

IDENTITY/IDENTITIES IN LATE MEDIEVAL CYPRUS

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Edited by
Tassos Papacostas and
Guillaume Saint-Guillain



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LORENZO CALVELLI
University of Venice – Ca' Foscari

CYPRIOT ORIGINS, CONSTANTINIAN BLOOD: THE LEGEND OF THE YOUNG SAINT CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA*

Visiting the island of Cyprus on his way back from the Holy Land in late 1394, the southern Italian notary Nicola de Martoni decided to spend more than a month in the town of Famagusta, then under Genoese rule.¹ Among the reasons for such an extended stay was Martoni's personal devotion to St Catherine of Alexandria, which had prompted him to see *omnia facta beate Catherine et gesta per eam*.² In fact, before coming to Cyprus, Martoni had first visited Alexandria, where he saw the sites of Catherine's prison and martyrdom. He then proceeded to her celebrated monastery on Mt Sinai. Despite his leg pain, he climbed all the way to the top of the mountain, where the angels had first carried Catherine's body before it was translated to a more convenient location near the main altar of the monastery's church.³

Once on Cyprus, Martoni clearly felt the need to complete his devotional tour of St Catherine sites by visiting the monuments related to her youth. This wish was informed by the belief that, although martyred in Alexandria, Catherine had been born in the Famagusta area, since her father was the king of Cyprus:

* Although I have investigated the links between St Catherine and Cyprus over the past ten years, this is still a work in progress. The results of my research are dedicated to the memory of my dear grandmother Caterina Nelli and of our first unforgettable visit to Salamis. I am grateful to Donal Cooper, Gilles Grivaud, Jesse Howell, Michalis Olympios, Catherine Otten-Froux, Tassos Papacostas and Marc Schachter for helping me with this article.

1. On Martoni's visit to Cyprus, see C. Enlart, 'Notes sur le voyage de Nicolas de Martoni en Chypre', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 4 (1896), 625-631; L. Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. La percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* [Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 133], Venice, 2009, pp. 25-27. Martoni's handwritten travel diary is kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 6521, ff. 67r-103r. For a complete edition, see L. Le Grand, 'Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), 566-669, particularly pp. 627-638 for Martoni's description of Cyprus. On Martoni see also: M. Piccirillo, 'Martoni, Nicola de', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LXXI, Rome, 2008, 352-354. *Vers Jérusalem: itinéraires croisés au XIV^e siècle. Nicolas de Martoni et Ogier d'Anghure*, Paris, 2008, pp. 19-51.

2. Le Grand, 'Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem', p. 632.

3. On pilgrimage to Mt Sinai in the Middle Ages, see A. Drandakis, 'Through Pilgrims' Eyes. Mt Sinai in Pilgrim Narratives of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Δελτίον χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής εταιρίας*, 4th series, 27 (2006), 491-504; D. Jacoby, 'Christian Pilgrimage to Sinai until the Late Fifteenth Century', in *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground. Icons from Sinai*, Exhibition Catalogue (Los Angeles, 14 November 2006 - 4 March

And because, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ who permitted me to do so, I had seen all the story of the Blessed Catherine and all that she had done [...], I desired also to see the place of her nativity. Wherefore on the fifth day of December of the same third indiction, I went to that ancient town of Constantia, four miles distant from Famagusta, which was once a great town, built by emperor Constantius, father of the Blessed Catherine, but which is now utterly destroyed. And I went to the place where it seems that the castle of the city stood, which seems to have been of great size, and right there is that room, now destroyed, where the Blessed Catherine was born. Near it now stands a seemly chapel, to which the people of Famagusta go with great devoutness and frequency.⁴

Martoni's narrative is only one of many accounts that demonstrate the wide diffusion of St Catherine's legendary Cypriot origins across western Europe in the later Middle Ages. Throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and even sixteenth centuries, pilgrims from all over the Christian world who happened to stop at Famagusta invariably made a day-long excursion to the ruins of ancient Salamis (fig. 1), whose late antique name of Constantia was usually associated with that of Catherine's legendary father, variously called Costus or Costas or Constantius.⁵

In spite of this legend's wide circulation, when Martoni visited Famagusta in 1394 the link between St Catherine and Cyprus was still relatively new. As we shall see, western pilgrims only started to mention it explicitly in the first half of the fourteenth century. As for hagiographic texts, the first lives of St Catherine, written in Greek around the tenth century, do not speak of her possible Cypriot birth, nor do they mention the city of Salamis. They simply relate the story of a beautiful and learned girl named Aikaterina, daughter of a pagan king named Kostos, who lived in

2007), eds R. S. Nelson and K. M. Collins, Los Angeles, 2006, 79-93. On the relationship between Mt Sinai and Cyprus in the Middle Ages, see now: A. Weyl Carr, 'Sinai and Cyprus. Holy Mountain, Holy Isle', in *Approaching the Holy Mountain* [Cursor Mundi, 11], eds S. E. J. Gerstel and R. S. Nelson, Turnhout, 2010, 449-478.

4. Le Grand, 'Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem', p. 632: 'Et quia, gratia domini nostri Yhesu Christi qui michi concessit, vidi omnia facta beate Catherine et gesta per eam [...], cupiebam locum sue nativitatibus videre. Et propterea, die quinto mensis decembris eiusdem tertie indictionis, accessi ad dictam civitatem antiquam Constantiam, distantem a Famagosta miliaria quatuor, que civitas fuit magna, hedificata per imperatorem Costantium, patrem beate Catherine, nunc vero est funditus dirructa, et accessi ad locum ubi apparet fuisse castrum dicte civitatis, quod videtur fuisse satis magnum. Et ibi est recte illa camera, que nunc est dirructa, ubi nata fuit beata Catherina, prope quam nunc est quedam cappella satis devota, ad quam illi de Famagosta accedunt cum magna devotione sepe sepius.'

5. For a full reconstruction of the medieval and early modern knowledge of Salamis-Constantia as the homeland of St Catherine, see Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 157-245.

Alexandria and was persecuted on account of her Christian faith by a Roman emperor. When the life and passion of the saint were first introduced into western Europe in the early eleventh century, the new Latin versions of these texts also contained no reference to Salamis or Cyprus.⁶

Following the crusades and the establishment of Latin feudal states in the eastern Mediterranean, Catherine's cult became popular all over Europe. A whole series of biographical details about her miracles and passion began to spread. It thus became necessary to create also a new set of tales concerning the early years of her life, so that her worshippers could understand how she prepared for her final martyrdom.⁷ These cycles have often been compared to the *Chansons de geste*, which informed readers of the infancy and youth of the main chivalric heroes.⁸ The new hagiographic texts for St Catherine, often referred to in library catalogues as the *Ortus*, *Origo*, or *Conversio sanctae Catherinae*, were the first sources to support the idea of the saint's Cypriot ancestry. The manuscript tradition of these literary documents is extremely rich and complicated: a quick glance at the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* reveals at least twelve entries, each devoted to groups of manuscripts focused on the life of the young St Catherine and with references to the island of Cyprus.⁹ Most of these manuscripts are dated on palaeographic grounds to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and are preserved in libraries all over Europe. With very few exceptions, they remain unpublished and there is no systematic inventory of them.¹⁰

We get a sense of the significance of these texts for Cyprus from their opening passages:

6. On the birth and development of St Catherine's hagiographic legend, see G. B. Bronzini, 'La leggenda di santa Caterina d'Alessandria. Passioni greche e latine', *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, 8th series, 9 (1960), 257-416; *Vitae sanctae Katharinae* [Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis, 119-119A], ed. Á. P. Orbán, vols I-II, Turnhout, 1992, pp. vii-xxvi; C. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine in Early Medieval Europe*, Aldershot, 2007, pp. 1-62. For one of the earliest Latin versions of St Catherine's passion see now: T. Chronopoulos, 'The Date and Place of Composition of the Passion of St Katherine of Alexandria (BHL 1663)', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 130 (2012), 40-88.

7. See Bronzini, 'La leggenda di santa Caterina d'Alessandria', pp. 415-416; *St Katherine of Alexandria. The Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster MS 7*, eds S. Nevanlinna and I. Taavitsainen, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 11-12, 67-68; Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, pp. 4-5.

8. See *Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'historique des fêtes*, eds L. Chaussin and J. Baudot, vol. XI, Paris, 1954, pp. 863-864: 'Il fallait donner à la grande martyre comme aux plus fameux héros des chansons de geste des 'Enfances' qui apprendraient comment elle s'était préparée au combat final. C'est ainsi que se développa au XIV^e siècle un nouveau cycle d'aventures qui devait prendre mille formes diverses.'

9. See BHL 1668c, 1669, 1669b, 1671, 1672, 1672b, 1672c, 1672e, 1672g, 1672k, 1672m, 1672p.

10. Cf. Bronzini, 'La leggenda di santa Caterina d'Alessandria', p. 416, n. 420; J. Oliver, 'Medieval Alphabet Soup. Reconstruction of a Mosan Psalter-Hours in Philadelphia and Oxford and the Cult of St. Catherine', *Gesta*, 24 (1985), 129-140, particularly pp. 139-140, n. 31.

Costos was the father of St Catherine, the king of Cyprus, Syria, Greece, Alexandria, and lord of Rhodes, who used to live in a town that was named after him, called Costa in the kingdom of Cyprus.¹¹

One reads that there is an island in the sea called Cyprus, in which there was a king named Costus, who received his name from a town called Constantia, which was the seat of his kingdom, which is also called under the name of Salamina.¹²

On the island of Cyprus there was a king, named Costus, from a certain town, where the royal seat was, named Constancia, called Salominia in the Acts of the Apostles.¹³

In the early twentieth century the German philologist Alfons Hilka (1877-1939) made the best attempt to disentangle what he referred to as the *Jugendgeschichte Katharinas*.¹⁴ In an initial article published in 1920, Hilka offered a tentative reconstruction of the handwritten tradition of the biographies of the young St Catherine.¹⁵ On the basis of their main recurring elements, Hilka classified these manuscripts into three families, the first two of which explicitly refer to the saint's Cypriot ancestry. In wholly anachronistic fashion, all these texts tend to portray Catherine's father and Catherine herself as monarchs (i.e. king and princess) of Cyprus. This of course has no historical foundation, since between the late third and early fourth century AD, the period when the legend of St Catherine was supposed to take place, Cyprus was

11. Á. Sziládi, *Temesvari Pelbárt élete és munkai*, Budapest, 1880, p. 90: 'Costos fuit pater sancte Katharine, rex Cypri, Syrie, Grecie, Allexandrie et dominus in Rodis, qui habitabat in quadam civitate, que nomen ab eo recepit, dicta Costa regni Cypri.'

12. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, vol. I, Brussels, 1886, p. 105: 'Legitur quod est insula quaedam maris, quae Cyprus nuncupatur, in qua erat quidem rex, Costus nomine, qui sic nomen acceperat a quadam civitate quae Constantia dicebatur, quae erat sedes regni sui, quae appellata est alio nomine Salamina.'

13. F. Spina, *Die alttöechische Katharinenlegende der Stockholm-Brünner Handschrift*, Prague, 1913, p. 1: 'Fuit in insula Cypri rex quidam, nomine Costus, a civitate quadam, ubi erat sedes regalis, nomine Constancia, in Actibus vero apostolorum Salominia nuncupata.' The allusion to the Acts of the Apostles is correct: see *Act. XIII, 5*, with reference to the predication of St Paul and St Barnabas ('Et, cum venissent Salaminam, praedicabant verbum Dei in synagogis Iudaeorum').

14. For Hilka's biographical data, see W. Th. Elwert, *Hilka, Alfons*, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. IX, Berlin, 1972, p. 145.

15. A. Hilka, 'Zur Katharinenlegende. Die Quelle der Jugendgeschichte Katharinas, insbesondere in der mittelniederdeutschen Dichtung und in der mittelniederländischen Prosa', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 140 (1920), 171-184.

a minor senatorial province of the Roman empire, governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank until about 293 AD, and thereafter by *praesides* or *consulares*.¹⁶

The widespread acceptance of Catherine's and her father Costus's royal status on Cyprus may seem awkward, but the key to understanding this tradition probably lies in one of the passages cited by Hilka:

By right of inheritance Catherine held her father's kingdom, which was, as some rather authentic writings attest, the kingdom of Cyprus. And actually the kings of Cyprus claim to be kinsmen of St Catherine.¹⁷

This extract appears in three anonymous accounts of St Catherine's life held at Wrocław University Library in Poland, all dated to the fifteenth century.¹⁸ The explicit reference to the direct descent from the lineage of St Catherine claimed by the Lusignans is particularly significant. Annemarie Weyl Carr has recently suggested that the cult of St Catherine in Cyprus initially spread among the Frankish population of the island, both local and foreign, rather than among the Greeks.¹⁹ Similarly, according to Michele Bacci, the belief in the saint's Cypriot origins was perpetuated with the support of the royal family of Cyprus.²⁰ Based on art historical research, these considerations match the conclusions of Hilka's philological study of Catherine's ha-

16. See T. B. Mitford, 'Roman Cyprus', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, vol. II, 7/2, Berlin – New York, 1980, 1285-1384, particularly pp. 1291, 1295-1308, 1375-1380; M. Christol, 'Proconsuls de Chypre', *Chiron*, 16 (1986), 1-14; E. Chrysos, 'Cyprus in Early Byzantine Times', in *«The Sweet Land of Cyprus»*. 25th Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991, eds A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides, Nicosia, 1993, 3-14.

17. Hilka, 'Zur Katharinenlegende', p. 174: '[Katherina] regnum patris sui quod, ut testatur quedam scriptura satis autentica, fuit regni Cypri, iure hereditario possidebat. Reges enim Cypri de cognatione sancte Katherine se esse protestantur.'

18. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, mss. I Fol. 530, f. 242v; IV Fol. 64, f. 32v; IV Fol. 183 f. 393v. See the digitized manuscript catalogue of the former University Library in Wrocław (*Katalog rękopisów dawnej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, so-called Göber's catalogue), searchable at: www.bu.uni.wroc.pl.

19. See Weyl Carr, 'Sinai and Cyprus', p. 458: 'It seems Catherine became significant on Cyprus only in the wake of Holy Land pilgrimage in the era of the Crusades, and initially largely for Latins, both resident and transient.'

20. See M. Bacci, 'Spazi sacri e rappresentazione del potere nella Cipro dei Lusignano', in *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo*, Conference Proceedings (Parma, 20-24 September 2005), ed. A.C. Quintavalle, Milan, 2007, 183-192, particularly p. 190: 'Probabilmente non fu senza la complicità dei sovrani che si volle diffondere l'idea per cui santa Caterina sarebbe stata oriunda dell'isola.'

giography: 'The beginning of the main Latin version of St Catherine's *Conversio* indicates Cyprus as the homeland of this tradition.'²¹

Even if no other texts are as explicit as the Wrocław manuscripts, the idea that Catherine and her father were royal dynasts ruling over Cyprus is to be found in all late medieval Latin accounts of her life, as well as in most travel diaries written by Holy Land pilgrims well into the Renaissance.²² Their degree of detail varies from case to case. In the most elaborate versions of Catherine's family tree, exemplified by a manuscript now in Greifswald,²³ her father Costus is made the son of an anonymous Greek princess and of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, who had been sent to the eastern territories of the Roman empire by the two senior members of the tetrarchy, Diocletian and Maximian, to quell a revolt.²⁴ According to this legend, after Constantius went back to Rome, he was dispatched to Spain and, later on, to Britain, where he married Helen, who bore him his best known son, Constantine the Great.²⁵

On the basis of this imaginative genealogical fabrication, Catherine's father became the elder step-brother of Constantine, the most celebrated Roman emperor during the Middle Ages.²⁶ Upon his mother's death, Costus would inherit her dominions, which comprised Cilicia (i.e. the territory of the medieval kingdom of Cilician Armenia, on the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean), Rhodes, Cyprus, and Damascus; by marrying a Samaritan princess named Sabinella, he would also receive the town of Alexandria in Egypt as a dowry.²⁷ As Christine Walsh has recently remarked:

21. Hilka, 'Zur Katharinenlegende', p. 179: 'Der Anfang der lateinischen Hauptversion der *Conversio* der heiligen Katherina weist auf Cypern als die Heimat dieser Tradition hin.'

22. See Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 164-245.

23. Greifswald, Geistliches Ministerium, ms. XXXVII.E.109, ff. 169r-191v. See A. Hilka, 'Eine italienische Version der Katharinenlegende', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 44 (1924), 151-180.

24. Hilka, 'Eine italienische Version', p. 157: 'Quidam rex de finibus Grecorum nobilis et famosus, audiens celebrem famam istius Constancii, unicam quam habebat filiam ei in uxorem tradidit et eam heredem sui regni instituit. Ex qua predictus Constancius rex filium genuit quem vocavit Costum.'

25. On Helen's and Constantine's medieval fortunes, see A. Linder, 'The Myth of Constantine the Great in the West: Sources and Hagiographic Commemoration', *Studi medievali*, 16 (1975), 43-95; H. J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden, 1992; S. N. C. Lieu, 'From History to Legend and Legend to History. The Medieval and Byzantine transformation of Constantine's Vita', in *Constantine. History, Historiography and Legend*, eds S.N.C. Lieu and D. Montserrat, London – New York, 1998, 136-176; A. Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend*, Cambridge, 2002.

26. On Catherine's alleged Constantinian origins, see: Linder, 'The Myth of Constantine', pp. 80-84; Harbus, *Helena of Britain*, pp. 117-118.

27. Hilka, 'Eine italienische Version', pp. 165-166: 'Sed dum pater eius Constancius adhuc vixisset, consilio patris et Constantini fratris sui, accepit uxorem principis de quo supra mencio est facta, valde prudentem, quam ingens decorabat vetustas, nomine Sabinellam, cuius etiam pater princeps fuit Samaritanorum et infra Egiptum habebat plures terras, quamvis sub feudo regis Egipciorum, inter quas erat Alexandria magna, quam

‘it is worth noting the way in which different elements of Katherine’s genealogy were used to emphasize her links with different countries. This was part of a process of naturalization that led to Katherine being regarded as a local saint.’²⁸

In the case of Cyprus, the genealogical links between Catherine, her father, and Constantine were strengthened by a complex series of topographical links, which bound her legend to the Famagusta region.²⁹ Whereas most hagiographic texts are purely imaginary narratives that do not record identifiable sites, some of the late medieval accounts of Catherine’s youth offer very accurate descriptions of the places where she was born and grew up, thus allowing the reader to locate the monuments associated with her infancy on Cyprus. A good example is offered by the afore-mentioned manuscript from Greifswald:

His name was Costus since he was born in the Greek town of Costa, which is to be found on Cyprus. In this city he had built a royal castle in which he settled, as it suited the magnificence of such a king. The greatness of this castle is made clear by the foundations of its palaces and walls. Even if the city walls are torn down by age and its magnificence is destroyed by the flow of time, nonetheless it shows clearly that it was the most impressive castle in the whole province of Cyprus that is referred to in writings or is remembered by local inhabitants. This very large town, i.e. Costa, changed site and name, and Famagusta is now called what was previously called Costa. And the royal castle, which was then in the middle of the city, is now seen lying one league off Famagusta. In the middle of this ancient castle a very large church is built, which is now inhabited by Greeks, since they say that the Blessed Catherine was born here.³⁰

in dotem regi Costo pro sua filia tradidit. Regnum autem ipsius Costi, patris sancte Katerine, fuit Cilicia, que nunc vocatur Armenia [...]. Habuit eciam Costus insulam Rodys, Cyprum, Alexandriam, quam cum uxore acceperat, et Damascum.’

28. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 10.

29. See Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 157-245.

30. Hilka, ‘Eine italienische Version der Katharinenlegende’, p. 166: ‘Costus nomen habebat, quia in Costa civitate Grecie natus fuit, que in Cypro syta est. In predicta civitate castrum regale construxerat in quo residebat, prout magnificenciam tanti regis decebat. Huius vero castris magnitudo ex fundamentis palaciorum et murorum innotescit. Quamvis vetustate nimia menia diruta et per temporum curricula magnitudo direpta sit, nichilominus tamen convincitur fuisse castrum sollempnius quam in tota provincia Cypri aut in scripturis fertur fuisse aut incolae meminisse. Hec pregrandis civitas, scilicet Costa, situm et nomen mutavit et nunc Famagusta dicitur quod prius Costa dicebatur et regale castrum quod tunc in medio civitatis fuit, nunc ad unam leucam a Famagusta distare cernitur. In huius antiqui castris medio pregrandis ecclesia est constructa, quam nunc Greci inhabitant, quia ibi beata Katerina fertur fuisse nata.’

This paragraph gives a striking description of king Costus's city, recording in detail the large royal castle that stood in its midst. There is no doubt that the abandoned town here called Costa should be identified with the ruins of the ancient site of Salamis-Constantia, on the northern outskirts of Famagusta. Once this association is accepted, the king's castle referred to by the text's anonymous author can be identified with the Byzantine walls of Constantia, built in the seventh century AD to protect the town against the naval raids of the Arabs (fig. 2).³¹ As we are told by several written sources, in the later Middle Ages and early modern period these walls were still standing, at least in part, and were a conspicuous feature in the middle of the low plain stretching along the eastern coast of Cyprus. For instance, Steffan von Gumpenberg, a German pilgrim who visited the island in 1450, compared them to the walls of Heidingsfeld in Bavaria (fig. 3), near his home-town of Würzburg.³²

As for the large church located in the middle of the castle, it is possible to identify it with the remains of the late antique basilica of St Epiphanius.³³ According to the archaeologists who excavated this site in the mid twentieth century, the basilica's southeastern portion was still in use until the later Middle Ages (fig. 4).³⁴ In the second half of the seventh century AD, this section of the building (formerly an unroofed annex) was converted into a 'new smaller church comprising a nave and two aisles separated by arches arrived on square piers, a narthex and a porch.'³⁵ Charles A. Stew-

31. On this circle of walls, see C. Balandier, 'The Defensive Works of Cyprus during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods (4th-7th c. A.D.)', *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*, 2003, 261-273; Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, p. 239, n. 204.

32. See S. Feyerabend, *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands*, Frankfurt am Main, 1584, f. 243v: 'Dess Konigs Schloss ist weiter gewest denn Heydingsfelt, hat ein dicke starcke Mauwr gehabt, aber jetzt gar zerstoret und zerfallen.'

33. St Epiphanius is the only large ecclesiastical structure within the Byzantine walls of Constantia. For a fuller analysis of this identification see Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 241-242. On the basilica see: A. Papageorgiou, 'Η βασιλική του Αγίου Επιφανίου στη Σαλαμίνα', *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Μελετών της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 8 (2008), 35-50, with earlier bibliography. As of December 2012, Charles Stewart informed me that he is preparing to publish a monograph on the development of St Epiphanius from the late fourth century to the thirteenth century.

34. Cf. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1957', *Archaeological Reports*, 4 (1957), 43-50, particularly p. 50: 'This church, which does not appear to have been finally abandoned until the sixteenth century, may well be the 'beautiful chapel' which enshrined the tomb of the Saint [i.e. Epiphanius] in 1344'; V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus. Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, Norwich, 1969, p. 197: 'This new church must have continued in existence during the Middle Ages'; Papageorgiou, 'Η βασιλική του Αγίου Επιφανίου', p. 50: 'Κάποιες πληροφορίες αναφέρουν ότι κατά το 14ο και 16ο αιώνα εξακολουθούσε να υπάρχει ακόμη η εκκλησία του Αγίου Επιφανίου στη Σαλαμίνα.'

35. A. Dikigoropoulos, *Cyprus 'betwixt Greeks and Saracens', A.D. 647-965*, Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, Lincoln College, 1961, pp. 179-181, cited in C. A. Stewart, *Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus*, Published Dissertation (Indiana University, Bloomington), Ann Arbor, 2008, p. 74.

art has recently investigated the architectural history of this building and drawn some tentative reconstructions (both plans and elevations) in his doctoral dissertation (figs. 5-7).³⁶ In its earliest phase it was covered with a timber roof, while in around the first half of the eighth century this was replaced with a three-dome structure. As Stewart remarked: 'from the exterior, the church would have been an impressive site. The three domes would have towered over the city walls. In front of the church, the ruins of the great Early Christian basilica would form a type of courtyard or atrium.'³⁷ Even though this church suffered severe damage from an earthquake in the twelfth century, it was not abandoned until the early modern period: as I have argued elsewhere, it must have been this building that served throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a shrine to commemorate St Catherine's birthplace.³⁸

The idea of a Cypriot origin for St Catherine first appeared in travel writings in the first half of the fourteenth century. To my knowledge, the earliest reference is by the Dominican friar Humbert of Dijon, who visited the Holy Land in 1329-1330.³⁹ The accounts of two Franciscan pilgrims written a few years later offer the best descriptions of the monuments associated with Catherine's birth. The first of them, an anonymous English friar, visited Cyprus in the spring of 1345. The journal of his pilgrimage, written in Latin, is preserved in a single manuscript now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.⁴⁰ After stopping at Paphos and Limassol, the

36. Stewart, *Domes of Heaven*, pp. 82-89, 348-355. For earlier literature on this church, see A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1956', *Archaeological Reports*, 3 (1956), 30-31; Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1957', pp. 49-50 (with plan showing the different phases of the building); A.H.S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1958', *Archaeological Reports*, 5 (1958), 32; V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1959', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 84 (1960), 288, 290; A.H.S. Megaw, 'Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28 (1974), 77-78, fig. G; Papageorgiou, 'Η βασιλική του Αγίου Επιφανίου', 46-50.

37. Stewart, *Domes of Heaven*, p. 83. See also C.A. Stewart, 'The First Vaulted Churches in Cyprus', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 69 (2010), 162-189.

38. See Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 238-245.

39. See Th. Kaeppli, P. Benoit, 'Un pèlerinage dominicain inédit du XIV^e siècle', *Revue biblique*, 62 (1955), 513-540, here p. 540: 'Iuxta civitatem Famagustam, quae est sita supra mare, est quaedam alia civitas ad unam leucam, quae vocatur Salamina, sed tamen antiquitus Costa civitas vocabatur, in qua beata Catherina, Costi regis filia, fuit nata.' For a full analysis of the earliest travel accounts referring to Catherine's birthplace in Cyprus, see Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 175-194.

40. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, ms. 370, fasc. 7, ff. 85v-94v. Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 208-210. A full edition of this text was published by G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. IV, Florence, 1923, pp. 427-460, particularly pp. 446-448 for the description of Cyprus; English translation: *Western Pilgrims. The Itineraries of Fr. Simon Fitzsimons, O.F.M. 1322-23, a Certain Englishman 1344-45, Thomas Brygge 1392 and Notes on Other Authors and Pilgrims*, ed. E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1952 (reprint: 1970), pp. 47-76. See also Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 20-23.

anonymous Englishman and his fellow-travellers spent several days in Famagusta, whence they paid a visit to Constantia:

Hence at a distance of three miles, under the mountains, was Great Constantia, one of the six principal cities of the world, as known in ancient times, in which a castle still stands in ruins, and underground is a house in which was born the Blessed Catherine, the daughter of Costus, the king and lord of that town and castle. At this castle is preserved in a very beautiful chapel the body of Epiphanius, who at one time was the bishop of this place, and it is greatly venerated by the devout.⁴¹

The information provided by the anonymous English friar should be read in parallel with that offered by another Franciscan, brother Niccolò da Poggibonsi from Central Tuscany, who visited Cyprus on his way back from the Holy Land in the summer of 1349:⁴²

I left Famagusta and went out two leagues to the land that once belonged to king Costa, St Catherine's father. That land is called Salamina, and the town Constantia, but the town is all destroyed, yet one may see the very high walls of king Costa's castle. And in the very spot where St Catherine was born was a little church, which still stands there and is in the hand of the Greeks.⁴³

41. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. IV, p. 446: 'Inde ad III miliaria, sub montibus, fuit Constantia Magna, una de sex principalibus civitatibus mundi, antiquitus sic vocatis, in qua castrum adhuc stat ruinosum et domus in illo sub terra, in qua fuit nata beata Katerina Costi regis et domini civitatis et castri filia. Ad illud castrum, in quo et corpus Epiphani, situm in quodam capella pulcherrima, qui fuerat illius loci quondam antistes, multum a devotis veneratur.'

42. The most recent edition of this text is that by B. Bagatti, *Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi. Libro d'oltramare (1346-1350)*, Jerusalem, 1945, particularly pp. 7, 150 for the description of Cyprus (outward and return journeys respectively). Fra Niccolò's account, known as the *Libro d'oltramare*, enjoyed a wide diffusion throughout the later Middle Ages and the early modern period; see C. D. M. Cossar, *The German Translation of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's Libro da oltramare*, Göppingen, 1985; S. Gensini, 'Un "baedeker" del XIV secolo: il Libro d'oltramare di Niccolò da Poggibonsi', *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, 107 (2001), 7-44. See also Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, p. 23.

43. Bagatti, *Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi*, p. 150: 'Io mi parti da Famagosta e andai ben due leghe di fuore, nel paese che fu del re Costa, padre di santa Caterina. Il quale paese si chiama Salamina e la città si chiama Costanzia, la quale città è tutta distrutta, ma ancora vi si vede le mura altissime del castello del re Costa. E nel proprio luogo, dove nacque santa Caterina, si fu una chiesa e ancora appare e tengonla i Greci.'

The contents of these two passages strikingly resemble the information provided by the Greifswald hagiographic manuscript. According to all these texts, the ancient ruins of Costus's royal castle at Constantia were dotted with a series of monuments associated with the early years of St Catherine. Next to the vestiges of a very large church, identifiable with the late antique basilica of St Epiphanius, one could see a chapel dedicated to the birth of the Alexandrian martyr. This shrine also included an underground chamber, which was called 'domus sub terra' by the anonymous 1345 Franciscan pilgrim and is likely to correspond to the 'camera, que nunc est dirructa, ubi nata fuit beata Catherina', which Nicola de Martoni mentioned in 1394. This reference has often been interpreted as an allusion to the so-called 'Prison of St Catherine' in the necropolis of Salamis.⁴⁴ However, the fact that both the pilgrims and the Greifswald manuscript place the chamber within the castle (i.e. within the Byzantine walls) suggests a different solution: this underground structure may have been part of the subterranean hypocaust that had earlier served to heat the cross-shaped baptismal basin of the St Epiphanius basilica, situated immediately behind the apse of the chapel dedicated to St Catherine's birth (fig. 8).⁴⁵

As for the clergy who officiated this chapel, according to both Niccolò da Poggibonsi and the Greifswald manuscript they were Greek Orthodox.⁴⁶ This information is confirmed by a much later source, the travel diary of a learned Swiss pilgrim, Ludwig Tschudi, who visited the Famagusta region in 1519.⁴⁷ It is possible that this shrine passed to the Latins only in the very last years of Venetian rule on Cyprus.⁴⁸

44. See most recently A. G. Marangou, 'Salamis before Salamis', in *Excavating at Salamis in Cyprus. 1952-1974*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Athens, 1999, p. 172: 'A significant number of pilgrims, especially clergymen, included their impressions of the "prison" or "place of martyrdom of Saint Catherine" [...]. Another traveller, this time from Campania in Italy, Nicola di Martoni, told of his visit to the "prison of Saint Catherine" in 1394.'

45. On this structure see Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles', p. 290: 'Parmi les plus anciennes constructions se remarque une petite salle rectangulaire comportant au centre un bassin en forme de croix au niveau du sol et dans deux de ses coins deux bassins plus petits; [...] à la différence de tous les autres baptistères connus, celui de Salamine reposait sur un foyer en briques communiquant avec un hypocauste, qui chauffait la salle attenante au Nord. Bien qu'il ne soit pas impossible que nous ayons là un baptistère chauffé, il se peut aussi qu'on ait seulement affaire à la salle de bains et au sudatorium d'un établissement de bains dépendant de la basilique, dont les autres salles restent à découvrir'; cf. Papageorgiou, 'Η βασιλική του Αγίου Επιφανίου', 41-43.

46. Cf. Hilka, 'Eine italienische Version der Katharinenlegende', p. 166: 'Pregrandis ecclesia est constructa, quam nunc Greci inhabitant'; Bagatti, *Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi*, p. 150: 'Si fu una chiesa e ancora appare e tengonla i Greci.'

47. See L. Tschudi, *Reyss und Bilgerfahrt zum Heyligen Grab*, Rorschach am Bodensee, 1606, p. 341: 'Wir liessen allda Mess lesen unnd vollbrachten allda unsern Andacht in der Kirchen so die Griechen inhaben an dem ohr, da die Heylig Iunckfraw, Martyrin unnd gespons Christi geboren ist.' On Tschudi's description of Cyprus, see Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 92-95, 208-210, with further bibliography.

48. Cf. Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 222-223.

On the other hand, from the first half of the fourteenth century it was certainly frequented by numerous Catholic devotees, both laymen and clergy, some of whom were also allowed to say mass inside.⁴⁹ Jacques le Saige, another pilgrim who visited Cyprus in 1519, explicitly states that this chapel housed two altars:⁵⁰ as Michele Bacci has suggested, it is likely that one altar was used for the Orthodox rite and the other for the Latin.⁵¹

The internal configuration of the shrine dedicated to the birth of St Catherine can be compared with that of another famous mixed (i.e. Catholic and Orthodox) sanctuary in Cyprus: the subterranean chapel of St Mary of the Cave (*Santa Maria della Cava*).⁵² The surviving structure of this chapel bears traces on its eastern wall of a series of former liturgical fittings, which have been interpreted as ‘a miniaturized Orthodox bema with diminutive prothesis and diakonikon’ and a ‘niche-chapel with altar [...] used for the Roman Catholic rite’.⁵³ Located on the southern outskirts of Famagusta (fig. 9), St Mary of the Cave is cited in notarial acts as early as 1300.⁵⁴ Thanks to a bull issued by the chancery of Pope John XXII in Avignon, we know that after 1328 it was in the hands of monks from St Catherine’s monastery on Mt Sinai,

49. This happened as late as in 1569, the year before the outbreak of the War of Cyprus, when the Swabian knight Johann von Hirnheim heard mass said by a Famagustan monk; see F. Khull, *Des Ritters Hans von Hirnheim Reisetagebuch aus dem Jahre 1569*, Graz, 1897: ‘In diser Stat ist die heilig Jungfrau Sanct Katharina geborn, und hat uns der Munch in dem Hauss, darinnen sie gewohnt, welchs itziger Zeit ein Capellen ist, Mess gelesen.’

50. See *Voyage de Jacques le Saige, de Douai à Rome, Notre Dame de Lorette, Venise, Jérusalem et autres saints lieux*, ed. H. R. Duthilloeu, Douai, 1851, pp. 135-136: ‘Ny a quune petite chapelle, ou il y a deux autels, et se ny a que ung povre homme qui garde le lieu.’

51. See M. Bacci, ‘“Mixed” Shrines in the Late Byzantine Period’, in *Archaeologia Abrahamica. Studies in Archaeology and Artistic Tradition of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. L. Beliaev, Moscow, 2009, 433-444, particularly pp. 439-444; M. Bacci, ‘Famagusta as the New Terrasanta. The Making and Setting of New Holy Places in Latin-Ruled Cyprus’, in *Πρακτικά του Τετάρτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Conference Proceedings (Nicosia, 29 April - 3 May 2008), ed. I.A. Eliades, Nicosia, forthcoming. On the role played by mixed (Orthodox and Catholic) pilgrimage sites in Medieval Cyprus, see also G. Grivaud, ‘Pèlerinages grecs et latins dans le royaume de Chypre (1192-1474): concurrence ou complémentarité?’, in *Identités pèlerines*, Conference Proceedings (Rouen, 15-16 May 2002), ed. C. Vincent, Rouen, 2004, 67-76. M. Olympios, ‘Shared Devotions: Non-Latin Responses to Latin Sainthood in Late Medieval Cyprus’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 39 (2013), 321-341.

52. For a comprehensive collection of sources on St Mary of the Cave, see Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell’antico*, pp. 12-15, 21, 26.

53. Bacci, ‘Famagusta as the New Terrasanta’, *op. cit.*

54. See C. Desimoni, ‘Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto’, *Archives de l’Orient latin*, 2 (1884), II, 3-120, here p. 101, no. CLXXXIX: ‘Item pro missis canendis pro anima mea fratribus Minoribus et Predicatoribus et ecclesie de Cava in distribucione uxoris mee bissantios viginti’ (Famagusta, 25 July 1300); Idem, ‘Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto’, *Revue de l’Orient latin*, 1 (1893), 58-139, 275-312, 321-353, here p. 343, no. CDLXXVII: ‘Item Sancte Marie de Cava bissantios sex’ (Famagusta, 21 December 1300).

who professed the Basilian rule. Despite their geographical origins, these monks recognised papal jurisdiction:⁵⁵

To our beloved sons Peter de Manso canon of Nicosia and Arnald de Fargis of the Dominican order, our nuncios and of the Apostolic See in the kingdom of Cyprus. On behalf of our venerable brother bishop [***] and beloved sons, brothers of the order of St Basil from Mt Sinai, we have been informed that some of his brothers in the kingdom of Cyprus, who spend their time praying, are living in hermitages and deserts. Therefore, on behalf of them we have been humbly asked to condescend to bestow upon them the church of St Mary of the Cave, located by the town of Famagusta, which they are said to occupy in practice, next to which they wish to build a monastery in honour of that same Blessed Virgin Mary and St Catherine and in which church they wish to celebrate divine offices; [...] if those who have the right of collation or presentation to that church agree to it, then by Apostolic authority that church should be bestowed in perpetuity to the same bishop and brothers, for the construction of that monastery and so that they may celebrate divine offices in it.⁵⁶

55. See J. Richard, 'Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote: le monachisme orthodoxe et l'établissement de la domination franque', in *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Conference Proceedings (Nicosia, 20-25 April 1982), eds Th. Papadopoulos and B. Englezakis, Nicosia, 1986, vol. II, 61-75, particularly pp. 65-66 (reprint in Idem, *Croisades et États latins d'Orient. Points de vue et documents*, Aldershot, 1992, article XIV); N. Coureas, 'The Orthodox Monastery of Mt Sinai and Papal Protection of its Cretan and Cypriot Properties', in *Autour de la première croisade*, Conference Proceedings (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 June 1995), ed. M. Balard, Paris, 1996, 475-484; K. Kokkinofas, 'Τα μετόχια του Σινά στην Κύπρο', in *Πρακτικά του τρίτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Conference Proceedings (Nicosia, 16-20 April 1996), 3 voll., ed. I. Theodorides, Nicosia, 2000-2001, vol. III (2001), 129-139.

56. *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334)*, ed. A. L. Tàutu, Vatican City, 1952, pp. 194-195, no. 101: 'Dilectis filiis Petro de Manso canonico Nicosiensi et Arnaldo de Fargis ordinis Praedicatorum in regno Cyprī nostris et Apostolicae Sedis nuntiis. Pro parte venerabilis fratris nostri [***] episcopi et dilectorum filiorum fratrum Montis Sinai ordinis sancti Basilii, nobis extitit intimatum, quod nonnulli ex suis fratribus in regno Cyprī orationibus insistentes habitant in eremis et desertis. Quare pro parte ipsorum fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum, ut ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae de Lacava sitam prope civitatem Famagustanam, quae de facto dicitur detineri occupata, prope quam desiderant monasterium in honorem eiusdem beatae Mariae virginis et sanctae Catharinae construere et in eadem ecclesia divina officia celebrare, concedere dignaremur; [...] si consensus eorum ad quos ipsius ecclesiae collatio seu praesentatio pertinet concurrerint in praemissis, eandem ecclesiam eisdem episcopo et fratribus auctoritate apostolica perpetuo concedatis pro constructione eiusdem monasterii et ut possint divina celebrare officia in eadem.'

On 26 May 1328 Pope John XXII addressed this document to Pedro de Manso, canon of Nicosia, and to the Dominican Arnaud de Fabrègues, papal nuncios in Cyprus.⁵⁷ On the same day he also issued another bull, through which he invited King Hugh IV of Lusignan to respect the rights conferred by his earliest predecessors upon the monks of Mt Sinai and to restore to them the annual income of one pound of gold from the royal revenues of Famagusta, which they had been deprived of since 1291.⁵⁸ Three days later, the pope also granted one year's indulgence to pilgrims who visited the church of St Catherine at Mt Sinai and contributed to its restoration.⁵⁹ As Nicholas Coureas has observed, 'the monks of Mt Sinai appear to have been richly rewarded for having formally accepted the jurisdiction of the Roman church. The monastery's possessions outside the Sinai peninsula and in lands under Latin rule received papal confirmation and protection during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. On both Cyprus and Crete [...] the papacy, and particularly Honorius III and John XXII, upheld its properties, together with the produce and revenues derived from them against the encroachment and depredations of Latin lords, Latin secular clergy and the crown of Cyprus.'⁶⁰

The concessions to Mt Sinai were made around the time of the so-called 'peaceful liberation of the Holy Places', a series of negotiations that ultimately led to the reopening to Christian cult of the four principal shrines in the Holy Land (the Grotto and Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem; the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kidron Valley; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the Holy Cenacle on Mt Zion).⁶¹ All four sites were entrusted to the newly-created Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land between 1333 and 1342.⁶² Henceforth the devotional (and lucrative) practice

57. On their appointment, which lasted approximately from May 1327 to 1333, see J. Richard, *Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)*, Paris, 1962, pp. 33-49, 51-58, particularly p. 33; cf. Ch. Kaoulla and Ch. Schabel, 'The Inquisition against Peter de Castro, Vicar of the Dominican Province of the Holy Land, in Nicosia, Cyprus, 1330', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 77 (2007), 121-198, particularly p. 126 (reprinted in Ch. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus*, Farnham, 2010, article VII). For a full analysis of this document, see Coureas, 'The Orthodox Monastery of Mt Sinai', p. 483.

58. *Acta Ioannis XXII*, pp. 195-196, no. 102, bull dated 26 May 1328; cf. Coureas, 'The Orthodox Monastery of Mt Sinai', pp. 483-484.

59. *Acta Ioannis XXII*, pp. 196-197, no. 103, bull dated 29 May 1328; cf. L. Eckenstein, *A History of Sinai*, London – New York, 1921, p. 153.

60. Coureas, 'The Orthodox Monastery of Mt Sinai', p. 484.

61. Cf. S. de Sandoli, *The Peaceful Liberation of the Holy Places in the XIV Century* [Studia Orientalia Christiana. Monographiae, 3], Cairo, 1990.

62. On the birth of the Custody, see H. Fürst, *Die Custodie des Heiligen Landes. Die Mission der Franziskaner im Heiligen Land im Vorderen Orient*, Munich, 1981; *La custodia di Terra Santa e l'Europa. I rapporti politici e l'attività culturale dei Francescani in Medio Oriente*, ed. M. Piccirillo, Rome, 1983; *In Terrasanta. Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, Exhibition Catalogue (Milan, 17 February - 21 May 2000), Florence – Milan, 2000.

of pilgrimage to the Holy Places started to flourish again, especially via a newly-opened route which passed through Alexandria and St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai and was strongly supported by the Franciscan order.⁶³

The coeval success of St Catherine's cult in Cyprus can hardly be regarded as coincidental. On the one hand, Basilians from Mt Sinai ran the chapel of St Mary of the Cave with its adjacent monastery dedicated to the Virgin and St Catherine, as well as (probably) the church that marked the site of Catherine's supposed birthplace at Salamis; on the other hand, the Franciscans in Famagusta also claimed a connection with the Alexandrian martyr. The existence of a chapel in their convent dedicated to St Catherine is already confirmed by a Genoese document of 1440.⁶⁴ This chapel was associated with the place where the saint was believed to have attended school.⁶⁵ While some pilgrims located Catherine's school among the ruins of Salamis, others explicitly declared that it was to be found inside the church of St Francis at Famagusta (fig. 10). According to Wilhelm Tzewers, a Dominican from Basel who visited Cyprus in 1477, 'in the monastery of the Friar Minors, behind the high altar, is the school of St Catherine'.⁶⁶ Similarly, the Flemish traveller Joos van Ghistele, who came to

63. On pilgrimage to the Holy Land between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, see F. Cardini, *In Terrasanta. Pellegrini italiani tra medioevo e prima età moderna*, Bologna, 2002, pp. 217-235; A. T. Jotischky, 'The Mendicants as Missionaries and Travellers in the Near East in the 13th and 14th Centuries', in *Eastward Bound. Travel and Travellers 1050-1550*, ed. R. Allen, Manchester, 2004, 88-106.

64. Genoa, Archivio di Stato, San Giorgio, Sala 34, 590/1292, f. 200v: 'Lata [...] et lecta, testata et publicata in cultillio Sancti Francisci ante portam capelle Sancte Cataline, anno dominice Nativitatis M^oCC-CCXXX, die XXX aprilis, indicione secunda, secundum cursum Ianue' (I am grateful to C. Otten-Froux for sharing the transcription of this document with me). On the church and convent of St Francis at Famagusta, see C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, vols I-II, Paris, 1899, pp. 327-335; G. E. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1918 (reprint: London, 1983), pp. 132-136; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. V, Florence, 1927, pp. 160-167, 309; Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, 'Famagouste. L'église des Franciscains', in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, eds J.-B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux, Paris, 2006, 238-242. Olympios, 'Shared Devotions', 330-331. In Famagusta there was also a church dedicated to St Catherine, whose location has not been identified; this church also possessed a small hospital: see C. Otten-Froux, 'Notes sur quelques monuments de Famagouste à la fin du Moyen Age', in *Mosaic. Festschrift for A. H. S. Megaw*, eds J. Herrin, M. Mullett and C. Otten-Froux, London, 2001, 145-154, particularly pp. 145-146.

65. This fabulous building is referred to in several hagiographic texts which describe St Catherine's youth. It appears for instance in Caxton's English version of the *Legenda aurea*: 'The king Costus her father had so great joy of the great towardness and wisdom of his daughter, that he let ordain a tower in his palace, with divers studies and chambers, in which she might be at her pleasure and also at her will' (*The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. F. S. Ellis, vol. VII, London, 1900, p. 7).

66. Wilhelm Tzewers: *Itinerarius terre sancte. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar und Übersetzung* [Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 33], ed. G. Hartmann, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 124: 'in monasterio Minorum [post] summum altare est scola sancte Katerine.'

Cyprus between 1482 and 1483, recorded that 'in the convent of the Friar Minors [...] behind the high altar is a small chapel with steps going down, which is the place itself where St Catherine, the holy maid, first went to school'.⁶⁷

In the later Middle Ages St Catherine's cult was popular among Franciscans.⁶⁸ Along with the Orthodox Basilians, it is possible that they too played an active role in introducing and reinforcing the saint's worship on Cyprus during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As argued above, both hagiographic sources and travel diaries tend to portray Catherine as the daughter of the king of Cyprus, implicitly (and, at least once, also explicitly) suggesting that she and her father should be regarded as the royal and holy ancestors of the Lusignan line. Some of these texts also connect Catherine's family tree with that of Constantine, thus establishing a genealogical link between the rulers of Cyprus and the first Christian emperor. According to Amnon Linder, 'Franciscan preachers were probably the first to make use of the theme of Catherine's Constantinian origin'.⁶⁹ This assertion is substantiated by references to the work of *frater* Petrus, a Franciscan friar who wrote his own version of St Catherine's legend at the close of the fourteenth century. Petrus claimed that his goal was to demonstrate what he had once learned from a Franciscan preacher when he was young, i.e. that Catherine's father was a half brother of Constantine the Great.⁷⁰ Notwithstanding his interest in Catherine's genealogy, Petrus failed to locate her birthplace and did not demonstrate any familiarity with Cyprus, which is not mentioned as the saint's homeland in his work. Insofar as the Cypriot legend of the young St Catherine is concerned, Petrus's version is therefore of little relevance, especially when compared with richer accounts like the Greifswald manuscript.⁷¹

67. R. J. G. A. A. Gaspar, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele* [Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen, 58], Hilversum, 1998, p. 278: 'inden clooster vanden frereminueren [...] achter den hooghen altaer staet een capellekin met trappen neder gaende, dwelc de zelve plecke es daer Sente Kathelijne de heleghe maecht eerst ter scolen ghijnc.'

68. Given its prominence and the proximity in date the most obvious reference is to St Catherine's chapel in the lower church at Assisi (built in the 1360s and decorated with frescoes by the Bolognese painter Andrea di Bartolo): see C. Aglietti, 'L'iconografia della cappella di Santa Caterina d'Alessandria nella Basilica inferiore di Assisi: il rapporto tra le fonti agiografiche e la "legenda" affrescata', *Iconographica*, 6 (2007), 85-108.

69. Linder, 'The Myth of Constantine', p. 82.

70. *Hec est nova quedam singularis atque rara legenda, ex aliis sex legendis collecta et perfecta, tractans de origine et vite ordine, de conversione ac magistrali disputatione, ast de passione, morte et miraculis generose regine necnon gloriose virginis et martiris sancte Katherine*, Strasbourg, 1500, f. 2v: 'Sed quid querebam? Quod quidem semel predicari audiveram a quodam fratre minore, qui magnus reputabatur hystoriographus, videlicet quod rex Costus, pater beate Katherine, fuit frater germanus magni Constantini imperatoris.' For a fuller analysis of this work, see H. Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien mit der h. Maria Aegyptiaca nebst unedirten Texten*, Halle, 1890, pp. 46-61; Hilka, 'Eine italienische Version', pp. 154-155; Linder, 'The Myth of Constantine', pp. 82-83.

71. Cf. Hilka, 'Eine italienische Version', p. 155: 'Im ganzen bietet die Nova legenda nur einen Text, der gegenüber der obigen handschriftlichen Überlieferung als sekundär bezeichnet werden muss.'

Catherine's royal Cypriot lineage plays a stronger role in another hagiographic text written by a mendicant friar in the fourteenth century: Pietro Calò's *Legendary*.⁷² Born in Chioggia at the southern end of the Venetian lagoon, Calò entered the Dominican order before 1307. Textual evidence from the *Legendary* sets its composition between 1330 and 1348, the probable year of the author's death.⁷³ In his biography of St Hilarion, Calò claimed to have been to Cyprus, where he met with a very favourable reception from King Hugh IV in 1342.⁷⁴ According to the sixteenth-century Cypriot historiographer Stefano Lusignano, Calò had depicted St Catherine as being 'queen of Cyprus', thus implicitly connecting her with the royal house of the Lusignans.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, this reference does not survive in any of the extant manuscripts of the *Legendary*: it was probably included in a lost version of this work, which once existed in the convent library of St Dominic at Bologna. This lost copy of the *Legendary* must have been the one that Stefano Lusignano used as a reference source when he wrote his works as a refugee in Italy after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571.⁷⁶ Calò's surviving text includes only a brief mention of Catherine's Cypriot origins:

Some say that king Costus, St Catherine's father, was the founder and king of Constantia, which is in Cyprus, from whom it also received its name, and not king of Alexandria.⁷⁷

72. On Pietro Calò and his work, see: A. Poncelet, 'Le légendier de Pierre Calo', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29 (1910), 5-116; C. Gennaro, 'Calò, Pietro', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XVI, Rome, 1973, 785-787; J. R. Craddock and B. De Marco, 'The Legend of Saint Mary of Egypt in Pietro Calò's *Legendæ de sanctis*', in *Philologies Old and New: Essays in Honor of Peter Florian Dembowski* [The Edward C. Armstrong Monographs on Medieval Literature, 12], eds J. Tasker Grimbert and C. J. Chase, Princeton, 2001, 71-84; Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 228-238.

73. Calò's monumental *Legendary*, which includes the lives of more than 850 saints, has not yet been the object of a complete edition. Only three manuscript copies are known to exist: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 713-714; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, mss. Lat. IX, 15-20 (2942-2947); York, York Minster Library, ms. XVI.G.23, ff. 1r-107v.

74. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Lat. IX, 20 (2947), f. 361r: 'Nunc autem in Cypro est corpus eius [i.e. sancti Hilarionis] integrum in altissimo castro Veneris a religiosis et presbyteris custoditum et honore debito celebratum. Quod ego vidi 1342, de gratia speciali, habita clavi et litera a domino rege Cypri, quam nulli fecerat quatuor anni erant, propter quorundam maliciam de eo aliud sunt moliti'; cf. Poncelet, 'Le légendier', p. 31. On Hugh IV, a great patron of the Dominican order, see Ch. Schabel, 'Hugh the Just: The Further Rehabilitation of King Hugh IV Lusignan of Cyprus', *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 30 (2004), 123-152.

75. See S. Lusignano, *Chorographia et brevis historia universale dell'isola de Cipro principiando al tempo di Noè per in sino al 1572*, Bologna, 1573, f. 25v: 'Pietro Calò da Chiosa chiama Chaterina regina de Cipro nella sua Historia et di ciò esser cipriota vedesi nel dominio più di sotto.'

76. See Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico*, pp. 233-234.

77. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Lat. IX, 20 (2947), f. 340v: 'Dicunt quidam Costum regem, patrem sancte Katerine, fuisse conditorem et regem Constantie, que est in Cipro a quo et nomen accepit, non autem regem Alexandriae'; the same text also appears in York Minster Library, ms. XVI.G.23, ff. 102v-103r.

The evidence that we have collected so far may appear scrappy and episodic, yet some tentative conclusions may be drawn. The idea that Catherine was a royal princess born on Cyprus started to appear in both hagiographic texts and travel literature in the course of the fourteenth century. The most elaborate versions of her legend connected her lineage to the Constantinian dynasty, asserting that her father Costus was a step-brother of Emperor Constantine the Great. In the years around 1330-1340, the only standing section of the former basilica of St Epiphanius at Salamis-Constantia was converted into a chapel in honour of St Catherine's birth. From that moment onwards an increasing number of buildings in the Famagusta region began to be associated with different episodes of the saint's infancy and youth. St Catherine's chapel at Salamis was officiated throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by Greek clergymen (possibly of the Basilian order), but it was also frequented by Catholic worshippers and should be regarded as a mixed shrine.

The principal agents in this process of transforming Catherine into a Cypriot saint have glimpsed behind the scenes during the course of this study, but require further investigation. The Basilian monks of Mt Sinai, the mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the royal house of the Lusignans probably all played a role in the promotion of Catherine's cult on Cyprus in the later Middle Ages.⁷⁸ Future research is needed to explore these associations fully, evaluating as broad a spectrum of data as possible. Traditional literary sources will have to be juxtaposed against other kinds of evidence, primarily archaeological and art historical. The site of Salamis-Constantia awaits preservation and new excavations, after decades of abandonment and neglect. In the field of art history, following the pioneering studies of Annemarie Weyl Carr and Michele Bacci,⁷⁹ other Cyprus-related imagery and documents referring to St Catherine should be placed in context, even if they do not come from the island or are no longer kept there.

A case in point is a set of stained glass windows connected with the destroyed Premonstratensian abbey of Basse-Fontaine in the diocese of Troyes in Champagne. According to the reconstruction by Meredith Parsons-Lillich, these panels were conceived for a chapel dedicated to St Catherine, built after a testamentary donation by

78. It should be stressed, for instance, that from the reign of king Hugh IV the royal family became an important patron for Greek churches; the turning point is represented by the famous episode of the miracle of the cross of Tochni, which took place around 1340: see Ch. Schabel, 'Religion', in *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374* [The Medieval Mediterranean, 58], eds A. Nicolaou-Konnari and Ch. Schabel, Leiden – Boston, 2005, 157-218, particularly pp. 181-182.

79. See Weyl Carr, 'Sinai and Cyprus', *op. cit.*; Bacci, '"Mixed" Shrines', pp. 439-441; Idem, 'Famagusta as the New Terrasanta'. See also Idem, 'Culto e iconografia di santa Caterina a Cipro', in *Santa Caterina d'Alessandria dal Sinai alla Puglia*, Conference Proceedings (Bari-Lecce-Galatina, 27-30 June 2002), ed. M. S. Calò Mariani, forthcoming.

John II, count of Brienne, who died in 1260.⁸⁰ John II was the son of Walter IV and Mary of Lusignan, daughter of King Hugh I and sister of King Henry I of Cyprus. After the death of his parents, John of Brienne was raised on Cyprus by his aunt Isabella of Antioch, whose son later became king of Cyprus in 1267 (Hugh III) and Jerusalem in 1268 (Hugh I).⁸¹ As Parsons-Lillich has temptingly suggested, when John of Brienne decided in his will to dedicate a chaplaincy, 'Catherine was the obvious choice. She was "the saint in the family", daughter of the king of Cyprus, just like his own mother, and his aunt Isabella of Antioch.'⁸² If this was so, it would be an especially interesting and early example of identification with St Catherine's cult among the descendants of the Lusignan line.

Further evidence for from the later Lusignan period can be found in a world-famous document: the musical manuscript from the court of King Janus I now in the National University Library in Turin.⁸³ Most of the texts included in this manuscript were written in Cyprus between the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries. One of the motets is dedicated to St Catherine:

Triplum XIV.

May harmony, sweet chant and melody resound
With praises on the sacred feast of the divine Catherine
Of grateful offspring, born from royal blood⁸⁴.

Duplum XIV.

May chant and praises for the birth of queen Catherine resound
With sublime notes and royal crowns.⁸⁵

80. See M. Parsons Lillich, 'Gifts of the Lords of Brienne: Gothic Windows in Champagne, Donors from Cyprus', *Arte medievale*, 12-13 (1998-1999), 173-192.

81. On these members of the house of the Lusignans, see G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. II, *The Frankish period, 1192-1432*, Cambridge, 1948, *ad indicem*; P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge, 1991, *ad indicem*.

82. Parsons Lillich, 'Gifts of the Lords of Brienne', p. 177.

83. Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria Nazionale, ms. J.II.9. On this manuscript, see the essays collected in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9* [Musicological Studies & Documents, 45], Conference Proceedings (Paphos, 20-25 March 1992), eds U. Günther and L. Finscher, Rome – Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1995; *Il Codice J.2.9 – The Codex J.II.9. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria*, Facsimile Edition, eds I. Data and K. Kügle, Lucca, 1999. See now also K. Kügle, 'Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65 (2012), 637-690.

84. Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria Nazionale, ms. J.II.9, f. 71v: 'Personet armonia, dulcis cantus, melodia/Laudis divine sacre festo Katerine./ Progenie grata, regali sanguine nata'; cf. *Il Codice J.2.9*, f. 71v.

85. *Ibid.*, f. 72r: 'Consonet altisonis laudes notulis Katerine/ Cantus regine nate regisque coronis'; cf. *Il Codice J.2.9*, f. 72r.

This motet has been singled out as exceptional in many ways.⁸⁶ Aside from its interest for musicologists, it should also be regarded as further evidence confirming St Catherine's association with the Lusignans. In fact, both the *triplum* and the *duplum* texts insist on the saint's royal status and are intended primarily to celebrate her birth ('regali sanguine nata'; 'Katerine [...] regine nate'). Cypriot origins and royal blood: once again, these were the two legendary, but widely accepted notions that accompanied sincere and pious devotion and were responsible for the great success that Catherine's cult enjoyed on Cyprus and beyond in the later Middle Ages and early modern era.

86. For a full analysis of this motet, see M. Bent, 'Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript', in *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, 357-375, particularly pp. 372-374. Kügler, 'Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior', p. 661.

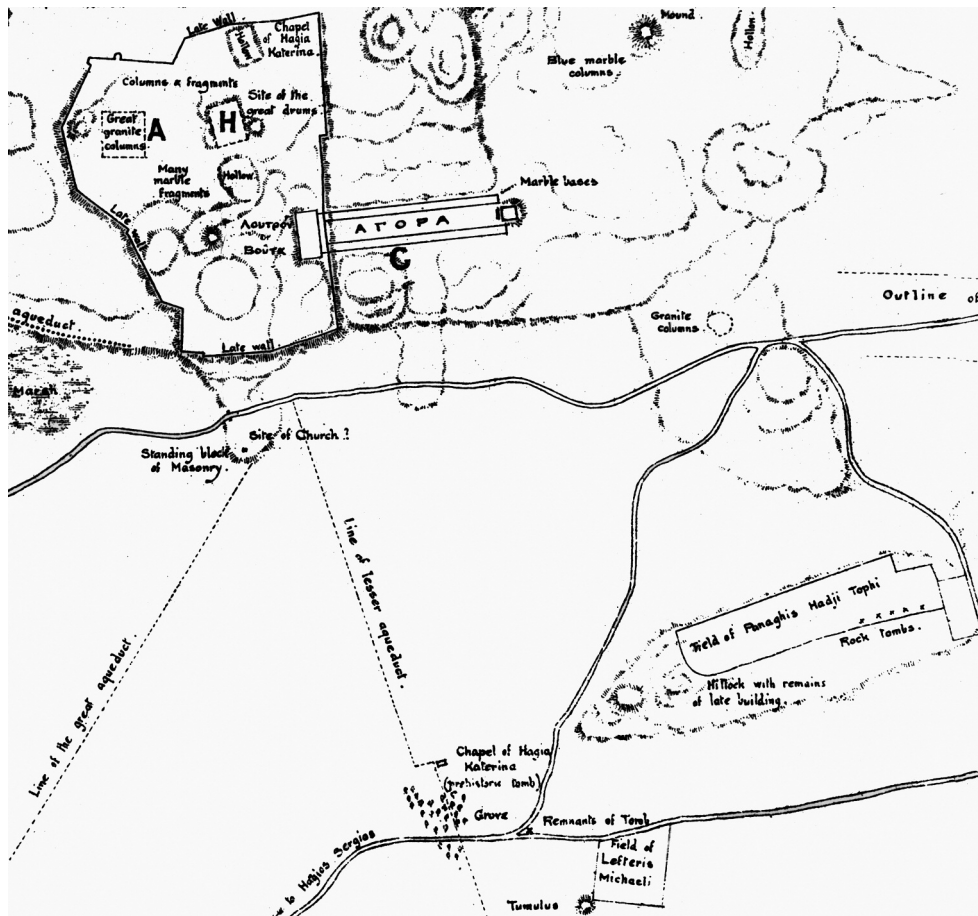


Fig. 1. Late 19th-century map of the Salamis region, from J.A.R. Munro, H.A. Tubbs, 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1890. Third Season's Work. Salamis', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), pp. 59-198, here plate V, detail.



Fig. 2. Section of the Byzantine walls of Constantia Copyright: Charles Stewart.



Fig. 3. The walls of Heidingsfeld in Bavaria Copyright: Lorenzo Calvelli.

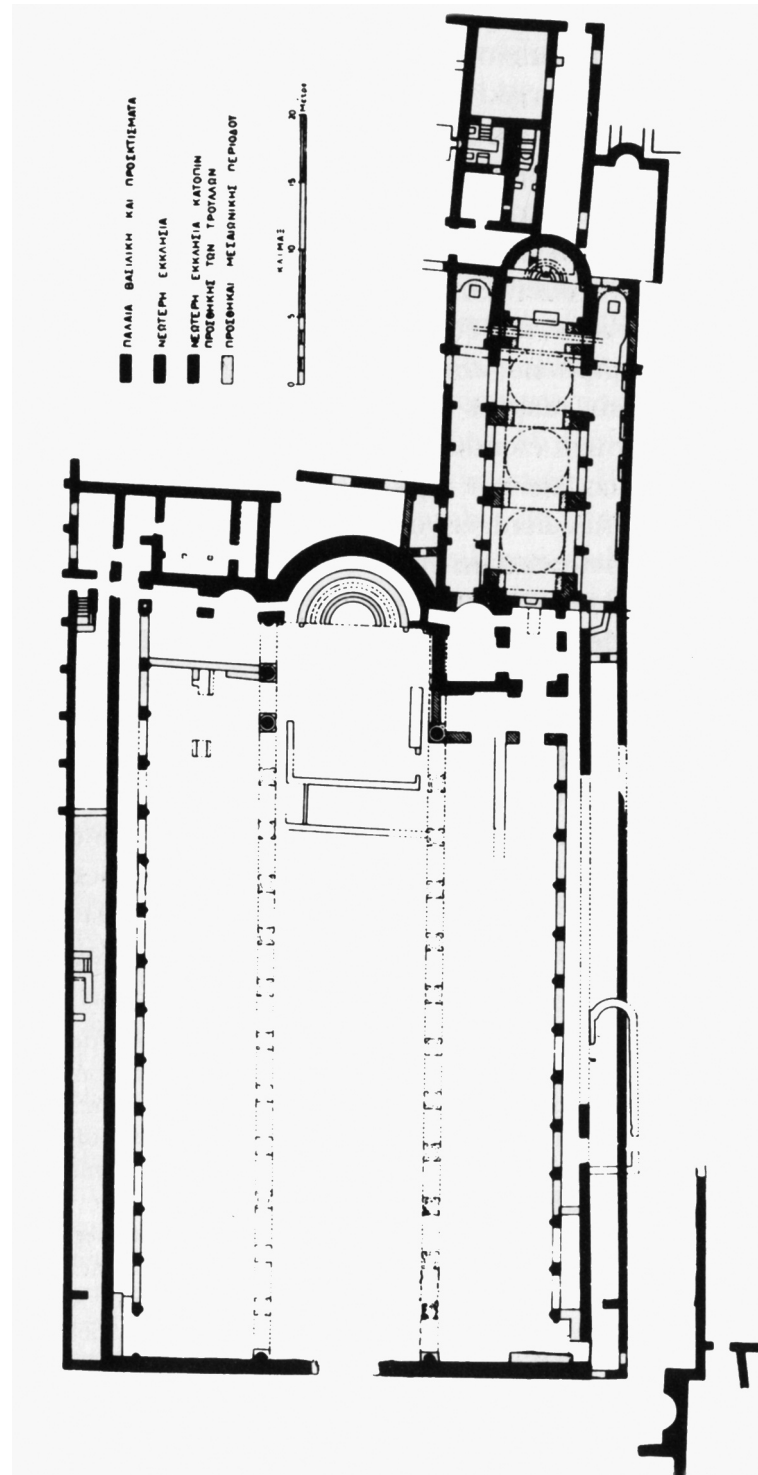


Fig. 4. Plan of St Epiphanius basilica at Salamis, from A. Papageorgiou, 'L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre', in *Seminario internazionale di studi su «Cipro e il Mediterraneo orientale»* (Ravenna, 23-30 marzo 1985), Ravenna 1985 (Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, 32), pp. 299-324, here p. 302, fig. 1.

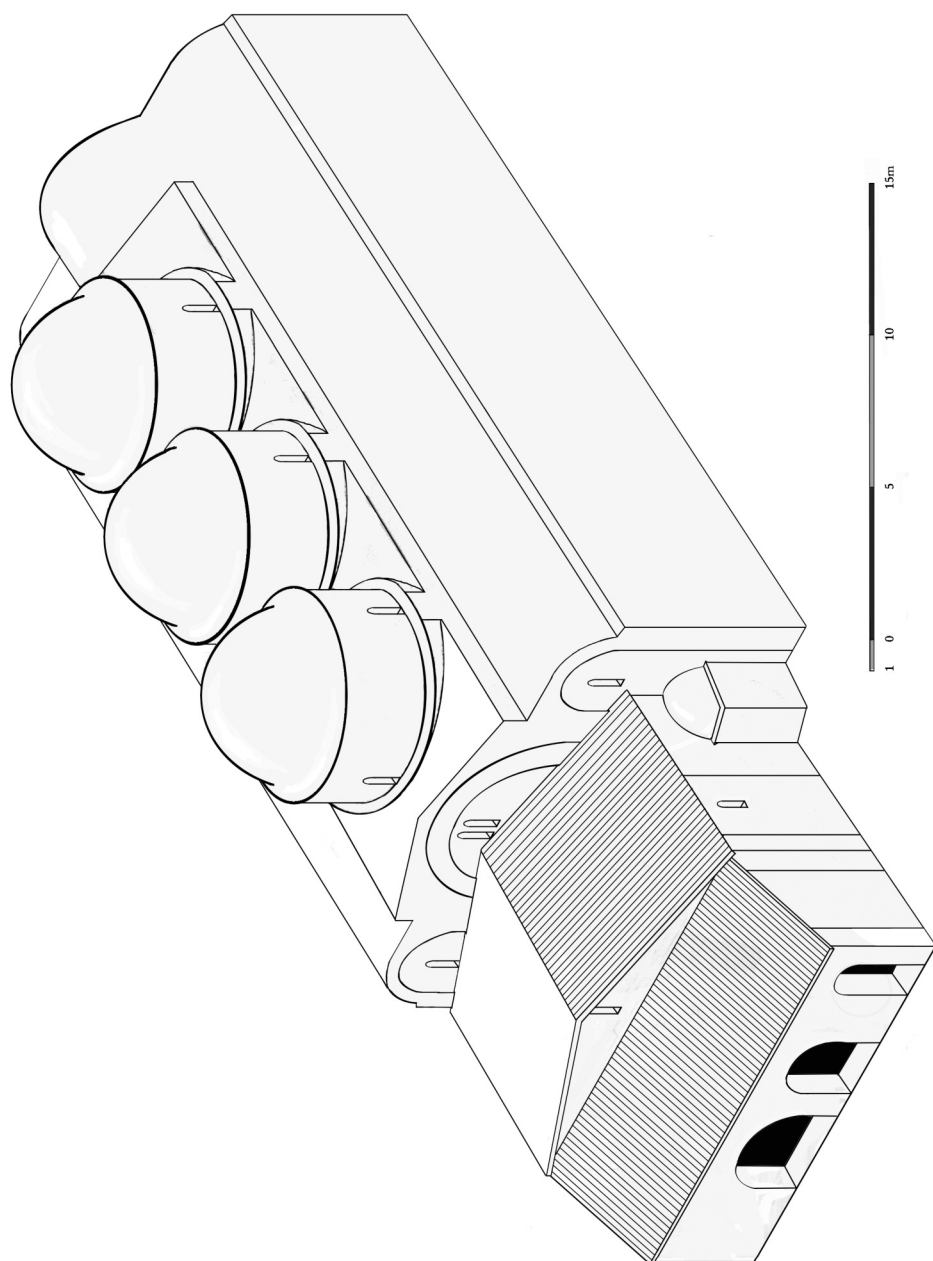


Fig. 5. St Epiphanius: hypothetical exterior reconstruction of the eighth century structure, from Stewart, *Domes of Heaven*, fig. 3.20.

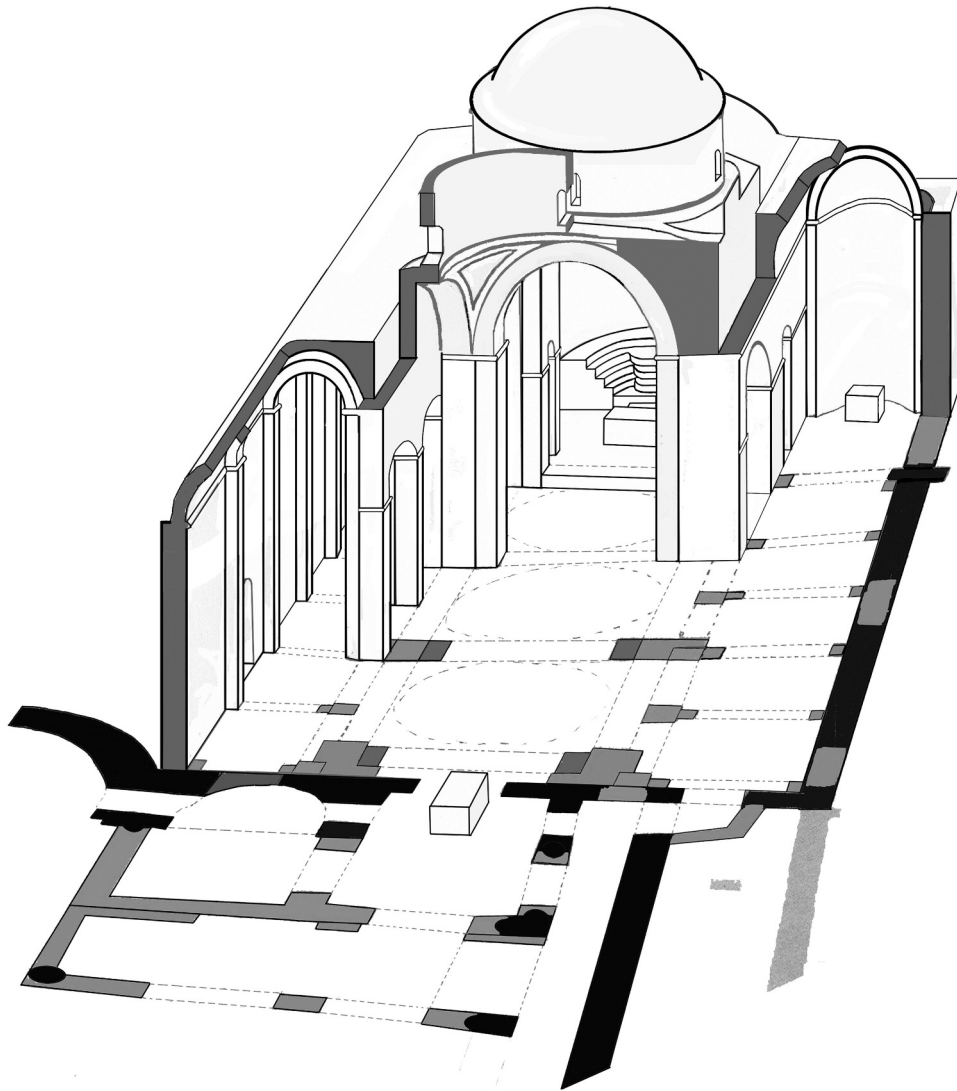


Fig. 6. St Epiphanius: cutaway perspective sketch of interior (not proportional), from Stewart, *Domes of Heaven*, fig. 3.22.

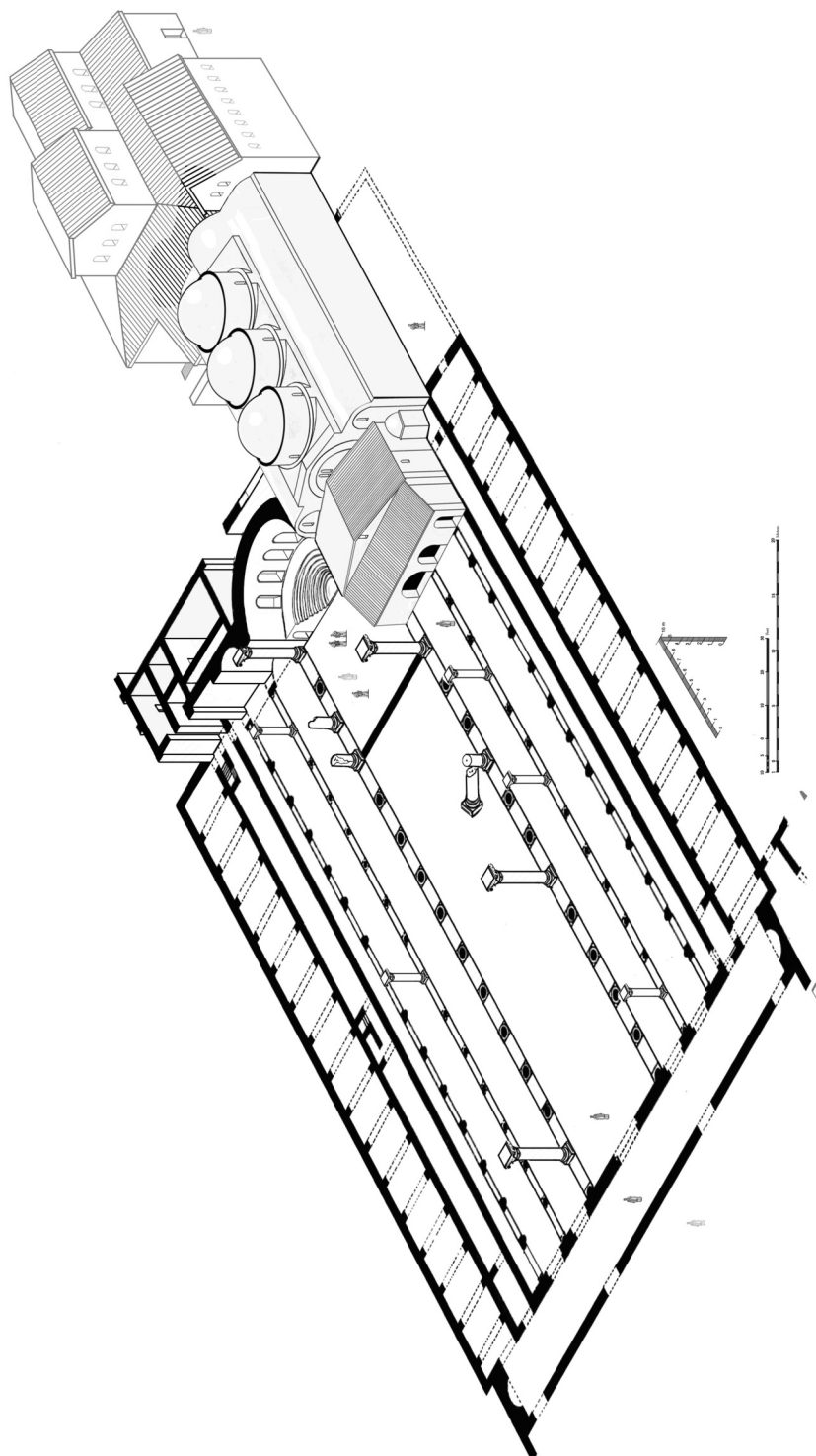


Fig. 7. St Epiphanius: hypothetical isometric sketch of the relationship between domed church and the earlier basilica, from Stewart, *Domes of Heaven*, fig. 3.25.



Fig. 8. The early Christian baptistery at St Epiphanius Copyright: Lorenzo Calvelli.

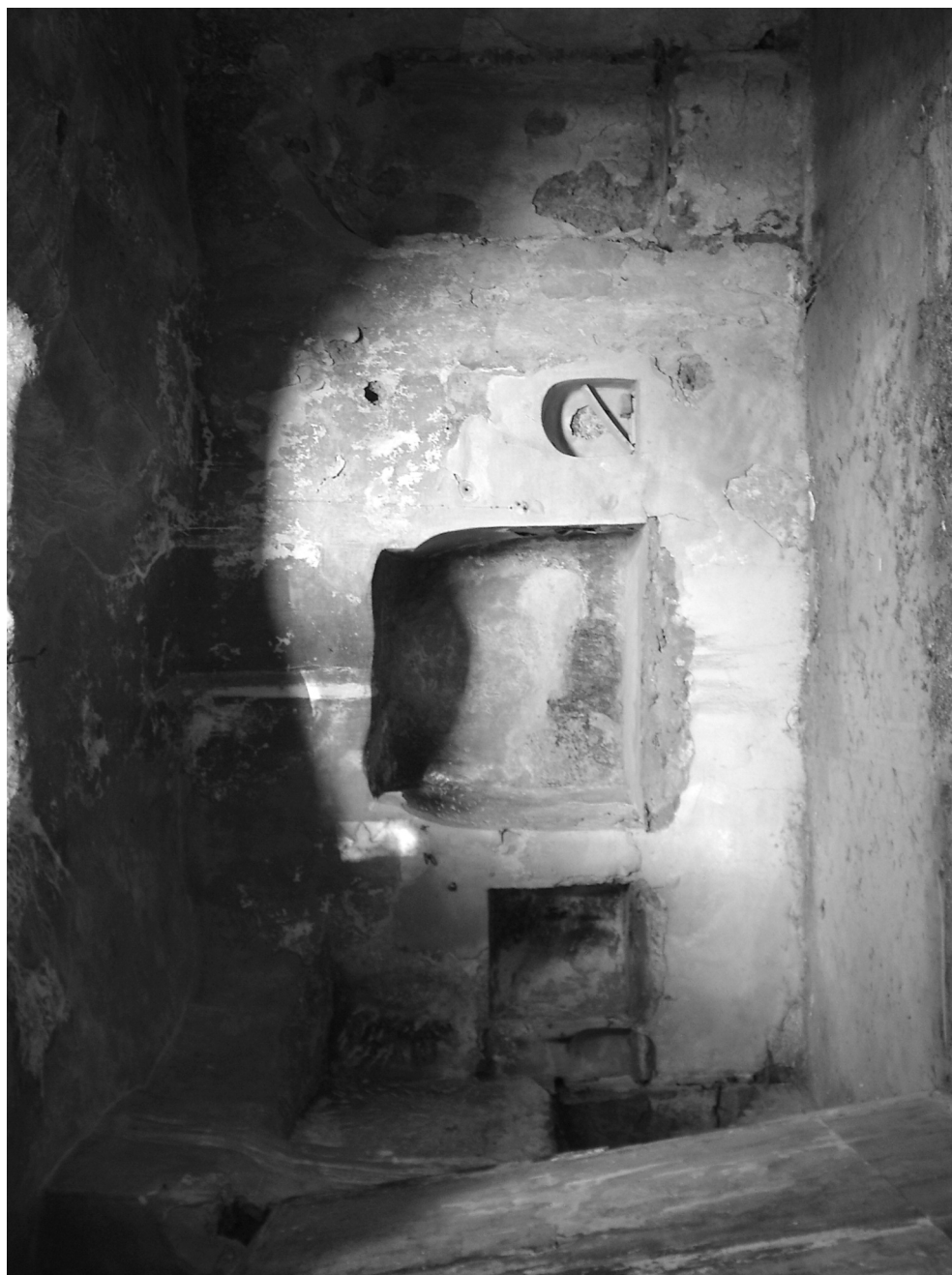


Fig. 9. The subterranean chapel of St Mary of the Cave Copyright: Michele Bacci.



Fig. 10. Remains of the church of St Francis at Famagusta, eastern side Copyright: Michalis Olympios.



