the well at Saranda Kolones for another earthquake, perhaps of less on the Richter scale, affecting Paphos, possibly at a date when a garrison was still based there. Megaw refers repeatedly to finds of 'earthquake-related' coins, i.e. the common countermarked coins of Constans II. If, as is argued here, their *t.p.q.* is earlier than the accession of Constantine IV (668), their relevance to his arguments becomes less precise, even though they were doubtless still current at the time of the Kourion earthquake. He omits from consideration the Islamic post-reform

108. ibid., p. 562.

fulus from Saranda Kolones, where the story, and the historical implications, are a re-run of what has been said above about Kourion.

There is, finally, a dated Islamic tombstone from Paphos, found long ago, which was erected in AH 164 (AD 780). One ventures to remark, sourly, that if it had not been dated Megaw would very probably have interpreted it in connection with the garrison – and his colleagues might well have concurred. Plentiful finds of Islamic dirhams minted in the late eighth and the first part of the ninth century AD, thus contemporary with the tombstone, have been reported from the vicinity of Paphos.

APPENDIX

A glimpse of rural life in the sixth and seventh centuries: Alassa - *Ayia Mavri*

Eight or nine miles inland from Kourion, the small settlement of Ayia Mavri, near Alassa, lay on a plateau above the Limnatis river, close to its confluence with the Kouris river. The village had its own basilica, a typical three-aisled timber-roofed church with a nave some ten metres long. Adjacent to the church were village houses, some of which along with the basilican complex were excavated by Dr Flourentzos in three campaigns in 1984-6, prior to the flooding of the area by the Kouris dam. The whole excavated area was exceptionally well stratified. Lying on the Early Byzantine floors there were successive layers of 1) charcoal, 2) charcoal and ashes mixed with soil, 3) stones with soil, 4) stony grey soil probably including ashes, 5) soil, and 6) the cultivated layer, which was about a foot deep. Thus the Byzantine layers were well protected. In or immediately under layer 2 numerous sherds of Early Byzantine storage jars (pithoi), often with incised decoration, were recovered. These, and the Late Roman D bowls of which a good number were found on the site, are diagnostic for the sixth and seventh centuries. It is clear that the village, including the church, was destroyed by fire. The date at which that happened is shown more exactly by the coins. Only six were found, of which one was Roman, and the rest were of Heraclius (4) or Maurice. Two of the Heraclian coins were recovered from the charcoal and ash layer. The later of the two was minted between 629 and 640. A third coin was minted in 641. When was Ayia Mavri destroyed? The Arab invasion of 649, or the reprisals of 653, are obvious possibilities, in view of the widespread destruction by burning of places throughout Cyprus at that time. There are no archaeological signs of reoccupation after the fires. The material lying on or above the Early Byzantine floors should all belong to the sixth or the first half of the seventh century. If there are Roman remains at Ayia Mavri they will come, one may judge, from the earlier side of the fourth/fifth century recession, which is demonstrable, for example, at Panayia

Ematousa. Unlike many major sites, where archaeology yields remains from many periods, Ayia Mavri seems to present a narrow window of 150 or at most 200 years, with exceptionally clear stratification which excludes earlier material. The village grew up in the context of the early Byzantine economic recovery in Cyprus. If that is correct it offers the practical advantage that various classes of evidence which would elsewhere be difficult to date can be assigned with a fair degree of confidence to the sixth/seventh centuries. Thus for example, a bronze jug, of a type which has been variously dated to anywhere from the seventh to the eleventh century, here almost certainly belongs to the seventh.[1] That applies, similarly, to the glass. It also applies to the human remains from the tombs within or adjacent to the church. Sherry Fox has studied the skeletal remains from 20 tombs, several of which contained more than one individual. In all, 29 individuals could be studied, of whom 11 could be sexed – six females and five males. Infant mortality was high: ten of the 29 were newborn or in any case under four years of age. Three more were children, and another four were adolescents. Even among those who reached adulthood, most died young. Ayia Mavri was just one small village, but the age-structure of the population was probably similar generally.

1. Zachariou-Kaila, 2005, pp.14-16 and pll. 4-5.

CHAPTER IX

EXPRESSIONS OF FAITHFULNESS: RELIGIOUS MENTALITIES AND THE SENSE OF CYPRIOT IDENTITY

After the downturn of the second and third centuries and the slow economic recovery of the cities in the fourth and fifth, the new Cyprus which was taking shape was a fundamentally changed society. In place of the secular and still pluralist late Roman world, it became solidly orthodox. The Roman sense of historical destiny and of the widespread and various presence of the divine was replaced, quite austerely, by the Christian drama of incarnation. Images of the saints now dominated the decoration of churches (a tendency which had been deeply deplored by St Epiphanius[1]), where previously imagery drawn from the natural world had been permissible.

The change did not necessarily mean that the Christian complexion of society was the sum total of the religious commitment of a majority of individual Cypriots. Reform was more from the top down. God was still the God of armies, lord God of Sabaoth: the whole Orthodox oecumene was his chosen people, and Cyprus was a part of that. At the root of Byzantine political philosophy was the conviction that the Empire was divinely protected against its enemies, if only its people would worship and believe rightly. In the 640s, for example, the pope remonstrated with Constans II, pointing out what he no doubt deemed to be a truism acceptable to both parties, namely that 'the safety of your state is contingent on right belief, and only if you rightly believe in Him will the Lord grant success to your arms'. Precisely the same mind-set underlay the iconoclast controversies. At the local level, this belief endowed bishops with a more than personal authority in provincial affairs. They had the duty of pointing out that the people's sinfulness was liable to incur divine displeasure, tangibly brought

1. H. Chadwick, *The Early Church*, London, 1967, at p. 184. St Epiphanius was puritanical by bent.

home in natural or political disasters. The bishops (who were not infrequently from upper-class families), rather than the curiales, were now the arbiters of social attitudes and customs. But with an acceptance of their rule, there coexisted quite other, and perhaps truer, religious mentalities. People turned to the comfort of religion when they were faced with illness, disease, and sudden death. The longing for healing was intertwined, for example, with the popularity of pilgrimage. Large numbers resorted to the shrines of those saints with a reputation as thaumaturges. Church architecture, in particular at Constantia, was designed to cope with great throngs of pilgrims.

These religious mentalities underlay the fabric of society. They form, in the long term, a strand of source material – even if they are evidenced only occasionally. One reason for the paucity of references is that church and state overlapped, if not completely, then almost so. Because of that overlap, and the lack of social conflict between ecclesiastical and secular interests, the religious life of the laity leaves little enough trace in the written record.[2] The theoretical identity of the secular and the holy tends to preclude any historically interesting evidence of conflicts of purpose.[3] Also, evidence of the forms which personal devotion took, such as survives from later in the middle ages in, for example, private prayer books, is largely lacking.[4]

The match, or mis-match, at a personal level between the life of faith and the life of the church is subterranean and unpredictable. For example, men and women obviously responded differently. 'The Church was controlled by men, but everywhere it belonged to women',[5] – a reflection of the deep dichotomy of marriage. Mothers took many of the practical initiatives of nurturing young children in the faith, and teaching them how to live their lives. One should not make the mistake of assuming that churchmanship in the Byzantine centuries bore much resemblance to our churchmanship today. In that respect, as in so many others, the past is a foreign country. Evidence is required.

2. There was, however, scope for much private grumbling and dissatisfaction, which would never reach the historical record.

3. This point is made by M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge, 1995.

4. But see below, for one or two codices produced for private use. – p. 336, no. 15.

5. Cf. 'Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains' (Rousseau). – In this case, almost everywhere: monasteries excepted. From time to time one may suspect a link between sexual orientation and monasticism, e.g. in the early life of St Neophytos, but this is of course in no way derogatory, either to the individual or to monasticism. See Galatariotou, 1991, p. 1, mentioning also St Benedict (surely the classic case) and St Francis.

There is, nevertheless, much in human nature that is perennial. The heart's commitment is freely given, and can only be given freely. On the other hand conformity was expected, and was in various ways enforced – in the first instance by the personal influence of the bishop. The village churches of Cyprus were not only meeting-places for the village community, where all were equal before God, but houses of prayer, for private devotion. In the spiritual life of ordinary people, the saints were a constant presence in daily life. Especially noticeable up until the ninth century, a strong devotion to the Mother of God was universal. The lead seals of private individuals found in Cyprus routinely bear an image of the Theotokos, the Mother of God with the Christ-child (Fig. 22). Kalavrezou has argued that the title *Meter Theou* became usual only after the onset of iconoclasm,[6] and it is true that the image is flanked just by crosslets, not by the inscription MP ΘV. But surely the whole point of the image derives from the theology endorsed at the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). These lead seals are extremely difficult to date narrowly, but are more likely to be from after 626 than from the sixth century.[7] In the age of iconoclasm that image is replaced, even more routinely, by the same message couched in the written word: God-bearer, come to the aid of thy servant. And throughout the Byzantine centuries the written word of God, Holy Scripture, was mediated to the people through the liturgy and through preaching.[8] In looking, as a historian, at the institutional evidence one is entitled to assume that a part, at least, of the dynamic of the church's life relies upon the devotion and commitment and the financial generosity of the laity. At the same time, the church was politically accepted, and subject to imperial oversight and guidance, from the time of Constantine onwards. Its well-being was increasingly of concern to the state. It was, in some sense, an imperial church.[9] And so

6. I. Kalavrezou, 'Images of the Mother: when the Virgin Mary became *Meter Theou*' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 165-72.

7. A few, of course, may be earlier. Devotion to the Theotokos goes back to the Council of Ephesus or even earlier. Cf. A. Cameron, 'Images of authority : élites and icons in late sixth-century Byzantium', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, (University of Birmingham 13th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979), Birmingham, 1981, pp. 205-34.

8. Illiteracy and the high cost of books meant that the Word of God was something heard and pondered in a social context – not read in private.

9. As an Anglican, the writer is conscious of parallels with the Church of England, which in the sixteenth century became an overtly national church and, with the growth of the British Empire, an imperial church. The monarch is still, in a secular sense, its head. Queen Elizabeth I did not hesitate to impose her vision of a broad church on her bishops. The Anglican church has expanded world-wide – thereby creating social and theological tensions which became very visible in 2007 at the Lambeth Conference.



Fig. 22. The Mother of God, with the Christ-child, on a lead seal belonging to a private individual (Ioannes, in monogram). Boulloteria of this category are sometimes of less than the best workmanship, and few of the lead seals are as well struck as this one (*BLSC* 854). Occasionally the monogram embodies an office as well as a personal name. Some of the varieties with two- or three-line inscription instead of a monogram (and which are therefore free from any ambiguity regarding an office) seem to be relatively late, perhaps even very early eighth century. For an illustration of another similar variety, see no. 925, at p.130 above.

there was a double role. Its bishops, as well as being fathers in God to their flock, often on a one-to-one basis, became also establishment figures – very much an officer class. To speak more exactly, they were assimilated into the upper class – if they were not already drawn from it. The bishop in his city took over parts of the social authority and oversight which had once belonged to the late Roman curiales.[10] Already in 346 the bishop of Constantia is described as *antistes urbis*: he was someone whom the emperor might use as his agent. From then on, senior diocesans stood high in the ruling élite. In later centuries in Constantinople, the patriarch was one of the very few whose rank entitled them to dine at the emperor's table.

Yet the fourth-century church had enjoyed no monopoly. In the Empire generally, Orthodoxy coexisted (unwillingly) with 'paganism', i.e. the many cults of the hellenistic world, also with Arianism, and with Manichaeism. Julian, on his accession, renounced the Christian faith and sponsored a brief pagan revival (361-3). Even after the Theodosian laws, from 391 onwards, had ended pagan sacrifices and closed the temples, no serious pressure was put on pagans by the imperial government. At Amathus, later tradition credits the second bishop of the city, St Tychon, with overturning the idols and, whip in hand, chasing the priestess Anthousa from the temple of Aphrodite.[11] In fact, however, the cella of the temple which rose, visible from the sea, on the skyline of the acropolis, was not re-worked into a Christian church until perhaps the early fifth century,[12] having stood for three generations after Christianity became

10. The curiales had also had responsibility for collecting taxes.

11. Aupert, 1996.

12. Aupert; *BCH* 101 (1977), 783-7; id., 2000, 81f.

an official religion. Until the time of Justinian pagans could occupy high governmental positions without harassment.[13] By our chosen starting-date of 491, however, Cyprus was essentially a Christian society, in both town and countryside.

Throughout the seven centuries under review, Cyprus remained overwhelmingly orthodox and Greek-speaking, although there were some Christian ethnic minorities which worshipped in their own way, thereby seeking to preserve their identity. Some of these were monophysites, re-settled in Cyprus as refugees from the Persian Empire, and not in communion with the ecumenical patriarch.[14] Other transplanted groups included many Armenians, of whom the same was partly true. And the Maronites were monothelete Christians, and stubbornly remained so for centuries.

There were some Jews (in spite of the perpetual ban imposed after Artemion's insurrection in 116, when Salamis was laid in ruins).[15] A certain level of anti-Semitism is apparent in the writings of Leontios of Neapolis. Anastasius the Sinaite (a Cypriot by birth) speaks of a Jew named Daniel who was burned at the stake in Constantia in 637 for practising magic,[16] and also of a Jew who sought baptism from the bishop of Amathus in the 650s. He was a young man aged 17, who had been rescued from captivity in the East. He wished to be baptized at Christmas, but the bishop persuaded him to remain a catechumen until Easter.[17]

The expansion of Islam, whereby the churches of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and much of Asia Minor were reduced to existing on sufferance, gave the Church of Cyprus a relatively higher profile within the Byzantine

13. Chadwick, 1967, pp. 160-73, 192-200.

14. The 'separated' eastern churches included the Nestorian Church of Persia, and the five monophysite churches, namely of Armenia, Syria (the so-called Jacobite Church), Egypt (the Coptic Church), Ethiopia, and India.

15. Epigraphic evidence for the presence of Jews is mentioned by Mitford, 1950, no. 3 at Constantia and at Athienou-Golgoi; also Mitford, 1980, pp.1380f.

16. E. Nau, 'Le texte grec des récits utile à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)', *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903), 70f. There is also the Jewish glass-maker whose wares are trashed by St Symeon the Holy Fool: the incident did not take place in Cyprus, but Leontios perhaps assumes that his Cypriot readership would find the presence of a Jew on the island unremarkable. The apocryphal Acts of St Barnabas, written in the mid-fifth century, reveal an anti-Jewish animus, which may be judged to imply the presence of a Jewish community in Constantia.

17. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204* (Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, no. 30, Athens 1939 (repr. 1969, Farnborough), p. 85.

church, even though the condition of the island during the dark-age centuries was one of relative penury. Moreover, from having been urban-based the church became, through the severe decline of urban life, perforce altogether more rustic. Its bishops were no longer such powerful figures in society; that threw the leadership of the archbishop into stronger relief.

The church's renewal after the reconquest of 965 was characterized – or so it seems to us – by the pious munificence of donors from the upper classes (and even the emperor himself), in founding monasteries in remote, mountainous regions.[18] A small handful of high-profile monasteries, which might even be stauropegic, eventually came to be important symbols of the people's sense of Cypriot identity and their spiritual aspirations. How far that gives a balanced view of the church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and how far it is shaped by the survival of evidence, is difficult to assess. Certainly, diocesan structures were in place, even if there is little on record about them. Bishops still exercised solid pastoral oversight. Large numbers of churches were built or rebuilt throughout the island (good evidence of the people's devotion), and Nicosia for example acquired a fine, 'gothic' cathedral.

As a church coterminous with a single province of the Empire, the Church of Cyprus throughout the Byzantine centuries, while jealous of its independence, nevertheless partook of developments in thought and practice, and in sentiment, in Constantinople and elsewhere. In late antiquity such influence had been spasmodic; and for centuries thereafter Cyprus was content to be old-fashioned and provincial. That was partly why it had responded to iconoclasm with a distinct lack of enthusiasm for imperial policy.

From the tenth century onwards, however, if not indeed from the ninth, the theory and the practice of autonomy diverged. Archbishops, and even bishops, came to be chosen by the emperor, from clerics in court circles (this was generally true for the patriarchs also), in what tended to be more of a centralized, 'Byzantine' church. As regards Cyprus, a shortage of well-qualified candidates locally may have made the new policy desirable. The much-prized independence of the Church of St Barnabas thus became partly a fiction. Even so it was never forgotten, and never surrendered. It helped to sustain the orthodox faith under foreign rule, in Lusignan and in Ottoman times. But one should take care not to read back those later attitudes wholesale into the period before 1191.

18. A corresponding tendency may be seen in the West, at much the same date, in the expansion of the Cistercian order.

Although the history of the church is unbroken through the Byzantine centuries, and nominally unchanging, to the historian's eye it falls into three parts – like so many other strands of evidence – namely the urban-based church of late antiquity, with its great basilicas; the impoverished church of the dark ages, about which we know far less; and the church in the age of recovery, which clerics from Constantinople were sent out to govern. The questions that will occur to the secular historian are different for each of the three periods. In the first, so much of the evidence has disappeared, that one needs to be at pains to avoid a one-sided presentation, relying too much on the architectural remains of the basilicas. Thus, for example, there were certainly some monasteries; we know relatively little about them, perhaps because monasticism was targeted and destroyed by the Arab raids, leaving virtually no trace. In the second period, while the iconoclast controversy tends to loom large in the church history of the Empire generally, it is the changed role of the archbishop vis-à-vis his suffragan bishops that seems to hold clues to the life of the church specifically in Cyprus. With the third period we enter an age in which family connections become visible and the sense of the personal gives a new immediacy to the record of developments, but where, again, much of the day-to-day life of the church has disappeared without trace.

Monasticism, then, is a theme through all three periods, even if it is almost lost to view in the first. So is the veneration of icons, and the esteem set upon relics of the saints.[19] Pilgrimage was big business, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries. Several of these themes come together in the story of an occasion soon after the initial Arab raids, when half-a-dozen bishops met at Tremithus on 14 December 655.[20] Present were Archbishop Sergios of Constantia, Archbishop Paulos of Crete (who just happened to be in Cyprus on his way from Egypt to Constantinople – in December!), Bishop Theodoros of Paphos, who had recently written a new Life of the local saint, St Spyridon,[21] and was to read it aloud to the assembled company, Bishop Theodoros of Tremithus (the host), Bishop Theodoros of Kition, and Bishop Eusebios of Lapethos. The Cypriot bishops, as leaders

19. On the veneration of icons and relics as a collective experience, in which an emotional atmosphere was generated, see P. Brown, *Society and the Holy*. For the suggestion that the cult of relics grew in importance in the eighth century, see Kazhdan and Epstein, 1985. Whether this was so in Cyprus is more a question than a conclusion. Similarly the suggestion that the monastic revival was a reaction to iconoclasm (ibid.) would be difficult to substantiate independently for Cyprus.

20. Van den Ven 1953.

21. Had he embarked upon this literary labour after the Arab conquest of his city?

in their respective cities (and quite possibly the chief remaining source of civic authority) will surely have had much to talk about in private concerning recovery from the devastation of Mu'āwiya's recent assaults – and what they said will have been unpalatable food for thought to the Cretan archbishop.

The people listened to the Life, which included the story of the overturning of an idol at Alexandria solely by the prayer of St Spyridon. It seems that this account of the miraculous destruction of the idols at Alexandria[22] was unknown to anyone among the audience at Tremithus, up to the moment when it was read out on the saint's day. Some individuals asked themselves whether the story could be true, seeing that they did not know about it and that it did not occur in the earlier Life written in iambic metre. (Note that the local people were well versed in the story of their saint.) The new version was accordingly received with a degree of scepticism. Under the eye of several of the bishops, however, some of those present recognized that the same story was depicted on an icon in the church. After examining the icon they came to recognize the subject, thanks to the recital that had taken place, and announced it to the bishops. Joy was unconfined among the inhabitants of the town, and also all those from the surrounding district who had gathered for the festival.

1. Autonomy from Antioch: the apostolic Church of St Barnabas

The Church of Cyprus dates its independence to the Third Ecumenical Council, held at Ephesus in 431. At Chalcedon in 451 the universal church completed the structure of the Pentarchy, whereby five patriarchal sees, of apostolic foundation, divided into spheres of jurisdiction the whole of the known world – except Cyprus. The five sees were Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, in that order of precedence. They enjoyed primacy in their respective spheres; and Alexandria, demoted to third place by the rise of Constantinople as the capital city of the Empire, unwillingly lost its claim to rule supreme in the East. The loss of Cyprus meanwhile rankled with Antioch, which did not easily abandon its pretensions to rule over the island province.

The invention of St Barnabas, during the reign of Zeno (474-91), came at an opportune moment as the hierarchy in Cyprus struggled to avoid renewed subjection to the nearby patriarch. Warned by St Barnabas in a vision, Archbishop Anthemios went in solemn procession to a place not far

22. Playing to anti-Arab sentiment?

from Constantia, which the vision had indicated, dug under a tree,[23] and opened a cave, in which he found the remains of the saint, in a coffin. Lying on the saint's breast was a beautiful gospel book, just where Mark had placed it. The existence of this impossibly early codex[24] is attested within a few years by Severus, patriarch of Antioch, who says in a letter[25] that when he was in Constantinople in the time of Patriarch Macedonios (495-511), he saw the magnificently written copy of the gospel of St Matthew 'which was said to have been found in the time of Zeno in a city in Cyprus'. From a hostile (but careful) witness, that is handsome enough. As advised in his vision, Anthemios appealed to the emperor, with this new, miraculous evidence – a reminder that the church in Cyprus, too, was of apostolic foundation. He proceeded to Constantinople, where the gospel book was offered as a gift to the emperor. The vision added a providential element to the myth,[26] making the already sumptuous gospel book far more precious in the emperor's eyes than it would have been just in itself, and ensuring that it would be treated with special veneration. Many centuries later in Constantinople it was still being taken out once a year and read in the Chapel of St Stephen on Thursday in Holy Week.[27] The emperor adjudicated at arm's length by setting up a synod summoned by the patriarch of Constantinople. Happily, the synod found in favour of Anthemios. All this was high politics: the archbishop had been fighting, shrewdly enough, for his freedom, and that of his hierarchy, from Antioch. The independence of the Church of St Barnabas, which was eventually consolidated by the Quinisext Council and made canonical, in

23. The species of the tree varies in later version of the story.

24. The earliest scriptural codices are probably no earlier than the late third or early fourth century. For the opportune finding of an allegedly old book, cf. the finding of the book of the Law by the high priest Hilkiah, in the reign of King Josiah (2 Kg 22:8-10). One permits oneself to smile at the archbishop's deception.

25. Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* II, pp. 81f.

26. The apocryphal acts of St Barnabas (mid fifth century) record his martyrdom. The Jews of Salamis in their rage burned him so that even his bones turned to ashes. They put the ashes in a cloth, and sealed the cloth with lead, (using a conical lead seal? – cf. *BLSC* cat. section C) intending to cast them into the sea. But John Mark rescued them, found a cave, and hid the remains in it. The traditional date of Barnabas's martyrdom, 61 is, in the view of many New Testament scholars, well before Matthew's gospel was written. Papyrus codices existed already in the first century, but we are evidently not speaking here about papyrus.

27. George Kedrenos, in his *Compendium Historiarum*, says that Zeno deposited the gospel in the church of St Stephen in Daphne. Joel's *Chronographia* adds the details about the annual reading.

692, was an important element in the self-esteem and the sense of identity of the Cypriots.

For the historian of Byzantine Cyprus, the sequel is particularly illuminating. Archbishop Anthemios quickly built a basilica dedicated to St Barnabas, at the place of the invention, with gifts from Zeno and from the notables of Constantia. It is said to have been surrounded by stoas, gardens, cells, aqueducts, and hostels 'for refreshing foreign visitors'.[28] Here we have a substantial material investment in the cult of St Barnabas, and a presumption that it would attract large numbers of pilgrims, and not just from within Cyprus. (The remains of the saint himself, meanwhile, were transferred to a tomb monument in the great basilica of St Epiphanius, a few miles away.) This demonstrates a good level of prosperity and of confidence for the future. Anthemios may have had his eye on pilgrims travelling to or from the Holy Land, and pausing at Constantia. We see what facilities were deemed desirable, at the beginning of the sixth century, in providing for the better class of pilgrims.

An inscription from the time of Justinian or a little earlier refers to additional building work by (the appropriately named) Archbishop Philoxenos. Whereas the basilica was the work of Anthemios, 'this and yet another building', it says, 'were erected under Philoxenos'.[29]

The timber-roofed basilica was probably destroyed during the Arab raids, but parts of its walls are preserved within the present structure, which was first rebuilt as a vaulted basilica, possibly quite quickly.[30] There is an interesting drawing by Barskii of the monastic enclosure, with courtyards, outbuildings, etc., as it existed in 1735.[31] It may be presumed that the cult centre was served by a small religious community from the beginning. In the Encomium of the monk Alexander it is mentioned that he was living, in the second half of the sixth century, in a monastery beside the sanctuary of St Barnabas.[32]

28. Englezakis, p.48; Van Deun, 1993.

29. Mitford, 'Further contributions', no. 20 (pp. 120f.). At a later date, Philentolos's hospital/poor house complemented the facilities at Ayios Barnabas.

30. Papacostas, vol. 2, p. 19 suggests the late seventh or early eighth century. See the discussion about the date of rebuilding the church of St Epiphanius (and the basilica at Soloi), above, pp. 279f.

31. Reproduced in Papacostas, Fig. 70.

32. Delehaye, 1907, p. 236.

2. The holy waters of Salamis.

The holy well, or to speak more exactly the holy cistern, which lay about three-quarters of a mile north of the old harbour of Salamis, and a hundred yards from the sea-shore, was of venerable antiquity. It was originally built as a rain-water cistern, perhaps in the first century A.D. It seems that it was re-opened in the later fourth century, presumably after the earthquake, and some Christian legend may have been attached to it at that time, although we do not know what it was. A substantial building was erected over the cistern, for which there is a helpful parallel in the somewhat similar building near the basilica of St Barnabas, where a structure was built (at a later date?) over the reputed cave of the saint's invention, and water was drawn from it with a bucket.[33] The *hagiasma* at Salamis was evidently a public facility of some sort. It was decorated with five painted inscriptions, and riverine images,[34] which make clear the sacred character of the place. The water will have been believed to have healing and beneficial qualities. People washed in it, or sprinkled it on their houses, or even drank it, in moderation one hopes.[35] One of the inscriptions commemorates the donor: 'Christ, Saviour God, protect and keep your servant Nikodemos and all those who [are under his authority]'. The inscriptions, which have been assigned epigraphically to the late fifth or the sixth century,[36] are devotional in character, quoting Psalm 29 (28):3, 'The voice of the Lord is upon the waters', and the sign by the prophet Elisha, who put salt in the spring, 'Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters' (2 Kgs 2:21).[37] (Was the water at Salamis brackish?) It may be that there was an annual blessing of the waters, on the eve of Epiphany. Historically the most intriguing of the inscriptions reads, 'Barnabas the apostle our support. Epiphanios the great, our [....]*chos*'. Various attempts have been made to complete the word, e.g. [*exar*]*chos* or [*epar*]*chos* or even [*proma*]*chos*).[38] All that one can usefully say is that a degree of civic pride is indicated. This

33. Hackett mentions this practice.

34. Papageorgiou, 1992, pp. 2 and 4, favouring an Alexandrian affiliation for the riverine imagery.

35. See below, concerning dead animals in the cistern.

36. This was the assessment of Sotiriou, in Bardswell and Sotiriou, 1939.

37. '. . . there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land'.

38. This was well before the time of Archbishop Epiphanios II. Cf. the (much later) medieval Italian communes which placed themselves under the notional rule of their patron saint, e.g. St Ambrose at Milan. Miss Du Plat Taylor suggested completing the word as *eparchos*, Miss Rapp, 1993, at p. 177, suggests *promachos*. I am indebted to Father Chariton of Stavrovouni, who kindly discussed this with me.

twinning of St Barnabas and St Epiphanius as the two great charismatic figures who symbolize the Cypriot Christian identity, resurfaces in twelfth-century painted churches, where they appear side by side in a central position, but it is interesting to see it at this much earlier date. In the *hagiasma*, above the inscriptions, there was an icon of Christ, which has attracted art-historical attention.[39] It seems to be of the same date as the inscriptions.

The archaeology of the site, which was rather swiftly but successfully explored on its discovery in the 1930s,[40] throws useful light on its chronology. It was in effect a sealed deposit, guaranteed by great quantities of blown sand. Of the two cisterns, the one to which access was gained first was blocked by sand and rock. The bottom eight inches of the fill consisted of silt, which contained the bones of two small ponies and a foal, and a miscellaneous quantity of bronze fragments, a good deal of pottery, and also some glass.

Around the entrance was a stone-walled room about 12 feet square, with two other rooms leading off it. Coins found among the debris of this outer building were chiefly of the sixth century. It seems from stratigraphical evidence[41] that the construction was from the late fifth or early sixth century, subsequently destroyed by fire, and rebuilt afterwards, the second phase being dated by coins of Tiberius II and Maurice. That strongly suggests a late sixth-century date.[42] The destruction in which horses were thrown into the cistern may well have been in 649 or 653. A sixth inscription, crudely written, 'Help us, O Constantine, also by your sign [the Cross]', may post-date that destruction.

Various questions remain unanswered. One ventures to wonder whether the inscriptions could even pre-date the invention of St Barnabas, when the focus of interest would have shifted away, to the site of his new basilica. We lack enough contextual information to be sure of the significance of the *hagiasma*. If, for example, there were an (undiscovered) chapel nearby, the holy cistern might have belonged to it. And one may mention Polybios's story of the death of St Epiphanius, on board ship,

39. See Sacopoulo, 1975.

40. It was found accidentally by some shepherds. The site was promptly investigated by Joan du Plat Taylor, and published (1933). See also Bardswell and Sotiriou, 1939, and Sacopoulo, 1962.

41. The way in which floors and walls met.

42. Depending on how many coins were found. With even a modest total, one can say, almost certainly pre-Heraclian.

'almost within sight of the walls of the city [of Constantia]'. Polybios makes the sailors who brought the news say, 'Men and brethren, citizens of the populous metropolis of Constantia, come down to the sea at the place called Dianeuterion and receive the precious remains of our holy and most blessed father Epiphanios, for he has finished his human life'.[43] The inscription mentioned above, makes one wonder whether the cistern came to be associated with this event.

3. Floor and mural mosaics, and a seventh-century apologia for the veneration of images

The fifth-century basilicas of Cyprus were decorated, often with marble revetments showing, for example, birds and animals in an inhabited scroll, carved in low relief: the champlevé technique.[44] The background could be filled in with coloured waxes;[45] the Amathus excavations have yielded fragments of champlevé with traces of gilding on the flat surfaces.[46] This relatively plain decoration (some of which may have been just monochrome) was taken up in full colour in the sixth century by floor mosaics, such as were excavated at Ayios Georghios tes Peyias. In the bema of the basilica we see a variety of birds, fishes, octopus, crustaceans, and even a turtle, in an inhabited floret trellis.[47] In the atrium of the same basilica there are careful depictions of a wild boar, a bear, a lion, and a humped ox – which derive originally from north African hunting scenes.[48] Even when, in the nave, the bestiary is illustrative of a scriptural theme, such as Isaiah's golden age (Is 11:6-9), when 'the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb', and 'the lion shall eat straw like the ox',[49] one senses that the choice of theme is guided by a love of the natural world in all its variety, and a gratitude for nature's bounty. When a deer is depicted in the Chrysopolitissa church, it is accompanied by an inscription quoting Ps 42:1, 'As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God', but it is the beauty of the animal that captures the mind. The scriptural verse adds respectability. We are still in the late

43. Hackett, pp.406-7.

44. This could be on a large scale. From Kourion, for example, there survive pieces of a high-level triangular panel some three metres in length.

45. Megaw, 1974, p. 61, mentioning that originally the plaques of marble used for this work were sometimes salvaged from pagan ruins. See his Fig. 9 (Daniel in the lions' den).

46. Pralong, 1993, p. 429. Cf. *BCH* 115 (1990), figs. 9 and 10, pp. 992f.

47. Michaelides, 1987, pl. 58.

48. ibid., pl. 56.

49. ibid., pl. 57.

antique world, whose iconography was to be completely superseded by Byzantine piety, depicting only apostles, martyrs, and saints, and the major events in our Lord's life.

The early basilicas of Cyprus were also decorated with wall-paintings and, in some cases, with mural mosaics. It is a measure of popular devotion and taste that people were willing to incur the expense of decorating their churches in these ways. Both techniques were still known in 787, at the time of the Seventh General Council.[50] From the century and a half before 650, very little has survived: paintings on plaster are perishable, even if the churches which they decorated still stand. Wall-mosaics are much more durable, yet only three churches are known where they still exist, plus some fragmentary remains in a fourth.[51] However, glass tesserae have been found among the debris of many other ruined basilicas, indeed at most of them, an indication that mural mosaics were widespread.[52] Megaw, than whom none was better qualified to know, noted that out of 38 excavated basilicas, glass tesserae had been recovered on the site of most of them.[53]

The church of the Panayia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi, in the Karpas peninsula, had a mosaic which is judged to be from the second quarter of the sixth century, in the conch of the apse.[54] The church was built in the fifth century, rebuilt as a pier basilica in *c.*700, repaired apparently in the late ninth century, remodelled *c.*1160, and altered again more than once in later centuries,[55] but the central apse of the original building, with its beautiful mosaic, was always diligently preserved. The esteem in which it was held would have been justified by the quality of the mosaic work alone. The tesserae are of glass of various colours, glass covered with gold or silver (white gold?), marble, and stone dipped in paint – in all, more than 40 colours are used. The image, now much damaged, shows the Mother of God seated on a throne with a lyre-shaped back, with the Christ-child depicted as a miniature adult, seated in her lap. They are attended by the archangels Gabriel and Michael. The scene, a landscape of palm-trees against a golden background, was framed by medallions with the busts of

50. See below, pp. 444f.

51. Papageorghiou, 1992, pp. 2, 4.

52. Vacat.

53. Megaw, 1974, p. 59, n.3.

54. Michaelides, 1987, pl. 67.

55. Papacostas, 1999, 6.A, 70 and pp. 50f. with references.

twelve apostles (including Paul). The medallions are linked by acanthus leaves.[56]

The antique simplicity in the choice of theme – the Mother of God and the Apostles[57] – is allied, no doubt, to Chalcedonian christology. The early Christian martyrs, and local saints, become prominent in holy images only at a later date. The superb aesthetic quality of the mosaics, especially the faces, in a remote, small-town church raises intriguing questions about the commissioning of the work, and the wealth of the donor. The highly skilled workmen were obviously peripatetic, and perhaps came from outside Cyprus. The Panayia Kanakaria was almost certainly not exceptional. The great city churches of Cyprus, which were utterly destroyed in the Arab raids, were doubtless decorated just as lavishly.

It would seem that the Karpas peninsula, by its remoteness, escaped the full fury of Mu'āwiya's attack. Its obscure location may explain the survival of a seventh-century mosaic in the Panayia Kyra church at Livadhia (north of Ayios Theodoros), again in the conch of the apse.[58] And again, the apse was preserved because of the mosaic, when the church was rebuilt. The Mother of God *orans* stands on a footstool. The work is richly executed in shades of blue and purple, against a gold background.

Thirdly, the church of the Panayia Angeloktistos at Kiti similarly preserves in the conch of the apse a mosaic of the highest quality showing the Mother of God *hodegetria*, attended by Michael and Gabriel. The archangels are dressed as philosophers. Their wings imitate peacock's feathers with 'eyes', a symbol of immortality. A great range of colours is used throughout the mosaic. A decorative border arching over the apse (uncovered only in 1952[59]) features ducks, beribboned parrots, and stags, all flanking fountains with acanthus foliage. Parrots are of course exotic to Cyprus. The mosaic post-dates a rebuilding of the church after a fire in the late sixth/seventh century (but probably before the Arab raids?).[60]

56. Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, pp. 43-7.

57. The same theme is found even in distant seventh-century Northumbria (still part of the universal church), where Abbot Benedict Biscop brought back from the Continent to his monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow 'pictures of sacred representations . . . namely a likeness of the Virgin Mary and of the twelve Apostles, with which he intended to adorn the central nave, on boarding placed from one wall to the other . . .' (Bede, *Opera Historica* (Loeb, 1963, ed. J. E. King, pp. 404-7). It sounds very like an iconostasis.

58. Papacostas, 1999, 6.A, 73; Megaw and Hawkins, 1976; Megaw, 1985, pp. 195-8.

59. Megaw, 1960.

60. *BCH* 84 (1960), 295-7; Megaw, 1960, pp. 350-1; id., 1974, pp. 74-6; id., 1985, p. 191. Numerous other dates have been suggested for the mosaic. It has been suggested that a

Finally, some fragmentary mosaics of the sixth century were discovered in excavating the basilica at Kourion.[61] Their historical interest lies in the suspicion that Kourion is unlikely to have been the only cathedral that was richly decorated.

Although the holy images were doubtless widespread throughout Cyprus, their veneration was controversial even in the first half of the seventh century, when Bishop Leontios of Neapolis justified it in a sermon, one of a series defending Christianity against Jewish criticism. Leontios marshalled a range of arguments, first offering Old Testament examples to show that images were not displeasing to God (this should have been common ground), and then distinguishing between the materials used to make the representation, and the event or person represented. In the adoration of the Cross, we do not adore the two pieces of wood out of which the replica is made, but the historic cross because of what was accomplished upon it. If we adore (kiss) a book, it is not the parchment or the binding which we adore, but the words of God which are written in the book. If we greet Zion or Nazareth or the Baptism in Jordan, we are honouring not the place, nor the house, nor the region, but our Lord for what he said and did there. Leontios adds an interesting non-ecclesiastical example: anyone who receives an order from the emperor, and salutes the lead seal, has not adored the πυλὸν ἐτίμησεν, nor the charter, nor the lead seal itself, but rather makes his obeisance to the cult and adoration of the emperor.

The art of the mosaicist was still alive in the early eighth century. Al-Muqaddasi records that the materials for the mosaics in the Great Mosque of Damascus were supplied by the Byzantine emperor; and when the Mosque of the prophet, at Medina, was rebuilt (707 onwards) the emperor sent a hundred workmen (n.b. not two men and a boy) and forty loads of mosaic tesserae. He also gave orders to search for tesserae in ruined cities, and to send them to the Caliph al-Walid.[62] Ruined cities of Cyprus are not mentioned, but this amounts to a hint that mosaics were more widespread than the available archaeological evidence allows us to say.

group of lead seals depicting the Mother of God *hodegetria* might belong to Kition – see Staurovouniotes 2003-4, and (here) Chapter II, Appendix, at pp.122f. If so, it was because of local pride in the mosaic. Also if so, the lead seals rule out dates later than *c.*715, as they use the genitive case.

61. Papageorghiou, 1992, pp. 2, 4.

62. Kyrris, 1997, pp. 661f.; H. A. R. Gibb, 'Arab-Byzantine relations under the Umayyad caliphate', *DOP* 12 (1958), at pp. 225-6.

4. An amulet from seventh-century Amathus.

A rare example of an apotropaic medallion or amulet, excavated in a well-stratified context at Amathus[63] is crudely engraved with the opening words of Psalm 90 (91): 'Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the most High / shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty'. There need be little doubt that this amulet was worn by its owner as a protection against disease, for this psalm is particularly apposite. It goes on to speak of 'the terror by night, and the arrow that flieth by day, pestilence that walketh in darkness, and sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day'.

Sickness, and indeed fatal illness, was a constant threatening possibility for all Cypriots, high and low, during the Byzantine centuries: malaria; eye disease; chronic disability; psychological disorders; epidemics; plague; sudden death. Holy men might have divinely given powers of healing: one thinks of the ascetic Esaias, who healed Manuel Voutoumites. Medicine had few resources, and certainly no specific drugs. Today it requires an effort of the imagination to enter into the sense of reliance upon trust in God and in his healing power, which for most people seemed to be the only resort. The consolation of religion and the grief of illness were intertwined.

In the West, the sermons of Bishop Caesarius (502-42) express disapproval of clergy who gave members of their flock amulets inscribed with biblical texts. He regarded it as a concesssion to popular religion.[64] In a more generous age, any pastor might hesitate to circumscribe the divine mercy.

Saints' tombs were sought out as places of healing and exorcism. By approaching as closely as possible to the mortal remains of the saint, the petitioner stood at the threshold of heavenly grace, mediated through the saint. The tomb of St Tychon (second bishop of Amathus, d.402 x 408), which was located probably at the extramural church dedicated to him, was such a shrine, and he was referred to as 'the holy thaumaturge Tychon'.[65]

Likewise, the sanctuary of St Epiphanius at Constantia was a famous healing shrine. Anastasius the Sinaïte tells the anecdote of a certain iatrosophist who, seeing the flood of pilgrims visiting the sanctuary in search of a miraculous healing, proposes to the bishop (who accepts the suggestion) that the sick people should first submit to the treatments of human medicine.[66]

63. Flourentzos, 2002.

64. Chadwick, 1967, p. 242, n.1.

65. Aupert, 1996.

66. Flusin, 1991, pp. 400-1.

5. Old men remember the miracles from their youth.

Anastasius the Sinaïte, who was from Cyprus, wrote a long series of anecdotes mostly about sorcerers, demons, and the miracles by which they were overcome or repulsed. Superstition lurked in the background, even when the foreground was dominated by Orthodoxy. We should not imagine that Anastasius was unusual in his ideas. Writing in his old age, in the 680s or more probably the 690s, he includes several anecdotes which refer to Cyprus (including the affair of Philentolos, and the story of the Jew who sought baptism from the bishop of Amathus). He locates these and other stories to before (or after) the 'first and second capture of Cyprus by the Saracens', or in other instances to the time of Archbishop Arkadios (I). 'In my native place, Amathus', he writes, 'before the arrival of the Saracens, demons threw stones down onto the [lower] town from the hill Kypria. The bishop said mass and chased the demons away. From then until the present day, we all – the old people of the town – recall this miracle, which we saw'.

Anastasius offers a similar verification for a miracle which he refers to Pentaschoinon, a village (*chorion*) near Amathus. It concerned a certain Athanasios, son of a priest. After his death, he miraculously saved a ship. All this was before the capture of Cyprus by the Arabs. The writer himself guaranteed the veracity of the miracle, as did the then metropolitan of Damascus who, eight years previously, saw the tomb of Athanasios and heard his story from the old men of the village.

6. Relics and miracles, in an impoverished age.

After the collapse of urban life in Cyprus, urban saints (it has been remarked) were replaced, or rather joined, in the schemes of decoration of churches, by rural saints. While this may be true up to a point and in the longer term, it could give the false impression that the life of the church was otherwise unchanged. Change was in fact systemic, from top to bottom. Urban wealth, in the social milieu of the well-to-do, was largely destroyed, and with it much of the previous dynamic of church life. It became more difficult to find suitable candidates for appointment as bishops and deacons, and bishoprics may even have lain vacant from time to time. Village churches were no doubt still cherished by the local people (and cleaned and cared for by them). They maintained their devotion, however, in a degree of solitude. The annual festival of the patronal saint was a major social occasion, for the village and for the surrounding district.

Alongside the congregational church, if one may call it such, was a parallel culture of ascetics and monks. Although not wealthy, they were in some ways a privileged social and intellectual class, semi-detached from the rural population. A nineteenth/twentieth century analogy might be

the gap in mental attitudes between the educated middle classes and the working class. What little detail we have about the life of faith in the 'condominium' centuries comes mostly from stories told by, or about, monks. This parallel culture was small in scale, and we should not lose sight of its tendency to be rarefied, compared with the presumed attitudes of ordinary villagers.

The prominence given in the monastic milieu to the cult of relics and to stories of miracles may be seen as symptomatic of social and spiritual impoverishment in Cyprus generally. If the life of faithfulness is deprived of any but the simplest organization and contacts, sophisticated orthodox theology is separated from its context, and is at risk of becoming more of a mantra than a belief-system. For the historian, the circumstances of the miraculous may be a good deal more interesting than the miracles themselves.

Many of these themes are illustrated in the Life of St Constantine the Jew, who visited Cyprus in the mid-ninth century. While praying in the monastery of Phlouboute, he seemed to hear an image of St Spyridon speaking to him, and urging him to come to Cyprus. Constantine duly sets off, but makes a detour in order to venerate St Nicholas at Myra, and two miracles occur on the way. He meets with a dangerous lion, which appeared to him like a friendly dog; and he crosses a deep river without using the ferry-boat. In these two events, the miraculous is degraded into something indistinguishable from folk-tales.

Having sailed from Attaleia to Kyrenia, he embarks on what can only be called a relic-collecting tour. The spirit of the enterprise could perhaps be compared with a nineteenth-century botanist's plant-collecting expedition.[67] Supernatural events abound, and Constantine, who is clearly a psychologically disturbed individual,[68] hears voices telling him what he must or must not do. Near Kyrenia he visits a cave which is difficult of access, containing the relics of a group of saints. The relics could be heard singing psalms. None of the local people dared go near, except the bishop, who (showing, we may think, good sense and leadership) censed the relics during the annual panegyris. Constantine (naturally!) enters the cave fearlessly and spends the night among the relics, himself singing hymns and praying. Before leaving, he feels directed to take a thumb, which he

67. Could one perhaps compare interesting and prestigious relics in a monastery, with exotic foreign species of trees in the parkland of a stately home?

68. Cf W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, chapter 1. St Constantine the Jew would probably be diagnosed by a doctor as schizophrenic.

puts in his basket. A local monk joins Constantine. He covets the relic. While Constantine is briefly absent he searches the basket, and tries to bite a piece off the thumb. Constantine feels a sharp pain in his thumb, and hurries back to remonstrate with the thief. (He himself, of course, is no thief.) The monk tries to persuade Constantine to deposit the thumb in a certain monastery. But Constantine hears a voice (again), insisting that he must keep the relic for the rest of his life. Later he hears another voice, that of the ascetic and martyr Palamon, who urges him to come and find his remains, when he will give Constantine his hand. Constantine sets out for Palamon's church (apparently in the mountains), becomes lost, is guided by a shepherd, and in due course secures Palamon's hand, which he takes back to the monastery of Hyakinthos, at Nicaea.

7. Relics, miracles, and the cult of Cypriot bishops, in an age of renewal

There is abundant evidence from the Lusignan period of the treasured relics of the saints, in churches and monasteries throughout Cyprus.[69] Machairas gives a catalogue of some forty such relics, in village churches. For some of them, he gives the date or dates on which the people keep the saint's feast. He also mentions that the relics at Kophinou 'work endless miracles'.[70] Faith was still the only powerful remedy against sickness. There was undoubtedly considerable continuity between the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the post-Byzantine period, and one is entitled in that sense to use the later information as evidence of religious sentiment and practice prior to 1191. Many of the relics may have been in their resting-places for centuries, but that is not demonstrable.

The best contemporary evidence for the cult of saints as a reflection of social change and aspiration is from wall-paintings created before the end of the twelfth century. They offer a hint that the repertoire of saints depicted was rather more restricted in the Byzantine period than subsequently.[71] Alongside the usual schemes of decoration there was a particular emphasis on the early bishops of Cyprus. In choosing to give them a place, the Cypriots were attaching themselves to the early history of their autonomous church. St Barnabas, their apostle, and St Epiphanios,

69. Meinardus, 1970.

70. E. R. M. Dawkins, *Leontios Machairas, Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled 'Chronicle'*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1932, pp. 31 and 33. Mouriki, 1993, p. 237, n.2 quotes the relevant passage in full. Its derivation and arrangement are evidently composite, being partly geographical: the last part of the list refers to the Paphos district, and this part sometimes mentions feast-days. There are areas of Cyprus that are not covered by the list.

71. Could the same be true of the relics?

their famed theologian-bishop, take joint pride of place, and are frequently painted, as a pair. (This tradition goes back as far as the decoration of the *hagiasma* at Constantia.) As well, we see the saintly bishops of the various cities in what might be called Cyprus's sub-apostolic age. Most of them are little more than names. The intervening centuries are scarcely represented (with one exception, below). This rather specialized awareness of the historical past partakes of myth-creation, in an age of renewal. It was not particularly the local bishop who was depicted in a church: the whole of the island was of interest. This both reflected, and tended to foster, a sense of Cypriot identity.

The early frescoes which are our only direct (i.e. pre-1191) sources of information are: the first, early[72] eleventh-century layer of decoration in the bema of St Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetreia; late eleventh-century work at Amasgou, Monagri; the earliest layer of decoration at Asinou (1105/6); Perachorio, from 1160/1180; and then late twelfth-century paintings at Lagoudera, at Kato Lefkara, and at the Enkleistra.

Some of the earliest surviving examples, at St Nicholas of the Roof, include the exception that proves the rule: a painting of St Demetrianus, bishop of Kythrea, who died *c.*915 – not quite within living memory, but already on the later side of the dark age.[73] The earliest layer of decoration is far from complete, but it includes also St Philon of Carpasia, and several early martyrs. At Amasgou we see St Spyridon, bishop of Tremithus, who reputedly attended the Council of Nicaea. At Asinou, in a central position, St Barnabas and St Epiphanius (again) are shown in a square panel, which imitates a portable icon. Included in a rich scheme of decoration, we find as well St Spyridon (again), St Tychon, bishop of Amathus, St Triphyllios, bishop of Ledra, and (unusually) St John the Almsgiver.[74] The equally elaborate scheme at Perachorio includes St Spyridon, St Heracleidios, (arch)bishop of Tamasia, St John the Almsgiver, and St Lazarus, bishop of Kition, looking gaunt as usual.[75] At Lagoudera, painted by a master's hand, we have, as well as St Tychon[76] and St Triphyllios[77], the best example of all,

72. There is some room for question over how early in the century, but in any case the figure of St Demetrianos is relatively very early.

73. Mouriki, loc. cit., p. 276, Fig. 1 (illus. transposed); Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, pp.54f.; Papacostas, 1999, 6.A, 87.

74. Mouriki, p. 268, Fig. 12; Stylianou and Stylianou, pp. 117ff.

75. Mouriki, p.267, Fig. 11.

76. Mouriki, p. 259 and Fig. 3.

77. ibid., p. 264, Fig. 8.

a panel with seven roundels of Cypriot bishops, namely Zenon of Kourion, Nikon, Philagrios of Paphos, Auxibios of Solea, Heracleidios of Tamasia, Makedonios also of Tamasia, and Triphyllios of Ledra.

8. Aristocratic and imperial support for prestigious monasteries.

Until late in the eleventh century, monasteries in Cyprus were mostly quite unpretentious establishments. A possible exception is Ayios Antonios, on a hill overlooking Kellia. Its domed cross-in-square structure is evidently unusually early: late ninth or early tenth century.[78] The earliest surviving layer of decoration offers some support for the idea that the church was originally monastic: Saints Andronicus and Athanasia appear in one panel, Saints Cosmas and Damian elsewhere.[79] Growing prosperity, and a new awareness of the strategic significance of the island, brought changes. Several new foundations were created, endowed from the beginning or from early in their existence, by generous donations from highly-placed benefactors, or even ultimately from the emperor himself. Of these, Kykko is perhaps the most famous, but one may mention also a chronological cluster of foundations from around the 1090s – Koutsovendes, Alypou, and Asinou –- followed by Machairas and Lagoudera.

The foundation-myth of the monastery of Kykko begins and ends high in the forests of the Marathasa.[80] Manuel Voutoumites,[81] while enjoying the pleasures of hunting moufflon,[82] meets an ascetic, Esaias, whom he treats badly. Subsequently Manuel falls ill. Esaias cures Manuel, and asks in return for the icon of the Mother of God, believed to have been painted by the hand of the evangelist Luke himself,[83] and kept (not surprisingly) in the Great Palace. We may pause for a moment over the breath-taking nature of such a request: a provincial ascetic asks the emperor himself for one of

78. Papacostas, 1999, 6.A, 9.

79. Stylianou and Stylianou, pp. 434-6.

80. To the west of Pedoulas.

81. Manuel Voutoumites is attested in Cyprus in the 1090s, but not specifically as doux. That comes only from much later sources, and may or may not be reliable.

82. So the story goes. Hunting moufflon was a pleasure for top people in Lusignan times; why not at this earlier date also? There is a representation of hunting dogs, with a couple of moufflon in the distance (sensible creatures!), in the frescoes of the church of Asinou. Illustration in Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, pp. 134-5.

83. The act of faith in believing that the miraculous icon was attributable to St Luke was, after all, not so much greater a leap, at the time, than the attribution of some old master paintings today.

the world's greatest artistic treasures. When the emperor's daughter falls ill, Manuel summons Esaias to Constantinople. The ascetic heals her, but (according to some versions of the story) is fobbed off with two lesser icons, and money to build a monastery. Only when the emperor himself falls ill, and is cured, does Esaias receive the desired gift.

A monastery is built, essentially to house it, not far from the district where Manuel had been hunting. The foundation-date seems to have been in the reign of Alexius I, possibly in 1085/6.[84] Kykko today is among the best-known, and is doubtless the wealthiest monastic foundation in Cyprus. We should (as judges advise juries) put that out of our minds. Its early history is, alas, largely lost, because the fire of 1365 destroyed not only the buildings but also the monastery's archives, and the story, which has a fairy-tale quality, is known to us supposedly from the memories of the monks who survived the fire, in an account written down in 1422,[85] and also from the fifteenth-century Chronicle of Leontios Machairas.[86] The events of three hundred years previously may have been rather more prosaic, although the icon is a key element in the story.

If the foundation-date has been correctly deduced from the garbled records,[87] it was at a time when Alexius I's attentions were focussed elsewhere. Although Manuel Voutoumites played a central role, at least according to the myth, the monastery is said to have been endowed by an otherwise unattested doux George[88] with three villages (Melon and Melikourion, and Peristerona), and with another monastery as a *metochion*, namely St George, Pentagia,[89] which he had founded near Morphou Bay, together with fields and a mill.

The founder of the Phorbiotissa monastery at Asinou was another high official, namely the magistros Nicephorus Ischyrios. Again, his patronage

84. Alexius had other things on his mind at the time. The sources are confused as to the date, but the career of Manuel Voutoumites indicates Alexius's reign.

85. The text of 1422 is lost.

86. On the sources, see Papacostas, vol. 2, p. 105; Constantinides and Browning, 1993, pp 331-3.

87. 'In the fifth regnal year of Isaac I [1057-9!], in AM 6432 [924!]'.

88. George would have to have been doux before Rhapsomates' coup, since he can hardly have been appointed during the secession, nor in the years following, when Eumathios Philokales was doux. Could there be a confusion over names? Could the benefactor, even, have been Manuel? It has been suggested as very likely that the grant comprised crown lands which had been granted by the emperor to George (or Manuel), See Papacostas, p. 106.

89. Papacostas, vol. 2, 6B.32 (pp. 95-6).

is prominently recorded in a painted inscription, which reads, 'Having been blessed in this life with many things, of which Thou, O Virgin, wast seen to be the provider, I, Nicephorus magistros, a pitiful supplicant, erected this church with longing, in return for which I pray that I may find thee my patron in the terrible Day of Judgement'.[90] Another inscription states that the work of decoration was carried out in 1105/6. While Nicephorus supplied the patronage, the spiritual impetus may have come from Palestine, from the monastery of Kalamon, near Jericho.[91] It seems that Nicephorus himself may have become a monk at Asinou, after the death of his wife Gephyra in December 1106.[92]

Mrs Buckler, in 1933, argued that Nicephorus was one and the same with the son of Konstantinos Katakalon (Eu*phorb*enos, cf. *Phorb*iotissa) and that he was married to the second daughter of the emperor Alexius I.[93] Her argument, which Professor Mango has dismissed out of hand, depended partly on the extreme fewness of magistroi. Although originally a very high dignity, it had declined by the mid-eleventh century, when it was seventh in the hierarchy. In the time of Alexius I, it may have sunk even further. While that is true, the over-all view may have been more complicated. It seems that from an early date there were magistroi and magistroi.[94] A series of lead seals of the seventh and eighth centuries demonstrates the regular formula, 'patricius and magistros', i.e. even then it seems that magistros was (also) an office (equivalent to magister militum) – even if it was reserved for imperial servants of aristocratic origin. But it was borne by provincial judges and tax assessors,[95] whom one would be surprised to see ranked so highly. The dignity was a high rank: the office somewhat less so. Whether at Asinou it was also an office, e.g. the governorship of a city, is not very clear. Epiphanios Paschales was a magistros in Cyprus in 1091.

90. Stylianou and Stylianou, p. 114 and Fig. 57.

91. The obits of various hegumens and monks of the Phorbiotissa are added to a ms of 1062/63, which evidently belonged to the monastery. The early hegumens Leontios and Domatios were disciples of St Sabas. See Papacostas, vol. 2, pp 116-17.

92. Papacostas, p. 112, leaves the question open whether or not Asinou was originally built as a private chapel, and only converted into a monastery after Gephyra's death. The quality and expense of the decoration might seem excessive for a private chapel. The monk Nicholas Isen is mentioned a the *ktetor* of the monastery: is this Nicephorus, who has taken another name in religion?

93. Buckler, 1933.

94. Cf. the British system of honours, with royal dukes, and dukes.

95. Mango and Hawkins, 1964, at pp. 335-9.

High patronage continued through the twelfth century. Reliable and circumstantial evidence, free from the selective distortions of myth-making, is provided by the *typikon* of the monastery of the Theotokos at Machairas. The rule, which was drawn up in its present form in 1210, rehearses the austere beginnings of the community, half a century previously.[96] An elderly ascetic living in the Judaean desert near the River Jordan moved to Cyprus in order to escape from Arab raiding. He found an 'untrodden and rough mountain removed from all disturbance of men', and took up residence there with an acolyte, the monk Ignatios.[97] They obtained their daily sustenance from certain persons who were lovers of Christ.[98] In time Neophytos died. Ignatios began cultivating the ground. He was joined by another elderly ascetic, Prokopios. Old age and infirmity prevented them from the task of cultivation. In *c.*1160 they were persuaded to travel to Constantinople, to ask the emperor for financial help.[99] In the new climate of patronage which now prevailed, he gave them the mountain on which they lived, and an annual income of fifty hyperpyra for the monastery. Also he exempted the monastery from diocesan control.[100] Neophytos passed away, leaving Prokopios and five or six brethren.[101] In 1171/2 the dynamic Neilos joined the monastery as a novice, and in time rose to become its abbot. The monastery attracted donations and bequests, which allowed the community to build, in style, a new church, refectory, and cells.[102] Its stauropegic status was confirmed by the bishop of Tamasos. The wealth of the community grew. Isaac II confirmed Manuel's privileges, and granted an orchard from crown lands in Nicosia.[103]

The next example did not, so far as we know, involve aristocratic or imperial support, but the donations that it received were sufficient to achieve similar ends. The cave of the Enkleistra, which St. Neophytus found and made habitable in 1159-60, was decorated (or redecorated[104])

96. Coureas, 2003.

97. ibid., c.7, p. 67.

98. ibid.

99. ibid., c.8.

100. ibid., c.9.

101. ibid., c.10, p. 68.

102. iibid., c.15, p. 70.

103. This grant will probably have been a dead letter during the reign of Isaac Comnenus. For the sort of orchard that it may have been, cf. Weaver, *The Royal Garden of Pevkou*.

104. The Crucifixion above the door into the sanctuary shows traces of an earlier composition underneath, as does the Deesis to the left of the tomb. Stylianou and Stylianou, pp. 355 and 361.

24 years later, by one of the few *maestri* whose name is preserved. He left an inscription in the saint's cell: 'The Enkleistra . . . was painted by the hand of me, Theodoros Apseudes, in the year 6691 [1183]'. At the end of that same year, or in 1184, Isaac Comnenus arrived in Cyprus. The chapel of the Holy Cross was consecrated again in the same year, but was not decorated until 1196. The work of Theodoros is in the classicizing 'court' style. It is probable, although not certain, that he came to Cyprus from Constantinople.

St. Neophytus had been persuaded in 1170 by the bishop of Paphos, Basil Kinnamos, to accept a disciple. His fame brought increasing numbers of worshippers to the threshold of his retreat, to his discomfiture. The growing wealth of the tiny community, through their pious donations, made it possible to engage the services of a talented painter. Bishop Basil had the connections to know how to find the right man, and one may assume that he facilitated the contract.[105] This scenario raises interesting religious questions. To what extent were the paintings a valued aid to devotion, and to what extent a cultural amenity in a prosperous age? Were the powerful led instinctively to a conspicuous display of wealth and good taste, in the latest fashionable metropolitan styles?[106] Were the worshippers impressed?

Right at the end of the Byzantine period in Cyprus, the church of the Panayia tou Arakos, situated remotely just above Lagoudera in the central Troodos, at 1,000m above sea level, was most sumptuously decorated (or redecorated) by an artist of the highest talent, again in the metropolitan, classicizing style.[107] As at Asinou, there are two inscriptions. One is a prominent, formal expression of piety, couched in dodecasyllabic verses, while the other briefly records the date of completion of the work, namely December 1192. The pious inscription forms part of a panel some three metres high, on the south wall, with a powerful, larger-than life-size

105. On Basil Kinnamos, see Mango and Hawkins, 1966, 204-6.

106. If one thinks of modern analogies, in the eighteenth-century palaces and stately homes of the aristocracy and gentry (which even at that time, tourists might visit when the family was not in residence), one can detect aspects of the very uneven distribution of wealth between the social classes, and of profound cultural aspiration.

107. It has even been suggested that he was Thedoros Apseudes. That is a judgement which experienced art historians are best qualified to make. To a layman's eye the work of the Lagoudera painter seems more compact and sophisticated. The church has been beautifully cleaned and restored (with no repainting) under the direction of Mr D. Winfield (Winfield, n.d. and earlier interim reports in *DOP* 25 (1971), 259-64; *RDAC* 1971, 147-9, and *RDAC* 1978, 279-87). See also Nicolaïdès, 1996 (originally a doctoral thesis).

standing figure of the Arakiotissa. It is the apogee of late Comnenian style. 'O most pure Mother of God, he who with great desire and warmth has helped to portray in perishable colours thine undefiled icon, Leo, the poor and worthless suppliant, surnamed *tou Autentos* from his father, together with his wife and fellow-servant . . . request faithfully and with countless tears that they, with their fellow-servants their children, thy suppliants, may pass the remainder of their life in happiness, and that they may in the end be favoured among the saved', etc. Leo's father was an *authentis*, i.e. of the upper classes, and possibly a governor. The date is recorded on a panel over the north door depicting the Holy Tile,[108] *to hagion keram(id)ion*: 'The most venerable church of the most Holy Mother of God of Arakos was painted by the contribution and great desire of the Lord Leo, son of the *authentis*, in the month of December, indiction 11, of the year 6701 [1192]'. Was this ambitious project planned and executed during the reign of Isaac Comnenus (with what that would imply about conditions on the island)?- or was it perhaps begun and largely achieved before 1184, and the final touches added after the conquest by Richard Coeur-de-Lion in 1191?[109] How many months did it take to paint the church at Lagoudera? When was the church originally built, and when did it become a monastery? There are traces of an earlier scheme of decoration, at the foot of the Arakiotissa panel,[110] and similarly below the figure of Christ Antiphonetes;[111] how much earlier they are, it is impossible to say. The church is built mostly of the local undressed sideropetra, but the dome drum is in ashlar, which must have been brought from elsewhere.[112] In spite of a portable icon donated by a monk at an early date, the best guess seems to be that the Arakiotissa was originally an estate chapel.[113] Perhaps Leo and his family were dispossessed, in the early years of Lusignan rule.

108. Stylianou and Stylianou, p. 158, fig. 84. The head of Christ and the ornamented cross within the nimbus very closely replicate those of the Holy Handkerchief (to hagion mandelion) in the tip above the apse, over the altar: ibid., p. 174, fig. 96. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. 1123.

109. Vis-à-vis the date of December 1192, Richard secured the island in late May 1191, and sailed to Palestine in June. A revolt against the Templars in April 1192 was put down with ferocity, and Cyprus was sold to Guy de Lusignan in May 1192.

110. Stylianou and Stylianou, p. 178.

111. ibid.

112. Presumably from the lowlands: Papacostas, 1999, 6.A,15, and cf. 6.A,95.

113. This is argued in Papacostas, 1999, 6.A,15 and 6.B,13.

APPENDIX

Literacy and sacred learning: Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1191.

Wealthy monasteries maintained considerable libraries. At the Enkleistra in the time of the founder, St Neophytos, the library already contained some 150 codices.[1] It was in monasteries, too, that the time-consuming and expensive task of creating manuscript codices was centred, although copyists may sometimes have worked elsewhere. Copying was devoted largely to the production of gospel books, psalters, lectionaries, synaxaria and lives of saints, collections of homilies, and biblical commentaries, all for monastic or clerical use. Various service books were necessary for the proper performance of the divine office. Literacy was probably the preserve of the bishops and their deacons, of monks, and – in secular society – of a small echelon of higher administrative officials who received written instructions, kept official records, and made written reports. It was, of course, perfectly possible to govern an empire without being able to read or write:[2] one employed people who could – chartularies, primicerii, scholastici, scribes, scriniarii, and so on.

Of all the administrative paper-work, virtually nothing from Cyprus survives, except the lead seals by which it was validated.[3] Each lead seal that has been found in the soil once had a document attatched to it, and that tells us that literacy was in some sense widespread through the island, at least up until *c.*750. Donations of real estate were sometimes recorded by charter, and religious houses preserved such documents.[4] About texts by

1. Tsiknopoullos, 1955, pp. 206-12.

2. In the West, Charlemagne never mastered his letters.

3. *BLSC* ad loc.

4. The calendar of deeds of the Kriniotissa monastery is a good example. Kykko's early deeds were lost by fire.

classical authors, again almost nothing survives; but we notice that Leontios of Neapolis, for example, was able to quote from Dionysios of Sinope. Mango insists on the very small percentage of the literate,[5] and that was doubtless the case from the mid-eighth century onwards. St. Neophytos is a well-known example of someone who left his village unable to read or write.[6] From 491 to 691, however, there are substantial numbers of lead seals which appear to have belonged to private individuals.[7] These suggest a slightly wider spread of literacy (although not necessarily of a sophisticated standard) through urban society.[8] In the same two centuries, a certain number of works such as saints' lives were composed in Cyprus.[9] We hear of the panegyris at Tremithus in December 655 when a Life of St Spyridon, newly composed by the bishop of Paphos, was read out aloud to the people[10] – most of whom will have been illiterate, but by no means incapable of listening closely.

Codices sometimes remained in the same monastic library for several hundred years. The eleventh-century Paris 691, for example, with annotations in the hand of St Neophytos, was still in the Enkleistra in the sixteenth century. There are other instances where a manuscript was transferred from one monastic library to another. And there are numerous examples of eleventh-century manuscripts with obits and other marginal notes written in Cyprus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But the fact that an eleventh-century manuscript was demonstrably in Cyprus in the fourteenth or fifteenth century is by no means a complete proof that it was there from the moment that it was written. There is, for example, a synaxarion which was at Asinou from very early in the twelfth century, but which was written in 1062/3, very possibly in Palestine, before the monastery of the Panayia *ton Phorbion* was founded.

5. C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, Birmingham, 1981, pp. 48-57, at p. 49, where he estimates that over 95 per cent of the population were illiterate.

6. Galatariotou, 1991. Darrouzès has a nice comment on Paris 382: 'aveu d'un certain Olympitis Michel qui a passé cinq ans au couvent des Saints-Anargyres pour apprendre les lettres et n'a rien appris, comme le prouve du reste son écriture'.

7. *BLSC*, much of the material from cat. nos. 307-410 and 505-805.

8. Also, there is a sharp contrast before and after *c.*700 in the numbers of lead seals of lesser officials, such as those mentioned above, whose duties obviously involved reading and writing. The contrast is no doubt real enough, but it might in principle be partly because after *c.*700 they no longer sealed documents themselves.

9. Kyrris, 1985, pp. 203f., para. 107.

10. Van den Ven, 1953.

Church service-books, although handled with care, eventually wore out and were replaced. Occasionally whole libraries were lost through fire, as happened at Kykko and also at Machairas. Some of the contents of monastic libraries have been rescued from oblivion, through the activity of manuscript collectors, mainly in the West. In this way a fair amount survives from Cyprus from the eleventh century and later, but little indeed from the tenth, and virtually nothing from earlier centuries. That does not necessarily mean that codices were multiplied only from the tenth century: merely that earlier volumes have very rarely survived. There are several hints that monastic libraries existed after the Arab invasions and through the impoverished centuries which followed. At the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680/1, Bishop Stratonicus of Soloi and two of his brother bishops were able to present a dossier of patristic material apparently brought by them from their own libraries.[11] Secondly, at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 the archbishop of Cyprus spoke of having copies of various works by Leontios of Neapolis.[12] They may well have been codices written in the 640s, since 150 years was nothing in the life of a codex, but without seeing them we cannot exclude that they were re-copied later. There will have been a wide range of other works available in eighth-century Cyprus, and far more again in the sixth and seventh centuries. Before the Arab invasions there may have been private libraries containing secular works by classical authors, as well as monastic libraries. Thirdly, we learn (admittedly from a much later source) that during the caliphate of al-Mamun (813-33), the Arabs confiscated an entire library in Cyprus.[13] The main point to recognize is that, prior to the tenth century, there are four or five hundred years of literacy in Cyprus, for which the physical evidence is completely lost to us, and from which only a few saints' lives survive.

The collecting of manuscript codices in the late seventeenth century was subsidized by the king of France and by other extremely wealthy patrons such as Colbert. Sauvan, the French consul in Cyprus, was particularly active in acquiring material from monasteries and churches throughout the island, using the most persuasive argument of generous payment.[14] Even so, monasteries will have been reluctant to part with

11. Acta Concil. Oecumenic. 2 Ser., II. ii. pp. 654, 27ff.

12. See p.22.

13. Winkelmann and Brandes, 1990, quoting Gamal al-Din ibn Nubata al-Misri (d.1366). It is quite possible that in the early ninth century the intention of confiscating a library was to read the books.

14. J. Darrouzès, 'Manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris', repr. in Darrouzès, 1972.

Gospels or other biblical books: what survives may be weighted towards what was regarded as disposable. It would be an exaggeration to speak of a clean sweep, but certainly a great many old manuscripts were sold, and carried out of Cyprus. For example, somewhere between 250 and 300 manuscripts purchased in Cyprus are now deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[15] Similarly, there are other important collections of manuscripts in the Vatican Library, on Mount Athos, in Athens, in Jerusalem, Sinai, Berlin, New York, and Chicago. They have been thoroughly inventoried by Darrouzès.[16] The majority were produced after 1191, and will not concern us here. But there are more than a hundred codices of the twelfth century or earlier, which were acquired in Cyprus in modern times. As already explained, the fact that a pre-1191 manuscript was found in Cyprus in the seventeenth century is however not a complete guarantee that it was there already by 1191: it may have been carried there at a later date. Out of more than a hundred, 17 dated or dateable manuscripts are listed, which were in Cyprus in Byzantine times. That raises the question, how many more than 17 there were in Cyprus, – even if it cannot be demonstrated.

A special case of this general argument concerns illuminated manuscripts. From the mid-twelfth century onwards (to our knowledge), beautifully illuminated books were being produced in the Byzantine provinces. Very few of them had an informative colophon, from which their place of origin might be known. In the 1970s and 1980s the suggestion was made that some might have been made in Cyprus or Palestine.[17] To the original nucleus attributed in this way, more and more manuscripts were added, on grounds of style. A distinctive 'decorated style' was recognized, and art historians speak of a 'family' of manuscripts, sometimes with the label, the '2400 family'.[18] In the end, a rather ridiculous situation was reached, in which the great bulk of provincial manuscripts of mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century date were attached to the group. More than a hundred manuscripts were in question, yet only three of them included any written evidence to support a Cypriot or Palestinian origin. Meanwhile, the great city of Antioch, with its satellite monasteries at Daphne, St Barlaam, St Symeon Stylites the Younger, and in the Black Mountain, remained a blank on the codicological map. The bubble has been pricked by Dr Alexander Saminsky, who has demonstrated very close connections

15. R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin*, Paris, 1945.

16. J. Darrouzès, 'Autres manuscrits originaires de Chypre', repr. in Darrouzès, 1972.

17. Weyl Carr, 1973; Cutler and Weyl Carr, 1976; Weyl Carr 1982; Weyl Carr, 1989.

18. So named from ms Chicago 965 (= Gregory 2400).

between various Georgian and Greek illuminated manuscripts.[19] The Georgian manuscripts, unlike the Greek ones, usually have colophons stating where they were produced. They demonstrate a literary tradition in the various Georgian monasteries that grew up around the city of Antioch after 969. The Greek manuscripts which are closely similar in style will certainly be from the same locale.

Part of the problem was – and is – that both the scribes, and the *maestri* who illuminated the manuscripts (not necessarily one and the same) could be peripatetic. Constantinopolitan artists might travel to, and work in, the provinces, where their *oeuvre* might be admired and imitated; and likewise a local artist might move to another province, taking his skills and his recognizable style with him, and working there too. Assessing the aesthetic of Constantinopolitan originals and talented imitations of them is work for an experienced scholar with a trained eye. Likewise, a manuscript with Antiochene miniatures, such as Koutloumousiou MS 61, could have been decorated by a visiting *maestro* from Cyprus or Palestine.

Very few early manuscripts from Cyprus are dated, and even fewer include colophons or other material referring to Cyprus. There is, for example, a tenth-century Gospel book which the magistros Epiphanios Paschalis gave to the Alypou monastery in 1091. It remained there until the distinguished antiquary Peiresc acquired it in *c.*1627. It is now in the Municipal Library in Carpentras. Constantinides and Browning, in their *magnum opus*,[20] list only 11 dated manuscripts, plus a twelfth that was completed in 1193, and which will be admitted to our list, plus three *dubia*. (There are, as mentioned, a good hundred more manuscripts which are not dated, but which may be judged by their style of writing to belong to the period before 1191). All these are usually referred to by their present whereabouts and library numbers. A summary list of the dated manuscripts will give the flavour of what has survived.

1. *Paris, BnF Gr. 1590.* A Synaxarion for the first half of the church's year. 237 folios. The ms was copied in 1062/3, i.e. at a date almost certainly prior to the foundation date of the monastic church of Asinou.[21] Whether

19. A. Saminsky, 'Georgian and Greek illuminated manuscripts from Antioch', in K. Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf (editors), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, I. *Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 147), Leuven, 2006, pp. 17-78.

20. Constantinides and Browning, 1993.

21. *Pace* Constantinides and Browning, pp. 49ff. A sample page is illustrated in Constantinides and Browning, pl. 1. Paris 710 is a closely similar manuscript with a colophon date of 1065, but it arrived in Cyprus much later.

it is of Palestinian or (less probably) of Cypriot origin is, as so often, debateable, because Palestinian ascetics and monks came to settle in Cyprus, bringing books with them. But it belonged to Asinou from an early date after its foundation. Marginal notes refer to the deaths of early abbots of Asinou (*ton Phorbion*) in 1115, 1119, 1121, and 1145.

2. *Vatican, Barberinus Gr 528*. Homilies of St John Chrysostom, etc. 318 folios. A rather provincial luxury volume, copied probably in 1072/3 (or 991/2?) and almost certainly in Cyprus.[22] A long note on folio 192r-v is a register of the possessions of the Kriniotissa monastery, where the ms was in the twelfth century.[23]

3. *Paris, BnF Gr. 1215*. A collection of apocryphal works and homilies on the Holy Virgin. 211 folios. The volume was sponsored by a certain bishop Leontios, whose see is unknown. The province of origin is disputed, but the ms was in Cyprus in the fourteenth century, and Constantinides and Browning say, 'probably copied in Cyprus in 1080'.[24]

4. *Jerusalem, St Saba 259*. Orations, encomia, lives of saints, and apocryphal works. 317 folios. Copied by Gerasimos, monk and priest, in 1089/90. The ms was sponsored by Basil Koubouklеisios of the village of Vavla, (near Lefkara).[25] In the twelfth century the ms was in the monastery of Stylos and Agros (Limassol district). The original dedication has been erased, and replaced by the name of the monastery of St Nicholas of the Promontory (Akrotiri). Script and parchment of a provincial quality.[26]

5. *Athos, Laura, Γ 17*. An important parchment volume containing lives and encomia of saints; works of Isaac Syros. It was copied in Cyprus in 1089/90. A colophon indicates that it was sponsored by Gerasimos, of St John Koutsobendes, who was a contemporaruy of the copyist, Euthymios.[27]

6. *Vatican Gr. 1231*. Copied 1107 x 1118. A catena on the book of Job, comprising commentaries by half a dozen authors. The luxurious ms was copied by the 'humble' priest (i.e. a monk or ex-monk?) John Tarsites for Doux Leo Nikerites.[28]

22. ibid., p.57 and pll. 2, 3.

23. ibid., pl.235.

24. ibid., p. 61 and pll. 4-7.

25. N.b. not 15 miles west of Kyrenia. Constantinides and Browning were perhaps thinking of Vasileia.

26. ibid., p. 66 and pl. 8.

27. Darrouzès, 'Autres manuscrits . . . ', repr. in Darrouzès, 1972, p. 139, no. 24; Constantinides and Browning, 1993, p. 4, n. 5, and p. 35; Constantinides, 'Dated Greek MSS, p. 658, no. 36. I am indebted to Dr Papacostas for his help over this codex.

28. ibid., p.69 and pl. 9.

7. *Paris, BnF Gr, 1531*. Lives of saints and homilies for December. 319 folios. Written at the monastery *ton Hiereon* (Ayia Mone). The volume was commissioned by Abbot Gerasimos, in 1112, and the calligrapher was Klemes. (Paris BN Gr. 1588, see below, is also in his hand. Klemes later became abbot, and in that capacity restored a volume created in A.D. 954 – no. 14 below.)[29]

8. *Paris BnF Gr. 1588*. A synaxarion for the whole year (September-July survive). 280 folios. Copied *c*.1112. (In 1142 the scribe Klemes re-copied the lost part of the text.)[30]

9. *Vatican, Barberinianus Gr. 449*. Four Gospels. 250 folios. Copied 1153. The copyist was the priest Manuel Boukellaros Hagiostephanites. The 'decorative style' is distinctive: at least ten mss of this large family are judged to have been copied in Cyprus, and perhaps a few others.[31]

10. *New York, H. P. Kraus*. Four Gospels. 354 folios. Copied 1156. The volume was sponsored by Archbishop John the Cretan (1152-77), in 1156, soon after his appointment. The copyist was again Manuel Hagiostephanites, in the 'decorative style'. The volume contains eight miniatures. Cf. the similar tetraevangelion Andros, Mone tes Ayias 32.[32]

11. *Athens, Benaki, Vitr. 34.3*. A richly illustrated psalter, with canticles and prayers. 198 folios. Copied *c*.1150 x 1180. The scribe was monk Barnabas, megas oikonomos of the holdings of the patriarch of Jerusalem in Cyprus. The ms may have originated at the monastery of St John Chrysostom, Koutsobendes; or it might possibly be Palestinian.

12. *Paris, BnF Gr. 633*. Thirty homilies by St John Chrysostom. 242 folios. Copied 1186.[33]

13. *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 287*. Gospel lectionary. 272 folios. Copied 1193, in the 'decorative style'. The copyist is the deacon Thomas, prosmonarios of the monastery of St John Eleemon in the village of Trachonas, near Nicosia.[34]

14. *Paris, BnF Gr. 668*. St John Chrysostom, 44 homilies on the Gospel according to Matthew. 367 folios. Copied originally in 954 (October 6463,

29. ibid., p. 72 and pl. 10.

30. ibid., p. 75 and pl. 11.

31. ibid., p. 81 and pl. 12; Weyl Carr, 1982, 1987, 1989; Constantinides, 1989.

32. ibid., p. 84 and pl. 13.

33. ibid., pll. 14-16. See Weyl Carr, 1987, pp. 35, 127, 132.; Darrouzès, p. 178 and n.5.

34. ibid., p. 94

indiction 13) by a priest John (not necessarily in Cyprus). In 1141/2 the ms was restored at the orders of Klemes, abbot of the monastery *ton Hiereon*. The scribe, the priest John, wrote the original colophon in October 954.

15. *London BL, Add.11836*. Four Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Psalms, and Canticles. 311 folios, in the 'decorative style'. Copied c.1150 x 1180.[35] The small size (187 x 140mm) and tiny script, and the rich illustrations indicate that this codex was copied for the private use of some wealthy individual. As such it offers rare evidence of the private devotional use of holy scripture. It was in Cyprus from at least the fifteenth century onwards, in the church of Hosios Barnabas, Vassa (near Omodhos). It was possibly written in Cyprus. Cf. St Neophytos. Codex 12, below.

16. *Cyprus, Codex Nicosiensis*. Four gospels. 48 folios survive. Copied c.1180 x 1190, in the 'decorative style'. This ms had been kept in Cyprus, and was acquired by its present owner from a local villager who had had it as an heirloom.[36]

17. *Cracow, formerly Berlin, Staatsbibliotek 287, Fol. 51*. A Gospel lectionary, copied by the deacon Thomas from the monastery of St John Eleemon in 1193. It was sponsored by the priests and householders of the village of Syvouris.[37] The sponsorship illustrates the commitment of the villagers to their church.

One may also mention

Paris 648. An eleventh-century manuscript, copied shortly before 1051 for, if not even by, Bishop Michael of Kourion. Later it passed to the monastery *ton Hiereon*.[38]

– and two codices at the monastery of St Neophytos:
St Neophytos, Codex 11. A Gospel lectionary. In the 'decorative' style.[39]

St Neophytos, Codex 12. A tetraevangelion of small size (182 x 136mm) and of modest quality, owned probably by a private individual,[40] cf. no. 15 above.

35. ibid., p.363-6, pll. 168-9.

36. Constantinides and Browning hesitate to assert that it is Cypriot, pending discovery (hopefully) of the rest of the ms.

37. Constantinides, 1993, pp. 327f.

38. Darrouzès, p. 179.

39. Weyl Carr, 1993.

40. ibid.

PART 2. THE CHANGING FABRIC OF SOCIETY

CHAPTER X

FROM 491 TO 610

The 'long' sixth century (from the accession of Anastasius to that of Heraclius) was an age of growing prosperity for Cyprus, as it recovered from the natural disasters of the fourth century, and benefitted from peace and tranquillity in the Justinianic age. Its territory escaped damage in the Persian Wars. In the time of Maurice the conflict may even have had a positive impact on the economy of those parts of the island which had a strategic contribution to make. Copious sherds of storage and transport amphoras at many coastal sites, especially along the south coast, demonstrate the prosperity gained during the sixth century through foreign trade. Cyprus was a maritime province, and shipping was the lifeblood of its economy. Together with mining, seaborne trade was what lifted its economy above the basic level sustained by agriculture, and gave some insurance against consecutive years of drought. The cities of the south coast were the focal points of the province's considerable wealth. Several major field surveys, recording the scatter of sherds through the countryside (see Fig. 1, above), show that the wealth generated in the coastlands enriched the inland areas too. Cyprus had a varied and integrated economy. The sherds also suggest that, as regards the Byzantine period, the sixth century was the high point of the island's prosperity – an apogee which may have lasted until the Arab raids in the middle of the seventh century in some districts, but not, apparently, in the south-west, which seems to have been in decline from about the middle of the sixth century.

The over-riding historical question concerns the degree of prosperity achieved by the early seventh century, and this is something which is difficult to judge. We have no way of quantifying the levels of wealth, and have to rely on hints here and there, and on literary evidence which shows that city folk, at least, were comfortably off, with money to spare for what might be called a cultivated life-style.

A supplementary question which turns out, more surprisingly, to be just as hard to answer in any detail, concerns the trend of rising prosperity during the long sixth century. Although there need be little doubt about the general perspective of long-term growth in most parts of Cyprus, evidence which can be dated specifically to within a decade or a couple of decades is astonishingly hard to find, and tenuous when found. It seems paradoxical that the Byzantine province's age of greatest wealth should be so nearly a blank in the historical record. Perhaps the province was governed with a lighter hand than it was after 610, so far as officialdom was concerned. It follows that there may in detail have been short periods of set-back or stand-still superimposed on a rising trend-line, which are at present impossible to detect. The close dating of sherds is, after all, an optimistic exercise, and a scatter of sherds is likely to be an accumulation over time, which can at best yield a date bracket. Whether a dense scatter equates with a high level of prosperity or is some sort of local phenomenon is, moreover, a subjective judgement. The most interesting evidence concerns fine wares, and comes from Panayia Ematousa: it is discussed below. The majority of sixth/early-seventh century lead seals are equally difficult to date precisely (except for one imperial lead seal of Tiberius II[1]), and in any case there seem to be surprisingly few surviving among the finds from Cyprus. These would include conical (uniface) lead seals, which are relatively very uncommon. In a histogram of stray finds, reflecting the trend of their loss-rate, lead seals are by no means directly proportional to the levels of prosperity, compared with, say, the second half of the seventh century (i.e. after the Arab invasions), from which lead seals are abundant. Church architecture is a more promising line of enquiry, but again, exact dating is often debateable. Churches were from time to time refurbished. Their floors were relaid, and in the sixth century *opus sectile* tended to replace mosaics. But the number of churches newly built was perhaps fewer, because those that had been built in the fifth century were not in need of replacement. Coinage, finally, is the obvious indicator of economic activity, and most copper coins bear annual dates (although they may of course have been concealed or accidentally lost well after their date of issue). Hoards are, in principle, closely dateable; stray finds are not. But again, hoards from the 'long' sixth century are almost non-existent, in spite of the island's wealth. That may be partly because it was a time of relative security. There are very few gold hoards (and those few tend to be modest sums made up of the lower-value fractions – semisses and tremisses), although great quantities of gold currency were undoubtedly in use. Stray

1. *BLSC* 1.

losses of gold are also surprisingly few. When St John the Almsgiver divested himself of all his family wealth he kept for out-of-pocket expenses, not a few copper folles, but – as his Life tells us – a gold tremissis. Although the reign of Justinian was a monetary hey-day throughout the Empire, the site-finds of coins from systematic excavations are trifling in number. There is so much less than survives from the seventh century that one is bound to ask oneself whether the statistics can safely be read as a straight-line graph. It must seem that in peaceful times, loss-rates were extremely low. Either that, or else the dislocations caused by the Arab raids (improbably) provoked an intensive monetization of the economy. The contrast between the sixth and the seventh centuries in that respect is dramatic. The stray losses contribute disappointingly little systematic information such as might be used to establish medium-term monetary trends.

In short, therefore, for technical reasons neither ceramics, nor lead seals, nor architecture, nor coinage can provide a completely secure framework measuring change during the sixth century. One is left with only some rather scrappy and episodic evidence from which to assess the major chronological perspectives of early Byzantine Cyprus. Some of it concerns prestigious building projects, for which the province very probably benefitted from imperial subsidies. These will have created employment, particularly for craftsmen, and will have had knock-on effects. The buildings in question were located mainly in the capital, but the economic benefits will no doubt have trickled outwards to some extent. Nevertheless the wide distribution of handsome churches and their expensive refurbishment offers a hint that that explanation is not the main one. It was primarily the peace that the Byzantine Empire was able to bring to the east Mediterranean world, which enabled private individuals to prosper. In that way, cumulatively, the whole province prospered. Subsidies from the centre were welcome, and may be conspicuous in our evidence, but against the bottom line of the balance sheet they were of secondary importance.

There seems to be one partial exception to the prevailing chronological vagueness which shrouds sixth-century Cyprus. The years 535 to *c.*543 were a moment of change for the province: change in the contribution that it was expected to make to the Empire as a whole, and (to facilitate that contribution) change in the administrative and judicial framework within which the province was governed. We know in some detail about these constitutional changes as theory, but how they affected the lives of the Cypriots in practice, and to what extent, remains a matter for conjecture. For example, we know about the changing framework of the law, but how many law-suits were brought to the courts is quite unknown.

Other than the initiatives of 535 to *c.*543, one can mention that the building of the basilica of St Barnabas, just ouside Constantia, was begun at the end of the fifth century: it envisaged considerable numbers of pilgrims,[2] many of them pausing in Cyprus, presumably, on their way to or from the Holy Land. Pilgrimage (the tourism of the age) may have made a substantial contribution to the economy of Cyprus. Even greater throngs were expected when the sumptuous basilica of Campanopetra, also at Constantia, was designed. In each case we should remember that great basilicas were not built overnight. Their construction might require decades. Justinian's empire-wide programme of rebuilding and fortification, as described by Procopius, seems hardly to have affected Cyprus, which he barely mentions. Inscriptional evidence points to the rebuilding of the public baths at Constantia in the time of Justinian and Theodora; and there may have been imperial subsidies for the basilica of Campanopetra, although there the dating is contentious. Procopius, in an obscure couple of sentences in the *De Aedificiis*, mentions 'the poor-house of St Konon. His water-channel he renewed in Cyprus'. On the face of it this appears to refer to the Akamas region; but it seems that the poor-house may have been in Isauria, or perhaps in Syria,[3] and that the mention of the saint caused Procopius to add the remark about another project named after him, somewhere in Cyprus, at that point. It seems intrinsically rather improbable that it refers to a water-channel in a small settlement in the Akamas.[4] The defences of Amathus were strengthened, and work was undertaken on the water supply at Kourion,[5] (perhaps this was the aqueduct in question?) but neither of these is mentioned by Procopius. Neither was a major enterprise by imperial standards, and in any case they are unlikely to have received subsidy.

Under Tiberius II and through the reign of Maurice, the province attracted imperial attention, no doubt for strategic reasons connected with the Persian wars. The details of particular projects, including the resettlement of refugees, cannot be localized within Cyprus. Likewise the effects of the plague, which is unlikely not to have reached Cyprus, are entirely undocumented. Apart from an upturn in stray finds of coins of

2. See p.310.

3. Christodoulou, 2000/1 suggests a copyist's mistake for Cyrrhus/Kyrros.

4. Cf. Fejfer, 1995, p. 29. Although there were numerous churches in the Akamas, the topography makes a water-channel unlikely. An urban destination for the water would be more understandable.

5. See p. 292.

Maurice and of Phocas – which, as explained above, may or may not have been lost soon after they were minted[6] –there is again remarkably little to show, from a significant period in the history of Byzantine Cyprus. It was probably a time of strong economic growth for the province, but strict proof is lacking. There are some oblique but intriguing hints in the Lambousa treasure, which should lead one to suspect that there was considerably more going on in Cyprus in the last quarter of the sixth century than the written sources even hint at. The treasure included, it will be recalled,[7] a solidus of Justin II with Tiberius II (578), the Epiphany medallion of 12 solidi of Maurice (584), consular medallions of six solidi, and a further eight consular solidi, again of Maurice. The family who still owned all these rare items, sixty or seventy years later, had performed signal service to the emperor. We cannot know whether they had been resident in Cyprus throughout, but at least they were not recent arrivals.

Finally, in 608 or 609 Cyprus was seized and held by Heraclius as a stepping-stone on his thrust to capture Constantinople and to overthrow Phocas. After some initial confusion and uncertainty on the part of the citizens of Constantia, it seems that Cyprus backed Heraclius – something which the emperor remembered with gratitude later in his reign.

Ninety-nine per cent of what happened day by day in sixth-century Cyprus is unrecorded. All the rich detail of individual lives, which would be available to a historian of the modern period through diaries, newspapers, and so on, is utterly lost. The hearts and minds of Byzantine people in general are illustrated by plerophora, etc., but information relating specifically to Cyprus is almost lacking. Sermons, and saints' Lives, are as near as one can get to social observation. Leontios, the bishop of Neapolis, in his life of Symeon the Holy Fool, gives us an assortment of glimpses of city life. He was writing at the time of the very peak of the island's prosperity, and he may have had a pastoral concern to remind his flock that worldly wealth should not be allowed to go to their heads – hence his choice of subject. Although the stories supposedly refer to Syria rather than to Limassol, it is reasonable to assume that Leontios was aware of his Cypriot audience, and that he judged that the details and the social background to the anecdotes would not seem in any way strange or exotic to his hearers. His vignettes fill one or two serious gaps in our knowledge, for example by referring to the institution of slavery, about which we

6. One might make an exception for the stray finds excavated at the *hagiasma* at Salamis. See p. 312.

7. See above, p. 58.

should otherwise be able to say nothing relevant to Cyprus.[8] Symeon, who is represented as having a tiresomely puerile sense of humour, in alliance with barely repressed problems in relation to sexuality, would enter the houses of the wealthy and clown around, pretending to fondle the female slaves.[9] From this we learn to identify the wealthy, who had town houses, in which access to the servants' quarters was open enough. Slaves are mentioned again in another incident concerning theft by a slave within a household where the master thrashed his slaves quite excessively – and, needless to say, failed to bring out the best in them. With kinder treatment, the lost sum was recovered.[10] Leontios's pastoral care shows itself in this exemplum.

In similar vein there is a story about the bath-house: Symeon strips naked, and jumps into the women's bath, from where he is roundly chased out by its proper users.[11] His self-exculpation is that hot and cold water are laid on in both the men's and the women's sections of the baths, and what difference does it make. The historian notes that a bath-house, as described, required a piped water supply, and that hot water required the carrying into the city of supplies of fuel on a regular basis, probably from some distance away.

Another small reminder to the historian of the physical realities of everyday urban life is found in an anecdote where Symeon finds a dead dog on the city dunghill, outside the walls. He ties a rope to its leg, and drags it through the streets. One notes that city-dwellers in the seventh century kept dogs, no doubt as guard-dogs.

Symeon at his most childish takes nuts into church at the beginning of the liturgy and, standing at the back, throws them at women worshippers.

8. Slavery in the Byzantine Empire generally is of course well enough attested. Evagrius apparently refers to slaves as household servants in the late sixth century (below, p. 374), but how Armenians who had been resettled in Cyprus by imperial policy could then have been extensively sold into slavery, it is difficult to understand.

9. Krueger, 1996. Leontios wrote his Life of Symeon in the 640s, and may be assumed to have drawn on his own experience of city life. See also S. A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, Oxford, 2006.

10. Krueger, op.cit., p. 154.

11. For a twelfth-century story which also involves bath-houses and sexual morality, at a place just south of Antioch, see K. N. Ciggaar, 'Adaptation to oriental life by rulers in and around Antioch. Examples and exempla', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. I. Antioch from the Byzantine Recovery until the End of the Crusader Principality*, edited by K. Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf (A. A. Bredius Foundation, Hernen), Leuven 2006, pp. 261-82, at pp. 261f.

How this involves sanctity is not clear. (In all the pages of this book, this is the only place where women appear in public.) On leaving the church Symeon overturns the tables of the pastry-chefs, who beat him nearly to death.[12] The historian, again, notes the plural – tables, chefs – and detects a style of good living, *vivre bien*, which the well-to-do (and not just a few of them) were able to cultivate in the city.[13] After the liturgy, they stroll home with pastries.

This cultivated class – one is tempted to say, this middle class – was to some extent cosmopolitan. The writings of Leontios betray an educated mind. In his Life of St Symeon he makes frequent allusions to anecdotes about Diogenes of Sinope.[14] His prose implies that schooling in grammar and rhetoric had been available to him (although it is not known that he had received his education in Cyprus[15]). For conditions in Cyprus it is much more *à propos* that he should have expected his work to find an appreciative, educated audience. Even more to the point, his sermons are addressed to hearers with a taste for closely-reasoned argument, and with a long attention-span. Preachers are ever constrained in what they can say, by what their congregations are able to hear. The contrast in style and content between the sermon of Leontios which was read out at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and the 'mini-sermon' given on the same occasion by the archbishop of Constantia,[16] is eloquent testimony to the 'art of the possible' in rhetoric, which was evidently much diminished in the intervening 150 years, with the disappearance of a sophisticated audience in the cities.

Leontios reaches out easily to his hearers by mentioning food and drink. A string of items, namely wheat bread, flat cakes, meat balls, fish, excellent wine, fried cakes, and jam – that made up everyone's idea of a good meal. Again when one of the female slaves (mentioned above) is pregnant Symeon, competent for once, brings her wheat bread, meat, and pickled

12. Krueger, op.cit., pp. 150f.

13. The writer (and his wife), growing up in the post-war dour protestant north of Europe, at a time of general hardship, never suspected that such a life-style could be normal, until they first encountered it as young adults in south-western France.

14. Krueger, 1996, analyses Cypriot society in terms of relative prosperity, cultural diversity, and religious conflict. One shares his enthusiasm, but hard evidence for these tendencies, of a kind which might escape the charge of being episodic, is thin on the ground.

15. He might have gone to study in Beirut or Caesarea, for example – or of course in Constantinople.

16. See below, pp. 444-6.

fish. (There was plenty of fish in the coastal waters of Cyprus – red and grey mullet, bream, eels, cuttlefish, skate, tunny, bass, goby, and smaller fry.[17]) Fast food is not a modern invention: in the sixth century a phouska-seller dispensed beans, lentil soup, and dessert fruits. Symeon kindly minds the shop for him, but omits to charge the customers. When the owner returned and opened the cash-box (which had a lock and key?), there was no money in it.[18] On another occasion Symeon makes himself useful by carrying hot water for a tavern-keeper, who found it worth-while to employ him in return for his keep (amazingly enough) because the townsfolk would say, 'Let's go and have a drink where the Fool is'.[19] Taverns were in commercial competition with one another. When we read of Symeon walking down the street with a string of sausages worn round his neck like a stole, and a pot of mustard in his hand,[20] it should serve to remind us of the rich diversity of city life, vanished from our view. The making and retailing of sausages, and the growing of mustard, are merely trivial examples, which lead to no worth-while insights of wider scope, but they serve as a warning against imagining that life was drab and tedious. Cyprus was densely populated and enjoyed a complex, regionally diverse economy.

Although the life of the towns was rich and varied, and integrated into a regional productive economy, archaeology is in general quite unable to recapture the detail. Everything has disappeared except the ruins, or even just the foundations, of public buildings. City plans say something, but not much, about the life-style of the citizens: if there was a forum, it fostered civic pride. But that is vague indeed. The houses in which most ordinary people lived will usually have been built mainly of wood or mud-brick, materials which were of course bio-degradable.[21] Stone-built cathedral churches for the 14 dioceses had, generally speaking, been completed before 491, and continued to serve their purpose throughout the sixth century and beyond. Much scholarly effort has been devoted to the architectural details and liturgical implications of their ground-plans; but

17. *Handbook of Cyprus*, 1920, p.231.

18. Krueger, op.cit., p. 151.

19. ibid., pp 152f.

20. Krueger, 1996. See also S. A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond.*

21. Fragments of two white bezants of Guy (1192-4) were found in the 1990s actually in a mud brick. (But that does not imply that the mud was shovelled up to make the brick during Guy's reign.) D. M. Metcalf, *The White Bezants and Deniers of Cyprus, 1192-1285*, Nicosia, 1998, p. 27.

these are mere stones. About the religious life of the people, the sources are so anecdotal that there is little scope for constructing a rounded view. Leontios, for example, mentions countryfolk coming into the city to receive communion, but that is all. Epigraphic evidence is precious, but sparse: it offers some insights into public building projects associated, usually, with urban renewal.

It is rarely that archaeology has yielded dateable evidence about ordinary housing. We have, however, the case of five houses from Ayios Konon, which would seem to have been built in the early sixth century, and abandoned apparently during the first part of the eighth, when they were cleared of household goods, and allowed eventually to collapse. From one of the five we have cooking pots and coarse domestic pottery; bones of fish and of goats; shells; and lead weights for fishing-nets and a needle for knotting the nets. In a dump outside a second house, fish-hooks were found, and Red Slip ware.[22] This emphasis on fishing is unremarkable, but one might not have ventured to guess at it, without specific evidence. Again, life was not quite as basic or self-sufficient as the above list might lead us to imagine. Outside one house was a heap of broken glass, including window-glass.

Just occasionally, archaeology may surprise us. Sherds recovered in the enormous slag-heaps at Skouriotissa (just a few miles from Soloi), dateable to the early seventh century, imply that copper-mining continued during the sixth century – something which one would not otherwise have ventured to assert. Cyprus is indeed quite rich in metalliferous ores, which (to simplify matters) outcrop at many places on the flanks of the Troodos, e.g. in association with the pillow-lavas. Smaller-scale smelting and metallurgy were probably quite widespread in Byzantine times, but unless the slag-heaps yield stratified, dateable sherds of pottery, establishing a close chronology is difficult. Industry will have spread its tentacles outwards into the regions near the mines, in particular for the extraction of timber and the burning of charcoal, which metallurgy required in substantial quantities. Forest cover renews itself within a couple of generations, and the scars left by charcoal-burners are quickly overgrown. In short, no archaeological traces other than sherds of pottery are to be expected.

Another vanished industry is ship-building, which may be assumed to have been practised on a substantial scale in some of the coastal towns and

22. Fejfer and Mathiesen, 1991, at p. 219.

villages of Cyprus. Again, the necessary timber was available, from the Pentadaktylos range and the Karpas, and of course from the Troodos. The specialized knowledge of design and the craft skills will doubtless have been handed down from one generation to the next. We have the merest hint in the written sources that ship-building was the reason for the punitive raid of 653; but archaeological evidence is altogether lacking.

In face of this whole review, the sceptical reader may be inclined to ask whether an assessment of the 'long' sixth century as a time of great prosperity does not rest more on faith than on clear evidence. Perhaps unexpectedly, much of the straightforward evidence comes from incidental information gleaned from Leontios of Neapolis. Otherwise, the best defence lies in some of the detail discussed below, in particular at moments of change.

1. The legacy of Roman Cyprus

The continuity of its ancient cities is the major legacy of the past to Byzantine Cyprus.[23] Massive city walls, some of which had been in existence since Hellenistic times, provided not only a secure enclosure and focus for economic life: from a military point of view they were the key to the defence of the province. A Lusignan lead seal of Henry II, which unfortunately is known only from a *vidimus,* depicts 'the island of Cyprus, with its cities and fortresses, and the sea with ships'. The legend accompanying this iconic design is INSULA CIPRI ET CIVITATES ET CASTRA. Alas, no specimen of the lead seal itself is known to have survived. One would dearly like to see how the artist had treated his subject – which captures the strategic and economic essentials of the island's polity, equally as it was in the sixth century or in the thirteenth.[24] Great quantities of sherds of transport amphorae imply bustling harbours. Once a city had invested in walls built of massive blocks, they might be expected to endure indefinitely, with very little upkeep. Provided that a city could man its walls, and had enough food and (especially) water successfully to withstand a siege, the walls would continue to give it protection. For Cyprus the only flaw in this expectation was earthquake damage. The earthquakes of 332/3 and 342 were very destructive, most of all at Salamis. That city was refounded in 346 as Constantia (the name suggests that it would have

23. Mitford, 1980,

24. D. M. Metcalf, 'The iconography and style of Crusader seals in Cyprus', in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 365-75, at pp. 370f. Imaginative panoramic scenes become common on coins and especially medals of the 16th century, but this is remarkably early for anything so elaborate.

received imperial subsidies), and either directly or within a couple of decades replaced Paphos as the metropolis of Cyprus.[25] Paphos and Kourion were destroyed by a major earthquake in *c.*370.[26]

Subsequent long droughts meant that Cyprus began to recover some of its prosperity only in the late fourth century, and into the early fifth. A date of *c.*431 has been suggested for an inscription excavated at Constantia, which speaks of 'Valerius of the clean hands who by his sacred laws and unsullied commands has led Cyprus back to her ancient splendour'.[27] This was probably the Fl. Antiochus Ammianus Valerius who was praetorian prefect of the East at that time. His inscription was later incorporated into an *opus sectile* pavement of the sixth century,[28] when the old gymnasium was reconstituted as a monumental bathing establishment.[29] The process of recovery in the city during the fifth century was gradual. Olympios, who may well have been Valerius's son, is named in another inscription as having repaired the baths by the re-laying of pavements, by the renewal of timbers, and by adding a garden.[30]

Constantia in the time of Justinian was the capital of a Christian province, but it was still, in appearance and in its public life-style, very much a late Roman city. The baths, which were an agreeable social centre, as well as being a civilized asset in hot weather, were not only made sumptuous with (imported) marble, but they were still adorned with the statues of pagan gods and heroes from the old gymnasium. The statues stood there until the Arab invasions of the mid-seventh century.[31]

The villages of the countryside may have suffered less long-term economic damage from the earthquakes but, unless they had their own access to the coast, it seems probable that their prosperity was to an extent functionally linked to that of the city in whose territory they lay.

25. ibid., pp. 1381-2. Constantia was the ecclesiastical caput; but the date when the governor transferred his residence from Paphos to Constantia is debateable, if the history of the 'House of Theseus' in Paphos is relevant. Surely, however, not later than *c.*370.

26. It has been disputed whether the earthquake that destroyed Kourion was in July 365, or in 370. See the bibliographical note in Papageorgiou, 1993, p. 28, note 7.

27. Mitford and Nicolaou, no. 46.

28. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, p.208, n.1 is emphatic that the pavement is a century or more later than the inscription, which was excavated under his direction. The inscription was an integral part of the pavement.

29. ibid, no. 45.

30. ibid., no. 47.

31. Megaw, 1960.

In the senatorial province, there had been no autonomous temple estates, nor any large imperial properties except, probably, the mines at Tamassos, and also at Skouriotissa. There are lead seals of palatini, including one from Lefka, which may reflect imperial interest in the mines. They are probably of sixth-century date.[32] From the later seventh or early eighth century there are just two or three lead seals of kouratores.[33] There was, then, a certain uniformity in the political geography of the island, and the cities were able to reassert themselves, free from administrative competition, as prosperity returned.

Various lists exist of the cities and of the dioceses (which in general corresponded with the cities). The lists are broadly in agreement as regards a dozen cities, with marginal differences only over two or three places. Within the tally of 14 or 15 cities there will, certainly, have been great differences in size and in the range of urban functions. Designation as a city once achieved may have persisted, as a matter of administrative status. At the bottom of the list there may have been a few places that one would think of in Byzantine times as hardly more than big villages – unless, perhaps, they were walled. Old cities could fall into decay, and new ones could (with difficulty) make the grade. Broadly speaking, however, the list was very stable over the centuries. Hierocles the Grammarian, in his *Synekdemos*, or Travellers' Guide, written at a date not far from our starting-point of 491, gives the following names, in this order: 1. Constantia (metropolis), 2. Tamasos. 3. Kition. 4. Amathusia. 5. Koren. 6. Paphos. 7. Arseno?. 8. Soli. 9. Lapithos. 10. Kirboea. 11. Kythri. 12. Karpasia. 13. Kyrenia. 14. Tremithus. 15. Leukosia.[34] Of these, no. 5 may be taken to refer to Kourion, and no. 7 to Polis. No. 10, Kirboia, is problematic. The list is evidently arranged mainly in geographical order, clockwise from Kition onwards, with Constantia enjoying primacy. Tamasos stands second, probably also for reasons of prestige as the shrine of St Heracleidios: archaeological evidence recorded from Tamasos during the Byzantine centuries is unfortunately minimal.[35] Tremithus, similarly, cannot have been much of a city, but it held the shrine of St Spyridon. Leukosia, placed at the end of the list, looks almost like an

32. They were incorrectly dated in *BLSC*. See now p. 139.

33. *BLSC* 222 and 223.

34. Honigmann, 1939, pp. 1-48; Migne, *PG* 113, p.151; Hackett, p.241; Hill pp. 261-3 and 263 n.1.

35. There is a clay lamp, excavated at Tamasos in 1885 by Col. G. E. Falkland Warren, and judged by Dr J. W. Hayes to be probably of the eighth century.

afterthought. George of Cyprus duplicates Hierocles' list, except for Kirboia and/or Leukosia.[36]

How large were the towns? What proportion of the population of sixth-century Cyprus lived in them? Five per cent? Ten per cent? Twenty per cent? For that key question, empirical evidence is extremely hard to find. It may be helpful to recall that in 1881, when the total population of Cyprus was 186,173, the principal towns were Nicosia (11,536), Limassol (6,006), Larnaca (7,833), Famagusta (2,564), Paphos and Ktima (2,204), and Kyrenia (1,192). There were just two villages, Morphou and Lapethos, with a population of over 2,000.[37] How did city people make their living? Were they free to move to a town without legal impediment and to live within its walls if they so chose, and could afford to? There will have been many, especially in the smaller towns, whose livelihood came from the land, but also many who looked towards the sea, and who lived by trade: a different mentality. Were there Syrians and Egyptians living in the coastal cities (like the Venetians in the twelfth century), or were their populations solidly of Cypriot extraction? Unlike, shall we say, sixth- and seventh-century Dalmatia, where the city gates of Kotor remained firmly barred against the Slav settlers in the adjoining countryside,[38] or unlike St Augustine's Numidia, where Roman towns of Latin-speaking free citizens were planted among a rural population of Berbers, who spoke a Punic language,[39] late antique Cyprus was an integrated society, where the roots of ethnic identity reached deep into the past. Paradoxically, its cities had had to re-establish their prosperity and almost to reinvent themselves during the course of the fourth and fifth centuries: the same list of cities, on the same sites, and yet their settlement-continuity with the Roman past was in some cases probably quite tenuous. To a greater or less extent, at Constantia, after the earthquakes of 332/3 and 342, and at Kourion and Paphos after *c.*370, and perhaps elsewhere too, they will have had to recruit new urban populations from the countryside. The incomers doubtless retained much of the social outlook of villagers for a couple of generations.

Roman milestones, showing distances outwards from each city towards the boundaries of its civic territory, help to draw the map.[40] Roman roads, some of which may have fallen into disrepair, give an idea of the best

36. On the history of Nicosia, see below.

37. *Handbook of Cyprus*, 1920.

38. I. Sindik, *Komunalno uredenje Kotora* (Srpska Akad. Nauk, vol. 165 = Istoriski institut, vol. 1), 1950.

39. P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, London, 1967, pp. 19-27.

40. Map facing p. 1288 in Mitford, 1980.

routes for land travel.[41] The transport of goods will, however, have been mainly by sea. On land, pack-animals were the norm, and it is questionable whether there was any wheeled traffic in Byzantine Cyprus.

The various archaic ethnic origins of the Cypriot cities – Argive Curium, Phoenician Lapethus – were well remembered still in early Roman times. Local particularism included dialects and scripts – the Paphian signary, the Eteo-Cyprian of Amathus – and the long-continued use at Salamis of an Egyptian calendar, when the rest of Cyprus was using an imperial calendar. Almost all this had disappeared, however, by the late Roman period – except, perhaps, from the local gene-pool. Well on the way to an equal oblivion, although still obscurely felt as a threat to the Christian faith, was the pantheism, now perceived in terms of moral laxity and of unbridled social behaviour. In earlier centuries there had been a profusion of local cults. Some, such as that centred at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, were of immense antiquity; some were Hellenistic;[42] others were relatively recent imperial cults which commemorated particular moments of financial support to cities. These too succumbed to Christianity – which came instead to embody local patriotisms through the veneration of particular local saints: the same strong sense of belonging, in a different guise.

What is much more surprising than the disappearance of pagan particularism is the suppression of Hellenism. In the age of Constantine, after Byzantium had become the New Rome, Latin was exclusively the language of law and government, and of the army, and it remained so until the time of Heraclius. St Epiphanius, the noted theologian and metropolitan of Constantia (368-403) was an avowed enemy of Hellenism.[43] He won his battles, but he was fighting on the losing side in the

41. There was a (mainly coastal) 'ring road' around the Troodos, of which the northern section ran more or less directly from Soloi to Tamasos and from there to Tremithus, where it turned sharply southwards to reach Citium. A northern line ran from Soli to Lapithus and Kerynia, then to Chytri and eventually to Salamis. Ledri/Leukosia was conspicuously *not* a focal point of the road system, indeed not on a major road at all. The relative importance of Tamasos may be connected with mining activities there. For the production of the mines, Soli was its outlet to the sea. Chytri looked towards Salamis.

The Peutinger Tabula shows much the same system. For what it is worth, it marks five Cypriot cities with the double-house symbol, meaning that they were more important, namely Paphos, Soli, Cerinia, Tremithus, and Salamis – none along the south coast.

42. One may mention the Phoenician cult of Eshmun, later Asclepius, at Citium, Apollo Hylates at Curium, the Amathusian cult of Aphrodite, Aphrodite Acraea of the Carpas peninsula, and the grove of Zeus (or Zeus and Aphrodite?) at Arsinoe.

43. Mitford, 1980, pp. 1382-3. (Was Epiphanius, indeed, a Hellene?)

longer war. Even before the demise of ancient Hellenism, it had been reborn as Byzantine Hellenism through the use in Cyprus of Greek as the language of the liturgy and of Christian worship – and Greek was, after all, the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of Cypriots, and the language of local affairs.

In the context of the Empire as a whole, Cyprus was a small, quiet province. Even its capital was tranquil enough, and most of its fifteen cities were quieter still, being not much under the eye of the consular or his staff. Opportunities for advancement for the clever and ambitious young man were probably not plentiful. People paid their taxes, and got on with their lives. In most of the cities, the bishop was, in effect, the *despotes*.[44] His role, and the supporting infrastructure of the grand new cathedral churches, was by 491 the most powerful aspect of the legacy of late Roman Cyprus.

2. Antecedents of the Church of Cyprus

The early-fourth century endorsement of Christianity as an official, and eventually *the* official, religion of the Empire adapted well to the local situation in Cyprus. To each city, its bishop.[45] In the course of the late fourth and the early fifth centuries, there was added to each city an impressive cathedral church, replacing (we must presume) a more modest existing building. (That tells us much more about the realities of power and influence than a name in a conciliar list. A city's cathedral was a priority in public spending and in the charitable gifts of the faithful; and expense was not spared.) The bishop, with the benefits of long acquaintance with Cyprus, and of the common currency of the Greek language, knew the people of his city and became not only a father-figure but a figure of wide-ranging authority.

With the creation of the pentarchy, the church in Cyprus succeeded in throwing off control from Antioch. The invention of St Barnabas in the late fifth century confirmed its credentials as a church of apostolic foundation. This was recognized by the emperor Zeno. The independence of the Church of St Barnabas was permanent thereafter.

About the pre-Nicene church in Cyprus, extremely little is known with certainty. Hagiography and local patriotism did their best to fill the gaps,

44. A friend of the writer remembers, from his childhood, how the bishop of Kition used to ride around Larnaca in an open carriage, and how the friend's grandmother, if she saw him approaching, would say, 'The despotes, the despotes!'.

45. But not, perhaps, instantly.

but their assertions rarely amount to historical evidence.[46] Even after the date of the Council of Nicaea (which was attended by just two or perhaps three bishops from Cyprus), until the late fifth century, evidence about the church in Cyprus remains episodic and open to interpretation. An ancient nomocanon gives a list of only six bishoprics: Constantia (this gives a *terminus ante quem* for the document), Paphos, Kition, Amathus, Kyrenia, and Kourion.[47] What the historian can say with confidence (fortunately) is that the familiar diocesan structure was already in place by the time of the Council of Serdica (343), at which twelve Cypriot bishops were present. What we see then is most unlikely to have developed in the fifteen years since the Council of Nicaea, even though Cyprus was not well represented there. The antiquity of some of the sees (e.g. the mausoleum of St Herakleidios at Tamassos?) is of interest for the later period. It raises the question of earlier church buildings, for which we have little or no archaeological evidence. The earliest buildings of which traces remain are, broadly speaking, from the late fourth or fifth centuries. The primitive church had met in private houses, but there will surely have been an earlier phase of church-building, of which no archaeological evidence has been identified – perhaps because the churches were more modest structures, which were swept away and replaced as the Cypriot church grew wealthier. We might do better to think of a process, lasting through the rest of the fourth century and even into the fifth. By the time that Kourion, for example, came to be rebuilt after the earthquake of *c.*370, the church was socially established and wealthy, as the architecural plan of the new episcopal basilica implies.

In spite of the many silences of the evidence, it seems clear that Byzantine Cyprus's framework of places with city status was inherited in the fourth century, and revalidated in the fifth, by its bishops. Each city, in spite of big variations in size and importance, became the seat of a bishop – with the exception, apparently, of Kerboia. Already at the beginning of the fifth century, fifteen bishops in Cyprus are mentioned by name in a letter addressed to them by Theophilus.[48]

Theodosia(na) is mentioned, in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451). Its bishop acted as the representative of the bishop of Amathus on that occasion (and also of the bishop of Lapithos). The whereabouts of Theodosiana is uncertain: it is conjectured to be Neapolis, under another

46. Mitford, 1980, mentioning a few crypto-Christian inscriptions, p. 1374, n.470.

47. Yon, 2004, p. 91, and cf. Darrouzès in *REB* 37 (1979), 22.

48. Rapp, 1993, at p. 170, n.10.

name.[49] The rest of the dioceses are named in the conciliar lists of one or more of the Councils of Nicaea (325), Serdica (343), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451).

The order in which the dioceses are named in the various lists might perhaps have been expected to provide some clues to their seniority or status. That is not the case with the *Notitia episcopatuum*, which has 13 names, in the following order: Constantia (metropolis), Kition, Amathus, Kourion, Paphos, Arsenoe, Soli, Lapithos, Kyrenia, Tamassos, Kythri, Trimithus, and Karpasia. After Constantia, the arrangement is clearly geographical, going round the coast clockwise, and then inland. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-59) follows a similar order, except that Kyrenia and Kourion are reversed, and Kermia and Nemesos added. Thus we have: Constantia, Kition, Amathus, Kyrenia, Paphos, Arsinoe, Soli, Lapithos, Kermia (= Leucousia), Kythaeria, Tamasos, Kurion, Nemesos, Tremithus, Karpasion. Analysing the differences between the two lists is a speculative exercise, because we do not know where the authors, and in particular Constantine, obtained their information. Without first-hand knowledge, it is possible that they made one or two errors of transcription. The interesting and plausible suggestion has been made that Constantine's *Kermia etoi Leukousia* should be emended to read *Thermia etoi Kyrenia, Leucousia*, Thermia being today the name of a village two or three kilometres inland from Kyrenia. The scribe having already copied the name Kyrenia before he reached Kermia, now leaves it out rather than repeat it.[50] If our text, mentioning Leukousia, represents what Constantine wrote, it is important evidence for the existence of Nicosia (on the site of the earlier Ledra) before the Byzantine reconquest of 965.

It is an intriguing but vain exercise to set the Cypriot signatories to the earlier church councils alongside the dates which archaeologists have suggested for the earliest surviving church buildings. Attendance at the councils was, as we have seen, quite patchy, no doubt for a variety of personal reasons, which cannot now be recovered. One should concentrate on the positive, rather than the negative aspects of the evidence, and take care not to over-interpret the patterns. In 325, when Cyprus was represented by the bishops of Paphos[51] and Salamis (the two major cities),

49. ibid., at p. 171, n.11.

50. Hadjioannou, 1983. The modern Thermia is not, as the author suggests, Pano Kyrena, but this may be judged not to be a serious obstacle to his emendation. One recalls that the name Lapithos has migrated a little way inland.

51. Although Paphos was still the metropolis of Cyprus, it is not clear whether at that stage the bishop was officially an archbishop or a metropolitan. Mitford, 1980, p. 1381.

and of Tremithus (although that seems intrinsically rather unlikely). St Spyridon, who died in *c.*348, was as later piety loved to imagine him, a sheep farmer, with a wife and family to support. Although unlearned and rustic, his virtues caused him to be chosen as bishop. He continued to pasture his sheep, while caring also for his human flock.[52] At Paphos and at Salamis, the bishop's status was very different. The earliest churches in the archaeological record are of the late fourth century (the Chrysopolitissa at Paphos) or late fourth/early fifth (Kourion; St Epiphanius at Constantia; and perhaps Ayia Trias, in the Karpas).

At the Council of Serdica it seems that Tryphillius was present as bishop of Ledra. In 381, as well as Paphos and Kition the inland places of Tremithus and Tamasos were represented. At Tamasos the fourth-century martyrium or mausoleum of St Herakleidios was already a pilgrimage site; and in the fifth century a pilgrimage church was built there. The see of Tamasos continued to enjoy a primacy of esteem over other Cypriot sees other than the metropolis. Tremithus too may have attracted pilgrims from an early date, drawn there by the fame of St Spyridon. There, too, in the late fourth or early fifth century, a substantial three-aisled column basilica was built.[53]

Meanwhile at Paphos, in the late fourth century, an exceptionally large and impressive seven-aisled basilica was constructed.[54] The urban church had already grown very wealthy, and confident. Nor did the Chrysopolitissa church, large as it was, fully satisfy the needs of Paphos: the fifth century saw the building of another substantial basilica, the harbour church or Limeniotissa.[55] – And yet the bishop of Paphos was not a signatory to either the Council of Ephesus or to Chalcedon, important as those assemblies were for the independence of the Cypriot church.

As to what happened in the villages, our evidence is so exiguous for this early period as to be almost non-existent. It seems probable that the cathedral churches were used for baptism, and that they were islands of

52. This rather pointed comment may be taken as oblique evidence that bishops were usually well-born and well-educated.

53. It was at least 25 metres long, and 17.5 metres wide. The basilica at Tamasos was similar in size.

54. On the Chrysopolitissa church, see Megaw, 1988, p. 139. The site has since been excavated by Dr Papageorghiou.

55. May there, perhaps, have been social differences within the urban population which meant that the care of souls was better served by having separate congregations – albeit in two churches which were located quite close together?

sophistication (and wealth) in a sea of humbler devotion. The situation may however not have been as polarized as this metaphor implies. It seems very possible that there were numerous village churches which have left no recognizable trace in the archaeological record.

3. Dual governance, by church and state

Governors of Cyprus came and went, whereas bishops enjoyed lifetime tenure of office. The governor might in theory be supreme in social, judicial, and administrative matters within the island, but the bishops in their respective cities, and above all the archbishop, had the considerable practical advantages of continuity. Moreover, the independent and autonomous election of the leaders of the apostolic Church of Cyprus meant that they were beholden to no-one outside the island. They knew what was going on, and they were known. Like late Roman bishops everywhere, they were called on to defend the secular interests of their flock, to administer justice, and to care for the poor. Thus there was a dual system of governance. One might even speak of a triple system, for in a wealthy and peaceful province (which Cyprus was), the old 'senatorial' families had accumulated much power locally in their cities, and they were, one may be sure, well versed in combining public and private interest. Governance by bishops and illoustrioi (the senatorial dignity), whose interests were closely tied to Cyprus, was deeply conservative and, at its best, paternalistic. Governors, on the other hand, were agents of the imperial government. People expected and hoped that the social fabric would remain traditionally undisturbed: the alternative was probably worse. If the old order broke down, there were no safeguards. Any dynamic that there may have been for social change emerged through the prospering of individual families. The processes of wealth-creation were very private and low-profile, as ever,[56] and one imagines that their milieu was chiefly in the economic life of the cities.

Constitutionally, however, and whatever the realities on the ground, Cyprus was a senatorial province governed by a consularis, whose appointment was by the emperor, generally on the recommendation of the praetorian prefect of the East.[57] The person appointed automatically gained senatorial rank, with the title of vir clarissimus. Justinian re-enacted

56. This point is well made, as regards the modern period, in D. Christodoulou, *Inside the Cyprus Miracle. The Labours of an Embattled Mini-Economy.* (Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, 2). University of Minnesota, 1992.

57. The account that follows is that given in Lokin, 1985 and Lokin, 1986 (very similar texts). And see now Lokin in Papadopoullos, *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol 3, pp. 155-97.

the rule that the consularis, at his installation, had to swear an oath that he had not paid money to any high magistrate in order to be recommended for the office. The Notitia fixed the fees which the newly appointed consularis had to pay to the imperial chancelleries: in total, 76 solidi.[58] The governor, whose residence in Roman times had been at Paphos, will by 491 no doubt for long have had his seat at Constantia.[59] The date of his relocation is of interest because of the implications, for the local economy, of the bureaucratic entourage who will have had to move with him.[60] They will probably have made significant demands on housing, food supply, and other urban functions. Yet they have left almost no trace, except for a lead seal, found at Constantia, of an official with the title, *scriniarius scrinii Cypri*: the head of the governor's writing-office or archive. The governor's many functions were: to govern the province; to head the officium; to be (nominally) responsible for tax-gathering; and to exercise jurisdiction in normal matters over the inhabitants. One might say that constitutionally his role was a blocking one, to prevent ambitious local individuals from building a power-base which might become detrimental to the Empire. Even as a vir clarissimus (the lowest of the three grades of nobility), the consularis held a powerful position, enjoying precedence and dignity. If he was a non-Cypriot, one may ponder how his social position compared with that of governor under British colonial rule. Potentially the Byzantine official exercised wider powers. Governors were appointed for one year at a time, but could presumably be reappointed. We simply do not know how long, typically, their tour of duty was, nor whether (until the mid-seventh century) appointments were usually made from local, Cypriot families. (Epiphanius, the father of St John the Almsgiver, is said to have been governor.) In considering their opportunities for patronage, including appointments to middle-ranking administrative posts, much depends on whether it was usual for governors to be reappointed several times, and so to serve a tour of duty of, say, three to five years. We know absolutely nothing specific about the consulares who served in Byzantine Cyprus, not even their names (except for one or two), much less the extent of their hands-on involvement in affairs, the extent of their patronage, or their effectiveness.

58. Novel 8, Notitia 13 (535).

59. The suggestion that 'Amathus was the residence of the dukes in the sixth century' apparently rests on nothing more than that St John the Almsgiver's father, Epiphanius, who is said to have been the governor of Cyprus, was born at Amathus and eventually died there. Hill, vol. 1, p.265. The governor doubtless resided at Paphos in late Roman times, and subsequently at Constantia.

60. One thinks of the migration to summer quarters in the Troodos, under British rule.

It seems that the praetorian prefect of the East may have inserted his own officials to collect tax.[61] There will in any case have been a cadre of officials administering taxation and, almost inevitably, a cadastral codex (periodically reviewed) on the basis of which local taxes were levied. Nothing of this survives. The consularis was answerable to two higher officials, namely the count of the East, who held the middle rank of nobility, vir spectabilis, and the praetorian prefect of the East, who was a vir illustris. The praetorian prefect fixed the salary of the consularis, and could even depose or punish him.

The governor was judge of first instance of all civil and criminal cases. Minor civil cases not exceeding 50 solidi in value (raised in 535 to 300 solidi[62] – a sign of the growing prosperity of the province?) were tried by the defensor civitatis, and could be heard in appeal by the consularis. Cases valued between 300 and 500 (later 720) solidi were heard by the governor, with appeal to the count of the East (in Antioch), whose decision was final. Cases valued at over 500/720 solidi were heard by the governor, with appeal to the praetorian prefect and the quaestor of the sacred palace, sitting together. These rules for jurisdiction in civil cases hint that the commercial and economic life of the province was sufficiently dynamic to generate conflicts of interest.

In May 535 the office of count of the East was downgraded, being united with that of governor of Syria Prima, and the administration of Cyprus was from then on directly answerable to the praetorian prefect. The reform seems to have been instigated by John of Cappadocia, himself the praetorian prefect. The independence from Antioch which the Cypriot hierarchy had won through the invention of St Barnabas was now echoed in the civil sphere. Part of the background to this change was Justinian's move, in 537, to impose Chalcedonian orthodoxy on Alexandria and Antioch, taking the political initiative away from recalcitrant monophysites. Cyprus was well out of that struggle.

In May 536 a completely new magistracy was created,[63] namely the Justinianic quaestor of the army. He had the rank of illustris, that is, the highest nobility. The quaestor Iustiniani exercitus united the civil (and judicial) power of the praetorian prefect with the military competence of

61. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1968, p.221.

62. By Novel 15. An indication of growing prosperity in the Empire at large – in which Cyprus probably shared.

63. By the lost Novel 41.

the magister militum. His seat was in Odessus (Varna). He controlled far-away Cyprus and the Cyclades, as well as Caria, Moesia Secunda, and Scythia. This rather curious grouping of provinces, by which Cyprus was completely removed from any direct control from Syria, seems to have been intended to strengthen Moesia and Scythia against the unceasing pressure of barbarian tribes seeking to cross the lower Danube in order to settle in the lands of the Empire. The wealthier parts of the new quaestura were to supply funds, and probably soldiers,[64] and perhaps timber to build the ships that were to patrol the Danube.[65] Thus did distant events cast their shadow upon Cyprus; it was a price that had to be paid for belonging to an empire.

Appellate jurisdiction, which John of Cappadocia and Tribonian had shared betwen them, now belonged to the quaestor. Many people from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Caria (says Novel 50, of September 537) had indignantly complained that in such appellate cases they were forced to suffer hardship, to cross the wild sea even in winter, and to arrive in places threatened by the barbarians (viz. Varna, on the Black Sea coast). 'Many people' may overstate the case: these sound like lawyers' arguments. Nevertheless, they prevailed. Plaintiffs might therefore appeal to a court in Constantinople (not quite as far away!), composed of the quaestor if he happened to be there, or his vicar, together with the quaestor of the sacred palace. Only cases that had formerly gone to appeal to the praetorian prefect were to be heard by the two quaestors. Lesser cases went to second trial as before.

Never go to law, advised the old adage. It was good advice: the court of the consularis was allegedly sometimes tainted by corruption, and it was notorious for its high fees. If the litigants agreed to do so, they could always go the the local bishop (whose decision was final).

We have very few lead seals attributable to governors of sixth-century Cyprus, and even with those few, it is difficult to be sure that they are not from the first half of the seventh. The same applies to lead seals of tax-assessors and tax-collectors.[66] The only unambiguous example of an early

64. Kyrris, 1985, p.161 makes this point.

65. Hill's suggestion of a naval strategic axis leaves unanswered the question what, in 536, was the perceived naval threat.

66. One may mention the lead seal of a hypodektes (*BLSC* 186) as being a very unusual title, although one would not otherwise have any reason to date it more closely than 'before *c.*725'.

lead seal of a governor is of a Ioannes, *vestitor et Cupre consularis* (Fig. 23).[67] A governor called Ioannes is attested in *c*.543, but of course the name is a common one. He held the senatorial dignity of vestitor, originally a court appointment, which suggests that he had been sent out from Constantinople to govern Cyprus. Then there are the lead seals, probably later in date, that read *Genethlium exconsul et patric*,[68] which are tentatively referred, below, to the period after the Arab raids. As mentioned above, we do not know whether governors, appointed for one year, were



Fig. 23. Lead seal of Ioannes, vestitor and consularis of Cyprus (*BLSC* 140). The inscriptions use a mixture of Greek and Latin letters, encouraging one to think of a sixth-century date. The lay-out and lettering are of a very low quality, by a die-cutter with only a limited acquaintance with the Latin alphabet. Lead seals naming the rank of consularis are excessively scarce in the major collections; and vestitores are nearly all of the eighth century or later. Found in Nicosia.

commonly reappointed, remaining in office for longer periods. But in any case, two varieties of lead seal surviving from 120 years (or even 160 years) are a reminder of how extremely incomplete is our knowledge of the senior officials of sixth-century Cyprus.[69]

4. Taxation

Although there is virtually no documentation about the systems of taxation in Cyprus, let alone the tax yield, the province may be presumed to have partaken in the procedures used generally in the Empire, and in the trends by which they changed over time. (Developments in later centuries will be briefly mentioned here, even though they have little or no relevance to the sixth century.) The basic structures were built on the late Roman *iugatio-capitatio*, that is, a judicious blend of a tax on income from agriculture, and a head-tax on the working population. Many complications were added subsequently, and there were changes in

67. *BLSC* 140.

68. *BLSC* 20.

69. Cypriot lead seals which do not include the name of Cyprus in their formula, will, if known only from specimens found in Istanbul, be unattributable.

nomenclature: a familiar enough course of development. Thus, the iugatio could be assessed partly in kind (the *sitarkía*), but later on this could be commuted into a money payment. The *kapnikón*, found from the ninth century onwards, seems to be just the Greek name for the old capitatio. Taxes on imports and exports were another source of revenue for the central government.

It was necessary, obviously, for land to be registered for purposes of taxation. After the mid-seventh century attacks on Cyprus there were profound changes in the economy and in society. From the time of Leo VI (and probably much earlier too) the village (*choríon*) constituted a unity, and was assessed as such. The villagers were assessed collectively. That created practical problems which the law recognized, on the one hand by compulsory assignment of neglected or unproductive land, and on the other by giving interested parties rights of preemption. That turned out to over-correct the problem. In the tenth century it became necessary to impose restrictions on those rights, in order to hold the scales of justice more evenly between the moneyed classes who were in a position to exercise preemption (the *potentiores* or *dynatoí*, e.g. civil or military officials, senators, bishops, abbots, and kouratores), and the villagers who were on the spot, but who lacked cash (the *humiliores*, e.g. the *párikoi*). The latter, who had very little financial cushioning, were always at risk, from drought and other adversities, of falling into debt and into the clutches of *potentiores*. A decree of Nicephorus Phocas in 967 forbids potentiores to acquire land from humiliores, a clear hint that that is what they had been doing.

From the eleventh century, and perhaps earlier as well, the emperor might grant to a favoured individual a benefice or *prónoia*, whereby the beneficiary enjoyed the tax yield of an estate or region, in return for obligations which might be military or financial. The situation was to some extent analogous with western feudalism. The tax which the párikoi paid annually to the pronoiar was named *místhoma*, or *pákton*. A comparable exercise was the granting of rights over monastic property, the *charistíkia*.[70] A vast estate lying between the Khapotami river and the sea, made over to monastic control for the benefit of the Judaean lavra of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch, is discussed below.[71]

Although the framework and the terminology of taxation can be sketched, as above, neither for the sixth century nor for later centuries

70. *ODB* s.v. Taxation, and City Taxes; Ostrogorsky, 1931.

71. See pp.546-9.

have we any way whatsoever of knowing, what would be historically interesting, the tax yield of the province. How burdensome was the general level of taxation? We simply do not know. The only exception is that the tribute paid to the Caliphate is recorded as 7,200 dinars, with as much again to the Empire. Before the wholesale destruction and population losses of 649-53, the taxable capacity of Cyprus would have been greater – probably far greater. At the end of the Byzantine period Cyprus is supposed to have had a tax yield of 50,000 hyperpyra.

5. Kourion, after the earthquake

In *c.*370 Kourion was devastated by an exceptionally severe earthquake, with its epicentre offshore. The event is clearly dated by coins of the 360s.[72] Within minutes, Roman Curium ceased to exist as a city. Various writers have spoken about it as if it never recovered. That is a completely mistaken view. Archaeological excavations have shown that, during the fifth century, urban life was restored.[73] A large basilica, with a baptistery, was constructed early in the century, at the north-western end of the city.[74] At the south-eastern end, on the edge of the cliffs and with a fine view out to sea, there was a large complex which had been built around a peristyle courtyard. A palatial private residence since Hellenistic times, it was reconstructed in the first half of the fifth century, when exceptionally fine mosaic floors were laid. The complex had a small but elegant baths complex attatched, with tepidarium, caldarium, cold basins, etc. The first phase of the baths is probably from the late fourth century. Given to his native city by Eustolius, the complex seems to have been used as a public guest-house until the second quarter of the seventh century.

72. D. Soren, *Earthquake: the Last Days of Kourion* (UCLA Monograph Series), 1981; Swiny, 1982, pp.68f.

73. Much of the extensive archaeological work at Kourion, of course, concerns earlier periods. Early work is reviewed by J. F. Daniel in *University Museum Bulletin*, Philadelphia, for 1937. The University of Pennsylvania excavations were conducted from 1932 to 1953. They were published somewhat sketchily by modern standards, except for the coins, admirably catalogued by Miss Dorothy Cox. For interim reports, see *University Museum Bulletin* 1937-40 and 1948, *AJA* 42 (1938), 43 (1939), and 45 (1941), and *RDAC* 1937-9, 216ff. The Kourion Basilica excavations of 1956-79 were sponsored jointly by the British School of Archaeology and Dumbarton Oaks, and were directed by Mr A. H. S. Megaw. There are interim reports by Megaw, 1976 and 1979; see now the final report, Megaw, 2007. The evidence for the relocation to Serayia is well published in Megaw, 1993. The excavation by Dr D. Christou in 1975-82 revealed a forum: see *BCH* 101 (1977), 775, Christou, 1983, and Swiny, 1982, 110f. A smaller extramural basilica to the east of the city was excavated by Dr A. Christodoulou for four seasons: see *BCH* 96-99 (1972-5).

74. Megaw, 2007.

During the fifth century and perhaps into the first half of the sixth substantial investments were made in the city's water supply. Water was brought from springs near Sotira (Ypsimasikarka), 7km away as the crow flies, but 11km measured along the line of the conduit, which follows the contours of the ground as far as possible. Within Kourion, it seems that the water was distributed by conduits to various building complexes. The supply was supplemented, probably rather later in the fifth century, by a second more easterly conduit, which was brought 22km from Souni and Platania. Its large-gauge pipes were capable of bringing an estimated 20,000 gallons (90,000 litres) of water an hour into Kourion.[75] As well as the episcopal basilica (which was renovated in the sixth century), there was the harbour basilica, and another, extra-mural basilica out to the north-east, constructed in the late fifth century, perhaps in response to population growth.

Thus throughout the fifth century there had been a substantial investment in the public buildings and the infrastructure of Kourion. The scale and quality of the new developments betokened confidence for the future. The city derived its renewed prosperity, one presumes, from maritime trade, like other settlements along the south coast. Its urban functions will have included gathering up the surplus production of the hinterland (well watered by the Kouris river). To what extent there was an urban population, whose modest mud-brick houses have left no recognizable archaeological traces, can best be judged from the volume of the water supply. The distributory outlets within the city have not been fully investigated archaeologically, and indeed it may be that not enough of the pipework remains in place to permit any detailed conclusions. Although the eastern conduit, from Souni, seems to be later in date than the western one, its absolute date is uncertain. What is, however, clear is that large numbers of coins, especially minimi, struck at dates up to the middle of the sixth century, were excavated in close connection with the water system. Generally in Cyprus, these tiny pieces, which in other provinces remained in use even into the early seventh century, are liable to have escaped archaeological record.

6. Growing prosperity by the time of Justinian

Times change, and we change with them:[76] kitchen worktops of laminated plastic on chipboard, and stainless steel sinks, served us well

75. The engineering details are described in admirable detail in J. S. Last, 'Kourion: the ancient water supply', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119/1 (1975), 39-72.

76. '*Tempora mutantur, nos etiam mutamur in illis.*' – Anon., first noted in 1577 (*OED*).

enough for many years. Our children choose polished granite. We have all grown very prosperous. From one's childhood one can dimly remember wooden draining boards and earthenware sinks, but that was a long time ago – as long ago as 491 was from the middle of Justinian's reign. The historian needs to calibrate change against the passing generations.

The columns which supported the wooden roof in fifth-century basilicas were originally built sectionally from stone drums. By the middle of Justinian's reign people chose monolithic columns of imported marble, usually from the Proconnesus (for good-quality marble does not occur among the rocks of Cyprus.) The practicalities of lifting these from ship to shore, presumably requiring cranes, can be imagined only with difficulty. Were cranes which were capable of lifting a weight of several tonnes from ship to shore built of wood? At an unusually early date, namely in the late fifth- or early sixth-century basilica at Carpasia (Ayios Philon) we find a matching set of pink marble columns and capitals.[77] (This may reflect the fact that there was money to spare in the towns of the Karpas peninsula – a recurring theme for that region of Cyprus.[78]) Similar evidence of rising standards, not to say extravagance, is to be found in churches all over Cyprus. Also, in the middle of the sixth century or thereabouts the floors of many of the existing basilicas were refurbished. In place of the old mosaics, which had doubtless suffered a degree of wear and damage, *opus sectile* floors, made up of *crustae* (small tiles or tesserae) of different colours, were laid. In association with the *crustae* larger slabs of marble were used, for example at St Epiphanios and at Campanopetra. Their beauty was much appreciated, as we may judge from the care that was taken (in the best examples) to lay them so that the veins in the marble matched.[79] Evidently, this fashion for new *opus sectile* floors was considered to be affordable. Although it may at first sound faintly frivolous to say so, this is in fact the best sort of evidence we have, of rising prosperity during the later fifth and the first half of the sixth century, because of its widespread distribution in Cyprus. After all, what else is there which reveals a substantial trend island-wide? Numismatic evidence from the reign of Justinian is pitifully exiguous, and one certainly should not rely much on a comparison between small numbers of site-finds of copper coins of

77. Megaw, 1974, p. 64: 'Here for the first time we find columns and capitals of pink marble from Asia Minor for the most part'. Note the suggestion, p.275, that the bishop transferred his seat to Ayios Philon from Ayia Trias (built in an older style).

78. See below, pp. 472-4.

79. Michaelides, 1993, p. 74. Cf. the matching mahogany panels in English eighteenth-century furniture.

Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian respectively to establish evidence of a measurable upwards trend in prosperity during the sixty or seventy years following 491. Statistics which amalgamate folles with smaller denominations of copper coins such as the miserable little nummi are suspect; and in any case all these coins remained in circulation for a long time. What else is there, that could be closely dated? Nothing. There is just one problem with the perception that marble columns and *opus sectile* floors became more opulent as the decades went by, namely that they cannot readily be closely dated either. Moreover, columns were re-used, and *crustae* were re-used. Even capitals tended to be archaizing in style. Very occasionally a coin may be discovered under a floor, and that is solid, valuable evidence, as a *terminus post quem*. A whole relative chronology needs to be anchored at more points. In describing a progression towards more expensive architectural solutions, we should be aware of the risks of scholarly optimism, and even of circular argument. Continuing detailed research on floors (much of which will involve re-visiting old evidence) may sharpen the focus. Having perceived a trend, it would be a mistake to suppose that one need never look at a *crusta* again.

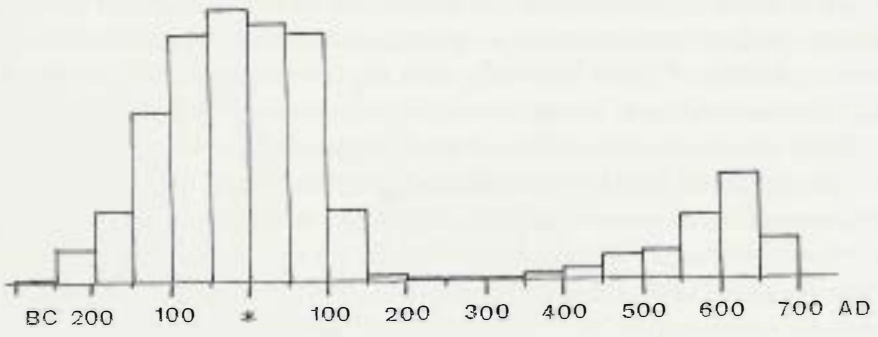


Fig. 24. Histogram of quantities of sherds of fine wares from Panyia Ematousa (Aradhippou).

Because of the technical shortcomings of the various classes of evidence that have been mentioned (imported marble; *opus sectile* floors; the ubiquitous coinage of Heraclius and of Constans II) special interest attaches to the changing volume of losses of ceramics. The diagram (Fig.24) representing 1,123 sherds of diagnostic fine wares from excavations at Panayia Ematousa (Aradhippou), illustrates a strongly-rising trend from *c*.491 until 649, followed by a sharp decline in the second half of the seventh century. There are several caveats that need to be uttered: the difficulty of accurately dating all the sherds in a sample; the smoothing

effect of step-intervals as large as half a century; the possibility that this rural, inland site is not typical of the coastal cities; and so on. The University of Sydney excavations of the Hellenistic theatre in Nea Paphos have cast such radical criticism on the chronology of Red Slip ware in Cyprus,[80] as to make one nervous. The rate of change, however, is sufficiently rapid to absorb these uncertainties. Between the half-centuries 500-550 and 550-600 the numbers double, and they grow again by *c.*40 per cent in the next half-century. The comparison with our own lifetime (above) might be criticised by saying that the growing prosperity of the twentieth century was driven by technological innovation, whereas the early Byzantine period was by comparison technically conservative and static. Be that as it may, the loss-rate of these fine wares, which may be thought to be a class of evidence offering a fair indication of prosperity, at least of the better-off villages, demonstrates very strong growth.

Although it lies well outside our chosen starting-point of 491, the period *c.*150 - *c.*350 on the diagram (Fig. 24) attracts attention as being a time of very low levels of prosperity. One should underline the word 'prosperity', as opposed to an adequate standard of living: fine wares may have been the icing on the cake for villagers, and their absence is not in itself conclusive evidence of penury. But perhaps it was much worse than that. After all, the mosaic inscription of Eustolius remarks that 'the Kourians, although previously very wealthy, were *in abject poverty* (*sic*)'. That is sufficiently explained by the very severe earthquake which destroyed Kourion in *c.*370. Yet it is not the case that the earthquakes of 332/3, 342, and 370 had abruptly ended a time of great plenty for Cyprus. The graph indicates a much longer down-turn. When Valerius 'of the clean hands' led the province back to her ancient splendour he was, like many a politician, taking credit for a trend that was far more momentous than his personal contribution. And if Panayia Ematousa is typical, he was harking back a very long way – to the first century and (at latest) the first half of the second century, which had been the end of a time of very great prosperity.

There is a significant amount of similar evidence from other sites, which suggests that Panayia Ematousa is indeed typical. It has been surveyed by Lund, who refers to the period between 200 and 350 as 'centuries of darkness'.[81]

80. See above, p. 236.

81. J. Lund, 'Centuries of darkness? A ceramic sidelight on Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean between AD 200 and 350', in P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria. Acts of the International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology*, Part 2, Jonsereds, 1992, pp.193-213.

In spite of the cautionary remarks on methodology expressed above,[82] strongly growing prosperity seems to be a major perspective on Cyprus in the sixth century and the first half of the seventh, and the ceramic evidence from Panayia Ematousa, which is in principle quite separate from that of coinage or architecture, does much to confirm the trend. Nowhere in our evidence is there any measure of absolute statistics: the size of the Cypriot economy is difficult to judge. But the trend is clear. It puts the claims made about the fourth-century earthquakes into a better perspective: between Roman and Byzantine times, it seems that there was a gulf. Similarly, it puts into a longer perspective the claims that can legitimately be made about an imperial apogee in the time of Justinian.

It may well be true that military fortification and a programme of building works throughout the Empire under Justinian gave a stimulus to provincial economies in general (even if not particularly to Cyprus). And the stimulus may not have been only economic. In the age in which Ayia Sophia was built, the centre set an example to the provinces also in sophistication and fashionable taste. But the well-worn antithesis between metropolitan and provincial, in architectural styles, is not sufficiently explained in Cyprus by imperial subventions for one or two prestigious projects. The new conspicuous display of wealth was island-wide, and that wide distribution is precisely its strength as historical evidence. Marble columns and *opus sectile* floors were just two items on the list. Spectacularly beautiful new wall-mosaics (very few of which, alas, survive) were installed in numerous existing churches, even in remote districts such as the Karpas peninsula. Although the skilled workmen who made these were peripatetic, possibly metropolitan, the work was doubtless paid for by local benefactors – individuals, perhaps, who had prospered in life, and whose piety was directed towards their native place. Again one has to say that, while the expert's instinct will be finely tuned, dating mosaics is not an exact science. 'The middle of the sixth century' is a general indication. In all this impressive progress in the adornment of churches, the *pax Iustiniana* may claim some of the credit.

7. *Constantia, and the pilgrimage church of Campanopetra*

Constantia in the sixth century struck one visitor on his way to Jerusalem as 'a beautiful, delightful city, adorned with date palms' ('civitas pulchra, deliciosa, ornata palmis dactalorum'[83]) had a pilgrimage church

82. See p. 346.

83. P. Geyer, Antonini Placentini Itinerarium, Itin. Hierosol. (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 38 (1898), 159.

of more than local importance, in the great seven-aisled basilica of St Epiphanius, which was also, no doubt, the cathedral church of the metropolitan. From the 490s onwards the nearby shrine of the apostle Barnabas added to the preeminence in Cyprus of its chief city.[84] By the early years of Justinian's reign, if not indeed considerably sooner, the civil administration of the province also presumably had its seat in Constantia, with all that that involved in terms of a governor's palatial residence, and offices for a secretariat. Neither that, nor the many and varied urban activities generated by the city's function as a port have left any recognizable trace whatsoever in the archaeological record of the years from 491 to 610, except that the complex excavated by a French mission and named 'l'Huilerie' by them was palatial enough in its sixth-century state to have been the governor's residence. All that remains is a group of inscriptions[85] pointing to a phase of renewal in *c*.542-3, in one small sector of the site. All the rest is blank.

As has been described above, Cyprus had been caught up in administrative rearrangements which also involved Syria and other adjacent regions, from 535 onwards. The value of the province for regional stability was underlined by religious controversy at Antioch. Constantia may in that sense have earned its refurbishment. We know only about the reconstruction of the gymnasium and public baths, on the northern edge of the city, but there could of course have been other projects, which archaeology has not revealed. A particularly imposing inscription was found which refers to 'the good basileis'. Although they are not named, to judge from the palaeography (and the other, dateable, evidence) one should think of Justinian and Theodora.

The date at which work began on the 40-km aqueduct from Kythrea to Constantia (completed in 631) is disputed. On a fragment of an imperial rescript from Kythrea, the emperor's name is erased. If this reflects *damnatio memoriae*, the emperor in question will inevitably have been Phocas. Whether the rescript referred to the aqueduct is, however, conjectural.

The dating evidence relating to the basilica of Campanopetra, to which we now turn, is entirely circumstantial, with no support from monumental inscriptions. It rests, essentially, on the general character of the building – its unique magnificence at the time, which is inconceivable without imperial initiative and (no doubt) subsidy.

84. Cf. Megaw, 2006. Later remodelled as a five aisled basilica.

85. The inscriptions are critically considered above, pp.217-19.

This great pilgrimage church on the southern outskirts of Constantia, known today by the name of Campanopetra, was the most sumptuous of Cypriot basilicas. It was lavishly ornamented with Proconnesian marble. Its floor mosaics, if we may judge from what little survives, were of spectacular quality. Above its white marble columns, it seems that the Corinthian capitals were enriched with gold leaf laid on a coat of red primer.[86] The architectural complex, which extended for 150 metres, was built at right angles to the axis of the agora (see Fig. 20). It comprised an entrance court with porticos, 36 metres long, and next a western atrium (45 m) with a central phiale or fountain, surrounded by 60 or more rooms on two levels. It has been suggested that these were monastic cells.[87] While there can be no archaeological evidence, it is quite plausible that there was a community, who were the guardians of the relic, and who performed the divine liturgy and kept the hours. Perhaps the rooms on the upper level were monastic cells (as used to be the arrangement at Machairas, for example), while the ground-floor level was a more public space. The basilica itself was 52 metres in length. Beyond that, towards the sea, was an eastern atrium (28 m), with a baldaquin which sheltered a relic of the first importance, possibly a fragment of the Cross. The lay-out of Campanopetra included corridors 3 metres wide flanking the church on either side, and leading directly to the eastern atrium. Along these generous passages, a stream of pilgrims could come and go, as in a one-way system, to venerate the relic.[88]

The magnificence of this church, which from the drawing-board was designed and built for large-scale pilgrimage, and doubtless with a particular relic already in mind, speaks of imperial patronage. So does its insertion in rivalry with the basilica of St Epiphanios, itself a cult church with integral corridors, etc. Campanopetra was almost certainly unique in Cyprus in using such large quantities of expensive imported marble. The architectural design is cosmopolitan in its solutions, elegant, and unstinted. The ordering of the spacious western entrance court and atrium is reminiscent of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Other architectural details, too, encourage one to think of connections with the great churches of the Holy Land.[89] (The basilica of St Epiphanius has

86. As traditionally used for the better sort of picture frames.

87. Pouilloux et al., 1987.

88. One thinks of Chartres, with its corridors sloping down from east to west, so that they could be swept and sluiced down at the end of the day, the water running out of the west portal.

89. Megaw; Delvoye, 1980.

similar architectural affinities.) The significance of Campanopetra is more than provincial.

The date of construction of Campanopetra is problematic: was it built in the late fifth century, or towards the middle of the sixth? (Is there a real conflict here? – cathedrals were usually decades in the building.) Archaeological evidence for the date of construction, e.g. coin finds in secure contexts, seems to be non-existent. Megaw noted that the capitals of the columns belong to an advanced stage in the development of the so-called Theodosian class: he suggested that a date in the late fifth century would be expected. But one ventures to think that it is not plausible that the construction of the complex was contemporary with that of the pilgrimage centre of St Barnabas, which was a more modest and gentler enterprise. Campanopetra envisages throngs of pilgrims – boat-loads, perhaps – who would jostle along the three-metre corridors, and it belongs to a heyday of imperial splendour. One wonders, therefore, whether it was not initiated, like the public works in the north of the city, by Justinian and Theodora, even though that would make it roughly half a century later than stylistic indications suggest – and half a century later than the pilgrimage centre of St Barnabas.[90]

The excavators envisaged two phases. The original construction was in their view dated by the late Theodosian style of the capitals; and the floors (where they survived) were of large slabs of yellow Cypriot limestone.[91] Under Justinian, important refurbishments were commissioned, and the central nave, for example, was paved with marble at that time. Pouilloux asserts that the improvements were the work of the hypatikos (i.e. consularis) Ioannes, whom he equates with the governor in 542-3 who is commemorated by inscriptions in the public baths. The excavated evidence for that, which may be thought to be slender, is as follows: a circular plaque with two concentric circles of lettering *c.*4.5cm high survives only in part, and in fragments. The larger fragments read [π]οικίλον ... ἀστε[ριαῖον]. Another fragment has been read as ἔργον Ἰωα[ννου]. These fragments were found, re-used upside-down, at the western end of the northern corridor of the church. Are we to suppose that the archbishop and the governor were each building a basilica, concurrently? Can one rule out that the capitals are archaizing in their style? Might the large limestone slabs have been laid as a surface on which to create the mosaics?

90. See now |Megaw, 2006.

91. Megaw's version (1974, p. 68) is that 'the floor in the aisles was of large yellow marble slabs and of *opus sectile* in the nave (also in the baths, excellently preserved)'.

The re-use of the fragments of the plaque might perhaps reflect repairs after the Arab raids (coin finds in the Campanopetra sector indicate continued occupation). Of the floors which the plaque commemorated, virtually nothing remains inside the church. The beautiful mosaic of the bath house appears to be of sixth-century date, but that is not much more than a general impression. The mosaics in the church itself will have been no less beautiful.

Whatever the exact date of this sumptuous, almost baroque, basilica, it prompts a whole sheaf of questions for the general historian. Among the extravagant buildings encased in expensive marble in modern Cyprus are various five-star hotels.[92] Their owners are probably among the wealthiest citizens of the Republic. The place of tourism in the economy of Cyprus in the second half of the twentieth century can be assessed from a plethora of statistics. Was pilgrimage the tourist industry of the sixth century? What contribution did it make to the prosperity of the province? Did all these pilgrims spend much money, apart from what they offered at the shrine? Into whose coffers were their offerings raked? Did the wealth trickle down, to enrich the population at large? Who fed the pilgrims while they were in Constantia? Did the wealth spread beyond Constantia to farming communities in its hinterland? Did the presence of such a church confer additional prestige on the archbishop, tending to elevate him further above his brother bishops? – Did the volume of pilgrimage for which the builders originally planned in fact materialize? How far was it dependent on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and was it in due course severely dented by the Persian conquest of Syria?

Campanopetra offers the historian much to reflect upon, in particular the frailty of evidence for dating, and the deep silence into which so much of the life of sixth-century Cyprus has disappeared. The written sources are so exiguous that this dazzling, prestigious enterprise goes unmentioned. What the precious relic was, we can only guess. If it was indeed a fragment of the Cross, it would by itself have done something to put Cyprus on the map, even if the Holy Places of Palestine were always going to be the prime destination of pilgrimage. What happened to the relic, and indeed to the basilica itself, when Muʿāwiya laid waste the island, is unknown. Was the church ruined at that time? Was the relic simply trodden under foot, in the sack of the city, or was it rescued in the nick of time and concealed, against better days?[93] The Campanopetra suburb recovered, but whether the

92. And, vis-à-vis the date of Campanopetra, note a chronological progression in opulence.

93. Cf the rescue of the Virgin's cloak at Chartres.

basilica remained viable as a place of worship is not known. Two small archives of lead seals, one of which is dated by a coin of Constans II, were unfortunately lost in the events of 1974; moreover, occupation of the annexes of a ruined, roofless building is a possibility. The clay lamps recovered in the excavations point to continued occupation.[94] The excavators conjecture that the walls of Campanopetra were finally destroyed by earthquake.[95]

The rest of Campanopetra's story, its long survival as a ruin, which is also interesting to the historian although in different ways, belongs to later chapters. One may just venture the remark here that if the venerable relic was indeed, as conjectured, a fragment of the Cross, that might influence the view one takes of the early history of Olympos/Stavrovouni.

8. Economic decline in western Cyprus from the mid-sixth century: the regional influence of Paphos, and the case of the Akamas

The Canadian Palaipafos Survey Project (CPSP) discovered that, in the valleys of south-western Cyprus (the Ezousas, Xeropotamos, and Diarizos valleys) the use of fine pottery, which had been increasing through the fifth century, culminated in the early sixth century, with a gradual decline from *c*.550.[96] Ayios Kononas, in the Akamas uplands, also begins to decline after *c*.550. The excavators there made a very serious attempt to measure past human activity across the whole landscape.[97] Their survey strategy was to lay out 12 lines or transects, each about 3 km long, running from the hills down to the coast. Of the team members who walked the transects, two walked a straight line, picking up every sherd and artefact they encountered. Two other team members ranged up to 50 metres either side, north and south, looking for diagnostic material. The survey discovered that broken pottery, presumably carried out in midden material, was spread across the terraced area. The survey site had a late Roman (fourth-century), then an early Byzantine (late fifth/sixth-century) phase, when four house-complexes were built. There was a basilica 14 x 22 m in size, which was of late sixth-century date. It had collapsed by 800. A well, 12 m deep, in one of the houses had been kept in a clean condition while in use. Planks at the bottom of the well were of the seventh century. That was the final phase. The little settlement was not destroyed by the Arab attack:

94. Roux, 1998, p. 251.

95. ibid.

96. Rupp, 1986; Lund, in Sørensen and Rupp.

97. Fejfer and Hayes, 1995.

people were able to leave, taking their belongings with them. They abandoned the place. The exact date at which they did so can only be judged from the ceramic evidence. The excavators were convinced that it was well before 649.

Similarly with the CPSP, where the decline was judged to begin in the mid-sixth century, this crucial perspective depends, essentially, on ceramic evidence. Urban archaeology seems to be in agreement: Ayios Georgios was at the height of its prosperity in the time of Justinian. Sustained excavation of its three basilicas has yielded a series of coin finds which are potentially of considerable interest, although one should note that in principle church sites (e.g. the basilica on the acropolis at Amathus) may yield discontinuous series of finds, peaking during the construction and destruction phases. Here, we are promised numismatic evidence too; the time to assess its historical sigificance will be when it has been gathered up and published.

At Khlorakas, however, to the north of Paphos, the numismatic evidence continues well into the reign of Heraclius, and the sigillographic evidence later still, into the early eighth century. In Paphos itself, coin losses continue through the seventh century, until at least *c.*670. Although pottery dating is subject to margins of uncertainty, and also to blurring, the margins are not hopelessly wide. This is at odds with the evidence at Ayios Kononos that the settlement was peacefully abandoned, apparently in the early seventh century. The inhabitants departed, taking everything with them, and leaving their empty houses eventually to fall down.[98]

This is different from the evidence from the CPSP survey area, which points to a real, and not merely a relative decline. How the conflict is to be resolved is not at all clear. In the time of Maurice and subsequently, the cities and smaller settlements of the south coast were perhaps the motors of the economy, carrying their hinterlands along with them. And yet the south-western valleys surveyed by the CPSP, which led directly down to the south coast, seem actually to have declined economically, albeit slowly, from about the middle of the sixth century. Was this merely a severe agricultural depression? Was there an element of depopulation, as villagers were drawn into the towns? If long-term climate change were the underlying explanation, it would certainly have to apply to the whole of Cyprus; and indeed, the western foothills would have been a favoured area,

98. See A. H. S. Megaw, in *Archaeol. Reports,* 1958, pp. 30, 34.

less hard-hit than the Mesaoria or the eastern coasts. Perhaps, therefore, an explanation lies elsewhere.

The only remaining theory that comes to mind – and it is not very plausible – is the transfer of the governor's residence (and with the governor himself, all his administrative staff) to Constantia, in the early to mid-sixth century, evidenced in the occupation of parts of the House of Theseus (presumed to have been the governor's palace) by squatters, apparently in the early sixth century. Again, this chronological precision has not been closely supported by detailed evidence offered in print, as it deserves to be because of its wide-ranging implications. The date when the transfer of the administration from Paphos to Constantia happened (and at least, it is certain that it happened, at some stage) is at the nub of the problem of interpreting the regional decline. One would expect it to have occurred substantially earlier, i.e. in the fourth century, and to be irrelevant to the problem under consideration. The influence of the seat of government on the economic well-being of Paphos's region can perhaps be understoood in terms of supplying the city with foodstuffs and other such needs. Our (far-fetched) hypothesis is that when the administrative personnel were transferred elsewhere, south-western Cyprus suffered a recession. One would be surprised, however, that the effects should have reached as far as north-western Cyprus. The whole of the hypothesis sketched here depends quite heavily on the dating evidence for squatterisation in the House of Theseus. It was, one would imagine, an extremely valuable piece of real estate in down-town Paphos: was it just abandoned? Perhaps we need to envisage some further cause, an extraneous and quite devastating cause– as it might be, the arrival from Alexandria of the plague.

9. Famine, pestilence, depopulation

The plague, which broke out in Alexandria in September 541, returned repeatedly to the east Mediterranean world, and occasionally to Italy, Gaul, and even England, for some 200 years. Eighteen successive waves have been distinguished.[99] The sources do not mention Cyprus as having suffered, but their silence need not be construed as negative evidence, merely an absence of evidence. Likewise one should not expect to find glaringly obvious archaeological evidence of the plague. It seems very unlikely that the island would have escaped completely, given its trading and other contacts by sea. But neither does it seem likely that the visitations of the plague were confined to Paphos and the south-western parts of the island.

99. Stathakopoulos, 2004.

To infer that sixth-century Cyprus became severely depopulated as a result of the plague is a perfectly respectable suggestion. It is, however, mere speculation. We may approach the problem retrospectively by noting that there are natural limits to how fast a depleted population can recover through the birth-rate; by the mid-seventh century, the total population of Cyprus was very large, if the implications of the Soloi inscription are to be believed.

One should hesitate, therefore, to make the assumption that the monophysites from eastern Syria whom Maurice (before he became emperor) resettled in Cyprus in 577-8,[100] or the monophysite refugees from Arzun in 588, were brought into the island because lands were lying deserted as a result of the plague.[101] It may have been so, but there is no independent evidence to support such a claim. Whether the incomers were sufficiently numerous to affect the genetic make-up of the Cypriot population in the longer term is doubtful. The policy of transplantation was followed generally more for strategic than for humanitarian reasons. John of Ephesus writes, 'When the news was carried to [the emperor] he gave orders for them to be sent to the island of Cyprus, and they had lands allotted to them among all the villages throughout Cyprus, and dwelt there'.[102] We may well ask ourselves whether John had any basis for his statement about what happened to the refugees after their arrival in Cyprus. It would be more natural for groups of families to be kept together, for mutual support, and for them to live in communities of their own – especially in so far as they were monophysites. Evagrius adds, 'Thus land previously untilled was everywhere restored to cultivation. Numerous armies were also raised from among them . . . At the same time every household was furnished with servants on account of the easy rate at which slaves were procured'.[103] This statement, rich in superlatives, does not inspire complete confidence either. Maurice was an able general, who may well have judged that the rural Cypriots were too gentle for their own good, and that quite a small Persian invading force might potentially subdue the province rather easily, and deprive the Empire of its tax revenues until dislodged. The Armenians were bred in a tougher environment, and would fight for what they held. By allotting them land, Tiberius, or Maurice,

100. At this date the outcome of the Persian War was highly uncertain, and Maurice's adoption and imperial succession lay hidden in the future. The (unexpected) successful outcome of the war meant that Christian Armenians would turn more easily towards Byzantium.

101. Chrysos, 1978, p. 73; id., 1993, p.9.

102. Historia Ecclesiastica 6.15.

103. ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London, 1898.

stiffened the defences of Cyprus (although the main bulwark was surely always the city walls, not the rural population). Whether he also created, in the short term, a recruiting-ground for the armies of the Empire seems much more doubtful, given that the total numbers of settlers are unlikely to have been sufficient. Kyrris mentions 3,350 settlers installed as guards and small-holders[104]. Whatever the figure, it now seems likely that it was extremely modest in relation to the total population of Cyprus, which one judges to have been much higher than was once thought. And if, for strategic reasons, the settlers were concentrated in particular districts of Cyprus, it has to be said that we really have no specific evidence of where they were.[105] If the plan was to guard the coasts against a seaborne landing, or to guard the approaches to the passes through the Pentadaktylos range, one could see some point to it. But the whole episode has been treated as an opportunity for conjecture. Contemporary reaction and comment may have been mainly because the policy was news-worthy.

An intriguingly high proportion of the stray finds of copper coins of Maurice from Cyprus are from the Antioch mint.[106] The Mazotos hoard has a *t.p.q.* of 575/6, and could perhaps have been brought to Cyprus from Syria a few years later.[107] Note also the occurrence of an imperial lead seal of Tiberius II (578-82) found in the Dhekelia area,[108] possibly reflecting Maurice's intervention in the affairs of the province, even before his elevation.

Paul the Deacon indicates that other Syrian refugees arrived in Cyprus in 610. What is lacking is any indication of the numbers involved.

10. Cyprus and the coup d'état of Heraclius.

The story was told that the elder Heraclius, the exarch of Africa, equipped a fleet, which he placed under the command of his son, the future emperor, and at the same time sent a strong force by land, under the command of his nephew Nicetas. Whichever of the two reached Constantinople first, by sea or by land, should take control. The idea of a

104. Kyrris, 1970, mentioning Tillyria.

105. Our systematic knowledge of village place-names as they were in the sixth and seventh centuries is close to zero.

106. What is needed, however, is a comparison between Cyprus and other provinces, to establish whether this really is a local peculiarity. One would need to set out the numismatic evidence fully and in a rounded way.

107. See Chapter III, Appendix.

108. *BLSC* 1.

'race for the crown' is in all probability a myth.[109] The younger Heraclius was intended to succeed to the throne. It is his head (and not that of Nicetas) that appears on the coinage of the revolt, along with his father's, in the guise of consuls, long before he reached Constantinople. At most, Nicetas was in reserve, in case Heraclius should perish.[110] Heraclius reached Constantinople on 4 October 610, Phocas was quickly put to death, and Heraclius was crowned emperor.

The *coup d'état* of the Heraclii was launched in Carthage in 608. They took over the mint and struck gold coins there, in the usual style, but in their own names, and bearing the dates 11, 12, or 13. These are indictional dates, corresponding to 607/8, 608/9, and 609/10. They also struck silver and copper coins in Carthage. Having swiftly seized Egypt, they also struck gold with the same three indictional dates at Alexandria. Among the (very scarce) consular coins hitherto attributed to Alexandria – which are completely different in fabric from those of Carthage – Hahn has drawn attention to two distinct styles of die-cutting, one of which he re-attributes to Cyprus.[111] This attribution has not yet been validated by specimens in the supposed Cypriot style having been found in Cyprus, but the numismatic arguments nevertheless command serious consideration. There are also semisses and tremisses which Hahn attributes to Cyprus. Here, the evidence of style is less straightforward, because of the smaller and simpler designs. If Hahn is right about the solidi, there are important historical implications, because the Cypriot style includes a coin of Year 11 (607/8). That coin would seem to imply that the military seizure of Cyprus was one of the first moves in the *coup d'état*, almost simultaneous with the capture by Nicetas of Alexandria in the late summer of 608 (soon enough, we are told, to embargo the departure of that year's grain fleet). Hahn now draws back from this conclusion, suggesting that the date is a meaningless copy of an Alexandrian solidus.[112] One may reserve judgement.

109. Kaegi ventures to doubt whether Heraclius was present in Cyprus at all: his supporters seized the province as a precautionary measure. W. E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 46n. This may be thought to underplay the strategic importance of Cyprus in Heraclius's mind.

110. Cf. the duchess of Marlborough referring jocularly to her two sons as 'the heir and the spare'.

111. Kaegi, op.cit., p. 48, remarks uncontroversially that the coins do not prove that Heraclius was present personally in Cyprus.

112. Pers. comm. It seems to the writer that the numismatic evidence is still debateable. If a relevant hoard were to come to light in Cyprus, the problem might be put onto an altogether firmer footing.

There is a puzzling passage in the Life of St. John the Almsgiver, which speaks of a military threat to Constantia. The patriarch abandoned his see when Alexandria was about to be captured by the Persians (617), and sailed to Rhodes. Arrived there, however, he turned round and returned to his native Cyprus (with premonitions of his death), where, the story goes, he found a certain military commander called Aspagourios in charge of forces which were marching on Constantia. It seems that Aspagourios was expecting to be received peaceably. Cyprus was an unarmed province; but the citizens of Constantia were disposed to form themselves into a militia, and offer armed resistance. Through the mediation of John (whose family connections in Cyprus were of the highest) conflict was avoided. He defused the situation.[113] The Life does not state that the armed force was Persian; it is just that Aspagourios seems to be a Persian name. Many scholars have seen this account, puzzling as it is, as evidence of a Persian attack on the capital in *c.*617.

Grierson long ago made the radical suggestion that the incident has been misplaced in the narrative and misunderstood, and that it really occurred in 608/10, during the Heraclian *coup d'état*. More recently, Mango has cautioned against relying implicitly on the chronology of historical material in Leontios's Life of John.[114] Grierson's main argument was that Aspagourios, if he was in command of a Persian force, could hardly have imagined that he would be received peaceably, and (more to the point, since what he was thinking is unknowable) that he would not have been open to conciliation.

Relying on the same primary source, Chrysos reaches a quite different understanding.[115] He finds it implausible that the citizens of Constantia would have offered resistance to a Byzantine general. To that one might reply that, in the circumstances of 608-10, it is perhaps not so implausible that they would at first have intended to resist a general sent by the Heraclii (in spite of the unpopularity of Phocas), but that they would have been open to persuasion by John (who probably judged which way the wind was blowing), to change their loyalty and to accept the African force, which belonged, after all, to the Byzantine Empire. Aspagourios took military control of the capital, and *inter alia* (if we accept the attribution of the coins in question) set up a mint there. Whether one thinks that this happened already in 608 or only in 609-10 depends on one's detailed reading of the

113. Baynes and Dawes, 1948. See also Delehaye, 1927.

114. Mango, 1984.

115. Chrysos, 1993.

numismatic evidence, indeed ultimately on one coin. From a military point of view, a swift and decisive seizure of Cyprus as well as Egypt would have made obvious sense.

There is an interesting little coin hoard from Constantia, *t.p.q.* 607/8, consisting of 11 copper coins. Their owner had hidden the money in a rather unsuitable place, near the Temple of Zeus, just in front of the second marble step of the ramp. One could readily believe that this hoard dates from the occupation of the city by Aspagourios – but there is no reason to imagine from its contents that its owner had just arrived from Africa.[116]

11. Summing-up.

Cyprus in the sixth century was a wealthy province, not least through the sea-faring of its citizens. Each of its fifteen cities was governed by its bishop, as well as by imperial servans. Calibrating the island's prosperity is unexpectedly difficult, as the numismatic evidence cannot usefully be quantified, and there is little else that is securely dateable. If one could define, with any confidence that the list was complete, the assemblage of lead seals belonging to the sixth century, one could hope to make interesting comparisons with the first half of the seventh century; but whole categories of the corpus of lead seals could belong to either period – or both. The existence of a cultivated urban class is one indication, and the building of impressive basilicas (some already in the fifth century) is another. In the time of Justinian there were various building initiatives, which brought the city of Constantia to greater prominence, and which increased its role as a centre of pilgrimage. As well as the life of the cities, there is widespread archaeological evidence from 'the busy countryside'.

The reigns of Maurice (582-601) and of Phocas (601-10) brought significant developments to Cyprus, especially in those easterly regions which were closest to Antioch. Work on the aqueduct supplying Constantia was begun, probably, under Phocas. The south-west of Cyprus seems to have suffered decline, both relatively and absolutely, from about the middle of the sixth century, for reasons that remain uncertain.

The Heraclian *coup d'état* of 608-10, launched *via* Cyprus, brought the hitherto unarment province into the limelight.

116. The *t.p.q.* is provided by two coins of the Nicomedia mint, of Phocas, Years 5 and 6 respectively. On the archaeological interpretation of the site, see pp. 279.

CHAPTER XI

FROM 610 TO 688

The early years of the reign of Heraclius saw successive disasters in the East, in the course of a life-and-death struggle between the Byzantine and the Persian empires. Cilicia was occupied by Persian forces in 613, Jerusalem was lost in 614, the Persians in 615 came within sight of the Bosphorus, at Chalcedon, and in 617 their invasion of Egypt began. In 618 Heraclius, dissuaded by the patriarch from himself withdrawing to Carthage, put the Empire on a new military footing. In a series of campaigns culminating in 628, the emperor led his forces in the East in person, and eventually destroyed the power of Persia. Cyprus had, as it were, a grandstand view of these momentous events, a mere one to two days' sailing time away on the mainland. It took on a new strategic potential, as the Empire's off-shore island and bridgehead to the East. The sea was its safeguard, and it escaped all the devastation of war. A Persian attack on the capital, Constantia, in 617 has been detected in the documentary sources, but it is very doubtful whether they have been correctly read. Attempts to find traces of such an invasion in the archaeological record are disputable. The Arab invasion of 649, on the other hand, has left widespread archaeological evidence.

The strategic defence of Cyprus consisted, as it had done for centuries, and would do until gunpowder changed the complexion of warfare, of the strong walls of a dozen or so cities. They were built to withstand siege, and in favourable circumstances they were impregnable.

The strategy was purely defensive. One hoped that supplies of food and water would be sufficient inside the city, and insufficient among the besiegers. A more active military response was normally beyond the capabilities of the Cypriots. A hostile landing might take place at any one of a dozen localities. Even if there had been a standing army, it would have needed to be deployed with great despatch to prevent the establishing of a bridgehead. Military preparedness in Cyprus was nowhere near the top of the imperial government's list of priorities.

While Byzantium controlled the seas, Cyprus enjoyed an immunity from foreign invasion, which may have seemed part of the natural order of things. Commercial shipping plied the Mediterranean, contributing greatly to the island's prosperity, as did the stability which it enjoyed. A sea-borne attack launched from the mainland by the Arab conquerors, who swept through Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in the wake of the Persians, was not seen as a serious threat, in spite of the short sea crossing. Everything changed once the Arabs overcame their reluctance to take to the sea.[1] Once they had got so far as to create their own fleets, the balance between the super-powers shifted, and the city of Constantinople itself could be (again) threatened. The warships used by both Byzantines and Arabs were technically similar: strategic advantage lay primarily in the size of the fleet, and in the seamanship and determination of the sailors. The weather, and sheer fortune, had a greater role in naval supremacy than admirals cared to contemplate. A *dromon* was typically less than 250 tons deadweight, with a single lateen sail, and two steering oars. It lacked a deep keel.[2]

In 649 Mu'āwiya (governor of Syria from 639/40; caliph 661-80) assembled a very large fleet and struck a devastating blow against Cyprus. He wished to be able to by-pass the island with impunity when he set his sights on the conquest of Constantinople itself. In the event, he was not able to neutralize entirely the province's potential military threat to his longer-term plans. It seems that he opted to withdraw his forces from the island, apparently when the Empire sent a military expedition against him, led by the cubicularius Kakorhizos, and he certainly was not able to garrison every stronghold. The northern coastlands, sheltered by the Pentadaktylos range, were the focus of resistance. When, in 652, Mu'āwiya learned that Cyprus was supplying the Empire with ships (which must almost certainly mean newly-built ships, built in 650-2), he retaliated with a second, punitive invasion in 653, in which reportedly an even greater number of people were killed or led away as prisoners. After that, the struggle continued, but more as a cold war. We do not know at all clearly what happened in the next twenty-five years. They were confused times, and later chroniclers had no direct knowledge of how things were. It is perfectly clear, however, that the imperial government continued to supplement the money supply in these years, and almost as certain that Byzantine taxation continued. The administration of the province by bishops, illoustrioi, and imperial administrators went on as before. It would seem that, although Arab

1. See, most recently, Cosentino, 2007.

2. Pryor, 1988; Pryor and Jeffreys, 2006.

traders probably came and went as they pleased along much of the southern coastlands, no district of the island was interdicted to the Byzantine authorities. The north, on the other hand, was probably left alone by the Arabs.

It was not so much the material damage as the heavy loss of population, either killed, or captured and taken to the caliphate, or who became refugees, that crippled Cyprus. A significant proportion of the population was lost. The effects were even worse than the raw numbers might suggest, because through the Arab raids it was the able-bodied, and young women of marriageable age, and the better-off who were lost. One can certainly say, therefore, that the history of seventh-century Cyprus falls into two very different halves – before and after 649/53.

Cyprus was well worth attacking in 649, because it was so prosperous. Various hoards of gold coins create a strong impression that the loss of Alexandria to the Arabs in 641/2 brought substantial amounts of money into Cyprus (just as the troubles in Beirut from 1974 onwards brought important amounts of capital into modern Cyprus). We should not exclude the possibility that Mu'āwiya had received intelligence about the exceptional amounts of gold in Cyprus, and that this was another incentive for him to launch an attack. Whatever the ill effects of the plague may have been in the time of Justinian, as regards the first half of the seventh century the social and economic bases of prosperity were the same as they had been in the later sixth century. The rate of growth may even have accelerated: accidental losses of copper coinage were on a rising trend already from the time of Maurice, and they increase in number markedly under Heraclius. The province had played its part in the war effort against Persia, through the supply of locally minted copper coinage, and possibly in other ways too. What influence that may have had on the island's economy is difficult to judge. There are lead seals with a Heraclian monogram which hint that troops were recruited from Cyprus.[3] If so, the loss of man-power will have been a negative factor, but will not necessarily have had much of a short-term effect. That was the situation, until 649.

Our detailed understanding of the condition of Cyprus in the second half of the century is governed by material evidence, which sets the historian extremely challenging problems of interpretation. In a nutshell: despite the devastation of the raids and the heavy losses of population, and despite the alleged neutrality of the island, the levels of stray finds of coins

3. *BLSC* 4-10 and 807, including lead seals of a primicerius and of at least one cubicularius.

and the levels of stray finds of lead seals both reach an all-time high after 653, as regards the Byzantine centuries. That is so throughout the island, from Constantia to Paphos. It is so specifically in the south, where an Arab presence might have been expected to be strongest. Can it really be the case, that this material evidence reflects a correspondingly high level of monetary transactions of an every-day nature, supported by ongoing large consignments of folles from the Constantinople mint? And can it also be that the lead seals reflect a correspondingly intense level of administrative activity, mainly by the local notables and church leaders, but also involving officials appointed by the central government – both locally, and actually sent out on missions from Constantinople? We should look at the arguments which are being derived from the numismatic and sigillographic evidence as critically as possible, or even sceptically, in case there is some flaw in the reasoning. That is all the more necessary, because what they are telling us, namely that recovery from the Arab invasions of 649 and 653 was quite quick, is contrary to natural expectation.

Copper coins are dated year by year, and there can be absolutely no doubt about the great quantities of them, minted from Constans' eleventh regnal year onwards, i.e. after the Arab raids, which have been found and are being found all over Cyprus. In that respect, the central government continued to be a driving force in the economic life of the province until *c.*663/4, at which point shipments of new coin on a large scale ceased abruptly. But does the relative level of accidental losses, decade by decade, provide us with a straight-line graph of levels of monetary exchanges? Or did social dislocation, for example, result in significantly higher loss-rates? The degree of 'over-kill', i.e. the dramatically high level of coin losses, is such that, even if the evidence from the first and second halves of the century were not quite directly comparable, the message would almost certainly be the same. Even more astonishing, but still debateable, and requiring additional evidence from some future discoveries of coin hoards, is the claim[4] that the countermarking of coins of Constans II (an exercise hitherto dated to the reign of Constantine IV) in fact took place progressively from not long after the Arab raids, and through the rest of Constans' reign, and that it was connected with taxation. Monetary taxes were gathered up widely throughout the island and presumably taken to the provincial capital, and there the coins were individually countermarked. Whether this revalued them is not known.[5]

4. See pp. 171-5.

5. If a countermarked coin was worth, for example, two folles for official purposes, one would need to sort through one's money carefully to see what one had got. There are no obvious signs of this in the find-evidence. The purpose of the countermarking remains puzzling.

Whatever its purpose, it was a laborious process, involving very large numbers of folles. This was not a monetary, or a fiscal, system at its last gasp. More evidence, carefully established in light of the hypothesis, is needed. Whatever the outcome, it is certainly true that the countermarked coins were dispersed again. They are found all over Cyprus, having all been counterstamped in a workshop under the control of the governor. Whether this happened in Constantia or in Lapithos is an open question. But could the countermarking have been conducted at more than one centre? Answering that question would set a challenge to numismatists, of the kind they enjoy, to discover evidence from the coins themselves. Whether the dispersal of the countermarked pieces occurred in the 650s and 660s, or only (improbably) after 668, the implications are similar: it is evidence of government with a firm hand, and of intensive monetary exchanges.

Few of the lead seals can be dated precisely (as the coins can), but those of Archbishop Epiphanios II are attributable to his pontificate beyond any doubt;[6] and there is an archive containing them alongside seven or eight other seal varieties, abandoned probably in 690/1, and in any case, thereabouts. This archival context dates the other seven or eight varieties. It proves that illoustrioi, the heads of the old senatorial families, were still very active in the governance of Cyprus in the decades after the Arab raids, at least in the northern parts of the island. The lead seals of other archbishops, similar in the style of their engraving to those of Epiphanios, are recognizable from their monograms. The archbishops' seals too are dispersed through the island. Those naming Arkadios are quite plentiful; but whether some belong to Arkadios I (625/6-641/2) and some to Arkadios II (c.680), or whether they are all of Arkadios II, remains debateable. What one can say is that seals of Archbishop Ploutarchos (c.590-625) and of Archbishop Sergios, the successor of Arkadios I, are scarce or non-existent among the material recorded from Cyprus. That may be interpreted as indicating that the lead seals of Arkadios are probably of Arkadios II. In short, the archbishops come to administrative prominence, in so far as the sealing of documents is concerned (or in so far as the survival-rate of the discarded lead seals is concerned?), from the 670s onwards.

1. A Persian attack on Constantia, in 617?

The Persian threat to the Byzantine Empire reached a moment of crisis is 615 when Shahin and his troops traversed Asia Minor following a major

6. His distinctive monogram is on them, they are plentiful, and there is no other Archbishop Epiphanios within centuries.

highway, and invested the city of Chalcedon. They succeeded in capturing it the following year, after a long siege. Their encampment was in full view of Constantinople, just across the Bosphorus.

There is a puzzling and debateable passage in the Life of St John the Almsgiver by Leontios, which speaks of a military threat to Constantia, apparently in *c.*617. Sodini has pointed out that in any case John could not have intervened in 617, because he only arrived in Cyprus in 619.[7] The threat to Constantia has been re-interpreted, above,[8] as a garbled account of an incident which occurred during the *coup d'état* of Heraclius in *c.*608-10. Chrysos, however, has defended a straightforward reading of the Life, mentioning *inter alia* a reference in the text to a distinctively-named prison, *Lethe*, where Cypriots who had been taken to Persia were confined. This circumstantial scrap of information, carried back by the returning Cypriots, is intriguing. But it is not unambiguous: they might have been soldiers, who had been captured while on the mainland. The Byzantines had set up a mint in Isaurian Seleucia, which produced folles (and half-folles) in some quantity, doubtless for military purposes, in regnal years 6 (615/16) and 7 (616/17). It seems that this temporary mint was moved to Isaura, where folles were produced in Year 8 (617/18). The coinage offers a reminder that we do not know where the Persian raid might have sailed from, nor where it might have landed. Wherever it landed, Constantia would have been a strategic target. Foss also accepts what Leontios says, and adds some comments, referring, for example, to a hoard of 117 coins from Paphos, concealed in *c.*617, and terminating with just two of the scarce folles of Isaurian Seleucia, of Year 7 (616-17).[9] This hoard, on its own, is hardly enough to demonstrate an attack on Paphos; it could have been carried there by someone fleeing from the mainland.

As between *c.*617 and *c.*608, one has the choice of reserving judgement, or of coming down on one side of the argument or the other. In this case, one cannot opine that the truth probably lies somewhere in the middle. We may go so far as to say that there might have been a Persian attack on Constantia in *c.*617, but that one doubts it and that in any case Leontius does not provide conclusive evidence for it. In 617 the Persians were bent upon the conquest of Egypt: would they have attacked Cyprus as well? Possibly, but no more than possibly.

7. Sodini, p.632.

8. See pp. 375-8.

9. Foss, 1975.

Whether the archaeology of Constantia could be expected to retain traces of such a raid is doubtful, although Chrysos (again) tentatively suggests that the new rampart enclosing a modest area around the basilica of St Epiphanios could be a defensive measure taken in response to the raid, rather than dating from after the Arab raids.[10] This suggestion, which commands no confidence, should probably be judged in connection with the completion of the aqueduct in 631 (see section 2 below), and in particular with the constructional details and the archaeology of the section where it debouched in relation to the inner fortification. The numismatic evidence, including collateral evidence from the Temple of Zeus, points to a distinctly later date for the construction of the inner defensive wall, perhaps even after 700.[11]

The University of Lyon excavations yielded a group of 39 coins of Heraclius from the building complex which the French excavators named 'l'huilerie'. Their judgement was that these coins were to be associated with a change of use of the building, from a single luxurious residence, into two separate properties – at a date before the Arab raids (??after 617). One may judge that the contextual evidence of the coins is not sufficiently focussed, i.e. their detailed contexts are not sufficiently stratified and clustered, for this to be anything more than a hypothesis. Otherwise, the coin finds from the French excavations do not, so far as one can see, point to any dramatic events in or around 617.[12]

2. Constantia's aqueduct

The aqueduct from the springs of Kephalovryso, near Kythrea, to Constantia, nearly 40km in length, was completed in 631, after at least twelve years' work in building arches to carry it across the plain south of the village of Ayios Sergios. A series of inscriptions records the completion of stages of the work, between 619 and 631, under the patronage of archbishops Ploutarchos and Arkadios I.[13] There is something curious about putting up inscriptions one after another, out in the countryside, on

10. Chrysos extends this suggestion to the construction of the town wall at Ayios Philon (where, again, the numismatic evidence for dating is not as clear-cut as one could have wished).

11. The coin finds which Dikigoropoulos mentions in connection with his excavation of the new fortification wall run a good deal later, and those associated with the robbing of the Temple are predominantly of Constans II. See below.

12. See above, section 1 of this chapter.

13. The dates are indictional, leaving scope for uncertainty. The correct solution has been established, in a very thorough study, by Sodini, 1998. See pp. 220-1 above.

an unfinished monument. Little remains of the arches today, but Pococke, writing in 1745, describes them: '. . . all the arches which I saw were gothic [i.e. pointed], and there is an inscription on it in Greek, which makes mention of an archbishop . . . I saw the arches all along the plain, extending towards the mountains of the north-west'.[14]

The final inscription reads, 'With the help of God these seven arches (*apsides*) also were made thanks to the subsidies offered by our divine emperor, Flavius Heraclius, from the hippodrome . . . the sixth month, indiction four'.[15] The crux is that the (indictional) date could refer to either February 616 or February 631. In favour of the earlier possibility, the form of the imperial name was becoming old-fashioned in 631. It is just conceivable that Heraclius might have turned his attention to a subsidy for Constantia before the war was over, in particular if he envisaged the strategic use of the port. The earlier date is contemporaneous with the operation of the Cyprus mint for folles. But it is very difficult, technically, to suppose that the last arches (near the hippodrome[16]) were built first. All told, there seems very little doubt that 631 is the preferred reading.

Only two of the inscriptions were found *in situ*, and only one of those is legible. It names Ploutarchos, who died in 625, and it is only about a kilometre from Constantia. If the aqueduct was built downhill, it is necessary for the (only) inscription naming Arkadios, who was archbishop from 625 onwards, to belong to the final kilometre. As it was found 'on the former site of Salamis', in four fragments, that seems perfectly possible. It means, however, that *c*.35km of the aqueduct, below ground or above ground, had been completed by 619/20. There should be little doubt that the final inscription was put in place in 631, not 616.

To build an aqueduct called for surveying and engineering skills of a high order.[17] The gradient or fall of an aqueduct needed to be a finger's breadth in a hundred metres; more, and the water would rush along with destructive force, less, and it would stagnate.It follows that no aquarius in his right mind would undertake the building of an aqueduct other than

14. Cobham, 1908, p.256.

15. Sodini is emphatic that the final numeral is a four.

16. The inscription was not found in situ: it had been removed, doubtless with many other stone blocks, and was in the courtyard of a house in the village of Ayios Sergios.

17. As a first-year geography student at university, fifty years ago, I was required to survey and map Blackheath, in south London, with a plane table and theodolite. This taught me (as it was no doubt intended to do) that to make a half-mile circuit and to arrive back at the starting point to within a finger's breadth is challenging.

continuously downwards from the source.[18] Work will therefore surely have begun at Kythrea. It may have been possible to repair the first fifteen or more kilometres of the Neronian aqueduct without too much engineering,[19] – or on the other hand the earthquakes of the fourth century may well have caused damage and disturbed the levels.[20] Work will necessarily have begun well before 619 – one imagines, very early in the reign of Heraclius, if not even sooner. The imperial rescript from Kythrea has been interpreted, above, in that sense.[21] At the conclusion of the Persian wars Heraclius himself was prompt to provide financial support for the completion of a project which, as well as benefitting the citizens, recognized the importance of Constantia as a place where troops might be assembled for any further operations in Syria.[22] The aqueduct, which reached Constantia near the hippodrome,[23] fed the large cistern, later called the Vouta, which blocked the northern approaches to the old Roman agora (see Fig. 16, above).[24] The aqueduct may also have supplied water to other sectors of the city, including the very large hot baths,[25] and also to the latrines near the theatre.[26] Whether a branch was led to the pilgrim hostel at St Barnabas is unknown.

3. Monasticism before the Arab invasion.

Alongside the diocesan structures of the Church of Cyprus there were, already by the early seventh century and possibly from a much earlier date, a number of distinguished monasteries, as well as hermits and stylites. We know almost nothing about them; indeed, their very existence is controversial. The only possibility of discovering more is through archaeological investigations.

18. *Pace* Mitford, 1950, p. 124.

19. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (ed. J. J. E. Hondius), 23 (1968), 675.

20. Note that in describing the hostel for pilgrims constructed by Archbishop Anthemios around the basilica of St Barnabas, the monk Alexander gives a glowing account of its facilities, including 'aqueducts': Van Deun, 1993.

21. See pp. 219f.

22. Mitford, 1950, p. 125, points out that the lettering on this final inscription is fully Byzantine in character, perhaps because it was deemed appropriate to use a style that was fashionable in the capital. On the other inscriptions, an older and simpler style survived.

23. Inscription I marks the completion of (the final?) seven arches *apo tou hippodromou*. For the whereabouts of the hippodrome, see *JHS* XII, plate 5, and Mitford, 1950, p.122, n.1.

24. On the reservoir see Sodini, 1973, 372-84; also Mitford, 1950, p.128.

25. V. Karageorghis in *BCH* 88 (1964), 367.

26. Baur, 1990.

The monastic life is set apart from society: in entering upon it, the monk makes his *anachoresis*, his farewell to the world. To the historian of a society, that should mean that evidence from the monasteries tells him rather little about the religious life of the laity. Paradoxically (as St Neophytos, in a later century, was all too aware), the more the ascetic flees the world, the more the world feels the need to seek him out. Trends in monastic history uncannily mirror secular trends.

One important exception to the separation of monks from the devotional life of the laity, one strong point of contact, is that monasteries were, in effect, the training-ground for most future bishops.[27] A promising monk who had spent two or three decades in the unceasing, strenuous daily routine of prayer and worship and in *lectio divina* had the psalter and much else of the scriptures in his heart and soul, and had received a high-churchly formation that was indelible. 'The oracles of truth are engraved upon him' wrote Clement of Alexandria,[28] 'for where else, save in the human heart, can truth be written – or reverence, or gentleness, or love?'

The best-rounded and the most definite evidence of a monastery in existence before 649 comes from the excavation of Kalavasos-*Sirmata*. On a hill-top site at a little distance from the village, there was a self-contained architectural *ensemble* with a basilica (of the normal pattern) some 12 to 15 metres in length, a flanking courtyard, and a continuous row of rooms along the north side of the court. Altogether the monastery (for there should be no doubt that that is what it was) occupied a site of some 600 square metres. It was built, evidently, in the late sixth or early seventh century. Architectural influences from Syria and Palestine have been detected. Site finds recovered include Red Slip ware, and hand-made cooking-pots.[29] It is most unlikely that the Sirmata monastery was the only one of its kind in Cyprus before the middle of the seventh century.

Kalavasos apart, it seems that little material evidence survives of eremitical and monastic life in Cyprus before 650, but that is not because it was unimportant. The particular hatred which the Muslim attackers felt towards monks (and which had been put into words by the devout Caliph

27. The appointment of additional bishops in Cyprus from June 2007 onwards, bringing the total up to 13 (enough for a synod), drew upon the (sometimes reluctant) monks of Cyprus.

28. Speaking about mankind generally, not specifically monks.

29. Rautman, 2001.

Abu Bakr[30]) may be assumed to have found expression in the destruction of monastic buildings and the slaughter of the monks themselves.[31]

The affair of Philentolos, son of Olympios, throws a little light on the religious landscape of Cyprus as it seems to have been in the first half of the seventh century, and of the esteem in which the 'athletes of God' were held. The bishops, who were in disagreement about the fate of Philentolos (who died in the 630s or thereabouts), asked the monks, the stylites, and the hermits to obtain a revelation from God (εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στυλίτας καὶ ἐγκλείστους δεηθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ).[32] The recluse Kaïoumos, who was living at Ammochostos, was favoured with a vision, which he shared with the prelates.

There are four or five monasteries with venerable traditions, and in particular origin-myths which connect them with St Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. Olympos (Stavrovouni), St Nicholas of the Promontory, and St George of Basilopotamos all made such a claim, at very much later dates. It is true to say that many general historians, weighing the evidence (or lack of it) by the same impartial criteria as they would use for any other topic have been highly sceptical, perhaps excessively so, of these legends.[33] But what evidence would one expect to survive? These three monasteries are not named in pre-650 written sources, but after all the sources are so exiguous that silence hardly amounts to negative evidence. Perhaps the whole tenor of the discussion would be transformed, if it were possible to excavate layers which included rubbish from Stavrovouni, some way down from the summit (where the steepness of the mountain and the absence of any other habitation would make the argument stronger) and find sixth- or early-seventh century material. The previous existence of a pagan temple at Stavrovouni, which gave an obvious incentive to christianize the site, would make any such finds acceptable evidence for the existence of the monastery, before the Arab raids. Megaw noted that the earliest part of the existing church seemed to be the triconch sanctuary, with a groin vault over the altar.[34]

30. Quoted below, p. 395

31. It has been represented to the writer that the Arab invasion of Palestine and Syria was largely peaceable, in so far as monks were not targeted. Whatever the judgement on that, it does not necessarily follow that the same was true in Cyprus, fifteen or twenty years later. The archaeological evidence of destruction of churches is widespread.

32. Halkin, 1945, 58-9.

33. Menardos, 1970, pp. 315ff.

34. Megaw, 1974, p. 61, n.14.

The lead seals inscribed *Olympou,* which are certainly Cypriot, have been tentatively assigned to the monastery.[35] This is controversial, as monasteries are not known elsewhere to have generated large numbers of lead seals.[36] Another difficulty in the present context is that the *Olympou* lead seals are almost certainly from the 680s. Could Stavrovouni have escaped destruction in 649/653, only to have suffered gradual impoverishment in the eighth century, like so many other institutions in Cyprus?

The same lines of argument apply at Ayia Mone, the monastery of the priests, where there is indeed some archaeological evidence for the pre-Christian history of the site. In that remote location, there was a late-classical church just behind the present structure. Again, tradition claims that the church was built on the site of a pagan temple, and that it was founded by St Eutychios and St Nicholas of Myra. A Greek inscription found on the site in 1885 mentions a temple of Hera. The legend concerning St Eutychios goes back to at least the mid-fourteenth century, but that is of course a very long way from the seventh. The monastery itself is mentioned, under the name *mone ton hiereon*, as existing in 963, i.e. just before the reconquest; and it was wealthy enough to maintain a library in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[37] One need not doubt that its origins go back to the period before 649 – from which no evidence survives.

The Life of St Spyridon of Tremithus mentions the monastery of Symboulos, located 28 stadia from Kourion; and the Life of St John the Almsgiver mentions that he had founded two monasteries in Amathus. Unfortunately these briefest of accounts tell us nothing about the size or the social standing of the monastic houses. Nor do we know anything except the name of a monastery at Dadai (classical Dades), which is mentioned in the *Pratum spirituale* of John Moschos. At least they are definite evidence for the existence of monasteries. The interpretation of archaeological remains of churches as monastic is inevitably less certain, even when they are in remote locations. (Note that the details from Sirmata are quite circumstantial.) Souni (north of Kourion) has been canvassed,[38] as have Hosia Maria and Sergios, in the Akamas.[39]

35. *BLSC* 105, with a lengthy discussion. The claim is that, whereas Olympios is a personal name, Olympos is not.

36. Lead seals of other monasteries, found in Cyprus and possibly Cypriot, lack topographical contexts. See *BLSC*, cat. nos. 495-7.

37. Papacostas, 1999, pp. 95-9.

38. *BCH* 121 (1997), 929-30.

39. Fejfer and Mathiesen, 1992, p. 383; *BCH* 116 (1992), 828-30.

4. Distant thunder? Monophysitism and monotheletism.

In 648 the young Constans II, tested beyond the (early) limits of his patience, promulgated an imperial edict, the *Type*, by which any further discussion of monotheletism was punishable by deposition, excommunication, expropriation, flogging, or banishment. What may seem to us an esoteric theological compromise, originally devised personally by Constans's grandfather Heraclius and promulgated in his *Ekthesis* in 638, had swiftly become a political incendiary device capable of tearing apart the Byzantine Empire, or what was left of it. It might well be the judgement of modern historians that that was so, irrespective of the content of monotheletism; at the time, a more literal view prevailed. Pope Martin pointed out to Constans that orthodoxy was a precondition of divine protection and of success against the Empire's enemies. For his pains, and for his adherence to the original Chalcedonian position, the pope was abducted (in Rome), conveyed forcibly to Constantinople, there imprisoned for months, vilified and ill-treated, brought before a tribunal, and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to banishment to the Crimea, and it was there that the old man died.[40] Already in 648 the Church of Cyprus no doubt heard this distant thunder, and feared the storm. What was just over the horizon, however, was not a storm but a tsunami: in 649 the province was devastated by Mu'āwiya.

Heraclius had a fondness for Cyprus, and had in his mind intended it to be the test-bed for his statesmanlike if homespun compromise, namely monotheletism, which he hoped might reconcile the long-standing animosity existing between orthodoxy, as defined in the canons of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon in 451, and monophytism, which was entrenched throughout Syria and Egypt. The theological difference of belief concerned the person of Christ, something which the Church's theologians had wrestled with since the apostolic age.[41] It now

40. Jenkins, 1966, pp. 39-41. It is only fair to mention that Constans was settling old scores: the pope had excommunicated the ecumenical patriarch for adherence to monotheletism.

41. Building ever more extensively on the thought of Justin Martyr, the theologians, committed to their belief that God was in Christ, struggled to understand how this religious conviction could be expressed metaphysically. The divinity of Christ was already emphatically defined by the Council of Nicaea (325). The assertion of his equal humanity was the theological task of the fifth century. Jesus, the fathers eventually asserted, was 'perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting . . . God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds: and man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world . . . yet he is not two, but one Christ'. This (Western) formulation is from the Quicunque Vult, or the so-called Athanasian Creed. The Council of Ephesus (431), by endorsing the term Theotokos, goes further: Mary was the mother not just of the man Jesus,

seems almost inconceivable that so much acrimony could attach to so slender a distinction as that between the monophysite and dyophysite formulations. The Chalcedonian position was, after all, metaphysical in the extreme. It states, very carefully, that Christ was made known in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation; the difference between the natures was in no sense abolished by the union; and the two natures came together to form one persona (*prosopon*), and one *hypostasis*. In non-theological terms that comes close to saying that whereas Christ appears to us to be a single personality, we are unable to perceive that he has, in fact, two separate natures. This was, of course, a proposition utterly unrelated to the human experience of the faithful. Such theological niceties which, one might have supposed, were of interest only to élite theologians, need not have disturbed the faith or the devotion of ordinary believers – whose qualifications to pass judgement on them or even to understand them were close to zero. Nevertheless the 'two natures' formula provoked passionate hostility and violence at grass-roots level in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. One can only conclude that much of the anger and resentment was really about hostility to being governed from Constantinople. The eastern churches were of great antiquity, and they did not worship in Greek. Until 451 Alexandria enjoyed a primacy throughout the East. After 451, even though monophysitism became punishable, the patriarchal throne at Alexandria was occupied by a series of bishops who either were inclined towards monophysitism or were reolutely monophysite. Their main effort was to oppose whatever came from the hated capital and patriarchate, Constantinople. Tiring of all this, Justinian and his successors imposed melkite (i.e. Chalcedonian) patriarchs on Alexandria, who governed the African church vice-regally with military support and with the support of the imperial prefects.[42] Eventually the Cypriot John the Almsgiver was appointed to the see as a figure of reconciliation, who would avoid controversy. It was hoped that his great goodness would shine through. Alas, it was too late.

nor even of the Christ, but of God. Chalcedon insisted that he had two natures (*physeis*), divine and human; the 'Nestorian' (monophysite) position, endorsed by the disgraceful Council of Ephesus (449), but overturned at Chalcedon a couple of years later, was that he had one nature.

42. Festugière and Rydén, 1974, p. 257. The Chalcedonian restoration was imposed also in Antioch. Chadwick, 1967, pp. 200-5, summarizes the theological debate and conciliar developments over monophysitism generally, and recalls the gruesome incident, following the death of Marcian in 457, when a frenzied mob tore their patriarch, Proterius, to pieces. The see was thereafter occupied by an ultra-monophysite bishop, Timothy Aelurus.

We are all Chalcedonians now, throughout the Orthodox world[43] and in the West, and it is hard for us to imagine such a degree of politicization and entrenched animosity. For us the seven ecumenical councils are normative,[44] complete, and centuries-old. This was not so in late antiquity. The possibility that a new emperor might favour their cause and overturn the status quo gave hope to the monophysites. Thus in 482, in the time of Zeno, the patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius, devised a reconciling formula, the *Henotikon*, which was the touchstone of imperial orthodoxy until 518. It condemned Nestorianism but guardedly favoured monophysitism.

How did this unstable and potentially explosive mixture of learned theology, linguistic and cultural tension, and power-politics impinge on the church in Cyprus? The laity of Cyprus were Greek-speaking, unlike most of those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.[45] The passions aroused under the pretext of monophysitism ran very deep and, as we have seen, the two parties were not inclined to live and let live, or to respect each other's viewpoint in a genteel fashion. As the the sources are more or less silent, we are therefore probably entitled to conclude that Cyprus was free from controversy. The Cypriot bishops had helped in the rejection of Nestorianism in 431, and most of them signed up to the canons of Chalcedon. It seems that Cyprus was quietly orthodox, and probably wished no part of the monophysite ferment of the near-by mainland provinces. The *Henotikon* was part of the background to the invention of St Barnabas. Having mananged to stay out of the Pentarchy, Constantia certainly did not wish to be subject to Antioch again, and the fact that the Antiochene patriarch, Peter the Fuller, was monophysite by inclination probably strengthened that resolve.

Whether the Cypriot hierarchy or the laity during the sixth century included any proportion of individuals with monophysite leanings is a speculative question that has sometimes been taken out of context. The appointment of an ex-monophysite, Philoxenos, to the see of Constantia in

43. Eastwards beyond the imperial frontier the Nestorian church flourished mightily, all along the Silk Road: and the five 'lesser' or 'separated' churches, including the Armenian, the Syrian (Jacobite), the Coptic, and the Ethiopian churches were – and remain – monophysite. Until a couple of years ago there was a monophysite congregation worshipping in York, which traced its origin to Syrian missionaries in England many decades ago.

44. Or, in the West, the first four.

45. With the city of Alexandria as a partial exception.

*c.*533 followed his conversion to orthodoxy, and there is no evidence that he turned his coat again.[46] What one can safely say is that there was no internecine conflict between monophysites and Chalcedonians among the Greek Cypriots themselves. Immigrant communities were another matter. The Armenians who had been settled in Cyprus in 578 were probably mostly monophysites, but their numbers were relatively small, and their confessional allegiance will have been mainly a matter of preserving their sense of national identity. Jacob Baradeus, founder of the Jacobite church, will probably have done what little he could to favour any monophysites in Cyprus,[47] but there is no evidence that this was any sort of flash-point. It has been suggested, above, that the Aradians who, with their bishop, settled in Cyprus in 650, may have been monophysite by inclination. They will have had no wish to proselytize, merely to keep their community together. There may have been a similar context of monophysitism for the metropolitan of Tyre and his flock in Cyprus.

The mosaic of the Theotokos at Lythrankomi has been interpreted as implying a Chalcedonian position.[48] That is an enthusiastic interpretation: all that one needs to say about the mosaic is that it represents the Theotokos.

Heraclius's personal attempt at reconciliation, late in his reign, through the suggestion that, whatever his single or dual nature, all should be able to agree that Christ has a single will or energy, failed to gain the wider acceptance for which the bluff old emperor had hoped. In 633 or 634 a major synod was held, summoned by Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem.[49] It was attended by 46 prelates, including the patriarch of Alexandria, and the archbishop of Constantia, Arkadios (625/6-641/2), who did his best to give the compromise solution his personal support. Eventually even he rejected it, as did his successor Sergios. Both sides to the controversy soon realized that monotheletism was, in their terms, theologically unsustainable, a mere papering over of the cracks, and withdrew their support. Only the Maronites clung to monotheletism – and brought it back to Cyprus, some three hundred years later, when they settled in the island. It was in any case much too late to win back hearts and minds in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, which fell to the Arabs in 637, 638, and 641 respectively.

46. Kyrris, 1985, p. 170; Karaiannopoulos, *Istoria Byzantinou Kratous*, vol. 1, pp. 344-5, 373-4, 413f.; Charanis, 1974, pp. 58-60, 62-5, 73-6, 108.

47. Kyrris, 1985, p. 170; Kawerau, 1983, pp. 166-71.

48. Sacopoulos, 1975; Megaw and Hawkins, 1977.

49. Winkelmann, 1987; Cameron, 1992.

Islamic indifference to the finer points may even have seemed like an improvement on the status quo.

5. Two Arab invasions of Cyprus and their aftermath: a critique of the sources

Older text-books tend to speak of 'the Arab raids', followed by a long string of dates. That is, frankly, misleading as regards the mid-seventh century. The first so-called 'raid', in 649, was a full-scale military invasion, of which the objective was the subjugation of the province. It fell upon an extremely prosperous land which, until then, had enjoyed almost complete security. This was the most traumatic event in the history of the Byzantine centuries. Cyprus suffered the ravages of war for a second time in 653, because Mu'āwiya judged that the devastation already achieved was insufficient for his purposes. And indeed, the proximate cause of the second attack was military preparations on the north coast of the island. After that there was a long pause. Attacks and reprisals of varying severity occurred in the eighth and ninth centuries, but they are another story.

'These are the orders of Abū Bakr . . . to all the army commanders. I recommend you to fear Allah. Do not be greedy, nor destructive, nor tyrannical. Do not cut the feet of any animal, do not cut the throat of any sheep unless you intend to eat it, do not cut down any fruit tree, do not cut or burn any palm tree,[50] do not destroy any temple, do not kill children or old people or women. You will find men who have withdrawn onto columns [stylites], leave them in peace and do to them only what is good. You will find others, who are of the party of Satan, their heads are shaved. When you meet these [monks], strike them with the sword. That is my recommendation and my wish to you'. This letter of instructions written by the commander of the faithful before the conquest of Syria, illustrates the mind-set of the pious old caliph. The sentiments are high-minded, if self-serving; but monks (unlike stylites) were not seen as innocent bystanders. Archaeological work in Syria and Palestine tends towards the view that the conquest was not severely destructive of existing institutions, and in particular did not target churches or monasteries as such. Certainly, Islamic culture in the Bilad al-Sham was embedded in the Byzantine culture which had preceded it. Be that as it may, the reality in Cyprus was more complex and, over all, very different, as a mass of archaeological, inscriptional, and documentary evidence makes clear. Mu'āwiya was a darker and a more driven personality. The Byzantine attack on Alexandria in 646 had been

50. Or perhaps 'bee-hive'.

ill thought-through. In the event it gave the Caliphate a political excuse for savage reprisals – which fell on Cyprus.

The written sources offer very little in the way of specific, localized information, nor do they describe the course of the military campaigns nor their duration. Moreover, only two of the sources can claim to be based on first-hand knowledge by the writer, and those two are brief. It is better to begin, therefore, with the archaeological evidence of destruction, which is incontrovertible and which, being localized, shows how wide-ranging within Cyprus the devastation was. As with Aradus, whole towns were burned.[51] When the ruins of the basilica of St Epiphanius were discovered in 1924, the architect Jeffery noted that it had been entirely destroyed by fire: walls and columns had been subjected to calcination by great heat.[52] The damage was by no means confined to the capital. At Lapithos (modern Lambousa), for example, Markides, the Curator of Antiquities reported on his investigations in 1915. Near a well he found a long chamber, on the floor of which mosaics lay upside down – an indication that they had fallen there from above. The building had been destroyed by fire: there was a thick layer of burnt earth near the floor level. Glass objects had been melted by fire, and stones calcined. The villagers told him (and this is worth-while evidence) that wherever they had been digging, similar traces of fire were found.[53] When the Limeniotissa church at Paphos was excavated, a thick layer of burnt debris was encountered in the narthex.[54] At Amathus, the acropolis was burned. The remains of the stock of missiles used by the defenders was found in the destruction layer of the basilican complex; and elsewhere there were mass graves.[55] At Kourion, however, the excavation of the episcopal precinct produced less evidence of destruction. In the conviction that the city had, nevertheless, suffered, and seeing with the eye of faith, the excavator wrote, 'The chaos left behind by the invaders was cleared up except at one tell-tale point: beneath the final destruction deposit [from the end of the seventh century] a small heap of lamp and window glass, which had been dumped in the forecourt of the east diakonikon, was found intact. It contained a coin issued not later than 648'.[56] As the coins of Constans from 648 and earlier can be seen from the

51. See below, pp. 116-18.

52. Jeffery, 1928.

53. *Annual Report of the Curator of Antiquities*, 1915, pp. 11-12.

54. *BCH* 92 (1968), 351.

55. Prokopiou, 1995; Aupert, 1996.

56. Megaw, 2007, p.xxv, n.24.

hoards largely to have disappeared by the later part of the reign, and perhaps even by 653, one may concur with this interpretation, even though it rests on just a single coin. Even a small heap of lamp and window glass is telling evidence of wanton damage. It points to destruction in 649 rather than 653, although not conclusively.

The archaeological record tends to focus on the destruction of churches. That should not be taken to imply that only churches were burned: the houses of the inhabitants doubtless suffered too, but we do not know about that because they have not, in general, been explored archaeologically. The spade cannot be said to have yielded evidence of animus specifically against the Christian faith. We have only the instructions of Abu Bakr to suggest that Christian monks may have been targeted; and it would be excessive to assert that the most conspicuous, iconic buildings in the province, namely the great city basilicas, which symbolized the people's trust in the triune God, were specifically destroyed out of religious hatred. Of course, if the Cypriots had fought back against Mu'āwiya's forces, using the stone-built churches as fortresses into which they could retreat, then they were courting military reprisals.[57]

Smaller places suffered too. At Alassa, there is precious evidence that the village centre, including houses as well as the basilican complex, were destroyed by fire. Lying on the Early Byzantine floors were successive layers, of which the lowest was of charcoal, and the next, of charcoal mixed with ashes and soil. Coins of Heraclius were found in the charcoal and ash layer.[58] At Kalavasos-*Sirmata*, three or four miles away, the crypt of the church preserved dramatic evidence of the final days of the basilican complex there: 'beneath a dense fill of architectural débris were found the scattered remains of several domestic animals and of at least six humans . . . the haphazard disposition of four substantially-represented bodies . . .' suggested that the corpses had been flung into the crypt. Their putrefaction would have made the church unusable.[59]

Not all churches were destroyed. At the panegyris of the saint at Tremithus (Tremetousia, half-way between Athienou and Lysi) in 656,

57. Cf. the siege of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in 2002.

58. Flourentzos, 1996. A coin of 629 x 640 was found in the burnt layer, 70 cm below the surface. Also a 30-nummium of Heraclius (post-Year 20). An INPER CONST follis, not from the layer, may also have been lost in 649 or 653.

59. Rautman, 2001, and cf. Rautman 2003, p.67 and Appendix 5, identifying all except possibly one of the victims as male. Rautman 2001 notes that 'pottery and coins recovered from this deposit need date no later than *c*.650' – although in truth the numismatic evidence is slender.

when the newly-written life of St Spyridon was read out, the icons were still in their place in the church. The basilica at Kourion was still a source of marble revetments fifty years later, when the new basilica was built at Episcopi. The old church could, admittedly, have been repaired, like that at Soloi, but at least we can say that the marble was not severely fire damaged or calcined. Some remote churches in the Karpas peninsula, with their cherished mural mosaics, may have been left alone. And some rural monasteries may have escaped damage, again because of their remoteness or inaccessibility. Mu'āwiya's forces might have eyed the summit of Stavrovouni, and decided to leave it for another day. Urban monasteries stood less chance of escaping the onslaught.

Unequivocal as the archaeological evidence of widespread destruction is, the ferocity of the attacks on Cyprus should not be dismissed in a self-pitying mood as wholly negative terrorism. Slaves were a valuable commodity, and young people were worth much more to their captors alive than dead. They constituted an important part, by value, of the booty with which the troops could be rewarded. No doubt there was much gratuitous brutality, in spite of exhortations such as those of Abu Bakr, and there will inevitably have been excesses which were difficult to check. There is little point in our dwelling on the violence, except to say that terrorism, however shocking and irrational it may appear, usually has some sort of underlying evil logic; and that both empires were to an extent tarred with the same brush.

What became of the Cypriots carried off into slavery? For the most part they disappear from the pages of history as if they had never been. There is just one interesting anecdote, from among those recorded by Anastasius the Sinaite. 'Some years ago' he says, 'when I had gone to parts near the Dead Sea, to the region of Zoora and the Tetrapyrgia, I noticed that all the prisoners who were working in the fields of the public domain were Cypriots. As I was astonished, I asked why it should be. I was told, that the air there was so enervating that only people from Cyprus could work in it. Prisoners coming from other countries soon sickened and died'.[60]

We come, at last, to the written sources and what they have to say about the Arab invasion and its aftermath. They have in the past sometimes been too readily accepted as a straightforward and reliable account of events. They were, however, mostly far from being based on personal knowledge.

60. Flusin, pp. 401-2.

There are contradictions between the sources as regards the exact chronology, which cannot easily be resolved. Scholarly attention has been focussed on these discrepancies (which may at best tell us something about the character of the sources) somewhat to the neglect of more down-to-earth questions. A year or eighteen months this way or that does not change the general tenor of the events. Furthermore, the surviving chronicles were written at least a hundred years afterwards, and in some cases much longer than that. For some of what they say they will have had access to earlier written sources which are now lost. We have no way of verifying how such information was handled, nor (more importantly) whether the general construction put upon it was well judged. The archaeological evidence mentioned above is therefore the essential starting-point, which serves to validate the written sources.

The chroniclers and historians had no first-hand knowledge of the condition of Cyprus in the decades following the invasion. We should therefore eschew certainty. In the words of Professor Robert Browning, a wise Byzantinist, 'We really know nothing of the actual situation in Cyprus in the years after 653/4'.[61] His pessimistic assessment may now seem rather extreme.The literary descriptions of the damage the raids caused in Cyprus were written by non-participants and seem sometimes to have been grounded mainly in the imagination (people taking refuge in caves, and being dragged forth, captured like lambs, etc.— these are not much more than literary tropes). One has only to ask oneself, how many people could have crammed into a cave, and for how long.

We should recognize that the chroniclers' accounts, written from an outside standpoint, are mainly concerned with questions of diplomacy and subsequent negotiations. They do not even attempt to give (what we would have much preferred) a week-by-week narrative of what happened in Cyprus. Mu'āwiya must have planned a campaign, thinking about all the things that generals have to think about. For example, when his forces began to quarter the island, laying siege to one walled city after another, a contingent must have been left to guard all the ships, which might otherwise have been sabotaged, trapping the invaders on the island. A key question is, for how long did Mu'āwiya's army remain in Cyprus? We can only speculate. Most of the troops will have been on foot; and they went from one end of the island to the other, meeting resistance at Amathus, and very probably elsewhere. A minimum of several weeks, therefore. One

61. Browning, 1977-9, at p. 104. It is ironic that the date he mentions should now appear questionable.

assumes that the fleet would have waited until the danger of winter storms was past, before sailing for Cyprus, and that they might not have wished to remain too long into the late autumn, when the renewed onset of unsettled weather made navigation potentially risky.

Could Mu'āwiya's forces have remained in Cyprus through the winter? – There is the funerary monument of a Muslim from AH 29/AD 649, which the geographer al-Harawi saw 'next to the tomb of Umm Haram',[62] i.e. by the Salt Lake; and another of an Arab who died in May 650.[63] It seems that a prolonged occupation is not a possibility to be considered, as Mu'āwiya went from Cyprus to Aradus, which he besieged (unsuccessfully) in 649. – He might, however, have left some troops behind in Cyprus. Even on a fairly short time-scale, Mu'āwiya's campaign will have taken on the character of an occupation, with a contingent left in each conquered city. There will have been ample opportunity for looting. When the time came to withdraw, a timetable will presumably have been needed, and aides-de-camp will have ridden to and fro with instructions to assemble for embarcation.

Other than the funerary inscription there is one, and only one, written testimony to the Arab raids which is contemporary, first-hand, and with an excellent claim to be reliable. It consists of a long inscription, erected in 655 by the bishop of Soloi, to mark the repair and restoration of his basilican complex after the Arab raids.[64] This document, which distinguishes between the events of 649 and 653, is of the highest interest for establishing perspectives in the history of Byzantine Cyprus. It has been described in an earlier chapter.[65] It states that in the course of the first attack, in the spring of 649, there was considerable loss of life, and about 120,000 were led away as prisoners. Later, the island suffered a second invasion, 'more lamentable than the preceding one', in the course of which an even greater number of people were killed or were led away prisoner'. A figure of 50,000 is mentioned.[66]

The numbers 120,000 and 50,000 (on top of the loss of life) have of course attracted scepticism, on the grounds first, that chroniclers frequently exaggerate the size of armies, fleets, and so on; secondly that the entire

62. Christides, 2006, pp.61-3.

63. See pp.283f.

64. The inscription itself is discussed in more detail in the chapter on epigraphy, at pp. 221-4.

65. See p. 224.

66. See the discussion at pp. 221-4.

population of Cyprus was hardly so large; and thirdly that it would scarcely have been possible to transport so many prisoners in the ships available.[67] (That argument appears to rely on an assumption that all the prisoners were shipped out in one go.) Other sources mention a fleet of 1,500 or even 1,700 ships[68] (who counted them? – what harbours could accommodate so many?): this figure, at least, may be exaggerated. (But the invading force may well have gone home with more ships than the number with which they arrived. Any vessels at anchor in Cypriot harbours would presumably have been seized, both because they were valuable booty, and to deprive the enemy of their use.) To these criticisms one may reply that the Soloi inscription is completely different in character from a chronicle, being a solemn public statement put up only two or three years later, to commemorate the restoration of the basilica. Many of those who entered the basilica would read it, or would have it read to them, and most would themselves have had some first-hand or family knowledge of what had happened. Many were still tormented by grief and uncertainty, not knowing whether loved ones were alive or dead. This was no occasion for flippancy or irresponsible statements by a bishop, in a public inscription. We may ask ourselves how the bishop of Soloi could have arrived at the figures which he caused to be inscribed. We can only guess, but it may well be that after the Arabs had departed, most or all of the bishops made enquiries throughout their respective dioceses, and that they subsequently conferred. Some of the dioceses will have been harder hit than others. The statistics will no doubt be rough and ready, but it would be gratuitous to dismiss them out of hand, or to assert that they are greatly exaggerated or imaginary. The bishops had the care of their respective flocks: it was their business to be properly informed about what had happened. The numbers lost had nothing to do, strictly speaking, with the repair of the basilica at Soloi, except that the damage in need of repair had been part of the extremely traumatic island-wide events of five or six years earlier. They are round numbers, obviously, and they are liable to error, but not, one would judge, to gross or naive exaggeration.[69]

It is true that in relation to what one might imagine the total population of Cyprus to have been in 649, they are astonishingly large. But it is there

67. See for example Papacostas, 1999, pp. 23f.

68. Theophanes, Chronographia, pp.343f. Paul the Deacon says 1,700. The sight of such a fleet approaching the coast of Cyprus would have induced shock and horror. Cecil B. de Milles, dream on!

69. The inscription was in that sense pan-Cyprian in its purpose.

that their wider historical significance lies. Perhaps one's imagination needs to be recalibrated on this point. Other strands of evidence, in particular lead seals, encourage one to think that, up until 649, Cyprus was a very prosperous province. Perhaps the population in 649 was greater than ever again until the twentieth century. On any assessment the numbers lost will have constituted a significant fraction of the whole. There was another, hidden aspect of population loss. Many of those who could, will have fled from Cyprus as refugees, and settled in Constantinople, in the Thracesian theme, or among the Kibyrrhaiotes. We are informed about this only because Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that in the early eighth century the emperor sent an imperial agent, and caused them to return from these places, along with those from Nea Ioustinianoupolis.[70] In looking for other events with which to compare the catastrophe one thinks of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. The economic after-effects of that pandemic can be studied in some statistical detail – the pace of demographic recovery, and the effects on the availability and costs of labour, or the balance between the market costs of labour and the rents obtained from owning land, for example. For Cyprus in the second half of the seventh century, such data cannot be assembled. Superficially, life went on: life has to go on. For many, it will have been a life of deprivation and impoverishment, squatting in ruined ancient buildings. Careful excavation may reveal architectural evidence of squalor, occasionally. On the other hand, the bishop of Soloi was able to commission work from a very capable monumental stonemason. One may ask oneself whether town or countryside will have suffered the greater dislocation, and similarly for the northern and the southern coastlands.

Our reading of the epigraphic evidence from Soloi, which is unambiguous in what it says, may seem to be uncontroversial. But the corollaries are far from straightforward. The coins, and the lead seals, tell quite another story, and there are severe problems for the historian in deciding which strand of evidence to lean upon most. Coins of Constans II minted from 651 onwards, almost to the end of his reign in 668, are extremely plentiful in Cyprus as stray losses; and we have an archive of lead seals which shows beyond any doubt that the style of provincial government, in which the bishops and the illustrioi played such a prominent part, continued up until *c.*690/1, with a high level of sealing activity. It seems that we must contemplate the idea that such evidence of continuity, and even increased activity, is not incompatible with a severe

70. See pp. 453-5.

decline in the total population.[71] In the spacious city of Constantia, which according to the later accounts was a prime target, new walls were eventually built, to defend a far smaller central area; but that was not necessarily because the population of the city had been decimated in 649/53: neither the numerous stray losses of coins minted after 653, nor the discarded lead seals retreat to this inner area.[72] Finds throughout the Campanopetra sector, on the southern outskirts, continue unabated through the second half of the seventh century and into the eighth.

The Arab invasions of 649 and 653 dealt two devastating blows to Cyprus, not just to its churches and other buildings, which could in favourable circumstances have been repaired, but above all to its able-bodied population and to the younger generation. Yet it seems, from other material evidence, that we must hesitate to assume that these two blows reduced the province to utter ruin. The big, underlying question of methodology for the early medievalist is this: how might the long statistical series of coin finds, hoards, and lead seals be expected to reflect the catastrophic events of 649/53? The answer must be that there was no simple correlation. One can see readily enough that the incidence of coin hoarding (and non-recovery) might be mainly a reflection of social dislocation, etc., and that even a much smaller population might generate many hoards; and one can envisage that the tasks of reconstruction might have provoked an unusually high level of sealed correspondence; but surely the decimated population would have generated a much reduced level of accidental losses of copper coins on urban sites? That assumption at least appears to be incorrect.

It is probably fair to say that the crisis changed the political geography of the island for more than three hundred years, initially by causing the civil administration to withdraw its headquarters from Constantia to somewhere in the northern coastlands. The Soloi inscription says nothing about the continued presence of Arabs in Cyprus. Nor does it mention the island's political status. The use of the Diocletianic era is puzzling; could it perhaps be judged to have been inspired by diplomatic caution not to give offence?[73] The statistics from the inscription on the one hand, and the numerous finds of post-650 coins and lead seals on the other, call into

71. Question: if we had not got the Soloi inscription, could we have deduced, even approximately, the severity of loss of population? Answer: evidently not.

72. Note the lead seals (now lost to science) excavated in annexes to the basilica of Campanopetra (pp. 73f. and 137), which will in all probability have been post-653.

73. This point is well made in Chrysos, 1993, p.14.

question the accuracy of much of what modern historians before 1985 had written about the Arab raids. For the first time, there is reliable evidence about their severity. And the dating of the raids, previously determined by comparing one confused source with another, is now rather more certain.

After the Soloi inscription, the next source chronologically for the Arab invasion is, strictly speaking, in the writings of Anastasius the Sinaïte. What he says could hardly be more brief, but it has the merit that it was written in the 690s, by a Cypriot. Anastasius was a native of Amathus, and he was present there, for example, during the episcopate of John when a young Jew, a slave of the Arabs, fled and was converted to Christianity and received baptism. Anastasius spent the whole of Easter week in his company. He says that this was 'after the first and second capture of Cyprus'. This is first-hand personal testimony.

Next in date is the account given by the English St Willibald, who as a very young man visited Paphos and Constantia in 723 (that is to say, already 70 years after the event) and who dictated his memoirs much later in life, many years after his visit to Cyprus. He died in 786/7. Even in 723 there can have been only a small part of the population of Cyprus who had any direct memory of the events of 649-53. Most of those few would have been children during the invasion. Memories would no doubt have been kept alive by the adults, but much had supervened, including (for some) the transfers of population to Nea Ioustinianoupolis and to Syria and their subsequent return, nearly 20 years before the Englishman's visit. Willibald ends his comments by saying that 'the Cypriots were not in arms; for there was great peace and conciliation between the Greeks and the Saracens' (*pax maxima fuit et conciliatio . . .*).[74] The Latin word *conciliatio* has sometimes been translated here as 'friendship', but that is too generous. At first sight this eirenic assessment might appear to reflect tactful explanations by his hosts, or the gentle optimism of a pastor of souls. Or Willibald may have been just another tourist, who did not properly understand the dynamics of the society he was visiting. But the spirit of reconciliation had in fact been encouraged for a time by Justinian II, on his return to power in 705, by generous overtures to the Caliphate.[75] Since there were, almost certainly, Arab merchants frequenting Kato Paphos, it may well have been during his

74. It is not clear from the wording whether Willibald's comments envisage that Saracens were living in Cyprus.

75. See pp. 316 and 429.

visit to Paphos, rather than in Constantia, that Willibald first received his impression.

The hard-headed historian will ask himself whether peace and conciliation translated into a quasi-legal political confidence which allowed contracts to be entered into between Greeks and Saracens, and real estate to change hands.[76] Willibald may in fact have been a shrewd observer: a (rather brittle) peace and conciliation may summarize the diplomatic realities of the early eighth century a good deal more exactly than the much-used term 'neutrality'.

As seen retrospectively (from a ninth-century perspective), the Cypriots were, in Islamic political theory, neither *dhimmi* – Peoples of the Book,[77] living under Muslim protection – nor were they enemies who had capitulated unconditionally. They were *ahl fidyah*, that is, people who had made a covenant (*'ahd*) with the Muslims, but who lived by their own laws, and were entitled to be left undisturbed so long as they paid the agreed tribute and did not engage in activities hostile to the Muslim state.[78] If the Cypriots broke the covenant of neutrality, they might expect to be punished in any way that the Caliphate saw fit.[79] That description, very much from the Islamic standpoint, puts a veneer of decency on the more brutal realities of terrorism and political subjugation. Whether defensive preparations, such as the building of fortifications, would be construed as breaking the covenant, might appear to be debateable, but debate was a luxury that the Cypriots could not count on enjoying. In any case, Willibald says that they were unarmed. If we find evidence of quasi-military activity after 650, for example lead seals of stratelatai, it becomes apparent that the ninth-century view of the matter, let alone the eighth-century view, may have been less than rounded or even less than fully informed. One question for the historian is when the original agreement was entered into – and, of course, with whom: the governor? the bishops and notables? These two questions may be related to each other. Certainly, the agreement was asymmetrical. Of the Arabic (Christian) sources, only Agapios has a comment. He says that Cyprus (Qubrus) was divided between the Arabs and the Romaioi in

76 An Anglo-Saxonist will inevitably think of the Danelaw (in the sense of the conquered region of eastern and north-eastern England), and of English and Danes living in close proximity under different law codes, in regions outside the Danelaw.

77. That is, of the other two Abrahamic monotheistic faiths.

78. Browning, 1977-9, at p.106, citing Nicholas Mysticus and al-Balādhurī I. 238-43.

79. Their situation, at least from time to time, was not unlike that of the mouse held in the cat's claws – a situation perceived differently by the cat and the mouse.

equal parts.[80] In so far as this implies a territorial division, one may safely dismiss the information as garbled, deriving from the equal amounts of tribute or taxation payable to each empire.

Paul the Deacon, who enjoyed the esteem of Charlemagne, and who wrote as a historian in Italy in the late eighth century, i.e. 150 years after the raids, says that in the seventh year of Constans II [September 647-September 648], Mu'āwiya invaded Cyprus with 1,700 ships, took Constantia and all the island and exterminated it, but withdrew on learning that Kakorhizos was advancing against him.[81] The regnal year date probably implies an official Byzantine source underlying this rather second-hand information.

Theophanes, writing in 811-15, but with access to a lost oriental source,[82] also mentions the seventh regnal year of Constans. In addition, he gives the date according to the Byzantine world era, *anno mundi* 6140 [648].[83] His account is essentially the same: after ravaging the island, Mu'āwiya withdrew because he learned of the approach of the cubicularius Kakorhizos with a large force.[84]

If we assume that Paul and Theophanes place the raid in the late spring or early summer of 648, there is still a discrepancy of a year between them and the Soloi inscription. No very persuasive ways of reconciliation suggest themselves. The good bishop, using an unfamiliar dating system, might perhaps have made a slight mistake, of one year in the Diocletianic date; but the indictional date, 7, can hardly be dismissed as wrong. If he says the spring of 649, we have to try to believe him. Could it be that there was an earlier raid in the seventh year of Constans, conducted by an altogether smaller scouting force, which withdrew on the approach of Kakorhizos? It

80. For a French translation of Agapios, Kitab al-'Unvan, see Vasiliev, 1912. Agapios, whose History runs up to 941/2, borrows from Theophilus the Astronomer (d.785). See Beihammer, 2000, item 267. See also Conrad, 1990.

81. Hist. Miscella., Migne *PL* 95, 1049.

82. Mango, 1978. The Chronicler is very well informed about the Arab world and especially about events in Syria and Palestine. The lost oriental source went up to at least 780.

83. V. Grumel, *La chronologie*, (Traité d'études Byzantines, ed. P. Lemerle, vol. 1), Paris, 1958, pp. 246-7. Much has been written about the unreliability of the chronology of Theophanes: see the bibliographical survey in Brubaker and Haldon, 2001.

84. Cf. E. W. Brooks, in *BZ* 8, 82ff. Lead seals of cubicularii in the provinces are few and far between. There is one variety (anonymous) from Cyprus, but it is from the time of Heraclius. Unless Kakorhizos had a 25-year career as a cubicularius based in Cyprus, which seems rather unlikely, the seal can hardly be his.

might have served as an intelligence-gathering operation. If there were indeed two raids, conflated by Paul the Deacon and by Theophanes, Mu'āwiya might have sent the first (during Constans' seventh regnal year) without caliphal consent, but could not venture to do the same with a large-scale invasion which was bound to have serious diplomatic repercussions. This suggestion reconciles the sources ingeniously, but is otherwise purely speculative. What we should perhaps say is that an exact knowledge of the sequence of events did not survive.

Among the earliest of the surviving oriental authorities, al-Waqīdi, writing however many years after the event,[85] offers no usefully detailed information about what happened within Cyprus. From much the same date Dionysios of Tell-Mahré, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (818-45), provides information for the period 582-842; his work survives only because sections of it were incorporated into the writings of a much later patriarch of Antioch, Michael the Syrian. Al-Balādhuri (d. 892), in the major historical work *Futuh al-buldān*, draws on al-Waqīdi and other earlier writers. His account places the raid of 649 into a believable political context in the Caliphate.[86] Mu'āwiya, the governor of Syria (and future caliph) sought the permission of 'Umar I to mount a sea-borne attack on Cyprus. This request, made prior to 644, was turned down, perhaps for no better reason than that it was unprecedented for Arabs to take to the sea. Mu'āwiya made a similar request to 'Umar's successor 'Uthman (644-56), stressing the proximity of Cyprus, and the ease of acquiring it. (The Arabs had, of course, very recently acquired Syria and Mesopotamia, and in these same years Mu'āwiya was launching attacks on Armenia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia.) Again his request was turned down. At the third time of asking, in A.H. 27 (October 647-September 648), permission was given, provided that the participants should be volunteers, and that Mu'āwiya should be accompanied by his wife. Mu'āwiya embarked from Acre with a large number of ships, 'in A.H. 28, after the end of the rainy season [i.e. the spring of 649]; others say, in A.H. 29'. The commander 'Ubādah likewise was accompanied by his wife, Umm-Harām of the Ansār who, sadly, died in Cyprus.

As regards the correct date, then, and assuming the invasion was launched in the spring, the bishop of Soloi and al-Balādhuri say that it was in the spring of 649, while Agapios says that it was in the third year of Uthman (i.e. 646-7), and Paul and Theophanes say that it was in 648.

85. Al-Waqīdi (d. 823) refers to the taking of many prisoners.

86. Hitti, 1916.

Between them these various authorities give an indictional date, a Diocletianic date, a regnal year, and a hijra year. Only al-Balādhuri expresses any uncertainty, offering 650 as an alternative. The problem is intractable, and solving it would make little enough difference to our general understanding of the first Arab invasion. Coin losses, which might have helped, unfortunately fail to do so, for extraneous reasons. If there had been quantities of stray losses of folles of Constans' regnal year 7 (September 647–September 648) excavated at Constantia in destruction contexts, and none of year 8, one might have been encouraged to think of the spring of 648. If there had been quantities of year 8, that would almost certainly have been conclusive, in favour of 649. But it so happens that in year 8 the Constantinople mint was in abeyance: folles of year 8 do not exist, and the devastation of Constantia in 649 could have left no numismatic proof on this point. In fact, even coins of year 7 are very few at Constantia.[87]

If we did not already know that there had been a raid in which Constantia was devastated, the stray finds of coins from Constans' reign would certainly not have alerted us to the possibility.

To return to our review of the sources: Constantine Porphyrogenitus (writing much, much later) claims that in 632 Caliph Abu Bakr gained short-lived control of Kition, and that it was on this occasion that Umm Harām perished. The incident is widely assumed to have been incorrectly dated by the writer, on the grounds that the Arabs at that time had no navy, and that Umm-Harām's presence in Cyprus is convincingly dated to Mu'āwiya's invasion. That it no doubt a correct commentary on the Arabs' lack of a navy; but merchant ships belonging to Christians were sailing in and out of the ports of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and a small force could presumably have commandeered passage.[88]

At an even later date, Michael the Syrian (Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, 1126-99) drawing on information from Dionysios of Tell-Mahré, already mentioned, informs us that an Egyptian fleet participated in the attack, and that the Syrian and the Egyptian forces subsequently shared the

87. Callot, 2004 reports 9 folles of year 1, but a mere three specimens of *DOC* Class 4 (= years 5-7), with possibly one or two more among those of *DOC* Classes 1-4 on which the date is illegible.

88. Cobham, 1897 gives biographical details and also an account of the tomb monument, the Tekke, which stands near the Salt Lake. The tomb, of a high-ranking individual, was discovered in the seventeenth century. It is almost underneath a prehistoric trilithon, of which the horizontal member is a meteorite, weighing an estimated 15 tons.

booty.[89] The status of this information is poor: we cannot even be certain that it originated with Dionysios. After five hundred years, it seems unlikely that Michael knew better than al-Balādhuri. The ambitious governor of Syria was the moving force, and his assessment was that the conquest of Cyprus would be easy: why involve Egypt? Why share the political advantage, or the loot? Michael's account is perhaps coloured by the political realities of his own day.

Al-Balādhuri says that when the fleet arrived and disembarked 'on the coast', the archon sent an embassy to negotiate for peace. (The title 'archon' is here almost certainly an anachronism, appropriate in the eighth century but not in 649. The writer understood that in his own day Cyprus was governed by an archon.) Recognizing that they had little choice, the Cypriots submitted and signed a treaty with Mu'āwiya whereby they were to pay a tribute of 7,200 gold coins[90] a year; the same terms were agreed between Cyprus and the Byzantine Empire. Thus, they paid two tributes.[91] This summary of events contains a good deal of nonsense, and is clearly contaminated by knowledge of later events and later treaty arrangements. For example, Cyprus was a province of the Empire, and could not enter into a treaty with it. Kaegi makes the point that Heraclius had stood out against frontier provinces negotiating directly with the enemy, but that Constans seems to have been unable to enforce the same policy.[92] The concept of buffer or semi-independent states buying a truce with the Arabs may be appropriate to other provinces, but it does not seem to fit the Cypriot facts very well. Al-Balādhuri makes it appear that when Mu'āwiya arrived in Cyprus, the archon forthwith sued for peace. That almost certainly glosses over the fact that the Cypriots offered resistance. Al-Balādhuri may well not have known the details. Fierce conflict may have gone on for months. The coastlands north of the Pentadaktylos range, which the Empire was able to support from the sea, may have fared better than the south of the island. Mu'āwiya's forces were insufficient to control the entire province. In short, the honours were shared. Against a general of the calibre of Mu'āwiya, that was a remarkable achievement. The agreement that was eventually reached was a compromise, formalized perhaps at a later date. It was a treaty, not a document of surrender. The

89. Chabot, 1901, pp.241f. and 442-3; id, 1916, 268ff.

90. The word used is dinars, which again is a simple anachronism: read solidi.

91. Mansouri, 2001, p. 22. Given its wealth (prior to the raid), even 14,000 solidi seems a modest amount of tax.

92. W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 252-3.

Cypriots were to pay an annual tribute of some 7,000 gold solidi. They were permitted to continue to pay a similar amount of taxation to the Empire. They agreed to inform the Muslim side about the (military) movements of the Byzantines; they were to expect no help from the Muslims against any external threat; and in return for their compliance the Muslims would leave them unmolested.[93] How far these conditions were clarified already in 650 is uncertain, although when the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) took legal advice on whether the Cypriots had broken their pact (and could therefore be justly punished), one of the jurists, Malik b. Anas, began his response by saying, 'The treaty with the Cypriots is old, and has always been observed by different governors. . . '. That must surely rank as trustworthy evidence. It probably draws on official sources. The version of the heads of the treaty as they are known to us, however, perhaps represent the situation as it was understood in 678 or even 688. What does seem to emerge with some certainty, meanwhile, is that Cyprus was not completely conquered by Mu'āwiya.

Retreating before Kakorhizos, Mu'āwiya sailed away to Aradus, where his fleet put in. He tried to capture the island's little town of Kastellos, using various siege engines, but without success. A bishop called Thomanchos whom he sent to treat with the citizens was held inside by them. The following year, Mu'āwiya returned, strongly armed, and secured the capitulation of the town on the agreed terms that the inhabitants might depart safely and go wherever they wished. (Many wished to go to Cyprus,[94] in spite of its also having felt the force of Mu'āwiya's aggression.) Mu'āwiya then burned the town and destroyed its walls, leaving the little island uninhabited 'to this day'. The account reads as if al-Balādhuri had some source of information mentioning siege engines, etc., and also some direct knowledge of the condition of Aradus in his own time. On the other hand his version of events in Cyprus, which has the citizens of Constantia promptly negotiating a similar compromise, because they could see straight away that their prospects were hopeless, seems to be at variance with what the bishop of Soloi records of heavy loss of life and enslavement. Did Mu'āwiya treat with the Cypriots city by city, or did the Constantians negotiate for the whole island? (Neither seems plausible.) Perhaps al-Balādhuri was without information on that point. Did Mu'āwiya use various siege engines in Cyprus? Maybe, but it safe to say that al-Balādhuri did

93. The conditions as al-Balādhuri understood them are summarized in Kyrris, 1985, pp. 182f.

94. The sigillographic evidence is discussed above, pp. 116-18.

not know; and neither do we. At best, his description of the fall of Kastellos gives us a vignette of how he supposed a military commander in the mid-seventh century set about ruining a place. It seems that a walled city could withstand formidable force, if the citizens were determined. Allowing the inhabitants to depart was quite humane (this at least is attested, as they and their bishop are recorded in Cyprus), and has echoes in the departure of the citizens of Lapithos (searched as they left, perhaps, to relieve them of any silver or gold).

Al-Balādhuri goes on to say that the Cypriots broke the treaty conditions in A.H. 32 [652] by supplying the Empire with ships, and that in consequence Mu'āwiya mounted a punitive raid in A.H. 33 [653], commanded by Abū l'A'war, with 500 ships. One has to ask oneself critically whether it is true that Cyprus was supplying ships, because one's understanding of the wider situation depends to an important extent on the answer. Ships were crucial to the Empire's strategic interests. The naval battle of Phoenix lay just ahead. Ship-building, presumably on the north coast, would have been a vital contribution to the war effort. Although Al-Balādhuri understood well enough the significance of a large fleet, there is no reason, so far as one can see, why he should have invented this detail. He may have found it in his sources.

Mu'āwiya again killed or captured a large number of the inhabitants, and then (says al-Balādhuri) re-confirmed the terms of the treaty. One ventures to doubt whether any treaty had been signed in 649, although terms may well have been discussed and agreed. It may be that al-Balādhuri is conflating events in Armenia and Georgia (subjugated in 653 by Habib b. Maslama) with what happened in Cyprus. He goes on to say that Mu'āwiya then sent 12,000 men. They built mosques there [i.e. in Cyprus?].[95] Their names were recorded in the register (*diwan*), i.e. they were assigned special stipends. He also installed a contingent of the inhabitants of Baalbek, for whom he built a town. They lived in Cyprus until the death of Mu'āwiya [680]. The later part of this account has been construed as referring to a military garrison at Paphos, and to a civilian work-force, perhaps also at Paphos (although the text, which follows the order summarized above, certainly does not state that either the soldiers or the people from Baalbek were at Paphos. Nor does it say that the 12,000 were all stationed in one place. It seems that the town was newly built – not for the garrison, if we take al-Baladhuri *au pied de la lettre*, but for the

95. Note that al-Balādhuri does not speak of one mosque for the garrison and one for the settlers from Baalbek.

people from Baalbek. If it is correct that a town was built, can it have been at Paphos – seeing that that town already existed? Mango has suggested that the garrison, or a garrison, was installed at Nicosia.) One wonders when exactly this happened. Al-Balādhuri seems to imply, or at least allows us to assume, that it followed directly upon the conquest. Elsewhere than Cyprus, however, it was not until the winter of 662/3 (by which date Mu'āwiya was caliph) that the Muslims developed the strategy of establishing winter quarters in Byzantine territory.[96] Clearly this followed the departure of Constans II for the West, probably in about July 662. After the end of the first Arab civil war, and in the absence of Constans' élite troops, Mu'āwiya was able to resume his long-running contest of strength, and to move against the Empire more boldly, on various fronts. In due course military camps or garrison towns (*amṣār*) were established, e.g. at Qayruwān, Kufa, and Basra. The Cypriot garrison town may, of course, have been the exception, but one wonders whether it, too, may not have been built and manned in 662/3 or soon thereafter. What was its function? Perhaps to defend the southern districts of Cyprus from a military thrust through the St Hilarion pass. Archaeological exploration may one day lend some support to Professor Mango's conjecture. For the present, one should keep an open mind, especially as the evidence that modern scholars have offered for an Arab presence in Paphos is almost all undated. The coins from Constans' reign are dated; if a garrison was installed in 662/3 rather than 649 or 653, that puts the interpretation of the coins back into the melting pot. Are coins minted up until 662/3 found in Paphos, but none minted later? And, we must also ask, is Paphos unlike the rest of Cyprus in that respect? – It is a question to which we shall return. We may suspect that al-Balādhuri did not know the whereabouts of the garrison town, and that he has eked out the details about the grudging or tardy caliphal permission, which may very well be reliable, with an account of the two raids which allows him to connect the treaty arrangements of a later date (with which he was familiar) with the first raid, and to explain the second as triggered by a violation of the treaty.

Much – indeed, too much – has been accommodated in the four-year interval between the raids. During the years 649-53, Kyrris has suggested, the Byzantine authorities undertook a crash programme of defensive building works in Cyprus, in the interest of military preparedness against any future raid.[97] The work included the castle of Saranda Kolones,

96. Kaegi, 2003.

97. Kyrris, 1985, p. 176, §88, also p. 185, §95.

Paphos, St Hilarion castle, the monastery of Kriniotissa, and the fortresses of Kyrenia, Kantara, and Buffavento. Leaving Paphos aside, it has to be said that this list of major building works in the north is entirely and utterly speculative. The only activity in 649-53 for which there is a shred of evidence is ship-building. Very little serious archaeological investigation has been completed at any of the sites mentioned. We should not, therefore, dismiss the possibility that future excavation at one or more of the castles will reveal a seventh-century phase. For the present, the evidence is that the walls and towers of St Hilarion castle seem to be from the time of Alexius I.[98] At none of the sites is there any evidence dateable exactly to 650-3 (and that would have to mean coin hoards: what else could possibly be so closely dateable, unless it were a convenient inscription?). It is not demonstrable, nor is it particularly plausible, that all this postulated intense building activity occurred within the years 649-53. There is, indeed, an inscription (unfortunately undated) which was excavated at Lambousa in 1913, commemorating the refortification of the city by the eparch Leontios. A date not long after the invasion would be appropriate – perhaps part of the same impetus to restore the northern coastlands, as is seen in the repairs at Soloi, but few clues are available, apart from the nobility of the eparch.[99] One will recall the archaeological evidence for the widespread destruction of Lapithos (Lambousa) by fire.

Throughout Cyprus, there has been a regrettable tendency by some archaeologists to interpret their sites with a degree of chronological optimism, associating material with the Arab raids on the basis of insufficiently precise evidence.[100] The chronology of the raids, as

98. Their fabric appears to be of the same age as that of St Hilarion church. See below, pp. 535f.

99. See pp. 224f.

100. A flagrant example is the hoard of 80 copper coins from Kourion, the latest being of Heraclius, excavated in a latrine shaft in the basilica complex. The *t.p.q.* is earlier than 641, and the actual date of loss is extremely unlikely to have been as late as 648/9. Yet this was (says the excavator) 'evidently [*sic*] thrown down there as the Arab raiders approached'. One can see that a sum of money *accidentally dropped* down a latrine shaft might be unrecoverable; but *thrown* down? Why would one do that? (Don't panic!). The Limassol (Molos) hoard, which certainly dates from 641/2, has been tentatively connected with the exodus from Alexandria. Another example concerns Amathus, where one of the team of archaeologists wrote, in connection with the Arab destruction of the basilican complex on the acropolis in 649 (or conceivably 653) 'Or c'est au milieu du 7e siècle [*sic*] qu'appartiennent les monnaies les plus tardives (Constant II et Constantine IV) trouvées dans les couches de destruction ou d'abandon des annexes nord' (Pralong, 1993, p. 429). Constantine IV became emperor only in 668.

understood (or misunderstood) by ninth-century and later writers, and the chronology of the evolving treaty relationship turn out to be interconnected problems. Already by the 680s, the authorities seem to have been unclear about the antecedents to their current negotiating positions.[101] It may be helpful, therefore, to glance forward at the shifts in the balance of power which occurred over the next 35 years, before returning to the direct after-effects of the invasions of 649 and 653.

From the beginning, and in the flood tide of Islamic expansion, Mu'āwiya, as governor of Syria, could see the strategic significance of Cyprus as a stepping-stone towards an assault on Constantinople itself. (Had not Heraclius followed the same course?) His ambition was Napoleonic in its grandeur. One recalls that as well as Cyprus he attacked Armenia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, and laid Aradus waste. When he invaded Cyprus, it was something that he had been wanting to do for years. He had set his predatory sights on the island, as part of his long-term plans. His intelligence was perhaps not as complete as it should have been, deriving too much from the south coast, but he expected that his generalship and brute force would carry the day.

The early raids were in some sense a trial of strength. From then on, the balance of advantage oscillated, almost from year to year. In 654/5 Mu'āwiya mustered a great fleet at Tripoli, and gave the command of it to Abū l'A'war. In a major sea-battle off the Lycian coast (which does not figure in histories of Cyprus as prominently as it deserves to) the imperial fleet was annihilated, at Phoenix, and Constans himself barely escaped with his life.[102] For the next twenty or even thirty years (*c.*655-*c.*685), as a result, the caliphate held the upper hand, so far as any intervention in Cyprus was concerned, because the Empire could not muster a powerful enough fleet. Perhaps the settlers from Baalbek, mentioned above, were used as workmen to extract timber from the Troodos, for shipbuilding. The motive for transplanting these people in particular could have been simply that Baalbek, at the head of the Bekk'aa valley, was exposed and insecure. (It was equally in this period that the command of the Karabisianoi was

101. The work of Kyrris has the merit of recognizing that the treaty allegedly dating to 649 is a later and more complex agreement, incorporating 'a norm or legal practice formulated over a long period of time, [although] certainly following a pre-existing term *stricto sensu*.' Kyrris presented his views at the First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies, held in Athens in 1983 (Kyrris, 1984). The chapter in his book (1985), pp. 181-202, is based on the same.

102. Cosentino, 2007, at pp. 586-93. The colourful story of the emperor's changing clothes with his trumpeter, as a disguise, may be legendary, Ostrogorsky has suggested.

created,[103] with rather similar strategic purposes in mind.[104] On both sides, the building of ships at top speed was crucial to the war effort.[105]) Yet until almost the end of Constans II's reign, consignments of coinage continued to reach the capital of Cyprus from Constantinople, in very large quantities, and Byzantine folles continued to circulate widely in the island (including, incidentally, at Paphos). Large-scale consignment ceased soon after the departure of Constans II to the West in 662/3, and certainly before the accession of Constantine IV in 668. (But the existing stock of currency continued in use.) That may seem to be a strong argument demonstrating that, until 668 at least, Cyprus was not a conquered province. But in what ways was Cyprus different from Syria? — There, too, coins of Constans continued to arrive in large quantities until 651/2, if not even 658.[106] How they were put into circulation is admittedly difficult to grasp, in both cases, but these are not Byzantine coins that had trickled into Arab-controlled provinces in the course of trade. They are far too plentiful.

Mu'āwiya advanced step by step towards Constantinople, securing first Cos, then Smyrna, and in 672 Cyzicus. Pryor and Jeffreys suggest that Cyprus, similarly, was probably reoccupied by him in *c.*670.[107] If there were any evidence for that, it would have to be numismatic. But the pendulum swung sharply back again, when in 674-8 the prolonged assault on the Byzantine capital failed, and the Arab fleet in its turn was destroyed before the walls of Constantinople. This was Mu'āwiya's retreat from Moscow. A thirty-year peace treaty was signed. Cyprus was not mentioned in it, but when Caliph Yazid ratified the treaty in 680/1, he also undertook to withdraw the Arab garrisons from Cyprus and Rhodes. Was this because, without back-up from the fleet, the position of the garrisons was judged to be potentially militarily untenable?

The caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) is said to have sought a renewal of the treaty of 659, but the precedent on which later negotiations took place

103. The Karabisianoi were apparently created (although not necessarily as a theme) after 678. They are first mentioned in 687, possibly as a naval unit. See J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals* (*DOC*), vol. 2, pp.150f.

104. The *karabos* was a light ship, of a type which had been built in Cyprus. Kyrris, p. 177.

105. One cannot but think of the feverish building of Spitfires and Messerschmidts in 1939-40.

106. See the large and important hoard published by Phillips and Goodwin, 1997, with a *t.p.q.* of 656/7. The section of their text on the 'Arab copies' deserves attentive reading.

107. Pryor and Jeffreys, pp.26, 27. After the destruction of the Arab fleet, Yazid I had to evacuate Cyprus.

seems in fact to have been that of 678. 'Abd al-Malik's negotiating position had been weakened by various set-backs: plague in Syria in 684-5; internal uprisings among the Arabs; and continued attacks by the pro-Byzantine Mardaites, in the Lebanon. There had been numerous Arab violations of the treaty (of 678), and on the other side, Byzantine inroads into Armenia, Asia Minor, and Palestine. Taking advantage of 'Abd al-Malik's weakness, Justinian II (685-95, first reign) pressed for an annual tribute from the caliphate of 365,000 gold coins, plus 365 slaves and 365 noble horses. This was a huge demand, couched provocatively. It tells us more about Justinian II's personality than about *realpolitik*. The more diplomatic terms eventually agreed, in the treaty of 688,[108] included the equal division and sharing of the tax revenues of Cyprus, Armenia, and Iberia [i.e. the frontier zones] and the withdrawal of the 12,000 Mardaites from the Lebanon.[109]

Having reached this point it is possible to look back to the middle of the century and to re-state the general position from the later perspective. Although from 678 onwards there is a certain retrospective vagueness in the sources as regards the earlier diplomatic developments, with the benefit of distance (and of other strands of evidence) one can say that in 649 Mu'āwiya launched a devastating attack on Cyprus, and that the Cypriots agreed to pay tribute, because it was clear to them that they had no option: the empire of which they were a part could not defend them. Ship-building for the defence of the Empire was punished by another devastating attack in 653. Even then, the northern parts of the province were not subdued in the longer term. That was the fate of Cyprus until 678.[110] Crucially, for nearly 25 years, from the sea-battle of Phoenix until

108. This treaty is mentioned by Theophanes, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and Masudi.

109. This may be seen as a matching reduction to balance the withdrawal of the garrison from Cyprus. For all this, see Kyrris, 1985, p.191, §99.

110. It seems, however, that under the first four ('orthodox') caliphs, the conquest of provinces was in some sense tentative. It was not an all-or-nothing change of status. Rather military interdiction and the payment of tribute were the essential elements in the early days. In the Bilad al-Sham, for example, the conquered territory was divided, from *c*.640 or a little later, into four military districts or *junds*. Yet substantial quantities of Byzantine coinage continued to enter Syria. When those inflows ceased, they were replaced, as new issues, by locally-minted 'pseudo-Byzantine' coins of similar aspect, in the later 650s to the 670s. So far as one can imagine, it seems probable that they were issued by (Christian) municipal authorities (and perhaps also by ecclesiastical authorities), no doubt under general oversight by the ruling Arabs. Cf Album and Goodwin, 2002, pp. 74 and 80: 'Given the complete lack of relevant contemporary documentary sources dealing with local administrative structures, we can do little more than speculate as to who the issuing authorities may have been . . . Local municipal authorities are one possibility, and Ilisch

the sea-battle of Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire was unable to contest naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean with the Caliphate. That does not mean that Arab fleets were ceaselessly patrolling the seas. Nor does it mean that the Empire was unable to maintain close contacts by sea with northern Cyprus, where the Byzantine monetary and fiscal system continued to function, and where a Byzantine administration was very active, even after the departure of Constans II to the West. Nor were subjects of the emperor necessarily excluded from Arab-held lands: we are informed for example that in 655 the archbishop of Crete happened to be passing through Cyprus, on his way from Egypt to Constantinople. Lead seals of the metropolitan of Tyre, found in the south of Cyprus, suggest that he and his flock may have found a new home there after the Arab conquest of Syria and Palestine. With the removal to the West of the élite imperial troops (if not sooner), Mu'āwiya took the opportunity to instal a military garrison; whether it was in Paphos or elsewhere is not clear. If at Paphos its function would seem to have been to guard against a Byzantine military or naval attack. The orthodox population of the province, or what remained of it, was not converted to Islam, either forcibly or by attrition. (That was true similarly, for example, of Antioch.)

From the above it can be seen that Professor Browning's comment that 'we really know nothing of the actual situation in Cyprus in the years after 653/4' was wise in its time, but is now too pessimistic, and needs to be qualified. The normality of everyday life is illustrated by little details. We know, for example, that in 655 the bishop of Soloi was able to secure the services of a competent monumental stone-mason, who was able to cut an elaborate inscription. Putting up the inscription seemed to the bishop to be a worth-while thing to do. And also in 655, the bishops of Paphos, Kition, and Lapithos, without benefit of mobile phones, were able to make arrangements to meet at Tremithus for the panegyris. Messages were carried over two- or three-day journeys. Who carried them? These two incidents, not long after the second invasion, are of interest for the practical details which they imply, but even more for the mind-set which assumed (mistakenly, in the long run) that normal life could now resume.

has recently suggested that local ecclesiastical officials may also have been responsible for some minting'. Thus, much of the existing provincial and local administration on the mainland seems to have remained in place; and presumably something not dissimilar could have happened in Cyprus. Three or four decades after the defeat at Yarmuk, the conquest of Syria had become irreversible. Not so in Cyprus. Note that al-Baladhuri says that the men settled in Cyprus were paid, up until the death of Mu'āwiya. Paid in cash or in rations, and if in cash, should one expect any archaeological evidence?

In so far as the terms of the original capitulation were formalized, or were supposed to have been formalized (there being no surviving legal record of what had been agreed under duress), we can say that they remained the basis for later re-enactments, which reformulated the Cypriots' obligations to the Caliphate, subsuming them in the concept of neutrality as between the two world powers.[111] Neither side was in any way scrupulous in observing its treaty promises, although the Cypriot leadership themselves were probably careful how they behaved, having been schooled in the penalties for stepping out of line. The balance of strength was constantly shifting, and strategy was opportunistic. Cyprus might hope to get away with breaches of its pact, and the central government was not above putting Cyprus at risk. That is, unfortunately, normal enough in the foreign policy of an empire: local interests are weighed and if necessary sacrificed to the requirements of central strategy. Lead seals of stratelatai cannot be closely dated, but one's impression is that many of them belong to the treaty period. In practice, both sides from time to time probably contrived to use Cypriot harbours, and other resources, without coming face to face. The locals will not have been confrontational, seeing full well that if they were, they might expect to be roughed up, at the least.

6. Life at Constantia after 653.

The devastation of central Constantia by fire in 649 is not in doubt. The great basilica of St Epiphanius was destroyed , as was the sumptuous pilgrimage church of Campanopetra, in the southern outskirts. Note, however, a lead seal of a strategos of the Kibyrrhaiote theme, from the second quarter of the eighth century, excavated at the basilica of St Epiphanius in 1959,[112] and another of Archbishop Damianos, found near the Campanopetra basilica.[113] This was the city which Willibald visited, and over whose ruined state his memoir, written much later in life, passed in silence. Its commercial life, such as it was, had largely passed from the old city centre to the southern suburbs. Constantia was, nevertheless, still the place that Willibald chose to visit.

At some stage after 649-53 a new and much smaller basilica was built, utilizing the foundations and possibly the lower walls of an annexe of the

111. Kyrris, §§ 92-3.

112. *BLSC* 271. The basilica had been rebuilt, much smaller, and the site will by then have been a pilgrimage shrine.

113. *BLSC* 455c.

destroyed fifth-century building. Its interior space was a mere fraction of what the earlier church had been – perhaps a fifth or a sixth. Is this an indication that the population of Constantia had declined drastically? The pressing question, on which other questions depend, is when the new church was built. The architectural evidence led Papacostas to suggest, tentatively, the late seventh or early eighth century.[114] For the historian, that is as much as to say that there is no material evidence which would demonstrate whether the work was undertaken (or at least begun) before or after the sojourn in Nea Ioustinianoupolis.[115] When one recalls how soon the basilica at Soloi was repaired, by 654, one can imagine that building work at Constantia could have been put in hand equally promptly: it would have been a high priority that the archbishop should have a basilica to call his own. There is nothing to controvert that suggestion, nor is there anything to confirm it. A wide range of dates remains possible.

The new defensive wall, constructed apparently in *c.*660 or later,[116] enclosed only a small part of the early Byzantine city, in particular the rebuilt basilica, and the cistern of the Vouta, fed by the aqueduct, which strongly suggests that the water supply was still in working order when it was built. The Vouta was at all times a valuable urban resource. Strategically, the question was whether it would help the city to withstand a siege. Although much of the life of Constantia after the Arab raids was outside the walls, e.g. in the Campanopetra sector, in times of threat the citizens could take refuge in the citadel. Of course, a hostile force could easily block the aqueduct anywhere along its course, letting the water spill over and run to waste. Nevertheless the water already stored in the cistern would supply the citizens for some time, if used economically. This thought may well have crossed the minds of those who planned the line of the inner wall.[117] Even after the treaty of 688 was in place, nervousness would be understandable.

What happened in the second half of the seventh century is well illustrated by the large building complex carefully excavated by the French mission, and referred to in their publications as *l'huilerie*, named after an oil-press which was a later addition to the site. In the fifth, sixth, and first part of the seventh centuries the complex was a luxurious residence –

14. See pp. 279f.

115. Megaw expressed the opinion that it might not have been until after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis. Although archaeologically possible, historically that seems too late.

116. See pp. 279f.

117. Incidentally, the irregular line of its northern sector is intriguing.

perhaps even the governor's residence? It was then divided into two independent parts, by blocking a certain number of doorways, very crudely. A date for this change of use, the excavators suggest, is provided by 39 stray finds coins of Heraclius from the site – namely, coins from before 641. During the Arab raids (presumably), the central part of the building was reduced to rubble and was thereafter quite unusable; but at the edges of the complex, several separate little properties grew up. One cannot but ask oneself whether the first of these changes could not also have taken place after and as a result of the Arab raids, e.g. division into two in 649, reduction to rubble in 653. That would require one to disregard the opinion of the excavators. An assemblage of 39 coins from a phase terminating in 649 would most certainly be expected to include some of Constans II. Any judgement hinges on how tightly the group of 39 coins can be defined, as regards their archaeological contexts. It might help to re-visit the excavators' field notebooks, in order to decide.

Of the three or four separate little properties, that on the south-west was probably a bakery. A coin of Justinian II[118] implies its existence until the end of the seventh century. On the north-east there was a house with a portico, and with an upper chamber. Beside it was an oil-press, installed in the triclinium of the fifth-century residence. An Islamic fals minted in AD 694 x 719[119] offers a date. Even later, a gold solidus of Constantine V[120] fell into a crack. On the south-east there was a building with a stable, and again with an upper storey. Over all, it seem from the coins that there was still some occupation of l'huilerie even after the return from Nea Ioustinianoupolis.

All the coins from the French excavations are, commendably, recorded as to the sector from which they were recovered. We have already seen that the interpretative value of excavated single finds is heavily dependent on the recording of detailed contexts. Sometimes, one can reach secure conclusions through a more general approach. Thus, we can gain some general corroborative evidence for the destruction of central Constantia by comparing the age-profiles of the finds from the sector 'l'huilerie' and from the Campanopetra sector. The latter, which lay outside the centre, on the southern or south-eastern outskirts of the city, yielded 751 Byzantine coins, while l'huilerie yielded 74. If we divide the coins of Constans II into those minted before and after 649-50 (i.e. the date of the first Arab raid),

118. No. 972.
119. No. 1088.
120. No. 991.

there is a clear topographical contrast. Callot Types 1-6[121] were minted earlier (although some of them could, of course, be later losses), while Callot Types 7-15[122] are indubitably later than the Arab raids.

	l'huilerie	Campanopetra
Types 1-6	15	55
Types 7-15	8	126

These statistics offer a clear-cut contrast. The pre-650 finds of coins of Constans from l'huilerie show a relative abundance of Callot Type 6 (=Heraclonas). The (few) later finds run up to Type 13; they include at least six countermarked coins, which have hitherto been attributed to Constantine IV (but which may be some years earlier).[123]

The archaeological sector of Campanopetra was more extensive than the basilica itself. Whether the church continued to function as a church after 650 is not clear from the archaeological evidence. Some slight encouragement to think so comes from the eastern corner of the atrium of the relic, where two new rooms were added outside the curtain wall, which certainly served administrative purposes and as an archive. Eleven lead seals were excavated there. They are, alas, probably lost for ever as a result of the events of 1974. One can only repeat the summary opinion of Gatier that they 'seemed to date from the sixth and seventh centuries'.[124] On the north side of the same atrium, two similarly positioned rooms[125] yielded rather better evidence: under a thick destruction layer two lead seals and two coins of Constans II were excavated. One of these coins was of *DOC* Class 6 (655-7).[126] Roux suggests that these extra rooms similarly were needed for archival purposes. The storing of documents surely implies that Constantia was still the seat of administrative activity – by whom? the archbishop?

A series of bread-ovens and lime-kilns are the last archaeological vestiges of life amid the ruins of the basilica.[127] The western atrium, with its numerous small rooms around, lent itself to 'squatterization', and there

121. i.e. *DOC* Classes 1-4 plus Heraclonas.

122. *DOC* Classes 5-11.

123. Find nos. 5331, 5620, 6805, 7018, 7614, and 8093.

124. Roux, pp. 195 and 294; rooms 40-1.

125. Rooms 37 and 38.

126. P. 196. Find nos. Sal. 5526 and 5529. Of these, 5526 = cat. no. 846, which is of *DOC* Class 6.

127. Argoud.

are various bread-ovens, as well as simple hearths. None of this, so far as one can judge, has any bearing on the fate of the city in the later seventh or eighth century. It seems that the occupants may have been the lime-burners, who installed their kilns on the periphery of the basilica, which was a ready source of marble. Traces of nine kilns have been identified. Near one of them was found a lamp of a type dated to the IX-XIV centuries. Argoud has suggested that the demand for great quantities of lime was for the building of churches in Famagusta, in the Frankish period. If so, the ruins of the basilica stood desolate for five centuries, before they were finally plundered in that way. But the archaeological dating evidence could hardly be more tenuous, and it is a matter of conjecture that the lime-kilns are all of similar date.[128]

7. Summing-up.

The central problem for the student of seventh-century Cyprus is to reconcile the conflicting evidence of, on the one hand, the devastation caused by the Arab invasions of 649 and 653, and on the other the resumption of normal activity in the second half of the century. Widespread archaeological evidence of the destruction of the cities by fire is confirmed by al-Balādhuri's description of the same treatment meted out to Aradus. It may be that the Arab conquest of Palestine and Syria some fifteen years previously was less destructive, but that does not detract from the evidence in Cyprus. Mu'āwiya was a leader of different temperament from Abu Bakr. The city centre of Constantia, including what seems to have been the governor's palace, suffered badly, and it may be that the seat of government was transferred to Lapithos.

The Soloi inscription, a document of the highest importance for the history of the period, likewise speaks of considerable loss of life, and of 120,000 led away as prisoners, as a result of the invasion of 649, and of an even greater number killed or led away prisoner in 653; a figure of 50,000 is mentioned. If these figures are even approximately correct, they throw a retrospective light on the dense population and great prosperity of Cyprus in the first half of the century. The veracity of the bishop of Soloi has of course been questioned, but the reliability of this public inscription, put up in 655, is a very different proposition from claims made by chroniclers long after the event.

128. The two datings could be reconciled, if the marble slabs were stacked (and the lead seal lost) before 725, but lime was burned only much later. This would be special pleading.

In spite of the damage and loss, monetary circulation in the second half of the reign of Constans (in effect, from 653 to 662 or later) was in no way diminished. The officials of civil government were still in place, and they and the episcopate sent sealed communications to and fro, on an even greater scale – indeed a far greater scale – than before 649. An archive of lead seals is securely dated by specimens belonging to Archbishop Epiphanius II. Private individuals also continued to seal documents on a large scale, up to the end of the century and beyond. Transport amphoras testify to the resumption of foreign trade. The imperial government did its best to restore the status quo, up until the departure of Constans to the West in 662. City walls were in due course rebuilt, with much reduced perimeters, which could be defended with less manpower. The date of these new city walls is revealed, here and there, by numismatic evidence from the French excavations at Constantia. The evidence of ceramics, and the architectural evidence of 'squatterization' (although they are less open to secure dating) tell a conflicting story of general impoverishment. Not all Cypriots fared the same in these decades. The historical task of reaching a balanced judgement which takes all the strands of evidence into account is exceptionally difficult, and it may be that the key to it includes the recognition that the northern coastlands fared better than the south of the island.

Evidence from the period after the treaty of 688 will influence one's judgement of how Cyprus was recovering in the third quarter of the century. But in various ways, 662 was the crucial date.

CHAPTER XII

FROM 688 TO 965

For nearly three hundred years from the late seventh century onwards, the status of Cyprus was governed by a treaty with the Caliphate. Cyprus was still a province of the Byzantine Empire, but its political allegiance was encroached upon, by *force majeure*. Earlier students have labelled this 300-year period the 'condominium centuries', implying or suggesting that the Empire and the Caliphate were in some sort of partnership, to govern the island jointly. This notion, which derives ultimately from the equal tax-revenues extracted by each super-power, is severely misleading in other respects, and the term 'condominium' would be better omitted from the debate about the condition of Cyprus in these centuries, although it is difficult to know quite what phrase to put in its place. In comparison with what went before and after, one might speak of the 'treaty period'.

Even that expression does not begin to do justice to the complexities of the situation, about which far more can now usefully be said than when Dikigoropoulos studied it. As well as shared taxation, it is necessary to make harmonious sense of a prosperous foreign trade, and of an internal frontier between the north and south of the island. There were substantial demographic and political changes during the period of ten or twelve generations under review, which will mean that the isolated fragments of documentary evidence (which are all we have) do not apply equally to the whole period. The Cypriots learned to live with the Muslims, to some extent, without provoking renewed conflict. Modern analogies can be incomplete and therefore misleading, but one can do worse that to think of the occupation of the north of Cyprus by a foreign power since 1974, a *de facto* arrangement sustained by the implied threat of the renewed use of military force if it were challenged. Imperfect as it is, this analogy serves much better than 'condominium'. It is now possible to bring much new material evidence into the debate, from lead seals, coin finds, and ceramics. These help to create a chronological framework for more general considerations, and it is fair to say that they transform our understanding.

They demonstrate, for example, that the first forty or fifty years of the 'dark age' were a time of particularly rapid and decisive change. Between 688, when a treaty was definitively agreed, and the first thirty to forty years of the eighth century, the condition of Cyprus was undergoing radical change. War damage, impoverishment, and loss of population were accompanied by new styles of governance. The finds of lead seals show clearly that from very early in the eighth century the province was being run by administrators with quite different offices and dignities from those that had been standard before 688. From changes in the hierarchy of government one may deduce underlying changes in society. The dislocation caused in the 690s by the transfers of population, to Asia Minor and to Syria – even though the Cypriots returned to their homeland early in the eighth century – may not in itself have been as severe as has often been assumed; it was not wholesale, nor island-wide. Conflicting, or at least contrary evidence comes, again, from the lead seals. From the early eighth century we still have 60 or more seals of private individuals. They are characterized by invocative monograms of early or experimental form, and their dating looks very secure. They are valuable evidence for the chronology of decline, because they escape any uncertainty arising from the survival of élites. They suggest that private individuals were still entering into contractual arrangements, or in other words that a network of commercial contacts was still to some extent in place. Although they were all found in Cyprus, unfortunately only a few of these sixty-odd lead seals have exact provenances. Examples have, however, certainly been found at Amathus and elsewhere in the south.[1] They help to contradict any notion that southern Cyprus had become Arab territory. By the end of the early invocative phase, say by around 730, lead seals of private individuals disappear from the record. Given the large numbers of finds from *c.*705 - *c.*730, the numerical contrast is sharp, and beyond doubt. It offers the historian systematic evidence of good quality. In these same decades, unusual numbers of quite high-ranking imperial officials were drafted into Cyprus. By 730, the cities were in decline. And by mid-century, in the aftermath of the plague, the remaining population will very probably have been on balance much more rural. Many people will have lived out their lives in the village of their birth, or nearby. All told, Cyprus probably suffered a severe decline in population, and especially perhaps its young people, for various reasons, on a scale that is impossible to quantify. But for thirty or more years from *c.*705, the province struggled to maintain its traditional economic systems, and the imperial government made serious

1. See *BLSC*, pp.54f.

efforts to restore the province's well-being and security. It was a losing struggle, against the social and economic trends.

What happened between *c.*730/40 and 965 – that is, in the course of eight or nine generations – is deeply obscure. The written sources describing these times are very few and mostly too fragmentary to offer clear guidance. The material remains are even more sparse. Altogether, the contrast with the prosperous province of the seventh century could hardly be greater. The contrast seems sharp, even with the first half of the eighth century. Administratively, the ninth/tenth centuries were surely the nadir for Byzantine Cyprus. And yet, here and there there are contrary indications which imply that – certainly by the tenth century and to some extent even in the ninth – the province had a productive economy, was visited by Islamic merchants who expected to do good trade there, and was exporting a range of products. How should one reconcile these conflicting strands of evidence? The historian finds himself in thick darkness. He has to try to envisage a context for rather isolated items of information, on which it would be possible to put more than one construction. Those eight or nine generations from *c.*730/40 onwards give time for much change, and even for short-term reversals in the trend. Until the reconquest of 965, it had probably been a long haul. From the references to exports, in the third quarter of the tenth century, it seems that by 965 the recovery had been substantial, even if it not clearly manifested by coin finds, lead seals, ceramics, or church architecture – in a word by any of the indicators from which one attempts to construct statistical series of *longue durée*.[2] Reaching a balanced judgement on the (changing) condition of Cyprus during the 'dark age' is exceptionally challenging.

From 649 onwards, Cyprus had been at a point of intersection of the spheres of influence of two rival empires. In international law, if one can speak of such a thing at that time, its treaty status was that the province was neutral, and was entitled to be left alone by the Caliphate, subject to good behaviour.[3] That has been the historical consensus. It gives an incomplete

2. The phrase *longue durée* was the brain-child of Braudel. The *Annales* historians adopted it as an article of faith, and exaggerated it in their 'history without people'. There are, alas, few enough recognizable personalities in this book; but the Annalists' alternative of a structuralist history of Cyprus is an idle dream: the data simply do not exist to support that approach. See S. Clark, 'The *Annales* historians', in Q. Skinner (ed.), *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 177-98.

3. But see the fuller exposition of this status, above, pp. 415f. International law is a modern concept, but the Christian and Muslim cultures shared common presuppositions about unethical behaviour being followed by divine disfavour, in the fate of nations.

view of the political situation within Cyprus. The key to interpreting much of the detailed evidence correctly involves recognizing that conditions were not uniform throughout the island. Although this is not mentioned in the treaty, the north fought back, even in the interval between the two invasions. Thereafter it resisted Arab encroachment, and a Byzantine administration was maintained there, i.e. to the north of the Pentadaktylos range, with confidence. The eventual outcome of Mu'āwiya's conquest was to that extent a stand-off. Moreover, finds of lead seals and of coins in the south of the island suggest that at least in the second half of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth, a Byzantine administration was able to operate there too. Romilly Jenkins has expressed the view[4] that after the treaty of 688 Cyprus was no longer claimed by the Empire as a possession. This extraordinary opinion, which the lead seals negate, may be best understood by making the comparison with the (more oppressive) Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus in our own day. Lacking the naval and military capability to defend its province, the Empire had to put up with the situation. But that was a far cry from renouncing its claim to sovereignty. In the south, material signs of a Muslim presence can mostly be understood in terms of traders visiting the southern ports. There is also a modest amount of evidence (funerary inscriptions, clay lamps, lead seals) which suggest that Arabs were actually living in Cyprus in the eighth and perhaps the ninth centuries. All this hardly amounts to a case that two ethnic communities were managing to live side by side, although perhaps separately for the most part. One should not press the analogy of more recent times, when there were Greek villages and Turkish villages (and mixed villages). The relative scale of the two communities during the dark age is quite impossible to quantify. But it had apparently become a settled state of affairs already as early as the time of Willibald's visit in 723. The English saint received an impression (probably from his stay in Paphos) that Cyprus lay, politically as well as geographically, 'between the Greeks and the Saracens'. One can see how a modern historian, in construing that remark, can easily and perhaps even unconsciously add in his own preconceptions. To the man in the eighth-century street, or in the village square, it will have seemed that Cyprus belonged in one sense to both and in another sense perhaps to neither – and that, God willing, all the inhabitants were sufficiently peaceable for this situation to be stable. By the treaty of 688 the Byzantine Empire agreed to the payment (by the Greek Cypriots) of a fixed tribute to the Caliphate and an equal tax burden to the emperor, and to the neutrality and helpfulness of Cyprus towards

4. Jenkins, 1966, at p. 51.

the Caliphate. The accession of Justinian II saw a short phase of aggressive and unrealistic diplomacy by the Empire, but in Justinian's second reign reason prevailed, and the treaty was renewed, probably in 705 or 706. The emperor now made overtures of friendship with gifts to the Caliphate, and both sides agreed to repatriate the Cypriots who had been transferred elsewhere. Thus, 705/6 was the end of the emergency period.

One's impression is that, for much of the time thereafter, the Caliphate still had the upper hand (and a psychological superiority), being ready and able to respond punitively to what it saw as any transgressions of the treaty status. This superiority was dependent to a great extent on sea power.[5] Nevertheless, to speak of a condominium is largely misleading, because the governance of Cyprus seems to have remained predominantly Byzantine in character. It may be that we are under-informed about a continued Muslim presence on the island, after the withdrawal of the garrison, and there may have been more of a Muslim administration, in agricultural lands that had been expropriated, than the few known Islamic lead seals, for example, reveal. But overwhelmingly, Cyprus remained a province of Greek language and Christian culture, and – in reality – a beleaguered part of the Byzantine Empire. It was only the double tax obligation that was equally divided. Jenkins's judgement that the treaty of 688 'expressly detached Cyprus from the Byzantine Empire' (with which one must flatly disagree) was based on the wording of the records of the Council in Trullo.[6] It was no part of the intentions of the canons of that council to give an accurate description of conditions in Cyprus. We do better to keep our feet on the ground by remembering, for example, an anecdote told by Anastasius the Sinaite, which speaks of 'The present metropolitan of Damascus' who, eight years previously (Anastasius was writing almost certainly in the 690s), saw the tomb of a certain Athanasios in a village near Amathus called Pentaschoinon, and heard his story 'from the mouth of the old men of the village'. Bishops were still exercising pastoral care even in the capital city of Damascus, and people of both faiths could travel across political frontiers. If that was true in Syria, it was also true in Cyprus.

The interesting questions which it is the historian's task to address concern the pace of change (especially in the first half of the eighth century) and the over-all scale of the initial economic decline. What is most pressingly needed is securely dated evidence of change: in particular, how much had already fallen apart between 650 and 691, and how much

5. Beihammer, 2002.

6. Jenkins, 1953, and see further, below.

further decline occurred in the next fifty years. Had the Arab raids been so destructive that many villages were abandoned (as has been widely assumed), or were the raids, in the phrase of Papacostas, 'a mere hiccup'? Was the prosperity of the island potentially retrievable right up to the return of the plague in 747? How severe a visitation was that?[7] Various strands of evidence appear to be leading the historian towards conflicting assessments of the severity of the decline: on the one hand, the virtual disappearance of a money economy, on the other hand a continuing ability to pay taxes; and so on.

Conditions may have differed significantly as between north and south; and recovery will in any case not have been uniform in all parts of the island. There are hints of governmental initiatives in and around the time of Nicephorus I (i.e. after the plague), but thereafter Cyprus in the ninth and early tenth centuries clearly did not enjoy the same sort of economic and cultural recovery as we see, quite dramatically, in central Greece from the time of Theophilus onwards. Very little of the coinage of Theophilus, or of his successors Basil I and Leo VI reached Cyprus. In central Greece, meanwhile, the loss-rates of petty currency at Corinth, Athens, and elsewhere show a long-sustained and strong upward trend for two hundred years. Handsome churches were built there, already in the second half of the ninth century. In so far as the recovery was empire-wide (but central Greece may be a special case[8]), there is very little reason to think that Cyprus shared in it – except that the Kanakaria church at Lythrankomi was evidently repaired in the 860s or thereabouts[9]. One's impression is that the province remained impoverished and conservative. Even when measured against Antioch, the monetary economy of the island continued to be very sluggish.[10] Byzantine control was exercised most strongly to the north of the Pentadaktylos range - in what is, after all, a narrow territory, able to support itself, but not to generate agricultural surpluses. It may have extended down the southern slopes of the mountains, into the Mesaoria. In the south where the Muslim presence was

7. Evidence for this visitation is slender in the extreme. Archaeological material from the Kornos cave, tentatively dated to 747 by the excavators, was later re-dated, no doubt correctly, to the mid-seventh century. The need for a systematic and rigorous approach to the numismatic evidence generally should be self-evident from this example – admittedly published a long time ago.

8. Metcalf, 2001, at p. 155.

9. See the note on the painted inscription, mentioning Solomon of Jerusalem, presumably the patriarch.

10. Pitsillides and Metcalf, 1995, 1997.

greater (whether as traders or as inhabitants), there is no sign of an upturn in the loss-rates of dirhams or fulus in the second half of the ninth century and onwards: on the contrary, they dwindle after about the first quarter of the ninth century.

From the 'dark age' generally, coin finds are relatively extremely few compared with the seventh century. They may, one suspects, be under-reported, although that would not change the picture. Also, they may be potentially more plentiful in topographically restricted areas in the (currently) Turkish-occupied north of the island. For that reason, the registers of the Cyprus Museum for the 1940s and 1950s, rather than the records of the last 30 years, offer for the time being the best available approximation to a sample of single finds which might be treated as random as between north and south. As well as single finds, interest attatches to small hoards (their small size is characteristic of an impoverished age). The distribution-map (Fig. 25) for the (whole of the) period *c*.700-965 distinguishes between Byzantine gold coins, Byzantine copper coins, and Islamic coins. Although it offers the merest preliminary sketch of a secure distribution-pattern, the north-south divide which it

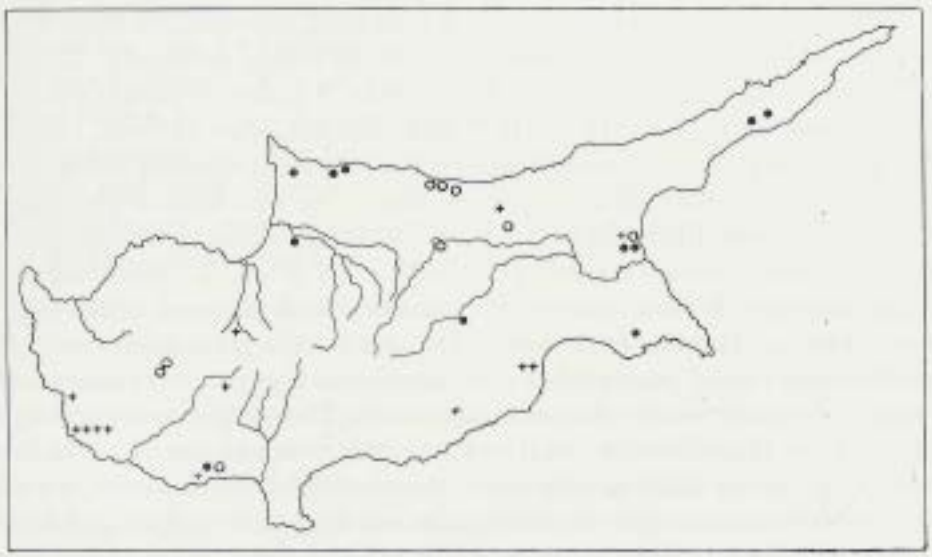


Fig. 25. Find-spots of coins from 688-965. Key: dots = Byzantine gold; circles = Byzantine copper (and silver); crosslets = Islamic coins.

reveals, with Byzantine coinage in the northern coastlands, especially in and around Lapithos and Kyrenia, and Islamic coinage in the southern coastlands, especially (it seems) in and around Paphos, Kourion, and

Larnaca, is of fundamental interest for our understanding of regionalism within Cyprus in this period. One ventures to think that it will be essentially confirmed by future discoveries. It is fair to point out that the last couple of decades have brought a doubling (at least) in the tally of Islamic dirhams, mainly clipped pieces, from the south, but very, very few Byzantine coin finds from *c.*700-965, other than rumours of a small hoard from the Kokkinochora. What the current balance might be in the northern coastlands is regrettably unknown. A reminder is always in order that Islamic coins may perfectly well have been handled by Byzantine Cypriots; still, the distribution-pattern implies that Arab merchants were visiting the ports of southern Cyprus in the first half of the eighth century, and also in the decades around 800. Clipped dirhams were especially abundant in Paphos and its vicinity in those years (and later). In addition to those already published, five more were rescued for science just in 2002-3.[11] Paphos recovered as a commercial centre and was able to export the surplus production of its region. If the Arab presence fluctuated, it may have been because of events within the Caliphate, e.g. the Civil War of the early ninth century AD, rather than because of changed conditions in Cyprus.

A comparable distribution-map for lead seals, for which the data-base is just as slender or even slenderer, escapes the ethnic ambiguity. Islamic lead seals were certainly applied by Muslims. It points to closely similar conclusions, as regards the north-south contrast. This pattern, too, in greater detail is of fundamental interest for our understanding of the age. The northern coastlands are relatively rich in the lead seals of Byzantine military and administrative officials, in and around Polis tis Chrysochous, Kyrenia, and Constantia, and specifically even after the middle of the eighth century. Paphos and also the hinterland of Limassol, conversely, have yielded Islamic lead seals. The lead seals of eighth-century archbishops found at Amathus and Kourion are perhaps an exception which draws attention to the over-all pattern. The south was not a no-go area for the church hierarchy. The lead seals fit in with the idea that the two communities had found a *modus vivendi.* Politically, however, north and south were kept apart by the terrain and by the difficulties of travel. The lead seals of a kleisourarch strongly imply an internal frontier.

It has been assumed, and considered to be so plain as to be beyond discussion, that in the time of Basil I (or just possibly as early as *c.*849 x 856) Cyprus was raised to the rank of a theme. Dikigoropoulos questions,

11. See Fig. 16 (p.180).

however, whether Alexios went to Cyprus as its strategos. He suggests that Constantine Porphyrogenitus may have been confused by the fact that Alexios had previously been a strategos elsewhere. Dikigoropoulos supports this with the more positive, and more substantial argument that if Cyprus had indeed been made a theme in the 860s or thereabouts, it is unlikely that it would, for no reason apparent from the sources, have lost that status already before Damianos's raid of 911/12.[12] The discovery of a lead seal of a strategos of Cyprus, of the 'Photian' type, or even the 'patriarchal cross' type, may one day re-open the whole question at a stroke. There is a lead seal of a strategos, which has been brought into the discussion, but one doubts very much whether it is in fact Cypriot.[13] Meanwhile, let us accept the traditional narrative so far as to say that an attempt in the time of Basil I to recover Cyprus for the Empire by military means and to place it under exclusive control seems, for whatever reason, to have been abandoned after a few years. Whether the new administrative cadre was installed in the north, in the vain hope that reconquest would somehow follow, or whether the naval and military resources invested in the policy were simply inadequate for the task on the ground – which had perhaps not been realistically assessed – we do not know. When reconquest was finally achieved, a hundred years later, it seems that the recent reform of the army to make it a superior fighting force was a major factor. Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus diplomatically makes no mention of the strategeia when he writes to the Caliph in 913, claiming continuity in the payment of tribute. His eirenic account, and the petition it supported, would surely have been angrily rejected if there had been full-scale warfare only a couple of generations previously. (Byzantine refusal to pay the tribute in 802-6 did not rankle: that score had been promptly settled.)

From the years between 913 and 965 there are hints that the archon was actively developing the defences of northern Cyprus by installing Armenians in villages as *akritai* to guard the passes and defiles of the Pentadaktylos range, and Maronites similarly to block access at the western end of the range, in the region of Kormakitis. The evidence is almost all later in date than 965, but it is well within the bounds of possibility, and would make good strategic sense, to suppose that Armenians and Maronites (and perhaps others) were settled on the southern and western flanks of the Pentadaktylos range before rather than after the reconquest, as a step

12. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, pp. 65-7.

13. See p.134.

towards the recovery of full control over the province. After 965, the logic of such a policy would not be so apparent.

1. The Foreign News: 'Cyprus attacked again'

Documentary sources which give us clues to the condition of Cyprus in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries are few and mostly not very informative. Such documentary mentions as exist are nearly all concerned with raids and punitive expeditions against the island, that is, with actions by the great powers, as seen from outside Cyprus. The province's treaty status of neutrality, as established in 688, soon became to some extent a political fiction, cherished more by Arab political writers than by the Byzantine inhabitants. Occasionally an attempt was made to re-enforce it. The population was, after all, predominantly Byzantine in language, culture, and loyalties. Constantinople supplied career administrators to govern the island. The church hierarchy of bishops remained the same, although one could imagine that there may have been some lengthy vacancies. 'Condominium' is certainly a misnomer.[14] It was appropriate only in the sense that the Cypriots were taxed twice, i.e. money was collected from Greek Cypriots (doubtless by officials of their own), in order to make up the agreed global amount of tribute; and the Caliph magnanimously allowed the Emperor to tax his subjects a second time, for his own benefit. Arabs did not normally pay a head-tax, and it may be that they did not do so in Cyprus. It is not clear whether customs duties collected by the kommerkiarioi of Cyprus would have gone towards the tribute.

Neither side regarded the other as utterly unspeakable. Justinian II in 707/9, for example, made high-profile gifts of tesserae, and lent workmen, for the refurbishment of mosques. This was cold war with a gracious smile. The political reality was that both the Empire and the Caliphate pursued militaristic policies on their frontiers as opportunity offered. In that respect there was morally little to choose between them, although the Byzantines seem to have been slightly less bloodthirsty, and the Arabs slightly more principled. Cyprus was theoretically demilitarized, but the balance of naval power in the eastern Mediterranean fluctuated, and the security of Cyprus varied accordingly. So far as Constantinople was concerned, the island's interests were subsumed in the wider defensive responsibilities of the Kibyrrhaiote theme. That may have meant that Arab naval raids which threatened only southern Cyprus, and not the heartlands of the Empire, were a low priority. In spite of the treaty status of neutrality,

14. Cf the critique of Jenkins, above, p. 429

the strategos of that theme was in close touch with Cyprus, as testified by a lead seal excavated at Constantia, and another also found on the island.[15] The written sources which mention these raids, and (occasionally) the enslavement of Cypriots which routinely accompanied them, offer nothing in the way of historical perspective, and nothing about the internal condition of Cyprus. For our purposes, their explanations (if they offer any at all) amount to little more than 'one damn'd thing after another'.[16]

In retrospect the siege of Constantinople in 717-18, ending in the destruction of the Arab fleet and army,[17] now appears to us as a moment of destiny, but at the time it was not enough to remove all naval threat from Cyprus. Already in 726 there was a punitive expedition;[18] and in 743 another, ordered by Caliph Walid II, which again is said to have deported many of the island's inhabitants to Syria (but not, it seems, into slavery). In this context the strict enforcement of iconoclasm in Cyprus, against the sentiments of the people – as also in Crete – was clearly not in the Empire's political interest, if indeed it was feasible. Byzantine judges, tax-collectors, and military personnel could administer Cyprus in a formal sense, but to change social attitudes was a weightier task. Foreign policy could respond realistically and swiftly, however, to changed political circumstances: on the deposition of the emperor Artavasdus in that same year, 743, Walid's successor Yazid promptly ordered the return of the Cypriots. Probing warfare continued, and in 747 a fleet sent from Alexandria was destroyed by the Kibyrrhaiote admiral.[19] The extermination of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasids, in 750, and the transfer of the capital of the caliphate to Baghdad, may be seen as another turning-point, which tended to make the eastern Mediterranean less central to the interests of the Islamic state. Yet its endless military struggle with the Empire continued, to Cyprus's cost. In 773, 'Arab raiders' carried off a very senior government official, the ek prosopou of the Cypriots, Sergios Lakerbaphos.[20] In 790 the imperial

15. *BLSC* 271, 270.

16. This is quoting the epigram coined by Elbert Hubbard (1859-1915), rather than the testimony of the distinguished car manufacturer Mr Henry Ford ('History is bunk').

17. For a full discussion, see Guilland, 1959.

18. According to al-Manqali.

19. The whereabouts of this famous victory has been questioned. Theophanes says that the Arab fleet was destroyed by the Romans *en to limeni ton Keramaia*. Gregory (2001) is of the opinion that this was not in a Cyprus harbour.

20. Theophanes 446, 24f; PmbZ no. 6632. Hill, following Brooks, places this incident in connection with the raid of Thumama ibn Wakkas on Cilicia shortly before. For another ek prosopou of Cyprus, of similar date (Merkourios), see *BLSC* 156.

fleet, despatched by the empress Irene, gained a victory over the Arab fleet, becalmed apparently in the Gulf of Attaleia, with the loss of the admiral of the Kibyrrhaiotes. In 806 Caliph Harūn al-Rashid (786-809) ordered a major retaliatory raid, which was remembered as having destroyed and burned churches in Cyprus. (Archaeological testimony, which is lacking, would probably have to rely on the architectural style of the burned churches.) The religious tolerance of the first century of the hijra (such as it had been) was wearing thin. On this latest occasion some 16,000 captives were taken away to al-Rafiya, where they were sold. According to al-Tabari the archbishop (who was among the captives) was sold for 2,000 dinars – in effect ransom money. This raid on Cyprus followed Harūn al-Rashid's successes in Asia Minor, as a result of which Nicephorus I (802-11) had had to make peace and agree to pay a heavy tribute. He undertook not to rebuild the fortresses which Harūn had captured, but promptly broke his undertaking, thereby opening the door to the attack on Cyprus.[21]

There have been two or three hoards from Cyprus with gold coins of Nicephorus I, which seem to stand in isolation in the chronological series of finds. We need to distinguish carefully between the occasion of their loss, which will not necessarily have been as early as the raid of 806, and the unexpected fact that there was gold in Cyprus to be hoarded. A die-study of the solidi of Nicephorus may help to narrow the options, and meanwhile, we can only speculate. Had Nicephorus been rebuilding fortresses in Cyprus too (thereby putting gold into circulation in the island)? Soon after his accession, namely in 802-3, he had intemperately informed Harūn that no more tribute would be paid to the Caliphate; and it was his style to proceed without delay, even if that made his policies high-risk.[22] His predecessor, Irene, seems to have weakened and demoralized the army by her purge of iconoclasts, and Harūn's attacks were to that extent opportunistic. Whether deservedly or otherwise, Cyprus suffered reprisals, which Nicephorus had clearly provoked.

Of equal or even greater general historical interest than the gold hoards containing coins of Nicephorus are finds of his copper coins from the northern coastlands, specifically from villages lying close to Kyrenia. Traces of Nicephorus having put money into circulation in Cyprus are

21. The concept of proportionality had not been formulated at the time. We can readily understand, however, that Harūn may have taken Nicephorus's behaviour as perfidious and a personal insult, and reacted accordingly.

22. Nicephorus had previously been Logothete of the Treasury. He was reputed to have Arab blood in his veins.

quite widely scattered through the island, but these copper folles point the finger very clearly at Kyrenia as the bridgehead or naval base from which he operated. Kyrenia itself is archaeologically a blank, but that is merely an absence of evidence, not negative evidence; when a series of coins from excavations there eventually accrues, one ventures to predict that copper of Nicephorus will figure in it. Meanwhile, we have the finds from Kazaphani and from Trimithi, mentioned above.[23] To set against them, there is an absence of copper coins of Nicephorus in the south of the island. Thus it seems that there was rather more to Nicephorus's policy as regards Cyprus than the written sources make clear, namely that the emperor took (military?) initiatives in Cyprus which resulted in the spending of government money there.[24]

The long list of raids and deportations tends to create a superficial impression of relentless hostility. In the eighth century, however, most ordinary people in Cyprus may have been unperturbed most of the time. Christians and Muslims probably got on with each other tolerably well. If Syrian fleets, from Tarsus and Tripoli, on their way to raid in the Aegean, used Cypriot ports as assembly-points, the local population is unlikely to have responded aggressively.[25] When one learns, from the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, of 32 men from Kition who in the 780s had sailed to Gabala 'for the usual work', one cannot but think of the numbers today who cross hostile political frontiers in order to earn better wages than they could hope to do at home (even if they are to some extent exploited in their host countries).[26] Although the lack of circumstantial detail about the men from Kition means that we cannot be certain, it is a reasonable guess that their going overseas implies that the Larnaca district was relatively impoverished at that time. There was an economic gradient between Cyprus and Syria. Were they paid in cash or kind? Would dirhams have been sufficiently acceptable back in Cyprus, to be worth working for? (Single finds from very much this period suggest a positive answer.)

23. See p. 204.

24. One should also mention in passing that there are four copper coins of Leo V (813-20) seen by Dikigoropoulos, two of them in the Petrakides collection. Again, and for the same reason, one would guess that, although they are unprovenanced, they were found in the north of the island.

25. Pryor, 1988, p. 103, referring to the period 842-963.

26. The obvious example is the reliance of the economy of Israel on a large work-force from the Palestinian West Bank. The opening of the Green Line in Cyprus to travel by residents on day-visas quickly resulted in substantial transfers of earnings into northern Cyprus.

Political frontiers were often permeable, when it came to opportunities for earning better money.

The anecdote of sailing to Gabala, which happens to have been preserved for reasons quite extraneous to its economic significance, may have been one among many which went unremarked. It may be judged to offer clearer evidence of the condition of Cyprus than an anecdote in the opposite direction, in the time of Michael I (811-13), when many monks and laity are reported to have fled from Palestine and Syria, to find refuge in the island. This was no doubt because of the Civil War which broke out in A.D. 809 after the death of Harūn al-Rashid. Most of the dirhams found in Cyprus seem to have been minted before that date, but they might of course have remained in circulation in the Caliphate until 809 or later before finding their way overseas. Future single finds will perhaps clarify this uncertainty on a statistical basis.

The situation was volatile, and the Byzantine authorities will have followed the course of events closely. Contacts with the Holy Land were still possible. In the time of the patriarch of Jerusalem Thomas (807-21) Cyprus sent 50 trunks of cedar and pine, for the re-roofing of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. Whether this was, again, in the time of Nicephorus I, or a few years later, is not clear.[27] It is not stated how many out of the 50 were of each kind of tree. This was a more special donation than just a load of timber. The inner circle of late Roman columns of the rotunda has a diameter of 24 metres.[28] Beams of 14 or 15 metres in length were required to span it.[29] The old roof was in such a parlous state that the new timbers had to be inserted one by one, very carefully, to avoid bringing the whole roof crashing down onto the edicule. Thomas succeeded in the task, and he then built a cupola[30] above the roof beams, 'such that a man might pass between'. It seems that the famous oculus, through which the Holy Spirit descended each Eastertide to kindle the sacred fire, may possibly have originated at this time.[31] Cedar wood was an expensive

27. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. 2, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 1914, at p. 244. Patriarch Thomas was able to undertake this politically sensitive task, it was said, only because many of the (Muslim) inhabitants of Jerusalem had departed from the city on account of a famine. He was helped by a very rich man called Bakam, originally from Egypt, who wished to be the sole benefactor.

28. And the outer wall had a diameter of 36 metres.

29. C. Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974. If as many as 40 beams were used, their outer ends would have been about a metre apart around the inner circle of columns.

30. The rotunda is also shown with a cupola in the Madaba mosaic.

solution to a difficult architectural problem: it had the merit of being resistant to damp and to insects.

The cedar tree is slow-growing, and flourishes at heights above 3,000 feet.[32] Finding a number of them of sufficient size and with a sufficiently straight trunk almost certainly involved a wide search in the Troodos, followed by considerable effort to get such large logs down to the coast. Likewise, a search for suitable pine trees will have been needed. *Pinus brutia*, a common indigenous species in Cyprus, will in favourable circumstances grow to a height of more than 25 metres, if left to reach maturity. Who, in the early ninth century, owned the forests where the timber was found? Did the emperor himself? Or did these 50 trees belong to someone, or to some institution, in Cyprus? Were the owners paid for this valuable commodity? More to the point, who paid the foresters and other workmen? One notes with much interest the presence in the Cyprus Museum old collection of an excessively rare lead seal of the ecumenical patriarch Theodotos I (815-21).[33] Perhaps the request from Jerusalem came through him. Perhaps he offered a subvention.[34] (The export of timber comes into discussion again, below, in the years around 965.)

We are informed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus that during the reign of Basil I the administrative status of Cyprus was changed from an archonate to a theme. That seems to have meant that the treaty status was repudiated by the Empire, and that the province could be armed, both the civil and military branches of the administration being gathered into the hands of a single official, the strategos Alexios.[35] Dikigoropoulos's doubts have been rehearsed, above. The lead seal of another strategos has been attributed to Cyprus, but the reading is more than doubtful.[36] The participation of an ek prosopou (i.e. a deputy) in the government of Cyprus

31. The building had been systematically ruined at the beginning of the eleventh century by the Caliph al-Hakam, and its earlier appearance can only be known from reports such as that quoted above. For a contemporary drawing of the Crusader church, showing the Holy Spirit as a dove descending through the oculus, see D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2nd edition, London, 1995, p. 58; also M. de Vogüé, *Églises de Terre Sainte*, 1860, pp. 217-21.

32. Fejfer, 1995, p. 31 quotes Theophrastus on the king's cedars: when a tree is growing in the best place for it, if you leave it alone and do not fell it, it attains a wonderful height and thickness.

33. *BLSC* 480, with a note on the very few known specimens.

34. Cf. the gift of English oak beams for the repair of the roof of the Church of the Holy Nativity, Bethlehem in the time of King Edward IV (1461-84).

35. Const. Porph., De thematibus XV, 22; cf. Tobias, 1969, 228; Winkelmann, 1985, 1, 116.

36. See p.134.

in the years around 773 may well have been an earlier move in a similar direction. Yet when Nicholas Mysticus wrote to the Caliph in 913-14, it seems that there were no memories, on either side, of an abortive 'reconquest'. In so far as a stronger Byzantine presence was implemented (and that may have been, to no great extent), it appears not on this occasion to have provoked a military response. The overthrow of the city of Constantinople was no longer a strategic objective for the Caliphate, and Cyprus had therefore lost much of its significance as a stepping-stone. There is mention, in *c.*878, of a certain Staurakios, who is addressed as 'eparch of the island of Cyprus'. The province continued thereafter to being governed by an archon. A lead seal of the 'Photian' type, from the later ninth century, names an Archon Michael, who held the rank of imperial spatharokandidatos (Fig. 26). Certainly, Leo Symbatikes was archon in *c.*911. There could conceivably also have been a strategos, who was superior to Leo, and Leo's sphere of command could have been naval; but the natural reading of the sources is that Leo was governor of Cyprus. Another tenth-century archon, Theodosios, also with the dignity of spatharokandidatos, is known from his lead seal, on which the image of the Mother of God is replaced by a patriarchal cross on steps (see Fig. 6).



Fig. 26. Lead seal of Michael, spatharokandidatos and archon of Cyprus. The 'Photian' type, late ninth/earlier tenth century. (DOC 2.38.2). Enlarged.

More concerted warfare had broken out in 911-12. The Byzantine admiral Himerios besieged (Arab-held) Crete for six months without managing to reduce it. Meanwhile, he used Cyprus as a naval base, and it was recorded that he 'took and killed Saracens in the island, although according to the treaty the Cypriots should have saved them from his hands and restored them to their own place'. When news came that the emperor was gravely ill, Himerios withdrew from Crete. His fleet, comprising the imperial and the Kibyrrhaiote squadrons, was annihilated off Chios by Leo of Tripoli (who in 904 had destroyed Thessalonica). The Muslim general Damyana (a renegade Syrian Christian) was then free to retaliate with impunity, with 'atrocious massacres'. For four months, says Mas'udi, he

gave Cyprus over to fire and pillage, took many prisoners, and captured several places, which he fortified. This seems to have left no footprint in the archaeological record, nor is there a blip in the numbers of coins or lead seals. As regards the claimed fortification, one would have liked to know which places. In any case, this was quick work. The account is preoccupied with people behaving badly. Alas, all the tactical details, which would have been of real historical interest, are lost to us. The patriarch was involved in peace-making attempts, and the aged Bishop Demetrianos of Kythroi went on a mission to the court at Baghdad to try to secure the release of the large numbers of Cypriots taken prisoner by Damyana.[37] This was in the time of the archon Leo Symbatikes.

2. The limited impact of iconoclasm on Cyprus.

The first iconoclasm was inaugurated in 726 when Leo III ordered the great golden icon of Christ which stood at the entrance of the imperial palace to be pulled down. In 730 he issued a general edict against all holy images throughout the Empire. The destructive zeal of the iconoclasts which the edict sanctioned was based in theological conviction, but one must suspect also a degree of social disaffection and anger. Although it had its intellectual roots in monophysitism, it was far more than a doctrine, more a party allegiance, to which we may give the anodyne description of an austere, no-nonsense view of life. The edict was enforced throughout the reign of Leo III and, not quite so stringently, through that of his son Constantine V. The revolt of Artavasdus (emperor, 742-3), who promised to restore the images, was suppressed.[38] Total, empire-wide opposition from the monks evoked a harsh response from Constantine, who proposed to dissolve monastic communities and to confiscate their houses. An ecumenical council (not reckoned among the seven), held at Constantinople in 754, and attended by 338 bishops, again condemned the veneration of images, and required that they should be destroyed. Under Leo IV (775-80) zeal abated, and eventually in 787 another ecumenical council, the seventh, was convened at Nicaea, where some 350 bishops reversed the earlier decrees, and pronounced the veneration of images to be agreeable to Scripture and to reason, to the Fathers, and to the decisions of previous ecumenical councils. Thus ended 57 years of iconoclasm. How this imperial policy had affected Cyprus, we shall consider in a moment.

37. Had Demetrianos lived, it is said that he would have been elected archbishop with widespread approval. This illustrates the potential leadership role of the primate.

38. One of Artavasdus's rare silver coins has been found in Cyprus.

A generation later, in 814, there began a second period of iconoclasm. Leo V reimposed the earlier policies on the Empire, although with less intransigence. Any holy image could be destroyed or desecrated by anyone without fear of penalty. Vestments or embroideries with representations of Christ, his Mother, or the saints could similarly be destroyed with impunity. These measures remained in place through the reigns of Michael II (820-9) and Theophilus (829-42), but were finally rejected by Theodora in 843.

The Triumph of Orthodoxy and the restoration of the images was no compromise, but a victory for one side in a bitter struggle, in which deeply-held views had been polarized, and had clashed for 130 years, leaving a residue of dissatisfaction after that. Decisions were made, and contested, at the highest political level, but it is obvious that they drew energy from widespread social attitudes, and that they unleashed social violence and class hatred.[39] It is sometimes represented that the Isaurian dynasty endorsed the more austere attitudes to life of peoples coming from Anatolia. A richer documentation of popular attitudes than exists might reveal differences between town and countryside, or between Constantinople and some of its provinces. Crucially, although the opinions of the episcopate are on record, one can only guess how responsive individual bishops were to the sentiments and sensitivities of their flock.

What was the response in Cyprus to the first and second iconoclasms? As a province Cyprus was relatively out of the emperor's eye, and what happened there was of small moment for imperial policy, compared with the violently hostile response in the West. The island had had its own traumatic version of iconoclasm already in 649 and 653 when, in the name of God, monks were targeted, holy images were desecrated, and not a few of the church building themselves were ruined. Again in 723, and much closer than Constantinople was to Cyprus, the iconoclastic campaign of Yazid II in Syria vigorously enforced the destruction of all representational art in Christian churches in the Caliphate.[40] Willibald would have been in Cyprus just too soon, in 723, to witness any reaction there to Yazid's decree: at that time, Greeks and Saracens had reached a *modus vivendi*. Even in Cyprus, however, one soon senses a new climate of religious conflict and

39. For any British historian there are strong resonances with the equally bitter conflict in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between the traditional attitudes of catholicism, and the more austere rationality of protestantism. Regions in England which were predominantly agricultural tended to be socially conservative, whereas the artisans and small traders in the towns felt the appeal of individualism, with inner conviction.

40. Prompted, it was said, by Jewish influence on the caliph. The Mosaic Law, of course, forbade images. Jenkins, 1966, pp. 74-89, especially at pp. 82-3.

uncertainty, reflected in lead seals such as those which read, 'The Lord is my light and my saviour: whom then shall I fear',[41] or 'The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do to me', or 'May the Mother of God of Sozopolis come to the aid of the consul Theodoros'.[42] One does not have to be much impressed by literary deconstructionism, to focus on the word 'fear'.

It has generally been supposed that Cypriot society remained hostile to iconoclasm throughout; and that is what one might expect from a predominantly rural society. If so, it would have been a brave, or foolhardy, official of the central government who turned up in a village with the purpose of pulling down the icons. He would probably have done well to take an armed escort with him. Cyprus, like Crete, seems to have escaped lightly; St Andrew the Hymnographer remained in office as the Cretan archbishop until *c.*740, and there is reason to suspect that he and Archbishop Damianos of Cyprus were in collusion.[43] Compliance with the emperor's wishes was of course necessary for senior clerics in court circles and in Constantinople. Cyprus however may have had a certain reputation. When Lachandrako, the zealous governor of the Thracesian theme, threatened all the monks and nuns within his jurisdiction with blinding and banishment to Cyprus unless they immediately married,[44] one asks oneself whether he had taken the trouble to inform the archon of Cyprus of his intention – or whether he was just a brutal character. The incident does seem to imply that Cyprus was thought to be exempt from the full rigours of imperial policy;[45] but not indefinitely so.

In 754 Archbishop Georgios of Constantia was specifically anathematized; he was an ardent champion of the cause of the holy images.

41. *BLSC* 236, from Khlorakas. See the catalogue for comparanda. In an analogous situation of religious conflict in seventeenth-century England, cf. the line in John Bunyan's hymn, 'He'll fear not what men say'.

42. *BLSC* 138 and also 824, the latter found near Polis. Patriarch Germanos in his famous letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis in the 720s cites the miraculous image at (Pisidian) Sozopolis, adding that it had stopped being active. The date of this opaque remark is close to the onset of iconoclasm, but apparently precedes it. I am indebted to Professor Cyril Mango for his comments on the letter, defending its authenticity.

43. Their lead seals are closely similar. See *BLSC* pp. 85-7 and no. 455.

44. Hackett.

45. Jenkins, 1966, p. 51, in accordance with his view that after the treaty of 688 Cyprus was no longer claimed by the Empire as a possession, asserts that (in line with the treaty) the Cypriots were exempt from iconoclast persecution. In light of the sigillographic evidence, that assessment now seems untenable, if it ever was. In practical terms, there is not much difference in the milder assertion that the authorities chose not to intervene, discretion being the better part of valour.

His sentence was reversed at Nicaea in 787, when his name was coupled with that of St John Damascenos, singled out for special honour. Georgios's successor Constantine played an active part at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, in defence of the images, His sweeping statement, to the fathers there assembled, that the custom had prevailed in Cyprus since the time of St Epiphanius[46] cannot have rested on any reliable historical knowledge, and is in part demonstrably mistaken;[47] but he should have known well enough what the climate of opinion had been since 730, a period that lay within the time-span of living memory and oral tradition, and that is really all that concerns us here. In short, it is clear enough that Cyprus was strongly iconodule in sentiment throughout the first iconoclasm.

At Nicaea in 787, a sermon by Leontios, bishop of Neapolis, speaking *inter alia* about images of the saints, was read out to the council by the deacon Stephanos.[48] Archbishop Constantine then added a mini-sermon of his own, neatly structured in three parts, which illustrates several aspects of the religious attitudes of the day, on the part of ordinary people as well as of bishops. A scrupulous intention to offer proof, combined with standards of proof which will strike the modern mind as naive, add to the interest of the archbishop's remarks. 'We have heard, and believe', he said, 'these passages that have been read out from the Fathers. I will add a modest example known to me. A certain Cypriot in the city of Constantia, driving his team of oxen, and proceeding to his work, went in to pray in the house of prayer of the Mother of God, and as he prayed, looking up he saw an image of the Mother of God made with colours on the wall, and said (*scilicet* disparagingly), "Who has done this?" And taking his goad he scratched out the right eye of the image. And going out of the temple he struck the oxen with the goad, and when it broke, a fragment of it entered the man's eye, and blinded him. I have seen this man, and know that he has only one eye. Another man in the city of Kition, on the festival of the Holy Mother of God, namely the 15th August, entered a church in order to adorn it with curtains.' (Decorating their church for the festival is good evidence of popular devotion.) 'And taking a nail he fixed it in the wall right in the forehead of the image of St Peter. When he had attached the

46. Hackett, p. 308.

47. St Epiphanius was in fact an opponent of holy images. 'They put up their images', he wrote, 'and then perform the practices of the pagans before them'. Cf. the story of his tearing down with indignation a curtain in a village church, woven with the figure of Christ.

48. Déroche, 1994 (among others) has defended the authenticity of Leontios's Apology. This has a bearing on the survival of books in Cyprus through the worst of the Arab invasions and destruction.

cord and hung the curtain, in the same hour an unbearable pain seized him in the head and forehead, and he remained for two days of the festival lying down and suffering torture. When this came to the personal knowledge of the bishop of Kition he reproved the man and ordered him to go and pull out the nail from the image. When he did that, his pain was lessened. The bishop was present when the man was questioned. The bishop in turn, when questioned, confirmed under oath, in front of the synod, that the incident took place. Thirdly: a couple of years before, men of Cyprus sailed in two ships to a city in Syria which is called Gabala [modern Jeble, on the coast between Latakia and Baniyas – a voyage of about 115 nautical miles]. Taunted by the Agarenes there, they went down to the sea-shore, and when some of the people of Gabala came, they turned aside into a certain temple of the city. Then one of the Agarenes, seeing an image made of stones on the wall [*ek psephidon en to toicho*, i.e. a mosaic made with tesserae] asked a certain Christian who was present, of what benefit this image was; to which the Christian said [with commendable discretion], "To those who honour it, it is of benefit; those however who do not honour it, it harms". The Agarene replied, "Watch me poke its eye out, and we'll see what harm it does". Thus he said, and stretching out his pole, he poked out the right eye of the image. The tesserae tinkled to the ground. Forthwith his right eye started out of his head and likewise fell to the ground, and he was seized by a burning fever'. [This detail adds symmetry to an already gripping tale, but shows no knowledge that the eyeball is connected to the brain by the optic nerve.] Those who were present with the iconoclast, seeing him to be seriously ill, carried him back to the city. These things were reported to us by the men who returned to Cyprus, numbering 32'. Even if the incident was sworn to by 32 good Cypriot men, one ventures to doubt the bouncing eyeball. Perhaps the provocation was too great, and they were covering up for their comrade. To sum up: the mini-sermon proceeds by stages: the bad-tempered ploughman is presumably of iconoclast sympathies; the man hanging the curtain is merely thoughtless in carrying out his practical task; the Saracen, to whom human representations are distasteful as being idolatrous, is a more complicated example.

A social anthropologist would unhesitatingly categorize all three miracles as examples of sympathetic magic.[49] It has to be said that to us there is nothing here that is edifying. In the icons, men are not, in these three stories, contemplating lives filled with holiness, and seeking grace to

49. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*, London, 1922, chapter 3, 'Sympathetic magic', and 4, 'Magic and religion' (pp. 11-59).

walk in the same way. The best that one can say is that the stories affirm the presence and the wrath of God in the here and now. For the bishops of Constantia and of Kition, and no doubt for many of the other fathers assembled, the miracles were a vindication of the traditional veneration of holy images: it was a practice manifestly approved by God. There will have been much more in their theology of the holy images, but the aspect that the archbishop spoke about was what was relevant to the synod's debate. He was not enquiring into the attitudes of the participants, merely establishing compelling evidence (as he saw it) that the miracles had truly occurred. They offered a knock-down argument that God was on the side of the iconodules.[50] For the secular historian, they are good evidence of popular devotion at the time.

Having gained his victory, Archbishop Constantine's subscription at Nicaea was distinctive, pointed, and one might even say flamboyant: 'suscipio et saluto sacras et venerabiles iconas, et honorabiliter adorans subscripsi'.[51] The Seventh Ecumenical Council was attended by the bishops of Constantia, Solea, Kythrea, Kition, Tremithus, and Amathus.[52]

Sentiment in Cyprus during the second iconoclasm presumably remained the same. The decree by which it was imposed reveals a degree of anti-feminist prejudice against the Empress Irene. It is of historical interest for the way in which it describes iconodule practices, namely the lighting of candles and the burning of incense before the icons.[53]

Iconoclasm, then, had few if any roots in Cyprus. From the provincial standpoint it was a policy from the top down, promulgated by the emperor (who may have been responding to popular sentiment but not, we may judge, to sentiment in Cyprus), and it was hurtful to the religious sensibilities of the village people. Townsfolk were perhaps more likely to have some sympathy for an austere and rational faith, but by the early eighth century the towns of Cyprus were in decay. The monks were deeply opposed to iconoclasm, the hierarchy argued against it; enforcing it upon a frontier province was merely a recipe for souring the political loyalty of the Cypriots.

50. Thus they functioned in much the same way as the miracles in the synoptic gospels: compelling arguments in the bitter and protracted parting of the ways between (Jewish) Christians and Jews: 'God is on *our* side, in proof whereof, witness these miracles'.

51. Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Actio quarta.

52. Hackett, p. 52. Le Quien, vol. 2, 1041-2.

53. The decree is translated and set in context in J. J. Norwich, *Byzantium, the Apogee*, 1993 edn., p. 25.

3. Internal evidence

Lead seals now offer clear and consecutive evidence for the administrative history of Cyprus in the eighth to tenth centuries, which would otherwise be almost completely blank. Those offices and dignities which were represented by numerous specimens of lead seals of the late seventh century almost disappear from the record in the early eighth century, to be replaced by others. The range of characteristic offices and dignities is modified, in the first and second quarters of the eighth century (relative chronology is stronger than absolute, the dating of the lead seals being secure to within about a quarter-century). The old style of provincial local governance was revived, under the new dignity of honorary eparch, and was supplemented, from the 720s or even a few years earlier, by a cadre of imperial administrative officials, including a surprising number of consuls, and also by a significant number of imperial spatharioi. Mostly their lead seals mention no specific function. The drastic decline and virtual disappearance of lead seals of illoustrioi and even of bishops can best be understood as reflecting a winding down of urban life. The concurrent dramatic decline in the numbers of lead seals of private individuals is perhaps a reflection of the impoverishment of the province's merchants and traders.

On the other hand we have, from the mid-ninth century or thereabouts, the lead seal of a kommerkiarios of Cyprus. It is of Laurent's invocative monogram type, which means (so far as one can judge), that it is from before the third quarter of the ninth century. The owner was an imperial silentiarios, a dignity routinely accorded to kommerkiarioi and to komites (customs officials) at this time.[54] One must accept, therefore, that long-distance trade touching Cyprus was not defunct in the decades before Basil's initiative, although the volume of trade may of course have been much reduced.

Apart from lead seals, the only other category of systematic information which is, potentially at least, securely dateable within the 'dark centuries' and dense enough for the lines of development to be unambiguous, consists of hoards and (better) single finds of coins. The sigillographic and the numismatic evidence are at first sight not fully in harmony with each other: from the base-line of the late seventh century, the coins show a precipitous decline, whereas the lead seals continue throughout the eighth century and into the early ninth, at a reduced and

54. Cf. *DOC* 2.22.10, a ninth-century silentiarios and kommerkiarios of the Peloponnese, and *DOC* 3/881.3, a silentiarios and komes of Hieron.

dwindling level admittedly, but by no means matching the disappearance of coinage.

Ceramic evidence seems largely to disappear after *c.*700, although not completely so; the lacuna may be partly because coarse ware dateable to the eighth century has yet to be recognized as such. Sherds of fine ware, from Paphos or from Constantia, are extremely few, but fine wares continued to be imported from Constantinople in tiny quantities until the end of the eighth century and even into the ninth.[55] For whose use were these wares imported? – And who were the importers? Were bishops' households now among the few better-off families with social pretensions?

Church architecture assigned to the late VII–early IX centuries can, alas, rarely be dated exactly enough to satisfy the general historian whether the building activity falls before or after 691. But at least we can say with a good probability that these churches were still in use in the ninth century.

All these different classes of evidence must be capable of being in some sense reconciled, since they all refer to the same island. They illustrate different aspects of the province's life, which seem to have declined on slightly different time-scales. But in short, the consensus must be that Cyprus becomes impoverished and ruralized. By the mid-eighth century its strategic significance, to both great powers, lay not so much in its people, who were valued only for a modest source of tax revenues, as in its harbours, which could be used as a land-fall, and where fresh water might be obtained. That is the conventional judgement. And yet an imperial administration was maintained, with regular contacts with Constantinople. This was by no means purely naval or military in character. The officials are not concerned only with strategic or external matters. Imperial tax-collectors (dioiketai) continued their work, although how they operated when the money economy had apparently become defunct is puzzling.

The supposed ravages of the plague in 747 have been mentioned by earlier scholars as having been a final blow which destroyed hopes of recovery.[56] While it is entirely plausible that this virulent outbreak of a recurrent epidemic reached Cyprus, there is no documentary evidence whatsoever that it did so. One may pause to ask what sort of evidence there might have been. In default of a Cyprus-based chronicle, could one expect any archaeological evidence? Might sudden death have resulted in the non-

55. At Soloi, a few sherds are even of Macedonian date: see Hayes, 1978, Figs. 22.1 and 22.2.

56. e.g. Catling, 1972.

recovery of family savings – a cluster of little coin hoards dateable to *c.*747-50, making a blip in the chronological sequence of finds? Nothing of the sort is on record.[57] Given the virtual absence of coins of the Isaurian dynasty in Cyprus, even a little blip would have done. The plague was no respecter of ethnicity, and one should not omit to keep an eye on the site-finds of Umayyad fulus.[58]

Important evidence that the annual tribute and taxes continued to be paid comes from the letter written in 913-14, to the Caliph al-Muqtadir by the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas Mysticus, who at the time was in effect the regent, after the death of the emperor Alexander.[59] After emphasizing that the Cypriots had for nearly 300 years[60] observed the obligations laid on them by the treaty [of 688], he remarks that they 'are subject to your taxation and ours: indeed, they pay more to you'.[61] Nicholas doubtless had access to state archives, and was in a position to know; and he was such an experienced administrator[62] and polished diplomat that one must assume that his remark that 'they pay more to you' was well-founded. The information that the Cypriots paid rather more to the Caliphate can only, so far as one can see, have originated in Cyprus. It seems to imply that the taxes were collected by Byzantine officials (either on the staff of the archon, or by dioiketai acting as principals) who handed over the caliph's stipulated amount *en bloc*.[63] Perhaps part of the Empire's half was used to defray the costs of the local administration; or perhaps there was a shortfall in what could be collected. Nicholas does not say in so

57. See above, p. 202.

58. Unfortunately the fulus are not yet closely dateable. Ports would have been first in line for the arrival of the plague from overseas; and rats may have prospered more in the towns than in the villages. If there had been any evidence, therefore, urban excavations are where it should have presented itself. One should add that in western Europe, the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century is for various reasons not apparent in the evidence of coin finds.

59. Jenkins and Westerink, 1973. The letter appears to have been sent to the emir of Crete, but Jenkins and Westerink (pp. 525-6) argue that that is a misapprehension.

60 Nicholas exaggerates: 250 would have been better.

61. Letter 1, lines 146-9.

62. He was a nephew of Photius who had formerly served as the emperor's private secretary.

63. Jenkins, 1953 commented that 'for the collection and division of taxes there must have been Byzantine and Saracen representatives and revenue officers residing in the island'. This is not straightforward. If the caliph was owed a fixed amount (rather than 50 per cent of the takings), there was no need for on-the-spot supervision by Muslim officials. Perhaps what Nicholas means is that the Empire bore any shortfall in what the officials succeeded in collecting.

many words, and could hardly claim to know for a fact, that the taxes had been paid without intermission since 688, but we may suppose that they had been paid at least since the third quarter of the ninth century – that is, during the very nadir of monetary circulation. To that extent, we should believe Nicholas unreservedly, because false claims would have been counter-productive, indeed they would have given great offence. As the patriarch would have been well aware, the caliph had archives too.

The retreat into more localized economic life doubtless tended to accentuate regional differences within Cyprus, because regional productive capacity varied with soil types, rainfall, and so on. Such differences are visible in the numismatic finds and (probably) in the chronology of the ceramic evidence. At Constantia, coins of the eighth century are, at a glance, more numerous than they are at Paphos, for example, but that may be largely because the excavations at Constantia have yielded so many more coins in total. It is through a contrast in *proportions*, or in the rate of decline, that evidence of regional differences should be sought; but also in the different regional origins of the foreign coins entering Cyprus. (However, the Paphian finds also seem to be coloured by Syrian fulus rather than by Egyptian money.) Certainly, there are significant differences within the former urban area of Constantia: coin losses continued for longer, and more plentifully, in the Campanopetra sector than in the older city centre.[64] Stray losses of Islamic copper coins suggest trading contacts with Syria (long after the Byzantines lost political and military control of that region). It would be understandable if those contacts were mainly with Antioch, which was still culturally a Christian city, even if under foreign rule. In and around Paphos, on the other hand, there are rather plentiful finds of late eighth or early ninth century Islamic clipped silver dirhams, which have not been reported from Constantia.[65] Similar clipped silver is found also in Larnaca and its region. (Does that suggest that it had reached Larnaca independently from abroad, or that it had been carried about within Cyprus – after clipping?)

4. Nea Ioustinianoupolis

Theophanes in his *Chronographia*[66] writes that in A.M. 6183 [691] Justinian II, with a lack of good sense, broke the peace with Abd al-Malik,

64. See above, pp. 420f.

65. But this might perhaps be a defect of the available evidence, because Constantia and its region are in the occupied area?

66. The *Chronographia* was written *c.*810-14, drawing on the work of George Syncellus. See Brubaker and Haldon, 2001, pp. 168-171 and, for a translation, Mango and Scott, 1997.

being foolishly desirous to resettle the inhabitants of Cyprus. In the course of the outward sea journey (he says) many Cypriots had drowned or died of sickness. The rest returned to Cyprus. This decidedly hostile account, written a good hundred years after the event, when the Heraclian dynasty was no more, does no historical justice to Justinian's intentions, which within the limitations of his character were rational and sensible. Nor does it mention the fact that the migrating Cypriots were led by their archbishop. Justinian's purpose was to establish a new city (named after himself, as his great predecessor Justinian I had named cities) which should take over the strategic functions of the ruined city of Cyzicus, as a naval base to guard the Propontis from attacks launched through the Hellespont, and probably also as a dockyard where ships could be built, drawing timber from the nearby forests. Never again was there to be a repetition of the near-catastrophe of 674-8, when an Arab fleet was able repeatedly to approach the sea-walls of the imperial city, and threaten the very existence of the Empire. About these strategic considerations, Theophanes is completely silent. He does not ask himself any of the questions that will today occur to a historian. What inducements if any were offered to the Cypriots to transfer themselves to the Hellespont? How many went? Were they for the most part mariners and ship-builders, for whose way of life and prosperity the future in Cyprus looked bleak? How were they to be maintained and rewarded? There will doubtless have been some compulsion exercised through the civil government of Cyprus, but the prospect of a better livelihood may have been quite attractive. As regards the archbishop, whose great basilica of St Epiphanius was ruined, he too may have judged that the offer was a good one, even if it is more difficult for us to see the rationale behind it, which for the archbishop is unlikely to have had any direct connection with ships or ship-building. It may be simply that, willy nilly, the emperor's wishes were not to be thwarted.

The transplantation was not a unique or unheard-of event. Some forty years earlier, the bishop of Aradus with his flock had left their island home, just off the coast of Syria, and had settled in Cyprus. It is possible that the metropolitan of Tyre was similarly exiled to Cyprus, also in the mid-seventh century, because of the Arab conquest of his province.

Englezakis[67] has elucidated, what for a long time was made out to be something of a mystery, that the exact location of Nea Ioustinianoupolis was at Artaki (modern Turkish Erdek), on the coast about ten km north-

67. Englezakis, 1990, reprinted in Englezakis, 1995.

west of Cyzicus.[68] He has also expounded the relevant canons of the Quinisext Council (i.e. the Council in Trullo) held in 692, that is, almost immediately after the date given by Theophanes for the archbishop's transfer, with all its ecclesiastical implications. Those implications are documented, whereas we know absolutely nothing about the practical details of swiftly creating a new town and port. At the time of the council, the new city can hardly have existed on the ground; and Justinian's deposition and exile were in the unforeseeable future.

First, however, let us look at the strictly contemporary evidence of the canons of the Quinisext Council, to see what they may or may not imply about the constraints placed on the archbishop of Cyprus. Canon XXXIX speaks of him in the context of those bishops who 'continue to reside outside their own provinces because of the barbarian incursions'. That may have been, to some extent, a convenient fiction: in his case, there is no positive reason to think that he had been driven out by the Arabs, nor even that the Arabs had gained a local ascendancy by settling in Cyprus. They had, it is clear, laid the island waste forty years previously, and had killed or removed a significant part of the population, but those who remained enjoyed the (fragile) benefits of a recent peace treaty between the Empire and the Caliphate. The canon goes on to rehearse how 'John, president of the island of the Cypriots . . . has, with his own people, migrated to the province of the Hellespont.' That does not necessarily signify (as some modern scholars have tended to assume[69]) that all or even a large proportion of the population of Cyprus had migrated with him. And by extension it does not signify that the land of Cyprus was deserted by its depleted Byzantine population from 691 onwards. Certainly, the archbishop did not write a circular letter, to be read in every church in the island, saying that at eight a.m. on Thursday next, weather permitting, his beatitude intended to take ship for a new homeland, and inviting all members of his flock to accompany him. Rather, the phrase 'with his own people' is inserted in the records of the council in order to clarify that John is not that horrid thing, a bishop without a flock. His brother bishops are to have no opportunity to hold that against him. For that purpose, a token flock would suffice. The canon determines that the privileges of his position shall be preserved unaltered; that the see of Nea Ioustinianoupolis

68. The general location, 'a town near to Cyzicus', was already stated straightforwardly and without qualification by M. le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, Paris, 1740, vol. 2, coll. 1041-2.

69. e.g. Grivaud, 1998, p. viii, 'une expatriation massive des Chypriotes'. In this they are following Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who is following oral tradition – see below.

shall enjoy the rights of Constantia; and that its bishop shall preside over all the bishops of the province of Hellespont (as well, presumably, as over the bishops of Cyprus). The autonomy of his position is guaranteed: the new metropolitan shall be consecrated (according to Cypriot custom) by his own bishops; and in particular his presidency is to extend over the bishop of Cyzicus (until then the metropolitan of Hellespont). Having been reduced to the ranks the latter, understandably enough, declines to append his signature to the acts of the council. John is now metropolitan of the twelve bishops of Hellespont, as well as of the remaining Cypriot bishops: in Justinian's eyes, evidently, a key player and a safe pair of hands. The purposes for which the emperor needed him were presumably those of secular governance and leadership. He was perceived to be a capable and energetic administrator. Perhaps the bishop of Cyzicus was judged to be personally unfitted to that role.

How did this change the situation in Cyprus? So far as one can see, the other Cypriot bishops will have remained in their own cities. They did not accompany their archbishop, any more than the whole of his flock accompanied him. Fourteen bishops in one unbuilt city would have been decidedly *de trop*, as would the remaining population of Cyprus. Whether the archbishop was resident full-time in Nea Ioustinianoupolis we do not know. There is no reason to doubt that he could have travelled to and from Cyprus at will, nor that he could still have sealed documents directed to persons in Cyprus.[70] He was not, in that sense, in exile: or was he? Secular government may have faltered at the end of Constans' reign; but the archbishop was surely still in charge of the autonomous church of Cyprus. He had not been driven out by the Arabs, even if Canon XXXIX chose to blur that distinction, by grouping him with those other bishops 'who continue to reside outside their own provinces because of the barbarian incursions'.

We turn next to the account given by Constantine VII.[71] The emperor very honestly makes clear that his account is just a story – oral tradition transmitted over two hundred years. 'Of the migration of the Cypriots', he says, 'the story is as follows: when the island was captured by the Saracens and remained uninhabited seven years [these two phrases telescope the events of 649-50 and 691-9] and the archbishop John came with his people to the imperial city [or close to it: there is no other reason to think that they went right to Constantinople] a dispensation was made by the emperor

70. In writing *BLSC*, this point escaped me.

71. The translation follows that by R. J. H. Jenkins in Pohlsander, 1999, pp.91-2.

Justinian II in the holy sixth synod [in fact, the Quinisext] that he, with his bishops [see above] and the people of the island [*rectè*, some of them] should take over Cyzicus [more exactly, take over its strategic role], and that he should make his appointments whenever a bishopric should fall vacant, to the end that the authority and the rights of Cyprus [i.e. its ecclesiastical autonomy] might not be interrupted – for the emperor Justinian II was himself also a Cypriot [myth], as from the Cypriots of olden days the tale has persisted to this day [partly through iconodule sentiment in the eighth and ninth centuries?] – and so it was ordained in the holy sixth synod that the archbishop of Cyprus [*rectè*, of Nea Ioustinianoupolis?] should appoint the president of Cyzicus [a sore point], as it is recorded in the 39th chapter of the same holy sixth synod.

'But after seven years [more probably in 705/6: seven is a biblical and symbolic number: seven lean years, etc.], by God's will the emperor [Justinian II?[72]] was moved to populate Cyprus again, and he sent to the commander of the faithful of Baghdad [a city not in existence at that time] three of the illustrious Cypriots, natives of the same island [that seems to imply that they were residing elsewhere] called Phangoumeis,[73] together with an imperial agent both intelligent and illustrious [i.e. of noble rank] and wrote to the commander of the faithful asking him to dismiss the people of the island of Cyprus that were in Syria to their own place [was a copy of this letter available to Constantine VII in the imperial archives?]. The commander of the faithful obeyed the emperor's epistle [!], and sent illustrious Saracens to all the parts of Syria [a generic term for a wider area?] and gathered together all the Cypriots and carried them over to their own place. And the emperor, for his part, sent an imperial agent and carried over those who had settled in Romania, that is, at Cyzicus and in the Kibyrrhaiote and Thracesian provinces [these latter making their first appearance in the story], and the island was populated.'

The point of the story, which seems almost aetiological in character, is that Cyprus, having been depopulated, became populated again – with

72. Kyrris entertained the hypothesis of a copyist's error, meaning that the true figure was 17 years. Later (Kyrris, 1997) he abandoned that position, but argued (persuasively) for a date of *c.*705-6.

73. The meaning of the word Phangoumeis in this context is not very clear. 'Illustrious' probably implies that they were of aristocratic standing, perhaps even lamprotatoi. Cf. Hill, p. 289, n.3. Other evidence suggests that the notables of the old senatorial families, who had sealed so many documents in the later seventh century, had virtually disappeared from Cyprus by the very early eighth century. One wonders what the remit of the Phangoumeis in the diplomatic mission was.

Cypriots. That is how it was by the early tenth century. One need not accept folk memory as balanced historical evidence. One is permitted to wonder, even, whether some of the Cypriots may not have preferred to stay on the Propontis.

How long the double ecclesiastical province persisted is not certain,[74] but Kyrris has argued for its dismantling in 706, when Justianian II (second reign, 705-11) had his kinsman Germanos elected as metropolitan of Cyzicus – thus apparently terminating the local primacy of Nea Ioustinianoupolis.[75] On his return to power, Justinian promptly signalled his desire for friendly relations with the Caliphate by releasing Arab prisoners. The treaty concerning Cyprus may have been reconfirmed with al-Walid (705-15) at this time. In 707-9 the emperor made substantial gifts towards the refurbishment of the Great Mosque at Damascus, and also for the rebuilding of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina.[76]

The early eighth-century lead seals of the archbishops of Cyprus, immediately after the episode of Nea Ioustinianoupolis, are of a striking new design, which conspicuouly introduces, for the very first time on the archiepiscopal lead seals, the title *Kyprou*. They have been found at a good number of localities in Cyprus, including for example Constantia and Amathus. (The memory for traditional prerogatives is very tenacious: one may add the after-thought that it was not until nine hundred years later that the first archbishop of Cyprus under Ottoman rule adopted the historic title, 'of Nova Ioustiniana'.[77])

5. Relocation: the case of Kourion; and the analogy of Paphos

The Arab raids have in the past been blamed, as usual, for the final demise of Kourion, but that was an ill-informed judgement, which paid insufficient attention to the coins from the excavations, both those from 1932-53 and, more recently, those from the episcopal basilica complex.[78] They included a considerable number of folles minted from 651 onwards, many of which were countermarked.

Eventually, however, the bishop removed his seat about one mile inland to Serayia ('the place of the palace') at Episkopi, on the west bank of the

74. See Hackett, pp. 39f for disputed views about the duration.

75. Kyrris 1997, pp. 672-4.

76. Kyrris, 1997, p. 661.

77. Englezakis, 1990, p. 20.

78. This has been argued above. See pp. 292-6.

Kouris river. His flock will presumably have moved with him – unless perhaps they had already gone. A new three-aisled basilica with three apses was built there. The transfer is neatly demonstrated archaeologically, by the re-use of marble slabs and revetments identifiably from the old cathedral. Now, one does not build a fine cathedral church without spending money; nor without skilled craftsmen; nor without a degree of confidence in a settled future.

It has recently been suggested that what drove the Kourians out of their city was the damage caused by an earthquake, and perhaps in particular by the dislocation of the water supply, brought into the city by aqueducts.[79] Evidence of earthquake damage is seen at the episcopal basilica, and also in the harbour church, below the bluffs on which Kourion stood. The *t.p.q.* of the earthquake seems to have been in the 680s, but the actual date, which is contentious,[80] could be somewhat later. It was perhaps not a major earthquake.

The exact date of the move to Episkopi has not been clarified by the archaeological finds from the site. It may have been quite soon after the earthquake; or again it may have been at a date into the eighth century. The earthquake itself may have been in the eighth century: all we have is a *t.p.q.* At all events, coin losses at Kourion continued until at least *c.*720 (e.g. a gold dinar of AH 102/AD 720/1), when they petered out. It is normal for copper coins to be heavily predominant among stray losses on urban sites, and the few which we have undoubtedly imply a much larger number in circulation.[81] In the period after *c.*695 they included Islamic as well as Byzantine coins, found in proximity to each other on the basilica site. These are sufficient evidence that Muslims were resorting to Kourion in the first two decades of the eighth century, presumably in order to trade there. The inhabitants could, of course, still have been Greek Cypriots, for whom there would be no problem in handling Islamic coins. But it would be perverse not to see them as evidence that Kourion was frequented, after the peace treaty of 688 and during the eighth century, by Arabs.[82] There was secondary occupation of the atrium area of the basilican complex, evidenced by a bread oven, a lime-kiln, stone water-troughs for animals, and a group of cooking pots in the south-east corner of unit 10. It is

79. Megaw, 2007.

80. See below.

81. Inland in southern Cyprus the stray finds of Islamic coins are more often of silver.

82. Logically, a contrast with the assemblage of site finds from Serayia would be a good argument. There is nothing of comparable date.

reasonable to suppose that this secondary occupation dates from a time when the divine liturgy had been transferred to the new basilica at Episkopi.

We have really very little evidence to show us what sort of a place Episkopi became, beyond the fact that a basilica was built there. The bishop of Kourion needed a cathedral, and the Kourians will have supported his pretensions as far as possible. One may judge that they had been driven out of their ancient city, not by the Arabs, but by the practical inconvenience of living without a water supply, and by poverty. They presumably could not afford to rebuild their aqueducts and refurbish their city. If there were Arabs living in what was left of Kourion – as is suggested by Egyptian pottery of the Umayyad period – they will not have denied access to the Kourians. The former citizens did not have to tip-toe in and remove marble revetments surreptitiously. Meanwhile, it seems very unlikely that Episkopi was in any functional sense a town. It was not Kourion *redivivum*, a mere relocation. Episkopi was in all probability a mere shadow of what Kourion had once been.

The subsequent decline of urban functions will have pressed down impartially on Arabs and Cypriots alike. Among the latest evidence, a new *opus sectile* floor at Episkopi is lateish, to judge by its style.[83] We may suppose that by the middle of the ninth century both Kourion and Episkopi were close to being derelict. Perhaps their buildings or lay-out did not disappear utterly, for they showed some small signs of revival in the early eleventh century.

We turn now to Paphos, to consider whether its history offers any parallels with that of Kourion. Megaw has ventured the suggestion that the earthquake which affected Kourion had its epicentre out at sea and, like the major earthquake of *c*.370, struck both cities. His attempt to prove this verges, however, on special pleading.[84] Where Paphos differs from Kourion is that its harbour was, in all probability, judged by Mu'āwiya to be of strategic importance. For that reason the garrison which al-Balādhuri mentions, without saying where in Cyprus it was stationed, has been assumed to have been in Paphos, until it was withdrawn in or soon after 680. The numismatic evidence from Paphos, meanwhile, looks very similar to that from Kourion: plenty of coins from the decades up to 680, but they are Byzantine coins. The evidence of an Arab presence after the peace

83. Michaelides, 1993, p.78 and n. 50.

84. See pp. 296f.

treaty of 688 is again securely dated to after 695 by post-reform Islamic coins, running up to the mid-eighth century, from Saranda Kolones.[85] And again, this need mean no more than that Arabs were visiting Paphos to trade. If, on the other hand, they died and were buried there, as evidenced for example by a late-eighth century tombstone,[86] it probably implies that they were resident in Paphos. Another Islamic coin came from a grave beside the Villa of Theseus.[87] There are, in addition, substantial amounts of undated evidence, which one assumes might come from the same period (i.e. the eighth century). An amphora in the Paphos Museum has (the same) Arabic inscription incised on each of its handles. It is difficult to read. A suggested reading is *jiyār khāss*, special quicklime, or *jiyār khām*, crude or raw quicklime.[88] One can see that when quicklime had been made by roasting marble, it might not be needed for use immediately, nor at the place of manufacture. It seems that the amphora, with its incised inscription suggesting that Arabs undertook building work, offers supporting evidence that they were living in Paphos. Moreover there are numerous Arabic inscriptions from the Limeniotissa and Chrysopolitissa church sites. From the former there are six, of which four were found on two columns in the narthex, while a fifth was on a column coming from the north colonnade.[89] All but one of these inscriptions are undated, the exception being from AD 719/20. The widely-touted assumption that the rest are from the period when an Arab garrison was occupying Paphos is thus possible, but unwarranted. Further evidence of occupation comes from the floor of a simple hall, which was paved with polychrome marbles plundered from the nave; it bears an Arabic inscription.[90] Doubtless there was an Arab presence in Paphos, but there is no evidence securely dated to the time of an Arab garrison in Cyprus, namely until *c*.680. What little we have that is dateable is substantially later, e.g. the tombstone from AD 780.[91] The

85. Metcalf, 2003, cat. nos. 69-72.

86. See above, p. 225.

87. Daszewski, 1984, p. 304, no. 382.

88. Paphos Museum 2746. Megaw, 1986, p. 514 and pl. 57. I am indebted to my colleagues Dr Luke Treadwell and Dr Donald Richards, of the Oriental Faculty in Oxford for their kind advice. Confirmation of the tentative reading would best come from the discovery of some more incised amphora sherds. There is another inscribed amphora in the Paphos Museum, MP 138: Michaelides and Bakirtzis, 2003.

89. *BCH* 93 (1969), 565-6. Regrettably, these remain unpublished. They are unlikely to be crucial unless they are dated.

90. Papageorgiou, in *BCH* 93 (1969), 566.

91. Megaw, 1950. See Chapter IV.

fact that the 'Abd al-Rahman commemorated by the stone was of Egyptian (not Syrian) extraction hints that his presence in Paphos was in the context of trade between Paphos and Alexandria. The re-use of a fine marble column shows certain social pretensions; and the erection of an inscribed tombstone would seem to imply that there were other Muslims in Paphos, able to read it, and some expectation of permanency.

Further excellent evidence of an Arab presence at Paphos comes from Islamic lead seals found locally. Some of them name Cyprus in their inscriptions, which proves that they originated on the island, and more or less proves that the owner of the boulloterion expected to remain in residence for some time. Again they are, unfortunately, undated.

What, meanwhile, of the Christian population? Could there be an analogous situation with Kourion-Episkopi? Could they have moved a couple of miles inland, to Pano Paphos (Ktima)? The silence of the written sources for the early existence of Ktima does not preclude it. There is no archaeological evidence of a newly-built basilica in the centre of Ktima[92], but on its eastern outskirts, at Shyrvallos, a rescue excavation in 1962 revealed a three-aisled basilica with – interestingly, so close to Kato Paphos – a baptistery.[93] A modern house had already been built over much of the site. Opinions at the time differed over the date of what remained of the basilica, ranging from the fifth to the seventh century.[94]

St Willibald's often-quoted remark was in all probability based on an impression that he had picked up during his stay at Paphos. We may choose: if he was staying at Kato Paphos, he cannot have failed to be aware of an Arab presence; if at Ktima, the place necessarily existed. But in fact it is a superfluous hypothesis that the two ethnic communities were living in separate settlements.

From the excavations of Saranda Kolones in Kato Paphos there are at least 15 coins of Constans II, two of Justinian II, one of Tiberius III, and various Islamic coins. These include an Umayyad fals from Damascus, two post-reform fulus from Tabariyya (Tiberias), a third very probably from the same mint, and one with no mint-name, but of a variety recorded also

92. Could there ever have been a seventh-century church on or near the site of the Djami Kebir mosque?

93. Papageorghiou in *ARDA* 1963, 15 and Fig. 30; *RDAC* 1963, 47f and pl.8, 6. S. Pelekanides and P. Atzaka,1974, no. 143, II, and pl. 134.

94. Michaelides, on the basis of the surviving mosaics, favoured the second half of the sixth century: Michaelides, 1987, pll. 61-2.

from Kourion.[95] As at Kourion, we are looking at stray losses of low-value coins, which are no doubt a sample from a substantial local currency. And as at Kourion, Islamic coins could have been handled by Christians or Byzantine coins by Arabs. One may also mention an unusual Islamic copper coin of AH 189/AD804/5 found near Coral Bay.[96]

6. The changing hierarchy of civil government

The disappearance of the illustriate and their replacement by honorary eparchs – again a dignity without an office – suggests that the regime of notables from the old senatorial families ceased quite sharply, at the time of the transfer to Nea Ioustinianoupolis or very soon afterwards. One or two of the many lead seals of honorary eparchs (surely not former eparchs) almost certainly belong to individuals who had previously sealed as illoustrioi. In general, however, it would seem that the old illoustrioi had either lost their wealth and status, or had been killed or captured, or had escaped to some other province of the empire. Could they have become, by 699, the illustrious Cypriots, 'natives of the island', whom Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls phangoumeis? The diocesan bishops too, who had been so active in administrative matters in the later seventh century, seem to have virtually ceased to seal in 691, and certainly by *c.*725. Even if our pontifical lists are very patchy, we must presume that (unlike illoustrioi) bishops continued to be elected and to preside over their flocks. But it may be that they were now men of a different social stamp: no longer drawn from the old senatorial class. The dramatic change in the volume of evidence should probably be understood, again, in terms of the decline of the cities. The urban focus and context of the bishops' administrative activities was disappearing. The archbishops, meanwhile, in the first half of the eighth century to some extent made up for their colleagues. Their role in government became relatively much greater, vis-à-vis that of their suffragan bishops. This may have been partly because Constantia maintained some urban functions for several decades longer than most of the cities. Partly, it seems that they were adopting a role reminiscent of that (at a later date) of ethnarch.

Honorary eparchs were a short-lived experiment, which can be dated rather satisfactorily. The lead seals of about half of them still use the genitive case, and all those with invocative monograms are small in diameter and have early, experimental forms of the monogram. They are

95. Metcalf, 2003. Identifications by Helen Brown, of the Ashmolean Museum.

96. Pitsillides and Metcalf. 1997; *NR* 1997-9.

very unlikely to be later than the 730s. It would seem that governance by honorary eparchs must have been introduced by the direction of the central government. One imagines that they were mostly local people, chosen from among the better sort of those who had survived. (One individual is known, however, who was also an imperial vestiarios.[97]) They were presumably city-based, their functions ceasing to be viable along with those of the cities.

At some stage the appointment of consulares of senatorial rank as governors of Cyprus also ceased, perhaps already by *c.*691. No longer was the province wealthy. Their aristocratic role was taken over by administrators in the imperial service, of middling rank, and with the title, 'archon of Cyprus'. (In Crete similarly, archons are known from eight lead seals of the second half of the eighth century or the early ninth.[98]) One might expect government by an archon to have been introduced at a similar date in the two islands, although that will not necessarily have been so. There are a couple of early lead seals of archons, i.e. using the genitive case, of questionable authenticity. If they are not modern forgeries, as seems distinctly probable, they will therefore date from before *c.*725.[99]

Assuming that the Cypriot archonate began in the early eighth century, one wonders whether there may not have been a short phase, before the appointment of archons began, when Cyprus was governed by an eparch. The eparch Leontios, who rebuilt the city walls of Lapithos (presumably in the later 650s or 660s?) is described in an inscription as *lamprotatos*, i.e. illustris, the highest grade of nobility.[100] That would almost certainly exclude his being merely a local official, the eparch of Lapithos. There are half-a-dozen specimens, from four different boulloteria, of the lead seal of another eparch, Sergios.[101] They use the genitive case, and they describe their owner with the bare function of eparch, with no associated dignity. The same Sergios also seals (with the bust of St John Baptist in his camel-hair coat) as *hypatos* (consul).[102] Two of his lead seals are from Lambousa or Kyrenia. The monogram of Sergios (perhaps the same individual again?)

97. *BLSC* 296.

98. Normally with the rank of spatharios. See D. Tsougarakis, 'The Byzantine seals of Crete', *SBS* 2 (1990), 137-52, at p. 141.

99. *BLSC* 111, of Leontios.

100. See p.000.

101. *BLSC* 157.

102. *BLSC* 136. The author's thanks to Father Chariton of the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni, who was helpful in discussing this inscription.

appears on the 'eagle' seals of Kosmas, illoustrios[103] and later honorary eparch:[104] was Kosmas on his staff? One of Kosmas's lead seals is from Soloi, reinforcing the impression of a northerly distribution pattern.

There is one other eparch, name unknown, of whom a lead seal has been found in Cyprus.[105] Again, it uses the genitive case.

Were consulares, then, still being appointed as governors between 649 and 691, or were they replaced, towards the end of the century, by eparchs? If there were still consulares, our only hope of knowing about them would be from their lead seals; an obvious candidate (but this is no more than speculation) is the owner of the lead seals which read *Genethlium exconsul et patric*. No fewer than six specimens are known, suggestive either of a long tenure of office or, more probably, of a phase of intensive administrative activity (cf. that of the bishops and the illoustrioi in the same period). One find is from Amathus, a couple are from Khlorakas, near Paphos, and a fourth is presumed to come from Istanbul.

The earliest known lead seal of an archon of Cyprus about which there can be no question of authenticity was found on the coast near Polis, and appears to be from the earlier half of period of the standard invocative design, Laurent Type V, i.e. perhaps mid- to late eighth century.[106] The first line of the reverse inscription is missing, but it seems clear that no imperial dignity is mentioned, i.e. the owner is not described as a spatharios. Happily, we have another, beautifully preserved lead seal of the invocative type, Laurent Type V, of an official who was spatharios and archon. Could the Polis find be relatively early and in some sense experimental? By the beginning of the ninth century, if not sooner, the archon of Cyprus was the head of the administration: he was, in effect, the governor. Whether he combined civil and military responsibilities (like a strategos) is not clear. The administrative reponsibilities of an office could mutate as times changed – perhaps especially so in these difficult years. Archons elsewhere seem sometimes to have had responsibilities connected with the defence of the seas. Whether that was true for Cyprus we do not know. It might seem that that would have been an infringement of the treaty neutrality of Cyprus. All one can say is that it was by no means the only such infringement.

103. *BLSC* 323.

104. *BLSC* 321 and 841: numerous specimens.

105. *BLSC* 158.

106. *BLSC* 115.

In the later eighth century there may have been a regular appointment of an *ek prosopou* (as the archon's second-in-command?). Sergios Lakerbaphos held that post in 773, and there is a lead seal of much the same date, or a little later, of one Maurikios,[107] which was found in the south of the island at Klaudhia, near Larnaca. If he was a military commander, it seems once again that the appointment was testing the limits of neutrality.

From the first half of the eighth century there is a surprisingly large number of lead seals of hypatoi. To be a consul was still no small honour, even if the dignity was not what it had once been. Given their high rank, one wonders what the role of these officials was in Cyprus. Most of these lead seals, and in particular what seem to be the earlier ones, do not name an office, stating merely that their owner was a consul. A few add another function – a droungarios (admiral) in the 720s or thereabouts; and several dioiketai (tax-collectors) in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The consular seals begin while the genitive case is still being used, i.e. in the first quarter of the eighth century, and continue into the dative phase. They seem mostly to be from the first half of the century, and disappear from the record by about the end of that century. Thus they must overlap substantially with honorary eparchs, and probably also with archons, but are much more senior and continue later. Who were these men? Were they trouble-shooters, sent out from Constantinople? – Could they have been *de facto* governors? – or were they merely tax-collectors (at a time when tax was difficult to collect)? Whatever they were, their presence seems to reflect the concern of the central government with Cyprus. Some of their lead seals are of Cypriot provenance (whereas those of named dioiketai tend to be from Istanbul). One is from Lambousa, and two are from Polis. Thus the provenances, where known, are northerly: by now, a familiar pattern. Perhaps the north could be taxed more easily, at this date, than the south. One wonders whether archons and consuls were in post in Cyprus simultaneously, or whether there was a stop-gap phase, lasting thirty years or so, before the government of Cyprus was regularized again, under archons. (That takes us back to the question of the authenticity of the earliest specimens of lead seals of archons.)

While the chronological slot occupied by the lead seals of consuls is very clear, as is their administrative seniority, the same cannot be said, unfortunately, for another small category of finds, of lead seals with the title, 'kandidatos and imperial spatharios.[108] One wonders whether these

107. *BLSC* 156.

108. This combination is mentioned in the Chronicon Paschale already under the year 605.

were officials posted to Cyprus by the central government to assist with the work of reconstruction. They were fairly senior: a spatharios could be a strategos at this time. So far as our ability to date the lead seals is concerned, it could have been after the Arab raids of 649-50, or it could have been after 691. The broad thrust of the sigillographic evidence is that until 691 that work was still being undertaken by the Cypriot bishops and illoustrioi; but of course, extra help might have been provided from Constantinople. The style of these few lead seals is quite varied: they need not even be a compact group chronologically. Their provenances include the Limassol area, Khlorakas, and Aloupas,[109] i.e. they are southerly, whereas the lead seals of consuls tend to be northerly. Again the question arises of their acceptability under the requirements of neutrality.

In the later part of the eighth century and the first part of the ninth, the over-all numbers of lead seals dwindle to very few as the province declines, apparently, into imperial neglect. Dikigoropoulos enunciated the historical judgement that the Cypriots, whose loyalty to the iconoclast emperors was far from whole-hearted,[110] governed themselves, and considered themselves to be acting independently, in so far as the initiative came from them: they asked the emperor to send an official to head the islands's secular administration. This idea is probably best forgotten. If the archon held the rank of imperial spatharios or spatharokandidatos, he was recognized by the emperor, answerable to the emperor, and indeed paid by the emperor, and was part of the imperial administrative hierarchy. It is not obvious how one could distinguish, from the inscriptions on the lead seals, between Dikigoropoulos's thesis of the Cypriots asking the emperor to send them someone, and the emperor sending an archon because he himself saw fit to do so. Perhaps it is a false antithesis. In either case the individual could have been an imperial spatharios. The picture is very similar and not much clearer in Crete, where the same historical thesis has been contested. Margetić has spoken about the archon of Crete as the representative of local autonomy, while Tsougarakis's lists show that two of the archons bore Armenian names (as did Leo Symbatikes). It may be a very long time before chance brings to light a sufficient number of specimens of the lead seals of early archons of Cyprus to construct a good chronological series of them, based on style. In principle, it is something that we may envisage, and hope for in the future.

109. *BLSC* 256.

110. Mango, 1976, p. 5, n. 4, distances himself from this suggestion.

The kleisourarch in Cyprus, whose lead seals are discussed below, also bore rank as an imperial servant. The date-range during which there were kleisourarches in Cyprus is difficult to determine, but one may guess at a possibly quite short period in the late eighth or early ninth century.

The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus informs us that his grandfather Basil I raised Cyprus to the rank of a theme, and appointed Alexios Mouseles as its strategos. As we have seen, this information need not be regarded as sacrosanct. Dikigoropoulos judged that it rested on a misunderstanding.[111] After seven years (Constantine says) the island was again seized by the Saracens and taxed as before.[112] It seems that he is describing not just a change of administrative status, but a Byzantine reconquest of the whole island, albeit abortive or short-lived. No doubt he had access to archival material, but one doubts whether he is offering a realistic picture of what happened. From the perspective of Constantinople, denying the payment of tribute to the Caliphate would perhaps have been the main point. If there were Arabic officials who gathered up the tribute (an unnecessary hypothesis?), relieving them of their duties would have been a prime objective. From a military point of view, a strategos would presumably have concentrated on securing the northern ports and the coastlands north of the Pentadaktylos range, and its continuation into the Karpas peninsula. Kyrenia and perhaps Lapithos were the key strongholds, and Polis was viewed by the Empire as being of strategic value. When Constantine says that the island 'was again seized by the Saracens' it sounds as though he really did not know what he was talking about. The author of the Life of St Constantine the Jew, writing between 886 and 912, is much more believable when he says of the Arabs that 'they too have been granted citizenship in Cyprus . . . as a kind of useful arrangement'. His very vagueness adds credibility. Clearly the writer was unaware of their having recently been expelled, only to return by military force (Constantine's story). One very much doubts, therefore, whether they were in fact expelled, in the time of Basil I.[113] Whether there was a strategos who exercised wider powers than an archon is, in the Cypriot context, unclear. Such an official would certainly have held the reins of both the civil and the military administration, but then, one assumes that in practice the

111. See above, p. 439, and cf. Constantine's vagueness, pp. 453f.

112. A. Pertusi, *Constantinus Porphyogenitus, De Thematibus*, 1952, c. 15, p. 81.

113. Dikigoropoulos argued that Alexios was sent out to govern Cyprus at the instigation of his mother-in-law Theodora, i.e. before the Macedonian dynasty came to power. This re-dating of the information given by Constantine is roundly repudiated by Jenkins, pp. 156f.

archon already did that. Was there an intention, on the part of the central government, to repudiate the old treaty arrangements – which by then may have been largely a dead letter anyway? One doubts whether any new administrative status changed much on the ground. We have no lead seals naming Alexios (or anyone else) as strategos of Cyprus at this time. Indeed lead seals of any kind, whether of officials or of private individuals from Cyprus from the time of Basil I, are almost non-existent. The new administrative arrngements, if such there were, seem not to have been a big event.

Constantine's statement that Alexios governed the island for seven years has been various interpreted in the past. Dikigoropoulos argued that it means no more than that Alexios was replaced after seven years. Some scholars have even supposed that the administration was in the hands of strategoi until the time of Alexius I.[114] That is certainly erroneous, and ought never to have been suggested. Leo Symbatikes was archon in the early tenth century. Two or more specimens are known of the lead seal of an archon Michael, of Nesbitt's 'Photian' type,[115] from the later ninth or early tenth century. These may be assumed to post-date the period in office of Alexios. Seals of archons who were protospatharioi are very probably later still.[116]

The patriarchal cross-on-steps design had a long history of use, and the dating of individual lead seals of that design on stylistic grounds is difficult. Nesbitt, in *DOC*, tends to assign specimens to the tenth century. Was there a phase when they were the standard design, replacing the 'Photian' type? Rather than delve into the intricacies of the stylistic evidence – which in the end is inconclusive – let us just say that in the ninth century the office of archon carried with it the dignity of spatharios, subsequently of spatharokandidatos, and eventually of protospatharios, an example of the gradual inflation of dignities. There are archons of Cyprus who were spatharokandidatoi, using the 'Photian' type, or the 'patriarchal cross' type. That is where the ambiguity lies. Can both kinds be dated earlier than the time of Basil I?

A lead seal of an archon who was a protospatharios (with a floriated cross) will surely be later in date. It offers the best available proof that

114. e.g. Guillou, 1998, at pp. 23-5, states that the strategos was replaced by a doux in the time of Alexius I.

115. *BLSC* 112.

116. Cf. the Cretan evidence, mentioned above.

Cyprus in the tenth century reverted (if it ever needed to) to being an archonate.

In *c.*878 a certain Staurakios, described as *eparchon tes Kypriou nisou*, is accused by Photius of financial extortion. 'Eparch' may here have been simply a courteous designation: the rank and office held by Staurakios will remain uncertain, unless one of his lead seals should chance to turn up.[117] Photius perhaps intended merely a polite style of address – or perhaps the patriarch was not quite sure whether he was addressing a strategos or an archon.

The archon of Cyprus worked in tandem, e.g. during the ninth century, with another official whose title also specified his authority over the whole of Cyprus – the dioiketes 'of Cyprus'. He was in charge of taxation, and was regularly of consular rank. He needed, no doubt, to be of high standing in order to be proof against local pressure. He was appointed by the central government, and reported back to Constantinople. He may, like the later anagrapheus of Cyprus, also have had judicial functions.

From a rather earlier stage (the second or third quarter of the eighth century?) there are lead seals of dioiketai which do not specify Cyprus. One such has been found at Amathus, and another is from somewhere in the south.[118] Was there continuity from this early phase, through to the lead seals of dioiketai which name Cyprus? It is difficult to say; and unless the earlier category are found in Cyprus (rather than in Istanbul) there is really no way of knowing that they are Cypriot: there could be more of them than we know about.

By the ninth century, the archon and the dioiketes are almost the only officials of the civil government who seal in Cyprus. But there was one other official with a Cyprus-wide brief, already in the ninth century, namely the kommerkiarios – known from a single lead seal of a certain Ioannes, imperial silentiarios and kommerkiarios 'of Cyprus'.[119] Another lead seal of a kommerkiarios, which does not name Cyprus but which was presumably found in Cyprus, as it forms part of the old collection in the museum, is of Laurent Type V. The post-965 seals of kommerkiarioi give a clearer idea of their role in taxing long-distance trade, much of which

117. Jenkins, 1953; Photius, Epistolae (ed. Valetta), p. 527, no. 213. Jenkins speculates that a Staurakios who later was katepano of the Mardaites of Attaleia may have been the same individual.

118. *BLSC* 144, 145.

119. *BLSC* 215 (= Zacos II, 1074).

entered the Empire via Attaleia.[120] Their presence in the ninth century gives an unexpected glimpse of commercial activity in the 'treaty' period. It is intriguing in terms of Arab-Byzantine relations, and also for the afterlife of the coastal towns.

After the middle of the eighth century, lead seals of the archbishops become very scarce. One finds, however, a variety of seals of officials extrinsic to Cyprus. The latter help to demonstrate the continuing concern of the central government, even if it did not amount to much help. For example, from the late eighth century, there is a lead seal of the logothete of the Dromos, found near Polis.

Alongside a shrunken cadre of imperial officials, however, the village became increasingly the focus of local administration. Local matters were dealt with by a village court composed of the heads of households or of extended families, the *oikodespotai*. Its meetings were no doubt informal: one should not imagine that agenda papers were circulated, nor minutes kept. But the central government recognized the social reality, and the Farmers' Law came to codify this form of adjudication.[121]

7. Lapithos, Kyrenia, and Polis

Under the northern slopes of Mount Kornos (3,106 feet), copious springs, comparable in usefulness with the spring at Kythrea, permitted extensive irrigation around Lapithos and Karavas. But the prosperity of Lapithos went beyond what its natural endowment made possible. At the time of the Arab invasions, Lapithos had been home to some conspicuously wealthy people, whose treasures of gold, silver, and jewellery have been found in the vicinity of the Acheiropoietos or on the acropolis.[122] The destruction of the city by fire (for which there is good evidence) has been mentioned above.[123] Whether it was sacked in 649 or 653 is not known: the large Lambousa hoard of gold coins should be the most exactly dateable evidence, but it has for many years been inaccessible for study. What became of the city after the raid is known only sketchily. The city walls were repaired, at some stage, by the eparch Leontios. Dikigoropoulos argues that new city walls were built, with a much reduced perimeter, and he draws attention to two coins, of Constans II and Constantine IV

120. See below.

121. Angold, 1995, p. 325.

122. See the Appendix to Chapter I.

123. See p. 396.

respectively, which point to the economic recovery of the city.[124] Two coins is not much, even if they are securely dateable. Better evidence of the city's continuing role after 653 is that lead seals of the eparch Sergios have been found there. It is known that very large numbers of lead seals have been found at Lambousa (the modern village), where the villagers used to supplement their income by beach-combing for lead seals, which they carried off to Nicosia, where they were sold to be melted down. How much historical information have we not lost in that way! - At least the sibyl knew what she was doing. We may safely assume that a good proportion of these copious finds were post-653 in date. The A. C. Greenwood collection, in which between 70 and 80 lead seals are preserved, records their provenance as 'from Lambousa and Kyrenia'.[125] That may mean that he bought lead seals in Kyrenia, but was aware or was given to understand that most of them came from Lambousa. Particular interest attaches to the lead seals of a Bishop Ioannes, arguably bishop of Lapithos in the 680s, of which no fewer than 40 specimens survive, mostly from the Petrakides archive (in which they were the most plentiful variety).[126] Other finds from Lambousa are even post-700 in date.[127] Thus, the sigillographic evidence makes it very clear that Lapithos was restored, at its old site; and there is, at the least, a plausible case that it became for a time the seat of the civil government, after the sack of Constantia in 649. (But archives on the Campanopetra site suggest that the archbishop may have remained at Constantia.)

Of lead seals stated specifically to be from Kyrenia (as opposed to Greenwood's 'Kyrenia or Lambousa'), only one is on record, from the eleventh century. A leading question: if Kyrenia had been the seat of the civil administration of Cyprus in the ninth-tenth centuries, what evidence of it might we expect to find? – A dearth of evidence of any kind, whether documentary, archaeological, numismatic, or sigillographic means that we should not depreciate any positive indications just because they are slight. Likewise one should be sensitive to negative indications, even if they are tenuous. The destruction of central Constantia in 649, and its evident openness to attack from Syria were reasons enough to abandon the city in

124. Dikigoropoulos, 1961, p. 236 and n.4. The coins are dated 659/63 and 670/80.

125. *BLSC*, pp. 41-3, 63-4, and 115-16.

126. See the discussion under *BLSC* 433. Another possibility is that the bishop of Lapithos was locum tenens or deputy for the archbishop when he was in Nea Ioustinianoupolis. That would perhaps move the date of the archive forward a few years.

127. Including, for example, *BLSC* 716b and 718.

its role as the political capital of the province, even if the archbishop continued to reside (as has been suggested) in the monastery of St Barnabas. The northern coastlands, protected by the steep slopes and restricted passes of the Pentadaktylos range, were far less exposed than the southern coastlands of the island; and Kyrenia's harbour was guarded by its castle. 'Most people sail for Cyprus', says the anonymous author of the Life of St Constantine the Jew, 'from Attaleia'.[128] Kyrenia was an obvious destination (although if it was a naval base, Soloi and Lapithos would perhaps have been preferred destinations for merchants or private travellers).

Excavations on the south side of Kyrenia castle in the 1950s revealed a Byzantine defensive wall with three pentagonal towers closely spaced (10-12m apart). Its date of origin is widely disputed. The prow-shaped towers are not closely dateable as such, being a feature of Byzantine military defences during a long period extending from the seventh to the tenth centuries.[129] Dunn even suggests, tentatively, that the Kyrenia towers are from the time of Heraclius.[130] The closest architectural parallel comes from the inner circuit at Ankara, where the walls of the citadel, with numerous pentagonal towers only 8-11m apart, are dated to the reign of Constans II and were, according to several surviving inscriptions, rebuilt in 859.[131] On that basis, Foss and Winfield incline towards the view that Kyrenia's fortifications were in existence during the 'treaty' centuries; whereas Laurence[132] suggests that they were constructed after 965. Clearly one should reserve judgement. Future archaeological investigations in the centre of Kyrenia may yield new evidence. For the present, the urban chronology can only be described as extremely tenuous. We are certainly in no position, for example, to connect public building works in Kyrenia with the creation of the theme in the later ninth century.

The question of urban functions at Kyrenia has been linked, by Papacostas, with the transfer of the seat of government to Nicosia, which in his view occurred promptly after 965 (but from where?). And he sees a

128. Ryden, 1993.

129. Megaw, 1985, 210-14. A convenient plan, showing the three towers, will be found in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, Wisconsin, 1977, p. 201.

130. A. W. Dunn, 'Heraclius' "reconstruction of cities" and their sixth-century Balkan antecedents', in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*, Part 2 (= Studi di Antichità cristiana publicata a cura del Potificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 54).

131. Foss and Winfield, 1986, pp.133-6 and 143-4. Laurence, 1983, 215.

132. Laurence, loc.cit.

continuing association with Nicosia, for which Kyrenia served as the port, thereby gaining in importance.

If the archon had his seat on the coast, either before or after the time of Basil's short-lived intervention, few archaeological traces need remain.[133] It is possible that the region immediately around Kyrenia would have benefitted economically from his presence. From near Bellapais (Mersinero) there is a lead seal of the late eighth or early ninth century, of a strategos Theodoros,[134] – which is an unexpected provenance. From Kazaphani (between Kyrenia and Bellapais) there is a copper coin of Nicephorus I (802-11), and there is another from Trimithi. These are highly unusual for Cyprus. Again, from Ayios Epiktetos, on the coast 6km east of Kyrenia, there is a copper coin of Basil I, which is almost as unusual. Together these little scraps of information hint at an administrative role for Kyrenia in the ninth century.

From Polis, from the Princeton University excavations, it seems that there is very little evidence dateable to the eighth-tenth centuries, other than a copper coin of Leo V (813-20),[135] but there are important stray finds from the immediate vicinity, including the lead seal of an archon (apparently relatively early), and another of the logothete of the Dromos (late eighth century). The provenance of an important hoard of gold coins, among the latest of which were five solidi of Nicephorus I, was at first said to be very close to Polis. That may be the truth, but the finders have regrettably been less than forthcoming.

There need be little doubt that the north-western coasts enjoyed (briefly?) an unprecedented administrative prominence in the late eighth/ninth centuries, through being the nearest parts of Cyprus to Constantinople, and the furthest from the threat of Arab attacks. The appointment of a kleisourarch signals a determination to hold the north-western bridgehead against any military threat from the Mesaoria. The reign of Nicephorus I and the years immediately following seem to be a key moment. Closely dateable evidence is in short supply, and much of what there is has come to light only in recent years. It is reasonable to hope that the picture will come into sharper focus as new information accrues.

133. When the present regime in the north of Cyprus is changed, important archaeological opportunities may arise.

134. *BLSC* 272a, q.v. as to his strategeia.

135. This assessment may change when the final report is available. The coin, excavated in 1984, was shown to the writer at that time.

8. Isolated pockets of prosperity. The Karpas peninsula.

The narrow Karpas peninsula, stretching for more than 40 miles, was remote from the main towns and settled areas of Cyprus, except by sea. To reach Cape Apostolos Andreas by land was a long trek. For many purposes the peninsula was closer to south-eastern Asia Minor than it was to the rest of Cyprus. That is a perennial theme, reflected for example in its church architecture, and also apparently in the genetic background of its population. Its spine, rising to over 600 feet, is geologically a declining continuation of the Pentadaktylos range. In Byzantine times, the higher ground was perhaps forested. Within 12 miles of Cape Apostolos Andreas, and on the north coast, lay the city of Karpasia (today, Ayios Philon), which was the seat of a bishop in the sixth and seventh centuries. Even closer to the cape was the ancient city-site of Ourania, with Aphentrika near by. In spite of its remoteness, a significant number of Byzantine churches were built in the peninsula, including a surprising number from the 'treaty' centuries. The local wealth and prosperity of which they should be a good indicator lead one to ask what economic activity or what locational advantage the Karpas enjoyed. Timber extraction and possibly ship-building come to mind, and there was good-quality building-stone. In the race for naval supremacy in the late seventh/eighth centuries, the relatively short haul for timber, downhill from the spine of the peninsula to the northern coast may have been exploited. One should admit that archaeological traces of such activity remain to be identified – if indeed they left any traces.

Already in the early fifth century there was an impressive basilica (with a baptistery) at Ayia Trias;[136] and from the late fifth or sixth centuries there are column basilicas at Ayios Philon, Aphendrika (two!), Ayios Photios (five miles west of Rizokarpaso), and Panayia Sycha (five miles south-west of Rizokarpaso). All these are towards the far end of the peninsula. The basilica at Ayios Philon had expensive pink marble columns and capitals, imported from Asia Minor. In addition there is the more famous (or infamous) Panayia Kanakaria, quite high on the ridge at Lythrankome, and the Panyia Kyra (near Livadhia). These last two preserve sixth-century wall mosaics of outstanding quality,[137] which again suggests a high degree of local prosperity at that early date. The late classical basilicas were destroyed presumably at the time of or as a result of

136. Megaw, 1974, p. 67 and n.34, also p. 70, fig. D. One wonders whether Ayia Trias could have been the precursor of Ayios Philon as the episcopal church of Karpasia.

137. See pp. 314f.

the Arab raids, and replaced in due course by pier basilicas, usually barrel vaulted. The two splendid apse mosaics were diligently preserved – which, being so unusual, perhaps suggests that ruined churches were normally demolished before rebuilding. The exact date (or dates) of rebuilding would be of considerable interest for our whole understanding of what was going on in the Karpas peninsula. One would like very much to know whether it was before or after the 690s. The best that can prudently be said on architectural grounds, however, is 'between the late seventh and the ninth centuries'. More to the point, the Karpas had far more than its share of Cyprus's barrel-vaulted basilicas. Both the destruction, and the early replacement of the late classical basilicas, can also be interpreted as signs of the economic strength of the region, which might not otherwise have been suspected. The historian may wish to ask himself whether the rebuilding of handsome churches, and the absence of any material evidence of an Arab occupation does not suggest that the peninsula was free from strategic threat (although it would have been relatively easy to occupy, or to interdict to the Byzantines).

The lead seal of an honorary consul,[138] and a coin of Constans II, were found in the vicinity of the Kanakaria church. The seal is likely to be from the very end of the seventh or the early eighth century, and the coin could still have been in circulation at the same date. But this evidence is in itself far too slender to build on.

The Panayia of Aphendrika, in particular, was a quite large, three-aisled basilica (roughly 30 metres by 20), while the adjacent church of the Asomatoi, also three-aisled, and of similar date, was about 15 metres by 12. Although not the seat of a bishop, Aphendrika may have exercised some of the functions of a town.

The city of Karpasia itself (Ayios Philon), only three or four miles to the west of Aphendrika, was impoverished by the Arab raids, as archaeological investigation has shown.[139] It is difficult, with limited information, to reconcile its decay with the initiative of reconstruction just along the coast. It has been suggested that the bishop's seat was moved a couple of miles inland to Rizokarpaso, but there is very little evidence, other than perhaps the place-name.[140] Perhaps the analogy of Kourion and Episkopi suggested the idea.

138. *BLSC* 163c.

139. See pp. 272-5.

140. Papacostas, vol. 2, p. 65.

The evidence of coins hoards for the development of the Karpas peninsula, although potentially interesting, is unfortunately much too summarily recorded to be of use. A hoard of 56 (or more) folles of Constans, apparently without countermarks, plus two of Heraclius, may very well date from 649/50, but that cannot now be verified because we do not know in detail the types represented in it. The hoard was found in 1970, somewhere in the Karpas peninsula. More intriguingly, there was a hoard of 32 gold solidi from Ayia Trias, which is on the edge of high ground, and well along the peninsula. Frustratingly, its date of deposit is unknown: all that is reported is that it contained coins 'of various emperors'. It could be a late eighth/early ninth century hoard, but that is only a numismatist's guess.[141]

In the 860s or thereabouts it seems that the patriarch of Jerusalem was involved in the repair of the Kanakaria church at Lythrankomi.[142]

Such, then, is the evidence, fragile enough, to suspect that shipbuilding, or at least the supply of timber, may have given the Karpas peninsula a strategic value, and a certain economic boost, after the Byzantine fleet was lost at the battle of Phoenix, in 654/5, and perhaps through the eighth century. Coastwise links with Kyrenia may be presumed. The archaeological potential for a better understanding of the region during the 'treaty centuries' depends on more exact, and dateable, information which (other than at Ayios Philon) is lacking. Continuing activity is suggested by yet a third church at Aphendrika, namely the little church of Ayios Georgios, with twin apses and a dome. It seems to belong to the eighth/tenth centuries.

9. The shift to settlements at higher levels?

The detailed statistical study of internal migration becomes possible only when we can begin to analyse the evidence of heritable surnames. A survey naming all the heads of households in a village is the minimum requirement for demographic analysis of that kind.[143] The patterns of relocation usually turn out to be more dynamic and more complicated than one would have supposed. It should be obvious that no demographic research based on personal names is feasible for Byzantine Cyprus. It

141. Ayia Trias was abandoned in the late eighth century, according to Papageorghiou, 1993, p. 49, n. 69.

142. See p. 225.

143. In fourteenth-century England, where poll-tax records (for example) begin to survive, surnames based on village names offer a way into the problem.

would, however, be worth looking further into the regional incidence of genetic variation or of susceptibility to disease. For example, Plato and colleagues have demonstrated a clear difference between coastal villages and mountain villages in respect of the occurrence of favism, associated with glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency.[144] More to our present purpose, they found significant differences between the coastal and the mountain villages in the frequencies of blood-group genes of the ABO, Rh, MNSs, K, and Fy systems. In so far as modern medical data still reflect settlement patterns that are centuries old (a long survival which is quite possible and well enough attested in, for example, Great Britain), the regional contrasts do not seem to be readily compatible with patterns of to-and-fro migration between lower and higher land.[145] Such genetic differences can hardly have arisen in a couple of generations.

One might, on the other hand, conjecture a long-term net migration into the towns because of a higher death-rate there (e.g. from plague), but evidence is wholly unattainable.

What support can there possibly be, then, for the widely-held opinion that the eighth to tenth centuries in Cyprus witnessed a tendency towards the relocation of settlements at higher elevations? The thesis originated, half a century ago, in a form that seemed plausible enough at the time, but rested on remarkably little in the way of hard evidence. Depopulation, especially after the mid-eighth century visitation of the plague, led to the neglect of cultivable land, and the consequent loss of its soil through erosion. (This is of course well known as a one-way process.) When the population began to grow again, the soil was irrecoverably lost, and it was necessary to settle elsewhere, namely at higher levels (where the natural vegetation cover had not been disturbed?). Would soil-wash have been so severe in Cyprus, leaving no flat patches of land that could be reclaimed and worked? So much for the thesis. One ventures to think that the main motive for any relocation upwards that may have occurred will have been undertaken in order to benefit from the greater average rainfall. Rural Mediterranean economies dependent on water resources were fragile: a

144. Plato, Rucknagel, and Gershowitz.

145. The work was based on blood samples taken from boys in (as regards the 'coastal villages') Yialousa (Karpasia) and Syrianochori (near Morphou), and from Nicosia. The mountain villages, in the Troodos, are presumably those shown on their map. The possible weakness of the project probably lies in the lack of sampling in coastal villages in southern Cyprus, from where (arguably) migration up into the Troodos would be more likely to have taken place. Thoughtful and very specific sampling is the key to the quality of the results in work of this kind.

succession of dry winters could well be catastrophic for dry farming regimes, forcing villagers to abandon their lands. A major study by Grivaud[146] has elucidated the characteristics of such desertion in the Lusignan and early medieval periods. He reminds us that upward migration at times of disaster has a counterpart, less visible in the evidence, in a steady trickle down again from the mountainous regions in better times, to the coastal plains and the Mesaoria, where there were opportunities of greater prosperity through an exchange-based economy. Even with the benefit of the Venetian archives and of modern statistics, the whole process can only be reconstructed sketchily, to put it mildly. One should not exaggerate its extent. For the Byzantine period, the detailed evidence is almost completely irrecoverable, but the essentials of periodic drought and of regional variation in rainfall will have been similar then and now, and the analogy with Lusignan times may help us to interpret such slight clues as present themselves.

The evidence is, in principle, both negative and positive: an absence of archaeological information in the lowlands, and its limited presence in the upland regions. It has been remarked that, after the intense occupation of the coastal regions in the late Roman period, field surveys can show virtually nothing from the Byzantine period, particularly after the Arab raids. In western Cyprus this is the case even from the time of Justinian onwards. (The possibilities of moving to higher ground may have been easier in the west?) The hiatus has been cautiously qualified as being perhaps more apparent than real – if, for example, post-700 pottery is present but has not been recognized as such.[147] One article written on the topic has the eye-catching title, 'Where have all the farmers gone?'.[148] Another makes the claim that the regional distribution of olive-presses reflects the move to higher ground in the middle Byzantine period (although how accurately olive presses, highly traditional in their design, can be dated is problematic.[149]) The severe loss of population at the time of the Arab raids may have had the same sort of negative results as the cumulative drought which Grivaud identifies, and it may be difficult to distinguish on the ground between the effects of depopulation and of drought. If desertion can be convincingly dated to before 649, as in western Cyprus, the case for climatic fluctuation as the root cause becomes more doubtful: why there if not elsewhere in Cyprus?

146. Grivaud 1998.

147. Given and Knapp, 2003.

148. McClellan and Rautman, 1995.

149. Hadjisavvas 1992.

The idea of a widespread migration to higher levels, provoked by prolonged drought, in the 'treaty centuries', has gained a certain currency, but it is by no means without its difficulties. It could be a big mistake to assume that the higher levels were at that time vacant and unexploited, so that people could easily move into them at will. And the taming of vacant land is not achieved in a year or two, much less the cultivation of trees. There is a very different clue to the realities of land utilization in charters such as those of Kriniotissa, which allot water rights measured by the hour. The Sydney survey of the area of Politiko and Mitsero[150] did not reveal a corresponding increase in settlement in the dark age. On the contrary, in a section entitled 'The Byzantine problem',[151] Gregory sums up the experience of the investigators by speaking of 'the invisibility of the Byzantine period'. He allows that sherds of coarse ware from the eighth to tenth centuries may be very difficult to distinguish from those of the seventh (except perhaps for the cooking-pots); and he casts around for other explanations, such as a marked decline in population, or an aceramic culture. It seems that the question, 'Where have all the farmers gone?' is not, after all, sensibly answered by saying that they migrated to higher levels. Rather one might ask, 'Where has all the archaeological evidence gone?'. The eighth to tenth centuries were in all probability a time of severe impoverishment, in the lowlands and uplands alike. That should be recognized as a major historical perspective. In so far as urban life and prosperity were sustained by integration with the economy of the hinterland, their decline was inexorable. If St Willibald found farmers living in Constantia (where previously there had been, one assumes, a large urban workforce), that was something memorable which a visitor could notice without venturing into the countryside. But the historian will note that this had already happened by 723. The ruin of the Cypriot economy had been quite abrupt. Long-term global warming will not do as an explanation.

Negative evidence is widespread, subject only to some uncertainty about recognizing the local pottery of the eighth to tenth centuries. Positive evidence, on the other hand, is slight. The only category that is firmly dated comprises stray finds of coins. They are by no means plentiful enough to generate clearly contrasting distribution-patterns, although one may hope that that situation will gradually improve. Folles of Leo VI (886-912) and of the reign of Constantine VII (913-59) are found only very occasionally in Cyprus (whereas in central Greece, for example, they are abundant,

150. Given and Knapp, 2003.

151. ibid., pp. 283-4.

with a loss-rate rising strongly throughout the ninth and tenth centuries). Anecdotal evidence suggests that in Cyprus a good proportion of those few come from the region of Pitsillia, but one should not place much weight on that claim. Recovery rates may be skewed, in the sense that there has been relatively little metal detector activity in the uplands. At least one can say for certain that intensive searching in the coastal lowlands of the south has yielded virtually no specimens. An interesting provenance for Leo VI is Statos, just south of Ayia Mone in the southern foothills of the Troodos. Corresponding earlier finds, from the time of Basil I, are virtually non-existent.[152] There was one follis from Ayios Epiktetos, on the north coast, 6km east of Kyrenia, and one from Askas, in the Troodos, west of Palekhori. Grivaud mentions a coin of Nicephorus II found near the abandoned settlement site of Aloni, near Agros.[153]

One should also mention the Islamic lead seals found in the foothills behind Limassol, at Limnatis (a village 11 miles north-west of Limassol, at an elevation of 490 metres, and at Lophou (similarly, 14 miles north-west of Limassol, at an elevation of 780 metres).

10. How pervasive was the Arab presence in Cyprus?

The question of an Islamic presence in Cyprus rests on fragmentary evidence, which should not however be lightly dismissed or depreciated, especially in view of the general dearth of internal evidence. Of what little there is, indications of an Islamic presence form a significant fraction. Nor should we assume a uniform or even a continuous presence through the 'dark centuries'. Where the evidence is dateable (a couple of inscriptions, but mainly the Islamic coins), it should be interpreted primarily in terms of trading contacts. It suggests some sort of upturn in trade in the late eighth century – long after the brief military occupation in the third quarter of the seventh century. The devastating raids of the mid-seventh century were not followed by any sort of *Landnahme* or land-taking: the finds of Byzantine lead seals make that clear enough. If there was Muslim settlement in Cyprus, it came later (perhaps after the ravages of the plague in the mid-eighth century?), and it was low-profile and non-violent, an encroachment over generations.[154]

152. This should be set against the strongly rising trend, from Basil I onwards, at sites such as Corinth.

153. Possibly from a small hoard: see p. 206.

154. It might have begun following the social dislocations which resulted from the raid of 743 or on the lands left deserted as a result of the plague in the mid-eighth century. (But this is mere speculation.) Continuity from the 660s or 670s seems very improbable.

There is a third broad possibility to set alongside trade and settlement, namely overlordship by a small ruling class, which might even have been over villages still settled by, and fields still worked by, the original (Byzantine) population. This third possibility emerges from obscurity, just a little, after the reconquest, when it is reflected (we may think) in the lands taken into the imperial domain, e.g. between the Khapotami valley and the coast.[155] This third possibility could make sense of references in the sources to Arab secular officials.

It has been argued that there was no internal frontier, and that is no doubt correct up to a point, as regards southern Cyprus and the Mesaoria. The watershed of the Pentadaktylos range, however, obviously amounted to a physical barrier or natural frontier, with Byzantine control more firmly established to the north. In the rest of the island there may have been enclaves which had passed under Arab control. How extensive any such enclaves were is an important but a very difficult question. 'There is no unequivocal evidence anywhere', wrote Robert Browning, 'of a territorial division of the island into Muslim and Christian zones, or of the existence of an internal frontier. That would in any case be totally incompatible with the concept of joint sovereignty over the whole population, and at variance with Muslim practice elsewhere'.[156] His robust statement, which unfortunately prejudges the issue, has been nuanced by Papadopoullos, who draws attention to the lack of evidence of any Arab settlements on the island (other than the garrison-town, from which the garrison was apparently withdrawn already by the Caliph Yazid, who agreed to do so in 680/1), the expectation that any such settlements would be urban, and the general lack of material or linguistic[157] evidence of an Arab presence. Grivaud adds the observation that Cypriot villages were never fortified: the process of *incastellamento* is lacking in the ninth and tenth centuries. These historical opinions, which draw on an awareness of what happened in Syria and elsewhere, share one weakness as regards the period 691-965, namely that they rely heavily upon the absence of evidence of an Arab presence, when evidence of any kind relating to the internal condition of the island is extremely scarce and fragmentary. That being so, it would be hazardous to treat the absence of evidence as negative

155. See pp. 546-9.

156. Browning 1977-9.

157. Goodwin's *Historical Toponymy* recognizes a mere 0.4 per cent of place-names as deriving from Arabic. The lack of early forms means that most observations are at best speculative; they may even be tainted by a political agenda.

evidence. In fact, there is a significant amount of positive evidence, the neglect of which is to be deplored. Most obviously, the creation of a kouratoreia of Cyprus, after 965, makes it certain that Arab landholdings were confiscated at the time of the reconquest – as had happened at Melitene in 934, and in several other frontier districts subsequently: Mesopotamia, Tarsus, Antioch, and Artach. The extent of the crown lands in Cyprus was, in all probability, the mirror image of the extent of Arab landholdings in 965 – less any that the emperor had given away subsequently. We have, unfortunately, no way of judging what the extent of the crown lands was, beyond observing that it was large enough (and scattered enough) to warrant the creation of a curatorship 'of Cyprus'. Elsewhere, curators typically had the rank of spatharokandidatos, but the dignity (if any) of the Cypriot kouratores is not known.

A possible clue, mentioned above, lies in the holdings which were given by the emperor for the support of the Judaean laura of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch. This exceptionally large monastic estate lay between the Khapotami river and the coast, a substantial tract of land which presumably at some point had passed into the imperial domain. Had it been under Arab control in 965? There is, unfortunately, no positive evidence. If it was Arab-owned or Arab-controlled, that may perhaps not require that it was settled by Arabs, merely that the lordship was in the hands of Arabs, who took the profits or the produce that would later accrue to the kouratoreia.

The lead seal of a horreiarios of Paphos (if the reading of the place-name is correct) may be regarded as supplementary evidence pointing in the same direction.[158] The produce that was stored in the warehouses (horreia) was presumably for export.

The recent discovery of a second specimen of a lead seal of a kleisourarch, in an old collection in Cyprus, strengthens the probability that both specimens are indeed Cypriot,[159] and that they are evidence that a kleisoura was created at some date – although it was not necessarily of

158. But note that Seibt has queried the reading Paphos. If his observation is correct, the seal will not be Cypriot at all.

159. The Hubbard specimen, *BLSC* 212, was doubtless found in Cyprus, and perhaps in the Kyrenia district, where Hubbard resided. The second specimen could in principle have been purchased by a Cypriot collector while he was travelling abroad, but that is special pleading, and its close similarity to the first makes that less likely. It remains true, and in favour of the Cypriot attribution, that nearly all known seals of kleisourarchs specify their kleisoura: mostly *kleisourarche Seleukias*.

long duration. When exactly this happened is difficult to judge. Perhaps one should consider a date not long after the serious raid of 806,[160] in the time of Harūn al-Rashid, although to judge by the diameter and style of lettering of the two seals, they could perhaps be somewhat earlier, e.g. even from the fourth quarter of the eighth century. The creation of the kleisoura would have been a matter of imperial policy, intended to guard the passes of the Pentadaktylos range and to protect the administrative bases on the northern coastline. It presumably entailed creating settlements, where land was given in respect of military guard duties. We should hesitate to deduce from this a significant Muslim settlement in the south of the island: raiding alone might have been enough to determine imperial policy. We cannot be sure how good the intelligence dispatched from Cyprus was, and to that extent the evidence of these lead seals for the internal condition of Cyprus is less than definite. But to create a kleisoura was, in effect, to create an internal frontier zone, in the traditional political sense of the term, – where, probably, none had been defined before.

Single finds of Arabic dirhams from southern Cyprus, many of them clipped, demonstrate trading contacts with the lands of the Caliphate in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, and to a lesser exent later. The circumstances in which the dirhams were clipped (probably after their arrival in Cyprus?) remain unknown. (Their weights are not tightly grouped.) What one can say, however, is that they are found singly, and over an area extending well beyond the waterfront of the ports, into the countryside. Paphos and its environs seems to be where most of them occur. Omodhos and the Larnaca area are also among the known provenances. The same argument about ambiguity applies with greater force to Arabic gold dinars and their fractions. Gold was acceptable in any context. Several have been found, again, in Paphos and its vicinity, and there is also one from Kourion. The most intriguing provenance is the Halefka pass, in the Pentadaktylos range, north-east of Kythrea, from where a half-dinar of A.D. 763/4 has been reported.

Before leaving the topic of clipped dirhams, one should add that they can rarely be dated exactly,[161] even as to their date of issue, let alone their loss, because the date of a dirham was written in its outer margin – which

160. In *BLSC* a ninth-century date (first half?) was suggested, influenced by the idea that the kleisoura was a run-up to, and directly preceded, the creation of the theme.

161. An expert Islamic numismatist, who has handled quantities of unclipped coins, will have developed an eye for the minutiae of style, and will usually be confident to within a decade or so.

was clipped off. It remains theoretically possible, on the evidence so far studied, that some of these coins were carried to Cyprus by monks and laity who fled from Palestine and Syria in the time of Michael I (811-13). This theory has nothing specific to commend it, and it does not account for the curious phenomenon of clipping, but it should just be mentioned.

Amphoras with cufic inscriptions, such as are on record from Paphos, are almost certainly evidence of trading contacts, but do they offer reasonable proof of residence? At Kouklia, ten miles or so along the coast from Paphos, there is another incised amphora, which has been read as Muhammad bin Qa'ina 'Umar bin / Amat al . . ., in Nashki script.[162] It seems probable that the owner of this amphora (or more to the point, the owner of its contents) was resident in south-western Cyprus.[163]

If finds of Islamic coins and even amphoras are, in strict logic, inconclusive as regards settlement, one is on much firmer ground with Islamic lead seals. They can only have been used by Muslims. There are extremely few compared with finds of Byzantine lead seals, and they are difficult to date. The list of provenances is nevertheless important evidence for an Arab presence in the southern coastlands. The over-all quantities should, to be fair, be compared with the total of Byzantine lead seals from the eighth to tenth centuries in the southern coastlands, which reduces the disparity. Two specimens from the higher ground behind Limassol have been mentioned, and there is a third, die-duplicate, without exact provenance. Three other die-identical specimens are known of a variety which actually reads 'Qubrus', and which cannot, therefore, have belonged to a visiting merchant. One of these is from Limassol, and another, interestingly, from Khlorakas.[164] They could, admittedly, date from the time of the Arab garrison, for anything one can say to the contrary – as might another small lead seal from the excavations at Saranda Kolones, and a further recent discovery from Paphos or nearby, which may possibly also be read as 'Qubrus'.

The Life of St Constantine the Jew tells how, during a visit to Cyprus probably between 846 and 867, as he was praying one day in a church dedicated to St John the Baptist, the Ishmaelite saracens appeared, for (as the author of the Life, writing between 886 and 912 explains) 'they too have been granted citizenship in Cyprus according to a decision made by

162. RRKM 239. Michaelides and Bakirtzis, 2003.

163. Christides, 2006, pp. 65-8.

164. *BLSC* I.1 (p.502), and also 883 (p.556).

those who ruled the Roman Empire long ago as a kind of useful arrangement'.[165] This explanation displays a remarkable lack of historical awareness, even for a monk, with no grasp of how the status quo had arisen. Nevertheless, in its easy-going way, it implies a very definite understanding that Muslims were living permanently in Cyprus as of right. Both Browning and Papadopoullos, whose views were mentioned above, may be judged to have glossed over this clear statement. The anecdote continues by saying that the Muslims stayed in the church for a long time; having performed 'their customary games (*sympaixantes*), they went away. Constantine being afraid hid behind a pillar until they had gone. The word *sympaixantes* (playing together) is clearly intended to express distaste: 'their usual daft games'. But for Muslims to resort to Christian churches as houses of prayer was, and is, by no means unheard of. These men were presumably performing the *sujud*, prostrating themselves in prayer.[166] The author of the Life, by using the word 'usual', seems to betray an awareness that this was not, in fact, an isolated episode.

Moving on into the tenth century: at the time of the Arab-Byzantine war of 911-12 there were, on the testimony of Nicholas Mysticus, Saracens resident in Cyprus, who were attacked, captured, and some of them killed by Himerios.[167] This was a *casus belli*: the (Byzantine) Cypriots were held by the Caliphate to be under a treaty obligation to rescue them and 'to restore them to their own place'. That can only mean, their own place within Cyprus, as it would otherwise have lain outside the power of the Cypriots to help. It sounds like a reference to enclaves, and it certainly implies that Muslims were living in Cyprus. According to al-Tabari the imam of the Muslims in Cyprus appointed their leader.[168] Istakhri describes Cyprus as 'inhabited by Muslims'.

The tenth-century geographer Ibn Hawqal, writing in c.977, but doubtless drawing upon information from before the Byzantine reconquest, compares the situation in Crete and Cyprus, in his Sourat al-Ardh.[169] 'Cyprus was different from Crete', he says, 'because the situation

165. Ryden, 1993, referring to c.38.

166. And yet prayer rugs were familiar enough to Christians, who used them too: see C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, Birmingham, 1981, pp. 48-57, at p. 52. (Repr. in C. Mango, *Byzantium and Its Image*, (Variorum reprints) London, 1984, with additional notes on *epeuchia*, in the addenda.

167. Ep. 1, 116-128.

168. M. Canard, in *Bull. d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 13 (1949-50, 62, n.5).

169. *Ibn Hawqal, Kitab Surat al-Ard*, edited by J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938; translated by J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, Beyrouth-Paris, 1964.

of its inhabitants was not the same. It was divided into two, one part for the Byzantines, and one part for the Muslims, who have an emir (prince) and a hakem (governor) in the island. The Muslims controlled the Christians of the neighbourhood and the Christians were divided into two streams. And what has caused the loss of these two islands conquered by the enemy is the spread, among the inhabitants of the frontier zones, of jealousy, treason, wandering, assassinations, the corruption of morals . . . Between Jabala and Cyprus the distance is two days [sailing].'[170] Ibn Hawqal's statement that Cyprus was divided into two may be to some extent a generalization. It has commanded little confidence among historians. But his description of the breakdown of the social fabric specifically in the frontier zones is highly intriguing. With nothing beyond his laconic comments to interpret, one should take care not to speculate too freely. The implication of his remark seems to be that by taking refuge across the frontier, lawless characters could escape from the normal constraints.[171] The naming of two officials is more circumstantial evidence, and is less easy to depreciate. If the Muslims controlled the local Christians, it would seem that settlement was mixed. We have, unfortunately, no corroboration for these particular statements. If they are to be believed, they are of considerable historical interest. What Ibn Hawqal means by saying that (from his viewpoint) the Christians were divided into two streams is opaque.[172]

Ibn Hawqal (again) writes, 'In Cyprus there is mastic of good quality, and gum in abundance. One finds there silk, linen, wheat, barley, cereals, and wealth in an abundance which it would be difficult to describe'. (There is no mention at this stage of cotton, nor of sugar, which seems to have become a major crop in southern Cyprus only much later, in Lusignan times. Sugar cane (*nuzhat*) is however mentioned by Idrisi, writing in the middle of the twelfth century.[173]) His glowing account may well be over-enthusiastic, but there is no reason to dismiss it out of hand. It implies an exchange economy, and production geared to exchange. It would make very little sense to think of what ibn Hawkal mentions as an entrepôt trade, of commodities produced elsewhere than Cyprus, and on their way to

170. This is the Gabala (modern Jeble) to which the 32 men of Kition had sailed in the 780s.

171. In the same way, the westerly border lands between England and Scotland were for centuries insecure, and plagued by cattle stealing, etc. No doubt other examples could be adduced.

172. Possibly he means two different social/religious attitudes towards their Muslim neighbours.

173. Christides, 2006.

Attaleia: why buy goods that the Caliphate was just in the process of exporting to the Empire? Another geographer, Shams al-Din (Muqaddasi), writing in 985, offers a similar assessment, although without itemizing the exports, and without the degreee of close observation shown by Ibn Hawqal. Cyprus, he says, in his *Description of Syria*, 'is full of populous cities, and offers the Muslims many advantages in their trade there, because of the great quantities of merchandise, fabrics, and goods which are produced there. The island is in the power of whichever nation controls these seas. It lies distant across the water [from Syria] a sailing of a night and a day.'[174] In that account, one focuses on the mention of fabrics, – of a quality worth exporting. Other categories of evidence would lead one to suppose that the tenth century was the very nadir of Cyprus's dark age. At a time when there is exceptionally little evidence of monetary circulation, one would never have guessed at a thriving export economy. Yet it seems that Arab merchants were visiting Cyprus. Whereabouts did the buying and selling take place? Were there any towns, within which markets might be found? Or did the merchants travel around the villages? Were they trading mainly with their co-religioists in the southern part of the island?

The reconquest of Crete, and that of Cyprus in 965, were made possible by reforms in the army. Part of the political motivation (in the shorter term) may have been the intention to deprive Egypt of strategic materials for its fleet, namely access to timber for ship-building.[175] If that was so, we may read back into the period before 965, when the Egyptians were presumably acquiring timber from Cyprus. There were plenty of suitable trees in the Troodos, and they were a renewable resource. Felling and trimming them, and transporting the trunks to the coast involved quite a lot of labour, and a familiarity with the forests (as was the case in the early ninth century, discussed above, when beams were supplied for the repair of the Holy Sepulchre). Assembling a shipload of timber on the quayside of one of the ports, ready for loading, was no doubt undertaken by Cypriots, and the Egyptians will have paid them for their work. That in no way alters the strategic implications. Ibn Hawqal (again) does not mention timber, but his account gives a clear picture of an economy geared to trade.

174. Le Strange, 1896; Cobham, 1908, p. 5.

175. Jacoby, 2000, p.35 argues that although no original documentation survives, it is reasonable to assume that this consideration was uppermost in imperial policy. He notes that in 971 the Empire put pressure on Venice to prohibit the transport of timber, oars, or arms to Muslim countries (ibid., p.36). The ban was lifted in 987-8 by agreement with al-'Aziz.

In short, there is acceptable evidence from documentary sources for the presence of Muslims in ninth and tenth-century Cyprus, and even for a Muslim administration, although that is mentioned only in passing. Coin finds point to contacts with the Caliphate particularly in the late eighth and/or early ninth century. Islamic lead seals may in some cases date from before 680, but in other cases they are almost certainly later – and these offer the best of clear, localized evidence. Their focus is in Paphos and in the Limassol district, overlapping with the clipped dirhams, which have been found especially in and around Paphos (a hundred years later than the garrison – wherever that was) and along the southern coastlands as far east as Larnaca. For the occupied areas, we have to rely on archaeological evidence from before 1974, which is less ample and therefore cannot be directly compared. Such as it is, it hints at a contrast with the south, Islamic material being scarce or absent in the northern coastlands.

Kouratores, it has been suggested, were in charge of imperial estates taken back from Arab possession in 965. Had those estates previously been enclaves under Arab control? That meaning might be read into the account of the war in 911-12, when the Cypriots failed to restore Saracens to 'their own place'. But the forensic trail can hardly be said to lead us very far back into the tenth century, let alone back behind the seven-year theme governed by Alexios.

11. The defence of the north: Maronite and Armenian villages.

It seems that a significant number of Maronite villages and Armenian villages were established in Cyprus, certainly by the twelfth century, and quite possibly by as early as the first half of the tenth century, by transfers of population from the mainland. Traces of the ethnic identity of the settlers have persisted in some cases into the twentieth century, as Kyrris discovered in his fieldwork, in spite of all the upheavals of Lusignan and Ottoman times, and the perennial tendency of local differences to become blurred. To that one may add the evidence of place-names (even if early attestation is lacking), family names, and perhaps even minor aspects of cultural identity, such as icons in the churches of certain Armenian villages where the robe of the Mother of God is painted with crimson, 'in the Armenian fashion'.[176] Genetics, name-studies, and other considerations may be thought to reinforce each other, but they all rest on peculiarities that happen to have been noticed. They are, in that sense, not systematic, and one should generalize from them with care.

176. ibid, p. 170, n.31a.

On top of the evidence of special ethnic identity there is the proposition that the Armenians, in particular, were settled in Cyprus by governmental intervention for their soldierly qualities, for the defence of the province, and in particular as *akritai*, to guard strategic mountain passes. In principle this is, again, reinforced by place-name evidence, even if the correlation is not particularly systematic. Apart from these settlers of modest social rank,[177] who will have had land assigned to them in return for military duties,[178] other Armenians often rose to high positions in the service of the Empire. We find such men in Cyprus too.

With all these general considerations in mind we shall be better equipped to assess the value as evidence of such scraps of information as survive – beginning with the Maronites, where the picture, while full of interest, is probably less complicated by different phases of immigration than it is for the Armenians. The Maronites of modern Cyprus lived mostly in just three villages occupying strategically crucial sites in relation to the Pentadaktylos range (Kormakitis, Ayia Marina Skillouras, and Asomatos). One need not doubt that their forebears have lived there for eight hundred years. Nor need one doubt that they were installed at the western end of the Pentadaktylos range for defensive reasons. It may be that their military or watching duties – the terms of the contract by which they originally held their land – restricted their mobility in comparison with the Greek Cypriots. But that would only have been operative while Byzantine rule lasted. If their ethnic identity has persisted for centuries since 1191, that will be partly because they had more incentive to stay put, within their own religious communities, but partly because there was little mobility for villagers of whatever confession.

There were other villages which lost their Maronite communities during the Ottoman period and later, through attrition. There was Kambyli (entirely Turkish by the twentieth century) in the north-west, Klepini (south-east of Ayios Epiktetos), Vouno (near Koutsobendis),[179] and Koutsobendis itself.[180] There may well have been more Maronite villages,

177. But notice the controversy (not specifically about Cyprus) on the status of the settlers: 'the stratiotes may not himself have cultivated his fields' (W. E. Kaegi, 'Some reconsiderations on the themes (seventh-ninth centuries)', *Jahbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967), 39-53.

178. Cf. in the writer's Wensleydale, place-names from the Anglo-Saxon period including the element *burh-*, such as Constable Burton and West Burton.

179. Gunnis, 1936, s.v.

180. Hill, vol. 1, p. 330.

which have now lost their original character, but which could, in principle, alter the distribution-pattern. Mrs Bardswell adds Karpasia, and Kythrea.[181] Might the Maronites originally have been assigned a whole district at the western end of the Pentadaktylos range, in which their presence has now shrunk to just three villages? – including even Morphou, where the cult of St Mamas was dear to them?

The Maronites in Kormakiti (but nowhere else in modern times) spoke a dialect of Arabic. Historical conclusions have been drawn from the nature of that dialect, but it seems that they are insecure.[182] The liturgy of the Maronite communities was in Syriac. They were, until the end of the Byzantine period in Cyprus, faithful monotheletes,[183] with their own patriarch. As evidence of the date of their arrival, mention has been made of the years 1121, 1141, and 1154, when Maronite monks were appointed to govern their own monastery of St John, Kuzbandu, near Koutsobendis.[184] This information from another region of Cyprus is interesting in itself but is completely irrelevant to the date of original settlement in the region north of Morphou. There is the tenuous evidence that the Maronite or Mardaite chieftain Siman was in touch with John II in 1140-1, a possible occasion for the transfer of military settlers from the Lebanon. But again, it is mere speculation that this affected Cyprus. Finally, and much more convincingly, Paul Massoudi speaks of Maronites emigrating from Syria to Cyprus in the second quarter of the tenth century, after the destruction of the monastery of St Maron.[185] One would willingly

181. Bardswell, 1938-9. She writes, 'A great many of the [Maronite] villages have lapsed'. She describes Kormakiti as having more than 900 inhabitants, all Maronite. Vouno and Kythrea were still partly Maronite when she visited them.

182. Tsiapera, 1969 maintained that it was a dialect of Lebanese Arabic, but this view has been contested.

183. Monotheletism was condemned by the Sixth General Council, in 681.

184. For full details see Papacostas, 1999, under Kuzbandu (Maronite monastery of St John) (6.B.1, 47). There has in the past been confusion with the monastery of Koutsobendis itself. Papacostas identifies the possible site of Kuzbandu as lying between the latter and Buffavento. Mrs Bardswell, however, writing in 1938-9, speaks of the monastery of St Elijah, *below* St Chrysostomos.

185. *Kitab at-Taubîh wa'l Ischrâf auctore al-Masûdî*, tr. J. de Göje, (= Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 8), Leyden, 1894, pp. 153-4; B. Carra de Vaux, *Macoudi. Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, Paris, 1896. Kyrris, 1985, p. 179 and n.66. K. Parry et al., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, Oxford, 1999 s.v. Maronite church: 'The destruction, for unknown reasons, of the Maronite monastery in northern Syria during the first half of the tenth century finally compelled the majority of the Maronite community to emigrate ...'

believe that the Maronite presence on the island antedates the reconquest, and that their settlement at the exposed western end of the northern coastlands was dictated by strategic considerations. It may have been actively sought, as part of the programme of recovery following the devastation by Damyana in 913/14.

The Armenian presence in Byzantine Cyprus would seem to have been numerically much stronger than that of the Maronites, and it goes back in its origins much further.[186] From the sixth century onwards, Armenians were to be found everywhere as subjects of the Empire. Some of them rose to high positions in the imperial service. Because of the added complexities, the tenth- to twelfth-century settlements and their after-life are less readily distinguishable from the historical evidence. Low-profile contacts between lesser Armenia and Cyprus were perennial, and are largely unrecorded. Occasionally there was a greater impetus. In 1136/7, for example, John II transferred the population of the largely Armenian town of Tell Hamdūn,[187] in Cilician Armenia, to Cyprus. Later, Isaac Comnenus brought Armenian troops with him when he arrived in Cyprus. But Armenians had been installed, probably long before, for military duties guarding strategic locations. They had their own villages, such as Platani, Kornokipos, and Spathariko, which are attested in the sixteenth century, but which doubtless grew up at much earlier dates – perhaps soon after the reconquest, or perhaps even before 965. Armenian commanders played a part in the control of Cyprus already in 910/11. Platani guards a narrow gorge giving access to the north coast from the Mesaoria (or vice versa). The strategic location of Kornokipos, a few miles further west, is very similar. Spathariko, a few miles north of Constantia, guards the coastal road to the Karpas peninsula.

The creation of an Armenian (Gregorian) bishopric in Nicosia allegedly in 974[188] strongly suggests that Armenians were well established there before the reconquest in 965: one cannot imagine that they moved in overnight. It may be that after the damaging attack by Damyana in 911/12 ('giving Cyprus over to fire and pillage, and capturing several places, which

186. Procopius III.37.7 mentions the Justinian I planted some.

187. Savvides, 1995, pp. 8-9 claims that this population transfer 'throws considerable light on the fortification of Cyprus by Byzantium'. The Armenian villages guarding the passes of the Pentadaktylos range are arguably a good deal earlier in origin. We simply do not know where in Cyprus the inhabitanta of Tell Hamdūn were re-settled. There is no evidence whatever to connect them with the troops which served Isaac Comnenus.

188. See below, pp.512f.

he fortified') the archon, or even the central government, gave some urgent thought to the defence of the northern coastlands. The creation of settlements of Armenians and Maronites on the flanks of the Pentadaktylos range may have been part of an over-all plan to strengthen the security of the northern coastlands. It is difficult to imagine what sort of evidence one might hope for. The current absence of evidence hardly amounts to negative evidence. With luck, careful excavation might establish a horizon in the first half of the tenth century. Outlying settlements such as Armenokhori, near Limassol, may or may not have been part of the same plan; there is little enough evidence to suggest a date for the northerly villages, and none, so far as one can see, for Armenokhori, that is earlier than the late twelfth century. Limassol itself by that time seems to have had an important Armenian element in its population, and Papacostas postulates a centrally planned initiative to account for it.

12. The migration of the cities, and the afterlife of their sites.

Of the 14 cities mentioned in Hierocles' list, some persist today as the urban centres of modern Cyprus, whereas others have ceased to exist as inhabited places, or else, like Tamassos (Politiko), Lapithos (Lambousa), Tremithus (Tremetousia), or Kythrea, are now mere villages. Yet one should hesitate to assume that they completely lost all urban functions in 649-653, or even in 691. How might one hope to distinguish between residual urban functions, and the existence of a mere village on the old site? The problem is all the more difficult in the dark age, when there was no documentation, no architectural archaeology, almost no coinage in circulation, and so little recognizable pottery. There may have been impoverished habitation which left no readily recognizable (or dateable) traces for the archaeologist to find.

The walls of Lapithos were repaired, perhaps quite promptly after the Arab raids, or perhaps not until the late seventh century: for how long did they stand, and what sort of communal life was maintained inside them? Kythrea was still of sufficient importance to be sacked by the Arabs in 885 x 912.[189] The late antique basilica at Soloi was ruined at some date after 655, when the famous inscription fell to the ground in the atrium. But several amphoras from the excavations seem to be from as late as the ninth or even the tenth century.[190] Fire-blackened amphora sherds excavated in

189. Grégoire 1907.

190. See above, p. 243.

a room adjacent to the basilica date its eventual destruction[191] – or was this just an accidental fire that was confined to one or two rooms? The received opinion has been that the place remained deserted continuously, so to speak, since the date of the last recorded sherds of amphoras, but an Arabic work of geography[192] jolts us out of that opinion. Because the simpler structures of the early middle ages, the houses of ordinary people, have almost everywhere vanished from our sight, the fortunes of a town could have risen in a modest way and fallen again, post-691, leaving remarkably few traces. Where we see only late antique ruins today, can we be sure that the settlement, too, has stood deserted since the late seventh century?

That question is made acute by the *Book of Curiosities*, an Arabic scientific and geographical manuscript of Egyptian provenance, dating from *c.*1020-*c.*1050.[193] In the harbour of Soloi, it says, 'are the ships of the merchants of Cyprus'. The assumption is that the other harbours mentioned by the *Book* were frequented by the ships of Arabic merchants. Were it not for this one sentence, who would have ventured to imagine that Soloi was functioning as a port in the first half of the eleventh century? – Kyrenia, yes; Lapithos, possibly; but Soloi? This is an important piece of evidence in the case for the northern coastlands being a Byzantine stronghold in the 'dark age', and all the more so because the afterlife of the Byzantine cities is almost a blank. Archaeology has nothing to tell us about Soloi in the first half of the eleventh century, doubtless because little or no archaeology has been conducted in the waterfront area – which must have been a bustling place. Was the life of Soloi as the port of the merchants of Cyprus a new development, beginning from nothing, in the early eleventh century? It might conceivably have begun quickly after 965, but that seems a rather unlikely reading of the situation. Consider, as a parallel, the case of Paphos. The harbour there, says the *Book of Curiosities*, 'has 950 ships'. That is a less circumstantial detail, more easily doubted: it may be merely an indication of the size of the harbour, which could be used as the assembly-point for a large fleet. The figure may perhaps be exaggerated. Yet one should not doubt that Paphos was an active port. After extensive and careful archaeological excavation at half-a-dozen sites within Nea Paphos, including sites near the harbour, the numbers of coins found from the first half of the eleventh century can be counted on the fingers, or even the

191. Noret, 1986, and for the archaeological record see Tinh, 1985, pp. 98 and n.115; also p. 112.

192. See pp. 507-11.

193. See below, p. 508, n.27.

fingers of one hand. Correspondingly, the absence of coin-finds of the same date at Soloi should not cast doubt on the statement in the *Book of Curiosities*. That statement does, incidentally, have repercussions for what we should think about eleventh-century Kyrenia – which is discussed below.

In one case at least, a city ceased to exist on its original site because it was demonstrably transplanted elsewhere, in the early eighth century: Kourion was abandoned by its Christian inhabitants in the early eighth century when its bishop moved his seat a mile or so inland to Episkopi. His cathedral was dismantled, and identifiable marble revetments from the old building were re-used in the new cathedral.[194] But it is difficult to imagine that Episkopi was ever recognizably a town. And later, coin finds begin again in old Kourion itself, admittedly in small numbers (but not much smaller than, for example, at Paphos), in the eleventh century. Was that a sign of a new village settlement, or just the new beginning of monetary circulation? Similarly the name (at least) of Lapithos moved a few miles inland at some stage; and one wonders whether there may not likewise have been a connection of some sort between Kyrenia and Thermia.

Constantia, the once-great capital, was eventually abandoned, although not (on the evidence of finds of coins and lead seals) until at least the second half of the eighth century. It seems to be a myth that the remaining population migrated a few miles along the coast to Famagusta (subject to future archaeological exploration of Famagusta: evidence for the origins of the latter is tenuous in the extreme). Eighth-century Constantia has been likened to a village; but there are still some signs of administrative activity. A lead seal of Archbishop Damianos, from the mid-eighth century, has been found on the southern edge of the town;[195] and excavations in the central area in 1959 yielded the lead seal of a strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotes, from the late eighth century or thereabouts.[196] The archbishops perhaps resided in the monastery at Ayios Barnabas, – where they were still fairly close also to the tomb of St. Epiphanios. What became eventually of the relic of St Epiphanios? Its alleged translation to Constantinople in the time of Leo VI (like that of St Lazarus) – or perhaps the alleged identity of what was translated – is based only on very late testimony, and should not be relied on either in itself or as evidence for urban survival into the late ninth/early tenth century. Another rather

194. Megaw 1990-3, 60-2.

195. *BLSC* 455c.

196. *BLSC* 271.

dubious legend is that the relic was removed eventually to Famagusta.[197] Were the shrines, and an archiepiscopal residence, symptomatic of anything that could still be described as urban functions? No doubt the unchanging traditions of the church hierarchy were in themselves an influence for persistence of places where bishops had their seats, but only a modest influence. The old titles of city names for the dioceses were kept, even if the cities themselves were no more. For that reason, the lists of signatories to ecumenical councils hardly amount to evidence of urban continuity in Cyprus.

Paphos – the modern Kato Paphos – seems to have lost much of its local primacy. In modern times, before the coming of tourism, it was no more than a modest fishing village. But what of the intervening centuries? It was of considerable importance in early Lusignan times, and there was a Varangian garrison there in the twelfth century, presumably to secure the harbour. What was the condition of the place between, say, the mid-eighth century and the mid-eleventh? The traditional answer, namely that settlement was dispersed eastwards, for example to Ieroskipou, and possibly also to the higher ground northwards towards Ktima (Pano Paphos) needs to be treated with some critical reserve. At Ktima there was a basilica with a baptistery, in the sixth or seventh century. Ktima enters the historical record only in the early Frankish period – as does Akhelia (l'Echelle = the port). Yet in the early ninth century there was a glass factory at Paphos, on the site of Saranda Kolones, hinting at something rather more than a village craft activity. In the South-East Tower area of Saranda Kolones, quantities of glass were recovered, including wasters. The vessels were mostly cup-shaped lamps, disk-based wine glasses, and a few hanging lamps.[198] The old harbour may have become unsatisfactory, but there are mentions of its use in the early tenth century, by both Arabs and Byzantines,[199] and the figure of 950 ships mentioned in the *Book of Curiosities* emphasizes its unusual (original?) size.

Kition, about which we know so little in Byzantine times, may already have had its port, the later Scala, five or six miles to the north, and with a *raison d' être* in the export of salt. The location of Ayios Lazaros church

197. Papacostas, vol. 2, p. 28.

198. Megaw, 1972, p. 328. Associated pottery included an amphora; and comparable pottery was found in construction contexts, p. 342. Megaw corrects his earlier conclusion: the glass and associated pottery were not *sealed* by the ash layer into which they had fallen; they reflect late eighth/early ninth century activity on the site.

199. Bryer, 1970.

(even if its foundation was rather later) offers some topographical evidence. In 785, we read of 32 inhabitants of Kition sailing off to Gabala for 'the usual work'. One would give something to know what it was. A century later, with the invention of St Lazarus, when Leo VI removed his relics, too, to Constantinople, was this just imperial cupidity, or was it reasonable to think that Scala was no safe place for such a treasure? There will perhaps have been some financial *quid pro quo* for Kition.

The lower town of Amathus may have survived as an impoverished place into the eighth century, but there is remarkably little evidence beyond a cluster of lead seals from the early eighth century to testify to its continued existence. (The migration of the citizens to Limassol may be judged to be another urban myth.) It has been suggested that there may have been a higher than usual survival rate of lead seals from the final phase. (This theory seems to imply either that lead seals discarded earlier had less chance of surviving in the ground in an urban setting, or that there was a flurry of administrative 'winding down'. These are vague hypotheses.) The finds include one seal belonging to a dioiketes, and another belonging to a consul and droungarios, from early in Laurent Type V.[200] Byzantine administration continued to reach out and touch Amathus in the first half of the eighth century. And yet, if the city had existed functionally for a further half-century, what would one expect to have found? To judge by comparison with the archaeology of Constantia, little enough.

The building or rebuilding of churches in the cities in the ninth and tenth centuries, up to 965, is about as near as one can get to specific, dateable evidence of urban function at that time – the necessary surplus wealth, the authority to command it, the perceived need for the building, and the confidence in a secure future. Such churches are few indeed (and very difficult to date securely), and their fewness may be taken, in general terms, as strong negative evidence: city life was moribund.

By the late eleventh century it will have become clear that there are just three large towns in Cyprus: Nicosia, Paphos, and Limassol. Kyrenia, in spite of the strategic value of its harbour, and Soloi were probably places of the second rank. And Famagusta seems to have been even smaller.

13. Lives spent in one village: rootedness.

There is a medical anecdote from a few decades ago about a village child who was suffering from some pitiful and very rare medical condition.

200. *BLSC*, pp.54f.

Doctors in Cyprus, when they finally gained access to the child, could not diagnose the condition, and sent blood samples to various European and other medical research institutes, receiving in due course the answer, 'Sorry, this is unknown to us'. Eventually the Pasteur Institute responded, 'Yes, this condition is known, but it is very rare indeed. It is known to us only in one particular locality in Brittany'. Further research in Cyprus then established that in Lusignan times the Frankish lord of that particular Cypriot village was from the same locality in Brittany. It seems that the genetic mutation had persisted (recessively?) for centuries. Although this story does not relate specifically to the period before 1191, its relevance to the historical demography of Byzantine Cyprus should be obvious.

A great many Cypriots in Byzantine times lived and died in the village where they were born, or within a narrow radius of it. They might move a few miles if they married someone from a nearby village.[201] All this was doubtless more true of mountain villages than of coastal villages. The specialized exploitation of land for its most profitable use[202] generated trade and social contacts over a wider area, but people's roots were in their village. That was where they belonged, and where they came back to. Striking a true balance between the local rootedness and the range of contacts is a puzzling task, where the evidence can be deceptive. Nevertheless the undoubted local aspect of the social fabric constantly influences many other questions in our understanding of Byzantine Cyprus, for example the question of Arab 'enclaves' in the condominium centuries, and it deserves to be addressed. What little we can say about it relates mostly to the twelfth century, but the implications of the very limited geographical (and social) mobility in inland Cyprus were undoubtedly similar from the eighth century onwards, and probably to a lesser extent even before the middle of the seventh century. Without the benefit of census returns showing where each person was born, and without being able to trace descent in local records through heritable surnames, demonstrating the extent of rootedness, let alone quantifying it, there is little that one can add.

201. The writer's home, in the Yorkshire Dales, is in a small town where, two hundred years ago, 95 per cent of the population had been born within a five-mile radius. A lady who grew up on a farm three or four miles away, and moved into Leyburn when she married, spoke of the move in conversation with the writer's wife, quite unaffectedly, as a culture shock. This comment was made in 2002. The historical demography of the dale can be studied from census returns, poll tax records, and the like, with surnames, as far back as the fourteenth century.

202. Ionas, 2005.

14. Summing-up.

The transfer of Cypriots to Nea Ioustinianoupolis in *c.*691, and the extra responsibilities shouldered by the archbishop, as metropolitan of the province of the Hellespont, are best understood in the wider context of the defence of the city of Constantinople against naval attack by the Arabs. Justinian II's foreign policy was revised radically in his second reign, and the Cypriots were able to return to their homeland in *c.*706. A friendlier *modus vivendi* with the Caliphate was established.

The material evidence shows unambiguously that the commercial life of the province reached a low point by *c.*730, when the lead seals of private individuals, previously plentiful, disappear from the record. It seems that the traditional economic networks, on which the great prosperity of Cyprus had been built, finally fell apart at about that date. From *c.*706 and until then, the imperial government had made serious efforts to restore the province's well-being – as testified by numerous lead seals of consuls, imperial spatharioi, etc., in partnership still with the local notables, now with the dignity of honorary eparch. They too disappear from the record.

Along with the economic networks, urban life decays. These two generalizations overlap, but they are not quite the same. Copper coins later than the reign of Tiberius III are rare in excavations. In the circumstances, that does not conclusively prove the end of urban economies; but ceramics also become very scarce (or unidentifiable). In the apparent absence of a currency, it is difficult to understand how tribute payable to the Caliphate (and the matching sums of imperial taxation) were collected.

From *c.*730 until the reconquest of 965 the provenances of coins, lead seals, and inscriptions all reveal a divergence between the northern coastlands and the rest of Cyprus. The distributional evidence is quite clear. The north evidently remained firmly under Byzantine administration. In the south there is evidence of a Muslim presence. In the eighth and ninth centuries much of that evidence could be understood as arising from trading contacts through the ports of the south coast, where Islamic fulus mingled in circulation with Byzantine folles. Umayyad-style ceramics, and Cufic inscriptions, e.g. incised on amphora handles, hint however at Muslim residence, as do Islamic lead seals with 'Qubrus' in their legend. In the late eighth/early ninth century one sees a curious phenomenon of clipped-down Islamic silver dirhams, especially in the Paphos district. Although they are mostly from mints in the Bilad as-Sham, they include north African issues, which point to a wider-ranging trading network.

In the countryside, field surveys yield so little in the way of sherds from the eighth to the tenth centuries, as to have prompted one archaeologist to

ask, 'Where have all the farmers gone?'. The theory of a migration to higher levels (where the average annual rainfall was greater) is however difficult to substantiate. It seems demographically and ecologically rather implausible.

The supposed promotion of Cyprus to the status of a theme, in the third quarter of the ninth century, has left extremely few traces in the evidence (with the possible exception of a painted inscription from the Karpas). Certainly, the province was again being governed by archons in the early tenth century.

There were Muslims living permanently in Cyprus at the time of the Arab-Byzantine war of 911-12, and they are mentioned again, by Ibn Hawqal, as being governed by their own officials, in the third quarter of the tenth century. From as early as *c.*915, probably, the Byzantine authorities were making strategic advances southwards, by settling Armenians and Maronites on the southern and western flanks of the Pentadaktylos range.

It is difficult to judge whether the economy of Cyprus remained flat during the tenth century, or whether there was a gradual, and cumulatively substantial, recovery. By the time of the reconquest, it seems that Cyprus was engaged in foreign trade in a range of agricultural commodities, and was thought of as a rich and productive market by Arab traders.

CHAPTER XIII

FROM 965 TO c.1094

In 965 Cyprus was definitively recovered by the Byzantine Empire, under Nicephorus II. No details whatever survive of the campaign or what it involved, except for the information that it was undertaken by the patricius and strategos Nicetas Chalkoutzes.[1] One assumes that the archon would have been alerted to the intentions of the central government, and had been instructed to offer his full support. Where the archon had his seat is not known – possibly on the north coast. Chalcutzes will have disembarked at a port on the north coast, presumably Kyrenia, with cavalry and foot soldiers, and will have proceeded to sweep the island, a task requiring some weeks, or even months. One doubts whether this was a bloody affair. Any Muslim officials who were in post will have been relieved of their duties. There is no reason to imagine that any walled cities were under Arab control. If there were enclaves or even extensive tracts of agricultural land in Arab hands in 965, peaceful coexistence was by then no doubt the order of the day. Before a show of military force, and without support from the Islamic mainland, opposition will probably have discreetly melted away. The reconquest of Antioch, and northern Syria, was more fraught with the possibility of reprisals; but, with Syria in Byzantine hands, Cyprus after the reconquest was unlikely to face a sudden threat, out of the blue. The strategic parallels with the short-lived episode a hundred years previously have been mentioned above. Although the defence of the northern coastlands against invasion from the south had been insured against by settling Armenians and Maronites in villages on the flanks of the Pentadaktylos range, it is questionable whether the settlers could have repulsed serious military force.

1. John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, Berlin and New York 1973, 270. George Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* (Bonn) II, p. 363 omits the title of strategos; as does John Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum* (Bonn) XVI, c.25, p. 80.

In short, the social and economic reality in the aftermath of the reconquest was, no doubt, that lands in Arab possession were regarded legally as having been recovered by force of arms. They were annexed and became crown lands.[2] Any deserted lands may also have been annexed, together with forested land in the Troodos. A kourator 'of Cyprus' was appointed, i.e. a principal official with responsibilities for the whole province. What proportion of the productive land of Cyprus he controlled, we simply do not know. It may be that it was only a small percentage of the total. But letters of Psellos addressed to such an official congratulate him on having pacified the island,[3] which suggests that the situation was not stabilized overnight, and that he exercised power in a wide-ranging way. If the villagers were Muslims there would have been little sense in immediately dispossessing them, if that would have made the land less productive. The main point was that their labours should be to the financial advantage of the Empire, and not to that of the Caliphate. A kourator of the eleventh century, whose lead seal survives, is named only as 'the son of the foreigner' – ὁ τοῦ Βαρβάρου. It is merely a presumption, but a reasonable one, that *Barbaroi* refers in this case to Arabs, or Muslims.[4] It seems that the (Christian) owner of the lead seal was a Digenis among officialdom. If he spoke Arabic, it may have facilitated his work. His lead seal, which is broken in two but

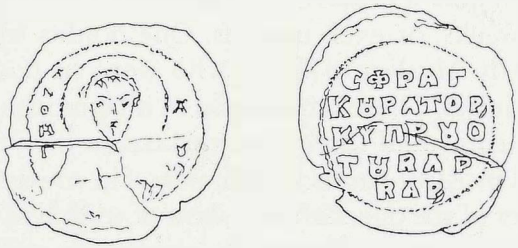


Fig. 27. Lead seal of a kourator of Cyprus, who is identified as ho tou Barbarou. The saint on the obverse is perhaps St Nicholas, which may have been the owner's given name. The reverse inscription, which is complete and fully legible, reads Σφραγ(ὶς) κουράτο(ος) Κύπρου ὁ τοῦ Βαρβάρ(ου). DOC 2.38.11. Enlarged. Konstantopoulos 165 may be another specimen of this variety, from a different boulloterion.

2. Cheynet has expressed the unexpected opinion that they were considerable. He remarks that the public domain was so important that the kourator (of imperial goods) of Cyprus was sometimes also strategos or katepano, i.e. head of the whole administration. Chapter and verse are needed. In principle, lead seals of kouratores would seem to be the only possible evidence, in default of written sources.

3. Psellos, Minora II, nos 80 and 159. The dates of these letters are not known.

4. St Basil the Younger mentions a primicerius.

completely legible (Fig. 27) does not mention any rank or dignity, nor does it designate him as an *imperial* kourator. The same is true of the lead seal of another eleventh-century kourator of Cyprus, named John.[5] Nevertheless the kouratores evidently reported to Constantinople, since that is where their lead seals have been found.

The revenue that the reconquered lands yielded, empire-wide, was considerable,[6] and it may be (if there were wide estates in the south of Cyprus) that they helped to define the province's characteristic place in the Empire, as a useful contributor to the imperial finances.[7] Cyprus was not the power-base for any of the mighty aristocratic families which built military reputations and often contested imperial power in Asia Minor. Rather, it was a quiet island, until it began to be drawn into the mill-race of history again in the later eleventh century, following the defeat at Mantzikert (1071), the loss of Antioch to the Seljuks (1085), and, in due course, the First Crusade. Cyprus then acquired a new geopolitical significance – which was recognized and acted on by Alexius I.

It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to imagine that before that time the island's economy was entirely inward-looking, or that it was lacking in complexity. An interesting range of commodities was exported, and shipping frequented the harbours of both the south and the north coasts. Unexpectedly Soloi, with its anchorage, was a commercial centre or even *the* commercial centre for the Cypriot merchants. Other ports were frequented by Arab merchants. One knows about the list of exports and about the shipping only from the writings of Arab geographers; these activities would otherwise be entirely unsuspected from the evidence of Byzantine writers, archaeology, or numismatics. The almost complete lack of coin finds might well have been construed as negative evidence, if it were not for the Arabic sources – a salutary warning. What surely remains true, however, is that the numismatic evidence serves to create some sort of

5. Nesbitt and Oikonomides make the point from the existence of two officials that the kouratoreia of Cyprus was a semipermanent institution. One might go a little further, and suggest that the office was created promptly after 965, and existed until the date of the lead seal of the *ho tou Barbarou*, into the first half of the eleventh century at least.

6. Howard-Johnston, 1995.

7. Cf. Mitford's observation (chapter X above) that in the senatorial province there were no large imperial properties (except, probably, the imperial copper mines at Skouriotissa and nearby), and that this helped the cities to reassert themselves as prosperity returned in the fifth century. One wonders whether the failure of Amathus and Kourion to reassert themselves in the eleventh century could have anything to do with the existence of crown lands nearby.

trend-line. The question is whether in the medium term the numismatic trend mirrors the economic trend. One may venture to assert that the conspicuous absence of coin finds indicates clearly enough that the reconquest did not result in any rapid or dramatic changes to the island's economy. It was sixty or seventy years before there was a significant increase in the levels of monetary circulation. Stray losses of copper coins begin to become increasingly plentiful only in the second quarter of the eleventh century. This contrast between the early and late eleventh century surely offers systematic evidence of growing prosperity in the countryside. It is matched closely enough by the trend-line in excavation-coins from Nicosia. A comparison with the same categories of evidence from Antioch suggests that while a monetary upturn was delayed and gradual there too, it was relatively even more so – much more so – in Cyprus. A fuller topographical analysis of the find-spots of coinage in eleventh-century Cyprus may eventually improve the quality of the evidence, and help to resolve the conflict between the archaeological and the documentary sources.

1. 'Sent out to govern'.

If coins are scarce, the scarcity of lead seals of early administrative officials (or at least their virtual absence in modern collections) is similarly problematic. It must be assumed that a cadre of imperial officials was dispatched to Cyprus forthwith, in 965. There is however some positive evidence, discussed above,[8] to suggest that the administrative structures of the first few decades after 965, initially with a strategos as the principal official, were different from what became the settled practice of most of the eleventh century. When we come to the year 1043 we are, momentarily, on firmer ground. Civil and military government were already at that point in the hands of separate officials. The revolt of Theophilos Erotikos is described by Skylitzes, who is followed by Cedrenus and others,[9] naming the principal offices as they were at that date. There is no margin of uncertainty as regards the date, as there usually is with lead seals. At the time of the revolt, we are informed, Theophylaktos held the dignity of protospatharios, and the combined offices of judge and tax-collector (dioiketes). Theophilos Erotikos, who stirred up resentment against his colleague on the grounds that taxation was too burdensome, was katepano. According to Skylitzes, it was he who 'exercised the office of strategos on

8. See pp.106f.

9. Cedrenus II, p.549; Glycas, p.594; Zonaras XVII, c. 22. Hill, vol. 1, pp. 296-7.

the island', i.e. it was he rather than Theophylaktos who was the governor of the province. Cyprus was in that sense under military government. One wonders whether the resentment which he exploited arose because of a periodic reassessment of the tax burden, such as was supposed to take place once every fifteen years, i.e. with each indiction.[10] At a time of economic recovery, it may have seemed appropriate to the central government to increase the general levels of direct taxation in the province, on the grounds that the ability to pay had risen. Such a change was always guaranteed to provoke expressions of alarm and despondency.

Thus we see that by 1043 there was no longer a strategos, that civil and military powers were held separately; and that the military official had seniority. He was, in effect, the governor of Cyprus. Viewed from Cyprus, joint rule by the elderly empresses Zoe and Theodora, followed by Zoe's taking the effete and irresponsible Constantine Monomachos as her consort, may have seemed to be a moment of weakness that could be exploited. If so, the revolt of Theophilos Erotikos rested on a political miscalculation. It was brushed aside, and was evidently judged so unthreatening that Erotikos was (surprisingly) punished merely by public humiliation and confiscation of his property. No lead seals of either Theophylaktos or Theophilos have so far come to light,[11] but there is ample evidence that a similar division of civil and military powers was in place up to and during the reign of Alexius I (1081-1118). At some moment between 965 and 1043, this 'normal' style of government had replaced the strategeia. Since we have no sigillographic evidence from the officials in 1043, although we know for a fact that they were in post, we have to admit that the same could be true for the preceding decades similarly. Evidence from recent excavations in Nicosia shows clearly enough that the revolt of 1043 was a moment of change in the history of the city, soon after which money was put into circulation in the capital, and from when the imperial hold on Cyprus was in all probability tightened. By then, if not even rather sooner, a new style of administrative hierarchy was in place. In the second half of the century, many of the principal officials were career imperial servants (as we know from the offices and dignities on their lead seals), drawn from the great families of the Empire, who were sent out to govern Cyprus, as one tour of duty in the course of a varied military or

10. See C. M. Brand, 'Two Byzantine treatises on taxation', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 35-60.

11. But note that *BLSC* 202, personal name illegible, might be a candidate for Theophylaktos's seal. Here, in any case, was certainly someone 'sent out to govern': imperial protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and judge of the Hippodrome and of Cyprus.

administrative career. A colonialist style of government in the eleventh century was not completely novel, nor was it in any way unique to Cyprus. It was not simply a question of the lack of suitable candidates locally for office, although in a largely rural society that will have been a significant factor.

The impression that one gains from the few lead seals that seem to date from 965-1043 is that, governors and tax-collectors apart, the imperial servants whose duties brought them to Cyprus held an assortment of offices and dignities.[12] A largely rural society was being governed with a light hand, and possibly on a rather unstructured or *ad hoc* basis, from Constantinople. Even after the reconquest, in short, it seems that the Cypriots continued to be left pretty much to their own devices, for the next half-century. No doubt our evidence for the governance of the province is very fragmentary and incomplete, and further discoveries may yet reveal unsuspected aspects.

There is just about enough evidence, nevertheless, to encourage the view that the upturn in the fortunes of Cyprus was a gradual process, rather than the result of a direct response by the central government to specific events, such as the Seljuk threat on the mainland (which resulted in the loss of Antioch in 1085). At the same time, adverse events no doubt helped to focus minds in the capital, as regards the enhanced strategic significance of Cyprus. That was to be all the more so after the creation of the Crusader principality of Antioch, which in its early years had wide frontiers, including much of Cilicia. As to what had been happening in Cyprus between 965 and 1043, the limited nature of the evidence should incline us towards the view that the reconquest bore little resemblance to a new broom.

The lead seals from the last third of the eleventh century, and from the rest of the reign of Alexius I, not only represent a sharp upturn in the survival-rate of lead seals, but paint a very clear and consistent picture of a provincial government headed not by a strategos but by two principal officers, one civil and one military. Both were designated 'of Cyprus', as the archons had been. These high offices were generally held by members of powerful and distinguished families. They routinely sent their dispatches to Constantinople, which is where most specimens of their lead seals have been found. Occasionally one can identify the owner (his family name being included in the inscription) in the written sources and very

12. See above, pp.106f.

occasionally, with luck, date his tour of duty in Cyprus. One can thereby propose a firm date for the lead seal. Such instances make a beginning, at least, in anchoring the chronology of this whole group of lead seals securely, which otherwise could only have been guessed approximately from stylistic criteria. The best example is provided by the lead seals of Konstantinos Euphorbenos Katakalon, who is known from written sources to have served as doux (military commander) of Cyprus twice, first at a date before 1094, when he still held the dignity of kouropalates,[13] and then again in 1102-4, with the dignity of protonobelissimos.[14] Elpidios Vrachamios, who was also kouropalates and doux of Cyprus, will have held office at the same sort of date – after 1075, and possibly contemporaneously with the tenure of Philaretos Vrachamios (doubtless a relative) as doux of Antioch (1078-84); or possibly rather later.[15] As can be seen, the evidence is fluid, and holds the potential for greater clarity, if the future adds more varieties of lead seals to the data-base. Until then, one should avoid over-interpretation.

Meanwhile, evidence from the titles of offices can be supplemented, as a guide to chronology, by those of dignities. It seems clear enough that, by the last third of the eleventh century, the dignity of protospatharios had been superseded. Civil officials are thereafter more likely to hold the dignity of vestes, or of vestarches, and military leaders that of proedros. The various combinations and permutations have been set out above.[16] Historically the most intriguing are those lead seals where the civil and military functions are combined in the hands of one individual. If they could be dated more exactly, one could perhaps see whether this combination was just something that happened from time to time, either as a career move or even as a matter of expediency, or whether it reflects imperial policy, the lead seals falling into specific short periods, e.g. as a prudent governmental response to the revolt of 1043. Even when they were held in plurality, the civil and military functions were in principle recognized as distinct.

Nikephoros Melissenos owned a seal on which he is named as magistros, vestarches, katepano, and judge of Cyprus[17] – everything except

13. *BLSC* 146.
14. *BLSC* 147.
15. *BLSC* 148.
16. See p. 110f.
17. *BLSC* 200.

anagrapheus (tax-collector). Could he have been, inter alia, magistros of Nicosia?[18] If so, that might tell us something about the military significance of the town. Nikephoros was the most distinguished member from a great family in Asia Minor in the eleventh century. (He was a Melissenos on his mother's side, his father's family name being Burtzes.) His career, which began around 1065 x 1075, included serving as katepano or as doux in several themes.[19]

Another lead seal illustrating combined functions, which might be even a few years earlier, names Michael, vestes, judge, and katepano of Cyprus. Three specimens have presumed Istanbul provenances, while a fourth was found, intriguingly, in the Doubroudja.[20]

A third category of official with island-wide responsibilities is known: the kommerkiarios of Cyprus and Attaleia. The lead seals of these persons are very scarce and difficult to date, but one or more may be earlier than the First Crusade. Whatever their exact date, they suggest that Cyprus somehow participated in or shared in the long-distance trade in commodities which were imported into imperial territory – as indeed it had done before 965.

It was not only civil and military officials who were sent out from Constantinople. Archbishops of Cyprus, too, were chosen by the emperor (as were all patriarchs), and occasionally even suffragan bishops as well. Usually they were not Cypriots, but belonged to the clerics connected with the court. This practice is well attested in the twelfth century,[21] and may be presumed to have been known already in the eleventh. Doxopatres, writing in the first half of the twelfth century, says 'There are some eparchies which are not subject to the patriarchal thrones, such as the island of Cyprus, which has remained entirely autocephalous . . . It is under its own authority because the apostle Barnabas was found there with the holy gospel of Mark [rectè Matthew] on his chest . . . Therefore to this day Cyprus and Bulgaria receive their bishops from the emperor. [A reference to the exclusion of Cyprus from the Pentarchy. But all the patriarchs were also appointed by the emperor.] These are ordained by their own bishops,

18. Cf. Apnelgaripos, magistros of Tarsos, numerous specimens of whose seal (1072-(?)1078) have been found in the environs of that city – and one, apparently, in Cyprus (*BLSC* 227).

19. Seibt and Zarnitz 1.2.11 and see *SBS* 6. See also *BLSC* 210 (not necessarily Cypriot), which omits his judgeship - on it he is magistros, bestarches, and katepano. It seems that he was essentially a military man, whose judgeship was an extra task.

20. *BLSC* 209.

21. Englezakis, 1996, 90-3.

as has been mentioned, and are called archbishops, since they are autocephalous'. Doxopatres, with no very clear understanding, seems to have thought (mistakenly) that the practice of imperial appointments had existed time out of mind.

2. The revolt of Bardas Skleros.

Bardas Skleros, disappointed in his hopes of succeeding John Tzimisces, rose against Basil II and Constantine VIII in 976, and had himself proclaimed emperor. Cyprus is not known to have been involved in any way in his manoeuvres, but for a time people there felt threatened by them. In 977 Skleros enjoyed considerable military success against the Empire, gaining control of much of Asia Minor, and laying siege to the capital itself. Because the fleet of the Kibyrrhaiotes, stationed at Attaleia, sided with him, Cyprus was for a time, in 977 and 978, isolated from Constantinople. In March 979 Skleros was defeated, and the threat to Cyprus was removed.[22] Evidence that Cypriots had been alarmed by these events (which, after all, were not too long after the reconquest) comes from a funerary inscription in a village church at Syngrasis, which speaks of a time when the Empire 'was in a state of disorder, being troubled by Bardas Skleros'.[23]

3. The 'Book of Curiosities': a map of the ports of Cyprus from before 1050.

The earliest map of medieval Cyprus, compiled in Egypt during the period *c.*1020-*c.*1050, gives information on the island's harbours and anchorages, at a time when we believe that only the first stirrings of renewed growth in prosperity had begun, after the relative impoverishment of the 'dark-age centuries'. The map offers evidence of a detailed knowledge of the coasts of Cyprus by sailors of the Muslim world, and also, in the written comments attached to the map, of trading contacts. A prime concern of the map is to record the wind directions from which each anchorage offers protection. There is little direct mention on the map itself of commercial activity: it could be construed (for the most part) as merely a guide to safe havens, useful in an emergency to shipping that was bound elsewhere – and of the harbours where fresh water might be obtained. But at the foot of the page which the map occupies there is an intriguing list of the principal exports from Cyprus, namely caulking materials, *lādhan* (a resin used in ointment and toothpaste), myrrh,[24] soft wheat, iron sulphate,

22. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*, Vienna, 1976, pp.35-55; Cheynet, 1990, pp. 27-9 and 33-4; Whittow, 1996, pp.361-73.

23. Papacostas, 2002, p.51.

24. The name was applied to a gum-resin that can be produced from several species of Commiphora (Balsamodendron). It was used for perfumery, incense, and medicine.

pitch, vitriol (the raw material from which copper was smelted[25]), and goods imported from Byzantium. This reads rather like a ship's chandler's shopping list. A few of the anchorages marked on the map may be nothing more than places of refuge from the storm, but most are likely to have carried on some trade. What the *Book of Curiosities* says about trade is circumstantial and entirely credible. Its evidence runs counter to one's impression of the still prevailing low state of the Cypriot economy. In the broad perspective, the eighth to tenth centuries had been relatively very depressed, giving rise to the dilemma that, if economic activity in fact persisted, the periods that went before and after must by contrast have been remarkably prosperous.[26] Byzantine copper coinage shows faint signs of returning into use from around the 1020s in south-western Cyprus, and from the 1040s in Nicosia and more generally. Lead seals of senior officials are, as we have seen, found again (but usually in Istanbul) from about the 1060s onwards. The map is judged to relate to the phase of slight recovery up to *c.*1050, and probably to the earlier part of it. It names some 26 anchorages, occasionally mentioning that a place had a church (presumably because it would have been visible as a landmark by which sailors could set their course). Two or three of the entries give other details which, laconic as they are, throw a strong and unexpected light on Cyprus in the first half of the eleventh century. Thus the entry for Paphos says that its harbour has 950 ships. The entry for the harbour of Soloi says that 'in it are the ships of the merchants of Cyprus'. That seems to imply, at the least, that they were concentrated there, or even restricted to Soloi, whereas other harbours were frequented by Arab shipping. At a place called Akrubūnah there is, we are told, a large harbour which offers protection from all wind directions; between it and Syria there is a sailing of one day and part of a night. Between al-Aqrī and Latakia there is a sailing of one night.

The manuscript, which contains information on medieval Islamic views of the cosmos, astronomy, and much else, is of unique interest for its maps, e.g. of Sicily as well as of Cyprus. It is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Arab. c. 90), and is entitles *Kitāb Gharā'ib al-funūn wa-mulah al-'uyūn* (roughly, the Book of Curiosities of the Sciences and Marvels for the Eyes). It is a copy, probably made in Egypt in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, of an anonymous work compiled in Egypt between *c.*1020 and *c.*1050.[27]

25. See p. 527.

26. That is the thesis of Chapter I, above.

27. The internal evidence is that (a) al-Hakim (A.D. 996-1021) is referred to as if no longer ruling, and (b) the Banu Qurrah tribe are apparently still in place in Egypt: they were expelled in 1051/2. The Norman conquest of Sicily in 1070 clearly still lay in the future. Details from the web-site, <cosmos.bodley.ox.ac.uk>, which offers a more up-

It may be that the work repeats some earlier information, from the ninth and tenth centuries.

The map – if one can dignify a schematic rectangle with that name – clearly makes some attempt to arrange places in groups in their coastwise order, in little blocks of place-names (Fig. 28). The names have been edited

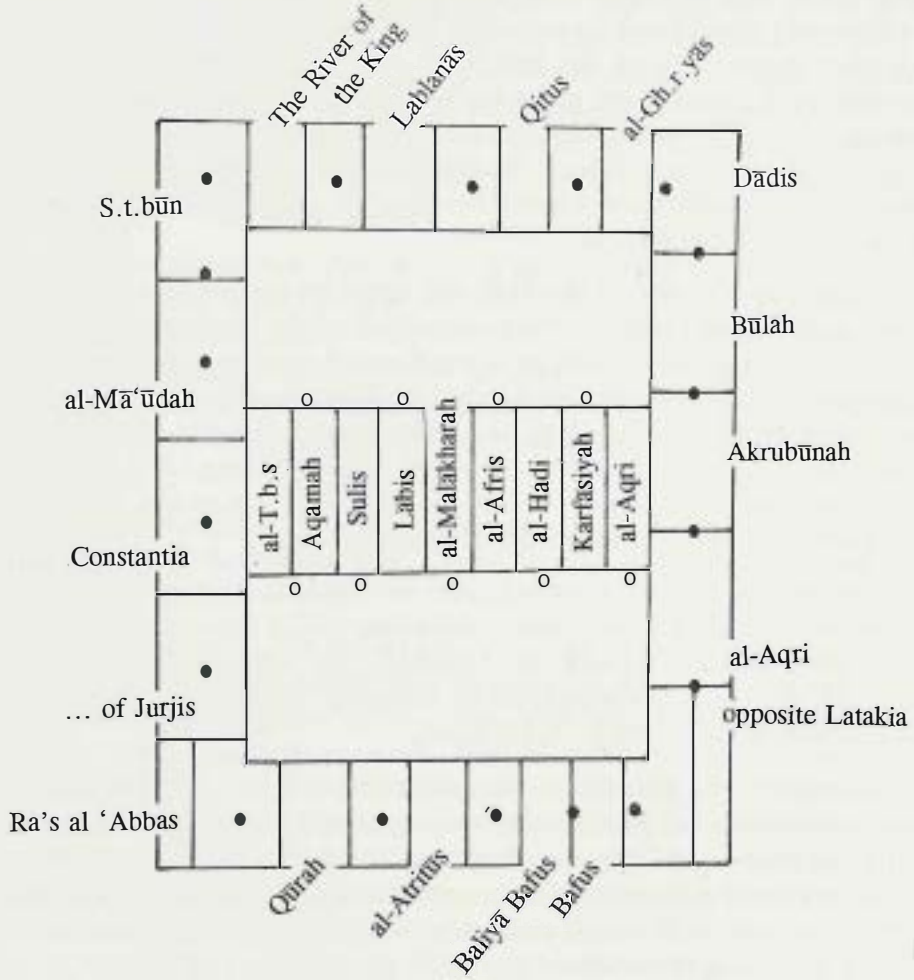


Fig. 28. A sketch of the map of the anchorages of Cyprus, from the *Book of Curiosities* (*c*.1020-*c*.1050). The diagram here substitues English translations of the place-names for the Arabic of the original. (After the DVD in the Bodleian Library.)

to-date assessment than J. Johns and E. Savage-Smith, 'The *Book of Curiosities*: a newly discovered series of Islamic maps', *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), 7-24 and plates 1-7. See also E. Savage-Smith, 'The *Book of Curiosities*: an 11th-century Egyptian view of the lands of the Infidels', in K. A. Rauflaub and R. Talbert (eds), *Geography, Ethnography, and Perspectives of the World from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Oxford, forthcoming.

by Professor Savage-Smith and others. In the text below, the present writer's comments and suggestions are appended in square brackets. Along the lower edge of the diagram clockwise, i.e. contrary to our conventional sense of west and east, are: Bafus, 'it has 950 ships' [obviously Paphos], then Baliyā Bafus [equally obviously Palaia Paphos, otherwise Kouklia, some miles to the east of Paphos], al-Atritūs [the Tretous promontory, near Avdhimou?], and Qūrah [presumably Kourion, from where there are a few excavation coins of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries]. Continuing leftwards, the place at the corner of the diagram seems to belong not to this little block of names, but to the vertically-arranged group on the left-hand side of the diagram. Accordingly it is mentioned below. Otherwise the lower edge of the diagram relates to the western half of the south coast of Cyprus.

At the opposite side of the diagram, along its upper edge, are names which undoubtedly relate to the eastern half of the south coast: reading from left to right, the anchorage of the River of the King, 'which protects from the Euros and the Boreas winds' [the River Vasilikos, — understood and translated by the word Malik: Kalavassos], Lablanās, 'which has a church' [uncertain; could this be Larnaca?], Marsa Qītiyun [obviously Kiti], and al-Gh.r.yās [uncertain; if we are moving from west to east, we should look for somewhere in the vicinity of Dhekelia].

Between the Akrotiri peninsula and the Vasilikos river, in the middle of the south coast, lay two places which one might have expected to be mentioned, namely Limassol and Amathus. One would fully expect that Limassol, at least, was frequented by shipping. Might their omission be because they were barred to Arab vessels?

Inserted in the middle of the diagram, and not on its edge, i.e. diagrammatically not on the coast, are nine places which very clearly were on the north coast of Cyprus (perhaps less frequented than the south coast by sailors from Egypt or Syria?). From left to right, matching our sense of west to east, are: al-T.b.s (or perhaps al-B.t.s) [uncertain], then Aqamah, 'it is the beginning of the island' [certainly the Akamas, the first part of the island to be sighted by ships sailing eastwards from e.g. Rhodes], then Sulīs [Soloi; 'in it are the ships of the merchants of Cyprus'], Lābīs [Lapithos], al-B.lāj.rah (or al-Malākharah) [uncertain], al-Afris [Aphrodision?], al-Hadī(or al-Khasa) [Achaion Akte?], Karfāsiyah [clearly Karpasia], and al-Aqrī, 'which protects from the Notos and Boreas winds' [Cape Apostolos Andreas?]. Al-Aqrī is mentioned again on the map, either because there was too much information to fit into one segment, or perhaps because more than one place was so named. We are told that between al-Aqrī and Latakia

is a sailing of one night; and again, that it is opposite Latakia. Between it and the island of Rhodes there is a sailing of one day and a night with the Boreas [north] wind. There seems to be some confusion. Could all this refer to Kyrenia? It surely cannot refer to Cape Apostolos Andreas.

On the left-hand edge of the diagram, from top to bottom, are S.t.būn ['which has a church and a headland'; unidentified], al-Mā'udah (or al-Mākhāsah [Ammochostos?], 'the fortress called Constantia' [this is problematic, as there is otherwise no reason to think that Constantia had a fortress in the eleventh century[28]], then somewhere of Jurjis, 'which has a church: 'it has 950 ships [has the figure of 950 been accidentally repeated from the entry for Paphos?]. And at the bottom corner, Ra's al-'Abbās [the Cape of al-'Abbās].

On the right-hand edge of the diagram, from top to bottom, are Dādis 'which has a church) [the ancient Dades], Bulāh, 'where the south wind is to be feared, and [fresh] water is far from the place' [uncertain], Ak.d.būnah (or Akrubūnah) 'where the anchorage is large, and protected from all winds. Between it and Syria there is sailing of one day and part of a night' [uncertain, and possibly confused?], and then al-Aqrī, already mentioned.

Perhaps the places in the bottom corners of the diagram are to be read as part of the bottom row. Could al-T.b.s or al-B.t.s be Coral Bay or Cape Drepanon?

That is about as far as one should press the interpretation of the diagram, adding only that all these places were, it seems, sufficiently well known to Egyptian sailors to have names. In some cases they are merely versions of the Greek place-names: Paphos, Palaia Paphos, Akamas, Soloi, Lapithos, Karpasia, and (very probably) Ammochostos (Famagusta). There is no comparison, cartographically, between the map of Sicily and the 'map' of Cyprus in the *Book of Curiosities*. Whoever drew the latter undeniably was in possession of some valid information, but seemingly at second or third hand, and made of it what he could.

4. The early history of Nicosia.

Did Nicosia exist as a tenth-century town before 965? Was there any continuity with sixth-and seventh-century Ledra? These are two distinct

28. Johns and Savage-Smith, loc.cit., read Marsā Salamīs. But the classical name of the city was long obsolete.

questions: Nicosia was certainly built on the site of Ledra, but that tells us nothing definite about its existence or urban functions during the 'dark-age centuries'. Dare one suppose (as has been suggested by Professor Mango) that the contingent from Baalbek for whom Mu'āwiya built a town were based there?[29] Archaeology has until now yielded nothing to support the idea of urban life in the two centuries before 965. There is, however, one often-quoted passage in Etienne de Lusignan's *Description*, memorable for its very implausibility, which speaks of an eighth- or early ninth-century mosque in Nicosia. 'Anciennement y auoit un Temple de Mahomet, edifié du temps que les Sarrasins occuperent ceste isle, par l'espace de quinze ans, vivant l'empereur Charlemaigne'.[30] One asks oneself, from what source could Lusignan (who was of an antiquarian bent) in the 1570s[31] have possibly obtained this information, and how on earth could Charlemagne (768-814) be involved? What was the 15-year period of occupation? Is there here some echo of the raids of 773 or *c.*790, or of the more serious attack by Harūn al-Rashid in 806? Might the Civil War which broke out in 809 have brought refugees to Cyprus? The claim seems so *outré* that one is inclined to ignore it as being unverifiable. The only reasons to hesitate are that Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions Leukousia in his list of the cities of Cyprus; and that there were crown lands in twelfth-century Nicosia, which might have been confiscated from Muslims as early as 965: Isaac II granted to the monastery of Machairas an orchard from the crown domains there.[32]

Other than what Porphyrogenitus says, the most direct and substantial early evidence is that the archon Vahram 'the Armenian' consented to the creation, by the Catholicos Khachik I of Cilicia, of a bishopric for the Gregorian Armenians of Nicosia, in 973.[33] That suggests, even if it does not absolutely prove, that there was an Armenian quarter in an already existing

29. Mango, 1976, p.12, n.45 canvasses this idea, and connects it with Lusignan's remark (below). Given that no early artefactual evidence such as lead seals or coins has been recovered in Nicosia, the only evidence that might offer encouragement would be in the lay-out of the early town. – One thinks of the narrow, twisting lanes of the Arab period in the older half of the city of Mdina, Malta.

30. Lusignan, 1580, 31v.

31. Could there be some confusion involving Charles V (1519-56)?

32. This is problematic, if Cyprus was in the hands of Isaac Comnenus. Tsiknopoulos, 1969; Malamut, 1988, 2.249; Angold 1995, 312, 315, 322f.

33. I am indebted to my friend John Matossian who drew this to my notice, and also to Miss Ruth Keshishian whose father, the late Mr Kevork Keshishian, had worked on the idea. It originated with Dr A. Utidjian, whose book *Hai Kipros* draws on Armenian ecclesiastical records held at Antalias.

city. The bishop might, admittedly, have had the care primarily of Armenians living scattered in the northern Mesaoria; even then, his seat indicates that Nicosia was already a town. That in turn raises the interesting speculation whether the archon of Cyprus, even an Armenian archon, would have sanctioned the new see if there had not already been a Church of Cyprus see, i.e. if the archbishop had not already moved there.

The Byzantine cathedral church of Nicosia stood, very probably, on the site of the later Bedestan.[34] It was built on top of a late antique basilica, parts of which survived into the late tenth/eleventh century – a fact of utmost interest for the early history, or prehistory one might say, of Nicosia. The new cathedral, with its pointed gothic arches, and an imposing north facade,[35] preserved the old floor level, which was about a metre and a half below that of the (much larger) Latin Santa Sophia church. Although one would not wish to rest wide conclusions on this single observation, it suggests that the general level of the town rose over an extended period of occupation as rubbish was allowed to accumulate – and the eighth to tenth centuries are the obvious candidate for that period. Sixth-century *opus sectile* work of good quality was still in place; it used square *crustae* of three sizes.[36] The rise in ground level is another archaeological fact of great interest. The surviving main wall of the fifth-century apse was used to support the rib-vaults of the new cathedral. We may thus be reasonably certain that Nicosia occupied the same site as the late classical Ledra. Continuity as a city is another question altogether, although the rise in ground level is suggestive of prolonged occupation of the site; and Machairas' report that the church (of the Hodegetria) used to house the remains of St Triphyllios, bishop of Ledra, could perhaps be a continuous tradition. But the apse of the ruined basilica could have stood desolate for centuries. When was the Bedestan, alias Ayios Nikolaos, built? The gothic arches would suggest a late date. Although elegant, it was of a modest size for the mother church of Cyprus. Progress in dating the construction will probably depend on careful archaeological excavation in the future. Even so, the architectural

34. Limited excavation in 1935 revealed the main apse and part of the northern apse. The archaeology and architectural history are discussed in Willis, 1986; and the evidence is put into a wider context, with all necessary caveats and hesitations, in Papacostas, 2005. See also Soulard, forthcoming.

35. For good photographs and a ground plan, see Papacostas 2005, Figs. 2-8. The gothic arches, at least, are integral to the building.

36. Michaelides, loc.cit., Fig. 20; Megaw, 1937-9, pp.191f and plate 37, 5; Megaw, 1976, p. 17.

history is something to keep in mind when considering Mango's suggestion that Nicosia was the city built by Mu'āwiya: the Bedestan takes us back to a period before Mu'āwiya.

One and a half kilometres to the south, on the hill of Ayios Georghios (proposed site for the new parliament building), excavation has revealed a grave containing an overstruck coin of Constans II, and the remains of another early church.[37] The excavation also yielded clay lamps of the eleventh or twelfth centuries. At a similar distance, south-eastwards from the Venetian walls, in the Trypiotes quarter, was yet another early basilica, where *opus sectile* survived.[38] Can Ledra have been so extensive? – Or was there, around it, a cluster of smaller settlements in the sixth and seventh centuries? -cf. the settlements within walking distance of Kyrenia in the ninth century?

A lead seal of the Latin archbishop of Nicosia Eustorge, attached to a document of 1217, depicts what is almost certainly the orthodox cathedral, appropriated at that stage by the Latin church, before Santa Sophia was built. The lead seal is now lost, but there is an old line-drawing (Fig. 29), which shows an elaborate irregular facade with a large dome.

If one accepts that it is, after all, only a tiny thumb-nail sketch, it corresponds acceptably with the ground-plan of the Bedestan, viewed from the east.



Fig. 29 Lead seal of 1217 showing the eastern facade of the (X/XI century) Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia. (After Schlumberger.)

Scholars have tended to suppose that Nicosia became the capital of Cyprus in 965. Indeed, Papacostas puts the view more strongly: 'There

37. Excavation by Dr Despo Peilidou, reported in *BCH* 124 (2000), 685-8.

38. Michaelides, loc.cit., Figs. 22-3. The site is in Boumboulina Street, near Eleneion school.

should be no doubt that after 965 the newly arrived administration was established at Nicosia'.[39] And yet the earliest written evidence after 965 for the existence of Nicosia, apart from the Armenian testimony mentioned above, let alone for its status as capital, is a document mentioning the prosmonarios of the (cathedral) church of Ayia Sophia. It dates from 1135/6 – a remarkable 170 years later. Happily, we can now unequivocally do better than that by almost a hundred years, on the basis of archaeological evidence from recent excavations in the Palaion Demarcheion area of the Old City. Finds of Byzantine coins begin rather suddenly in *c.*1043, and it has been argued that their appearance is connected with the arrival from Constantinople in 1042/3 of Constantine Chage, sent to put down the revolt fomented by Theophilos Erotikos.[40] The detailed numismatic argument involves relativities. The anonymous folles of Class C, which there is quite good iconographic reason to date to *c.*1043 and onwards, are heavily outnumbered, among excavation-coins from major sites in other provinces of the Empire, by Classes B and, especially, A. Class A was minted for some sixty years, from 971 or thereabouts, and Class B from *c.*1034 to *c.*1043. (Thus, by coincidence – more or less – the introduction of Class A falls very soon after the reconquest of Cyprus.) If copper coins had been brought to Cyprus in any abundance in the year 965, they would probably have been folles of Nicephorus II, and perhaps earlier issues as well. Next would have come the coins of Class A1, of similar weight and module, which were issued until at least 977.[41] All these varieties up to 977 are almost unknown in Cyprus. They were most certainly not introduced into the currency as an early consequence of the reconquest. Class A2 represented a major change: the folles were made much larger and heavier, and an elaborate system of secret-marks was introduced. Again, these are conspicuous by their virtual absence from Cyprus. Class A2, of which so many hundreds of specimens have been found at Corinth, Athens, Antioch, etc., is absent from the Nicosia excavations, and indeed virtually absent throughout Cyprus, although one specimen is on record from fairly close to Nicosia, at Kato Lakatamia,[42] and a few examples have been found in the Paphos

39. Papacostas, 1995, puts the view more strongly: 'There should be no doubt that after 965 the newly arrived administration was established [in Nicosia]'.

40. Metcalf, 2006.

41. For a thorough discussion, see Grierson in *DOC* III, pp.634-47 and elsewhere in the volume.

42. See p. 184.

district.[43] Class B is seen occasionally, including for example an overstruck and clipped specimen apparently of this class excavated in a wall on St George's Hill, Nicosia, about 1.5 km south of the cathedral.[44] (But as it continued in circulation alongside Class C, any finds in Cyprus will not necessarily have been lost before the introduction of Class C.[45]

In any case, Class C generates a sudden peak in the finds from the Nicosia excavations, followed by just a trickle of later types from the reigns of Constantine and Eudocia onwards. That amounts to quite strong archaeological evidence for a moment of change in the monetary affairs of Nicosia in 1043. The city was of importance by then.

We do not know where the archon had his seat in the decades before 965. Kyrenia is an obvious guess,[46] even if Nicosia is a possibility. Wherever it was, he headed a Byzantine administration which was already in place at the time of the reconquest, and which was in control of the northern coastlands, and probably also (rather nominally?) of most of the rest of Cyprus. It seems that he was promptly replaced by a strategos; and some additional officials will presumably have joined him, in particular a kourator and his staff. But one cannot see that that was an immediate occasion for the seat of government to be transferred to Nicosia. Papacostas argues that the archbishop would have found it necessary to have his seat in the same place as the seat of the civil government.

We have looked at an assortment of fragmentary arguments concerning the period during which urban functions were revived at Nicosia. How these arguments fit together and whether they are mutually reinforcing is far from clear. Archaeology still has the potential to add dramatically to our ideas about the origins of the eleventh-century town.

43. The writer has been shown, by private collectors, four or five specimens of Class A2, among a great many miscellaneous Byzantine stray finds. Elsewhere in the Empire, the ratio between A1 and A2 is, for example, 23 to 75 at Corinth, or 18 to 81 at Athens. At Antioch it is just 1 to 164. See D. M. Metcalf, 'Six unresolved problems in the monetary history of Antioch, 969-1268', in *East and West in the Medieval Mediterranean. I. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality* (ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf), Louvain, 2006, pp.283-318.

44. Pilides, 2001, illus. on p.84, but the coin is difficult to disentangle because of overstriking.

45. The little Kythrea hoard, said to comprise just three specimens of Class B, was examined by the author in the Cyprus Museum, and appeared to have been mis-described.

46. Much less probably, Polis might be canvassed.

5. Political aspects of the founding and growth of monasteries

The monasteries of late Byzantine Cyprus often had modest beginnings: just a couple of ascetics living in solitude and in poverty. Politics did not come into their decision to withdraw from the world. Nor does their presence tell us anything about the neighbouring villages. Moreover, the very small, simple monastic houses will sometimes – perhaps often – have been transient, and liable to vanish without trace on the death of the senior monk or by migration to another house. The shared life of the tiny community might last for only a few years. Should we recognize as an early example of such an ephemeral cell the Phileri cave, one and a half miles north-west of Kythrea? Painted decorations consisting of crosses were found on the walls of the cave, and inscriptions reading 'Remember, Lord, thy servant Georgios, deacon / and Theophilos, monk'.[47]

A contrary example, illustrating permanence, is the monastery of Ayios Antonios, where in the ninth century St Demetrianos was a monk for fifty years, before becoming bishop of Chytri (Kythrea).[48]

From small beginnings a monastic house might on the other hand grow in time, to become a community of five or six monks, sometimes more. For any help they received, they depended on the charity of well-to-do local lay people. The spiritual and social influence of the monks in their neighbourhood might be strong, and widely valued, even though they preferred solitude. Politically, however, their significance was very small in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and their place within the whole life of the church, with its diocesan and village structures, should not be exaggerated.

For the historian, such small beginnings make it difficult to trace the origins of a monastery which later, perhaps, became well-endowed, large, and famous. There was little or no reason to create written records in the early days; and from the years before 965 there is so little documentation of any kind from Cyprus that our knowledge of the extent of monasticism before the reconquest could be seriously defective.

All this changed quite dramatically in the last quarter of the eleventh century, as prosperity returned to Cyprus. The endowment and building

47. The cave is at a height of 400m. Pottery of plain white Byzantine types dated to the 6th-10th centuries was recovered, and a 9th-century or later date was conjectured for the inscriptions: Du Plat Taylor, 1935. The opinion on the date of the inscriptions was expressed by W. H. Buckler. It would perhaps be profitable to re-examine the pottery.

48. Grégoire, 1907. The whereabouts of Ayios Antonios is not known, except that it was 'in a high mountain' (north of Kythrea?).

of monasteries by high officials, and eventually even through imperial munificence and encouragement, may be said to have changed the balance of the church in Cyprus. The monastic life became a parallel church structure, which increasingly was felt to be of importance for the spiritual welfare of the Cypriots. The magnificence of the great Cistercian houses in the West, rivalling cathedrals in their scale, offers an interesting comparison. The new foundations from *c.*1090 onwards (which are discussed in the next chapter) were high-profile, and they were political in so far as they represented a kind of entente between the Christian faith in its more dynamic and elitist aspects, and the provincial administration. Before *c.*1090, monasticism had been more modest and more inward-looking.

We know, from secure evidence, of only a handful of monasteries which were functioning between 965 and *c.*1090 – and then, the information survives sometimes just by chance. Thus, we learn that the monastery *ton Hiereon* ('the monastery of the priests', known today as Ayia Mone) was visited in 963 by St Athanasios the Athonite, who took refuge there from the burdensome task, imposed upon him by the emperor, of founding the Great Laura.[49] One could lie low in such a remote place, and hope that messages, even from the emperor, might take a long time to arrive. Secondly we gather from a colophon in MS Paris gr. 497 that that manuscript was copied in September 966 by Nicetas, protospatharios and droungarios while he was imprisoned in Africa, and offered to the church of St George *tou Oriatou* near Morphou in 970/1. The remote location, at 300m above sea level, encourages us to assume that this church was monastic. Presumably Nicetas knew it before the reconquest when he was an imperial servant in Cyprus, or perhaps even he was a Cypriot.[50] Other foundations on our short list are Gialia (a Georgian monastery, in existence already in the mid-tenth century), near the coast on Chrysochou Bay,[51] and probably the Kriniotissa monastery. This last, towards the western end of the Pentadaktylos range, was high and isolated, but in fact only about four miles south-west of Lapithos.[52] To find solitude, the distances that one needed to travel in those days were small. Hiereon is the exception that proves the rule. High in the western

49. J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (CCSG vol 9), Turnhout, 1982, p. 41, para 92.

50. Papacostas, p. 104, and 6.B.1.31.

51. Papacostas, 6.B.1.33.

52. See further below.

Troodos, its location can be explained as christianizing an ancient temple site nearby.[53] To the above brief list, we may tentatively add St Nicholas of the Roof, near Kakopetreia, of which the earliest phase, assessed by the style of the wall paintings, seems to be from the early eleventh century. It may have been a monastic church.[54] Ayios Antonios, near Chytroi, attested in the mid-ninth century, may still have been in existence at the end of the tenth, but that is mere conjecture.

Piety would claim that certain monasteries from late antiquity had an uninterrupted existence: Ayios Barnabas doubtless was there throughout as a church building, but whether it was always cared for by a community, through the 'treaty centuries', is less certain. Stavrovouni holds strongly to the legend of St Helena; Stylos/St Nicholas of the Promontory makes similar claims.[55] It may perhaps be so, but evidence, whether historical, archaeological, or architectural, is at present lacking.[56] If excavation of a rigorous, scientific standard were to reveal an early history of Stavrovouni, it would be a scholarly *coup* indeed.

Another category of information, which is difficult to evaluate, is that of toponyms. Evidence for the late classical monastery of Symboulos, which has itself disappeared without trace, perhaps survives in the name Symboulas.[57] But as evidence for the continuity of monastic life into the later Byzantine period, that is tenuous.

To the historian, perhaps the most intriguing of the monasteries is the Kriniotissa. That is simply because an inventory of its property and its charters survives, almost certainly written in the late eleventh century,[58] which mentions, in the first clause, a chrysobull. A gold seal can mean only one thing: its foundation had been imperially endorsed.[59] Although the

53. Papacostas, pp.94-5, and 6.B.1.36.

54. Papacostas 6.A.87, 6.B.1.63.

55. The discovery of Corinthian capitals on the site, and also traces of two rock-cut basilican structures, are insufficient testimony of the monastic life: they could be from secular churches. Papacostas, 6.B.1.76.

56. See pp. 389f.

57. Papacostas, p.93, and 6.B.1.77.

58. Papacostas, vol. 2, pp. 163-8, with translation and commentary on the text. See also Constantinides and Browning, 1993, pp.54-9, and Malamut, 1988, vol. 2, p. 418. The date of the inventory is almost certainly 1072/3, and in any case not later than the twelfth century. One should point out that a date later than the late eleventh century would undercut the argument offered above for an early foundation. See P. Canart, 1981, at pp. 27-9.

59. The inventory also mentions the founder's father. Perhaps the founder was a local notable. The history of the monastery is lost to us - as are, alas, its archives. We do not

imperial favour might have been bestowed at any time, the moment of the monastery's foundation seems the most likely date. The inventory shows that, by the late eleventh century, the monastery had various properties both locally, but also widely through Cyprus.[60] That again, can mean only one thing: it had been in existence, with a widespread reputation, for a good many years, for such a range of pious donations to have accumulated piecemeal. Just how many years is the crucial question. If the proposed date of 1072/3 for the inventory is correct, we are looking at accumulation before Cyprus's real prosperity began. One would be inclined to guess, therefore, a history since the early eleventh century, if not the late tenth. The reader will see readily enough that the whole argument depends on the correctness of the date, 1072/3, to within a decade or so. Kriniotissa was originally endowed with 'its mountain and its field' (the resource value of the mountain presumably being for timber), and with three hours' water rights. (Modified solitude, if the water supply was so carefully shared.) Later it acquired a *metochion*, or small dependent community, lower down in the valley, some three or four miles away. There is also an orchard 'down by the public road' (the road from where to where, and maintained by whom?). All this is quite small-scale and local. But by the late eleventh century, Kriniotissa owned a dozen *proasteria* (outlying estates run by peasant farmers), vineyards, orchards, and mills, not only around Lapithos and district, but in the distant dioceses of Limassol, Paphos, and Citium (where it had a warehouse at Lethrinounta. Used for storing what?). Two or three of these properties had been purchased, but most were donations, and it is these gifts which speak most clearly of the piety of the Cypriot people, and of the value which they attatched to their province's monasteries. People shared in the life of holiness by supporting the monks with their gifts or bequests; and divine favour was doubtless reinforced, in people's minds, by imperial favour. But why did the fame of Kriniotissa reach so far? Other imperially sponsored monasteries were to follow, but at a substantially later date. One wonders whether the good fortune of Kriniotissa may not originally have been because of something approaching a monopoly of pious esteem, among well-to-do folk in the northern coastlands.

know who its imperial benefactor was. It can hardly have been Basil II, given his attitude to the church. Given that this chrysobull is the only one known from Cyprus from the period under discussion, one ventures to wonder whether the foundation might go right back to the reconquest – a morning-gift for Cyprus, so to speak.

60. For a map of the properties, see Papacostas, 1999.

6. Provincial separatism: the coup of Rhapsomates.

Anna Comnena, writing decades after the event and (obviously) without first-hand knowledge, is our main source for a *coup* in Cyprus, led by a certain Rhapsomates, which took the province out of her father's control for at least two years, and possibly longer.[61] Zonaras adds nothing independently to what we learn from the *Alexiad*.[62] The *coup*, and another which occurred at about the same time in Crete, are mentioned already in February/March 1091 by the outspoken John Oxeites, patriarch of Antioch (who was well placed to know) as being among the ills that had befallen the Empire.[63] These two secessions are also attested in the *Mousai* commemorating Alexius's reign, written at approximately the date of his death.[64] The exact duration of the *coup* cannot safely be reconstructed from Anna's report, chronology not being her strong point. The traditional dating namely from *c.*late 1090/very early 1091 until *c.*early 1093 should possibly be extended to *c.*1094, and this will influence the view one takes of the character of the regime in Cyprus.[65] Rhapsomates governed Cyprus for at least two years, possibly three: that amounted to rather more than a revolt. His lack of allegiance to Alexius was by no means a unique event within the Empire: there were various challenges to the emperor's authority during the first half of his reign, when he was preoccupied by the Norman threat.[66] Since Mantzikert, the empire appeared to be falling apart, and even verging on anarchy.

Within Cyprus, however, it should be understood that anarchy was not the order of the day. The monastery of the Theotokos of Alypos, at Geri, six miles south-east of Nicosia, received a gift of a codex in October 1091 (when Rhapsomates had certainly already been in power for the best part of a year[67]) from its founder, the magistros Epiphanios Paschales.[68] This could have been on the occasion of the monastery's

61. Anna Comnena (Leib, 1967) IX, II, 1-4 (pp. 162-3). On the duration of the *coup*, see below.

62. Zonaras (Pinder and Büthner-Wobst, vol. 3, pp.736-7) XVIII, 22.

63. John of Antioch, *Diatribes*, p.34; Cheynet 1990, p.98, n.3.

64. P., 'Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I', *BZ* 22 (1913), p.357, lines 294-5.

65. I am indebted to my friend Peter Frankopan for a sight of his typescript, 'Revolts on Crete and Cyprus at the end of the 11th century: their causes and dates (and who was Rhapsomates?)', written in 2002-3 at Princeton.

66. They are listed in Leib, 1962. See also Cheynet, 1990 for a historical overview.

67. Cf the date of John of Antioch's remarks.

68. From his surname, Mango has suggested that he was a westerner.

foundation, or it could have been somewhat later. But in any case, in the October Epiphanios evidently judged that the situation was sufficiently secure for him to donate a valuable 9th/10th century gospel lectionary to the monastery he had founded. Political contestations of power evidently did not threaten the property of the church. Epiphanios was presumably an imperial official in Cyprus, who had been appointed before the *coup*, but who was able to coexist with Rhapsomates, and that is the point for the historian to focus on. We do not know what Epiphanios' function was – perhaps governor of Nicosia?

Anna's account is full and circumstantial, but it only picks up the story of Rhapsomates at the point when imperial forces arrived in Cyprus to bring him to heel, that is, at least two years after his *coup*. The details she offers are such as to suggest that she derived them from a file of papers left by her late husband Nicephorus Bryennius, utilizing dispatches sent back to court by John Doukas (the grand doux who restored imperial authority in the province), and preserved no doubt in the imperial archives.[69] They concern the events of a few days or at most weeks, and are silent on the preceding period of two years or more. Doukas was simply reporting the success of the military campaign that had been entrusted to him. He was not writing a commentary on the underlying causes of the *coup*, nor about how Rhapsomates' hold on the island, and on the imperial troops stationed there, had been maintained. Modern historians have speculated liberally around the facts offered in Anna's text. Some of the conjecture is broadly based, and will command ready assent. Some is more debateable. It will be well to begin with a résumé of what she says, in order to distinguish carefully between that and the constructions that have been placed on it.

When the emperor received news that Rhapsomates had taken Cyprus, he sent John Doukas against him with a strong fleet. Doukas dealt first with the insurrection of Crete, then moved on to Cyprus. On arrival he quickly captured Kyrenia. Rhapsomates, informed of this, made large-scale military preparations against him. He left Nicosia and occupied the heights which overlook Kyrenia, establishing his camp there.[70] But he refused to give battle immediately – thus revealing his

69. Howard Johnston, 1991, p.276. Nicephorus was commissioned in *c.*1118 to write the history of Alexius's reign, and it seems more than probable that he gathered many files of material, which he did not live long enough to convert into a polished and final text. It was a labour of love, and of many years, for Anna to complete what he had begun.

70. That perhaps implies that there was as yet no fortress at the summit. Some southern parts of what later lay within the walls of St Hilarion castle could nevertheless have existed.

inexperience or incompetence as a military commander. Instead, he sent embassies to his opponent. Some of his soldiers changed sides, and were enrolled by Manuel Voutoumites, the commanding officer. Eventually Rhapsomates led his forces slowly downhill. A detatchment of his troops, comprising about a hundred men, rushed forward as if to attack the forces of Doukas, but then reversed their lances, and joined the enemy. On seeing this, Rhapsomates gave up the struggle and fled towards Limassol, in the hope of finding a ship that would take him to Syria. But Voutoumites followed in hot pursuit. Rhapsomates escaped into a mountain, and took refuge in a sanctuary dedicated to the Holy Cross,[71] where Voutoumites caught up with him. Promising him that his life would be safe, he led him to the grand doux. They all reached Nicosia. When the whole island had submitted to the authority of the grand doux, they fortified it as best they could, not omitting to inform the emperor by letters (says Anna) of the course of events. He congratulated them, and realized the need to ensure the security of Cyprus.[72] He therefore named as judge and tax inspector (*exisotes*) a certain Kalliparios – who was not of noble birth, but who had a high reputation[73] for justice, integrity, and modesty. (That seems to mean that it was a conciliatory or unprovocative appointment.) It was necessary also to appoint a military commander; Eumathios Philokales was designated as *stratopedarch*, responsible for the defence of the island. Voutoumites returned to Doukas, with Rhapsomates and the regiment of the Immortals (*athanatoi*) who had supported his coup. They were taken to Constantinople. All this sounds very much like a résumé of official dispatches.

The Immortals, who were salaried soldiers recruited from among refugees from the Turkish advance in Asia Minor, seem to have been disbanded or distributed into other regiments[74] – inevitably, on account of their disloyalty. It seems that Rhapsomates did not suffer the death penalty.

That is the extent of Anna's information. She has nothing to say about the circumstances of Rhapsomates' initial *coup*, nor about how events

71. If, as has been suggested, this was Stavrovouni, Rhapsomates was a long way from his direct route to Limassol. The existing church at Pelendri is apparently too late in date to be taken into consideration (Papacostas, vol 1, pp.56f.) The monastery of the Holy Cross *tes psokas*, somewhere in the same region as Kykkos, owned an eleventh-century manuscript (Coislin 19), but this is evidenced only in the sixteenth century – Menardos, 1906, p. 332.

72. Against external threats?

73. In what circles?

74. Cheynet points out that we hear nothing more about them.

progressed between then and the arrival of John Doukas. The general context is, no doubt, to be found in the many difficulties that Alexius had to contend with in the first decade of his reign, including the loss of tax revenues from the conquered lands of Asia Minor. The Turkish Tzachas, based in Smyrna, captured a number of the larger Aegean islands and posed a serious military threat to the Empire. Who was to say that his ambitions might not extent to Cyprus and Crete? But who Rhapsomates was, and what he was doing in Cyprus prior to the *coup*, we simply do not know. The family name is recorded (rarely) in the twelfth century, but not in the eleventh. Anna is so extremely disparaging about his lack of hardihood,[75] and his woeful ignorance of military tactics, as to make it difficult for us to imagine that he had received a military command from the emperor. In fact, Anna's comments are so derisory that one wonders whether they derive from the military dispatches – and even whether it was a personal kindness on the part of Voutoumites, based on friendship with Rhapsomates, to make him appear lily-livered, in order to deflect the emperor's wrath. (It seems that Voutoumites, as doux of Cyprus in the mid-1080s, had been instrumental in the foundation of Kykko.) Did Rhapsomates oust an imperially appointed official? Or did he pre-empt a vacancy? Cheynet suggests that he had been a functionary in Cyprus, perhaps either the judge or kourator. If not, what had happened to the judge and (if not the same person) the doux?[76] In their (presumed) absence, what did Rhapsomates do that amounted to a *coup*? One imagines that he retained the tax revenues of Cyprus, that should have been sent to Constantinople.[77] That may be what is implied in the *Mousai* when John speaks of the Cypriots 'avoiding the rule of law'. He may have used the money to buy the support of the armed forces. Perhaps, in local eyes, that seemed a legitimate use of tax revenues anyway. Retaining the revenues of the crown estates would have been something else: a personal affront to the emperor, and therefore a serious political blunder. Whether Rhapsomates had, or even much needed, the loyalty of the population at large, in any active degree, is not obvious.

The reader should now be in a better position to disentangle Anna's account (and behind it, that of Bryennius) from modern conjecture in,

5. She says that he had scarcely ever touched a sword or lance, and that if his horse broke into a gallop he was afraid, and suffered from vertigo.

76. Cheynet, 1990. Alexius made a wholesale reform of the civil hierarchy early in his reign: Oikonomides 1976.

77. The suggestion that Alexius increased the tax burden on Cyprus, thereby causing popular disaffection, is speculative.

for example, the brief résumé offered by Kyrris:[78] the secessions of 1042 by katapano Theophilos Erotikos and of 1092 by duke Rhapsomates, he says, 'who both exploited for their autonomistic designs the widespread social discontent over heavy taxation and insecurity resulting from piratic raids. The revolt of 1092 was organized in collusion with another one (by Karykes) in Crete and both with the Turkish emir of Smyrna Tzachas'. One would have to demur at almost every clause in Kyrris's dashing précis, as being unsupported by the texts: in particular, Anna says nothing about taxation,[79] nor about earlier raids.[80]

Frankopan has argued the case that Rhapsomates ('stitched eyes') was a nickname given, at a later date, to Nicephorus Diogenes, who is known to have had his eyes torn out after his failed revolt against Alexius in *c.*1094. His life was spared, Frankopan suggests, because he was born in the purple. Because Diogenes' revolt must have taken place somewhere, Cyprus is presumably to be considered as a possibility. On the other side of the argument, it should be pointed out that Rhapsomates is known as a surname, both on an unpublished lead seal in the Fogg collection, and in a twelfth-century documentary source which mentions an ergasterion of a certain Ioannes Rhapsomates in the Genoese quarter of Constantinople.[81] One ventures to guess that it was already a heritable or family surname, originating in Asia Minor in the eleventh century, as a nickname (in no way gruesome) for someone with the narrowed eyes seen among Turkic and other peoples of the steppes of central Asia.[82]

Beaton goes even further, suggesting that elements of a perennially popular folk-tale have become entwined with the historical reality, and that Anna has accepted the oral record uncritically.[83] Because her account

78. Kyrris 1985, p. 209.

79. Except that Kalliparios had a reputation for integrity; but this is in explanation of a non-aristocratic appointment.

80. Its garrisoning after its imperial restoration is understandable in light of Tzachas's activities.

81. Cheynet, 1990 mentions an unpublished lead seal in the Fogg collection belonging to Basilios Rhapsomates. Laurent dated it to the twelfth century. Cheynet observes that, if it could be late eleventh, it might belong to our Rhapsomates. For Ioannis Rhapsomatis, MM III, p.50, and Berlotto, *Documenti*, p.434.

82. Cf. the surname Kamytzes, borne by doux Konstantinos Kamytzes, seemingly a nickname from *kammytzes*, someone who blinks his eyes a lot. Koukoules, 1948-55, VI, 479; Galatariotou, 1991, p. 197, n. 62.

83. Beaton, 1986. He makes the point that it is implausible that such a young and ridiculous man should have been able to command the loyalty of the Immortals. To that one might demur, pointing out that their loyalty had not been sorely tested. For them, Cyprus was a soft posting, in fact more or less a rest-cure, after the hazards of life in Asia Minor.

only begins with the suppression of the revolt, one prefers to believe that she had access to official records.

7. Summing-up.

The reconquest in 965 did not promote any early improvement in the prosperity of Cyprus. The province became a theme: the Escurial *taktikon* informs us of the rank of the strategos in the hierarchy. The cadre of assistant officials seems to have been rather *ad hoc*, but for as much as seventy years the evidence of lead seals is extremely slender. By *c.*1040 (if not even sooner) the civil and military sides of the imperial administration had their own principal officers, the military officer being the senior. Kouratores administered confiscated lands, and kommerkiarioi collected revenues. Among the exports from Cyprus was vitriol, the raw material for smelting copper.

From 1043, when Constantine Chage suppressed an ill-judged revolt, the prosperity of Cyprus was growing, and the circulation of copper coinage gradually began again. Urban life and trade recovered at Limassol and Paphos. Nicosia grew up on the site of the early Byzantine Ledra.

A separatist coup, in the early 1090s, was engineered by a certain Rhapsomates, who controlled Cyprus for three or more years.

CHAPTER XIV

FROM c.1094 TO 1191

In the middle of the twelfth century the geographer Edrisi wrote a short description of Cyprus which is not without some points of interest for us. It reflects the experience of Arab merchants visiting the markets of Limassol and Paphos, and beyond that betrays only a superficial acquaintance with the province. 'Cyprus is an island of vast extent', Edrisi writes, 'embracing a space of 16 days' journey. There are numerous villages, cultivated fields, mountains, woods, meadows, and mines of vitriol, a substance from which it takes its name, and which it exports both to the neighbouring countries and further afield. This island contains three towns, namely el-Nimasour, a pretty town situated in the southern part [of the island] with markets and numerous buildings; Lefcosia; Kernebia and Kalta forming two agreeable towns, with bazaars where one finds every sort of provisions, manufactured goods, and merchandise. The countryside produces much honey.'[1]

The word translated 'vitriol' evidently refers to copper salts, as is confirmed by the remark that Cyprus takes its name from it. The copper mines of Cyprus were massive sulphide deposits, which weathered to break down into various suphates that were not too difficult to smelt. Ore, quarried from the secondary enrichment zone, was dressed in order to upgrade it. Copper vitriol, produced by leaching and evaporation, solidified into vitriol salt (copper sulphate pentahydrate, $CuSO_4.5H_2O$, plus impurities).[2] It is this which entered commerce. It is unexpected information that copper was still being mined in the twelfth century, and indeed that it was being exported far and wide. Edrisi thus confirms and

1. Jaubert, 1836, vol. 2, pp. 129f. One may also consult Vernay-Nouri, *c.*2000 (an electronic resource).

2. A very clear account of the processes is given by Kouchy and Steinberg, 1989.

amplifies the similar statement in the *Book of Curiosities*,[3] from a hundred years earlier.

Of the three towns of Cyprus, Limassol is mentioned first. Its 'markets and numerous buildings' will presumably have grown up mainly in the eleventh or even the twelfth century, but in any case since the disastrous period of the Arab raids and their aftermath. Nicosia, about which Edrisi has nothing to say, was by the mid-twelfth century undoubtedly the seat of the provincial government, and of the archbishop. Edrisi's statement that there are three towns in Cyprus is followed by four place-names. The last two, Kernebia and Kalta, present us with a puzzle. It seems that one of them will refer to Paphos – but whether we are to understand Nea Paphos and Kouklia or, as one would prefer to think, Nea Paphos and Ktima is unclear. Was Edrisi offering reliable information of established Arabic names for the twin towns, and if so, for how long had they been in use? Which is which? The urban functions of Paphos as a trading centre are emphasized, and there is no obvious reason to depreciate what Edrisi says about that.[4] One wonders whether there were not a few smaller coastal towns as well as the three main ones. Kyrenia, Famagusta, and Larnaca come to mind; and we have an eleventh- or twelfth-century lead seal of a bishop of Arsinoe (Polis). Finally, honey attracted his notice – at a time when sugar was still an expensive commodity, used for medicinal purposes.

Against this background of a thriving and diversified provincial economy, at least as regards the south of the island, we may try to judge the impact of a long series of political initiatives, foreign raids, and natural disasters stretching through the twelfth century. For the historians and chroniclers of the age, these were the events that were worth recording. For us the question is how far they influenced the overall prosperity of Cyprus.

Alexius I made Cyprus his forward base for the defence of the south-eastern frontiers of his empire[5]. This was reflected in the building of fortifications in the north of the island. Being on a war footing doubtless gave a boost to the economy of the province, even if it was financed by heavier taxation of the Cypriots. But what happened in the following

3. See above, p. 508.

4. Note that the status of Paphos as one of the three main towns is confirmed by Venetian evidence, below.

5. Thus Chalandon remarks (*Alexius I*, p. 142). One should not, however, exaggerate the importance of Cyprus in Alexius's foreign policy.

reigns? Already in 1122-3 there was conflict arising from the other direction, namely a threat from the West: during the Byzantine-Venetian war at that time, a Venetian fleet, under the command of Doge Domenico Michiel, sailed into Cypriot waters on its way to assist at the siege of Acre.[6] Whether the Venetians made landfall is not clear from the sources, much less whether they were involved in the insurrection in Cyprus in April-May 1123, which culminated in the slaughter of the doux.[7] (Who led this insurrection, and what were the grievances that were enough to risk taking up arms?) What is clear, however, is that 1123 is a key date, when Venice destroyed the Egyptian fleet off Ascalon, thus curtailing Muslim sea-power in the eastern Mediterranean. A chrysobull of 1126 granting the Venetians trading privileges in the Empire omits to mention Crete and Cyprus, which might be construed as an exclusion, or even as some sort of punishment for the preceding events; but it seems merely to be following the formulas of an earlier chrysobull, of Alexius I, and we may well assume that Cyprus was open to the Venetians on favoured terms, already in the time of Alexius. The alternative view, offered by Lilie,[8] is that Cyprus was actually included in the concession only from *c.*1135-6. It is named in the renewals of 1147 and 1148.[9]

It may be convenient to summarize the events of these years, as follows:

1110 A Venetian fleet sails to Palestine and assists at the siege of Sidon. Venice is granted a quarter in Acre. Genoa and Pisa are similarly favoured.

1118 Death of Baldwin, and of Alexius I. John II withdraws Venice's 'most favoured nation' status vis-à-vis Genoa and Pisa.

1119 Death of Roger of Antioch and loss of his army at the Field of Blood.

1122 Venice besieges the Byzantine fortress of Corfu, and (?) raids Cyprus on the way to Acre.

1123 Venice destroys the Egyptian fleet, off Ascalon.

6. Savvides, 1995, p. 8.

7. Ordericus Vitalis (PL 188, col. 829); Kemal al-Din, 'Chronicle of Aleppo' (RHC Or. III, p. 622); Cheynet, 1990, p. 104, n.136; Savvides, 1995, p. 8.

8. Lilie, 1993, p. 118 and n.82. Savvides follows Lilie. The argument is open to debate.

9. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches (565-1341)*, Munich, 1924-60, vol. 2, p.67, no. 1365; Savvides, 1995, p. 8.

1124 Venice accepts one-third of Tyre.

1130 Roger II becomes king of Sicily.

What happened in Cyprus following the death of Alexius I? On his accession John II reduced Venetian privileges in the Empire generally, leaving the republic on an equal footing with its rivals, Pisa and Genoa. Venice's new commercial power-base in the eastern Mediterranean, however, lay outside the Empire, in the territories of the Crusader states. In Cyprus it is of the Venetians whom we hear most, rather than their rivals.[10]

In 1136-7 John II is recorded to have captured the fortress town of T'il Hamdun (Toprakkale) in Cilicia and moved its population (presumably Armenians) to Cyprus. Soon after that, and following his triumphal entry into Antioch in 1137, John made plans to create a principality for his younger son (and eventual successor) Manuel, which would have linked Cyprus with nearby mainland territories in Cilicia, Syria, and beyond. Under this form of regionally devolved government, Cyprus would probably have had the honour of contributing money and manpower to the defence of the Empire in the face, now, of the Crusaders' Latin principalities and the emergent state[11] of Cilician Armenia. But the plan foundered, and came to nothing. Meanwhile the geopolitical position of Cyprus changed. Having been at the end of the lines of communication from Constantinople, it now found itself athwart increasingly busy sea-lanes (which skirted south of Cyprus) between the north Italian cities and their trading spheres in the Levant. The Venetians established a permanent foothold in each of the three main towns. The north coast, in contrast, seems not to have participated in these commercial developments, but to have been quite strongly defended, both by the fleet, by defensive structures, and by a considerable number

10. On the 'invisibility' of the Genoese, see D. M. Metcalf, 'The Palaeologan coinage in the East Mediterranean world', in *Money and Markets in the Palaeologan Era* (The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, 4, Byzantium Today), edited by N. G. Moschonas, Athens, 2003, pp. 15-23.

11. The rise of the kingdom of (Cilician) Armenia in effect post-dates the end of Byzantine Cyprus in 1191; and there is a dramatic contrast between 'before' and 'after'. The principalities which coalesced into the kingdom had made little impact on the international scene. With the granting of the chrysobull by King Levon II to the Venetians in December 1201, trade and prosperity flooded in. D. M. Metcalf, 'Six unresolved problems in the monetary history of Antioch, 969-1268', in *East and West in the Medieval Mediterranean*, I, *Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*, edited by K. Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf (Orientalia Lovenensia Analecta, 147), Leuven, 2006, pp. 283-318, at pp. 314f.

of soldiers' villages on the southern and western flanks of the Pentadaktylos range. Whether these akritic villages did much good is open to doubt; but perhaps it would have been even worse, in the mid-twelfth century, without them.

The twelfth century was in all probability a time of strong economic growth for Cyprus, but there is extraordinarily little in the way of contemporary documentation to substantiate that claim. The trend-line may be the major perspective on the history of twelfth-century Cyprus, and yet hardly any evidence of it survives. It will not necessarily have been steady, continuous growth: the devastation by Renaud of Châtillon in 1156/7 may have been a severe setback, from which it took decades to recover; and the 1170s may have seen a decline in population numbers and in prosperity. The best that one can say is that, in the late twelfth century, the annual revenues of Cyprus are mentioned by Arnold of Lubeck as being seven centenaria of gold, i.e. about 50,000 hyperpyra.[12] The source of his information is not known.[13]

Even the over-all trends of the province's economic history between 1118 and the arrival of Isaac Comnenus in 1184 remain unexpectedly obscure and confusing, from almost every point of view. Lead seals, which between the 1060s and *c.*1118 had revealed an administrative hierarchy headed by civil and military officials, holding office as judge and katepano or doux, cease to name any such offices, and in any case become few and far between – or perhaps they are just difficult to recognize as having been dispatched from Cyprus. Governance by the Comnenian 'clan', which may have dispensed with a lot of bureaucratic reporting back to headquarters, has left surprisingly few footprints for the historian, although such lead seals as there are, are characteristic enough of this form of the inflation of dignities, and of nepotism at the highest levels. They include, for example, the lead seals of the sebastos Leo Philes, described as 'brother-in-law (or son-in-law: *gambros*) of the emperor'; of the pansebastohypertatos Constantine Angelus, second husband of Theodora Comnena, the youngest daughter of Alexius I; of

12. Arnold of Lubeck, *Chronica Slavorum* IV, 16; *MGH, SS*, XXI, p.178; Hendy, 1985, p.173.

13. Compare the number of knight's and sergeant's fees created by Guy of Lusignan (below, p. 564). By assuming an income of 100 hyperpyra for a knight's fee one might arrive at a global figure of the same order of magnitude. One would suspect, however, than by 1191 a significant proportion of the GDP of Cyprus came from trade rather than land-holding.

an Anna Doukaina, sebaste; and of Theodoros Atzymes, sebastos.[14] Some of these seals are difficult to attribute firmly to an individual, and have been said, with proper caution, to be from the twelfth or early thirteenth century. If found in Cyprus, however, there is a reasonable presumption that they are from before 1191. It is intriguing that the two with firm provenances are from the vicinity of Larnaca.[15] There are also two or three lead seals of archbishops (who describe themselves as *poimenarches* of the Cypriots), and even one or two of bishops.The written sources mention John Komnenos, who was governor in 1155-6, and Michael Branas, who served as doux under him. Alexios Doukas, who was governor in 1161, was again from one of the greatest families in the Empire.

More puzzlingly, the loss-rate of petty coinage seems similarly to stabilize or even to decline after *c.*1118. At Dali, for example, the site-finds include two specimens of Anonymous Class I (*c.*1075-80), two of Nicephorus III (1078-81), one of Class K (*c.*1085-92), and one of Alexius I – but none later than 1118.[16] There may have been a mint in Cyprus, striking modest quantities of a distinctive design of tetarteron, unusually small coins of very polished quality, apparently during the reign of Alexius I (and possibly continuing into that of John II);[17] the mint did not survive into later reigns. The tetartera of Manuel's reign in particular require further stylistic examination.[18] The coin statistics seem to be hinting at a down-turn in the volume of monetary transactions through the middle decades of the century, and perhaps we should try to believe them. The decline may date from the raid by Renaud of Châtillon in 1156/7. But site-finds of low-value coins are exiguous, except from the

14. *BLSC* 119, 235, 253, and 254.

15. Xylotymbou and Aradhippou.

16. Nicolaou, 1989, H.40/536 and 73/585; 66/578 and 580; 72/584; 39/535.

17. Hendy, 1999, pl. 8,17, showing the Mother of God, facing, orans. This type is extremely rare outside Cyprus. Its quality makes one think that the dies were cut by very accomplished workmen, perhaps in Constantinople or from Constantinople. If the type was minted in Constantinople, it was specifically for consignment to Cyprus. See further Donald, Metcalf and Pitsillides, 1984-90. There is some reason to suspect that it is more plentiful in the Nicosia district than elsewhere in Cyprus.

18. Manuel's monogram type, which is quite plentiful in Cyprus, is normally represented by specimens which are vastly inferior in quality to the *orans* type just mentioned. It deserves a thorough numismatic study for the whole of the Empire combining stylistic analysis, metrology, etc., with regional analysis. Note the occurrence of specimens with a cursive M. Donald, Metcalf, and Pitsillides, 1984-90, at p. 291.

excavations in Nicosia itself. Completely at variance with the evidence of the low-value coinage, there is a continuous series of large hoards of electrum third-hyperpyra, stretching from *c.*1150 to *c.*1185 – almost certainly beginning before 1156/7. These hoards, which represent very substantial sums of money and which are found widely throughout the northern half of Cyprus, from the Akamas and from Morphou right across to the Karpas peninsula, reflect repeated consignments of precious-metal coinage to the province, where it accumulated with an ever-lengthening age-profile.[19] The age-profile implies that the money was not promptly drained out of Cyprus again – unless, of course, the progressive accumulation was in the treasury in Constantinople. There need be little doubt that the hoards reflect governmental spending, in the context of the strategic importance of Cyprus. Was the money for the payment or provisioning of armed forces, which were stationed, *inter alia*, in the remoter corners of the island? It appears that there was a good deal of big spending, such as this postulated defensive activity, which has left no other trace in the record. What is odd is that all these electrum coins seem not to have been accompanied by an increased circulation (and loss-rate) of lower-value coins.[20]

Our knowledge of twelfth-century ceramics is still sketchy in the extreme, and certainly offers nothing in the way of close dating. Recent excavations in Nicosia and elsewhere are beginning to fill the lacuna.[21] There seems to be relatively little of the glazed wares, compared with what is on record from the first half of the thirteenth century, when local wares emerge strongly, alongside an interesting variety of imported wares. Again, perhaps we should try to believe that the change in volume is a real trend.

The building of churches and monasteries, while it was high-profile, was semi-detatched from general levels of prosperity. It illustrates the metropolitan influences of greater sophistication and a more overt style of piety, which were symptomatic of changes imposed on the cultural life of Cyprus. Note the high-flown style of the painted inscription at Koutsobendes: 'O Thou who art worshipped in three persons, principle without beginning, nature primordial, might invincible, alone

19. Metcalf, 1991 (and add Stroumbi). The hoards are listed and summarized in the Appendix to Chapter IV.

20. But this could be because of the under-reporting of stray finds – and the embargo on information since 1974. Note the graffiti on some coins.

21. Violaris, 2004; Wartburg and Violaris, [2005].

transcending all substance'. And all this from a soldier. What has been perceived as a 'colonialist' form of government is one aspect of these far-reaching cultural changes.

A series of foreign raids (against which the defences evidently offered little protection), coinciding with repeated droughts, and, under Isaac Comnenus, very heavy-handed government combined to make the lives of ordinary people in the middle and latter part of the century a bitter struggle for survival – which, all too often, they lost. St Neophytos, a keen observer of the national life, especially as it affected ordinary villagers, was a prophet of doom, whose comments should not be accepted by the historian at face value as a balanced picture. He has for example little to say about life in near-by Paphos, or in the other towns. Nor does he consider the fortunes of the well-to-do. Nevertheless, there was plenty of doom to be observed. The economic progress which had been made since the 1060s was probably halted, and the trend may even have been reversed.

In the final brief chapter of Byzantine rule, from *c.*1184 to 1191, Cyprus ceased to be a province, and became in effect a break-away state, independent while still completely Byzantine in politics and sentiment, but at odds with Constantinople, and finding its allies in Sicily and in Venice. For seven long years the island was ruled by Isaac Comnenus. His pretensions to power knew no limits. He was hated, no doubt with reason. Our documentary sources show animus against him; mostly they are written with hindsight, after his overthrow. They concentrate on the details of his arrival in Cyprus, and of his expulsion. What happened to the economy of Cyprus during his reign can be gleaned only from a few anecdotes. In lieu of starving farmers, we read of statues of the despot, of gold thread woven into his silken imperial vexillum, and of the very beautiful tents which went with him on campaign.[22] (There is no conflict of evidence here: the extreme contrast is real enough. Thus have tyrants usually behaved, and continue to do so to the present day.) Isaac's reign is of considerable historical interest, not just in itself but retrospectively, for what it suggests about the condition of Cyprus when he arrived, and what it was politically possible for him to undertake. Leaving aside one's distaste for the man, one has to recognize that he seems to have taken the province in hand effectively, and that there are signs, for example in the quality and the quantity of the coinage which he minted in his own name, that under him Cyprus prospered.

22. King Richard sent the vexillum back to Bury St Edmunds, to honour the saint at his shrine there.

1. The castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara.

There are few easy routes across the Pentadaktylos range, until one reaches its easterly extension in the Karpas peninsula. Three conspicuous castles guard the passes from the Mesaoria: Didymos on its twin peak (the name corrupted to Dieu d'Amour by the Franks, later known as St Hilarion), Buffavento,[23] and Kantara. Each is an architectural palimpsest, much repaired or improved in Lusignan times, and subsequently partially dismantled by the Venetians, – an architectural history which makes the determination of the date of origin of the castles archaeologically difficult. None of the three is mentioned in the written sources until *c.*1191,[24] and although plans have been published,[25] none of the castles has been explored by modern archaeological excavation. The simplest question is whether they were meant to guard against an enemy seeking to cross the mountains from south to north (in the period when the northern coastlands were a Byzantine bridgehead) or from north to south (after 965). In the days when there was a kleisourarch, the threat to the Byzantine coastlands had come from the south. Part of their intention, in any case, was to serve as unassailable strongholds, where a Cypriot force could resist, and from where they could harass an invading force. This strategy probably worked usefully in other provinces, but less well in Cyprus. Once the garrison troops were out in the open, they were reliant on their fighting capacity. Neophytos recalls the annihilation of a Cypriot force near Dhikomo probably in 1155/6.[26] Later, Isaac Comnenus is said to have taken refuge in Buffavento, to no avail. Another probable function of the castles was as watch-towers, monitoring movements of shipping in the waters between Cyprus and Asia Minor.[27] Beacons could have been lit, which would be visible for many miles at night.

Crucial to the archaeological understanding of their Byzantine phase is that at St Hilarion and at Buffavento there are remains of walls and

23. What Buffavento was called in pre-Lusignan times is not known.

24. Papacostas, vol. 1, p. 46.

251. For St Hilarion, see Megaw, 1963, where the plan distinguishes Byzantine from 13th- and 14th-century work. A version of the plan is reproduced in Papacostas, Fig. 272. It is also conveniently available in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4 (ed. H. W. Hazard, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, Wisconsin, 1977, p. 204). The curtain wall encloses an area roughly 150 metres square, but the surface of the ground in uneven. For Kantara, see Papageorgiou, 1973. Again, a version of the plan is reproduced in Papacostas, Fig. 270 – which marks the look-out tower. See also Megaw, 1985, pp.219-20.

26. See below.

27. At St Hilarion it would be necessary to climb a considerable distance from the lower ward to gain a view of the sea northwards.

buildings in undressed brick and rubble masonry. This is unusual for Cyprus, and is almost certainly of middle Byzantine (i.e. 11th/12th-century) date.[28] Moreover, at St Hilarion these walls and their towers are built using grey stone grit mortar, recognizably different from the later Lusignan mortar.[29] At Buffavento, which guarded the route from Kythrea to the north coast,[30] there is a two-storey building in the middle ward, and a series of vaulted rooms in the upper ward, of this same middle Byzantine fabric.[31] At Kantara,[32] no Byzantine phase of building has been identified.

St Hilarion could, in principle, have had an even earlier phase of fortification, in the dark-age period, of which few if any traces are now visible above ground. At that time the perceived threat would have been seen as coming from southern Cyprus. The only crumb of evidence for such a situation (and it is ambivalent) refers to Buffavento: a gold half-dinar of al-Mansur, minted in 763/4, is reported from the Halefka Pass. Otherwise, there is no architectural or archaeological evidence for the hypothesis. Conversely, the only specific argument that has been offered against it is that in Anna Comnena's account of the defeat of Rhapsomates he is said to have grouped his forces in the heights above Kyrenia – with no mention of a castle. Had one been in existence he would presumably have made use of it.[33] But our account of events may be incomplete.

The church of St Hilarion, a domed octagon in plan, located in the middle ward of the castle, was constructed of rubble masonry and brick. So are the curtain walls and the seven towers of the lower ward of the castle, as well as parts of the upper ward. In so far as the building techniques are similar, the work on both castle and church is almost certainly of the same period. If we can date the church, we can by

28. One may mention the hypothesis that an old-fashioned building style was carried over into the early Lusignan period – if only to illustrate the extreme uncertainty which surrounds the architectural interpretation of the chronology.

29. On the technical problems of radiocarbon dating of mortar, see for example Fejfer, 1995, p. 187.

30. Evidence for this routeway comes from Roman milestones. See Mitford, 1980, pp. 1335 and 1340.

31. Papacostas, vol. 1, p.45, and Fig. 271 showing structures dated to the Byzantine period.

32. Papacostas, Fig. 270.

33. It is reasonable to assume that, had Anna known of such a thing, she would have mentioned it.

extension date the matching construction identified elsewhere in the castle. Megaw expressed the opinion that the church 'without question belongs to a new type of large-domed buildings, disseminated from Constantinople'. The design, and the use of brick construction, 'attest the arrival [in Cyprus] of master-builders trained in the central Byzantine tradition'.[34] Although opinions differ about the date when large domed churches first appeared, no-one would wish to propose that they are earlier than the time of Alexius I. This circuitous argument does not amount to complete proof that there was no fortification at St Hilarion before the time of Alexius I: merely that any traces which it might have left have not been recognized. The hypothesis of an earlier monastery on the site rests on little more than the dedication, which is not attested before the fourteenth century.[35] One might think rather of a castle chapel or garrison church. Some well-conducted excavation at the castle site would, with even a modicum of luck, add substance to our ideas, and might even clarify the earlier history (if any) of the site.

Even although the evidence is so sketchy, it is reasonable to assume that St Hilarion and Buffavento, at least, were constructed as part of a major programme of works undertaken by Alexius I for the military defence of the south-eastern frontiers of the Empire, in response to the threat from the Seljuk advance into Asia Minor after the battle of Mantzikert, and, after the First Crusade, to guard against the ambitions of the prince of Antioch (whose principality at that time included much of Cilicia too). Anna Comnena mentions her father's fortification of Seleucia and Cilician Korykos.[36] For the time being, this is the best general evidence for the assertion that there was an important building phase in Cyprus in the time of Alexius I.

It is probable, then, that Eumathios Philokales[37] was charged with the construction or extension of the Pentadaktylos castles. He may at the same time have improved Kyrenia castle (where the dating of the early phases is disputed, but is possibly from before 965[38]). Kyrenia castle was certainly a strong fortification. It enclosed a central courtyard about 264 feet square, and was built on a peninsula between two small bays – the

34. Megaw, 1974.

35. Papacostas, 1999, pp. 46f. and n.96; 6.A,57.

36. Ahrweiler, 1958, pp. 182-9.

37. See below, pp. 539-44.

38. See above.

harbour proper lying on the west, and a larger anchorage on the east.[39] Perhaps the work was largely complete by 1102, when Alexius instructed him to send assistance (skilled masons?) to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, for the construction of his castle at Mont-Pèlerin, for the capture of Tripoli from its Muslim ruler.

In order to function, castles must be garrisoned (unless they are mere places of refuge); and garrisons must be provisioned. A sufficient supply of provender for horses (which eat a lot) is logistically a limiting factor. One might hope, therefore, that archaeological excavation would add significantly to our meagre knowledge of their history.[40] Whether dedicated estates were attached to the three castles, or whether the necessary supplies were simply bought in the market-place, we do not know.[41] In any case, the castles will have fallen under the over-all military command in Cyprus, and will presumably have been a charge on the receipts from taxation.

Few Byzantine sites seem as promising for future archaeological exploration as the Pentadaktylos castles, and Kyrenia castle, for what they may reveal about the course of historical development in Cyprus.

According to Kyrris, the system of defensive structures and garrisons went far beyond the major castles. He mentions a series of villages where Armenians or Maronites were settled, as *akritai*, with military or watching duties: Platani, Kornokipos, and Ayios Khariton were Armenian villages on the southern flanks of the eastern Pentadaktylos range, while at the western end of the range there was a cluster of Maronite villages, namely Kormakitis, Asomatos, Karpasia, and Kambyli. Armenokhori was the exception geographically, being located a little way north of Amathus. The cities of Nicosia, Famagusta, and Limassol were also fortified in the twelfth century. We know that Nicosia had a castle, where the Templars barricaded themselves in 1192. Further, watch-towers were built at Gialousa (Karpas) and Pyrgos (Tillyria).[42] All this makes sense, but one

39. Megaw, 1977.

40. Where would one opt to put a spade in the ground? At Athlit, most of the archaeological finds come from the faubourg occupied by the construction workers. There is a billon trachy of Manuel I in the Ashmolean collection, found 'between St Hilarion and Kyrenia'.

41. Crusader castles sometimes had their own estates around them, which in theory helped them to withstand a siege. But this was partly because they belonged to the military orders, i.e. defence was 'privatized'.

42. Papageorgiou, 1980, pp. 7-12.

has to say that almost all of it suffers in the sense that it is conjectural, being based on very little in the way of dateable evidence. Some of the Armenian settlements, for example, could well be from after 1184, for it is known that Isaac brought Armenian soldiers with him. We have to recognize that the toponymy of Byzantine Cyprus can draw on exceedingly little documentary evidence of the names of villages from earlier than the 1190s. The villages themselves were there, of course, and many or even most of them will probably have had the same name as in later centuries, but their early names are unattested.

2. Nicholas Mouzalon, Eumathios Philokales, and Koutsobendes.

Thirty is the minimum canonical age to be ordained. Nicholas Mouzalon cannot have been much more when he was sent out from court circles in Constantinople to be archbishop of the Church of Cyprus. The emperor Alexius's discerning eye had perhaps identified spiritual and personal qualities in this young man of aristocratic family. What he failed to register was his lack of toughness and of political sense. Mouzalon had the misfortune that his path crossed that of a very determined administrator, Eumathios Philokales. After a brief pontificate (*c.*1107-1110), Mouzalon's position became untenable, or perhaps his spirit was broken. He resigned his see (deplorable and deeply distressing for any bishop), and withdrew to a monastery. There he wrote an apologia in the form of a long poem, full of woe and bitterness, in which he described the extreme hardship suffered by Cypriots: starvation and lack of life's necessities of clothing and housing; exemplary and cruel punishment for the non-payment of taxes; bishops (he says) were hanged or tortured to death, deacons sent to the galleys.[43] Mouzalon must have been in his way a choice person, for some 37 years later he was called out of monastic seclusion to become the ecumenical patriarch as Nicholas IV (1147-51).

At the heart of Mouzalon's indictment are charges of corruption – on the part both of the leaders of the church, and secular authorities. Collusion between the corrupt on both sides meant that a deposed abbot was reinstated in his abbacy by force of arms, in defiance of ecclesiastical law. It meant that a bishop might, in effect, work for the tax officials, delivering judgements against members of his own flock. When Mouzalon chastised members of the hierarchy, they went to the governor to complain. When Mouzalon sent his men to bring back a monk who

43. For the poem, see Doanides, 1934; Maas and Dölger, 1935; Philippou, 1935; and Hill, vol. 1, pp. 303-4.

had left his monastery in order to work as a tax collector, and to marry, the archbishop's men were beaten up.

Over the issue of corruption, one may think that the young Mouzalon and the governor, Philokales, ought to have been on the same side, more or less. It seems that they were not, and that Mouzalon regrettably put himself in the position of a trial of strength with Philokales. Up to a point, that went with the job. When one party is complaining bitterly, however, it is prudent to ask oneself whether there may not have been another perspective. A career imperial servant from Constantinople, Philokales had been appointed stratopedarch (and/or doux of Cyprus)[44] after the revolt of Rhapsomates was suppressed, with both naval and military command. The revolt had caused Alexius to focus his full attention on Cyprus, and to bring it into his strategic thinking. It did not require great prescience on the emperor's part to see the potential dangers to the security of the Empire, from the Seljuq control of most of Asia Minor, and from the principality of Antioch, which was dynastically an offshoot of Norman Sicily. Alexius had ample personal experience of the capacity of the Normans to mount a threat to his Empire, and his instructions to Eumathios Philokales were probably expressed in forceful terms. Moreover, he may have been somewhat vengeful towards the province because it had been in revolt. Cyprus must, as a priority, be made militarily secure. This involved creating one or more naval bases for the Byzantine fleet, the main one, presumably, at Kyrenia, but there was another, guarded by Varangians, at Paphos. Work was almost certainly undertaken also to build or strengthen the castles of the Pentadaktylos range. Kyrenia harbour will soon have been crammed with warships. Anna Comnena mentions the triremes of Cyrpus, of which there were twelve in all.[45] The logistical implications of creating a naval dockyard, and then running it, were considerable. The military forces needed to garrison the castles, once those castles were built, were perhaps a lesser charge, but even so they had to be provisioned, and paid. The costs fell upon the Cypriots, which doubtless meant a sharp rise in the levels of taxation, e.g. in the form of a fiscal surcharge.[46] The people had been accustomed, for as long as they could remember, to being lightly governed, and to arranging their private affairs much as they pleased. In

44. Stratopedarch seems not to have been a specific rank: see R. Guilland in *BZ* 46 (1953), 67 and 85; also V. Laurent, *Vatican*, p.58.

45. Alexiad, XIV, 12.

46. On the plan drawn up by Mouzalon for meeting the fiscal surchage devised by Philokales, see Darrouzès, 1972, 'Notes', IV, pp. 47-51.

a conservative society, the new regime will have provoked endless complaint. It would seem that the hierarchy took the side of the people. In every age, church leaders who play the politician, forgetting the injunction to render unto Caesar, etc., risk the fate which often befalls politicians. The archbishop and his brother bishops may have had interpersonal skills of a sort, but they were authoritarian by training and habit, and are likely to have been unaccustomed to negotiation or compromise. They perhaps assumed that they were immune from the political consequences of their stance. Philokales could not afford to see his strategic planning derailed. He was, no doubt, a man of different temperament from Boutoumites. If it is true, as Mouzalon later wrote, that bishops were hanged or tortured to death – or even if only one bishop suffered such an atrocity – and the younger deacons sent to the galleys (along with many lay people, certainly, to meet the manpower needs of the fleet), one has little sympathy to spare for them. They behaved foolishly. The governor's actions, and those of the dioiketes, may have been criminal, but they were foreseeable. It was part of Philokales' brief to remove all thoughts of further rebellion from the minds of the Cypriots. For the clergy to incite dissention could be construed as treasonable. Discretion is sometimes the better part of valour: the hierarchy should have tried to reach some better accommodation with the secular powers. All in all, one receives an impression that resistance by the church, while not unanimous, was concerted. Add to all this the agricultural shortages of which Mouzalon (and others) speak, exacerbated by heavy taxation, and the picture of misery which the former archbishop paints is understandable.

The chronology of the developments is not exactly known, but even so it holds some interest. Philokales was first appointed directly after Rhapsomates was removed from power in *c.*1094.[47] He may have held the office of doux forthwith, or if not, certainly by *c.*1099, when the emperor directed him to occupy the towns of Marqiye and Banyas on the Syrian coast.[48] It would seem that he governed with wide powers and with over-all control of the naval and military forces (perhaps initially with emergency powers: it depends how one understands Anna Comnena's title of 'stratopedarch') until 1102, when he was succeeded by Konstantinos Euphorbenos Katakalon, serving a second tour of duty in Cyprus, as protonobelissimos and doux of the Cypriots. Philokales

47. For the end-date of the rebellion, see above.

48. Megaw, *DOP* 18, p.336.

subsequently returned to Cyprus, also with the dignity of protonobelissimos and doux (a reward for his victorious campaign in Asia Minor in 1109/10?), in *c.*1110, i.e. towards the end of Mouzalon's tenure as archbishop.[49] If that chronology is correct, their disagreement came to a head quickly after the beginning of Philokales' second term.

It was during his second term that Voutoumites was sent as an ambassador to Baldwin I of Jerusalem, with ships and large sums of money provided by Philokales. When Baldwin could not be bought, the money (which had been lodged in the episcopal palace at Tripoli, and which was recovered from there with some difficulty) was used to buy horses of superior breeding from Damascus, Edessa, and Arabia.[50]

For the historian, the moral is the sobering one that such a substantial shift in the political and economic history of Cyprus as occurred in the 1090s and the decade of the 1100s should have left so little perspective in our evidence. Anna, it is true, announces that Philokales was made responsible for the defence of the island, and that he was given charge of warships and also cavalry, so that he might 'defend Cyprus by sea and by land'. Her assessment of him is that he was a man of noble birth with outstanding qualities, prudent, faithful to God, to his master [Alexius], and to his friends. He continued, certainly, to have a distinguished career.[51] But about the logistics of a major dockyard and supplies for the fleet, or about where the cavalry were stationed, she tells us nothing; about the building or strengthening of the castles, absolutely nothing. Of lead seals known to have been found in Cyprus of any officials from these years, there seems to be only one, found in the mud of Kyrenia harbour and belonging to Pegasios, topoteretes and katepano. Mouzalon gives a very different perspective, of oppression and misery. He paints Philokales in blackest hue. But the general had a big and difficult job to do, which was considered to be in the vital interest of the Empire; and he did not brook opposition. Why should he have done so? Under his heavy hand, Cyprus experienced another aspect of what it could mean to be a province.[52]

49. In 1118 we find Philokales as grand doux and praetor of Hellas and the Peloponnese, with the rank of pansebastos sebastos.

50. Alexiad XIV. ii. 14.

51. From lead seals we gather that he reached the rank of magister, and in 1118 he was megadux (Lord High Admiral) and praetor of the themes of Hellas and Peloponnese.

52. Cf. the anodyne comment by Constantinides and Browning, p. 8: 'This is perhaps the period when medieval Cyprus under Constantinopolitan influence reached its cultural peak. Important governors were sent to the island, and educated clerics were elevated to its episcopal throne'.

It comes as something of a surprise, then, to find Philokales, who was portrayed as 'a pitiless and cruel governor', in the character of an ecclesiastical patron. Yet it is known that he paid for both the building and the decoration of the church of the Holy Trinity,[53] which was physically attached to the monastic church of St John Chrysostom at Koutsobendes. The decoration included rich marble work. A painted inscription records his intention 'to expiate the wicked actions that he [had] erred in committing'.[54] The pious expression of remorse should not too readily be taken as endorsement of what Mouzalon says in his poem: confession is enjoined upon us all.

It has been suggested that the name of the monastery itself is a slight corruption of *Koutsaphentes*, 'the lame master', for we are told that Philokales visited St Cyril Phileotes hoping to be cured because he was lame in both legs (knee trouble, or hips, one wonders). It is difficult to disentangle fact from later fanciful etymology. The question is when the name Koutsobendes is first recorded. That the village, and the mountain below which it lies, should now be known by the same name as the monastery may be a phenomenon well known to place-name specialists as back-formation. The typikon of the monastery, naming it, is undated but appears to be from the thirteenth century. Of particular interest is a colophon in a (?late) eleventh-century manuscript which mentions Gerasimos, *anchithyrizon mones Kountzouve*.[55] Another monastery of St John (?Baptist) was at Kuzbandu. It has previously been confused with St John Chrysostom, but was evidently a separate, Maronite establishment, whose whereabouts is conjectural.[56]

Like Buffavento, which towers more than 600 metres above the monastery of Koutzobendes,[57] although at no great horizontal distance, the Holy Trinity church employs rubble masonry and brickwork. There can be very little doubt that it was built at almost exactly the same date as the castle. That is perhaps the clearest historical fact about it, after the inscription. What its purpose was is far from clear: the monks were already provided with their katholikon, dedicated to St John Chrysostom (itself consecrated only in 1090). The decoration of the Holy Trinity

53. Papacostas 6A.64.

54. See above, pp. 533f.

55. Constantinides and Browning, pp. 35 and 153-65, and Constantinides, 1993, pp. 322f, referring to MS Athos Lavra ? 17.

56. The evidence is set out in Papacostas, under 6.B.1.47.

57. Megaw and Hawkins, *DOP* 44, p. 64.

church was of the highest metropolitan quality, with an emphasis on monastic saints.[58] Could it have functioned as a castle chapel, comparably to the church of St Hilarion (which however lay actually within the castle of Didymos)?

3. Venetians settled in Paphos, Limassol, and Nicosia.

The establishment of the Latin Kingdom and the other Crusader states following the First Crusade created commercial opportunities along the sea-routes leading from north Italy to the Latin East, which the Venetians were ready to exploit. In fact, it seems very probable that Venetian privileges of free trade in Cyprus antedate the Crusade: they were implied by Alexius I's chrysobull of 1082, which granted the Venetians potentially very lucrative trading privileges throughout the Empire in recompense for their aid against the Normans in the struggle for Dyrrhachium. Cyprus was not mentioned in the document, but its omission should not be taken to mean that Venetians could not trade there.[59] Already in *c.*1094 (that is, before the First Crusade), Rhapsomates fled towards Limassol in the expectation, so Anna Comnena says, of being able quickly to board a ship for Syria. The port was evidently already a busy one, and not just for local shipping. In 1100 the count of Toulouse was met in the coastal waters of Cyprus by the Venetians.[60] It was recognized that in the Empire generally the Venetians were making a valued contribution: Manuel's chrysobull renews earlier clauses, in which imperial kommerkiarioi are particularly charged with being mindful to respect the privileges of the Venetians.

Resentment of the commercial success of the Venetians was the background to Manuel's *coup* against them on 12 March 1171, when all Venetians present in his territories were arrested and their goods confiscated.[61] This rash policy eventually had to be reversed, but the rupture between the two states lasted for more than ten years. Although it has left no evidence specific to Cyprus, one must assume that it threatened the Venetians resident in the province, even if it was not rigorously applied. Andronicus and Isaac II both sent substantial sums of money to Venice to be distributed in reparations. Families with members resident in Venice would have been conveniently placed to lodge claims;

58. Stylianou and Stylianou, ad. loc.

59. Jacoby, 1994. And see p. 529.

60. *Translatio Sancti Nicolai*, p. 19; Chalandon, p. 222.

61. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 1968, p. 389, n.2.

for the Cypriot Venetians, it may have been more complicated. The seizure of power by Isaac Comnenus should not, in itself, have interfered with the process.

By 1191 the Venetians in Cyprus had profited greatly. Their quarter in Limassol held 46 shops and more than a hundred houses.[62] (One wonders what commodities each of those the shops sold.) Members of the community had built their own church, of San Marco (subsequently taken over as the cathedral of the Latin bishop), and a second church of San Giorgio. It seems that by 1191 there were some, and perhaps more than a few, second-generation settlers; their parents had probably married within the community, and it is known that the sons (and daughters) inherited property. The Venetians were primarily a merchant class. What they brought to Cyprus included a strong spirit of enterprise; commercial experience and a network of contacts; navigational skills; a willingness to range throughout the east Mediterranean world wherever profit beckoned; and working capital, not least the investment in a ship. Many prominent members of the Limassol community belonged to or were related to well-known Venetian families.[63] Over the years they acquired property not only in Limassol, but also in its hinterland. For example, the three Bertrani brothers owned a mill, vineyards, and other estates at Limnati, up in the foothills. Rural estates would supply the family with basic foodstuffs, and probably yield a surplus which could be sold or exported, either to the Latin states or to Constantinople. This simple form of economic specialization no doubt brought benefits to the Greek Cypriots in the hinterland, as well as to the merchants. Whether the owners had country houses on their estates, to which they could retire in the hot weather, is not known. Nor is it known whether they suffered in the raids on Cyprus in the 1150s and later, or through the confiscations throughout the Empire in 1171, nor how they were treated by Isaac Comnenus. But when Richard Coeur-de-Lion arrived, they welcomed him. Trust in their western co-religionists was misplaced, however, when the island fell to the Lusignans: before long the Venetians were dispossessed. Quite early in the thirteenth century a switch in royal policy meant that the Venetians fell out of favour, to be replaced by their rivals, the Genoese.

62. All details are from the Querini-Stampalia codex, which has been published by Bergg ötz, 1990 and also by E. Papadopoulou, 1983, with commentary. The results are carefully discussed and placed in context in Papacostas, *BZ*, 1999.

63. Possible family links are explored in detail in Papacostas, *BZ*, 1999.

The Querini-Stampalia codex preserves the recollections of Marsilio Zorzi, written down (by Jacobus de Vairago)[64] in *c.*1242-4. It gives a wonderfully detailed view of the Venetians in Limassol at the very end of the Byzantine period, but it tells us nothing about Nicosia or Paphos, where there were also Venetian colonies, with their own churches. Whether the Venetians were equally strong in Nicosia and Paphos, we simply do not know. Nor is the rising curve of prosperity through the twelfth century measurable. Probably the first half of the twelfth century was the adventurous time, when young Venetians decided to settle in Cyprus, and seek to make their fortunes there.

Scattered references from the 1130s and 1140s create the impression that Venetians were already entrenched in Cyprus at that time, to an extent that is perhaps unlikely if the door had only been opened to them in *c.*1135-6. In particular, a Venetian company based in Limassol was trading in Damietta already in 1139.[65] That is one reason to question Lilie's interpretation, discussed above.[66] Venetians are mentioned at Paphos in 1143, in an incident which illustrates the wide-ranging character of Venetian trade. A notarial document speaks of Pietro Marzagnolo returning 'not long ago' in his ship from Acre to Constantinople, and putting in at Paphos *en route* 'in loco qui dicitur Bafum'. There he made a payment of 51 [gold] 'stafrati', concerning an infant of Giovanni Raldo, debtor of his son Giovanni. The payment was subsequently notarized in Constantinople.[67] In 1145 and 1147 we hear of Venetians with the surname Baffo.[68] A Venetian company based in Paphos is mentioned in 1173 and 1175.[69]

4. Supplies sent to the laura of St Theodosius the Cenobiarch.

The famous laura of St Theodosius the Cenobiarch in the Judaean wilderness was a major destination for pilgrims, because of its traditional association with the Wise Men of the Nativity narrative.[70] As such it

64. Pers. comm. Dr Papacostas. The writer is grateful for this correction to the previously published account.

65. A. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziane nei secoli XI-XIII* (Regesta Chartarum Italiae, vols 28-9), 1953, vol. I, doc. no. 74.

66. See p. 529.

66. Morozzo-Lombardo no. 82.

67. Papacostas, 199 , at p. 486.

69. Morozzo-Lombardo I, nos. 373, 454, and 455.

70. It was here that the Wise Men rested, and received the angelic guidance. Richard, 1986.

required large supplies of food and drink for so many visitors, – much more than it could find in the harsh environment locally. After the death of Harūn al-Rashid the *laura* was destroyed. Its monks became refugees, fleeing either to Constantinople or to Cyprus. Those who went to Cyprus are said to have received help from the emperor in the form of cash.[71]

The laura was in the fulness of time reconstructed, and at about that moment it received from the emperor a vast estate in Cyprus,[72] from which it might draw supplies to feed the pilgrims. The core of the monastic possessions was immediately to the south-east of the Khapotami valley region, stretching down to the sea coast. This was, at the time it was granted and for centuries subsequently, almost certainly the greatest monastic estate in the island – much greater, for example, than the possessions of the Krinia monastery. The date (or dates) at which the laura was re-founded and the Cypriot estate granted are not on record, our earliest written information deriving from a papal privilege of 1216,[73] intended to override the Lusignan general ban on the export of money or wealth. One imagines that the foundation came after rather than before the reconquest of Cyprus in 965: perhaps well after 965. A lead seal of the Judaean monastery, found in the Paphos district, is certainly the earliest existing testimony to the refounded laura.[74]

The imperial donation raises a question of much general historical interest: how had the district south of the Khapotami river come into the imperial domain? Dare one contemplate the possibility that these were lands recovered from the Arabs in 965? And if so, what had the occupiers been doing there? – Had they put the Khapotami district to a similar purpose, of providing foodstuffs for export?

The head place of the estate was the monastery named in the early thirteenth century as Acra, lying immediately to the south-west of Pano

71. This is reported by Theophanes.

72. So Perdiccas of Ephesus says.

73. The bulla names the laura as 'monasterium Sancti Theodosii cenobiarchae de Laberia'. (The Crusaders used 'la Berrie' to refer to the Judaean wilderness.

74. The lead seal is published above, at p. 126. The writer is indebted to Professor Dr W. Seibt for his opinion that it is from the late XI/first half of the XII century (pers. comm., September 2008). He was aware of no other lead seal of a cenobiarch. Although the date can only be estimated from the style of the lettering, one should not exclude a date before the First Crusade on doctrinaire grounds. There is a somewhat similar lead seal, with the saint orans, of the laura of St Sabas (Mar Saba?), almost certainly earlier, perhaps X/XI century (*BLSC* 495, coming from the Limassol district).

Arkhimandrita.[75] It also was dedicated to St Theodosius. Having mentioned it first, the papal privilege goes on to name about 20 separate holdings, *casales* (choria) or *presteries* (proasteria), not all of which can be identified on the ground today. There are also holdings called *obedientiae*, i.e. properties which were managed by a single, non-resident monk. That again prompts a general historical question, whether Arab control of parts of Cyprus during the condominium centuries had sometimes consisted, not of actual settlement by Muslims, but of control by a numerically small governing class, while the labour in the fields and among the vines was carried out, as ever, by the villagers, who were ethnically the same population as they had always been. Whether they toiled for the Arabs, or for the emperor, or for the monks, their lot was much the same. In any case, it is clear that the monks of Acra were managers, whose income derived from an imperial endowment.

It seems that the holdings are itemized more or less in clockwise order, rather than in order of importance. The list proceeds from the *caput* southwards to the coast, and then westwards to the mouth of the Khapotami and (a little way) beyond. After Acra are mentioned the holdings of Tromachium (a mill, and vines), next Perdicam, then the church of St Cassian[76] and its dependencies, then Glifeo,[77] then Geratium, then the church of St George[78] with its dependencies, and the church of St Alexander with its dependencies. The places mentioned without churches were perhaps very small settlements along the itinerary. St Michael the Archangel at Pissourum is perhaps the modern Pissouri, but is followed (not preceded) by the church of Holy Cross at Alectorum (surely Alekhtora), and then two small places called Ru and Vrisu. The inventory then turns westwards. The monastery owned the sea shore from Petram Remer (an early mention of Petra tou Romiou) as far as Geratium, with its fisheries. Then there is the obedientia of Cay flumine (Kha potami) and its lands, which extended from the (coastal?) road, St George of Pirgo (Pyrgo) with an olive grove and woods, then the church of St Michael and the lands called Corrigeae Caumata.

75. Gunnis, pp. 174f, reports in connection with this church of Ayios Theodosios that a number of drums of columns lay scattered about, with an average circumference of seven feet – testimony to a building of some pretensions.

76. Gunnis p. 160, s.v. Alekhtora.

77. Machairas says 'By Alekhtora, at a place called Glyphia, is the grave of St Cassian'.

78. There are of course many churches with that dedication, but this is perhaps the one between Alekhtora and Pissouri, which was larger than the average, and of some importance.

The remainder of the estate is scattered, and one may imagine that it was acquired by pious donations or bequests, piecemeal, at later dates: the obedientia of Paleopafo with a mill, lands, and orchards; the church of St Mary of Paracellis with a casale, lands, etc. and similarly the church of St Mary of Magnacomis,. as far as 'half the vines of St Sabas'; Polemidia with its lands and olive groves; and at Limassol the orchard of Ambuti (a personal name?); vines and lands at Kissisa (??Kissousa); and a house and 'a great vine' at Leotumben (Letimbou).

The laura of St Theodosius was not the only religious institution abroad to be given endowments in Cyprus. St Catherine's, Mount Sinai, for example, received land, and also a pound of gold a year from the *comerc* of Cyprus. Although the original date of the grant is not known, the mention of gold makes it sound very much like an imperial gift. The place name Sina Oros, again in the south-west of Cyprus, may refer to the holdings of Mount Sinai. The endowment of St Sabas has already been mentioned.

5. 'The rightful judgement of God': foreign raids and natural disasters.

St Neophytos the Recluse is our principal witness and, it is not too much to say, a witness at first hand, to appalling hardships and sufferings which were visited upon the people of Cyprus between 1155 and 1179, as a result of foreign raids and terrorism, earthquakes, and above all, disease and drought. In earlier Byzantine centuries, disease and drought had never been far away,[79] and doubtless many Cypriots perished, but the lives cut short have no memorial in the historical record.[80] Neophytos's account of the devastations of a horrendous quarter-century should serve as a reminder of perennial problems (albeit less acute), possibly exacerbated in the twelfth century by population growth.

In 1155/6 Renaud of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, with Armenian support, launched a punitive raid against Cyprus.[81] It seems that he was

79. See above, p. 317.

80. Demographic statistics for the various forms of thalassaemia bear witness to the evolutionary struggle against malaria (S. Jones, *The Language of the Genes*, pp. 126 and 247-8, on the slightly lesser evil of sickle cell anaemia).

81. He became prince (1153-60) through his marriage with Constance, the daughter of Prince Bohémond II. Another explanation for the attack, which carries some weight because of the relatively early date of the manuscript source, is that Franks in Cyprus had been mistreated, and that the raid was in reprisal for that (Papacostas, *BZ* 1999, at p. 484, following A. B. Schmidt, 'Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Grossen', *Le Muséon* 109, 1996, 299-319).

aggrieved that Manuel I had not kept his promise to pay him a large sum of money. Cyprus, as a nearby part of Manuel's empire, bore the brunt of his resentment. Renaud's character was one of brutal arrogance, and the savagery of his attack was seen as disproportionate. Resistance at the (north) coast was offered by doux Michael Branas who soon, however, had to retreat. Renaud advanced on Nicosia, where he captured both Branas and the governor of the province, John Komnenos. He then proceeded to devastate the island. According to both Byzantine and western sources he burned towns and villages, slaughtered and mutilated the inhabitants, carried away large amounts of plunder, and extorted a huge ransom, against lay and church leaders taken hostage.[82]

Neophytos remembered, from when he was a young monk at Koutsobendis, a military raid near the village of Dhikomo (just five or six miles away from the monastery), – apparently this very raid, in 1155/6 – in which the Cypriot forces were annihilated. He mentions that the governor and a bishop were among the prisoners taken, and that the raiders returned to their own land 'with our fruit and our food'.[83]

In the wake of those events the Egyptian fleet in 1158 made a number of raids against Cyprus, returning to base with many prisoners, including the governor (again: still John Komnenos, or a replacement?).[84] So far as one can judge, these raids were merely opportunistic.

In 1161 Cyprus again suffered from another act of revenge against Manuel I. After protracted negotiations to marry the sister of the count of Tripoli (Raymond III), Manuel abruptly changed his mind, and married instead the daughter of Constance, princess of Antioch (and spouse of the now imprisoned Renaud.[85]) Thus slighted, Raymond encouraged pirates to attack the lands of the Empire, giving them the ships which had been destined to take his sister Melissende to Constantinople. Cyprus was targeted, and the governor, Alexios Doukas, was unable to prevent widespread killing, looting, and burning.[86] Even if

82. See John Kinnamos (*Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke, *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, Bonn, 1836), 178.3-179.3; William of Tyre (*RHC Occ.* I,1, I,2, 834-5); Hill, vol. 1, pp. 306-8.

83. Galatariotou, p.188. The identification of this account with the raid of 1155/6 rather than that of 1161 rests on a marginal gloss referring to 'the prince of Antioch'.

84. Hill, vol.1, p. 308.

85. Renaud was a loose cannon, and doubtless a headache to his fellow-rulers in the Latin East. When he was ambushed in 1160, he spent the next 16 years in captivity.

86. Constantine Manasses (Horna, 1904), 343.36-344.88.

these near-contemporary comments are applicable more to some regions of Cyprus than to others, there is no reason to depreciate them altogether.

Worse was to come. In *c.*1174 there was a visitation of the plague, and in *c.*1176, after two consecutive years without rain, large numbers of people starved to death. Neophytos, in his *Book of Fifty Chapters*, written in 1179,[87] he says, 'And our country is left almost uninhabited; and some of the people sailed away to foreign lands, while others were consumed by death, caused by famine... It was a great plague, and death was unceasing, so that great numbers not only of people but also of beasts and birds perished ... and until now famine and earthquakes and destruction and civil wars ... have not ceased upon this land ... and barely one third of the people is left, and many villages ... now stand deserted'.[88]

For Neophytos and his contemporaries, eclipses and earthquakes were further portents of divine displeasure. Many people nowadays no longer truly believe that God manipulates the weather, or permits enemy attacks, in order to punish the hidden sins of a nation.[89] If we feel vaguely guilty of cynicism, we perhaps do not examine the secular aspect of what Neophytos says as critically as is desirable. One only has to recollect that Venetian merchants found it worth their while to settle in Cyprus, and to become landholders, in these years, in order to begin to appreciate that Neophytos speaks principally for the villagers and the unprivileged, who had no recourse but to suffer. His remarks may apply most closely to the Mesaoria. We should recognize that, while what he says is true, it is probably not a complete or balanced survey of the condition of Cyprus.

87. Cod. Athe. 522. Galatariotou, p. 272, adding to arguments published by Englezakis in *Epetiris* 10 (1979-80), 31-83. Neophytos refers to a partial eclipse of the sun as having occurred 'in the previous year'. This can be referred to 13 September 1178. Other details can be adduced.

88. Galatariotou, p.187, n.14.

89. Others do. Note that the English Prayer Book (1662) includes a 'Prayer for Rain and for Fair Weather', and another 'In Time of any common Plague or Sickness'. A couple of weeks after this footnote was drafted, the north of England suffered severe flooding, in which large numbers lost their household goods and were made homeless. The bishop of Carlisle was reported in the press as saying, 'This is a strong and definite judgement because the world has been arrogant . . . we are reaping the consequences of our moral degradation'. He went on to blame gay liberation. 'The Sexual Orientation Regulations are part of a general scene of permissiveness. We are in a situation where we are liable for God's judgement'. These remarks, which perhaps serve to bring us closer to the mind of St Neophytos, attracted adverse comments, referring to the blanket punishment of the just and the unjust, etc., and some of Carleol's fellow bishops attempted to pick up the pieces.

6. Agriculture: self-sufficiency; the internal market; exports.

Whereas we have a certain amount of documentary information about dietary matters and through that about agriculture and arboriculture in Lusignan times,[90] there is extraordinarily little evidence originating before 1191. From that little, one should generalize with discretion.

For example, the chronology of new introductions into Cyprus of food plants or of farming techniques from the wider Muslim world is impossible to recover, even to the nearest century.[91] For a broad view, no doubt one could extrapolate back from the Lusignan period without falling into much error, but there would be little merit in offering conclusions which were not grounded in specific evidence. The challenge, then, is to fit the few available scraps of information into a synthesis, deciding by common sense whether what they report is normal or unusual. Some knowledge of how and where different crops can be grown is a prerequisite.[92] Bananas, for example, grew best in the Paphos district, where the slightly more humid local climate of the coastal plain suited them. An acquaintance with recipes for traditional dishes offers constant reminders of the variety and inventiveness of the Cypriot cuisine.[93] For the early medievalist, however, it is by thinking about agricultural economics that the relevance of this specialized information is best integrated into a general view. Through trial and error over the generations, people discovered what crops they could most profitably grow: local variations in rainfall, soil types, aquifers, and micro-climates determined farming practice,[94] and specialized regional production led

90. W. W. Weaver, *The Royal Garden of Pefkou. A Study of Fruit Consumption in Medieval Nicosia*, Nicosia, 2006. The author, who has consulted colleagues widely, is a professor of Food Studies, and brings special expertise to the topic. A friend in Larnaca read this book with delight (September 2007), because it brought back vivid memories of his childhood, and of his granny's garden. It was planted with various fruit trees so as to provide the family with fruit through the year. At the back were ten mulberry trees, nine of the ordinary kind and one with small leaves, for when the silk-worms were small. The worms were kept in trays three deep in the basement, and it was my friend's task, when he came home from school, to pick a fresh supply of leaves for the voracious creatures. He still has silk coverlets for the beds woven from his granny's silk.

91. Watson, 1983. It seems that by the end of the Byzantine centuries, four citrus fruits were known, namely the citron, the sour orange (Arabic *narānj*), the lemon, and the lime. (Our sweet orange came a good deal later.) Bananas (*musa*) were introduced into the island similarly. So were colocasia and spinach.

92. Ionas, 2005 provides an excellent regional geography for this purpose.

93. Weaver, op.cit., passim.

94. Ionas, loc.cit.

naturally to the creation of internal markets, within or outside the monetary economy. A similar theme is the supplying of the three large cities with foodstuffs, either from their hinterland or by coastwise importation. Another topic, which throws some light on the class structure in twelfth-century Cyprus, is the greater range and luxury of the foodstuffs afforded by the well-to-do. It seems that the monks in the wealthier monasteries ate well, too (although as vegetarians). These various themes overlap in the evidence concerning urban gardens – walled or sheltered enclosures in which fruit-trees were prominent.[95]

The x-factor or unknown quantity in forming a general view of the province's agricultural economy is production for export. In the same way that amphora studies, for the sixth and seventh centuries, alert us to a major and otherwise invisible aspect of the economy, similarly in much of the tenth to twelfth centuries there are just a few small scraps of evidence for what was almost certainly a significant gearing of agricultural production to foreign trade. It is true that high-value crops, for which there was a demand overseas, were far from typical of the whole range of agricultural production, but their economic impact locally, where they may have dominated activity in a particular region of Cyprus, will have given additional impetus to the internal market. Sugar production (in Lusignan times) is the classic example. Dependent on plentiful irrigation, it was confined mainly to the land that could be watered from perennial rivers. There is very little evidence from which to judge whether sugar was grown already in the twelfth century as a main crop for export. One should probably assume that it was an expensive commodity, used originally for medicinal purposes. Silk was almost certainly produced, and exported.[96] Cotton is a known export.[97] These are just the high-profile items. If we had the sort of statistics of exports that are collected nowadays, it would doubtless appear that in the twelfth century there was a long and varied list of commodities being shipped from Cyprus. That had been true even in the later tenth century, when Ibn Hawqal speaks of 'mastic of good quality, gum in abundance, . . . silk, linen, wheat, barley, [and other] cereals'. Also, it seems clear enough that, in the twelfth century, the Venetians living in the island prospered by exporting surpluses to the Latin states or to Constantinople.

95. This implies a degree of permanency, given the time before a tree becomes fruitful.

96. It is mentioned by Ibn Hawqal (see below). Silk was supposedly introduced into Cyprus as early as the time of Justinian. The evidence of lead seals of eighth-century general kommerkiarioi from Cyprus is open to more than one interpretation.

97. Mazzaoui

Water was the precondition for growing almost any crop, in most districts of Cyprus. Even though the climate tended to be a little cooler and wetter than it is today, an abundant source of water which could be used for large-scale irrigation was available in only a few places. It was the Kouris river which made possible the valuable sugar production of the Cornaro estates near Episkopi in Lusignan times. Less famous, but still economically important, was the irrigation made possible by the strong perennial springs above Lapithos, and at Kythrea. And perennial springs helped to make possible the growth of Nicosia (and, for example, its orchards). Water was everywhere husbanded and put to use in smaller schemes right down to the hoeing of little earthen dams for the watering of each family's own vegetable plot.

So-called 'Persian' water-wheels are said to have been introduced into Cyprus (as elsewhere in the Christian world) as early as the sixth century – large wooden wheels, to which earthenware jars were attached. The wheel was turned by a donkey or camel, and the jars dipped successively into a cistern, raised the water, and tipped it into channels built to take it where it was needed. The French mission at Amathus excavated the remains of an installation of this kind, its early date being apparently validated by an *opus sectile* pavement.[98] (How securely it can be dated involves wider questions of the chronology of *opus sectile*, and perhaps the re-use of *crustae*.[99]) Similar water-wheels were still in use in Cyprus throughout Lusignan times,[100] that is to say, for a further five or six centuries.

Among the few documentary sources offering any evidence of agriculture in its social aspects, one may mention the inventory of property of the Kriniotissa monastery. It begins by mentioning the original endowment of 'mountain and field' – the field destined to become, one may suppose, the monks' kitchen garden. Three hours' of water rights are a reminder of how essential, and how valuable, water was to agriculture. Thereafter the list of properties includes various orchards and vineyards (which were substantial assets to any owner). Not only did they supply the common table, but any surpluses could be sold for cash.

Another monastic example concerns St Neophytos who, having originally lived in holy poverty, i.e. from hand to mouth, was persuaded

98. Aupert, 1996.

99. See the general discussion of *opus sectile* at pp. 262-5.

100. Weaver, op.cit.

to accept a basic endowment for his monastery, namely an orchard, a vineyard, and a few cows.

A different note is struck when we read that Isaac II granted to the monastery of Machairas an orchard near Nicosia.[101] Here we are much closer in substance to the fifteenth-century royal garden of Pevkou (also in Nicosia), whose contents we know: apple trees, orange trees, peach trees, fig trees, jujubes, mulberry trees, large numbers of pomegranate shrubs, and much else, all within a hedge, and with an imposing entrance gate. The produce will of course have been carried to the monastery, but its urban location within easy reach of the capital suggests that the garden could also have been a source of cash revenue for the monks.

7. Varangians in Cyprus

Alexius I and his successors relied upon foreign mercenaries, whose loyalty was not open to subversion by the local *dynatoi* who so frequently contested power with the emperor. The famous Varangians (including probably some English as well as Scandinavian men) served in the naval force sent to Cyprus in 1092-3,[102] and they formed part of the garrison of the naval station set up in Paphos by Alexius.[103] It seems that they were supplemented by additional troops who had been in the (large) retinue of King Eric the Good, who died in Paphos.[104]

In the mid-twelfth century, Varangians took part in the defeat of Renaud of Châtillon. Abbot Nicholas of Thineyrar, in Iceland, who passed through Paphos in *c.*1150, wrote that the port was garrisoned by a detachment of Varangians – something that would have been of interest to him as a Scandinavian himself.[105]

8. The early development of Famagusta

Famagusta became a great and wealthy city only in Lusignan times, following the fall of the Latin states on the mainland at the end of the thirteenth century. About Byzantine Famagusta, superimposed on the

101. In the Rule of Neilos it is described a little more exactly as 'an orchard from among the royal orchards near Nicosia'. (Coureas, 2003, p.73, Chapter 22.) This grant may have remained a dead letter while Isaac Comnenus was in power.

102. Blöndel and Benedikz, 1978, p. 128.

103. ibid.

104. ibid., p. 135.

105. For the account by Abbot Nicholas, see *Antiquités russes d'après les monuments des Islandais*, vol. 2, Copenhagen, 1852, p. 408.

ruins of the ancient Arsinoe, not much is yet known, except that in the twelfth century it was still a modest little port, which offered pilgrims and others the shortest sea-crossing to the coast of Syria. There is a myth that Famagusta (Ammochostos - 'covered with sand') was founded by refugees from Constantia, after the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century. For this unlikely tale, there is at present no evidence, although a nearby relocation – as happened with other cities of Cyprus – is not entirely out of the question. The place-name is mentioned before the Arab raids, as the place of enclosure of abba Kaïoumos, who adjudicated on the probable eternal destiny of Philentolos, son of Olympios. But whether the presence of Kaïoumos amounts to evidence of anything more than religious 'squatterization' among the ancient ruins, it is not at present possible to say. The claim has even been made that Ammochostos was the name given to the sadly decayed city of Constantia, and that the said refugees took it with them.[106] One may safely disregard that. Leaving Kaïoumos on one side, the earliest mention seems to be on the map of Cyprus in the *Book of Curiosities* (by *c.*1050), where the Arabic name has been read, rather tentatively, as al-Mākhūsah. Who knows, a well-conducted archaeological excavation in the harbour area might yield significant quantities of post-650 small finds, in particular coins and lead seals,[107] which would constitute reasonably clear evidence of habitation in the later seventh or perhaps in the early eighth century – although not necessarily of continuity between then and the eleventh century. (How would such archaeological evidence, of habitation with or without a gap, differ from the corresponding archaeological evidence from, say, Kourion? In itself, it would look much the same.) Archaeology may yet transform our understanding of the early development of Famagusta.

Gunnis remarks that on the south side of the (fourteenth-century) church of St George of the Greeks (which is thought to have served as the Orthodox cathedral in early Lusignan times) lie the remains of the original Byzantine cathedral.[108] This earlier church, dedicated to St

106. This story, which is advanced in Megaw, 1974, p. 78 and n.84, has remarkably little to recommend it. The evidence offered is that Abba Kaïoumos was enclosed there. But that was before the Arab raids; and in any case Constantia lasted as an urban centre well into the eighth century. The straightforward understanding of the text is that the fathers meeting in synod there in the 630s will have sent some of their number seven or eight miles down the coast to Ammochostos to learn the judgement of Kaïoumos.

107. See *BLSC* 460, reportedly from Famagusta, and dating from before *c.*725, and also *BLSC* 100, from Gugomi.

108. Gunnis, 1936, s.v. Famagusta.

Symeon, has been much altered. It may have been built originally in the mid to late twelfth century.[109] Whether it had a special role before 1191 is quite unclear.[110]

The potential of a good harbour would have been likely to encourage the growth of a settlement, at any time after the decline of Constantia, if there was sufficient traffic for navigation to be profitable. A date after the recapture of Antioch suggests itself; but one should not too easily assume that Arab-held ports would have been hostile – remembering the 32 men from Kition who sailed to Gabala for 'the usual work' in the 780s.

The twelfth-century Anonymous pilgrim states that the shortest way to the Holy Places is from Famagusta',[111] and Vinsauf refers to the place as a city.[112] Bishop Wilbrand of Oldenburg visited Famagusta in 1211, and describes it as 'a city built close to the sea, with a good harbour, slightly fortified.' It may safely be assumed that the fortification was in existence already in 1191. Who built it? One possibility is that it was instigated by Alexius I. 'Near it', says William, 'is the site of some city now destroyed, from which they say came that famous and blessed Epiphanius'. It is interesting that even the name of Constantia (about seven miles up the coast) was unknown to him.[113]

There is one lead seal on record with a Famagusta provenance, of a Bishop Epiphanius, but in a distinctive style not to be associated with Constantia. Its use of the genitive case indicates a date before *c.*725.[114] (There is no reason to imagine that Famagusta was itself the seat of a bishop.) Another lead seal, purchased from a Mr Vasiliou of Gugomi (Famagusta) in 1950 is again unusual in style and looks to be from the sixth or seventh century.[115] Finally there is a lead seal of a vestiarios perhaps from after the reconquest.[116]

In summary, twelfth-century Famagusta is well enough attested. The virtual absence of earlier evidence means very little, and future archaeological exploration may well suggest some radical revisions.

109. Papacostas, 1999, 6.A.106.

110. Papacostas is silent on this point.

111. Papacostas 1995, p.15, n.68, citing Stewart, 1894, 17.

112. Mogabgab, 1941, 12.

113. Jeffery, 1918, p.101.

114. As things stand, the provenance does not command complete confidence. See *BLSC* 460 and cf. 461.

115. *BLSC* no.100.

116. *BLSC* no. 305. The rank is clear but the name of the office has not been read.

9. Isaac, emperor in Cyprus

Isaac was a very young man 'of excellent family',[117] when he was nominated by his great-uncle Manuel I in *c.*1174/5 to be governor of Cilicia. His father's family is not known to us,[118] but on his mother's side he was part of the Comnenian 'clan'. Later in life he took the name Comnenus, but it seems that previously he called himself Isaac Doukas.[119] While in Cilicia he was captured and made a prisoner by the Armenians; he remained in captivity for a long time. In 1182 Isaac and his two young children were transferred into the hands of Prince Bohémond III of Antioch as part of a ransom payment.[120] When Andronicus Comnenus became regent to the young Alexius II, Isaac was released through the good offices of his aunt Theodora, the consort of Andronicus, who arranged a ransom payment of 60,000 bezants,[121] 30,000 down. According to one account, the Templars stood as guarantors for the outstanding 30,000 bezants.[122] Isaac set sail for Cyprus, apparently in 1183 or early 1184,[123] where he quickly raised the promised sum through taxation. This does not sit happily with the observation by Neophytos that in *c.*1176 the population of Cyprus had been reduced by starvation and death to one third. The story that Isaac came with forged letters of appointment is difficult to understand, and may be a slur. To whom would he have presented such letters? – And should they not have been sealed? Much more to the point, he brought with him Armenian troops, who continued to form a significant part of his army, throughout his reign.[124] In what capacity did he come to Cyprus? Was he appointed governor? Whom did he replace? None of this is clear; but it would seem

117. He was a grandson of Manuel's brother, the sebastocrator Isaac, – and thus a member of the Comnenian 'clan'.

118. Those closest to the event seem to draw a veil of silence over his paternity. This has even led to the (modern) suggestion that he was an illegitimate child of Manuel I. Certainly, he was appointed to high office while young and inexperienced. Rudt de Collenberg, p. 128, note 1.

119. It is not clear why. Rudt de Collenberg, p. 128.

120. Neophytos says that Roupen III 'sold Isaac to the Latins to seal the new friendship'.

121. A curious sign that Isaac was valued in imperial circles.

122. The transactions are described, with minor variations, by Nicetas, Benedict of Peterborough, and Hoveden. Isaac's two young children were retained by Bohémond as hostages against payment of the debt. (Isaac in due course handed the money over through the Templars as intermediaries.) What advantage the Templars expected to gain is not specified: presumably access to Cyprus.

123. Rudt de Collenberg, p. 135.

124. Rudt de Collenberg, p. 138.

that his move to Cyprus, where he was able to tax the inhabitants, was imperially sanctioned.[125] Before long, however, he took the title of emperor (*despotes*).[126] In view of the help that he had received from Andronicus and Theodora, that may strike one as rank ingratitude. Andronicus, admittedly, belonged to a cadet line of the Comneni, and his usurpation was widely resented. But who was Isaac to complain? His paternal derivation is a mystery. There were many who were restive against Andronicus, and even proclaimed themselves emperor. And any discord within the Empire had the support of King William II of Sicily.

This was, from Isaac's point of view, no mere revolt or secession. In his own obsessive mind he, and no-one else, was the emperor of Byzantium. The exact date at which he was proclaimed and crowned is unclear. Andronicus, unable to lay hands on Isaac himself, put on trial for treason two relatives of Isaac (Constantine Macroducas and Andronicus Ducas) who has stood surety for him. Brand suggests that the emperor reacted as soon as news reached him of Isaac's usurpation, and that the two suffered on 30 May 1185.[127] If so, Isaac will have seized power in April 1185, and will have reigned for six years. If on the other hand we believe Neophytos, who says that he reigned for seven years (up to May 1191), there will have been a time-lag before Andronicus' response. It would be logical and tidy if we could say that Isaac's proclamation was in response to the death of Andronicus I and the exclusion of the Comneni from the throne.

The church was coerced into providing the necessary divine sanction. The archbishop of Cyprus, acting with quasi-patriarchal authority, crowned Isaac. The English source, Benedict of Peterborough, tells that Isaac had statues made of himself, which were placed in the churches and venerated. This is excellent evidence, because it shows a slight misunderstanding of the Byzantine custom of placing *imagines imperiales* in the churches, where they were acclaimed. Isaac, in short, had himself made legitimate emperor with full ceremonial.[128]

125. By Alexius II? Rudt de Collenberg remarks that there is no trace, in the sources, of opposition to Isaac's person. Nicetas says that Isaac's power to tax in Cyprus was by virtue of his (still) being governor of Cilicia – which suggests that Nicetas could see the problem too.

126. The word 'despotes' appears on his gold coinage. It was a title of rank used, for example, by the sebastocrator Isaac. But in the case of Isaac of Cyprus, it is clear that the claim was greater.

127. Brand, pp. 56 and 330, n.64.

128. Rudt de Collenberg, p. 137, note 1. A Byzantine emperor was supposed to be ceremonially recognized by (1) the people, (2) the clergy, and (3) the army, and (4) consecrated by a patriarch.

Isaac was under the pressing necessity to guard against a sea-borne reconquest of Cyprus from Constantinople. It was a year or more before the threat materialized. By allying himself with William II of Sicily, he benefited from defence of his coasts by the Sicilian fleet. Under its admiral Margaritone, they repulsed the 70 galleys sent by Isaac Angelus in 1186. The Byzantine troops who landed on the island were driven back, and their captured commanders were sent to Palermo. But their defeat may not have been as prompt as the written record allows it to appear. Several coin hoards terminating with coins of Isaac Angelus, including a very large hoard of billon trachea from Nicosia,[129] hint that Isaac Comnenus' victory was not in fact gained overnight. One should perhaps pause to ask oneself what benefits there were for the Sicilian king in protecting Cyprus. Was there any specific *quid pro quo*?

The suggestion has been made[130] that Isaac captured the campaign chest of the imperial forces, and that it was with that supply of metal that he first minted his own coinage. It could well be so as regards the billon coinage. Isaac's gold is so rare today that one may judge that no special explanation of its source is called for.

In 1188 peace was concluded between Sicily and the Empire, and the Sicilian fleet was withdrawn. Cyprus now lay exposed to invasion from Constantinople. Both parties sought to enrol Saladin in their cause. When it came to the point he was unwilling actively to intervene. Indeed, in April 1191, the citizens of Latakia (which had recently been conquered by Saladin) launched a raid against Cyprus. It was claimed that they pillaged the island's ports, and carried away captives as well as great booty.[131] Very shortly thereafter, the arrival of Richard Coeur-de-Lion spelled defeat for Isaac, and the end of Byzantine Cyprus.

By 1191, it seems that Isaac had forfeited much of the good-will of the Cypriots, by his policies of heavy taxation and confiscations. All the sources speak of his vengeful and brutal character, and his rapacity, and one may believe them. Although no journalist today would dare, nor would be allowed by his editor, to publish such vague and unsubstantiated allegations (true though they may have been) of Isaac's raping young women and punishing people by cutting off their limbs, it is clear that he was a wicked and violent man. When we are told that, when angry, his

129. See chapter 3 above.

130. By Hendy in *DOC*, vol. 4.

131. Rudt de Collenberg, p. 142. Bara-ad-Din, RCH Or. III, 213 and V, 7.

lower jaw quivered continuously and that he uttered sounds like a kettle coming to the boil, it has the ring of first-hand observation. Isaac was very probably an amoral tyrant, well along the road to being a psychopath. For a modern parallel, one thinks of various sub-Saharan African dictators, such as Idi Amin. How could such an appalling individual have risen to power? It tells us something about the aristocracy's immunity to criticism. One has to admit, also, that he seems to have been a man of considerable ability. Had he remained in control of Cyprus for longer, he might have succeeded in consolidating his rule – still looking towards Sicily: in 1191 he remarried, an illegitimate daughter of King William I. As it was he fell victim to a determined military coup, by King Richard, fighting with Lusignan support. Although Isaac's daughter was his natural heir, it seems that a relative of his who was a monk in Cyprus was chosen to succeed him. This unfortunate individual was quickly captured and hung.

The beginning and the end of Isaac's reign are well documented, but what happened in Cyprus in the intervening seven years is hardly recorded at all. It is generally assumed, for example, that Isaac controlled the whole island; but one wonders whether Larnaca and its agricultural hinterland may not have remained under Byzantine control for some time. Lead seals have been mentioned; unfortunately they cannot be securely dated to Isaac's reign. The question for the internal history of the province is perhaps this: would it have fared differently if Isaac had never reached its shore? He arrived in debt, and placed Cyprus under tax to further his considerable ambition. His exactions may have fallen more heavily on the merchant class and on the towns than on the Cypriot landholders, although this is difficult to prove. If Isaac did anything to build up the infrastructure it would have been in his capital, Nicosia, as an expression of his imperial claims; but his priority may have been to fill his treasure chest, with dreams of one day reaching Constantinople. After the long reign of Manuel I, the Empire was undoubtedly tending to fall apart. During most of Isaac's reign in Cyprus, Constantinople was preoccupied with the struggle against Bulgaria. The provinces were not well governed from the centre. In the case of Cyprus, it was not governed at all. Isaac was able to do as he chose. His personality and his priorities were of little or no benefit to the population, and he probably had no inkling of the wisdom or even the self-interest of treating the Cypriots constructively or with generosity. In any case, what destroyed him lay outside his power to legislate for, or to foresee: 'when a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his

armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils'.[132] Richard Coeur-de-Lion deployed superior force: the longbow was the medieval equivalent of today's machine-gun.

The primary sources written after Isaac's destruction, that is to say all the sources, are coloured by the knowledge of his defeat. Other, independent types of evidence, such as architecture or ceramics cannot be dated narrowly enough to relate them securely to the years 1184-91. The only exception is the numismatic evidence. Isaac, true to his claim to be the legitimate emperor, minted coins in his own name. The fact that he did so, and on such a scale, offers strong evidence of his imperial pretensions. The coins have been classified into four successive issues, and divided between two mint-places.[133] The main mint, at Nicosia, was responsible for at least 80 per cent of the total output of the reign, and nearly all of that was minted during the first issue (which could have continued for some time). The second mint was very probably at Limassol. Its issues are most plentiful on the south coast but they also reached Nicosia. Closely in accordance with Comnenian precedent, the designs of Isaac's coins deliberately echo the images found on the coins of Manuel I and of Andronicus, and thus hint at his animosity and disregard for the Angeli. They comprise three denominations, namely the electrum third-hyperpyron, the billon trachy, and the copper tetarteron. The monetary historian will see significance in the widespread distribution of accidental losses of tetartera, and also in the fact that hoards of trachea tend to be small, consisting of e.g. a dozen or twenty coins. It is clear that Isaac instituted a substantial volume of currency for everyday use, and that there was in fact a lively money economy during his reign. Gold (electrum) is excessively scarce, only four specimens being known. Evidently Isaac was not able to mint gold in any quantity. This is curious in light of his imperial pretensions and in light of the large hoards of Constantinopolitan third-hyperpyra that have been found in Cyprus, dating from *c.*1150 onwards. One would have expected Isaac, for reasons of prestige, to have melted down these earlier issues in order to re-coin the metal in his own name. The hoards probably reflect spending by the central government. Unlike Isaac's coins, they do not seem to have passed into widespread circulation. It may be that the precious-metal coins were quickly withdrawn from circulation by the well-to-do and hidden in their treasure-chests, against the day (which came) when they might wish to flee from Cyprus, carrying their wealth, or some of it, with them.

132. Lk 11:22.

133. Bendall, 2005.

In their style, Isaac's coins are quite impressive. The trachea are large and well-made, and the tetartera are often on much larger flans, and from better-engraved dies, than the surviving tetartera of Manuel I. Their quality is apparent, and again they bespeak his imperial pretensions.

Rudt de Collenberg, basing his observations on very limited numismatic information, essentially from the time of Gustave Schlumberger, used the coins to support his thesis that Isaac's reign could be divided into two parts, during the first of which he called himself Isaac Doukas, and during the second, Isaac Comnenus. Alas, this is, quite simply, wrong. The coin on which Rudt de Collenberg read Doukas was, unfortunately, misattributed: it belongs in reality to Theodore II of Nicaea. We are now in an incomparably better position to assess the numismatic evidence, from a wealth of specimens. None of the dozen or more coin types that are now securely attributed to Isaac says anything more than *Isaakios despotes*. And the lead seals which have long been attributed to Isaac,[134] and which bear the title Comnenus, belong to an earlier Isaac. Thus the Doukas/Comnenus chronology which Rudt de Collenberg proposed is, it has to be said, in no way supported by the evidence.

10. Isaac's reign in retrospect

Isaac was, after all, of the Byzantine nobility, and born to govern: Richard Coeur-de-Lion was a foreigner, of another faith,[135] who seized control of Cyprus by force of arms, and held it by force, without consent and certainly without affection. Constantinople, although lacking the power to expel him, had in no way formally renounced its claim that the province was a part of the Byzantine Empire – nor ever did. Hated as Isaac had been, for the better-off Richard's conquest was probably a case of 'out of the frying pan into the fire'. He swiftly and ruthlessly stripped the Cypriots of what prosperity they had. The landowners were forced to surrender half their wealth.[136] In return (but it could hardly be called a bargain between a willing buyer and a willing seller) he restored the legal framework as it had been in the time of Manuel I. Whatever had happened during the reign of Isaac Comnenus was probably judged to be too dictatorial and anarchic to serve as any legal basis for the future. Nevertheless, Neophytos speaks of the landowning aristocrats who in 1191 made their escape from Cyprus, leaving behind 'their fine dwellings,

134. They are erroneously attributed to Isaac Comnenus in *BLSC*.

135. Better: of another confession.

136. Benedict of Peterborough, vol. 1, 261-2; Maltezou 1995, 49-50.

families, servants, slaves, their many flocks, herds, swine, cattle of all kinds, arable fields, fertile vineyards, and beautiful gardens . . . and sailed away to foreign lands and to the queen of cities.'[137] This passage, although it is obviously a literary trope, has been taken as evidence that Isaac's atrocities are not the whole story, and that some at least of the well-to-do had flourished under Isaac.

When Guy de Lusignan took control of Cyprus, he distributed a large proportion of its lands and revenues as fiefs (on the advice, it was said, of Saladin[138]). Guy thus created an upper class distributed pervasively through the countryside who had everything to lose if his rule failed (as the Templars had, in effect, failed) and in whose interests it therefore was to cooperate with him and to help him by armed force in suppressing dissention should that be necessary. The Continuator of William of Tyre mentions 300 knight's fees, and 200 sergeant's fees, as well as lands and allowances given to burgesses, and he claims that when Guy had finished this distribution, he had not kept enough for himself to support twenty knights'.[139] These are round numbers, obviously, and the total of fees sounds quite high, leading some scholars to question whether they are entirely trustworthy. Prior to 1187 the Latin kings could summon some 675 knights;[140] and Crete after 1204 was divided into 132 knight's fees and 48 sergeant's fees. For what the figures from Cyprus are worth, they imply a total of between 550 and 600 fiefs at least. The number of villages in Cyprus today may be reckoned at roughly 700. One has to take into consideration pronoia belonging to the monasteries and, for example, estates acquired by the Venetians. Was a single village a sufficient endowment for a knight's fee? The answer seems to be that it is plausible. In twelfth-century England it seems that a knight's fee of five hides normally equated with a village.[141] Perhaps we should recognize that knights, in real life, were not so grand as medieval tales of romance would make them.

137. Cobham 1908, pp. 10-13; Galatariotou, p. 269.

138. The story has Guy asking advice of Saladin, who replies, 'Although I don't like you, I'll give you my advice . . .'

139. P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 16-19.

140. R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 89-90.

141. The English historian Frederick Maitland, in his analysis of the great cadastral codex known as the Domesday Book, has written entertainingly about people's astonishing capacity for exaggeration when it came to national statistics. It was popularly believed that in England there were upwards of 60,000 knight's fees; royal ministers believed that there were 32,000; in fact one may doubt whether there were more than about 5,000. - F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 1897 (republished, 1960), pp. 514, 586.

Did the newcomers simply step into the vacant spaces left by the well-to-do who had fled from Cyprus? Did they appropriate their fine dwellings, their flocks, vineyards, and gardens? Painful resonances with the modern history of Cyprus will occur to the reader. What can safely be said is that the upper-class refugees had not enjoyed their positions because of a contractual obligation to bear arms when called upon to do so by the governor (or indeed the emperor). They were not in that strict sense feudatories. Their wealth enabled them no doubt to reinforce their social dominance over their neighbours. The class structure was to that extent repressive. There may have been a good many settlers such as Armenians, who had received grants of land (often generations previously) on generous terms in exchange for defensive duties in guarding Cyprus in the event of foreign attack. They were, or had once been, closer to the western definition of feudalism. There is no evidence that they were as a group well-to-do or upper-class. Feudalism in the western sense, where military obligation was rewarded unambiguously by social rank, was imposed on Cyprus newly and widely in 1192.

It seems that, if the Continuator is to be believed, most villages of any size supported a knight or a sergeant. The villagers paid their taxes to him; and he owed service to Guy. Guy's objective was to hold Cyprus. Does that suggest that his new Latin knights and sergeants were originally resident – even, required to be resident – each in his village? If so, animosities between this new ruling class and the Cypriots will have been monitored locally (and also exacerbated locally), and one can better understand the bitterness expressed by Neophytos. Many questions suggest themselves, but they are questions for Crusader historians, concerned with Cyprus after 1191. For the Byzantinist, the leading question is whether a similar pattern already existed for twelfth-century Byzantine 'feudalism', or whether the map was withdrawn *de novo*. The answer would seem to be that the pattern was a new one.

11. Summing-up.

The perceived strategic value of Cyprus to the Empire, and the weaknesses revealed by the coup of Rhapsomates and by the threat from Tzachas, emir of Smyrna, caused Alexius to invest in the island's defence. The three castles of the Pentadaktylos range, and doubtless also Kyrenia castle, were strengthened at this time. The need for new safeguards was soon reinforced by the conquest of Antioch by the First Crusade. Coin hoards reveal the extent of governmental spending in the province. The trading presence of the Venetians in the eastern Mediterranean included Cyprus, where they acquired quarters in Limassol, Paphos, and Nicosia.

A series of natural disasters and foreign raids, which brought great hardship on the Cypriots between 1155 and 1179, are chronicled by St Neophytos. He focuses on the negative aspects of the situation, and cannot be relied on for a balanced historical assessment.

In 1184 Cyprus fell into the hands of Isaac Comnenus, who defied the central government, and who had imperial pretensions of his own. He was eventually overthrown by Richard Coeur-de-Lion, and the island subsequently passed to Guy of Lusignan.

CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER XV

THE BALANCE-SHEET: PROVINCIAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND THE EFFECTS OF INTERVENTIONS BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

To reach Cyprus from Constantinople was neither quick nor easy. Overland travel, followed by the short sea crossing from Attaleia to Kyrenia, was arduous; sailing direct involved finding a ship bound for Cyprus, and was not something to undertake lightly in the winter months. The life of the province went along its accustomed ways, mostly undisturbed by interventions from the imperial government. Many Cypriots probably never set foot outside the island in their entire lifetime.[1] Cyprus was for those reasons a major contributor to its own destiny. Its natural and its human resources were its fortune. One should not fall into the error of analysing the situation as if it were controlled wholly by outside intervention.[2] *Force majeure* was part of the experience of being a province, but characteristically there was interaction between the Empire (or its enemies) and local self-sufficiency. Can one strike a balance, and assess what each contributed?

Although self-contained Cyprus was, nevertheless, a province twice over: politically it was an imperial province, owing allegiance to the

1. Although they will have seen the sea, unlike the writer's grandmother who, living in the English midlands in humble circumstances, had never set eyes on the sea until she was over 40 years of age. St. Augustine, who grew up in Numidia 200 miles from the sea, recalls that as a boy he could only imagine what the sea was like by looking into a dish of water. – P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, London, 1967, p. 20.

2. In the same vein, third-world countries today may be disadvantaged by the terms of trade, but that is by no means the whole story.

emperor, and ecclesiastically it was, by 491, a member – admittedly an independent, self-governing member – of the family of churches which were in communion with the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople. Cypriot bishops participated in the work of the ecumenical councils, and accepted their canons. Church and state were closely, but not perfectly, coterminous. The same was almost as true if one adds Hellenic identity to the equation. Ever since 325 there was an imperial dimension to the church of the seven ecumenical councils: beyond the frontiers of the Empire lay separated churches, which tended to be loyal to the deposit of faith as they had originally received it, long after that theology had become outmoded[3] within the Byzantine oecumene. Even within the Empire, the persistence of monophysite views was a source of severe tension; but Cyprus was solidly Chalcedonian. Minorities such as the Maronites clung to their traditional (monothelete) theological stand-point mainly, perhaps, as a way of safeguarding their ethnicity, but this was not a cause of conflict.

In complicated ways which varied from century to century, Cyprus felt both the benefits and also the disadvantages of its provincial status, both political and ecclesiastical. The balance varied. Some metropolitan influences were immediate and obvious: the presence of imperial governmental officials, who exercised authority in the province; the demands of imperial taxation; the resettlement of various ethnic communities; military interventions; the canonical authority of conciliar decisions; and latterly the emperor's say in the appointment of the archbishops, as well as the principal officers of the civil government. Other metropolitan influences were less tangible, but no less real. The existence of an upper class which was also (of course) a ruling class was largely a function of empire: the emperor was the fount of honour. The higher administrative officials were not faceless bureaucrats. Part of their reward for service was social status. Status and wealth overlapped extensively, but not wholly. There were, no doubt, able individuals of middling origin who had prospered and who aspired to status, without being accepted. Philentolos may have been trying to buy respectability, with his poor house. It was ever thus.

The court, and metropolitan circles generally, were far away from Cyprus, and yet their influence was felt, whether in changing styles of

3. Arianism, Nestorianism, and monophysitism were successively rejected doctrinally by the ecumenical councils. We should remember that countless numbers of people lived good Christian lives in those beliefs, beyond the frontiers (and indeed within them), in the political framework of 'national' churches, e.g. the Armenian, Syrian, or Coptic churches.

church architecture, or of religious devotion – or in education, or in military tactics and capability. What underlies all such influences, ultimately, is that initiatives came from where power and wealth resided – at the centre. Cyprus was not a polity, in this sense: the Cypriots had virtually no bargaining power with the emperor. Their homeland was just a province, and a relatively small one within the Empire at that. Nor could it compete culturally with Constantinople. Its population and its resources were too small, and its surplus production was in any case taxed in order to help pay for the magnificence of the court and the capital, and for the strategic needs of the Empire as a whole, upon which imperial policy was formulated.

In the world of today, one would automatically attempt to buttress these observations with statistics, with numerical trends, and with comparisons between one province and another. No such quantification is possible for Byzantine Cyprus. Besides, the periodic hardships of provincial life are unquantifiable because they were largely absorbed by the miseries of the poor. Just as adverse effects on the health of the human frame are medically difficult to measure because the body is able to withstand so much gross abuse before it succumbs, similarly the consequences of drought, foreign attack, and central interventions upon the body politic of Cyprus may be largely hidden from us, making the balance between the metropolitan and the provincial difficult to assess.

How many imperial servants were sent out to govern the province, and were in post at any particular time? – How many British administrators were employed in Cyprus in colonial days? In both cases, control was exercised effectively (most of the time) by the filling of just a few of the principal offices, in a hierarchy staffed otherwise by Cypriots. As regards Byzantine times, we can only guess at the numbers. With the possible exception of military officers, the total will probably have been very small, and those in post will have been well acquainted with one another personally. Crucially, their influence will have depended on the length of their tour of duty.

The payment of imperial taxes was a perennial reminder to the Empire's people that they were subjects. In principle their money paid for the defence and administration of the Empire, and gave the Cypriots good governance and all the benefits of security against foreign attack. Throughout the Byzantine centuries, including the 'dark age', the imperial civil service helped to administer Cyprus. But in the mid-seventh century and from time to time subsequently, the Empire was woefully unable to honour its side of that bargain. The outgoings from the province in the

form of taxes were occasionally offset by acts of imperial 'generosity', in the form of subsidies for public buildings. And there were steady material benefits in being a province, which were easy to overlook, such as a sound currency backed by the prosperity of the Empire as a whole, access to a very large trading area, and the social (and commercial) probity of a sophisticated legal tradition, which offered redress, in theory at least, up to the highest levels. The eradication of piracy was a common concern. It has to be said that these theoretical advantages of trading within the Empire will sometimes have been locally difficult or expensive to enforce. Until the mid-seventh century Cyprus was essentially a trading province, deriving much of its prosperity, over and above the yield of the soil, from importing and exporting goods by sea. But one should not exaggerate the extent to which trade was facilitated by belonging to the Empire: after all, it was perfectly possible for ordinary Cypriots to trade with foreigners, whose native languages were other than Greek. Speaking another language was not a rare skill. Later, trade extended to provinces which had fallen to the Caliphate. That involved some additional hazards. There were, for example, currencies to be exchanged and trading taxes to be paid, and there was an element of uncertainty about the protection that might be afforded by another political authority (the Caliphate) and another legal system. Even in times of peace, xenophobia might kick in. The risks were commercially quantifiable and they were, obviously, sometimes still worth taking.

Cultural benefits were less tangible. They might include, for example, access to the best mosaicists, or (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries) to architects who were *au fait* with metropolitan architectural developments and fashions. Higher education was a benefit which a province might be unable to afford to provide for itself. It was, as always, an expensive good, for which a centre of excellence required a large catchment area. Because of its small population (rather than specifically because of its provincial status) Cyprus needed to look abroad, for example to Beirut, Caesarea, or Gaza – or even, of course, to the capital. And similarly, the demand for the services of the learned professions within the province was limited.

The Church of Cyprus was in communion with the ecumenical patriarch, and its bishops participated actively in ecumenical councils, where individual bishops from Cyprus made their mark. The memory and theological reputation of St Epiphanius gave Cyprus status, although it could never rival the great Christian power-houses of Alexandria and Antioch. The disaffection of the churches of the non-Greek speaking East did not involve Cyprus: the province remained well within the imperial fold. Increasingly, however, talented churchmen needed to further their

careers in court circles or in the capital. The monastic life, which was less dependent on worldly wealth, and uninterested in public reputation (although the public might beat a path to the monastery gate), could thrive in a provincial setting without handicap. Spiritual formation through total immersion in a daily round of prayer and worship, and the prolonged application of the scriptures to heart and mind, suffered very little through being lived out in a provincial setting.

1. The province in its time of prosperity.

Until the early seventh century, Cyprus was relatively self-contained. It was not a troublesome or difficult province to govern, and the consularis who was the emperor's representative on the spot was probably not overworked. The bishops and the notables of Cyprus were the respected leaders of city life. Through the invention of St Barnabas, in the time of Zeno, Cyprus had escaped from ecclesiastical control by the patriarch of Antioch – a result much desired, which was only achieved with the emperor's backing. Zeno was helped to decide in favour of Cyprus by the gift of an exceptionally beautiful gospel book with apostolic associations. The political and cultural prestige of such a gift was very high. The emperor reciprocated with a gift towards the building of the shrine-church, setting an example which the notables of Constantia had little choice but to follow.[4] The new building complex was designed to cater for pilgrims, and we might view it, in one aspect, as a capital investment which might be expected to generate a steady income for Cyprus – more particularly for Constantia and (probably) for its diocese. A present-day accountant would no doubt ask himself whether the whole transaction gave a good return. That would depend partly on how the archbishop acquired the codex. In any case, it was really not the way that those involved thought about it. Not being modern businessmen, they would tend to forget or disregard the application of capital that had been necessary. Above and beyond the balance-sheet aspects, the Church of Cyprus gained enormously, and as it turned out permanently, by securing its independence. Provincial autonomy carried with it an obvious prestige within the wider church, especially as it was a highly unusual status. Ties with Antioch were further loosened in 535-6, when the province was freed from supervision by the

4. Cf. the opening ceremony when the castle of Safed was rebuilt. The bishop of Marseille laid the first stone and, as he was of course there to do the decent thing, placed on it a silver-gilt cup full of money. This was a signal for others to follow suit, and to be similarly generous with their donations. R. B. C. Huygens, 'Un nouveau texte du traité "De constructione castri Saphet"', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1965), 355-87.

count of the East – again, an administrative reform determined centrally. On the debit side, Cyprus may have been seen as a recruiting-ground for troops needed to defend the Danube frontier, and its revenues will in effect have been transferred to harder-pressed regions. Whether that involved (as is theoretically probable) an increase in the general levels of taxation, there is no way of knowing.

We do not know whether the great basilicas of St Epiphanius and of the Chrysopolitissa had also been built with imperial subsidy. They were so ambitiously large, and (at Constantia in particular) reminiscent of the most famous basilicas of the Empire, that one is inclined to doubt whether anything so grand would, or could, have been planned and built without some subsidy and imperial encouragement. The same is even more true for the basilica which we know under the modern name of Campanopetra, a pilgrimage church of sumptuous elegance which perhaps dates from as late as the reign of Justinian.

Procopius (among his various silences) has very little to say about Cyprus in his account of that emperor's building programme. The defensive needs of the island were well down in the list of imperial priorities. It seems that the wall protecting the acropolis of Amathus was repaired and strengthened, and there may have been other similar works. The costs probably fell locally. One should resist the temptation to ascribe developments directly to Justinian's intervention, unless there is evidence.

Pottery studies suggest that Justinian's reconquest of the West resulted in a closer integration of Mediterranean trade. The trading links are visible in Cyprus, in the form of African (e.g. Carthaginian) wares, and one could fairly say that the province was feeling an additional economic benefit from being part of an empire. But it is enough to say that the *pax byzantina* benefitted Cyprus economically in hidden ways.

Under Tiberius II Armenians from the Persian Empire were re-settled in Cyprus. In this policy the Cypriots had no say. Clouds were gathering, and the need for the Empire, in its own general interest, to defend the island from possible attack or invasion was becoming evident. One suspects that more developments occurred in Cyprus in the 580s and 590s than receive any mention in the sources. During the long struggle with Persia, the province appears to have stood on the side-lines, but it may have made logistical contributions. Constantia, as the capital and as the port facing the mainland of Syria, was the obvious focus.

The revolt of the Heraclii against Phocas in 608 began with the swift seizure by the rebels of Egypt and subsequently also of Cyprus – the stepping-stone from Africa towards Constantinople. The presence of an

army will have caused some disruption to the economy in the district where it was quartered, but Cyprus was in all probability sympathetic to the Heraclian cause, and it will not have been necessary to hold the province down militarily.[5] From *c.*620 the geopolitical importance of the island was increasingly obvious, as a forward base for shipping to Syria. A very few imperial lead seals of Heraclius found in Cyprus, and seals of palatine officials of similar date, demonstrate a new level of central intervention. The rebuilt aqueduct supplying Constantia eventually received imperial subsidy when the war came to an end. While it was a high-tech and high-profile facility, and no doubt a most welcome improvement to the quality of life in the city, the construction costs were surely only of the same order of magnitude as those for a cathedral, and one is puzzled to understand why it took quite so long to complete (although a cathedral was certainly not built in a year). Transporting blocks of stone to inland locations may have been a bottleneck.

Under Heraclius, the increased rate of losses of copper coinage strongly suggest that Cyprus was prospering, and that the new wealth was not confined to Constantia, but was scattered throughout most of the island. That trend continued strongly under Constans II, until *c.*662.

2. Defeat and faltering recovery, but city life decays.

The catastrophe which overwhelmed Cyprus in the mid-seventh century was brought upon it through no fault of its own, but just because it lay in the battle zone between the two world powers (and ideologies), Byzantium and Islam. The downside of being a province was now far greater than any advantages that Cyprus had previously enjoyed through being part of an empire. The naval and military struggle between the powers was a prolonged test of strength and political will (as most wars are) in which each repeatedly probed the other's weaknesses. For Mu'āwiya, Cyprus was simply a stepping-stone towards the eventual capture of Constantinople and the subjugation of the Empire. His brutal subjection and ruination of the province made good military sense. Cyprus paid for his campaigns, in full. It seems, however, that it was not totally conquered. The northern coastlands, protected by the Pentadaktylos mountain range, very quickly returned to Byzantine control.

Supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean basin was precariously dependent on naval power. Although the balance of advantage fluctuated,

5. Cf. the interpretation of the David plates as a gift to someone who had been highly placed in Cyprus in 608-10 (above, Appendix to Chapter I).

and although there was always a Byzantine administrative presence on the island, the fact is that it was three hundred years after the Arab invasions before the Empire was able to bring the whole of Cyprus back fully within its control. The proximate cause of the reconquest seems to have been a reform of the army, making it a more formidable fighting force. The Cypriots continued to pay their taxes to the emperor, and received little enough in return;[6] and they paid an equal tribute to the caliph, for which they received nothing positive in return, other than immunity from punitive reprisals. The payment of 'tribute' was part of the Cypriots' experience until as recently as 1927 – giving the history of the seventh to tenth centuries a resonance for the modern reader which it might otherwise not have had.

During the first four decades after the Arab raids, every effort was made by the central government, and locally, to restore the *status quo ante*, that is, the old-style, city-based governance which had been in the hands of the bishops and the illustriate. If any help or succour was forthcoming from the central government, it is not visible to us in the available evidence (unless the coins of Constans II reflect subsidies). Yet even in the years 651-2, which were no doubt chaotic, it seems that ship-building resumed, presumably on the north coast,[7] and also that consignments of coinage from the Constantinople mint continued to be sent to Cyprus. The tax burden fell on a significantly smaller total population. If there was any leniency shown towards the non-payment of taxes, we have no way of knowing about it.

The regular arrival of large quantities of new copper coinage ceased abruptly with the departure of Constans II to the West – a reminder to the historian that the province's dependence upon, or attachment to the centre was an active link.

The Arab advance and the Empire's loss of control of the seas undermined maritime trade, and it was probably a sharp downturn in the volume of trade which, as much as anything, prevented Cyprus from rebuilding its prosperity. The returns on surplus production, which previously had been sold profitably in Egypt and elsewhere, will have

6. The maritime theme of the Karabisianoi had some responsibilities for the defence of Cyprus, which might be deemed an imperial expense partly on the province's behalf. Similarly, and more effectively the successor-theme, namely that of the Kibyrrhaiotes, was of benefit to Cyprus.

7. The refugees from Aradus may well have included skilled ship-builders. It is mere conjecture, however, that they settled in the north.

dwindled or even disappeared. The economic life of the cities wound down, and the island became less prosperous, less cushioned against lean years, more rural, and with a much lower gross domestic product, and a lower standard of living for almost everyone.

We may well assume that the episode of the transfer of the Cypriots to Nea Ioustinianoupolis was designed by Justinian II entirely for the benefit of the Empire, specifically for the naval defence of the sea approaches to Constantinople. Sailors and ship-builders would have been the prime candidates for transplantation (thereby further undermining Cyprus as a trading nation). Villagers engaged in agriculture will surely have remained in place. About the matching removal of other Cypriots to Syria we know nothing, except that it happened. It could have left some deserted villages, available to be taken over by Arabs.

3. Imperial impotence or neglect.

Justinian II's new policy (from *c.*705 onwards) of friendship with the Caliphate was something of a *volte-face*, and was perhaps the occasion for a radically new style of governance in Cyprus, which in any case was introduced at roughly that date. It would seem to have been an imperial initiative rather than a piece-meal change. It involved the appointment (locally?) of a considerable number of honorary eparchs, and also missions to Cyprus by a surprising number of consuls. Some of them could perhaps have been imperial tax collectors, but it seems to have been only later in the century that dioiketai routinely held the rank of consul.[8] Whether the appointment of archons began at the same date is not altogether clear. One will readily suspect that it was part of the same trend of administrative reform, the more so as we find an archon of the Kibyrrhaiotes at very much the same date. Byzantine control was doubtless stronger in the north, and most of the provenanced seals of honorary eparchs are from that part of the island.[9] There are, however, a couple from Amathus, and also a lead seal of a dioiketes.[10] It seems that the south was not a no-go area for the imperial administrative service. Only two of the lead seals of consuls are provenanced, both from Polis.[11] In spite of the ban on military activity,

8. *BLSC* 144 and 145, reading only *dioikitou* or *dioikite*, are clearly earlier than *BLSC* 141-3.

9. *BLSC* 61a from Lambousa, 321 from Soloi, and 827 and 829 from Polis, plus four specimens in the Hubbard donation which are conjecturally of northern provenance, nos. 37, 173, 174, and 178.

10. *BLSC* 174 and 178, and also 169 (Boysset).

11. *BLSC* 823, 824.

imposed by the treaty of 688, lead seals of officials of the Kibyrrhaiote theme have been found in Cyprus.[12] Thus, neglect of Cyprus by the imperial government in the early eighth century and subsequently was by no means total, even if it was unable to challenge the treaty regime.

For Dikigoropoulos, the controlling idea about the governance of Cyprus in the so-called 'condominium centuries' was that the province was a kind of neutral zone, in which the central government did not intervene – or even that, in the time of the iconoclast emperors, the Cypriots disdained imperial help. This idea is contradicted step by step by the evidence of lead seals of imperial officials, who were employed in the emperor's service, and who reported back to Constantinople. The governor of Cyprus, whose rank or title was consularis in the sixth and seventh centuries, archon in the eighth and ninth, strategos (perhaps) in the late ninth, archon again in the tenth, strategos (again, briefly?) after 965, then katepano in the eleventh, and eventually doux in the twelfth was always a high-ranking official – even if a spatharios, in the more frugal times of the ninth century, was not as grand a figure as the governor had been, and became again, in days of prosperity.

Likewise, Jenkins's historical judgement that Cyprus in effect ceased to be a province of the Empire during those centuries was mistaken. True, the Empire was unable to enforce its sovereignty (as the Republic has been unable to enforce its sovereignty over the north of the island since 1974), but it in no way renounced its claim. An attempt to impose (military) control over the whole of Cyprus in the time of Basil I seems to have been abandoned after a few years. The details for this failure of policy are altogether obscure. It seems to have been a very low time, economically, for the province – which nevertheless continued to pay both tax and tribute.[13]

What happened at the reconquest of 965, as regards the re-drawing of the balance-sheet, is unknown. The amount of the tribute, no longer ceded to the Caliphate, is perhaps more likely to have been added to the tax burden payable to the Empire, than to have been remitted. Such is the history of taxation. Receipts from lands taken back from the Arabs, and administered by a kourator, were doubtless a separate account, paid directly to the crown.

12 Cf. *BLSC* 152 (Pancyprian Gymnasium collection); 270 (Cyprus Museum Old Collection), and 271 (excavated at Constantia, basilica of St Epiphanios, second quarter of the eighth century?).

13. As we are assured by Nicholas Mysticus.

The insurrection of 1042/3 was stirred up on the grounds that taxation was too burdensome. And there was a perennial risk that tax collectors, appointed by the emperor, would succumb to the possibility of lining their own pockets. When John Doukas, in *c.*1094, having overcome and captured Rhapsomates, appointed a new tax collector, he is described by Anna Comnena as not being of noble birth, but having a high reputation for justice and integrity. This tends to suggest that Rhapsomates had been quite popular, and that it was prudent for John Doukas to tread softly. At least it shows that a lack of probity was unsurprising. How far corruption had become a drag on the provincial economy is of course undocumented and impossible to estimate. It may have been a significant factor.

4. Cyprus shares its skills and its prosperity with others

Ad hoc contributions were required of Cyprus from time to time. Under Justinian, the creation of a new quaestura linking Cyprus with the Danube frontier no doubt involved the transfer of manpower, including perhaps craftsmen with ship-building skills. The strategic needs of the Empire again overrode the province's best interests in the late seventh century, when Cypriots were transplanted to Nea Ioustinianoupolis. Again, ship-building skills were at the forefront of the emperor's thinking. During the 'treaty centuries' Cyprus was in no position to make any major contributions to the needs of the Empire as a whole, but as its prosperity revived, the emperor from time to time directed that the province should provide support for diplomatic initiatives with, for example, the Crusader states. In 1102 Eumathios Philokales was instructed by Alexius I to send assistance to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, during the siege of Tripoli. Philokales was also required to provide ships and large sums of money, in effect a special tax on Cyprus, when Voutoumites was sent to negotiate with King Baldwin of Jerusalem. Exactions of this kind may have provoked the insurrection of 1123.

Estates in Cyprus were given to, or were acquired by, churches and monasteries in the Holy Land and in Sinai. The laura of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch, in the Judaean desert, drew supplies from an extensive landholding in the south-west of Cyprus; and the patriarch of Jerusalem had various estates in the island.

5. Venice: sanctioned encroachment

The political boundaries between the Empire and its neighbours, which were theoretically clear enough in the 'dark age' even if they could not be enforced, became constitutionally blurred in Cyprus and elsewhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At crucial moments the Serenissima drove

a hard commercial bargain, in return for the participation of its fleet in support of the Empire's military operations. In key commercial centres, the Venetians asked for, and were granted, their own street, their own church, their own weights and measures, and their own local jurisdiction, in perpetuity. The offer they made – take it or leave it – was, 'Get vital help now, pay later'.[14] Actually, the price did not seem too high to the emperor (and perhaps it was not), because the economic outcome was not a zero-sum game. Venetian involvement helped to create greater prosperity all round. In practice and over time, however, the balance gradually tilted, and the benefits tended to accrue increasingly to the Venetians and not to the subjects of the Empire (although this may not have been foreseen), because the Venetians had a wider network, better ships, and more commercial experience. As a single-interest group, corruption may have been less of a drag on their progress. They gained useful outposts along their trade-routes to the Levant and to Alexandria. In all this they may have earned some animosity, but they insinuated themselves into the lands of the Empire without coming into head-on conflict. It was a form of low-profile territorial and economic encroachment, sanctioned by treaty. As a province of the Empire, Cyprus was in principle opened to Venetian merchants as part of a package deal, i.e. on the same terms as other provinces. The degree of mercantile activity was a response to the commercial opportunities, not to a particular local legal framework. Venice went where the profits were greatest, and that meant mostly to Acre and to Constantinople, rather than Cyprus. 'Favoured-nation' status, by which Venice was exempted from taxes that her rivals, Pisa and Genoa, had to pay was merely an elaboration.

The balance-sheet became more complicated, when there were three parties in the equation: the province, the Empire, and a foreign power.

14. Compare the situation in 1218 when Queen Alice bought the good-will of the Genoese (i.e. persuaded them not to make their fleet available to the Emperor Frederick for an invasion of the kingdom), with the promise of trading privileges if Cyprus survived the threat. Pay nothing now. For this piece of diplomacy, by which Genoa was in due course to gain an advantage over its rival Venice, see D. M. Metcalf, *The White Bezants and Deniers of Cyprus, 1192-1285* (Corpus of Lusignan Coinage, vol. 1, edited by D. M. Metcalf and A. G. Pitsillides), Nicosia, 1998, p. 125.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION, AND SOME REMARKS ON FUTURE RESEARCH

The real subject of this book has been, perforce, the changing fabric of society, under the impact of changing external circumstances and events. Particular 'historical' episodes may throw a clearer light here and there, but underlying them are the constraints of social continuity (or occasionally discontinuity). When opportunity offered, it was possible to proceed decade by decade, but the inexact dating of much of the evidence meant that that was usually too ambitious. The synthesis, in Part 2, integrates the perspectives and insights of the specialist chapters. This was an unequal process. From the sixth century, for example, there is surprisingly little that can be dated at all closely, other than coinage – where, as always, the date of a coin's loss is variably related to its date of issue. In the seventh century, and especially in the second half of the seventh century, and into the early eighth, lead seals assume much greater importance. And although ceramic evidence is fundamental to our understanding of the island's economy and of its remarkable prosperity in the period from 491 up to 649, the dating of sherds closely enough to demonstrate trends within that century and a half involves a degree of optimism, and probably always will.

The years 649-53 were an encounter with destiny for Byzantine Cyprus. The Muslim governor of Syria and future caliph, Mu'āwiya, overran and ruined the island, with severe losses of population. He did not, however, succeed in conquering Cyprus as completely as he may have wished: the north swiftly returned to Byzantine control. When we combine the testimony of the written sources with other strands of evidence, it becomes clear that the conventional understanding, of abandoned villages and burned churches, is far from offering the complete picture. The fight back began forthwith, and indeed that seems to have been what provoked the second invasion, in 653: a reprisal for building ships for the Byzantine fleet. Reconstruction involving intensified administrative activity by the

imperial government, by the episcopate, and by the illustriate is in evidence, from the early 650s onwards.

If the mid-seventh century is a moment of destiny, the next three hundred years are also fascinating for the historian, for more technical reasons. They were a prolonged downturn for which there is relatively very little surviving evidence. What little there is, is difficult to construe. Of course, one should not depreciate the evidence just because it is exiguous. The 'dark age' began, certainly, as a time of relative impoverishment for the province. And yet it is on exactly this question of impoverishment that the evidence is at its most contradictory, and challenging to the student, for there are numerous hints that Cyprus still participated in international trade. That was especially true of Paphos and its district. The larger southern half of the island was, so far as we can judge, in some sense shared between the two ethnic communities, Muslim and Orthodox, whereas the north was more solidly Byzantine. Muslim settlement is evidenced mainly during the later part of the 'dark age', not at the beginning. The north-south difference is a theme that runs through much of the monograph. An Islamic presence was much more obvious in the south of the island. One cannot fail to be aware of analogies with the political history of modern Cyprus. Even if there was no Byzantine 'Green Line' the Pentadaktylos range was inevitably a natural barrier and a frontier during the 'dark age'. For a time the frontier was institutionalized by the appointment of a kleisourarch. Later on, akritai were settled on the southern and western flanks of the mountain range.

During three hundred years the treaty status of the province was accepted by the Empire. The Cypriots remained unshakeably Byzantine and Orthodox in culture, yet burdened by an undertaking of military neutrality (more honour'd in the breach than the observance) and an annual tribute obligation to the Caliphate. The big unanswered – and perhaps unanswerable – question regarding Cyprus between the later seventh century and 965 (date of the Byzantine reconquest) is the scale and nature of the Arab presence. Trading contacts, actual settlement by Muslims, and overlordship of districts by Muslim governors are three distinct possibilities. Whereas documentary sources are very thin and patchy on this topic, new perspectives are gradually becoming available from provenanced Islamic coins, Islamic lead seals, and Cufic inscriptions, found at particular localities in Cyprus. Conversely, a continued Byzantine administrative presence in the cities of the south coast is also part of the evidence. It would be improper to allow Hellenic-tinted spectacles to polarize or distort those perspectives. One may hope that the material

evidence will be added to, year by year, through further archaeological and chance discoveries.

The mid-eleventh century recovery is the dawn for historical writing about Cyprus as traditionally understood. Chroniclers are still primarily interested in court circles and characters, but here and there one begins to meet interesting people. The use of surnames now permits a few individual careers of top administrative officials to be reconstructed, although it is still rare for personal qualities to emerge clearly. Eumathios Philokales strikes one as a tough and determined administrator – but in the end, a man with a conscience. Manuel Voutoumites seems to have been a gentler soul. Of course, people in the sixth and seventh centuries had family networks and careers too, but they are lost to us, largely because they did not (with rare exceptions) use surnames or by-names. The complex life of a prominent individual is in any case reduced to merely a name.

It is that deficiency, more than anything else, which drives one to adopt a more statistical approach, and to rely on the evidence of social patterns. In spite of fundamental differences in the available indicators, one has the impression that there were great social differences in the life of the province as between the sixth and seventh centuries, and the eleventh and twelfth. The 15 or so late antique cities had mostly decayed by the mid-eighth century, leaving a largely rural society for over three hundred years. Eventually urban life returned, but there were deep social differences between the vanished cities and the new towns – of which just three now dominated: Nicosia, Limassol, and Paphos. The rural character of society on the one hand, and on the other governance by cosmopolitan and mighty persons sent out from the capital meant that the social gulf between the people and their rulers widened. Constantinople treated Cyprus more like a colony, in the nineteenth-century sense of that term, held to be important to the strategic interests of the Empire, but not really capable of much self-government, or at any rate, not permitted to try. In comparison with the sixth and first half of the seventh century, Cyprus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was no longer such a self-contained, integrated society. The idea of empire had decayed. *Romanitas*, which was still a strong tradition in the time of Heraclius, was giving way inevitably to internationalism. There were Armenians and Maronites long settled in the north, and Venetian colonies in the south of the island; the emperor from time to time instructed his officials in Cyprus to lend aid and support to the Crusader states; Isaac Comnenus formed an alliance with Norman Sicily against the emperor to whom the province belonged, and would cheerfully have done the same with Saladin. In the event, Cyprus in 1191 was conquered by an English king (who was also a French baron) and fell

thereafter within the orbit of the Latins. It ceased to be Byzantine, except in so far as the great mass of the conquered population kept to their language and their orthodox faith, and their feeling of Cypriot identity. The designation 'Byzantine' is often used loosely to refer, for example, to icons painted in Cyprus in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. There exists in Paphos a self-styled Byzantine Museum, where it is very difficult to find a single exhibit which is Byzantine, in the political sense of pre-dating 1191. Politically and administratively, however, 1191 is the end-date for Cyprus as a Byzantine province.

Empires can indeed fall apart. We have seen it happen in our own lifetimes, the elderly among us more than once. The British Empire began to disintegrate in the 1950s, with the hasty granting of independence to India; and the Soviet Empire was quite peaceably dismembered in the 1990s, much to the credit of those who at that point renounced violent oppression. For Cyprus, independence had begun to seem like a possible option in 1043, and again in *c.*1090 and in 1123 – on all these occasions, prematurely. In 1184, however, the province was seized by an ambitious tyrant who was able successfully to defy Constantinople. Contestations of power can be seen, by the historian, as a sign of prosperity. The individuals who challenged the imperial system were not, in general, desperate men (although they were, perhaps, political gamblers by temperament). They had the resources to chance their arm, and their dream was a glittering prize. They were not dependent on the popular vote of an electorate, either before or after a *coup*. In so far as they enjoyed popular support, or complaisance, the ordinary people of the province were optimists if they imagined that their lives would be bettered.

1. The challenge of conflicting evidence.

Conflicting evidence confronts the student of Byzantine Cyprus with severe challenges to his or her powers of historical judgement. Each isolated piece of information seems, in itself, so clear and persuasive; but some of the pieces point in different directions. Of course, not all the inhabitants of Cyprus experienced the same conditions: townsfolk, merchants, craftsmen, villagers, all did the best that they could with their lives, with varying success. For the historian, striking an accurate balance with reference to the province as a whole, or making what in the law-courts is called 'a fair presentment' is more difficult than it may once have seemed, when students relied primarily on written sources, and the inconsistencies were less apparent. It is all very well to rehearse what the written sources say, but one also needs somehow to stand outside their viewpoint. The material evidence has much to add, and it calls into question some of the

earlier historical paradigms. On the one hand the long-term trend lines (which are as near as we can hope to get to proper statistical information) all seem to tell much the same story. In the two or three generations preceding the Arab invasions of the mid-seventh century, the great prosperity of Cyprus is attested by a pervasive and intense money economy, facilitating markets and commercial exchanges of every sort throughout the island. Only in the rural south-west and west of the island is there (puzzling) evidence of decline beginning around the middle of the sixth century. In general, levels of activity were maintained until the end of the seventh century. The economy then plunged, during the eighth century, to such a low level that one must, apparently, think in terms of impoverishment, severe depopulation, the decay of urban life, squatters among the ruins, and general misery. The decline of the commercial economy seems to have been catastrophic: not a halving or even a decimation – far worse than that. This nadir lasted from about 750 until about 1050, a round period of three hundred years – which is ten or more generations. A lot can happen in such a period. All the long-term indices fall dramatically, and remain flat through this 'dark age'. They are flattest of all in the tenth century.

And yet – and yet: among what little information survives from these centuries, there is contrary evidence of exports and transit trade. Arab geographers speak of Muslim merchants doing good trade with Cyprus, and of the range of the province's exports (including, still, the ages-old export of copper in the form of vitriol), and of a transit trade in goods originating in the Empire. 'Great quantities of merchandise, fabrics, and goods are produced there', says Ibn Hawqal, writing in the late tenth century. And the outreach of Muslim trade can indeed be observed, in the distribution-patterns of stray finds of Islamic coins in the southern parts of Cyprus, especially in the Paphos district. How should we reconcile these contrary indications, of penury on the one hand, and flourishing trade on the other? There is no easy answer. Might the resolution lie in the technicalities of the evidence? Might urban life and village life respectively leave a very different quality of material evidence? The best that one can do is to assemble all the detailed, essentially anecdotal evidence, and where there is a conflict try to decide locally which tendency is weightier, or more clearly evidenced. In the end, it may often be wiser to reserve judgement.

The fortunes of war oscillated, but control of the seas lay, for much of the 'dark age', with Arab fleets. That was the strategic reality. When Justinian II transplanted a large population of Mardaïtes to Attaleia, or a body of Cypriots to the Bosphorus, he was seeking to change the longer-

term strategic balance. Military and naval policy, if supported by imperial fiat, could override the economic realities of normal life as they affected ordinary people, except perhaps as regards logistics. The historical significance of political choices, and their outcomes, cannot be properly assessed unless one has some conception of the opportunities and constraints against which the decisions were taken. Unless one is informed to the contrary one should always assume that careful and informed political calculations were made. However, the fate of Cyprus was rarely within its own control. Its best interests were liable to be subordinated to those of the Empire of which it was a part.

The lay person, who has not been professionally involved in trying to formulate a view of Byzantine Cyprus, may think that it is reasonable to expect some clear-cut results, as the fruits of the project. After some hundreds of pages of detailed discourse, the experts should state the conclusions that they have been able to reach, and for the rest remain silent. That expectation would be misguided, if one is attempting to speak with an independent voice. It turns out that, in between 'the facts' and our interpretation of them, or our understanding of what lay behind them, there is no one-to-one correspondence, but rather a hidden process of wider judgement. There is considerable scope for uncertainty, ambiguity, and failure to see all the aspects of what is before us, and that is a situation which we all have to live with, in the hope that the picture will gradually become a little clearer. That seems to be true, in various ways, for each of the strands of evidence, and not merely for the documentary sources. Even when we have first-hand written testimony, eye-witness observation of Byzantine Cyprus (which is rare enough), it may not always be judicious or fair-minded, and it is unlikely to be addressing the questions that concern us, in the ways that we think they need to be addressed. When St Willibald commented (in his old age, and in another country) that the Cyprus he had visited (long before) 'lay between Greeks and Saracens', we would like that to be a judgement that we could accept and build on. But how much did *he* know about it, after just a few weeks, during which he visited Paphos and Constantia? No doubt he had a lively interest in what he observed (unlike the Russian abbot Daniel). But his experience was limited. The social and political fabric of the province was multifarious, as it is today, with diverse attitudes reflecting the class structures, occupational interests, and regional differences within the island. To strike a balance is hard enough today, even with the benefit of government statistics.

Two practical conclusions follow. First, it is inappropriate to treat 'the facts' as though they were Holy Writ, inerrant and requiring only to be

expounded. To over-interpret the facts means, in effect, to accept them uncritically. Our standpoint for judgement should lie somewhere intermediate between the data and how they are to be understood, in the 'debateable ground'.[1] Different specialisms interact, unpredictably. For example, the extreme contrast in the loss-rates of low-value coins in Cyprus, between the mid- to late seventh century and the early eighth strongly suggests the swift collapse of the province's monetary economy; and yet government by imperial officials persists. There is to some extent a conflict of evidence. Perhaps the theory that loss-rates offer a linear measurement of the volume of monetary exchanges is insecure. Perhaps we need much more information, of a good archaeological quality, from the northern coastlands. In any case we need to keep the whole of the data under review. It is characteristic of the discipline of early medieval studies that we need to go back and forth, considering and reconsidering whether the consensus is a fair assessment of the evidence. It follows, secondly, that we cannot afford to mothball old evidence. We cannot extract its significance, and then bury the details in an archive. The recovery of eleventh-century material in recent excavations in Nicosia prompts the recollection that some similar material was excavated in Paphos thirty or forty years ago, which received only passing attention at the time. With each new insight, or each new discovery, we need to review large tracts of previous work, in case what is new requires us to reassess or to tighten up earlier ideas. And, of course, each student is sovereign and independent in judgement. He or she needs access to all the facts, not just to their interpretation. The sense of belonging to a commonwealth of scholars, past, present, and to come, imposes an obligation to be helpful to each other by holding together the facts and our interpretation of them.

There is a profound difference here between the humanities and the sciences. In science, discoveries are quickly and thoroughly digested into the consensus. A university student of nuclear physics does not need to re-read the researches of Rutherford. Indeed, he is better informed that Rutherford was.[2] Nature's laws are ultimately seen to have a beautiful simplicity and universality. It is far otherwise with 'the crooked timber of humanity'.[3] Each generation, of the twenty to thirty generations whose lives

1. The phrase was used to refer to the borderlands between the medieval kingdoms of England and Scotland.

2. C. P. Snow, 'The case of Leavis and the serious case', repr. in *Public Affairs*, London, 1971, pp. 944f.

3. The phrase, which is Kant's, was given currency by the distinguished political scientist Sir Isaiah Berlin, former President of my Oxford college.

were lived out in Byzantine Cyprus, reached its own accommodation with the opportunities and the constraints of the age.[4] Prolonged scholarship in the humanities does not lead towards simpler perspectives. Yet to say that there has been no built-in progress in Byzantine studies would be altogether too pessimistic: the average student today is vastly better informed than Gibbon. Since his time, archaeology and various ancillary specialisms have made contributions about which he could know nothing – and which are entirely independent of of written sources. The last forty or fifty years have witnessed a sustained effort, by many scholars, to create a more balanced and a more detailed view of Byzantine Cyprus. The bibliography appended to this volume is lengthy, yet one hesitates to say that there is any item in it that will never be worth revisiting.

2. Lead seals, coins, and urban archaeology.

Further substantial progress in our understanding of Byzantine Cyprus lies within the foreseeable future, through the incorporation of new material evidence into the synthesis. The contributory disciplines from which most can be expected are sigillography, urban archaeology, and numismatics. Sigillography, in particular, is poised to make rapid gains, because the data-base of different varieties is still only half-complete. Among the lead seals that have come to light in the short time since *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus* was published, there are at least three very agreeable surprises, which are of historical consequence: another specimen belonging to the kleisourarch Theodoros, an indubitably genuine lead seal of the bishop of Aradus, found in Cyprus, and a third naming the cenobiarch of the Judaean laura of St Theodosios, from Paphos district. Amphora studies, field surveys, and other ceramic studies will probably make further new contributions to our over-all view of the eighth and ninth centuries, especially if more precise chronologies could be achieved. Studies of church architecture are even more hampered by uncertainties over dating. Distribution-maps, which can reveal regional differences within Cyprus, will be an increasingly useful tool as provenanced material accumulates. For the study of island-wide patterns, provenances recorded to within a mile or two will be perfectly adequate. Exact find-spots, to within ten or twenty metres, are nevertheless desirable, as there is no telling what ideas, of wider relevance, they may generate. Comparisons between southern and northern Cyprus, which are of particular interest for the

4. C. P. Snow's comments, referred to above, are more applicable to the 'hard' sciences, and much less so to toponymy in the biological sciences, where the endless adaptations and ingenuities of evolution offer less of a contrast with human affairs.

eighth to tenth centuries, are at risk of being misleading because of the current political division of the island: there is much less information from the north, where archaeological investigation has in many respects been at a standstill since 1974. Perhaps that will prove to have been a blessing in disguise.

Numerous new finds of lead seals continue to be made, since the publication of the catalogue (*BLSC*), constituting a further welcome random sample of what turns up in Cyprus, against which the selective character of the Cyprus Museum collection emerges even more clearly. Finds from the north, including Soloi, Lapithos, and Kyrenia are unfortunately lacking. One recalls the tantalizing story about the villagers of Lambousa taking quantities of lead seals to Nicosia to be melted down for their scrap value. Additional material from Constantia, the capital, would be welcome: it exists, in quantity, in private hands. Meanwhile, the patient recording of new varieties, known varieties from different boulloteria, and duplicates is an excellent investment for future study. Photographic publication is essential. The current data-base of *c.*1,400 lead seals, of some 900 varieties, is still a long, long way from the stage of diminishing returns. Statistically, at least as many more varieties new to Cyprus are predicted to turn up, i.e. there is a better than 50:50 chance that each new find will be a new variety.[5] Provenanced material is particularly welcome, as a contribution to the study of a) the regional or island-wide occurrence of particular varieties, and b) any signs of local particularism. One awaits material from the French excavations at Amathus, from various excavations at Kourion, from Saranda Kolones, from the Princeton excavations at Polis, and so on, as well as detectorists' finds from Kalavasos (between 30 and 40 specimens are promised?) and miscellaneous finds from the south-east and south (as many as a hundred, since the publication of *BLSC*).

To take a very simple example, where it might seem that we are already close to a definitive understanding: although so many seventh-century lead seals of illoustrioi and of bishops have been catalogued, many more reliably provenanced specimens are needed in order to attribute them all securely to their cities, and in order to explore the obvious question to what extent the correspondence of these notables was concentrated within the territories of their own cities. There are already some clear examples of localized occurrence, e.g. the lead seals of the bishops of Amathus, or the

5. *BLSC* pp. 132-8.

(anonymous) church seals of Lapithos.[6] On the other hand there are outliers in the distribution-patterns, and it is these that impose a requirement for a larger body of evidence.

From the eighth and ninth centuries, localization may be expected to have been at its greatest, and the problem of the dearth of material from the northern coastlands is at its most acute. There are adminstrative questions concerning the lead seals of consuls, archons, and kleisourarchs, which would be of key historical interest if they could be addressed. From the time of the short-lived theme in the later ninth century there is almost no sigillographic evidence. Any new specimens of the 'Photian' design that turn up in Cyprus will merit close study. Similarly, an empire-wide stylistic study of the patriarchal cross design might help to give precision to the use of lead seals in Cyprus in the tenth century up to 965.

Any new lead seals which can be dated to the first 70 or 80 years after 965 should help to define the administrative hierarchy at that time. It seems to have been different from what was in place in the second half of the eleventh century. The reconquest evidently led to the replacement of the archon by a strategos, but how long that new status lasted in unclear.

If sigillography is still a rapidly growing resource, numismatics has, for the most part, entered a more settled phase. Site-finds from archaeological excavations continued over several campaigns can yield usefully large assemblages of material, which should have the advantage of including everything that was found, i.e. they should securely approximate to a random sample. They need to be fully published before it is prudent to comment on their historical significance. Their great value lies in the completeness of the record, i.e. in their randomness. The recent volume of coins from the French excavations at Salamis-Constantia set an excellent example, in particular by recording the sector of the excavations from which each coin came. It turns out that this is dramatically useful, not only for the interpretation of the site (e.g. commercial activity in the Campanopetra sector after 650; chronology of the inner fortification wall), but even more widely for the monetary history of Cyprus. It also turns out that an even more detailed topographical record would have been useful. There are obvious lessons for the awaited publication of all the coins from Ayios Georghios (Cape Drepanon), where a sixth-century decline has been adumbrated: is it demonstrable throughout the site? Similarly at Kourion

6. *BLSC* cat. 477-8; also the church seals of Amathus (which are the key to attributing the episcopal seals of that city).

and at Amathus, where various archaeologists have led lengthy excavations at different sites within those cities, a careful statistical comparison of what has been found at one and another site may help to create perspectives for the interpretation of the fate of those cities in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The suggestion that the countermarking of coins of Constans II began during his reign and not, as traditionally argued, during that of Constantine IV, calls for a detailed re-examination of site-finds, e.g. at Amathus, where the redating may influence one's general understanding of the aftermath of the Arab invasions. The date of each coin, or at least its *DOC* Class, needs to be recorded painstakingly, in conjunction with its topographical location.

Because of its general scarcity, any new provenanced material from *c.*695-*c.*1042 is likely to clarify our historical understanding of that period significantly – and the more exact the provenances the better. There are enough unpublished Islamic clipped dirhams to merit skilled numismatic study, which should establish their date-range (before or after A.D. 800) with sufficient accuracy – even though the dates are clipped off the flans – to clarify the probable date of their import into Cyprus. A couple of recently-found Idrisid coins hint at a wide-ranging network of Islamic maritime trade in the east Mediterranean, which in some sense took over from or replaced the earlier Byzantine network.

Within Nicosia the monetary recovery seems to begin rather abruptly with folles of Anonymous Class C, i.e. in *c.*1042/3. Elsewhere in Cyprus stray finds of Classes A2 and B are seen very occasionally. There may be regional differences. Paphos and one or two of the south-coast ports may have felt the first stirrings of international maritime trade a couple of decades sooner. There is one point which could be misleading: it seems that Class B was imitated, much later in the eleventh century (*DOC* Classes Ba and Bb).[7] Assurances are called for whenever a Class B coin is published.

It should go without saying that any new hoards which come to light ought to be fully published, with generous amounts of illustration. Until now, too many Byzantine hoards have received rather perfunctory description, which does not allow other scholars to address new questions to the material. (And, regretably, those other scholars have sometimes been cavalier in their reading of the numismatic chronology, e.g. by assuming that hoards date from 649 or 653, without much attention to detail.)

7. See *DOC* vol. 3, pp. 680-1 with commentary and illustrations.

Hoards of Byzantine gold containing coins of the early ninth century, which alas have tended to go underground, will certainly merit full publication. The operation of the antiquities law has, sadly, been counter-productive, and there has been a year-in, year-out haemorrhage of precious historical material through illegal export, some of it to Germany, but much of it to the London market.

Urban archaeology, which should have the potential to provide a secure regional framework for our understanding of the sixth to eighth centuries in particular, is still in gestation. The rich series of volumes from the French excavations of Salamis-Constantia, several of which are devoted to the Byzantine period, shows what can be done. But there is a long roll-call of sites which have been excavated over several seasons, but where a final report is still awaited. A major excavation, conducted perhaps over five to ten years, and involving a team of archaeologists and specialists acquires its results laboriously and at considerable financial expense. It is natural that the team members should wish to claim the academic credit for their efforts. This may involve not releasing the detailed evidence until the final publication – by which time the specialist reports are liable to be in need of reconsideration. For example, a major volume on the episcopal precinct at Kourion, recently published, draws perspectives for the late seventh and early eighth century history of the site which are out of date in relation to current views on sigillography and which do not now command assent. At least the excavation-material is very thoroughly and clearly presented, in a degree of detail which makes reconsideration possible. There are a dozen other sites from which a final report is awaited, and where patience is the only course.

3. Blood groups, DNA, and historical demography.

Kyrris as a young researcher conducted field-work in northern Cyprus, in the course of which he observed that people of Armenian build and aspect could still be observed in villages or in localities where Armenian settlers had been established in the Byzantine centuries, or are supposed to have been established.[8] These individuals, when questioned, would firmly state that they were Muslims, and that they were Turkish. Their physical appearance, however, betrayed a different identity in the past. They or their foreberars might have changed their religion and (quite easily) their language, but their genetic inheritance, and their localization, remained as evidence of the settlement of non-Cypriots at some date in the past. How

8. Kyrris, 1970.

far in the past is not easily discovered from the present-day evidence, since Byzantine documents do not identify the exact location or density of Armenian settlement. Corroborative evidence from name-studies, or from icons,[9] for example, may sometimes be found. In so far as they were concentrated in or around particular villages (but strictly that requires, at least, field-work on control-groups from elsewhere), the pattern tends to show that over 20 or 30 generations, living out one's life in the (inland) village of one's birth, or nearby, has been the norm in Cyprus.

In early days, attempts were made to distinguish ethnic groups by their physical appearance, particular attention being lavished on measurements of the skull. Charles, using measurements of skeletons from archaeological excavations originally published by Buxton,[10] made an elaborate statistical analysis, which had the merit of dividing Cyprus into three regions, namely the centre (roughly, the Mesaoria), the north coast, and the eastern parts of the island.[11] By a bold extrapolation to modern times (to put it politely), Charles identified 87.5 per cent of the population as being genetically Greek, about 6.5 per cent Turkoman (i.e. incomers in Ottoman times) and 6 per cent of Armenian type (whatever their present religion). Perhaps the most useful part of the study was the discovery that there was not much statistical difference between the three regions. A more refined analysis, with effort invested in setting up the samples, might distinguish, for example, a concentration of people of Armenian appearance, living in or near what were or had been Armenian villages. Anatomical measurements, it has to be said, are by no means an accurate guide to ancestry. After all, a range of variation, from generation to generation, is nature's way of insuring against changing conditions.

Before the mapping of human DNA, the best available resource was the analysis of information about blood groups. The proportions of the blood-groups A, B, O, and AB (and other groupings such as Rhesus, MNS, etc.) similarly can still reflect the ancient population, even if the patterns are partly overlaid and blurred by changes in more recent centuries. Regional variation within Cyprus is something that we might expect. Since an individual's blood-group (A, B, etc.) is perfectly clear-cut and easily ascertainable, the quality of any survey depends on the care invested in the

9. See above, p.486.

10. Charles, 1965; Buxton, 1920.

11. The material from the centre was drawn from Nicosia, Kythrea, and various villages; from the north, mostly from Lapithos and nearby Karavas; from the east, from Enkomi, Limnea, Ayios Serghios, and Lefkoniko.

sampling – using rural rather than urban population, and finding individuals whose four grandparents, at least, lived in the same village or the same locality. The different ethnic origins claimed by several of the ancient city-states could perhaps be explored using evidence that is completely independent of the historical myths that have come down. Fisher's monumental descriptive work on blood-groups[12] was the culmination of intensive data-collection. Comparisons of blood-group ratios between one region of the world and another are, however, often problematic, and they are a very blunt instrument, where more refined tools exist.

The analysis of human DNA patterns is already a sophisticated and very promising tool for ancestry research, which has begun to yield good and interesting results for many parts of the world. There is every reason to expect that it could throw light on the early history of Cyprus similarly.[13] Perhaps surprisingly, modern DNA is a palimpsest of many centuries of settlement. With care and discretion, it can to some extent be deciphered.

What makes the project possible is the gradual mutation of DNA, over periods measured in centuries or even thousands of years. Nuclear DNA is extremely stable, but mitochondrial DNA (mDNA), which is passed down through the generations only from mother to daughter, acquiring a harmless mutation (which is then passed on for evermore) once every few thousand years, allows us to recognize, world-wide, a limited number of 'clans', each deriving from a single ancestress long ago.[14] Similarly the genes of the Y-chromosome (present only in males) include tell-tale signs of faulty (but harmless) replication, which allow the researcher to group individuals into paternal 'clans'. This replicative mutation is even more frequent than in mDNA, and again it is permanently built into the genetic inheritance of subsequent generations. The matriarchal and patriarchal clans may coincide in what they tell us, or in certain circumstances (e.g. where only men emigrated) they may diverge.

12. A. Mourant, *The Distribution of Human Blood Groups*, 1976.

13. Pioneering research has been led by B. Sykes, whose clear popular exposition of the principles of interpretation are set out in three books, *The Seven Daughters of Eve* (2001), *Adam's Curse* (2003), and *Blood of the Isles* (2006).The detailed genetic results are published on the internet at http://www.bloodoftheisles.net.

14. Human mitochondrial DNA is exactly 16,589 DNA bases in length, including approximately 400 bases within a 1,000-base stretch which constitutes the 'control group'. Here, mutation does not affect performance. Every individual who carries mutations at, say, positions 126 and 294 of the 400 bases, is descended from a 'clan mother', a single individual who lived anything from roughly 10,000 to 50,000 years ago.

Thus far, an interesting but still a fairly blunt instrument. At the next level of detail, however, a much more extensive comparison of DNA sequences usually shows that individuals who are quite closely related, for example sharing the same surname, or who are perhaps third or fourth cousins, or cousins three or four times removed, may turn out to have identical or virtually identical DNA.[15] Even if they now live in different parts of the world, their common ancestry is certain. This is a refined tool of research, which comes into its own once the main perspectives have been established, allowing one to identify kinship groups and local migration.

The whole art of using DNA analysis to study ancestry lies in similarities and contrasts, between well-managed samples, preferably with several hundred individual sets of data in each. Elsewhere one would look to do this in conjunction with surname studies, and family history generally. In Cyprus, it will be necessary to create anchor-points of better-than-average data. The initial results will probably be presented in the form of clan percentages observed within a particular region. This analysis is conducted separately for matriarchal and patriarchal clans. Statistical contrasts between regions, in their respective sets of percentages, may suggest for example that an autochthonous population has been overlaid by incomers. There is still the problem of identifying the invaders, which will necessitate a wider network of regional comparisons, and a degree of historical discretion. In Cyprus, could one for example recognize the traces of Armenian settlers, in villages on the southern slopes of the Pentadaktylos range – or of Arabs in the region of Paphos or Limassol?[16] Today, anyone with a little money to spare can obtain a commercial analysis of their DNA. The exercise is made worthwhile only by the very careful design of experiments in social history.

15. Professor Sykes's first step in exploring this phenomenon was to consult the telephone directory, and to write to people who shared his surname, asking them to provide a DNA sample. The degree of consistency in the results was unexpectedly high.

16. Today, anyone with a little money to spare can obtain a commercial analysis of their DNA.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

An extensive bibliography is available in vol. 3 of the *Istoria tes Kyprou*, ed. Papadopoullos, Nicosia 2005, pp. 813-907. Items which have only a limited or incidental reference to Byzantine Cyprus are where necessary cited in full in a footnote, and are omitted from this list. For older works one may consult E. Oberhummer, *Die Inseln Cypern*, vol. 1, Munich, 1903, or C. D. Cobham, *A Bibliography of Cyprus*, 4th edn., Nicosia, 1900.

Ahrweiler, H. Glykatzi, 'Les forteresses construites en Asie Mineure face à l'invasion seldjoucide', *Congrès International d' Études Byzantines*, 11 (1958): *Actes*, pp. 182-9.

Ahrweiler, H. Glykatzi, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe et Xe siècles', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 84 (1960), 1-111.

Ahrweiler, H. Glykatzi, *Byzance et la mer; la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe – XVe siècles*, Paris, 1966.

Ahrweiler, H. Glykatzi, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, Variorum Reprints, 1981.

Album, S. and T. Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, vol. 1, *The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford, 2002.

Alexander, S. S., 'Heraclius, Byzantine imperial ideology, and the David plates', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 217-37.

Ambraseys, N. N., *The Seismic History of Cyprus*, London, 1965.

Angold, M., *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge, 1995, 2nd. edn., 2000.

Antoniades-Bibicou, H., *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance: à propos du thème des Caravisiens*, Paris, 1966.

Apostolides, A. P., 'An unpublished(?) lead seal of an archon of Cyprus from the 8th/9th century', *Numismatic Report* 31-2 (2000-1), 33-42.

Argoud, G., 'Fours à pain et fours à chaux byzantins de Salamine', in Yon, 1980, 329-39.

Argoud, G., O. Callot, B. Helly, and A. M. Larribeau, 'Le temple de Zeus à Salamine', *RDAC* 1975, 122-41.

Argoud, G., O. Callot, and B. Helly, *Salamine de Chypre*, vol. 11, *Une résidence byzantine, "l'huilerie"*, Paris, 1980.

Aristidou, A. Ch., *Kolossi Castle through the Centuries*, Nicosia, 1983.

Asdracha, A., Τὸ θέμα Κύπρου, in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 199-233.

Asdracha, A., 'Η Κύπρος ὑπὸ τοὺς Κομνηνούς (Α') in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 293-347.

Asdracha, A., 'Η Κύπρος ὑπὸ τοὺς Κομνηνούς (Β') in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 349-412.

Aupert, P. (ed.), *Guide d'Amathonte* (École française d'Athènes: Sites et monuments, XV), Athens, 1996.

Bakirtzis, Ch., 'The role of Cyprus in the grain supply of Constantinople in the early Christian period', in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (editors), *Cyprus and the Sea*, Nicosia, 1995, 247-53.

Bakirtzis, Ch., 'A sea-route from Cyprus to the Aegean in the Early Christian period', in *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity from the Prehistoric Period to the 7th Century A.D.*, Nicosia 8-10 December 1995, Nicosia, 1997, 327-32.

Bakirtzis, Ch., 'Early Christian rock-cut tombs at Hagios Georgios, Peyia, Cyprus', in Ševčenko and Moss, *Medieval Cyprus*, 1999, 35-48.

Bakirtzis, Ch., 'Αραβικοὶ ἀμφορεῖς στὴν Κύπρο', in Bakirtzis (ed.), *Actes du VIIe Congrès international sur la céramique médiévale en Mediterranée, Thessalonique, 11-16 octobre 1999*, Athens, 2003, pp. 126-36.

Baladhuri, *see* Hitti.

Balandier, C., 'La défense des territoires à Chypre de l'époque archaïque aux invasions arabes (VIIIe s. av. n.è. - VIIe s. de n.è)', *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 28/1 (June 2002), 33pp.

Balandier, C., 'The defensive works of Cyprus during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods', *RDAC* 2003, 261-72.

Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, *A Guide to Kourion*, Nicosia,1987.

Bardswell, M., 'A visit to some of the Maronite villages of Cyprus', *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 (1938-9), 304-8.

Bardswell, M. and G. Sotiriou, 'The Byzantine paintings in the water cistern, Salamis, Cyprus', *Antiquaries' Journal* 19/4 (1939), 443-5.

Baur, A., 'Die Wasserversorgung der antiken Stadt Salamis auf der Inseln Zypern', in *Frontinus-Symposium beim Kongress 'Wasser Berlin' Jahrestagung 1989 in Hannover und weitere Beiträge zur historisches Entwicklung der Technik* (Schriftenreihe der Frontinus-Gesellschaft, 14), Bergisch-Gladbach, 1990, pp. 203-18.

Baynes, N. H. and E. S. A. Dawes, *Three Byzantine Saints: Contemporary Biographies of St Daniel the Stylite, St Theodore of Sykeon, and St John the Almsgiver*, Oxford, 1948.

Beaudouin, M. and E. Pottier, 'Inscriptions de l'île de Chypre', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 3 (1879), 163-76.

Beaton, R., 'Byzantine historiography and modern Greek oral poetry: the case of Rapsomates', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 10 (1986), 41-50.

Beihammer, A. D., *Nachrichten zum byzantinischen Urkunden in arabischen Quellen (565-811)*, (= Ποικίλα Βυζαντινὰ 17), Bonn, 2000.

Beihammer, A., '"Audiatur et altera pars"', *Kypriakai Spoudai* 64-5 (2000-1), 157-76.

Beihammer, A., 'Zypern und die byzantinisch-arabische Seepolitik vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts', in *Aspects of Arab Seafaring. An Attempt to Fill in the Gaps of Maritime History*, ed. Y. Y. al-Hijji and V. Christides, Athens, 2002, pp. 41-661.

Beihammer, A., 'The first naval campaigns of the Arabs against Cyprus (649, 653): a reexamination of the Oriental source material', *Graeco-Arabica* 90-10 (2004), 47-68.

Bekker-Nielsen, T., *The Roads of Ancient Cyprus*, Copenhagen, 2004.

Bekker-Nielsen, T., Hannestad, N., and Jensen, M., 'An ancient road on the west coast of Cyprus. A preliminary report', *RDAC* 1991, 203-10.

Bendall, S., 'Isaac Comnenus: just a little empire on Cyprus', *The Celator. Numismatic Art of Antiquity*, 3, no. 2 (February 1989).

Bendall, S., 'An unpublished tetarteron and a hoard of coins of Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus (A.D. 1184-1191), *Numismatic Circular* 113 (2005), 371-5.

Berggötz, O., *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia*, Stampalia IV, 3 (1064), Frankfurt-am-Main, 1990.

Blöndel, S., *The Varangians of Byzantium. An Aspect of Byzantine Military History*, translated and revised by B. S. Benedikz, Cambridge, 1978.

Bocchi, F., 'Sul titolo di "consul" in età alto medievale', *Zbornik Radova Vizantolo škog Instituta* 18 (1978), 51-66.

Bonner, M. (ed.), *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times* (The Formation of the Classical Islamic World, vol 8), Aldershot-Burlington VT, 2004.

Borsari, S., *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo, I rapporti economici*, (Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di studi e memorie, 26), 1988.

Bowersock, G. W., *The International Role of Late Antique Cyprus*, (The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 14th Annual Lecture on the History and Archaeology of Cyprus), Nicosia, 2000.

Brand, C. M., 'Two Byzantine treatises on taxation', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 35-60.

Brand, C. M., *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204*, Cambridge, Mass, 1968.

Browning, R., *Byzantium and Bulgaria. A Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontier*, London, 1975.

Browning, R., 'Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the early middle ages', *Epetiris* 9 (1977-9), 101-116.

Browning, R., "Η Κύπρος καὶ οἱ Ἄραβες', in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 235-291.

Brubaker, L. and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680-850): the Sources*, (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, no. 7), Aldershot, 2001.

Bryer, A., 'A seal of Epiphanios, archbishop of Cyprus', *Kypriakai Spoudai* 34 (1970), 19-24.

Bryer, A. A. M. and G. S. Georghallides (editors), *'The Sweet Land of Cyprus'. Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, Nicosia, 1993.

Buckler, G., 'Historical note', in +Gibraltar et al., 'The church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its frescoes', *Archaeologia* 83 (1933), 327-50, at pp. 346-50.

Bury, J. B., *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911.

Buxton, L. H. Dudley, 'The anthropology of Cyprus', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 50 (1920), 183-295.

Callot, O., 'Salamine-Constantia: notes de numismatique et de topographie d'époque byzantine', *RDAC* 1985, 335-9.

Callot, O., *Salamine de Chypre*. XVI. *Les monnaies. Fouilles de la ville, 1964-1974*. Paris, 2004.

Cameron, A., 'Cyprus at the time of the Arab conquests', *Cyprus Historical Review* 1 (1992), 27-49. (Reprinted in Variorum edition)

Canart, P., 'Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XIe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle et le style palestino-Chypriote "epsilon"', *Scrittura e Civilta* 5 (1981), 71-6.

Canart, P., 'Les écritures livresques chypriotes du XIe au XVIe siècle' *Epistemonike Epetiris tes Kypriakes Hetairias Historikon Spoudon* 17 (1988-9), 27-53.

Cappuyns, N., 'Le Synodikon de Chypre au XIIe si`ecle', *Byzantion* 10 (1935), 489-504.

Caraher, W. et al., 'The Pyla-*Koutsopetria* Archaeological Project: First Preliminary Report (2003-2004 seasons)', *RDAC* 2005, 245-67.

Carr, *see* Weyl-Carr.

Catling, H. W., 'An early Byzantine pottery factory at Dhiorios in Cyprus', *Levant* 4 (1972), 1-82.

Catling, H. W., 'The ancient topography of the Yialias valley', *RDAC* 1982, 227-36.

Catling, H. W. and A. I. Dikigoropoulos, 'The Kornos cave: an early Byzantine site in Cyprus', *Levant* 2 (1970), 37-62.

Cesnola, A. Palma di, *Salaminia (Cyprus). The History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus*, 2nd edition, London, 1884.

Chadwick, H., *The Early Church. The Story of Emergent Christianity from the Apostolic Age to the Foundation of the Church of Rome,* (Pelican History of the Church, vol. 1), Harmondsworth, 1967.

Chalandon, F., *Les Comnène*. II. *Jean Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)*, Paris, 1912.

Charles, R. P., 'Considérations sur le peuplement moderne de Chypre et ses origines', *Kypriakai Spoudai* 29 (1965), 3-26.

Chatzepsaltes, K. Ch., "Η Κύπρος κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἥμισυ τοῦ ἐνάτου και τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ δεκάτου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος', *Pepragmena tou 9 diethnos Byzantinologikon Synedriou (Thessalonike, 12-19 Apriliou 1953)*, vol 2, Athens, 1956, pp. 327-41.

Chavane, M. J., *Salamine de Chypre*, vol. 6, *Les petits objets*, Paris, 1975.

Cherry, J. F., 'Cyprus, the Mediterranean, and survey: current issues and future trends', in M. Iacovou (ed.), *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus*, 23-35.

Cheynet, J.-C., 'Du stratège de thème au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XIe siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), 181-94.

Cheynet, J.-C., *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris, 1990.

Cheynet, J.-C., 'Chypre à la veille de la conquête franque', in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer*, Poitiers, 1995, pp.67-77.

Cheynet, J.-C., 'Un aspect du ravitaillement de Constantinople aux Xe/XIe siècles d'après quelques sceaux d'hôrreiarioi', *SBS* 6, (2001), 1-26.

Cheynet, J.-C., 'Épiskeptitai et autres gestionnaires des biens publics (d'après les sceaux de l'IFEB)', *SBS* 7 (2002), 87-117.

Cheynet, J.-C., 'L'iconographie des sceaux des Comnènes', in Chudwig (ed.), *Siegel und Siegler. Akten des 8. internationalen Symposions für byzantinische Sigillographie = Berliner Byzantinische Studien* 7 (2005), 53-67.

Cheynet, J.-C., 'The duchy of Antioch during the second period of Byzantine rule', in K. Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf, *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*. I. *Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*, (Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta, 147), Leuven, 2006, pp. 1-16.

Childs, W. A. P., 'First preliminary report of the excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University', *RDAC* 1988, part 2, 121-30.

Christides, V., 'The naval engagement of Dhāt as-Sewāni, 34/655/656. A classic example of naval warfare incompetence', *Byzantina* 3 (1985), 331-45.

Christides, V., 'Arab-Byzantine struggle in the sea: naval tactics (7th - 11th centuries A.D.). Theory and practice', in *Aspects of Arab Seafaring, an Attempt to Fill in the Gaps of Maritime History*, ed. Y. Y. Hijji and V. Christides, Athens, 2002, pp. 87-106.

Christides, V., *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources*, (Kypriologike Bibliotheke, 15), Nicosia, 2006.

Christou, D., 'Excavations at Kourion, first preliminary report, 1975-1982', *RDAC* 1983, 266-74.

Christou, D., *Paphos. Archaeological Guide and Historical Review*, Nicosia, 2008.

Chrysos, E. K., 'The title Basileus in early Byzantine international relations', *DOP* 32 (1978), 29-75. (Appendix: 'The date of inscriptions LBW 2770 from Kythrea, Cyprus and Grégoire 107 from Ephesos').

Chrysos, E., 'Ο Ἡράκλειος στὴν Κύπρο (609/10)', in C. Constantinides (ed.) *Praktika Symposiou Kypriakis Istorias, Leukosia 2-3 Maiou 1983*, Ioannina, 1984, pp. 53-62.

Chrysos, E., 'Cyprus in early Byzantine times', in Bryer and Georghallides (eds.),*'The Sweet Land of Cyprus'*, 1993, pp. 3-14.

Chrysos, E., 'Από την ιστορία του μοναχισμού στην Κύπρο τον έβδομο αιώνα', *Epetirida Kentro Meleton Ieras Monis Kykkou* 4 (1999), 205-17.

Ciggaar, K. N., *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations*, Leiden, 1996.

Clearkin, P. A., Blood transfusion service in Cyprus with notes on the ABO groups of Cypriots', *British Medical Journal* 5102 (1958), 939-42.

Cobham, C. D., 'The story of Umm Harām', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897.

Cobham, C. D., *A Handbook of Cyprus*, London, 1907.

Cobham, C. D., *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge, 1908.

Comnena, Anna, *see* Leib.

Conrad, L. I., 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990), 1-44.

Constantinides, C. (ed.), *Praktika Symposio Kypriakis Istorias, Leukosia 2-3 Maiou 1983*, Ioannina, 1984.

Constantinides, C. N., 'An unknown manuscript of the 'Family 2400' from Cyprus', *Epetiris* 17 (1987-8), 169-86.

Constantinides, C. N., 'Poetic colophons in medieval Cypriot manuscripts', in Bryer and Georghallides, *'The Sweet Land of Cyprus'*, pp. 319-80.

Constantinides, C. N. and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Nicosia, 1993.

Constantinides, *see also* Konstantinides.

Cosentino, S., 'Constans II and the Byzantine navy', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 100 (2007), 577-603.

Coureas, N., 'To what extent was the Crusaders' capture of Cyprus impelled by strategic considerations?', *Epetiris* 19 (1992), 197-202.

Coureas, N., 'Western merchants and the ports of Cyprus up to 1291', in *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus and the Sea, Nicosia 1993*, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 255-61.

Coureas, N., *The Foundation Rules of Medieval Cypriot Monasteries: Makhairas and St Neophytos*, (Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 46), Nicosia, 2003.

Coureas, N., 'The apple of concord: the great powers and Cyprus from 400 AD onwards', *Kypriakai Spoudai* 67-8 (2003-4), 447-62.

Cox, D. H., *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, vol. 145), New York, 1959.

Ćurčić, S., 'An early Byzantine basilica at Polis, Cyprus', *Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress: Abstracts of Short Papers*, Washington, D.C., 1986, pp. 87-8.

Ćurčić, S., 'Byzantine architecture on Cyprus: an introduction to the problem of the genesis of a regional style', in N. Ševčenko and C. Moss (editors), *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, Princeton, 1999, 71-91.

Ćurčić, S., *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. 13th Annual Lecture on the History and Archaeology of Cyprus), Nicosia, 2000.

Cutler, A. and A. Weil Carr, 'The Psalter Benaki 34.3: an unpublished illuminated manuscript from the Family 2400', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 34 (1976), 304-23.

Dalton, O. M., 'A Byzantine silver treasure from the district of Kerynia, Cyprus, now preserved in the British Museum', *Archaeologia* 57 (= 2 Ser., 7) (1900), 157-74.

Dalton, O. M., 'A second silver treasure from Cyprus', *Archaeologia* 60 (= 2 Ser., 10) (1906), 1-24.

Dalton, O. M., 'Byzantine plate and jewellery from Cyprus in Mr Morgan's collection', *Burlington Magazine* 10 (1906-7), 355-62.

Darrouzès, J., 'Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 8 (1950), 172-3.

Darrouzès, J., 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre, 1', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 17 (1953), 82-102; id., 2, ibid. 20 (1956), 31-63; id., 3, ibid., 22 (1958), 221-50; id., 4, ibid. 23 (1959), 25-56. All four reprinted in J. Darrouzès, *Litérature et histoire des textes byzantins* (Variorum Reprints), London, 1972.

Darrouzès, J. (editor), *Notitiae episcopatuum*, Paris, 1981.

Daszewski, W. A. et al., 'Fouilles polonaises à Kato Paphos, chantier de *Maloutena*', *RDAC* 1984, 294-314.

Daszewski, W. A. and D. Michaelides, *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (= Biblioteca di 'Felix Ravenna', 3), Ravenna, 1988.

Dedeyan, G., 'Les Arméniens à Chypre de la fin du XIe au début du XIIIe siècle', in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer. Actes du colloque, Poitiers-Lusignan, 20-24 octobre 1993*, Poitiers [1994].

Dedeyan, G., 'The Armenians in Cyprus in the Xth, XIth, and XIIth centuries', in *The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. New York, 11-13 December, 1993*. [Symposium].

Delehaye, H., 'Saints de Chypre', *Analecta Bollandiana* 26 (1907), 161-301.

Delvoye, C., 'La place de Chypre dans l'architecture paléochrétienne de la Méditerranée', in *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedrio*, vol. 2, *Mesaionikon tmima*, Nicosia, 1972, 17-21.

Delvoye, C., 'La place des grandes basiliques de Salamine de Chypre dans l'architecture paléochrétienne', in Yon, 1980, 313-27.

Demesticha, S, 'Amphora production on Cyprus during the late Roman period', in Bakirtzis, 2003.

Demesticha, S., and D. Michaelides, 'The excavation of a Late Roman 1 amphora kiln in Paphos', in Villeneuve and Watson, 2001.

Déroche, V., 'L'Apologie contre les juifs de Léontios de Néapolis', *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), 45-104.

Der Parthog, G., *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus. A Guide to the Monuments*. New Barnet, 1995.

Des Gagniers, J. and T. T. Tinh, *Soloi. Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964-1974)*, Sainte-Foy, 1985.

Destrooper-Georgiades, A., 'Note on a half follis of Heraclius found at Aradhippou', *Numismatic Report* 28-30 (1997-9), 39-40.

Di Cesnola, *see* Cesnola.

Diederichs, C., *Salamine de Chypre*, vol. 9, *Céramiques hellénistiques, romaines, et byzantines*, Lyon-Paris, 1980.

Dikigoropoulos, A. I., 'The political state of Cyprus, AD 648-965', *RDAC* 1940-8, 94-110.

Dikigoropoulos, A. I., 'A Byzantine hoard from Kharcha, Cyprus', *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th Ser., 16 (1956), 255-65.

Dikigoropoulos, A. I., *Cyprus 'betwixt Greeks and Saracens' A.D. 647-965*, Oxford DPhil thesis, 1961.

Doanides, S. I., "Ἡ παραίτησις Νικολάου τοῦ Μουζάλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου. Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπολογητικὸν ποίημα", *Hellenika* 7 (1934), 109-50.

Dodd, E. C., *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 7), Washington, 1961.

Dolley, R. H., 'A forgotten Byzantine conquest of Kypros', *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques — Académie royale de Belgique* 5th. Ser., 35 (5), (1948), 209-24.

Dolley, R. H., 'The historical significance of the translation of St Lazaros from Kypros to Byzantion', *Byzantion* 19 (Actes du VIIe Congrès des études byzantines, Bruxelles, 1948, vol. 1), 1949, 59-71.

Donald, P. J., 'The Neapolis coins of Heraclius', *Numismatic Report* 22-25 (1991-4), 59-62.

Donald, P. J., 'Neapolis under Heraclius — a further find', *Numismatic Report* 22-25 (1991-4), 63-4.

Donald, P. J., D. M. Metcalf, and A. G. Pitsillides, 'A scarce type of copper tetarteron of the early twelfth century from Cyprus', *Numismatic Report* 15-21 (1984-90), 289-92.

Donald, P. J. and P. D. Whitting, 'A hoard of trachea of John II and Manuel I from Cyprus', in R. A. G. Carson (ed.), *Mints, Dies, and Currency*, London, 1971, pp. 75-84.

Donald, P. J. and P. D. Whitting, 'A VIIth century hoard from Cyprus', *NCirc* June 1967, 162-5; addendum, p.204. (Repr. in *NR* 1972, 44-6.)

Du Plat Taylor, J., 'Inscriptions in the Phyleri cave', *RDAC* 1935, 18-19.

Du Plat Taylor, J., 'A water cistern with Byzantine paintings, Salamis, Cyprus', *Antiquaries' Journal* 13/2 (1933), 97-108.

Du Plat Taylor, J. and A. H. S. Megaw, 'Excavations at Ayios Philon, the ancient Karpasia. Part II. The early Christian buildings', *RDAC* 1981, 209-50.

Dunn, A., 'Rural producers and markets: aspects of the archaeological and historiographic problem', in *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium. Proceedings of the International Congress (Cambridge, 8-10 September, 2001)*, edited by M. Grünbart et al., (= Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, vol. 11), Vienna, 2007, pp. 101-9.

Economides, K. N. 'Byzantine folles countermarked with Heraclian monograms found in Cyprus', *Numismatic Chronicle* 163 (2003), 193-204.

Economides, K. N., *see also* Oeconomides, K. N.

Efthimiou, M., *Greeks and Latins on Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century*, Brookline, Mass, 1987.

Eiring, J. and J. Lund, *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26-29, 2002* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 5), Aarhus, 2004.

Empereur, J.-Y. and M. Picon, 'Les régions de production d'amphores impériales en Méditerranée orientale', in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche, Actes du colloque de Sienne 22-24 mai 1986* (Collection de l' École française de Rome 114), 1989, 223-48.

Englezakis, P. (B.), *Cyprus, Nea Justinianoupolis* (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. Sixth Annual Lecture on History and Archaeology), Nicosia, 1990.

Englezakis, B., 'The church of Cyprus in the Byzantine Empire (AD 330-1191)', in *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4th - 20th Centuries*, (Variorum), Aldershot, 1995, 41-61.

Entwistle, C., '"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth:" the British Museum and the second Cyprus treasure', in id. (editor), *Through a Glass Brightly. Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton*, Oxford, 2003.

Epstein, A. J. Wharton, *Art of Empire. Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery*, London, 1988.

Fahmy, A. M., *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 7th to the 10th Century A.D.*, Cairo, 1966.

Feissel, D., Bulletin épigraphique, *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 100 (1987), no. 352, at pp. 380f.

Fejfer, J., *Ancient Akamas*, 1. *Settlement and Environment*, Aarhus, 1995.

Fejfer, J. and P. P. Hayes, 'Ancient Akamas and the abandonment of sites in seventh-century A.D. Cyprus', in P. W. Wallace (ed.), *Visitors, Immigrants, and Invaders in Cyprus* (Institute of Cypriot Studies, Univeristy at Albany, State University of New York), 1995, 62-9.

Fejfer, J. and H. E. Mathiesen, 'The Danish Akamas-project. The first two seasons of work (1989 and 1990), *RDAC* 1991, 211-23.

Fejfer, J. and H. E. Mathiesen, 'Ayios Kononas. A Late Roman/Early Byzantine site in the Akamas', in P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22-24 August 1991*, Part 2, Göteborg, 1992, 67-83.

Festugière, A. J., with L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, (Institut français d'archéologie et histoire, vol. 95) Paris, 1974.

Flourentzos, P., 'A rare magic bronze pendant from Amathous', *RDAC* 2002, 365-7.

Flourentzos, P., *Excavations in the Kouris Valley. II. The Basilica of Alassa*, Nicosia, 1996.

Flourentzos, P. and I. Nicolaou, 'The Ayios Panteleimon of Akhera hoard of Byzantine electrum scyphate coins', *RDAC* 1987, 279-318.

Flusin, B., 'Démons et Sarracins. L'auteur et le propos des Diègèmata stèriktika d'Anastase le Sinaïte', *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), 381-409.

Foss, C. and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications. An Introduction*, Pretoria, 1986.

Fox, W. A., S. Zacharias, and U. M. Franklin, 'Investigations of ancient metallurgical sites in the Paphos district, Cyprus', in D. W. Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections. An Archaeological Symposium Held at Brock University, St Catharines, Ontario, Canada, 1986*, Göteborg, 1987, 169-84.

Frankopan P., *Alexios I Komnenos* (forthcoming).

Gagniers, *see* Des Gagniers.

Galatariotou, C., *The Making of a Saint. The Life of Neophytos the Recluse*, Cambridge, 1991.

Galatariotou, C., 'The bishop and the hermit: church patronage in action in twelfth-century Cyprus', Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν *Jean Richard = Epetiris* 18 (1991), 97.

Gamillscheg, E., 'Zypern oder nicht Zypern? Methodische Überlegungen zu einer wichtigen Neuerscheinung', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 47 (1997), 239-43.

Georghallides, *see* Bryer and Georghallides.

Giangrande, C., G. Richards, D. Kennet, and J. Adams, 'Cyprus Underwater Survey 1983-84. A preliminary report', *RDAC* 1987, 185-98.

Given, M. and A. B. Knapp, *The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project. Social Approaches to Regional Archaeological Survey* (= Monumenta Archaeologica 21), University of California, Los Angeles, 2003.

Goeje, M. J. de, *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik, auctore Abu'l-Kâsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordâdabeh*, Leyden, 1889.

Goodwin, J. C., *An Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*, 4th edition, 2 vols., Pano Lakatamia, 1984.

Goodwin, T., 'The dating of a series of early Arab-Byzantine coins', *ONS* (= Oriental Numismatic Society) *Newsletter*, 2005.

Gorecki, D. M., 'The Heraclian land tax reform: objectives and consequences', *Byzantine Studies* 4 (1977), 127-46.

Gouillard, J., 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie', *Travaux et M´emoires* 2 (1967), 1-316.

Gounaridis, P., 'The economy of Byzantine Cyprus, an ordinary Byzantine province', in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides, *The Development of the Cypriot Economy*, Nicosia, 1996, 175-83.

Grégoire, H., 'Saint Démétrianos, évêque de Chytri (île de Chypre)', *BZ* 16 (1907), 204-40.

Gregory, T. E., 'Canadian Palaepaphos Survey Project: second preliminary report of the ceramic finds, 1982-1983', *RDAC* 1987, 259-78.

Gregory, T. E., 'Cities of late Roman Cyprus: preliminary thoughts on urban change and continuity' in *Praktika tou Tritou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou Leukosia, 16-20 Apriliou 1996*), vol. 2, *Mesaioniko Tmema* (ed. A. Papageorgiou), Nicosia, 2001, pp.715- 25.

Gregory, T. E., 'The Byzantine problem', in Given and Knapp, 2003, pp.283-4.

Grierson, P., 'The Kyrenia girdle of Byzantine medallions and solidi', *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th Ser., 15 (1955), 55-70.

Grierson, P., 'The date of the Dumbarton Oaks epiphany medallion', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), 221-4.

Grivaud, G., 'Formes byzantines de la fiscalité foncière chypriote à l'èpoque latin, *Epetiris* 18 (1991), 117-27.

Grivaud, G., *Villages désertés à Chypre (fin XIIe - fin XIVe siècle), = Meletai kai Ypomnemata* 3 (1998).

Guilland, R., 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin – l'Éparche', *Byzantinoslavica* 42/2 (1981), 186.

Guillou, A., 'La géographie historique de l'île de Chypre pendant la période byzantine (IVe- XIIe s.), *Études Balkaniques* 5 (1998), 9-32.

Guillou, A., 'Ιστορικογεωγραφικὴ εισαγογη (Δ'-ΙΒ' αιων) , in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 1-22.

Gunnis, R., *Historic Cyprus. A Guide to its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles*, Nicosia, 1936 (repr. Nicosia, 1973).

Hackel, S. (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*, London, 1981.

Hackett J., *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation (A.D. 45-A.D. 1878), together with Some Account of the Latin and other Churches Existing in the Island*, London, 1901.

Hadji-ioannou, K., Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσαιωνικὴ καὶ νεωτέρα Κυπριακὴ ξένων γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων, Nicosia, 1936 (repr. Nicosia 1991).

Hadji-ioannou, K., 'Kérmia: a town in Cyprus and its identification', *RDAC* 1983, 225-7.

Hadjipsaltis, K., "Η Κύπρος, τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ τὸ 'Ισλάμ', *Kypriakai Spoudai* 20 (1956), 15-29.

Hadjisavvas, S., *Katavoles 1: Archaiologiki episkopisi 20 katechomenon simera chorion tis eparchias Ammochostou*, Nicosia, 1991.

Hadjisavvas, S., *Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus, from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period*, (SIMA 99), Nicosia, 1992.

Hadjisavvas, S., 'Surveying after Catling: the work of the Department of Antiquities Survey Branch since 1960', in Iacovou, 2004, 37-41.

Haldon, J. F., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture*, revised edition, Cambridge, 1997.

Haldon, J. F. and H. Kennedy, 'The Arab-Byzantine frontier in the eighth and ninth centuries: military organisation and society in the borderlands', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 19 (1980), 79-116.

Halkin, F., 'La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou', *Analecta Bollandiana* 63 (1945), 56-64.

Harvey, A., *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989.

Hayes, J. W., *Late Roman Pottery. A Catalogue of Roman Fine Wares*, (British School at Rome) London, 1972.

Hayes, J. W., *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery*, London, 1980.

Hayes, J. W., *Ancient Lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum. 1. Greek and Roman Clay Lamps. A Catalogue*, Toronto, 1980.

Hayes, J. W., 'Problèmes de la céramique des VIIème - IXème siècles à Salamine et à Chypre', in Yon, 1980, 375-88.

Hayes, J. W., *An Archaeological Guide. Ancient Kourion Area*, 1982.

Hendy, M. F., *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks Centre for Byzantine Studies), Washington, D.C. 1969.

Hendy, M. F., *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985.

Hendy, M. F., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 4, *Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261*, Washington, D.C., 1999. [Isaac Comnenus, Usurper in Cyprus (April 1185-May 1191), at pp. 354-64.]

Hill, G., *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols., Cambridge, 1940-52.

Hitti, P. K., *The Origins of the Islamic State*, vol. 1, (an English translation of al-Baladhuri, Futuh al-buldan), New York, 1916 (repr. Piscataway, NJ, 2002).

Honigmann, E., *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Bizantinae. Forma Imperii Byzantini, vol. 1), Brussels, 1939.

Horna, K., 'Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses', *BZ* 13 (1904), 313-55.

Howard-Johnston, J., 'Crown lands and the defence of imperial authority in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *Bosphorus. Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango*, edited by S. Efthymiadis, C. Rapp, and D. Tsougarakis (= *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995), 75-100.

Howard-Johnston, J., 'Anna Komnene and the *Alexiad*', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (editors), *Alexios I Komnenos*, vol. 1, *Papers* (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 4.1), Belfast, 1996, pp.260-302.

Iacovou, M. (ed.), *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus. Past History, Future Potentials. Proceedings of a Conference held by the Archaeological Research Unit of the Univerisity of Cyprus, 1-2 December 2000* (British School at Athens, Studies, 11), London, 2004.

Ionas, I., 'Géographie pour une ethnographie Chypriote', *Epetirida* 31 (2005), 285-305.

Jacobsen, K. W., 'Regional distribution of transport amphorae in Cyprus in the late Roman period', in Eiring and Lund, 2004, 143-8.

Jacoby, D., 'Italian privileges and trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: a reconsideration', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 24 (1994), 349-69. Repr. in id., *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, (Variorum Reprints), London, 1997.

Jacoby, D., 'Byzantine trade with Egypt from the mid-tenth century to the Fourth Crusade', *Thesaurismata* 30, Venice, 2000. Reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean. Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt, and Italy*, Ashgate Variorum, 2005.

Jaubert, P. A., *Géographie d'Édrisi, traduit de l'arabe en francais d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, et accompagnée de notes*, 2 vols., Paris 1836 (vol. 2, pp. 129ff.)

Jeffery, G., 'Byzantine timber building in Cyprus', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd Series, 14 (1907), no. 16, pp.575-80.

Jeffery, G., 'Byzantine churches of Cyprus', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 28 (1915-16), 112.

Jeffery, G., *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus. Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of the Island, with Illustrations from Measured Drawings and Photographs*, Nicosia, 1918 (repr. London, 1983).

Jeffery, G., *Cyprus under Richard I*, Nicosia 1926 (repr. London, 1973).

Jeffreys, E. M., *see* J. H. Pryor and E. M. Jeffreys.

Jenkins, R. J. H., 'The mission of St. Demetrianos of Cyprus, to Baghdad', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 9 (1949), 267-75.

Jenkins, R. J. H., 'Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-965', in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, vol. 2, St. Louis, Miss., 1953, pp. 1006-14.

Jenkins, R. J. H., 'The date of Leo VI's Cretan expedition', *Hellenica* 4 (1953), 277-81. (repr. in Jenkins, 1970.)

Jenkins, R. J. H., *Byzantium, the Imperial Centuries. A.D. 610-1071*, London, 1966.

Jenkins, R. J. H., *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, London, 1970.

Jenkins, R. J. H. and L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters*, (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 6), Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1973.

Jones, R. E., *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: a Review of Scientific Studies*, Athens, 1986, esp. pp. 743-5.

Kaegi, W. E., 'The disputed Muslim negotiations with Cyprus in 649', *Fourteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference (1988). Abstracts of Papers*, Houston, 1988, 5-6.

Kaegi, W. E., *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992.

Kaegi, W. E., 'The earliest Muslim penetrations into Anatolia', in *Byzantium, State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, edited by A. Avramea, A. Laiou, and E. Chrysos, Athens, 2003, pp. 269-82.

Karageorghis, V., *Excavating at Salamis in Cyprus, 1952-1974*, Athens 1999.

Karageorghis, V., and Michaelides, D. (ed.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, Nicosia, 1996.

Kassianidou, V., 'Recording Cyprus's mining history through archaeological survey', in Iacovou, 2004, pp. 95-104.

Kazhdan, A. P. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, New York-Oxford, 1991.

Kazhdan, A. P. and A. Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1985.

Keshishian, K. K., Map of medieval Nicosia, n.d.

Khotzakoglou, Kh. G., 'Βυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ τέχνη, στὴν Κύπρο', in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 465-787.

Kingsley, S. and M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity. Proceedings of a Conference at Somerville College, Oxford, 29th May, 1999*, Oxford, 2001.

Knapp, A. B. and M. Given, 'The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) —Third Season (1995)', *RDAC* 1996, 295-366.

Knapp, A. B. and M. Given, 'Social landscapes and social space: the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project', in Iacovou, 2004, 77-93.

Konstantinides, K., "Η παιδεία καὶ τὰ γράμματα στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρο' in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 413-64.

Konstantinides, *see also* Constantinides.

Kormpete, H., in *Hellenika* 7 (1934), 301-22.

Koucky, F. L. and A. Steinberg, 'Ancient mining and mineral dressing in Cyprus', in Stager and Walker, 1989.

Krueger, D., *Symeon the Holy Fool. Leontius's 'Life' and the Late Antique City*, Berkeley, 1996.

Kyriazes, N., Τὰ μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ, Larnaca, 1950.

Kyrris, C. P., 'Military colonies in Cyprus in the Byzantine period: their character, purpose, and extent', *Byzantinoslavica* 31, (1970), 157-81.

Kyrris, C. P., 'Χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς Κυπριακῆς ἱστορίας κατὰ τὴν πρώιμη βυζαντινὴ περίοδο', in C. Constantinides (ed.), *Praktika Symposiou Kypriakis Istorias, Leukosia 2-3 Maiou 1983*, Ioannina, 1984, 18-40.

Kyrris, C. P., 'The nature of the Arab-Byzantine relations', *Graeco-Arabica* 1/2 (1984), 149-75.

Kyrris, C. P., *History of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1985.

Kyrris, C. P., 'Cypriot ascetics and the Christian Orient', *Vyzantinos Domos* 1 (1987), 95-108.

Kyrris, C. P., 'Cyprus, Byzantium and the Arabs from the mid-7th to the early 8th century', in L. Balletto (editor), *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderno. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino* (Università degli Studi di Genova. Sede di Acqui Terme. Collana di fonte e Studi, 1-2), 2 vols., 1997, pp. 625-74.

Laiou, A. E. (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 39), Washington, 2002.

Lanfranchi, L., *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, vol. 2, *Documenti, 982-1159*; vol. 3, *Documenti 1160-1199 e notizie di documenti* (Fonti per la storia di Venezia), Venice, 1968.

Lappa-Zizicas, E., 'Un épitomé de la Vie de S. Jean l'Aumônier par Jean et Sophronius', *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (1970), 265-78.

Laurent, V., 'La succession épiscopale des derniers archevêques de Chypre, de Jean le Crétois (1152) à Germain Pesimandros (1260)', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 7 (1949), 52-5.

Le Bas, P. and W. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 1847.

Le Strange, G., *Description of Syria, including Palestine, by Mukaddasi (circa 985 A.D.)*, (Palestine Pilgrims Text Society), 1886.

Le Strange, G., *Palestine unde the Moslems, a Description of Syria and the Holy Land*

from AD 650 to 1500, Translated from the Works of Mediaeval Arab Geographers, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890.

Leib, B., 'Complots à Byzance contre Alexis 1er Comnène', *Byzantinoslavica* 23 (1962), 250-75.

Leib, B., *Anne Comnène. Alexiade*. 3 vols. Paris, 1967.

Leonard, J. R., 'Evidence for Roman ports, harbours, and anchorages in Cyprus', in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (editors), *Proceedings of the International Symposium, Cyprus and the Sea, 1993*, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 227-45.

Leonard, J. R. and S. Demesticha, 'Fundamental links in the economic chain: local ports and international trade in Roman and early Christian Cyprus', in Eiring and Lund, 189-202.

Leonard, J. R. and R. L. Hohlfelder, Paphos harbour, past and present: the 1991-1992 underwater survey', *RDAC* 1993, 365-79.

Lichocka, B., 'Les monnaies, 1976-1983', in Daszewski, 1984, at p. 304.

Lilie, R.-J., *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)*, Amsterdam, 1984.

Lilie, R.-J., *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, Cambridge, 1993.

Lilie, R.-J., 'Zypern zwischen Byzantinern und Arabern (7. - 10. Jahrhundert)', in J. G. Deckers, M.-E. Mitsou, and S. Rogge (eds.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Zyperns von der Spätantike bis zur Neuzeit. Symposium, München 12. - 13. Juli 2002* (Schriften des Instituts für Interdisciplinäre Zypern-Studien, vol. 3), Münster, 2005.

Lokin, J. H. A., 'Administration and jurisdiction in Cyprus in the 6th century AD', *Subseciva Groningana* 2 (1985), 35-46.

Lokin, J. H. A., 'Administration and jurisdiction in Cyprus in the sixth century A.D.', *Praktika tou deuteroudiethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou (Leukosia, 20-25 Apriliou 1982)*, vol. 2, *Mesaionikon Tmema*, Nicosia, 1986, pp. 1-9.

Lokin, J. H. A., 'Ο πολιτικὸς καὶ διοικητικὸς θεσμὸς τῆς Κύπρο ἀπὸ τὸν Μεγάλο Κωνσταντῖνο ἕως τοῦ 'Ιουστινιανό', in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 155-97.

Lombardo, A. and R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Nuovi documenti dei commercio veneto dei sec. XI-XIII*, Venice, 1953.

Lund, J., 'Pottery of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods', in Sørensen and Rupp, 1993, 79-155.

Maas, P. and F. Dölger, 'Zu dem Abdankungsgedicht des Nikolas Muzalon', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 35 (1935), 13-14.

Magdalino, P., 'Innovations in government', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe

(editors), *Alexios I Komnenos*, vol. 1, *Papers* (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 4.1), Belfast, 1996. pp.146-66.

Magoulias, H. J., *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Nicetas Choniates*, Detroit, 1984.

Maguire, H., (ed,), *Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery*, (Dumbarton Oaks) Washington D.C., 1997.

Mahr, A. C., *The Cyprus Passion Cycle*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1947.

Maier, F. G., *Alt-Paphos auf Cypern. Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte von Stadt und Heiligtum, 1966-1984*, (Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme, vol. 6), Mainz, 1984.

Maier, F. G. and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology*, Nicosia, 1984.

Majcherek, G., 'Alexandria's long-distance trade in late antiquity – the amphora evidence', in Eiring and Lund, 229-37.

Malamut, E., *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin, 8e - 12e siècles*, 2 vols., Paris, 1988.

Maliszewski, D., 'Polis-Pyrgos Archaeological Project. Fourth preliminary report, *RDAC* 1999, 339-49.

Maltezou, C. A., '"Ελληνες καὶ Λατίνοι: ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἄλλου στὸν πρῶτο αἰώνα Φραγκικῆς Κυπριακὰς στὴν Κύπρο', in N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (editors), *Cyprus and the Crusades. Papers Given at the International Conference, 'Cyprus and the Crusades', Nicosia 6-9 September 1994*, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 47-57.

Mango, C., 'Chypre, carrefour du monde byzantin', *XIVe Congrès internationale d'Etudes byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports*, V, 5, Athens, 1976 (repr. in Mango, 1984).

Mango, C., 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), 351-65.

Mango, C., 'Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?', *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta* 18 (1978), 9-18.

Mango, C., 'A Byzantine hagiographer at work: Leontios of Neapolis', in I. Hutter (ed.), *Byzanz und der Westen*, Vienna, 1984, 25-41.

Mango, C., *Byzantium and its Image*, (Variorum reprints), London, 1984.

Mango, C., 'Du stratège de thème au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XIe siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), 181-94.

Mango, C. and E. J. W. Hawkins, 'Report on field work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962-63', *DOP* 18 (1964), 319-40.

Mango, C., E. J. W. Hawkins, and S. Boyd, 'The monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and its wall paintings, Part I. Description', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 62-94.

Mango, C. and R. Scott (eds), *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, Oxford, 1997.

Mango, M. M. (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4th - 12th Centuries. The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange. Papers of the 38th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, London, 2008.

Manning, S. W. et al., 'Late Roman Type 1a amphora production at the late Roman site of Zygi-*Petrini*, Cyprus', *RDAC* 2000, 233-57.

Manning, S. W. et al., *The Late Roman Church at Maroni-Petrera. Survey and Salvage Excavations, 1990-1997, and other Traces of Roman Remains in the Lower Maroni Valley, Cyprus*, (A. G. Leventis Foundation), Nicosia, 2002.

Mansouri, M. Tahar, *Chypre dans les sources arabes médiévales*, Nicosia, 2001.

Maratheftis, F. S., *Location and Development of the Town of Leucosia (Nicosia) Cyprus*, (thesis at University of Bristol, 1958), Nicosia, 1977.

Mattingly, H., 'The Lazania hoard of Byzantine coins', *RDAC* 1937-9, 22-3.

McClellan, M. C. and M. L. Rautman, 'The 1987 and 1988 field seasons of the Kalavasos-Kopetra Project', *RDAC* 1989, 157-66.

McClellan, M. C. and M. L. Rautman, 'The 1990 field season at Kalavasos-Kopetra', *RDAC* 1991, 225-36.

McClellan, M. C. and M. L. Rautman, 'Where have all the farmers gone? The Cypriot countryside in the seventh to tenth centuries', in P. W. Wallace (editor), *Visitors, Immigrants, and Invaders in Cyprus*, Albany, NY, 1995, pp.85-6.

McClellan, M. C., Rautman, M. L., and Todd, I. A., 'The Vasilikos valley in Late Antiquity', in A. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (ed.), *The Sweet Land of Cyprus. Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham*, Nicosia, 1993, 423.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Three vaulted basilicas in Cyprus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946), 48-56.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Three medieval pit-groups from Nicosia', *RDAC* 1937-9 (1950), 145-68, 224-6.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'A seventh-century Byzantine hoard', *RDAC* 1937-9 (1950), 210-11.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'A Muslim tombstone from Paphos', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1950, 108-9.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Investigation of ancient monuments, 1937-1939', *RDAC* 1937-39 (1951), 191-2 and pl. 37, 5.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Archaeology in Cyprus 1949-50', *JHS* 71 (1951), 258-60; id., 1951, *JHS* 72 (1972), 113-17; id., 1952, *JHS* 73 (1953), 133-7; id., 1953, *JHS* 74 (1954), 172-6.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The mosaics in the church of Panayia Kanakaria in Cyprus', *Atti dell'VIII Congresso di Studi Bizantini*, II, = *Studi Bizantini* VIII (1953), 199-200.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Archaeology in Cyprus' 1954', *Archaeological Reports for 1954*, 28-34; id., 1955, ibid. *for 1955*, 41-6; id., 1956, ibid, *for 1956*, 24-31; id., 1957, ibid, *for 1957* [publ. 1958], 43-50; id., 1958, ibid., *for 1958* [publ. 1959], 25-34.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'A twelfth-century scent bottle from Cyprus', *Journal of Glass Studies* 1 (1959), 59-61.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Early Byzantine monuments in Cyprus in the light of recent discoveries', *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses, 1958*, Munich, 1960, 345-51.

Megaw, A. H. S., *Kyrenia Castle. A Brief History and Description of Kyrenia Castle*, Nicosia, 1961.

Megaw, A. H. S., *Σύντομος ἱστορία καὶ περιγραφὴ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἱλαρίωνος*, Nicosia, 1963.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Twelfth century frescoes in Cyprus', *Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Ochrid 1961*, vol. 3, Belgrade, 1964, 257-66.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Excavations at Paphos, Cyprus, 1966', *Archaeological Report* 1966-7, 27-8; id., 1967, ibid., 1967-8, 25-6.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The castle of the Forty Columns at Paphos', *Proceedings of the VIII Scientific Meeting of the International Castles Institute*, Athens, 1968, 65-70.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'More gilt and enameled glass from Cyprus', *Journal of Glass Studies* 10 (1968), 88-104.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos. Preliminary report on the 1966-67 and 1970-71 seasons', *RDAC* 1971, 117-46.

Megaw, A. H. S., Supplementary excavations on a castle site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970-1971', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 321-43.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Background architecture in the Lagoudera frescoes', *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972), 195-201.

Megaw, A. H. S., Saranda Kolones: a medieval castle excavated at Paphos', *Praktika tou protou diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, Nicosia, 1972, 173-82.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Byzantine architecture and decoration in Cyprus: metropolitan or provincial?', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 57-88.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Excavations at the episcopal basilica of Kourion in Cyprus in 1974 and 1975: a preliminary report', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976), 345-71.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The circumambulated presbytery in Cyprus', *Actes du XVe Congrès des Etudes Byzantines*, Athens, 1976, *Résumé des communications*, V, 85.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Interior decoration in early Christian Cyprus', *Actes du XI^e Congrès des Etudes Byzantines*, Athens, 1976 (rapport préliminaire).

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Military architecture', in K. M. Setton and H. W. Hazard (editors), *A History of the Crusades*, IV, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1977, pp. 196-207.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The atrium of the episcopal basilica at Kourion, a preliminary report', *RDAC* 1979, 358-65.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Byzantine and allied pottery: a contribution by chemical analysis to problems of origin and distribution', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology* 78 (1983), 235-63.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Saranda Kolones: ceramic evidence for the construction date', *RDAC* 1984, 333-40.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Progress in early Christian and medieval archaeology', *Archaeology in Cyprus*, 1960-1985, Nicosia, 1985, pp. 292-8.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Mosaici parietali paleobizantini di Cipro', *Corsi di cultura sull' arte ravennate e bizantina* 32 (1985), 173-98.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Le fortificazioni bizantine a Cipro', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32 (1985), 199-231.

Megaw, A. H. S., '"Betwixt Greeks and Saracens"', *Acts of the International Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident'*, Nicosia, 1986, pp. 505-19.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Reflections on Byzantine Paphos', in J. Chrisostomides (ed.), *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey*, Camberley, 1988, pp. 135-50.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The episcopal basilica at Kourion and the evidence for its relocation', in *'The Sweet Land of Cyprus'*, edited by A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides, Nicosia, 1993, pp. 53-67.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The Aegean connections of Cypriot church-builders in Late Antiquity' in *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference 'Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity from the Prehistoric Period to the 7th Century A.D., Nicosia 8-10 December 1995*, Nicosia, 1997, 343-52.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The Soloi basilicas reconsidered', in *Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies, 16-20 April 1996*, Nicosia, 2001, 171-80.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'The Campanopetra reconsidered: the pilgrimage church of Apostle Barnabas', in *Byzantine Style, Religion, and Civilization, in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys, Cambridge, 2006, 394-404.

Megaw, A. H. S., *Kourion. Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 38), Washington, 2007.

Megaw, A. H. S. and A. I. Dikigoropoulos, 'Early glazed pottery from Polis', *RDAC* 1940-8 (1957), 77-93.

Megaw, A. H. S. and E. J. W. Hawkins, 'The church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and its frescoes', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 279-348.

Megaw, A. H. S. and E. J. W. Hawkins, 'Report on field-work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962-1963', *DOP* 18 (1964), 319-40.

Megaw, A. H. S. and E. J. W. Hawkins, 'A fragmentary mosaic of the orant Virgin in Cyprus', *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Études Byzantines, Bucharest, 1971*, vol. 3, Bucharest, 1976, 363-6.

Megaw, A. H. S. and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 14), Washington, D.C., 1977.

Megaw, A. H. S. and R. E. Jones, 'Byzantine and allied pottery', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78 (1983), 235-63.

Megaw, A. H. S. and J. du Plat Taylor, 'Cypriot medieval glazed pottery', *RDAC* 1937-9 (1950), 210-11.

Megaw, A. H. S. and J. du Plat Taylor, 'Excavations at Ayios Philon, the ancient Karpasia, Part II', *RDAC* 1981, 209-50.

Meinardos, O., 'Relics in the churches and monasteries of Cyprus', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 19 (1970), 25.

Menardos, S., *Τοπονυμικαὶ καὶ Λαογραφικαὶ Μελέται*, Nicosia, 1970, repr. 2001 (Cyprus Research Centre, Studies, 31).

Merrillees, R, *The Tano Family and Gifts from the Nile to Cyprus*, Nicosia, 2003.

Metcalf, D. M. 'Silver and tin in the Byzantine trachy coinages, ca. 1160-1261', *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 123 (1977), at p. 124.

Metcalf, D. M., 'The tetarteron in the twelfth century', *Numismatic Circular* 86 (1978) 574.

Metcalf, D. M., 'The Morphou hoard of 1958 and governmental spending in Cyprus under John II and Manuel I', *RDAC* 1991, 237-54.

Metcalf, D. M., 'Monetary recession in the Middle Byzantine period: the numismatic evidence', *Numismatic Chronicle* 161 (2001), 111-55.

Metcalf, D. M., 'Byzantine, Islamic, and Crusader coins from Saranda Kolones, Paphos', *Numismatic Chronicle* 163 (2003), 205-26.

Metcalf, D. M., 'Byzantine lead seals: the other half of the story' in A. Avramea, A, Laiou, and E. Chrysos, *Byzantium: State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides* (Institute for Byzantine Studies. The National Research Foundation), Athens, 2003, 393-401.

Metcalf, D. M., *Coinage as Evidence for the Changing Prosperity of Cyprus in Byzantine and Medieval Times* (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. Lectures on the History of Coinage, 4), Nicosia, 2003.

Metcalf, D. M., *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, (Cyprus Research Centre. Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, 47), Nicosia, 2004.

Metcalf, D. M., 'Byzantine and Islamic coins and the topography of Nea Paphos', in *Studies in Honour of Ino Nicolaou*, ed. D. Michaelides (in preparation).

Metcalf, D. M., P. J. Donald, and A. G. Pitsillides, 'A scarce type of copper tetarteron of the early twelfth century from Cyprus', *Numismatic Report* 15-21 (1984-90), 282-92.

Metcalf, D. M., P. Flourentzos, and P. J. Donald, 'An intriguing variety of decanummium of Justinian I from Amathus', *Numismatic Report* 28-30 (1997-9), 33-6.

Metlich, M. A., 'Religious Byzantine medallions and plaques struck in gold', *Israel Numismatic Journal* 15 (2003-2006), 107-11.

Michaelides, D., *Cypriot Mosaics* (Cyprus Department of Antiquities), Nicosia, 1992.

Michaelides, D., 'The baths of Mansoura', *RDAC* 1993, 265-74.

Michaelides, D., 'Opus sectile in Cyprus', in A. Bryer and G. S. Geoghallides (ed.), *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, 69-114.

Michaelides, D., 'The economy of Cyprus during the Hellenistic and Roman periods', in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (ed.), *The Development of the Cyprus Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, 139-52.

Michaelides, D., 'The ambo of Basilica A at Cape Drepanon, in J. Herrin, M. Mullett, and C. Otten-Froux (ed), *Studies in Honour of A. H. S. Megaw.*

Michaelides, D., (editor), *Nicosia, the First 2000 Years*, (forthcoming).

Michaelides, D., see also Daszewski and Michaelides.

Michaelides, D. and Ch. Bazirtzis, "Ἀραβικοὶ ἀμφορεῖς στὴν Κύπρο', in Ch. Bazirtzis (ed.), *7 Diethnes Synedrio Mesaionikes Keramikes tes Mesogeiou, Praktika, 11-16 Oktobriou 1999*, Athens, 2003, 125-36.

Mitford, T. B., 'Notes on some unpublished inscriptions from Roman Cyprus', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, 42 (1947), 201-30.

Mitford, T. B., 'Some new inscriptions from early Christian Cyprus', *Byzantion* 20 (1950), 105-75.

Mitford, T. B., 'Further contributions to the epigraphy of Cyprus', *American Journal of Archaeology* 65 (1961), 93-151.

Mitford, T. B., *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia, 1971.

Mitford, T. B., 'Roman Cyprus', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (editors), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, vol. 7, Berlin and New York 1980, pp. 1285-1384.

Mitford, T. B. and Nicolaou, I. K., *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis* (Salamis, vol. 6), Nicosia, 1974.

Mitsides, A., "Η Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου ἀπὸ τὸν δεύτερο μέχρι τὸν πέμπτο αἰώνα',, in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 107-127.

Mitsides, A., "Τὸ αυτοκέφαλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου', in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 129-154.

Mogabgab, Th. A. H., *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus*, 2 vols., Nicosia, 1941, 1943.

Morris, R., 'The Byzantine aristocracy and the monasteries', in M. Angold (editor), *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries* (British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 221), Oxford, 1984.

Morris, R., 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), 185-232.

Morris, R., *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*, Cambridge, 1995.

Mouriki, D., 'The cult of Cypriot saints in medieval Cyprus as attested by church decorations and icon painting', in Bryer and Georghallides, 1993, pp. 237-77.

Myres, J. L., 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1913', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 41 (1940-5), 53-96.

Nau, F. and L. Clugnet, 'Vies et récits d'anachorètes (IVe - VIIe siècles), *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 8 (1903), 92

Nerantzi-Varmazi, V., 'The identity of the Byzantine province in the 12th century', *Epetiris* 23 (1997), 9-14.

Nesbitt, J. and Oikonomides, N., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 2, *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, Washington, D.C., 1994.

Nicolaïdes. A., 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: étude iconographique des fresques de 1192', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996), 1-137.

Nicolaou, I., *Paphos*, vol. 2, *The Coins from the House of Dionysos*, Nicosia, 1990.

Nicolaou, I. and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Limassol (Molos) hoard of Byzantine gold, *t.p.q.* 641', *RDAC* 2007, 399-423.

Nicolaou, K., 'The topography of Nea Paphos', in *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski*, ed. M. L. Bernhard, Warsaw, 1966, pp. 561-601.

Nicolaou-Konnari, A., 'The conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its aftermath: a study of sources and legend, politics and attitudes in the year 1191-2,' *Epetirida* 26 (2000), 25-123.

Noret, J., 'L'expédition canadienne à Soli et ses résultats pour l'intelligence et la datation de la vie de S. Auxibe', *Annales Bollandiani* 104 (1986), 445-52.

Oeconomides, K. N., 'A new follis of the revolt of Heraclius', *Numismatic Report* 28-30 (1997-9), 37-8.

Oeconomides, K. N., *see also* Economides, K. N.

Oikonomakes, N., 'Ἡ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἀραβοκρατία κατὰ τὰς ἀραβικὰς πηγάς, *PKS* 2 (1972), 199-200.

Oikonomakes, 'Ἡ Κύπρος καὶ οἱ Ἄραβες (622-925 μ.Χ.) *Meletai kai Ypommemata* 1 (1984), 218-374.

Oikonomidès, N., *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et X siècles*, Paris, 1972.

Oikonomides, N., 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025-1118)', *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), 125-52.

Oikonomides, N., 'Silk trade and production in Byzantium from the sixth to the ninth century: the seals of kommerkiarioi', *DOP* 40 (1986), 33-53.

Oikonomou, Ch., "Η εἰσαγωγὴ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ ἡ θεμελίωση τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἐκκλησίας', in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 23-105.

Ostrogorsky, G., 'Das Steuersystem im byzantinischen Altertum und Mittelalter', *Byzantion* 6 (1931), 229-40.

Oziol, T., 'Quelques lampes de Constantia', *Colloques*, 395-400.

Oziol, T., *Salamine de Chypre*. vol 7. *Les lampes du Musée de Chypre*, Paris, 1977.

Oziol, T. and J. Pouilloux, *Salamine de Chypre*. vol. 1. *Les lampes*. Paris, 1969.

Papachrysanthou, D., 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècles', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 43 (1973), 158-82.

Papacostas, T. C., *Medieval Byzantine Urban Churches in Cyprus* (Oxford Univerisity MPhil thesis), 1995.

Papacostas, T. C., *Byzantine Cyprus. The Testimony of its Churches, 650-1200*. (unpublished Oxford University DPhil thesis), 1999.

Papacostas, T. C., 'Secular landholdings and Venetians in 12th-century Cyprus', *BZ* 92 (1999), 479-501.

Papacostas, T. C., 'The economy of Late Antique Cyprus', in Kingsley and Decker, 2001, pp. 107-28.

Papacostas, T. C., 'A tenth-century inscription from Syngrasis, Cyprus', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), 42-64.

Papacostas, T. C., 'In search of a lost Byzantine monument: Saint Sophia of Nicosia', *Epetirida* 31 (2005), 11-37.

Papacostas, T. C., 'Architecture et communautés étrangères à Chypre aux XIe et XIIe siécles', in *Identités croisées en un milieu Méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre*

(Antiquité– Moyen Âge) (Colloquium at the University of Rouen, 11-13 March, 2004), Mont Saint Aignan, 2006, pp.223-40.

Papadoupoullos, T., *Chypre: Frontière ethnique et socio-culturelle du monde byzantin* (Rapport. XVe Congrès international d'Études byzantines), Athènes, 1976, 1976.

Papadopoullos, T., 'Frontier status and frontier processes in Cyprus', in A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (ed.), *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, 15-24.

Papadopoullos, T., 'Ιστορία τῆς Κύπρου, vol. 3, Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος, Nicosia, 2005.

Papadopoullos, T., 'Τὸ Βυζαντινὸ πλαίσιο τῆς Γεωργικῆς Οἰκονομικῆς, in *Istoria tes Kyprou*, vol. 3, pp. 789-812.

Papadopoulou, E.,Οἱ πρῶτες ἐγκαταστάσεις Βενετῶν στὴν Κύπρο, *Symmeikta* 5 (1983), 303-32.

Papageorgiou, A., 'Les premières incursions arabes à Chypre et leurs conséquences', *Aphieroma eis Konstantinon Spiridakin*, Nicosia, 1964, 94-114.

Papageorgiou, A., Τὸ φρούριον τῆς Καντάρας, Nicosia, 1973.

Papageorgiou, A., in *XV Congrès int. des sc. hist., Bucarest, 10-17 aout 1980, Rapports*, vol. III (Commission int. des Etudes byz.), 1980, pp. 7-12.

Papageorghiou, A., 'L'art byzantin de Chypre et l'art des Croisés. Influences réciproques', *RDAC* 1982, 217-26.

Papageorgiou, A, 'L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre', *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantine* 32 (1985), 299-324.

Papageorgiou, A., 'L'architecture de la période byzantine à Chypre', ibid., 325-35.

Papageorgiou, A., 'Foreign influences on the early Christian architecture of Cyprus', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident*, Nicosia, 1986, 490-504.

Papageorgiou, A., *Icons of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1992.

Papageorgiou, A., 'Cities and countryside at the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the middle ages in Cyprus, in Bryer and Georghallides, *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, 1993, 27-51.

Papageorgiou, A., *The Autocephalous Church of Cyprus. A Catalogue of the Exhibition*, Nicosia, 1995.

Papageorgiou, A., *Ἱερὰ μητρόπολις Πάφου. Ἱστορία καὶ τέχνη. 1950 χρόνια ἀπὸ ἵδρυση*, Nicosia, 1996.

Parthog, *see* Der Parthog.

Peacock, D. P. S. and Williams, D. F., *Amphorae and the Roman Economy*, London-New York, 1986.

Perna, M. and D. M. Metcalf, 'Byzantine lead seals from the collection of A. Palma di Cesnola in the Turin Museum of Antiquity', *Epetirida* 34 (2008), 9-17.

Petit, P. L., 'Vie et ouvrages de Néophyte le reclus', *Echos d'Orient* 2 (1898-9), 237-68; note complémentaire, ibid., 372.

Phillips M. and T. Goodwin, 'A seventh-century Syrian hoard of Byzantine and imitative copper coins', *Numismatic Chronicle* 157 (1997), 61-87.

Pilides, D., 'A 19th century view of St George's Hill in Nicosia: fact or fiction', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century A.D.. Fact, Fancy, and Fiction*. Oxford, 2001, pp. 80-92.

Pitsillides, A. G., 'A hoard of 6th century Byzantine coins from Mazotos, Larnaca district, Cyprus', *Numismatic Report* 31-2 (2000-1), 25-32.

Pitsillides, A. G. and D. M. Metcalf, 'Islamic and Byzantine coins in Cyprus during the condominium centuries', *Epetiris tou Kentro Epistimonikon Ereunon* 21 (1995), 1-12.

Pitsillides, A. G. and D. M. Metcalf, 'Some more finds of Islamic and Byzantine coins from the condominium centuries', *Epetiris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Ereunon* 23 (1997),1-7.

Pitsillides, A. G. and D. M. Metcalf, 'An Islamic copper coin of AH 189/AD 804/5 found in western Cyprus', *Numismatic Report* 28-30 (1997-9), 41-2.

Plato, C. C., D. L. Bucknagel, and H. Gershowitz, 'Studies on the distribution of glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency, thalassaemia, and other genetic traits in the coastal and mountain villages of Cyprus', *American Journal of Human Genetics* 16/3 (September 1964), 267-83.

Pohlsander, H. A. *Greek Texts of the Fourth to Thirteenth Centuries* (Sources for the History of Cyprus. ed. P. W. Wallace and A. G. Orphanides, vol. 7), Altamont, N.Y., 1999.

Ponting, M. J., 'Maroni valley archaeological survey project. Preliminary report on 1992-1993 seasons', *RDAC* 1994, 364-5.

Pouilloux et al., *Testimonia Salaminia*. 2. *Corpus épigraphique*.

Pralong, A., 'La basilique de l'acropole d'Amathonte et la fin de l'antiquité', in Bryer and Georghallides, 1993, pp. 427-30.

Pralong, A., 'La basilique de l'acropole d'Amathonte', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 70, 1/2 (1994), 411-55.

Prawer, J., *Histoire du royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols., Paris, 1975.

Pryor, J. H., *Geography, Technology, and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571*, (Past and Present Publications), Cambridge, 1988.

Pryor, J. H. and Jeffreys, E. M., *The Age of the Dromōn. The Byzantine Navy, ca. 500-1204*, (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies, and Cultures, 400-1500, vol. 62), Leiden, 2006.

Quilici, L., 'Paleografia e popolamento della penisola di Kormakiti a Cipro', *Felix Ravenna* 137-8/ 1-2 (1989), 7-23.

Rapp, C., 'Epiphanius of Salamis: the church father as saint', in Bryer and Georghallides, 1993, pp. 169-87

Raptou, E., 'Contribution to the study of the economy of ancient Cyprus: copper–timber', in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (ed.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, Nicosia, 1996, 249-59.

Rautman, M., 'The busy countryside of Late Roman Cyprus', *RDAC* 2000, 317-31.

Rautman, M., 'The context of rural innovation: an early monastery at Kalavasos-Sirmata', *RDAC* 2001, 307-18.

Rautman, M. L. (with M. C. McClellan and others), *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity. Kalavasos-Kopetra in the Vasilikos Valley*, (= *JRA*, Suppl. Ser, 52), Portsmouth, R.I, 2003.

Rautman, M. L. and McClellan, M. C., 'Cyprus at the end of Antiquity: investigations at Kalavasos-Kopetra, *Muse* 21 (1987), 45-54.

Rautman, M. L. and McClellan, M. C., 'Kalavasos-Kopetra 1988', *Muse* 22 (1988), 51-63.

Rautman, M. L. and McClellan, M. C., 'Kalavasos-Kopetra 1989-90', *Muse* 23/24 (1990), 14-29.

Rautman, M. L. and McClellan, M. C., 'The 1989 field season at Kalavasos-Kopetra', *RDAC* 1990, 231-8.

Rautman, M. L. and McClellan, M. C., 'Kalavasos-Kopetra 1991', *Muse* 25 (1991), 10-20.

Rautman, M. L. and McClellan, M. C., 'The 1991-1993 field seasons at Kalavasos-Kopetra', *RDAC* 1994, 289-307.

Rautman, M. L. et al, 'Neutron activation analysis of late Roman ceramics from Kalavasos-*Kopetra* and the environs of the Vasilikos valley', *RDAC* 1993, 233-64.

Rautman, M. L., H. Neff, B. Gomez, S. Vaughan, and M. D. Glascock, 'Amphoras and rooftiles from Late Roman Cyprus: a compositional study of calcareous ceramincs from Kalavasos-*Kopetra*', *JRA* 12 (1999), 377-91.

Rautman, M. L. et al, 'Clays used in the manufacture of Cypriot Red Slip pottery and related ceramics', *RDAC* 1996, 69-70.

Richard, J., 'Une économie coloniale? Chypre et ses ressources agricoles au Moyen-Âge', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 331-52.

Richard, J., 'Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote: le monachisme orthodoxe et l'établissement de la domination franque', in

Praktika tou Deuterou diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou, 2-25 Apriliou 1982, Nicosia, 1986, vol. 2, pp. 61-75.

Richard, J., 'Les révoltes chypriotes de 1191-1192 et les inféodations de Guy de Lusignan', in B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand (editors), *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Aldershot, 1997, pp. 123-8.

Roberts, L., *Latin Texts from the First Century B.C. to the Seventeenth Century A.D.* (Sources for the History of Cyprus, ed. P. W. Wallace and A. G. Orphanides, vol. 8), Altamont, N.Y. 2001.

Roever, W. P. de, 'A Nea(polis) follis of Heraclius', *Numismatic Report* 22-25 (1991-4), 73-4.

Ross, M. C., 'A Byzantine gold medallion', *DOP* 11 (1957), 249-50.

Rosser, J., 'Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos, Cyprus, 1981-1983', *DOP* 39 (1985), 81-97.

Roux, G., *La basilique de Campanopétra* (Salamine de Chypre, vol. 15), Paris, 1998.

Rowe, A., 'A Late Roman streetscape in Nea Paphos', *RDAC* 1999, 269-78.

Rudt de Collenberg, W. H., 'L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155-1207), *Byzantion* 38 (1968), 123-79.

Rupp, D. W., 'Problems in Byzantine field reconnaissance: a non-specialists's view', *Byzantine Studies* 13 (1982), 177-88.

Rupp, D. W., 'The Canadian Palaepafos (Cyprus) Survey Project. Third Preliminary Report, 1983-5', *Acta Archaeologia* 57 (1986), 27-54.

Rupp, D. W. (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections. An Archaeological Symposium Held at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario Canada 1986*, Göteborg, 1987.

Rupp, D. W. and H. W. Swiny (editors), *An Archaeological Guide to the Ancient Kourion Area and the Akrotiri Peninsula*, Nicosia, 1982.

Russell, J., 'Transformations in early Byzantine urban life: the contribution and limitations of archaeological evidence', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers*, New Rochelle, NY, 1987, pp. 137-54.

Rydén, L., *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, Uppsala, 1963.

Rydén, L., 'Cyprus at the time of the Condominium as reflected in the Lives of Sts Demetrianos and Constantine the Jew', in Bryer and Georghallides, '*The Sweet Land of Cyprus*', pp. 189-202.

Sacopoulo, M. A., 'La fresque chrétienne la plus ancienne de Chypre', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 13 (1962), 61-83.

Sacopoulo, M., *La Théotokos à la mandorle de Lythrankomi*, Paris, 1975.

Savvides, A. G. C., 'The consolidation of Byzantine power in Cyprus on the eve of the First Crusade, and the first decade of the Empire's relations with the Crusaders', in N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (ed.), *Cyprus and the Crusades,* Nicosia,1995, 3-18.

Schulze, W., 'The Byzantine K T countermark in Cyprus. Attempt at a new dating', *Numismatic Report* (forthcoming).

Schulze, W. and T. Goodwin, 'Countermarking in seventh century Syria', Supplement to *Oriental Numismatic Society Newletter* 183, 2005, 23-56.

Seibt, W., *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich,* Part 1, *Kaiserhof*, Vienna, 1978.

Seibt, W., 'Sigillographic contributions to the history of Cyprus', (Cyprological Congress, April-May, 2008), forthcoming.

Simeonoglu, S., 'Observations on the archaeological survey in the area of Phlamoudhi, Cyprus: a reply', *RDAC* 1975, 36-9.

Sodini, J.-P., 'Epigraphica. Notes sur quelques inscriptions de Chypre', *Travaux et Mémoires* 5 (1973), 327-84. (Includes 'Une titulature faussement attribuée à Justinien 1er. Remarques sur une inscription trouvée à Kythréa, Chypre', pp. 373-84.)

Sodini, J.-P., 'Le commerce des marbres à l'époque protobyzantine', in J. Lefort and C. Morrisson (ed.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin,* I *(IVe-VIIe siècle),* Paris, 1989, 163-86.

Sodini, J.-P., 'Les inscriptions de l'aqueduc de Kythrea à Salamine de Chypre', in *Mèlanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 16), Paris, 1998, 619-34.

Sophocleous, S., *Icons of Cyprus, 7th - 20th Century*, Nicosia, 1994.

Soren, D. and J. James, *Kourion. The Search for a Lost Roman City*, New York, 1988.

Sørensen, L. W., P. Guldager, M. Korsholm, J. Lund, and T.E. Gregory, 'Canadian Palaepaphos Survey Project, second preliminary report of ceramic finds, 1982-1983', *RDAC* 1987, 259-78.

Sørensen, L. W. and D. W. Rupp (eds), *The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite. 2. The Canadian Palaepafos Survey Project. Artifact and Ecofactual Studies* (= Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, 104:2), Göteborg, 1993.

Sørensen, L. W. and K. W. Jacobsen (editors), *Panayia Ematousa*, vol. 1. *A Rural Site in South-Eastern Cyprus*. Vol. 2. *Political, Cultural, Ethnic, and Social Relations in Cyprus. Approaches to Regional Studies*. (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, vol. 6/1, 2), Athens, 2006.

Soteriou, G. A., *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, vol. 1, Athens, 1935.

Soulard, T., 'Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre', (colloquium held at Rouen, March, 2004.

Stager, L. E. and A. M. Walker (editors), *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus, 1973-1980* (= Oriental Institute Communications, 24), Chicago, 1989.

Stathakopoulos, D. Ch., *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire. A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 9), Birmingham, 2004.

Stavrovouniotes, Ch., 'Μερικὴ ἀναθεώρηση τοῦ ἐν χρήσει καταλόγου ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Κιτίου (προσθῆκες καὶ εἰσηγήσεις), *Kypriakai Spoudai* 67-68 (2003-4), 147-76.

Stratos, A., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 5 vols., Amsterdam, 1968-80.

Stylianou, A. and J., 'Donors and dedicatory inscriptions, supplicants and supplications in the painted churches of Cyprus', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960), 97-128.

Stylianou, A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London, 1985 (revised edition. First published, 1964.)

Swiny, H. W. (ed.), *An Archaeological Guide to the Ancient Kourion Area and the Akrotiri Peninsula*, Nicosia, 1982.

Swiny, S. and Mavromatis, C., 'Land behind Kourion: results of the 1997 Sotira Archaeological Project Survey', *RDAC* 2000, 433-52.

Symeonoglou, S., 'Archaeological survey in the area of Phlamoudhi, Cyprus', *RDAC* 1972, 187-98.

Tahar Mansouri, *see* Mansouri.

Talbot, A. M., 'Evidence about Byzantine glass in medieval Greek texts from the eighth to the fifteenth century', *DOP* 59 (2005), 141-5.

Taylor, J. du Plat, *see* Du Plat.

Teall, J. L., 'The grain supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330-1025', *DOP* 13 (1959), 87-139.

Telelis, I, 'The great climatic risks of the past: the drought described by Byzantine sources (4th-6th centuries A.D.)', *Giornate di studio Europee per l'ambiente. Inquinamento atmosferico*, Padua, 1992, 289-301.

Theophanes, *see* Mango and Scott, 1997.

Tinh, T. T., *Soloi*. I. *La basilique*, Quebec 1985.

Tobias, N., *Basil I (867-886), the Founder of the Macedonian Dynasty. A Study of Political and Military History of the Byzantine Empire in the Ninth Century*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969.

Todd, I. A., 'The 1988 field survey in the Vasilikos valley', *RDAC* 1989, 41-50.

Tomber, R, 'Quantitative approaches to the investigation of long-distance trade', *JRA* 6 (1993), 142-66.

Touma, M., 'Chypre: céramique et problèmes', in *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th - 9th c.)*, edited by (National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research. International Symposium no. 9), Athens, 2001, pp.267-91.

Tsiapera, M., *A Descriptive Analysis of Cypriot Maronite Arabic*, The Hague - Paris, 1969.

Tsiknopoulos, I. P., Ὁ Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος πρεσβύτερος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ αὐτοῦ Μονή, Paphos, 1955, pp. 206-12.

Usener, H., *Sonderbare Heiligen*. 'I. Der Heilige Tychon', Leipzig, 1907, pp. 111-47.

Utidjian, A., *Hai Kipros*.

Van den Ven, P., *La légende de Saint Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 33), Louvain, 1953.

Van Deun, P., 'Sancti Barnabae Laudatio auctore Alexandro monacho', in *Hagiographica Cypria, Corpus Christianorum*, Louvain, 1993.

Vasiliev, A., *Agapios, Kitab al-'Unvan. Histoire universelle, écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj, éditée et traduite en français par A. Vasiliev*, vol. 2/2, Paris, 1912 (repr. Turnhout, 1982).

Vasiliev, A. A., *Byzance et les Arabes, II. La dynastie macédonienne (867-959)*, Brussels, 1950; id., II/1, *La dynastie macédonienne*, Brussels, 1968.

Vernay-Nouri, A., La géographie d'Idrisi: un atlas du monde au XIIe siècle, [electronic resource], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, *c*.2000.

Villeneuve, E. and P. M. Watson (eds.), *Actes du colloque, La céramique byzantine et proto-islamique en Syrie-Jordanie, Amman, 3-5 décembre 1994*, 2001.

Violaris, Y., 'Excavations at the site of *Palaion Demarcheion*, Lefkosia', *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes* 34 (2004), 69-80.

Vlamis, B. E., 'Hoards of Cypriot coins found in Cyprus and elsewhere', *Numismatic Report* 4 (1973), 62-4; ibid., 5 (1974),74-9; ibid., 7 (1976),25f.; ibid., 11 (1980), 81-6.

Vranoussi, 'A propos des opérations des Normands dans la mer Égée et à Chypre après la prise de Thessalonique (1185-1186)', *Byzantina* 8 (1976), 205-11.

Vryonis, S, *Byzantine Cyprus* (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. Fifth Annual Lecture on History and Archaeology. Nicosia, 1989), Nicosia, 1990.

Waksman, S. Y. and M.-L. von Wartburg, '"Fine-sgraffito ware", "Aegean ware", and other wares: new evidence for a major production of Byzantine ceramics', *RDAC* 2006, 369-88.

Wander, S. H., 'The Cyprus plates: the story of David and Goliath', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973), 89-104.

Wander, S. H., 'The Cyprus plates and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar', *DOP* 29 (1975), 345-8.

Warren, F., 'Notes on some medieval coins of Cyprus', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., 12 (1892), 209.

Warren, J. L., 'On some coins of Constans and his sons, discovered in the island of Cyprus', *Numismatic Chronicle* 2 Ser., 1 (1861), 42-55.

Wartburg, M.-L. von and Y. Violaris, 'Pottery of the 12th and early 13th century from a major medieval site in Nicosia (Cyprus)', in J. Zozaya (ed.), *AIECM2* 8.

Wassiliu-Seibt, A., 'Παρατηρήσεις σχετικὰ μὲ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς λειτουργοὺς τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴ μεσοβυζαντινὴ περίοδο κυρίως βάσει σφραγιστικῶν δεδομένων', (Cyprological Congress, April-May 2008), forthcoming.

Wassiliou A. K. and W. Seibt, *Die byzantinische Bleisiegel in Österreich*. Part 2. *Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 324), Vienna, 2004.

Watson, A. S., *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World. The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700-1100*, Cambridge, 1983.

Westholm, A., 'A hoard of bronze coins of Constans II', *Nordisk Numismatisk Aarskrift* 1940, 135-47.

Weyl Carr, A., *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament: Studies towards the Reattribution of Chicago, University Library, MS 965* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), 1973.

Weyl Carr, A., 'A group of provincial manuscripts from the twelfth century', *DOP* 36 (1982), 39-81.

Weyl Carr, A., *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250: the Study of a Provincial Tradition*, Chicago and London, 1987.

Weyl Carr, A., 'Cyprus and the "decorative style"', *Epetiris* 17 (1989), 123-67.

Weyl Carr, A., 'Two illuminated manuscripts at the monastery of Saint Neophytos: issues of their Cypriot attribution', in Bryer and Georghallides, 1993, pp. 281-318.

Wharton, *see* Epstein.

Whittow, M., 'Ruling the late Roman and early Byzantine city: a continuous history', *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 3-29.

Whittow, M., *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, 600-1025, London, 1996.

Wilkinson, J., *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, Warminster, 1977.

Williams-Thorpe, O. and P. C. Webb, 'Provenancing of Roman granite columns in Cyprus using non-destructive field portable methods', *RDAC* 2002, 339-64.

Willis, M. D., 'Byzantine beginnings of the Bedestan', *Kypriakai Spoudai* 50 (1986), 185-92.

Winfield, D., *Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera. A Guide*, Nicosia, n.d.

Winkelmann, F., *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert, Faktoren und Tendenzen ihrer Entwicklung*, (Berliner Byzantinischer Arbeite, 53), Berlin, 1985.

Winkelmann, F., 'Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monoenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites', *Klio* 69 (1987), 515-59.

Winkelmann, F., completed by R.-J. Lilie and others, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Part 1. *641-867*. 7 vols., Berlin/New York, 1998-2002.

Winkelmann, F. and W. Brandes, *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4. - 9. Jahrhundert). Bestand und Probleme*, Amsterdam, 1990.

Yannopoulos, P. A., 'Les couches populaires de la société chypriote au VIIe siècle selon les sources locales et contemporaines', *Epetiris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Ereunon* 12 (1983), 79-85.

Yon, M. (ed.), *Salamine de Chypre, Histoire et archéologie. Etat des recherches. Lyon, 13-17 mars 1978* (= Colloques internationaux du Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, no. 578), Paris, 1980.

Yon, M., *Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et Corpus des inscriptions*, (Kition-Bamboula, vol. 5), Paris, 2004.

Young, S. H., 'Glass', in Megaw, 2007, pp. 485-526.

Zachariou-Kaila, E., 'Frühchristliche Metallobjekte aus Zypern', in J. G. Deckers, M. E. Mitsou, and S. Rogge (editors), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Zyperns von der Spätantike bis zur Neuzeit. Symposium, München, 12. - 13. Juli, 2002*, Münster - New York, 2005.

Zozaya, J. (editor), *Coloquio internacional de ceramica medieval en el Mediterraneo*, II, 1986.

GENERAL INDEX

A

'Abd Allah ibn Nufayl, at Kourion, 295

'Abd al-Malik, caliph, 685-705, takes legal advice on whether Cypriots have broken their pact, 410, 415, 450; his weak negotiating position, 410, 415f.

Abū Bakr, caliph, 632-4, his advice to his generals, 383f., 395, 397

Abū l'A'war, commands the invasion of 653, 411; commands fleet in 654/5, 414

Acacius, patriarch of Cple in 482, promulgated the Henotikon, favouring monophysitism, 393

Acre, port of embarcation for Mu'awiya's invasion in 649, 407

Aegean exports to Cyprus (LRA 2 and 3 amphoras), 231

Agapios, Arab Christian historian, on the division of Cyprus between the Arabs and Byzantines, 405, 406 n.80

agriculture, in XII c., 552-5

ahl fidyah, in Muslim thought, political status of communities who have made a covenant with the Caliphate, 405

Akamas, field survey, 66, 67

Akhera, coin hoard from 1165, 208

akritai, 433, 531, 538

Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik, LRA 1 amphoras found, 233

Alassa-*Ayia Mavri*, 299f.; basilican complex destroyed by fire in 649 or 653, 397; excavation of glass drinking vessels, 249; burial of a young girl wearing glass bangles, 249

al-Balādhuri, Muslim chronicler, d. 892, wrote *Futuh al-Buldān*, on the Arab attacks, 223f.; on the men from Baalbek settled in Cyprus, 407

Alexander, monk, in later VI c. was living in a monastery beside the sanctuary of St Barnabas, 310

Alexandria, church of, enjoyed a primacy in the East until 451, 308; Cyprus's trade with, 229-31; annual grain fleet to Constantinople calls in at or near Khlorakas, 230, 231; coinage minted there reaches Cyprus, especially southern and western C., 142, 159, and at Kourion, 157, and at Ayios Philon, 274; capture by Heraclian coup in 608, 376, and by Persians in 618, 230; in 641 capitulates to Arab forces, occupied in September 642, many citizens flee, some to Cyprus, 164-7, 231, 381; refugees bring money to Cyprus, 381; interpretation of Limassol hoard, 193f., and of Tremetousia hoard, 197

Alexius I, Byzantine emp., 1081-1118, economic recovery accelerates, 32, 45; fortifies Cyprus, 528-9, 537; coins minted in Cyprus, 143f.

Alexios Doukas, governor in 1161, 532, 550

Alexios Mouseles, (?)strategos (or archon?) in IX c., 439; son-in-law of Theodora, 465 n.113

al-Harawi, Arab geographer, reports funerary inscription from 650, 400

Alice, queen of Cyprus in 1218, 578 n.14

al-Mamun, caliph, 813-33, during his caliphate the Arabs said to have confiscated a library in Cyprus, 331

al-Muqaddasi, on mosaics for the Great Mosque of Damascus, 316

al-Muqtadir, Caliph, 908-32, 449

al-Rafiya, destination of captured Cypriots in 806, 436

al-Tabari, chronicler, 436

al-Waqidi, Muslim chronicler of the 9th c., 407

Alona, Aloni, X-c. coins found, 206

al-Walid, Caliph, 705-15, 455

Alypos, monastery, 521

Amathus, cathedral church (3-aisled basilica) in lower town, 291; two monasteries founded by St John the Almsgiver, 390; temple of Aphrodite, adapted as Christian church in early 5th c., 291; bishop attended the Council of Chalcedon, 288; agora excavations, 288f., eastern suburbs, 289; African Red Slip ware excavated, 239, 241; coin hoard from 500-5, 190; acropolis protected by wall of ?Justinianic date, 292, 572; destruction of buildings on Acropolis by fire in 649 or 653, 265; chronology of amphoras from acropolis site, 241f; continued occupation after 653 attested by coins and lead seals, 289; various civil officials from the later VII C. and until *c.*717, 289f.; Palestinian amphoras from *c.*670-*c.*700 excavated on acropolis, evidence of continuing trade, 290; lead seals of bishops and of the church of Amathus, 289f., 587f.; stratified deposits in cistern on acropolis suggest abandonment at end of VII c./early VIII c., long after the Arab invasions, 241f., 290f.; lead seal of early VIII c. archbishop excavated in lower town, 290; bishop of A. attends VII Council in 787, 444f. Ayios Tychonas church, 291f.

Ammochostos, habitation of the recluse Kaioumos in early VII c., 556. See also Famagusta

amphoras, evidence for overseas trade, 19, 229-39; classification into LRA 1-7, 231f.; possibly reused within Cyprus, 234; with incised Arabic inscriptions on the handles, 458; sources of material at Panayia Ematousa, 231

ampullae of pilgrim-flask shape, 250

amulet, apotropaic, 317

anagrapheus of Cyprus, 110

Anastasius I, Byzantine emperor, 491-519, 31 and n.1; his reformed copper coinage swiftly reached Cyprus, 147

Anastasius the Sinaite, native of Amathus, chronicler writing in the 690s, 317, 318, 429; speaks of 'the first and second capture of Cyprus by the Saracens', 404.

Andrew the Hymnographer, St., abp. of Crete until *c.*740, iconodule in sentiment, 443

Angolemi, coin from 751, 202

Anna Comnena, historian, 521-4, 536-7

Anna Doukaina, sebaste, lead seal of, 113, 532

annona civica, the annual grain fleet from Alexandria to Cple via Cyprus, 376

Anonymous pilgrim, XII c., 557

Anthemios, (arch)bishop of Constantia, and the invention of St Barnabas, 308f., appeals to emperor, who confirms the apostolic status and independence of the Church of Cyprus, 309; builds pilgrimage church near Constantia, 215, 310

Antioch, contrast with Cyprus in economic trends, 36, 89; probable source of some LRA 1 amphoras, 233; and of illuminated manuscripts of the '2400' family, 332f.; coinage minted there reaches Cyprus plentifully, 142, 375, and see the Mazotos hoard, 191; in Umayyad and Abbasid times, 36; Philaretos Brachiamos as doux, 1078-84, 505; fell to Seljuks in 1085, 504

Aphendrika, 472-3

Aphrodite, cult survives into early V cent.? 304

Apnelgaripes, magistros of Tarsus, lead seal of, 112

apo eparchon, see under honorary eparch

apo hypaton, 78, and see under consularis

appelate jurisdiction, shared between praetorian prefect and quaestor of the sacred palace, later exercised by the quaestor exercitus, 357

aqueduct supplying Constantia, 220f., and see under Constantia; earthquake damage to aqueducts supplying Kourion a suggested cause of abandonment of city, 362; bring water to pilgrim facility at basilica of St Barnabas, see under Constantia

Arab invasions of 649 and 653, 395-417; churches destroyed, 254; resulted in the non-recovery of coin hoards, 169-71; see comment on Kourion hoard of 1979, 191f.; and on Kornos cave, 196

'Arab-Byzantine' copper coinage rarely found in Cyprus, 142, 175f., 177f. See also countermarked coins

Arab garrison, supposedly at Paphos, withdrawn *c.*680, 285

Arab geographers, 44f.,, 583, and see Edrisi, Ibn Hawqal

Arabic coins, see Islamic coins

Arabic inscriptions, at Paphos, 216, 225, 285-7

Arabic place-names, 479

Arabs served in imperial administration after 653, 86

Arab settlement in Cyprus, 32, 478-86, 580

Arab tomb, at SE corner of governor's palace, Paphos, 286

Aradus, besieged by Mu'awiya in 649, sacked in 650, 396, 400, 410; bishop of, settled in Cyprus in 650, 48, 116-18, 451, 586

Arakiotissa, monastery, decorated 1192, 326f.

architect or master mason, his lead seal, 86

archon of Cyprus, VII c. lead seal a

modern forgery?, 78; heads the government of Cyprus from the late IX c. if not earlier, 461-2, 575 successively with rank of spatharios, spatharokandidatos, and protospatharios, 466; title familiar to al-Baladuri, 409; Theodosios (*c.*900),103; Michael (*c.*900),104, Leo Symbatikes, 104, Michael (X c.) 104

Arkadios I (arch)bishop, 625/6-641/2 attends synod on monotheletism summoned by Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 633 or 634, 394; mentioned by Anastasios the Sinaite, 318; oversees reinstatement of aqueduct, 220; lead seals may not be his, 79f.

Arkadios II, archbishop, c.680, his lead seals, 79f.; 383

Armenian (Gregorian) bishopric of Nicosia mentioned in 974, 489, 512f.

Armenians, support Renaud in 1155/6, 549. Re-settled in Cyprus under Tiberius II, 578-, 305, 374, 572; installed as *akritai* to guard the Pentadaktylos passes, in X c., 433; Armenian villages, 486, 489, 538; physiological evidence of settlement patterns, 590f.

Armenokhori, Armenian village, 490

army reforms, make a more formidable fighting force in VIII c., 485, 574

Arnold of Lubeck, 531

Arsinoe, bishop of, see Polis

Artavasdus, emp., 742-3, would have restored the icons, 441; deposed 743, Cypriots repatriated from Syria, 435; silver coin found in Cyprus, 43, 202

asekretis, lead seal of, 106f.

Asinou, the Phorbiotissa monastery, 227, 323f.; a synaxarion with marginal notes on the deaths of early abbots, 33, 333-4

Askas, IX-cent. coin found, 205

Asomatos, Maronite village, 487

Aspagourios, general, with Persian personal name. Recipient of Lambousa treasure?, 58. The citizens of Constantia oppose him, 377

Aswan, source of a few re-used granite columns, 261

Athanasius the Athonite, flees to Cyprus in X c., 518

Athienou, coin hoard from 643/4, 195

Attaleia, port for Cyprus, 107-8, 470; Mardaites transplanted there, 583

authentis (governor?), 327

Auxibios, bp. of Solea, depicted in early wall-painting at Lagoudera, 322

Ayia Marina Skillouras, Maronite village, 487

Ayia Mone, the 'monastery of the priests', 390, 478, 518

Ayia Trias, early basilica, with stone columns and mosaic floors, 472; coin hoard, 201, 474

Ayios Antonios, monastery near Kythrea, 517, 519

Ayios Antonios, Kellia, monastic church of late IX/early X c., 267

Ayios Barnabas, pilgrimage church and monastery, 310, 340; (?)residence of archbishop in VIII/IX c., 493; continuity of monastic community, 519

Ayios Dhimitrianos, coin hoard from *c.*641, 194

Ayios Epiktetos, IX-c. coin found there, 205, 471

Ayios Georghios, port en route between Alexandria and Cple, 230; VI-c. coin hoard, 191

Ayios Georghios tou Oriatou, 518

Ayios Konon, houses, 345; glass fragments swept up, 249f.

Ayios Lazaros, 493f.

Ayios Philon (Karpasia), 472f., pink marble columns in V c. basilica, 363; glass wasters from production of tesserae?, 250; jar containing stems of 71 wine glasses, 251; archaeological evidence, 272-5; date of fortification wall, 385 n.10; coin hoard dated 663-6 or later, 200, 274

Ayios Serghios, archaeological finds at, 220

Ayios Symeon (Karpasia), coin hoard from *c.*830, 204

Ayios Theodosios, estate south of Khapotami river, 546-8

B

Baalbek, men from installed in Cyprus by Mu'awiya, remained until *c.*680, 411f., 414, 512

Baghdad, 435, 454; becomes a megalopolis, 36

Baladhuri, see al-Baladhuri

Bardas Skleros, revolt by, 976-9, 226; 507

Barnabas, St., martyred in 61, 309 n.26; invention of his mortal remains (474 x 491), 308f., 506, 571. Paired with St Epiphanios in iconography, 311, 321. For his shrine-church, see Ayios Barnabas.

barrel-vaulted basilicas in Karpas, 473

Barskii, Russian traveller in 1735, describes church of Ayios Barnabas as it then was, 310

Basil I, Byzantine emperor, 867-86, sought to recover complete control of Cyprus, 432f., 439; created theme of Cyprus?, 465; this did not result in upwards trend in sealing or in prosperity, 44; inscription at Kanakaria, 226

Basil II and Constantine VIII, Byzantine emperors, 976-1025, 507; mentioned in inscription at Syngrasis, 226

Basil Kinnamos, bp. of Paphos, *c.*1170, 326

basilikos, on lead seal of Heraclian date, 87

basilikos anthropos, imperial administrator, 35

bath-house, with hot and cold water, and with men's and women's sections, 342

baths, public, at Constantia, 218-19

Bellapais, lead seal found there, 101

bilingual lead seals, 79

bishops, 15 in Cyprus already in early V c.,; their social authority and role in governance, 77, 351f.; their role in civil society diminishes after *c.*700, 40, 99

blacksmith's forges, in former atrium of Limeniotissa church, Paphos, 286

blood-groups, 475, 590f.

Bonos, patricius and magistros (= magister militum), regent during campaigns of Heraclius; lead seal from Cyprus, 87f.

Book of Curiosities, Arabic XI-c. treatise

with map of Cyprus, 17, 41 n.18, 108, 507-11; identifies Ayios Philon (as Karpasia), 274

bread-ovens, 421

bribery, legislation against, 358

Browning, R., on Cyprus after 653, 23

Buffavento castle, 535f.; Kyrris dates its construction to 649-53, 413; masonry from time of Alexius I, 536; Isaac Comnenus takes refuge there, 535

burials, young persons buried in a row, with hands crossed over their breasts, 285

Byzantine Empire, general character of, 17-19

C

cadastral codex, required for taxation, 360

Caesarius, western bishop (502-42), 317

Campanopetra, see under Constantia

Canadian Palaipafos Survey Project (CPSP), 371

Cape Drepanon, 588; Proconnesian marble columns brought by sea, 260

Carthage. African Red Slip ware found at Amathus, 239; at Kalavasos, 238

cash-box, with lock, 344

caves, inhabited by monks or ascetics, 216; a cave difficult of access, containing relics believed to be of a group of saints, visited by St Constantine the Jew, 319; Kornos cave, occupation dated by coins to 643/4, 196; Phileri, near Kythrea, 243; literary references to taking refuge in caves, 399

ceramics, 34, 65-6, 229-46; general assessment of trends by Hayes, 40; coarse wares difficult to date 43; chronology of Red Slip ware thrown into doubt by Paphos excavations. 365; trends in statistics of sherds, at Panayia Ematousa, 236, 364; in SW Cyprus and at Ayios Kononas, 371; Red Slip ware, 238-40; from Kornos cave, Red Slip table ware and a local wheel-ridged cooking-pot, dated by coins to 643/4, 196; Egyptian, of Umayyad date, at Kourion, 457; from Phileri, plain white Byzantine pottery (IX-c.?), 243; fire-blackened at Soloi, 243; XI- and XII-c. glazed wares, 245f.

Chalkoutzes, Nicetas, see under N

champlevé decoration, 263, 292, 313

charcoal burning in Tillyria, 61

Charlemagne, 512

chartulary, on lead seal of Heraclian date, 87

Christmas celebrations, fatted pigs, 61

Chronicon Paschale, 463 n.108

chrysobulls, 519, 520, 529, 544

Church councils, see ecumenical councils

Church of Cyprus, 567f., 570f.

churches: columns made of stone drums, or monolithic marble, 257, 260f.; destruction at time of Arab raids, and/or subsequently by earthquake, 254, 256, 265f.; their coastal distribution, varying size, and its implications, 259

Acheiropoietos, 52

Apsinthiotissa, Sychari, 267 and n.46; style influenced by Koutsobendes, 268

Ayia Kyriake (?), funerary inscription seen by al-Harawi in the 1170s, 283

Ayia Trias, original see of Karpasia, 275; columns composed of stone drums, 260

Ayios Antonios, Kellia, church of late IX/early X cent. or earlier, 267, 322

Ayios Barnabas, Constantia, pilgrimage church built by Abp Anthemios, 215

Ayios Georghios, Aphendrika, 268

Ayios Georghios tou Kastrou, Kyrenia, 268; XII-cent. relaying of floor?, 265

Ayios Herakleidios, Tamasos, has a late *opus sectile* floor, 265

Ayios Ioannes, Koutsobendes, domed octagon, model for other churches locally, 268

Ayios Konon, 3-aisled basilica with narthex, 262

Ayios Lazaros, Larnaca, *opus sectile* floor of late XI cent., 265

Ayios Philon, see of Karpasia, early example of the use of marble columns, 260, 273-5; the XI- or XII-c. church, 274

Ayios Prokopios, Syngrasis, 226, 255, 257, 268

Ayios Tychonas, Amathus, 137

Bedestan, Nicosia, see under Nicosia

Chrysopolitissa, see under Paphos

Holy Cross, Pelendri, 227-8

Holy Trinity, Koutsobendes, 226f.

Panayia Angeloktistos, Kiti, 315

Panayia Kanakaria, Lythrankomi, 266; 314

Panayia Kyra, Livadhia, Karpas, 315

Panayia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, 227-8

Cilicia and northern Syria, source of amphoras found in Cyprus, 239; occupied by Persian forces in 613, 379

city life: public life-style until time of Heraclius, 216

city walls, 346, 379; at Amathus, repaired after earthquake damage of *c.*365/70,; rebuilt after 649 in various cities (Constantia, Lapithos, Soloi, Peyia, Polis), 270-3, 346; at Aphrodision, 273; at Ayios Philon, Karpasia, 272-4

Civil War in Caliphate, from AD 809, 438; dirhams carried to Cyprus at that time?, 179, 438

clarissimus, senatorial rank, the lowest of three grades of nobility, 81; 355

climate change, 62, 372

clipped Islamic dirhams, 178-82

clipped miliaresia, 181, 183

coins of Constans II, new designs minted at Constantinople from 651/2, 224

columns, and capitals: granite, re-used Roman, especially at Paphos and Constantia, 260f.; built from stone drums, later use of marble monoliths, 260; local limestone used at Ayios Konon, 260f.; marble imported from Proconnesus, 260f.

Comnenian 'clan', governed Cyprus in XII cent., 76

Constans II, Byzantine emperor, 641-668, continued to exercise power in Cyprus after 653, 382;

abundant lead sealing in Cyprus after 653, 79; countermarking of his copper coinage in Cyprus, probably for fiscal purposes, 171-5; thought to have refurbished Constantia, in 660 x 663, 219, 277; departs to the West, probably in July 662, 32, 37, 288

Constantia, Salamis refounded as C. in 346, 217; destroyed by fire in Arab invasion, 276; *Map*, 270. Shrine of *St Epiphanius*, 280, 418f.; historical value of the coins from archaeological excavations there, 38, 148-55, 276-80. Inscriptions record refurbishments in *c.*542-3 under consularis Ioannes, 218; *public baths*, 277-8, with an *opus sectile* pavement of the VI cent., into which the (earlier) Valerius inscription was reinserted, 218f., 277, 366f. *Temple of Zeus*, damaged by IV-cent. earthquake, converted by VI cent. for church purposes, destroyed by fire in VII cent., plundered for stone to build new, inner city wall, 279; coin-hoard with *t.p.q.* 607/8, 191, 378. *Aqueduct*, 220f., 385-7, completed 631, 385; fed the Vouta water-tank, which lay within the new (inner) city wall, 278, 385. *Vouta*, its use after 653, 278, 419. *Hippodrome*, mentioned still in VII cent., 387. The city's food supply from the surrounding district, 62. *Basilica of St Epiphanius* destroyed by fire, 649, 22, 265, 418; smaller church on same site, 279f. *City wall* rebuilt with reduced circuit, 385. *L'huilerie*, originally a luxurious residence (the governor's palace?), 59, 419f.; change of use as early as 617?, 385; questionable numismatic evidence, 383, 420. *Cistern* with painted inscriptions, 216. *Campanopetra*, 21, 588, pilgrimage church: late V/VI cent. construction, sumptuously decorated, very prestigious relic, monastic establishment?, architectural affinities with churches of the Holy Land, 368f., fragmentary inscriptions, 369f., repairs after the Arab invasions, archives of lead seals, 137, 421; marble columns brought by sea, 260f.; shows love of bright colours, 263; *opus sectile* of magnificent workmanship, 262; bread ovens as evidence of squatterization in IX cent. or later; lime kilns, 421. Campanopetra sector of city continues to thrive after 653, 21. *'Salamis bench deposit'*, early VIII-cent. context, 147 n.10.

Constantine IV, Byzantine emperor, 668-86, his neglect of Cyprus, but abundant lead sealing during his reign, 79. Sicilian coin excavated in connection with inner wall at Constantia, 278 n.32

Constantine V, Byzantine emperor, 741-75, enforces iconoclasm, proposes to dissolve monastic communities and to confiscate their property, 441; two gold coins found at Constantia, 155

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Byzantine emperor, 913-59, describes events in VII-cent. Cyprus, 402, 408, 433, 453f.; lists the cities and bishoprics of Cyprus, 353; on Basil's creation of a theme of Cyprus, 439, 465; coins of, 183, 477

Constantine IX Monomachus, Byzantine emperor, 1042-55, 503

Constantine, abp. of Cyprus, his remarks on the iconoclast controversy in 787, 444-6

Constantine Chage, military commander, 184, 515

Constantine Angelos, pansebastohypertatos, his lead seal, 531

Constantine the Jew, St., (mid-IX cent.) visits Cyprus to collect relics of saints, 68, 319, 482f.

consul, consuls were active in Cyprus early in VIII cent., 75, 461, 463, 575; lead seals help to date their activity in Cyprus, 97, 102

consularis, rank of governors of Cyprus until ?691, 78, 218 n.13, 461; appointed by the emperor on recommendation of the p.p. Orientis, 356; lead seal of, 78

consular medallions, in Lambousa treasure, 52, 57

cooking pots on church sites, inferior types from *c.*700 from cistern at Amathus, 291

copper production and export, evidence for mining output in VI cent., 238; in X and XI cent., 508; vitriol mentioned by Edrisi, 527

Coral Bay, Islamic copper coin from, 204, 460

count of the East, 357

countermarked coins from Syria/Palestine carried to Cyprus after the Arab conquest of the mainland, 153; coins of Constans c'marked for fiscal reasons? 153, 171-5

cranes, used to lift marble columns ashore, 260, 363

Crete, archbishop of, visits Cyprus in 655, 307; Crete governed by archon comparably with Cyprus, 75; and see St Andrew the Hymnographer

crown domain, see kourator of Cyprus

Crusader coins, 207

crustae, see *opus sectile*

cubicularius, 87

Curium, see Kourion

D

Dadai, monastery mentioned by John Moschos, 390

Dali, X-cent. coin, 206

Damascus, metropolitan of, visits Cyprus and sees tomb of Athanasios, near Amathus, 318, 429

Damianos, archbishop of Cyprus, mid VIII cent., lead seals of, 101, 295, 418

Damyana, Muslim general, gives Cyprus over to fire and pillage for four months, in early X cent., 440f.; absence of coin losses from this episode, 183

Daniel, a Jew burned at the stake in Constantia in 637, 305

Daniel, Russian abbot, visits Cyprus, 584

date palms in Constantia, 366

David plates, see Lambousa treasures

Demetrianos, bishop of Kythrea, d. *c.*915, monk at Ay. Antonios, 517; mission to Baghdad in early X cent., 441; wall painting of him at Ay. Nikolaos tis Stegis, 321

depopulation in Cyprus, as a result of plague?, 373f.

Dhekelia, imperial lead seal of Tiberius II found locally, 375

Dhikomo, defeat of a Cypriot force there, 535, 550

dhimmi, in Muslim thought, political status of People of the Book, 405

Dhiorios, excavations yielded both kinds of Cypriot Red Slip LRD table ware, 239; excavation of glass drinking vessels but not pottery ones, 248f.

Didymos or Dieu d'Amour castle, see St Hilarion

Dikigoropoulos, A. I., his administrative understanding of the 'condominium centuries' questioned, 35, 576; his theory of retrenchment after the Arab invasions, 270-2, 464, 468, 576

Diocletianic era, dating by, 403; used in VII cent. at Soloi, 223

dioiketai, in early VIII cent., 75, 100; in IX cent., 448, 463; lead seals found at Amathus, 467

Dionysios of Sinope, quoted by Leontios of Neapolis, 33-0

Dionysios of Tell-Mahré, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, 818-45, historical writings of, 407

disease, genetic resistance to, 475; as evidence of local continuity, 494f.

distribution-patterns within Cyprus, of basilicas, 259

DNA, 590-3

dogs, 342

Domenico Michiel, Venetian doge, 529

doux of Cyprus, iii-6; this office did not exist in VI-VII cent., 83, 110f.; Leo Nikerites, 334; George, endows Kykko monastery, 323

Doxopatres, comments on XII-cent. church governance, 506f.

Dreamer's Bay (Akrotiri-Vounari tou Kambou), regional source of amphoras found there, 233

dromon, warship, 380

drought, effects of prolonged, 337

droungarios (admiral), lead seals of, 97, 100f., 138, 463; Nicetas, 518

dynatoi (potentiores, the upper class), 360

E

'eagle' design on lead seals of VII/early VIII cent., 85-6, 90, 96

Earthquakes, damage early basilicas and influence building techniques, 265-6; of 332/3 and 342 damaged Salamis, 217; of *c.*370 destroyed Kourion, 217; at Paphos at end of IV cent., evidence from excavation near the Hellenistic theatre, 236. Damage at Kourion dated by Megaw to 685/6, but could be from some years or decades later, 293-5; of c.1160, damages Paphos, 266; of 1226, 283

eclipse of the sun, in 1178, 551 n.87

Ecumenical Councils. (I) Nicaea, 325, 352, (II) Constantinople, 387, 352, (III) Ephesus, 431, Church of Cyprus dates its independence from, 303, (-) Ephesus, 449, monophysite in tendency, (IV) Chalcedon, 451, Church of Cyprus omitted from Pentarchy, (V/VI) Quinisext, 692, independence of Church of Cyprus confirmed, (-) Constantinople, 754, condemned the worship of images, 441, (VII) Nicaea, 787, reinstated the icons, 22, 437, 441, 444f.

ecumenical patriarch, lead seal of, 113

Edrisi, Arab geographer, 527

Egypt, trade with Cyprus (LRA 7 amphoras), 230, 231; Persian invasion began in 617, 379; fell to the Arabs in 641, alleged participation in the invasion of

649, 408f.; fleet raids Cyprus in 1158, 550

Egyptian in Paphos in late VIII cent AD, 225

ek prosopou, 435 and n.20, 440; deputy archon?, 463

Ekthesis, imperial edict of 638, 391

Elpidios Vrakamios, 111

Enkleistra, monastery, 325; its library, 329-30.

eparch, head of the provincial government during a short phase at beginning of VIII c.?, 461

eparch, honorary, see under H.

Epiphanios Paschales, magistros, 324, 521f.; gives a X-cent. gospel book to Alypou monastery in 1091, 333

Epiphanios, St., was an opponent of holy images, 301, 444 n.47, 557; death on board ship near Constantia, 312f.; depicted on VII-cent. lead seals at Constantia, 80; paired with St Barnabas in iconography, 321

Epiphanios II, archbishop, fl. *c.*680 onwards, 73; his lead seals, 383

Epiphanios III, archbishop, fl. 870, 105; corresponded with Photius, 108

Epiphanios IV, archbishop, fl. 976 x 979, 226

Epiphanios, bishop of Paphos, 108

Episkopi, basilica re-uses marble slabs, etc., from the basilica at Kourion, 455-7, 492

epi tou Chrysotriklinou, 106

Eric the Good, king of Denmark, dies at Paphos, 1103, 555

Escurial taktikon, 106

Esaias, ascetic, 317, 322

ethnarch, role foreshadowed by archbishops in VIII cent., 460

Etienne de Lusignan, antiquary, 512

Eumathios Philokales, 577, 581, stratopedarch, 523; governor, 539-44, builds Pentadaktylos castles, 537; patron of Holy Trinity church, Koutsobendes, 226-7, 543; assists Raymond of Saint-Gilles in 1102, 538, 577

European Union (EU), comparison with, 17-18

Eustolios, V-cent. benefactor of his native Kourion, 217, 361

Eustorge, Latin bishop of Nicosia, in 1217, 514

Evagrius, 342, 374

Evdhimou, IX-cent. coin find, 204

exconsul, see consularis

exisotes, 523

F

fals (pl. fulu), Islamic copper coin, 154, 177f, 459f.

Famagusta, early development, 555-7. See also Ammochostos

Farmers' Law, 468

favism, regional distribution of disease, 475

feudalism, 564f.

fish, in Cypriot waters, 344

fishing nets, 345

fleets, size of Mu'awiya's invasion fleet, 401, 406

food and drink: bread, meat, fish, wine, jam, and pastries, also beans, lentil soup, dessert fruits, sausages, mustard, mentioned by Leontios of Neapolis, 343

fortresses captured by Harun al-Rashid, 436

French feudal coins of Chartres, *t.p.q.*1098, or later?, 207

frontier zones, 484

G

Gabala, Cypriots sail there in two ships, in *c.*785, to find work, 445

garrison, Arab, mentioned by al-Baladhuri, 412

Gaza area, exports to Cyprus (LRA 4 amphoras), 231

Genethlium, exconsul and patricius, 78, 359, 462

Genoa, merchants of, 530

George of Cyprus, reproduces Hierocles' list of cities, 349

Georghios, archbishop of Constantia, anathematized in 754 as an iconodule, 443

Georghios, doux, endows Kykko, 323

Georghios, 'monachos', numerous lead seals of, 91f.

Georghios, Ay., monastery, 389

Georgian monastery of Gialia, 518

Gephyra, buried at Asinou, 227f.

Gerasimos, abbot of Ayia Mone, 335

Germanos, patriarch, writes to Thomas of Claudiopolis, 97

Gialia, monastery, 518

Gialousa (Karpas), watch-tower, 538

gigantic vases at Amathus, 292

glass, 247-52; factory at Saranda Kolones, Paphos, late VIII-mid IX cent., 244, 493; wasters suggest manufacture at Kourion, 250; glass-making continues after the Arab invasions, 251; depicted in MS miniatures or in mosaics, 252

goats, 345

gold coinage, semisses and tremisses in everyday use, 147

governmental spending, 1-; in IX cent., finds of gold coins unsupported by copper coins suggest it, 182; from mid-XII cent. to 1184, 184f.

governors of Cyprus, their functions, 355; appointed for one year at a time, resided at Constantia, 356, but possibly also had a residence at Paphos, 282 n.46

grain fleet, see annona

gum, abundant in Cyprus, 553

Gunther, C. G., 119

Guy de Lusignan, 564f.

H

Habib b. Maslama, subjugated Armenia and Georgia in 653, 411

hagiasma at Constantia, with painted inscriptions, 311

Hajar b. Hisan, governor (*wilayah*) in Cyprus, 287

Halefka Pass, 481; IX-cent. coin from, 202, 536

half-folles, favoured denomination at Constantia, 151, in time of Leontios, 154

hanging lamps, 249

harbours, at Paphos, guarded by military contingent, 297

Harūn al-Rashid, caliph, 786-809 AD, orders retaliatory raid on Cyprus in 806, churches destroyed, 436, 481, 512, 547

Hayes, J., his assessment of general decline from *c.*650, 40f., 236

Hellenic identity, 580

Hellenism, 20; St Epiphanius its avowed enemy, 350f.

Hellespont, ecclesiastical province, xii-3

Henotikon, formula of Orthodoxy, 393

Heraclii, revolt of, 150, 162; the scarce coinage of the revolt, found in Cyprus, 143, 159-62

Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 610-641, seizes Cyprus in 608 or 609, 341, 375f.; becomes emperor, 572f.; role of Cyprus in his *coup*, 375f.; leads armies against Persia in 618-28, 379; sets up a mint in Cyprus, 159; copper coinage minted in Cyprus mainly for use on mainland, 152, 163f.; lead seals from his reign in Cyprus, 87-8; titulature changed in 629, 151f.; realizes strategic significance of Cyprus, 31; oversees final stages of reinstating aqueduct to Constantia, 221; his fondness for Cyprus, 391. See also Lambousa treasures.

Herakleidios, St, remembered at Tamasos, pilgrimage site already in IV cent., 310

Hermogenes, St., cult at Kourion, 250

hexagram, silver coin very rarely found in Cyprus, 151, 170

Hierocles the Grammarian, *Synekdemos*, lists the cities of Cyprus, 259, 348

Himerios, Byzantine admiral, uses Cyprus as a naval base in early X cent., 440, 483

Holy Sepulchre church, Cyprus supplies new roof beams, 438

honorary consul, 78

honorary eparch, a dignity prominent in Cyprus in early VIII cent., 95, 575; holders not formerly eparchs, 460; replaces illustriate, 75, 98, 460; lead seals found at Amathus, 290, and near Polis, 102

horreiarios, (?) of Paphos, if correct is evidence of extent of crown domain, 107, 480

horses, skeletons in *hagiasma* at Constantia, 311

housing of Cypriot villagers, archaeological evidence from Ayios Konon, 345

humiliores, the lower class, e.g. villagers, 360

hypatos, see consul

hypodektes, early lead seal from Kalavasos, 88

I

Iacovou, M., 229 n.1

Ibn Hawqal, X-cent. Arab geographer, 483-5, 553; on linen production, 48; on frontier zones, 484

icons, the lighting of candles and burning of incense before them, in VIII cent., 446; icon of St Spyridon overturning an idol at Alexandria (before 655), 308; – of the Mother of God painted by St Luke, given to the ascetic Esaias, Kykko monastery built to house it, 317, 322

icons, portable, donated to Arakiotissa monastery, ix-12; depicted in an XI cent. wall painting at Asinou, ix-11; in Armenian style, xii-10

iconoclasm, 18, 306

Idrisi, 484

Idrisid clipped dirhams, 180, 589

Ieroskipou, grew in IX/X cent.?, 493

illoustrios, the old senatorial dignity; played a major role in the governance of Cyprus until *c.*700, 77; its disappearance, 460; lead seals of, 75, 81

illustris = lamprotatos, the highest grade of nobility, appropriate to governor of Cyprus, 59, 224

imperial domain in Cyprus, see crown domain

impoverishment, from *c.*700, 41, 580

internal frontier, 425, 479, and see frontier zones

Ioannes, bishop of Lapithos in *c.*680?, 83, 469

Ioannes Plagiotis, lead seals as variously illoustrios, stratelates, or apo hypaton, from Amathus, 83, 85, 98

Irene, Byzantine empress, 790, 435f., purges army of iconoclasts, 436, 446

Isaac II, Byzantine emperor, 1185-1195, grants Machairas monastery an orchard near Nicosia, 512

Isaac Comnenus, despot in Cyprus, *c.*1184-1191, 326, 534, 558-65, 582; economic flowering of Cyprus, 33, 46; his coinage, 144, 185f., 562; his lead seals unknown, misattribution, 138f.

Isaac sebastokrator, brother of Alexius I, his lead seal, 138f.

Isaurian Seleucia, Isaura, Byzantine mints, 615-618 AD, 384

Islamic coins, 142, 481; at Constantia, from mints of Damascus, Homs, Tabariyya, and Baalbek, 148, 154; found especially around Paphos, Kourion, and Larnaca, 431; from Paphos are mostly post-688, 286, and include coins of the Tabariyya mint, 158; from Kourion, minted after *c.*695, 294; gold dinar of AD 720/1 from Kourion, 294, and another from Chrysopolitissa, 286; clipped dirhams of late VIII/early IX cent. AD, 589, in Paphos area, 179-82, 288, 432; dirham of first half of IX cent. from Kourion, 296. See also Arab-Byzantine coins.

Islamic lead seals, reading *Qubrus*, evidence of Arab residence in Cyprus, 129f., 482

Islamic tomb inscriptions, 225, 298

J

Jacob Baradaeus, founder of the Jacobite church, 394

Jenkins, R. H. J., his views on the treaty status of Cyprus repudiated, 428-9, 576

Jerusalem, patriarch of, his land-holdings in Cyprus, 335

Jerusalem, fell to the Persians in 614, 379; church of the Holy Sepulchre, repaired with timbers from Cyprus in early IX cent., 438

Jews in Cyprus, 305; a glass-blower, 247; one seeks baptism from bishop of Amathus, 305; one burned at the stake, 305

Jewish criticism of veneration of images, 316

John I Tzimisces, Byzantine emperor, 969-76, 183

John II Comnenus, Byzantine emperor, 1118-1139, subventions for Cyprus, 46; creates appanage for Manuel I, including Cyprus, 530

John of Cappadocia, praetorian prefect, 357

John Doukas, grand doux, 522

John Komnenos, governor of Cyprus in 1155-6, 532, 550

John the Almsgiver, St., 291 n.96; his family background, his father said to have been the governor of Cyprus, 82; mediates between Aspagourios and the citizens of Constantia, 377, 384; keeps a gold tremissis for out-of-pocket expenses, 339; appointed to patriarchate of Alexandria, 392

John the Almsgiver, St., monastery, 336; deacon Thomas, prosmonarios of the monastery, 335

John Oxeites, patriarch of Antioch, 521

John the Cretan, archbishop, lead seal of, 112, sponsors a codex, 335

John of Damascus, St., honoured as an iconodule by the Seventh Ecumenical Council, 444

John of Ephesus, historian, late VI cent., 374

John Moschos, author of *Pratum spirituale*, 390

judge of Cyprus, headed the civil administration in XI/XII c., 75, 109, 111

Justin I, Byzantine emperor, 519-27, his coinage, 57f.

Justin II with Tiberius II, Byzantine emperors, 578, joint coinage, 58

Justinian I, Byzantine emperor, 527-565, public works, 217; his military successes fostered trading links, 240

Justinian II, Byzantine emperor, 685-95, second reign 705-11, 575; in his first reign demands very large tribute from Caliphate, 416; in second reign, overtures of friendship to the Caliphate, 705/6, 316, 416; provides diplomatic gifts in 707-9 of tesserae to decorate mosques, 434; his coins surprisingly few, 37 n.9, 149; excavated at Kourion, including a gold tremissis from a stone bench, and similarly from Constantia, 147 n.10; a coin of his reign dates the shape of a drinking glass, 250-1

K

Kaioumos, recluse, advised on fate of Philentolos, 51, 556

Kakorhizos, cubicularius, leads Byzantine forces against Mu'awiya, 380, 406, 410

Kalavasos-*Kopetra*, large village with two basilicas, 262; destruction in 649/653, corpses in crypt of church, 265; excavations, 66; trade amphoras from various Mediterranean regions, 231; regional origins of Red Slip ware, 238f.; glass drinking vessels and other glass, 249; in *Book of Curiosities*, 510

Kalavasos-*Sirmata*, monastery, 388

Kalliparios, judge and tax-collector at end of XI cent., 523

Kalta, mid-XII cent. town mentioned by Edrisi, 527

Kambyli, Maronite village, 487

Kanakaria, mosaics, and their theoloical significance, 394; inscription, 225f., 430; structural reinforcement against earthquake damage, 266

kandidatos and imperial spatharios, 463

Kantara castle, 536; Kyrris dates its construction to 649-653; no

evidence on record from time of Alexius I, 536

Karabisianoi, naval command, created in late VII cent., 414f.; lead seal of strategos of, is later in date than 717/18, 94; divided prior to 732, 101

Karavas, see Lapithos

Karpasia, bishop of, moves his see from Ayia Trias to Ayios Philon, 275; coin hoard from 643-4, 196f.; lead seal of bishop of, 83; former Maronite character, 488; coin hoard from XII cent., 210. See also Ayios Philon

Karpas peninsula, 472-4; difficulty of dating churches, 255

Katakalon, see under Konstantinos

katepano of Cyprus, headed the military government of Cyprus in XI/XII cent., 75, 109-10, 111, 506

katepano, a middling military rank, 112

Katydhata, spurious coin hoard, 191

Kazaphani, IX-cent. coins found there, 204, 471

Kellia, Ay. Antonios, domed church from late IX/early X cent. or earlier, 267

Kephalovryso, springs near Kythrea which fed Constantia aqueduct, 220, 385

Keramaia, harbour, naval victory, 435 n.19

keramidhion (Holy Tile), 327

Kermia, emendation to Thermia?, 353

Kernebia, mid-XII-c. town mentioned by Edrisi, 527

Khapotami valley, estate supplying laura of St Theodosios, formerly in Muslim control?, 547

Kharkia (Kharcha) coin hoard from 648/9, 197f.

Khlorakas, benefits from the annual grain fleet from Alexandria, 230; Alexandrian coins plentiful there, 158; prosperity continues into early VIII cent., 372

Kibyrrhaiotes, 575; naval squadron, 225, 440; archon Tarasios, 94; spatharios Niketas, 101; strategoi, 101; theme, 94f., 106, 434f., 507; Cypriots resettled there in 690/1, 402; a fleet from Alexandria destroyed in 747, 435-6; admiral lost in *c.*790, 436; lead seal at Constantia, 418

Kilani, coin hoard from 651-2, 199

kiln sites, for amphoras, etc., at Paphos, and at Zygi, 233

Kirboia, of modest size in Byzantine times?, 259

Kition, said by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to have been occupied by Arabs in 632, 408; famous image of Panayia Angeloktistos, 315-16; lead seal of bishop of, 83, 122f.; in the 780s men from K. sail to Gabala to look for work, 437; bishop of, in 787, 444; paneyiris in VIII cent., 68

kleisourarch, 465, 471, 480, 535; office implies an internal frontier, 425, 580, 586; Theodoros, lead seals of, 103

Klemes, the copyist of a codex of Lives of saints and homilies, 335f. (7, 8, 14); abbot of the monastery *ton hieron*, 336

Klepini, Maronite village, 487

Kokkinochoria, coin hoard from time of Nicephorus I, 204

kommerkiarios of Cyprus, in VIII c.,

553; in mid-IX cent., 103, 447, 467f.; of Attaleia and Cyprus, 107f.; of Cyprus and Attaleia in XI/XII cent., 111, 506; they are to respect interests of the Venetians, 544

Konstantinos Euphorbenos Katakalon, doux of Cyprus before 1094 and again in 1102-1104, 111, 324, 505, 541

Kophinou, coin find from *c.*700, 201; relics, 320

Koraës, his views on Hellenism, 20

Kormakitis, Maronite village, 487-8; silver coin found, 202

Kornokipos, Armenian village, 487-8

Kornos cave, yielded Cypriot Red Slip ware dateable to the 640s, 239; coin hoard, 196; mid-VII cent. occupation, originally misdated, 430, n.7

Korykos, 537

Kosmas, illoustrios and later hon. eparch, 462; his lead seals, 83, 98

kourator of Cyprus, in charge of crown estates, 107-8, 480, 486, 501; 'son of the foreigner', 500

Kourion, V-cent. recovery from severe earthquake damage, 254, 361f., 365; public buildings, water supply, 362; low-value coins found in the water supply channels, 156; inscription erected by Eustolios, 217, 361; episcopal basilica with *opus sectile* floor in high-status parts, mosaic work elsewhere, 263; historical value of coins from archaeological excavations, 38, 155-7; coin hoard from 613, 191f.; the city perhaps escaped destruction by fire in 649/653, 398; archaeological evidence from after the Arab raids, 295f.; large quantities of glass found at site of episcopal basilica, in contexts of the late VII cent., 251; excavation of a hanging lamp, 249; clay lamps of the standard Arab type, 242; coin losses continue into the early VIII cent., 292; Kourion in the VIII cent., 455-7; abandonment because of damage to the water supply? 292. The *harbour basilica*, cult of St Hermogenes, 250. Michael is bishop of K. in *c.*1050, 336. Bibliography of archaeological excavations, 361 n.73

kouropalates, 505

Koutsobendes, monastery, southern church has floor in metropolitan style, 265; Holy Trinity, date of construction, 543

Kriniotissa monastery, 518, 519f.; Kyrris dates its construction to 649-653; its possessions listed in a volume of homilies, 334

Ktima, (upper Paphos), 45, 459, 493; and see Shyrvallos

Kuzbandu, monastery of St John, 488, 543

Kykko, monastery, its foundation-myth; icon of Mother of God painted by St Luke; endowed by doux Georgios with three villages, and with St George, Pentagia as a *metochion*, 322f.

Kyrenia, shortage of archaeological evidence; castle dates partly from the VII cent.?, 265; coin hoards from 643/4, 196; from 668, 200f., VII-cent. gold treasure of 1883, 53; numismatic evidence for its strategic importance in early IX

cent., 44, 437, 470-1. The *castle*, 470; Ayios Georghios tou Kastrou, columns probably re-used, 268, floor re-laid in XII cent.?, 265. In mid-IX cent., St Constantine the Jew passes through, 319; bishop of, visits a nearby cave containing relics of saints and censes them during the panegyris, 319; seat of archon in IX-X cc.?, 516; Kyrenia captured in *c.*1094 by John Doukas, 522

Kyrris, C., on the dating of government by archons, 78; on building activity in 649-53, 412; on Armenian identity, 590

Kythrea, Constantia's aqueduct began there, 387; rescript, 219f.; bishop of attends VII Ecumenical Council in 787, 444f.; sacked by Arabs, 885 x 912, 440f.; Phileri cave nearby, 517 and n.47; XI-cent. coin, 206

L

Lachandrako, VIII-cent. governor of Thracesian theme, threatens monks and nuns with banishment to Cyprus, 443

lādhan (resin), 507

Lagoudera, monastery, 321, 326

Lakerbaphos, Sergios, ek prosopou of the Cypriots, captured by Arab raiders in 773, 435

Lambousa (Byz. Lapithos) destroyed by fire in 649 or 653, 396; Lambousa treasures, 52-9, 341; Lambousa hoard of 1906, in Cyprus Museum in 1960, now mislaid, 56, 198f. See also Lapithos

lamprotatos = illustris, highest grade of nobility, 59, 220; Leontios, at Lapithos, 461

lamps, clay, as evidence of occupation of sites; from Tamasos, 348 n.35

lamps, hanging, 249

Lapithos, seat of civil government of Cyprus after 649?, 225, 468-70; perennial springs nearby, 62; excavation in 1913, refortified by eparch Leontios, city wall rebuilt with reduced circuit, 225; lead seals of Bishop Ioannes, 83; of Petros illoustrios, 81; of a deacon, 125; localized monetary activity in VIII/IX cent.?, 44; *Acheiropoietos* church, 52. See also Lambousa

Larnaca, coin hoard from 641-2, 194; from 666, 200; finds of dirhams 203; church with an original floor of the late XI cent., 265; coin hoard of Isaac Comnenus, 209; lead seals, 532

latya (upland forest), 61

Lazania, coin hoard from 1143, 207

Lazarus, St., relics transferred to Constantinople, 492, 494

lead isotope analysis, might identify the copper used for coins minted in Cyprus, 163

lead seals, 69-139; implications for the extent of literacy in Cyprus, 329f.; kissing the imperial lead seal upon receipt, 316; a major archive acquired by Petrakides was probably abandoned 690/1 (dated by lead seals of Archbishop Epiphanius II), 73; other archives, from Campanopetra, 73f. Imperial lead seals are rare in Cyprus. One of Tiberius II, 88, 375; others of Heraclius, 88. 'Eagle' obverse design is from second half of VII cent., 85, 95, 98; lead seals of churches (anonymous), 83; Islamic lead seals found in Paphos and in the

hinterland of Limassol, 426. The changing hierarchy of government reflects changes in society, 426, 447

Ledra (Roman Nicosia), 513; represented by Bishop Triphyllios at Council of Serdica, 343/4, 354

Leo III, Byzantine emperor, 717-40, inaugurates First Iconoclasm in 726, made general in 730, 441

Leo IV, Byzantine emperor, 775-80, zeal for iconoclasm abates, 441

Leo V, Byzantine emperor, re-imposes iconoclasm, 814, 442; copper coins found in (northern?) Cyprus, 437 n.24, 471

Leo VI, Byzantine emperor, 886-912, imposes taxes assessed on each village collectively, 360; coins of, 477, 478; none reported from Larnaca, 183

Leo, judge of Cyprus, 136

Leo Nikerites, doux, 334

Leo Philes, sebastos, lead seal, 113, 531

Leo Pleures, doux, lead seal, 111

Leo Symbatikes, archon of Cyprus, in *c.*911, 104, 105, 440

Leonorisso, IX-cent. coin, 205

Leontichus Illyricus, proconsul in mid-III cent., 225

Leontios, eparch, repairs walls of Lapithos, 224f., 461; lead seal, 83

Leontios, bishop of Neapolis, 341-3, ix-; survival of his sermons, 22; justifies holy images, 316; his account of a military threat to Constantia in *c.*617, 384; speaks of village people coming into cities for church services, 258, 345; anti-Semitism, 305

sermon by L. mentioning images of saints is adduced in 787, 331; quotes Dionysios of Sinope, 330

Leontius, Byzantine emperor, 695-698, coins found at Constantia imply continued contact with Constantinople, 154

lethe, a prison in Persia, where Cypriots were held, 384

Leukosia, see Nicosia

libraries, 22; at the Enkleistra, 329

Lietbert, St., bishop of Cambrai, 110

Limassol: bishop was a signatory at Chalcedon in 451, 288; the Molos coin hoard from 641-2, 193f.; it is improbable that coins with the mint-signature NEA were struck there, 164; specimens in the Athienou hoard, 195. Rhapsomates flees towards L., hoping to take ship to Syria, 523, 544; described by Edrisi in mid-XII cent., 528; Venetian interests there, 545. See also Loukas Chrysoberges

lime-kilns at Constantia, of uncertain date, 421-2.

Limnatis, 478

linen, 553; for ships' sails, 48

literacy, declines after mid-VII cent., 216; among monks, 330; Olympitis Michael was not an apt pupil, 330 n.6

liturgical requirements influence ground-plan of basilicas, 253; processional baptistery at Ay. Philon, 275

logothete of the Dromos, Leo, from 762 or later, 102

Lophou, 478

Loukas Chrysoberges, ecumenical patriarch, 1157-70, adjudicates claim of bishop of Limassol, 113

Luke, Sir H., 115

Lykastos, consul and droungarios, 97

Lythrankomi, see Kanakaria

M

Machairas, monastery, 325; owns orchard near Nicosia, 512

maestri, who decorated mss., or churches, might be peripatetic, 315, 333

magic, allegedly practised in VII cent., 305

magistros: different kinds of magistroi, 87, 324.

Nicephorus Ischyrios, endows Asinou monastery, 227-8, 323; Nikephoros Melissenos, 505f.

Maghreb, trading contacts with, in *c.*800, 32

Malik b. Anas, Muslim jurist, on the Cypriots' pact with the Caliphate, 410

mandelion (Holy Handkerchief), 327

Mandres, coin hoard from, 193, 632

Mango, C., on Hellenism, 20

Manuel I, Byzantine emperor, 1139-1180, financial; subventions for Cyprus, 46; his *coup* against the Venetians in 1171, 529

Manuel Voutoumites, 581; (?) in the time of Alexius I, cured by the ascetic Esaias, later falls ill, 327; subdues Rhapsomates, 523; and foundation of Kykko, 524

Manuel Hagiostephanites, copyist, 335

map of Cyprus in XI cent., 507-11

marble columns, re-use as tombstones, 225; revetments, carved (champlevé) and filled in with coloured waxes, 313

Mardaites, pro-Byzantine forces in Lebanon, were to be withdrawn by treaty of 688, 297, 416, 583

Maroni, early church complex, 262; coin hoard from 643/4, 194f.

Maronites, 305; emigrate to Cyprus in 2nd quarter of X cent., 488; continued acceptance of monotheletism, 394; settled in the region of Kormakitis in X cent., 433; M. villages, 486-9, 538

Martin, pope, kidnapped by Constans II, 391

mastic, produced in Cyprus, 553

Masts, naval battle of the, see Phoenix

Ma'sudi, Arab chronicler, 440f.

Maurice, Byzantine emperor, 582-601, birth of his son Theodosius, porphyrogenitus, 54; his first and second consulships, 55, 57; monetary circulation increases at Constantia during his reign, 150, but not at Kourion, 157; his coins of the Antioch mint, 375

Mazotos, coin hoard from 575-6, 191

Melissenos, see Nikephoros

melkite (Chalcedonian) patriarchs imposed by Justinian, 392

Mersinero, 471

meteorite, weighing 15 tons, used in trilithon at site of tomb of Umm Haram, 408 n.88

Michael I, Byzantine emperor, 811-13, monks and laity flee to Cyprus for safety from the Civil War in Palestine and Syria, 438, 482

Michael II, Byzantine emperor, 820-9, iconoclast, 442

Michael, archon of Cyprus, 440

Michael, katepano of Cyprus, 137

Michael Branas, doux in mid-XII cent., 532, 550

Michael the Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, 1126-99, his historical writings, 407-8

Michael, bishop of Kourion, a ms copied for him in 1051, 336

migration to higher levels, 474-8

milestones, Roman, 349

miliaresion (silver coin), 146, clipped, 183

military saints in iconography, 107

minting of imperial Byzantine coins in Cyprus, 143f., 152

Mitsero, in SCSP survey area, q.v. 240

monasteries, 306f., 517-20; two founded by St John the Almsgiver in Amathus; total of 85 known to have been founded before 1191, but only ten or 12 recorded from before 1000, 258; founded by upper-class donors in XI cent. and later, 321; stauropegic, 325

monastery buildings, at Kalavasos-*Sirmata*, 388

money-changers, 147 n.10, 294

monks, their political attitudes not necessarily typical of the Cypriot laity, 48;

monophysite heresy, 391-5

monophysites, from Persian Empire re-settled in Cyprus by Maurice, 305, 374

monothelete compromise, devised by Heraclius, briefly endorsed by synod in 633 or 634, promulgated in 638 by *Ekthesis*, discussion forbidden by *Type* of Constans II in 648, 391f. Continued acceptance by Maronites, 394

Morphou, church of Ay. Georghios tou Oriatou, 518; Maronite community? 488; coin hoard from 1175, 209

mosaics, floor, depicting birds, fishes, beasts, etc., at Ayios Georghios, 313

mosaics, mural, made with tesserae of glass and other materials, widespread evidence from ruined basilicas, 314; in Gabala, Syria, in *c.*785, 445

mosques, built in VII-cent. Cyprus, 411; allegedly in IX-cent. Nicosia, 512

Mother of God, cult of, 303, and see Kanakaria

moufflon, in frescoes at Asinou, 322 n.82

Moutoullas, clipped dirham found, 202

Mu'awiya, Muslim governor of Syria from 639/640, Caliph 661-680, invades Cyprus in 649, 380, 395-418, 579; besieges Aradus, 116-18

Muqaddasi (Shams al-Din), Arab geographer, 485

Muslims, visited Christian churches to pray, 482

mustard, 344

myrrh 507

N

Narses, bishop (?of Kition), 122f.

naval campaign of 911, 105, 106

naval power, fluctuating balance of, 380, 583

NEA, mint-mark of temporary mint, 164

Nea Ioustinianoupolis, 450-5, 575; the

date of return, 454 n.73; use of church buildings resumed after return, 256; impact of transfer on patterns of lead sealing in Cyprus, 76, 99; single finds of dateable coins in relation to, 154, 176f.; little or no evidence of the transfer in unrecovered coin hoards, 176f.

Nea Paphos, see Paphos

Neilos, monk and later abbot (from 1171/2) of Machairas, 325

Neophytos, St. founds the Enkleistra, 1159-60, 325f., 534-5, 549; his library, 329

Neophytos, ascetic from Judaean desert, founds Machairas monastery, 325

Nestorianism, rejected in 431, condemned in 482, 393

Nicephorus I, Byzantine emperor, 802-11, initiatives in Cyprus, 38; breaks pledges to Harun al-Rashid, which provokes attack on Cyprus, 436; his copper coins found in northern coastlands of Cyprus, 436f., hoard of gold coins, 436, 471

Nicephorus II, Byzantine emperor, 963-9, reconquest of Cyprus in 965, 183, 499; tax legislation, 360; coin find, 478

Nicephorus the Black, patriarch of Antioch, his lead seal, 112

Nicephorus, see also Nikephoros

Nicetas, nephew of Heraclius, 375f.

Nicetas Chalkoutzes, 499

Nicetas, protonotarios and droungarios, in 966 x 971, 518

Nicholas Mouzalon, archbishop, c.1107-10, 112, 539-44; becomes ecumenical patriarch, 539

Nicholas Mysticus, ecumenical patriarch and regent, writes to the caliph in 913-14, 41f., 433, 440, 449f., 483

Nicholas of the Promontory, St., monastery, foundation allegedly by St Helena, 389

Nicosia, becomes the seat of government in 965?, 470f. Ninth-c. coin, 205. Development in X cent., 511-16; monetary economy boosted in 1043, 44, 515. The *Bedestan*, site of early basilica, 255, 513-14; marble columns re-used from earlier building, 260, 268. excavation of early glazed wares from XI cent., 245f. and 533; and of coins, 184; XII-cent. coin hoard, 208, 209f. *Castle*, Templars take refuge there in 1192, 538. *Santa Sophia*, 513-14. *Hill of Ay. Georghios*, 514, 516. *Trypiotes* quarter, 514.

Nikephoros Ischyrios, magistros, founds Asinou monastery, 227-8, 323

Nikephoros Mellisenos, judge of Cyprus in XI cent., 111, 505

northern coastlands, 573, 580

notitia (legal decisions), 356

Notitia episcopatuum, ix-1

nummi (tiny copper coins), 148; Vandalic and Ostrogothic issues found in Cyprus, 155

O

oikodespotai, local government by, 468

olive oil, exported to Alexandria, 230

olive-presses, dating and regional distribution of, 476

Olympios, (?) son of Valerius,

refurbished the baths at Constantia, 347

Olympos, see Stavrovouni

Omodhos, coin hoard from 634, 193; Islamic coin found there, 203, 481

opus sectile floors, their value as dating evidence, and the problem of re-used *crustae*, 256f., 262-5; varying styles, austere at St. Epiphanius, more exuberant at Ay. Georghios, 262; dated to early V cent by ceramic evidence, on acropolis at Amathus, 291; became fashionable in mid-VI cent., 363f.; chronological sequence at Chrysopolitissa, 262f.; magnificent quality at Campanopetra, 264; technique continued to be practised after 653, 264f.; at Bedestan, Nicosia, 513; dateable at Episkopi, 264, 457; at a church S. of Syngrasis, 262

orchards, 325, 512, 555

Ourania, 472

Oxeites, see John O.

oxen, team used for ploughing, in VIII-cent. Constantia, 444

P

pagan temples, closed in 391, 304; replaced by Christian churches: at Amathus (Aphrodite), at Ayia Mone (Hera), and at Stavrovouni (Olympos), 304

paganism, 304

painters: Theodoros Apseudes, in 1183, 325f. and n.107

palatine administrative officials in Cyprus, 79, 105f.

palatinus, official possibly involved with mines, in VI cent., 139, 348

Palestine, source of LRA 5/6 amphoras, 231; fell to the Arabs, in 637, 394f.

Panayia Ematousa, trends in the statistics of sherds, 231-2, 236, 338

paneyireis, 67-8; assume greater prominence after urban decline; at Tremythus in December 655, 330; at Kyrenia in mid-IX cent., bishop visits and censes relics in near-by cave, 319

Pano Kyrenia, see under K.

Paphos, Nea or Kato, St Jerome, in *c.*390, confirms that it was ruined by earthquake in *c.*370, 281; evidence of destruction by fire in mid-VII cent., 237, 283-4. *House of Theseus*, 458, crucial dating evidence from VI-VII cent., 373; coin finds summarized, 212f.; coin hoard, *t.p.q.* 616-17, with recent coins of Isaurian Seleucia, 192; coin hoards from 643/4, 195f., 196, and from 651/2, 199; evidence that Paphos fell to the first Arab invasion of 649, 284-5; *Chrysopolitissa*, rebuilt as a 5-aisled basilica in VI cent., 281, *opus sectile* floors renewed or replaced, 262; *Limeniotissa* church destroyed by fire in 649 or 653, 265, and *opus sectile* floors plundered, 264; *Saranda Kolones*, coin hoard with *t.p.q.* 643/4, 284; later ceramics, 243. Lead seal of Bishop Paulos, 83, 125. *Forum*, hoard and stray losses of coins from the 650s and 660s, widely scattered, 157f, 199, 283, 287; hanging lamps, thought to be later than mid-VII cent., 250. Alexandrian coins excavated there suggest trading contacts, 157; Islamic coins, as evidence of an Arab garrison?, 158. Paphos in VIII cent., 457-60; large harbour

in X cent., in Book of Curiosities, 508, 510. Signs of recovery from the 1040s, 44, 207. XII-cent. bazaars, 63; XII-cent. ceramics, 246; harbour in use until earthquake of 1226, 283

Paphos, Pano or upper, see Ktima

Paraskoudinos, strategos, 108

Parekklisha, source of sand fit for glass-making, 248

pastry-chefs, 343

Paul the Deacon, VIII-cent. Italian historian, 375, mentions invasion of Cyprus in 647-8, 406

Paulos, bishop of Paphos (VII cent.), 83, 125

Pefkou, royal garden, 552 n.90

Pelendri, church inscription, 227-8

Pentadaktylos range, 65, 430, 580

Pentarchy, Cyprus excluded from, 308, 351

Persian attack on Constantia in *c.*617, postulated, 193, similarly at Ay. Philon, 273; the sources misunderstood, 383-5; attack on Cyprus in the 620s?, 278f.

Persian Wars, 36; impact on Cyprus, 379; Lambousa treasure post-dates the wars, 53

Petros, illoustrios in ?Lapithos, 81, 83

Peutinger Tabula, 350 n.41

Peyia, prosperity from visit of the annual grain fleet from Egypt, 230; basilica with columns of Proconnesian marble, 260;

Phangoumeis, distinguished natives of Cyprus (in exile?), 454 and n.73, 460 n.52

Phileri, cave used as monastic cell, 243, 517 and n.47

Philentolos, entrepreneur, d. in first half of VII cent., 19, 48, 51, 389, 568

Philokales, see Eumathios

Philoxenos, archbishop of Cyprus in *c.*533, a former monophysite, 393; enlarges the building complex of the pilgrimage church of St Barnabas and erects an inscription, 215, 310; none of his lead seals is known, 80

Phocaean Red Slip ware, imports into Paphos district dwindle after *c.*550, 237

Phocas, Byzantine emperor, 601-610, plans to repair and reinstate aqueduct from Kythrea (Kephalovryso), *damnatio memoriae* on Kythrea rescript, 219f. Rare gold coins possibly minted in Cyprus, 161f.

Phoenix, naval battle off Lycian coast, ('battle of the masts'), 414, 416f., 474

'Photian' design of lead seals, used by high officials, mainly churchmen, 104f., 588

Photius, patriarch, 105, 467

pigs, fattened for Christmas, 61

pilgrimage, already envisaged by church designs, 259; associated with healing, 302; the shrine to the invention of St Barnabas, 310; in IV cent. the mausoleum of St Herakleidios already a pilgrimage site, 310

Pisa, merchants, 530

Pitsillia, flourishes in X cent.?, 478

pithoi, 299; if cracked or broken might be repaired with lead clamps, 234 n.25

place-names: very few are of Arabic etymology, 479 n.157

plague, repeated visitations throughout the Mediterranean world, 373f.; effects in Cyprus unknown, 340, 373; in Syria in 684-5, 416; in 747, 448, 475; in *c.*1174, 551

Platani, Armenian village, 489

Ploutarchos, archbishop of Cyprus, *c.*590-*c.*625, built part of Constantia's aqueduct, 221, 385-6; his lead seals, 80, 138

poimenarches of the Cypriots (title of archbishops), 112

Polis, basilica with Proconnesian columns, 260; bishop of, 113; city wall rebuilt after 649 with reduced circuit?, administrative role in VIII cent., 102, 432, 471; Princeton University excavations, 206, 471. Lead seal of bishop of Arsinoe, XII c., 528

Politiko, in SCSP survey area, q.v., 240

polykandela, 249

poor-house of St Konon, perhaps not in Cyprus, 340

population of Cyprus before 649, evidence of the Soloi inscription, 400

population movements, from countryside to cities, 349

potentiores, or dynatoi, the upper class, 360

pottery, studies, 24, and see ceramics

praetorian prefect of the East, 357

primicerius, a lead seal of Heraclian date, 87; post 965, 105f.

private devotions of the upper class, luxurious codices of small size, 336

private person seal numerous documents until *c.*725, 39

proasteria, of Kriniotissa, 520

Proconnesus, source of marble columns and capitals in many of the basilicas of Byzantine Cyprus, 260

Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, says little about Cyprus, 217f., 340, 572

proedros, 111, 505

pronoia, by which the beneficiary enjoys the tax yield of an estate, in return for obligations, 360

protonobelissimos, Eumathios Philokales, 227

protospatharios, dignity eventually held by archons of Cyprus, 466

psalms, in popular devotion, 311, 313

Psellos, writes to congratulate a kourator of Cyprus, 500

public baths, at Constantia, refurbished in VI cent., 218-19

Pyrgos (Tillyria), watch-tower, 538

Q

quaestor exercitus, magistracy created in 536, 357f., 577

Querini-Stampalia codex, 546

Quinisext Council, 692, 309, 429, 452f.

R

rainfall, influences settlement patterns, 63-5, 475

Ratzis, Persian general killed by Heraclius in single combat, 627, 53

Raymond of Saint-Gilles, assissted by Eumathios Philokales in 1102, 577

reconquest of 965, did not result in any early upturn in sealing or prosperity, 44

Red Slip LRD table ware, Cypriot, classification into varieties F1, F2, F9, 236, 238; two centres of manufacture?, 239

refugees, arrived in Cyprus in 610, 375

relics of the saints kept in village churches: Machairas gives a list, 322f.; at Kophinou, the relics 'work endless miracles', 320; fragments of the Cross, ?at Campanopetra, 368, and Stavrovouni, 371

Renaud of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, 1153-60, raids Cyprus in 1155/6, 531, 549f.

Rhapsomates, *coup* of *c.*1091-1094, 521-6

Richard I, king of England, conquers Cyprus in 1191, 20, 534; strips wealth from the well-to-do, 33 and n.5

Rizokarpaso, 274, 473

roads, Roman, 349f., 350 n.41; 'public road' in XI cent., 520

Romanitas, 581

roofs: wooden roof structures of early basilicas, 257

rugs and carpets: imitated by opus sectile floors?, 263

S

St Catharine's, Mt. Sinai, 549

St Hilarion castle, Kyrris dates its construction to 649-653, but archaeological evidence suggests walls date from time of Alexius I, 535-7; church, 536

St Sabas, laura, 108

St Theodosios the Cenobiarch, laura, 108, 126

Saladin, 560, 581

salt, 493

Saranda Kolones, see under Paphos

Sardis, archaeological evidence compared, 85

scholasticus, lawyers, of lower social status than illoustrioi, 82

scriniarius scrinii, head of the governor's writing office, known from lead seal, 88, 356, 359

Seleucia, 100, 139

Seljuk threat to Cyprus, 46, 501, 504

Sergios, eparch, and (later?) consul, 461

Sergios, archbishop, 641/2-655, 383, rejected monotheletism, 394; none of his lead seals have been recognized, 79f.

Severus, patriarch of Antioch, and the invention of St Barnabas, 309

Sergios Lakerbaphos, ek prosopou, 435

ship-building, 47, 64, 345, 579; on north coast of Cyprus after 649, 48, 118, 485; in Karpas peninsula, 474

shipping, 337; warships, 380

shipwreck of trading vessel in late X cent., 226. See also Yassi Ada

Shyrvallos, Ktima, basilica with baptistery, 459

Sicily, coin of Constantine IV from, 278 n.32; Isaac Comnenus in alliance with, 560; lead seals from, 100, 139

siege engines, used by Mu'awiya in Cyprus?, 399

silentiarius, a dignity held by kommerkiarioi in IX cent., 447 n.54

silk, 552 n.90, 553 and n.96; found in X-cent. Cyprus, 484; in Solea and Marathasa regions, 61

Skouriotissa, copper-mining site: field survey, 66-7; Red Slip ware in slag-heaps, 237f., 345; imperial property, 348

slavery, 374; mentioned in exempla by Leontios of Neapolis, 341f.; pregnancy of female slave, 343f.

slaves captured in 649 and 653 taken to work in region near Dead Sea, 398

Solea, bishop of, attends VII Ecumenical Council in 787, 446

Soloi, wealth derived from export of vitriol?, 238; basilica with columns composed of stone drums, 260; mosaic floors of IV/V cent. replaced by opus sectile in mid-VI, 262; basilica burnt in Arab raids, 265; city wall rebuilt after 653 with reduced circuit, inscription erected in 654/5 by bishop of S., 221-4, 256; coin hoard from 659-60, 200; lead seal of bishop of, 83; glass manufactured in VII-IX cent., 250; localized monetary activity?, 44; destruction of basilica in VIII or IX cent., 448 n.55, 490; pottery from destruction phase, 243, 491; imported plates of the same date, 244; home port of 'the merchants of Cyprus' in XI cent., 508

Solomon, patriarch of Jerusalem, 225, 430

Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem, summons synod in 633/4, 394

Sophronios, archbishop until 1191, lead seal, 112

sorcerers, anecdotes in Anastasius the Sinaite, q.v.

Sozopolis in Pisidia, Mother of God of, miraculous image, 97, 443 n.42

Spathariko, Armenian village, 487

spatharioi, active in Cyprus in early VIII cent., lead seals of, 96f., 102; tou Chrysotriklinou, 96

spectabilis, lower rank of nobility, 81, 357

spolia, use of in buildings, a sign of austerity, 281

Spyridon, St. (d. *c.*348), remembered as a sheep farmer, 354; Life written by Bishop Theodoros of Paphos, 68, 307-8, 330

squatterization, in late VII and VIII cent., on sites of ruined churches, evidence of amphoras and cooking-pots, 256; contradicted by manufacture and availability of glass, 252; in the East Stoa at Constantia, 276; in the open court of the Public Baths, Constantia, 277; in western atrium of Campanopetra, 421; in former governor's palace in Paphos, 282; on north side of Limeniotissa, Paphos, 285; on acropolis at Amathus, 291; at Ayios Philon, in the baptistery area, 274

Statos, IX-c. coin found, 478

statues of pagan gods and heroes, stood in Constantia, 347

Staurakios, 'eparch of Cyprus' in *c.*878, 440, 467

stauropegic monasteries, 325

Stavrovouni, monastery, foundation-myth, 389, 519; lead seals reading Olympou possibly from there, 390

strategos of Cyprus, from 965 onwards, 106, 502, 516; a lead seal from *c.*1020-1040, reading doubtful, 134f.

stratelatai, military officials active in Cyprus during the later VII cent., 418; numerous lead seals of, 77, 81, 83-5, 102; these seals unlikely to be earlier than 642, 84

Stratonikos, bishop of Soloi, fl. 680/1, 331

stratopedarch, 540 n.44, 541

Stroumbi, coin hoard from XII cent., 207f.

stylites, in VII-cent. Cyprus, 389

subsidies, imperial, for prestigious building projects, 346, 572

sugar in Cyprus, 65, 553, 554; mentioned in mid-XII cent. by Idrisi, 484

surveys, CPSP (SW Cyprus), types of amphoras recorded, 235; use of fine wares peaks in the early VI cent., 235; Cypriot Red Slip ware in SCSP survey disappears after 600, 240, 477

Symbatikes, see Leo S.

Symboulos, monastery, 390, 519

Symeon the Holy Fool, St., 247

Syngrasis, church of Ayios Prokopios at, early church with later *opus sectile* floor, 262; dated inscription from 977 x 979, 226, 507

Syria, fell to the Arabs in 638, 394

T

Tabariyya (Tiberias), Islamic coins from, 459

Tamasos, town of modest size in Byzantine times?, 259, 265; prestige from tomb of St. Herakleidios, 348; mines were imperial property? 348; mining district surveyed, 66; church has a late *opus sectile* floor, 265

tavernas, in VII cent., 344

taxation, 19, 359-61, 449 n.63; assessments revised each indiction, 503; paid to both Empire and Caliphate, 41; payment in kind, 41 n.18; gold tremisses in connection with tax, 147; countermarked coins of Constans II may be evidence of taxation after 653, 382. Total in late XII cent., 531. See also dioiketes

Tell Hamdun (Toprakkele), Armenian citizens resettled in Cyprus, 1136/7, 489 and n.187, 530

Templars, 558

tesserae, 250, found on citadel at Amathus, 292; manufactured at Ayios Philon?, 250

textual criticism, 19f.

thalassaemia, 549 n.80

thaumaturges: St Epiphanius, St Tychon, 302, 317

theme: was Cyprus governed as a theme in the IX cent.?, 432f.

Theodora, VI-cent. empress, not from Cyprus, 219 n.15

Theodoros, brother of emperor Heraclius, 87

Theodoros, judge of Cyprus, 136

Theodoros, archbishop of Constantia, early VIII cent., lead seal found in lower town, Amathus, 289f.

Theodoros, archbishop of Cyprus, mid-IX cent., 104, 225

Theodoros, bishop of Amathus, involved in reconstruction after 653?, 289f.

Theodoros, bishop of Kition (floruit 655), 307

Theodoros, bishop of Paphos (floruit 655), 307

Theodoros, bishop of Tremithus (floruit 655), 307

Theodoros Tourokles, illoustrios, at Paphos, 82

Theodoros Apseudes, painter, decorates the Enkleistra, 325f. and n.107

Theodosia(na), a bishopric, ? = Neapolis, 352f.

Theodosios, archon of Cyprus and spatharokandidatos, in X cent., 440

Theodosios of Judaea, St., laura with estates in Cyprus, 480, 546-9, 586

Theodosius II, emperor, 402-50, 57

Theodotos, ecumenical patriarch, 815-21, his lead seal found in Cyprus, 104, 439

Theophanes, IX-cent. historian, his *Chronographia*, written *c.*810-14, on the Arab invasion of Cyprus, 406, 450 and n.66; on Nea Ioustinianoupolis, 450

Theophilos Erotikos, katepano of Cyprus in 1043, 108, 502, 525

Theophilus, Byzantine emperor, 829-42, iconoclast, 442; gold coins found in Karpas peninsula, 204

Theophilus, writes letter addressed to bishops of Cyprus in early V cent., 352

Theophylaktos, protospatharios, judge, and dioiketes of Cyprus, 108, 502

Thermia, see Kermia

Thomanchos, bishop, at Aradus in 649, 396f.

Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem, 807-21, 438

Thracesian theme (western Asia Minor), Cypriots settled in, 402, 454

Tiberius II, Byzantine emperor, 578-82, 572; his lead seal, 88

Tiberius III, Byzantine emperor, 698-705, his administrative reforms affect Cyprus?, 78; scarcity of his coins generally in Cyprus, 36, 37 n.9; coins found at Constantia imply continued contact with Constantinople, 38, 154; 158; coins found at Kourion, and at Paphos, 158

Tillyria, 64

timber, strategic importance for ship-building; in Troodos, 64; in Pentadaktylos, 101, in Karpas, 472

tombstone, Islamic, dated AD 780, at Kato Paphos, 225, 295

Trachoni, X-cent. coin, 206

trade, overseas, continues at Paphos, Amathus, and Kourion after the Arab invasions, 240-2

transport amphoras, see amphoras

treaty of 688, 32, 297, and see Matik b. Anas, 410

Tremithus (Tremetousia), probably a pilgrimage site in late IV/early V cent., 390; coin hoard from 648/9, 197; meeting of several bishops at the paneyiris in 656, 307f., 330; bishop of, attends VII Ecumenical Council in 787, 446.

tribune, early lead seal of from Kalavasos, 88

Trikomo, archaeological finds at, 220

Trimithi, IX-cent. coin, 204, 471

Triphyllios, St., bishop of Ledra in IV cent., 321, 513

Tripoli, port of embarcation in 654/5

for Muslim fleet destroyed at battle of Phoenix, 414

triremes of Cyprus, in XI cent., 540

Troad, original source of re-used Roman granite columns, 261

Troodos, forests, 64; source of cedar wood in IX cent., 438

Trullo, Council in, see Quinisext Council

Tychon, St., d.402 x 408, extra-mural church and tomb-shrine at Amathus, 317; overturns the idols and chases out the priestess of Aphrodite, at Amathus, 304; depicted in early wall-painting at Asinou and at Lagoudera, 321

Type, imperial edict of 648, 391

Tyre, metropolitan of, refugee settled in Cyprus, 451; his lead seals found in Cyprus, from 650, 91, 118; bishop of Aradus his suffragan? 116-18

Tzachas, Turkish emir in Smyrna, 524, 525

U

'Ubadah, military commander under Mu'awiya in 649, husband of Umm Haram, 407

'Umar I, caliph, 634-44, refuses permission to Mu'awiya to invade Cyprus, 407

Umayyad dynasty extinguished in 750, 435

Umm Haram, tomb of, near the Salt Lake, 407

unguentaria, 249

'Urwa b.Tabit, died May 650, funerary inscription, 283f.

'Uthman, caliph, 644-56, grants permission to Mu'awiya to invade Cyprus, 407

V

Vahran, Armenian archon of Cyprus in late X cent., 512f.

Valerius 'of the clean hands' (Fl. Antiochus Ammianus), benefaction in ?431 commemorated at Constantia by a plaque which was repositioned in the 540s, 217, 264, 347, 365

Vandalic coinage in Cyprus, 155

Varangians in Cyprus, guard the naval base at Paphos, 540, 555

Vasilia, IX-cent. coin, 204f.

Vasilikos valley, field survey, 66-7

Venetians, settled in Cyprus, 529f., 544-6. 578, in Paphos, 546

Venice, destroys Egyptian fleet in 1123, 529; trading privileges in Cyprus, 529

verse composition, in iambic metre, 308

vestarches, vestes, 505, 506

vestiarios, dignity held by an honorary eparch, 461; post-965, 557

vestitor, dignity held by Ioannes, consularis of Cyprus, 359

vexillum, 534

villagers come into the city for the eucharist, 258; Kalavasos had two basilicas, 261f.

village fairs, see paneyireis

village priests, 336

Vinsauf, 557

vitriol, see copper

Vouno, Maronite village, 487

Open University of Cyprus
010471

Voutoumites, see Manuel V.

Vrakamios, see Elpidios V.

W

Walid II, caliph, 743-9, deports Cypriots to Syria in 743, 435

wall-painting, of St Peter, in Kition, VIII cent., 444f.

walls, city, rebuilt at Paphos: Megaw's suggestion of the 640s now disputed, 284f.

warfare, use of missiles, 396

Warren hoard, see Larnaca hoard

watch-towers, at Gialousa and at Pyrgos, 535, 538

water rights, in Kriniotissa charter, 477

water supply, see aqueducts

water-wheels, 554

wheeled traffic, absence of, 350

Wilbrand of Oldenburg, visits Cyprus in 1212, 155, 557

William II, king of Sicily, 560

Willibald, St., visits Cyprus in 723, 21, 404, 418, 428, 442, 477, 588; on Christian-Arab relations, 285, 404

window glass, 249f.; method of manufacture, 251; large quantities found at Kourion episcopal basilica site, 251; at Ayios Konon, 249f.

wine, traded between different regions of Cyprus, possibly in re-used amphoras, 230

workshop X and workshop ZA, sources of amphoras, probably Cypriot, 233

XYZ

Xiliatos-Mavrovouni, copper-mining site, compared with Skouriotissa, 238

Yassi Ada, shipwreck with ceramics dated by coins, 237

Yazid I, caliph, 680-3, agrees to withdraw Arab garrison from Cyprus, 415

Yazid II, caliph, enforces iconoclasm in the caliphate in 723, 442

Yazid III, caliph, 749-50, 435

Zeno, emperor, 474-91, and the invention of St Barnabas, 308

Zenobios, bishop, lead seals of, 99 n.101, 102

Zenon, bishop of Kourion, depicted in early wall-painting at Lagoudera, 322

Zoe, Byzantine empress, from 1042, coins found in Constantia and Paphos, 184; dating of coins confirmed by Constantine Chage's mission?, marriage with Constantine Monomachos, 503

Zygi, kiln-site for amphoras, 233