

CHAPTER 03

Frankish and Venetian Cyprus, 1191-1571

C h r i s S c h a b e l

Aims

This unit examines the social, economic, ecclesiastical, and political history of Frankish and Venetian Cyprus in the context of Europe and the Near East in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

After studying this unit, students will be in a position to

- Understand the transformations that Cyprus underwent in the transition to Frankish rule
- Understand the evolution of Cypriot society against the background of the events that accelerated, hindered, or redirected those changes

Keywords

- fief
- dynasty
- serfdom
- crusades
- refugees
- plague
- schism
- bourgeois
- *Bulla Cypria*
- tithes
- Assizes
- papacy
- Mamluks
- ban on trade
- Genoa
- Venice
- aristocracy
- clergy

Introduction

For almost four centuries Cyprus was ruled by a dynasty and then a foreign power of the Latin rite, ecclesiastically subordinate to the pope in Rome, and for this reason the entire period is called locally “Latinocracy,” made up of the “Francocracy” (1191-1474/89) and the “Venetocracy” (1474/89-1571). A large majority of the general population was of the Greek rite throughout, speaking a dialect of the Greek language, while there were numerous Eastern Christian minorities speaking Arabic and Armenian, a small Jewish community, and some Muslim slaves. Significant changes occurred over time, however, and under the French-speaking Lusignan dynasty the Kingdom of Cyprus gradually evolved from this fragmented cluster of indigenous and alien linguistic and religious communities to a more unified yet still multicultural society of Cypriots by the end of the reign of King Hugh IV (1324-59). This process was redirected in the wake of the Genoese and Mamluk invasions in the 1370s and 1420s and again with the Venetian takeover in the 1470s. Thus we can best follow these developments and those of a political nature by dividing the period into four phases: first, from the Frankish conquest to the fall of Acre, 1191-1291; second, until the incident that provoked the Genoese invasion, 1291-1372; third, until the death of the last Lusignan monarch 1372-1474; fourth, the period of Venetian rule, 1474-1571.

The First Century, 1191-1291

King Richard the Lionheart of England conquered Cyprus in the spring of 1191, en route to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade, following Saladin's decisive victory at the Battle of Hattin and capture of Jerusalem in 1187. Historians still debate whether Richard planned the conquest beforehand. Given the value of the island and its potential utility to the Holy Land, Richard certainly had motive. Having wintered in Messina, Sicily, he could easily have learned about the situation on the island from the locals, since Isaac Comnenos, who had usurped power from Byzantium in 1184 and proclaimed himself emperor, had formed an alliance with Norman Sicily to defend successfully against reconquest from Constantinople. Richard is also said to have inquired about Isaac when he stopped on Rhodes on his way east, and Isaac seems to have been prepared for the attack. But being well informed was just common sense, and it would have been foolish for Richard to agree, as he did, to sharing the spoils of the crusade with King Philip II of France if he planned to conquer Cyprus singlehandedly. In any event, the explanation that one finds in most chronicles of the Third Crusade is that a storm scattered Richard's fleet, some ships were wrecked off Cyprus and the survivors were imprisoned by Isaac, Richard's sister Joanna and fiancée Berengaria anchored offshore at Limassol and refused Isaac's treacherous invitation to land, Richard arrived on 5 May, and, after a hostile reception, he exacted his revenge, taking Isaac into custody by the end of the month and leaving to join the siege of Acre on 5 June.

Isaac's rule had been oppressive and was seen as illegitimate, which facilitated and helped justify Richard's conquest of a 'former' Byzantine territory. The people of Limassol and Nicosia were said to be pleased, and the Cypriot upper class went over to Richard, coming to an agreement by which they relinquished half their property in exchange for a return to the laws and tax regime under Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (†1180). Richard therefore left few troops on the island, but they soon faced a minor uprising of Greeks and Armenians who had not accepted the compromise. Although Richard's representative, Robert of Thornham, easily put down the revolt and executed the leader, by 12 July Richard had sold the island to the Knights Templar for 100,000 Saracen bezants. The Templars paid 40,000 up front, but their cruelty in extracting the remainder from the island's populace provoked the more serious revolt that took place in April 1192. Only about one hundred strong, the Templars managed to surprise the Greeks on Easter morning and crush the rebellion, but they opted to return the island to Richard, who did not refund their downpayment. On 5 May 1192 the French-speaking Richard sold the island to another Frenchman, the dispossessed king of Jerusalem by marriage, Guy of Lusignan, from Poitou, who de facto paid only the remaining 60,000 bezants. Guy was able to establish a dynasty on Cyprus that lasted almost three centuries.

There were numerous real and potential claimants to Cyprus, and Guy was aware of the experiences of Thornham and the Templars. To create a loyal military force, therefore, Guy immediately began distributing fiefs on the Western feudal model. The basic unit was the village, the *casale*, and Cyprus

consisted of 800 or 900 of them. A fief could be one or more villages or *casalia*, or a fraction of one. The enfeoffment entailed the confiscation of villages formerly in the possession of various landlords, including the Byzantine State and Greek nobles, especially those with holdings elsewhere who had left the island during Isaac's tyranny or, particularly, in the turbulence of the first year of Latin rule. If the agreement between Richard and the Cypriots included immovable property, this too went to Guy. Richard and the Templars had surely confiscated additional lands of local Cypriots following the revolts, and Guy may have as well, while there is evidence that Guy seized some possessions belonging to Orthodox churches and monasteries, although it is impossible to tell how much. Finally, a large number of Venetians owned urban and rural property, notably in and around Limassol, much if not most of which was also taken, for reasons that are unknown. Guy is said to have given fiefs to hundreds of knights and more lightly armed troops, mostly Frenchmen dispossessed after 1187 who had supported him in Palestine, in addition to urban incomes to Syrian and other refugees, including Guy's Pisan allies. The Templars retained much property, and rather quickly the other great military order in the East, the Hospitallers, was endowed with numerous estates in the south of the island, in both cases some former Venetian properties. Guy also granted income to Jubin Abbey in Syria and probably founded Bellapais Abbey.



Colossi Castle

In the Byzantine period, the Greeks of Cyprus were divided into social classes, and this remained the case in the Frankish period. Some members of the local Greek *archontes*, aristocrats, kept a share of their wealth, although nowhere near the level of the Frankish military ruling class, from which they were excluded. Members of this class would have continued to occupy the important positions in the Greek churches and monasteries, which retained a portion of their estates, in some cases without any losses, according to the *Typika* of Makhairas and Neophytos Abbeys. While Guy and his successors applied the laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the nobility and bourgeois, for the specifics of land units, taxation, and the like, in addition to relations with Byzantium and the Muslim states, it was necessary to retain much of the Byzantine system and even Greek administrative personnel, for example in the *Secrète*, the royal finance office. The notebook of one family of Greek administrators from the early period, the Anagnostes, still survives. Individual Franks also employed Greek stewards on their estates. There were Greek city dwellers termed *perpyriarioi* as well, owing an annual tax, but not labor obligations. The status of these classes steadily rose over time.

Most of the Greek population were peasants, divided into two broad classes, the *francomati* and the *paroikoi*. The *francomati* were the Byzantine free peasants, the *lefteroi*, who rented land but had certain obligations. Near the bottom of the social scale were the *paroikoi*, serfs, the vast majority, although they were subdivided into different echelons. Given that they had already been attached to villages owned by secular and ecclesiastical landlords, the *paroikoi* saw little change in their everyday lives, with similar labor and tax obligations, although as legally unfree they had a lower status under the Franks. Finally, there were slaves. Such class distinctions were a traditional part of society, not a foreign import, and it was not uncommon in the Frankish period for Greek serfs to be subject to Greek

landlords, even Greek bishops and abbots.

Guy remained simply lord of Cyprus, keeping the title of king of Jerusalem, until his death in late 1194 or early 1195. His vassals chose his brother Aimery (1195-1205) to succeed him as lord of Cyprus. Aimery quickly found that Guy had been overly generous in granting fiefs. Aimery had no choice but to demand that the vassals return a portion of their fiefs to the *regale*, the royal demesne, using other means to increase his income. In late 1195, Aimery also began negotiations with the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI of Hohenstaufen, the highest secular authority in the Latin world, for the creation of the Kingdom of Cyprus, and with Pope Celestine III for the establishment of a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy on the island. A crown would not only enhance his own standing, but it would help silence other claimants and gain a powerful ally, who was planning a crusade. Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim crowned Aimery in September 1197, and 'officially' Cyprus became a client kingdom of the German Emperor. Henry died the same month, before setting off to the East, but serious threats to Aimery and Cyprus did not materialize, so Aimery had his crown and security seemingly without giving up real sovereignty. But when Henry's infant son, Frederick II, came of age, civil war would ensue.

Aimery organized his new kingdom along western lines, with a seneschal, constable, marshal, and chamberlain, and the Haute Cour to advise the king on important matters and serve as the highest court of justice. The nobles and bourgeois were governed by the customs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, described in thirteenth-century French legal writings called *Assizes*, those for the feudal aristocracy and those for the subjects of the Cour des Bourgeois. The legal system was much more complicated than this, since Latin, Byzantine, and other religious laws applied, the Syrians had their own court, and the Italian merchants had special legal privileges as well. For economic matters, the king had the *Secrète*, run by a bailli, and the *Comerc*.

To join the ranks of western kingdoms, Cyprus needed Latin bishops subject to the pope. Aimery wrote to Pope Celestine suggesting that he was returning the island from schism, but Celestine was more concerned about the organization and independence of the local church from the crown and nobility, and he left the Greek Church untouched. With the advice of Aimery's chancellor, Archdeacon Alan of Lydda, and nuncio, Archdeacon B. of Latakia, Celestine set up the Latin ecclesiastical province of Cyprus with an archbishop of Nicosia and suffragan bishops of Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta, in order of importance, with Alan elected the first archbishop and B. settling for the Paphos diocese. Rather than a salary, the prelates were to have an endowment of landed property and to receive tithes, ten percent of the incomes of the Frankish aristocracy. Following Guy's distribution of fiefs, however, there was little left for the king, let alone the Church. Aimery used property confiscated from Venetians to endow the bishop of Limassol, while Archbishop Alan and the bishops of Famagusta and probably Paphos received estates held by Frankish nobles, two villages for Alan and only one for the other two dioceses. Thus the Latin Church on Cyprus started out rather poor. It was probably only the huge size of the Nicosia diocese, together with donations from the crown and aristocracy living in the capital, that permitted the archbishops to begin a cathedral of modest proportions by western standards, although impressive for the Eastern Mediterranean. According to documents preserved in the *Cartulary of Nicosia Cathedral*, Archbishop Eustorge (by 1216 to 1250) was able to increase its income with wise investments, partly by exploiting those in need of cash following the Civil War.

The Civil War of 1228-33 occurred as a result of a phenomenon that plagued Cyprus in the first two thirds of the thirteenth century: the succession of child-kings. When the ruler of Jerusalem died in 1197, Aimery married his widow, Queen Isabel, and Aimery remained king of Jerusalem by marriage until his death in 1205, devoting much of his time to the mainland. Aimery could not pass his title to Jerusalem to his son Hugh (1205-18), who became king of Cyprus at the age of nine. The regent, Walter of Montbéliard, and then Hugh when he came of age continued to occupy themselves ably with Jerusalem, although the transition from Walter's to Hugh's rule was anything but smooth. Hugh participated in the Fifth Crusade (1217-21), dying in Tripoli in early 1218.

Hugh had married Alice of Champagne in 1210, and her uncles Philip and John of Ibelin accompanied the girl to Cyprus from Syria. At Hugh's death, his son Henry (1218-53) was an infant, and Alice was named regent. Philip of Ibelin was associated with the regency, but he and his niece had a falling out in 1223-24 and Alice began shopping for new husbands in order to remove Philip from power, including the future Prince Bohemond V of Antioch. The popes did not cooperate by giving the necessary dispensations, however, and Philip would not step down. At the same time, a group of older Frankish-Cypriot families opposed what they considered the tyrannous rule of the newcomer Ibelins. They were led by what would be called the "Five Baillis," with whom Alice allied, granting at least one of them, William of Rivet, a fief, and designating another, Aimery Barlais, as her bailli in place of Philip. Philip still clung to power, and when he died in 1227 or 1228 his brother John took over, surely without Alice's permission. Perhaps with Alice's connivance, Emperor Frederick II now decided to exercise his rights over Cyprus, stopping on the island in 1228 on his way to the Holy Land on crusade. At a banquet Frederick held in Limassol, the emperor demanded that John of Ibelin turn over the profits from the regency, which had already lasted a decade. John replied that he did not have them, so Frederick signaled his waiting troops to surround John, taking two of his sons hostage until John would present himself before the High Court of Jerusalem. Frederick's actions set off the lengthy Civil War that lasted until 1233, described in detail by one of the participants, Philip of Novara, in his French chronicle *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*.

At first John of Ibelin retreated with his allies to St Hilarion Castle, but the two sides reached a compromise. When Frederick returned to the West, he left the Five Baillis in charge in exchange for a large sum of money, and in the meantime the emperor's men held the fortifications. In their efforts to come up with the money, however, the Five Baillis lost local support. To make matters worse, Frederick himself had been excommunicated, so they faced papal opposition. The conflict came to a head at the Battle of Nicosia on 14 July 1229, an Ibelin victory, after which the Baillis' faction fled to the castles. Surprisingly, the Ibelins took Kyrenia quickly, but St Hilarion and Kantara Castle held out until the spring of 1230, when the Ibelins agreed to allow the Baillis to keep their fiefs, fearing the emperor's return. In the fall of 1231, Frederick sent Richard Filangieri with an army to the East. Contrary to feudal law, in early 1232 John of Ibelin persuaded the Cypriots to defend his fief of Beirut on the mainland against Filangieri, but Aimery Barlais managed to return to Cyprus with eighty followers, taking control. The Ibelin supporters took refuge in the castles of Buffavento and St Hilarion, to the latter of which Aimery laid siege. When Filangieri came to assist, John of Ibelin gathered troops to raise the siege. With the help of the Genoese, to whom King Henry had to grant significant trading privileges, the Ibelins sailed to Cyprus, took Famagusta at night, marched to Nicosia, and set off for St

Hilarion. Ascending the narrow pass in the mountains on the road to Kyrenia, the Ibelins met up with the imperial forces and, despite their disadvantageous position, won a dramatic victory at the Battle of Agridi. The surviving supporters of the Five Baillis retreated to Kyrenia, which was besieged until it fell at Easter 1233, with Genoese assistance.

The Civil War had significant repercussions. Henry expelled the Five Baillis and seized their fiefs, thus effecting a change in the composition of the Cypriot aristocracy. The Ibelins emerged stronger than ever, and the Genoese were on their way to becoming a powerful force in Cypriot affairs. Not only did Frederick lose the war, but his troubles with the papacy would lead Pope Innocent IV to declare Henry and Cyprus free of imperial hegemony in 1247, after which Cyprus was truly independent. But the war had been destructive in terms of property and lives, and Henry's treasury was empty, the tithes still unpaid. Henry was forced to sell crown lands to deal with the crisis. It was also during the chaos of the Civil War that the bloodiest incident in the history of Greek-Latin ecclesiastical relations occurred, the execution of thirteen Greek monks in Nicosia in 1231.

For a quarter century, the Greek and Latin Churches had existed side-by-side in Cyprus, but this changed in 1220 in the context of an internal dispute among the Franks. The main source of income for the Latin Church was tithes, but the initial arrangement with King Aimery did not function well in the first decades. The Frankish landlords found various ways to reduce their tithe obligations. For example, since the Greeks did not have this system and were exempt from paying, some Franks refused to calculate the produce of Greek labor on their estates. In October 1220 an agreement was reached in Limassol between the Latin archbishop and bishops, on the one hand, and the crown and nobility, on the other, over tithes, but another pact was required two years later, when the same groups met in Famagusta, with the mediation of the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, and implemented the tithe system of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Even then, the Franks made excuses not to observe the 1222 accord, and another arbitrated settlement was accepted in 1232. The Frankish nobility continued to circumvent the system, by assigning Greek and Syrian stewards to run their estates, by leasing their lands to Templars and Hospitallers, who were exempt from tithes, or by claiming to be exempt themselves because they dwelt in other dioceses. It was not until after 1260, with compromises between Archbishop Hugh of Nicosia and the military orders, that we cease hearing general complaints about non-payment of tithes, although of course individual tax dodgers were as numerous then as they are now.

Gathering in Limassol in 1220, however, the Latin prelates and the leading Franks took the opportunity to decide on the fate of the Greek clergy, at the instigation of the papal legate in the East, Cardinal Pelagius. Following the so-called Gregorian Reform of the eleventh century, the Latin Church strove for ecclesiastical liberty from secular control as well as a clear church hierarchy subject to the universal jurisdiction of the pope. On Cyprus, the Latin clergy had achieved this, with inalienable landed estates and free episcopal elections by the cathedral chapters, after a failed attempt by King Hugh I to intervene in the election of the archbishop of Nicosia in the early 1210s. Many of the lower Greek clerics were serfs belonging to Frankish lords, however, and there was no guarantee that the Lusignan crown would avoid further confiscations of Greek church property. On the other hand, the Greeks were in no way subject to the local Latin Church or the pope. Church and State reached a

compromise in 1220: Greek priests and deacons would henceforth be free of servile obligations to the Franks, and like Latin clerics they would be subject to the Latin archbishop and bishops. In return, the Latin prelates would have to control the number and movement of priests, deacons, and monks, so that they would not join the clergy in order to avoid their obligations on the estates. If the Latins allowed the ordination or movement of Greeks who were formerly serfs, they had to find replacement serfs for the Frankish landlords. Finally, henceforth the Frankish nobles would respect Greek clerical property, guaranteeing it in the future. In 1222 further specifications were made, but, probably again at Pelagius' urging, it was also decided to enforce the canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 forbidding more than one bishop from occupying the same see but providing for assistants to deal with linguistically diverse flocks. To match the number of Latin sees, the Greek bishops were thus reduced from about fourteen to four, who would have their seats in existing Greek episcopal towns that were located within each of the Latin dioceses, Solea for Nicosia, Arsinoe for Paphos, Lefkara for Limassol, and Karpasia for Famagusta. In practice, other bishops were probably allowed to keep their titles until their deaths, after which the remaining four called themselves, for example, "Bishop of Arsinoe and *proedros* of Paphos," thus taking over the defunct titles.

The sudden reduction of the number of bishops and general subjugation to the Latins and the pope threw the Greek clergy into confusion. They sent Bishop Leontios of Solea and Abbot Leontios of Absinthi to Nicaea to seek the advice of the new Patriarch Germanos II, two of whose letters on the issue survive. The 1222 accord put the Greeks of Cyprus in a privileged position in comparison to their co-religious in the Kingdom of Sicily, Frankish Greece, the Holy Land, and in most Venetian territories, and Germanos was prepared to compromise on some items, but he ended up urging resistance. The Greek clerics on Cyprus were split, with some accepting the situation, others choosing exile, and still others opting for forms of passive or active resistance; the Greek laity was similarly divided. The exciting career of Archbishop Neophytos (by 1221 to 1250/1) reflects these internal divisions, since he went into exile two or three times and it was on his watch that the monks were martyred.

According to a hagiographical text known as the *Martyrion Kyprion*, two monks from Kalon Oros in Cilician Armenia, John and Conon, came to Cyprus, gathered a following of several Cypriots and three others from Kalon Oros, and settled down in the monastery of Kantara in the east of the Kyrenia Mountains. At the same time, the first members of the newly created mendicant or "begging" orders of Franciscans and Dominicans arrived on the island. The latter would come to be known as the "hounds of God," a pun on their Latin name, "Domini-cani," because of their activities against heretics, often as part of the new papal inquisitorial procedure. Probably in 1227, one of these hounds, a Master Andrew, along with a companion named William, paid a visit to Kantara and engaged the monks in a theological discussion. When the Greeks accused the Latins of heresy for their use of unleavened bread in the sacrament of the Eucharist and challenged Andrew to a trial by fire, Andrew instead cited them to appear before Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia. The monks obeyed, but upon refusing to recant their accusations against the Latins they were imprisoned and subjected to harsh conditions and physical abuse for three years. Each year they were interviewed, but they would not budge without permission from Patriarch Germanos. Finally Eustorge appealed to Pope Gregory IX for a solution, and with Eustorge away in exile in Acre, Master Andrew received the papal orders to treat the monks as heretics, gave them one more chance, and then summoned the king and Haute

Cour, persuading them to execute the monks. One of the monks died in prison in the meantime, and on 19 May 1231 the remaining twelve were dispensed with in a public and brutal fashion.

Papal letters in the Vatican Archives describe the aftermath. The event was at the centre of the diplomatic discussions between Germanos II and Gregory IX over the next few years. In 1238 Gregory ordered Latin prelates in the East not to allow Greek priests to celebrate the divine offices unless they first took an oath to the Roman Church and swore that the Latins were not heretics for using unleavened bread. Archbishop Neophytos and many of the Greek higher clergy chose exile in Armenia rather than take the oath. It was not until a decade later, in the context of the preparations for King Louis IX of France's crusade, that the Greeks were enticed to return. In 1250 Pope Innocent IV was at least willing to consider their requests for a return to the pre-1220 situation, and the following year he permitted them to elect Archbishop Germanos after Neophytos' death. When the archbishop of Nicosia, Hugh of Fagiano, complained about the rites of the Greeks that he considered problematic, Innocent's lengthy response of 1254 mostly vindicated the Greeks and must have annoyed Hugh. Relations with Archbishop Hugh only worsened, and Germanos and the Greek bishops appealed to Rome against his actions. As a result of discussions at the papal curia, in 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued the *Bulla Cypria*, the constitution of the Greek clergy on Cyprus for the next three centuries. Although Germanos would be the last archbishop, and the four Greek bishops would remain subordinate to their Latin counterparts and take oaths to them and to the pope, the Greeks retained their hierarchy, jurisdiction over their flock, and much autonomy. Nevertheless, the arrangement provoked a period of strife within the Greek community and between the Latin and Greek hierarchies. As late as the 1280s, Archbishop Ranulph imprisoned the leading Greek cleric, Bishop Neophytos of Solea, and Bishop Berard of Limassol accused Bishop Matthew of Lefkara of heresy over unleavened bread. By the end of the century, however, all sides came to accept the document, which was fully implemented.

During the Civil War, Frederick II had regained Jerusalem by diplomacy in 1229, but in 1244 the city fell for the last time. Louis IX responded with a crusade, and his army wintered in Cyprus in 1248-49. The Chronicle of John of Joinville informs us about such things as provisioning and the negotiations conducted with Mongol representatives in the hopes of an alliance against the Muslims. The crusade ended in disaster and the Mongol alliance came to nothing, however, and although Louis was able to repair fortifications, starting in 1263 Sultan Baybars of the new Mamluk state in Egypt whittled away at the remaining Frankish outposts in Syria-Palestine. In 1271, the year the future King Edward I of England stopped on Cyprus while on crusade, Baybars sent a fleet against Cyprus itself, but it was wrecked off Limassol. The declining situation on the mainland affected Cyprus in various other ways. We hear of refugees from Antioch (which fell in 1268) and other cities fleeing to Cyprus. The evidence is most conspicuous in the many monastic communities, especially Benedictines, that relocated to Cyprus, with several nunneries in Nicosia and Stavrovouni growing in importance. Cypriot ecclesiastical positions were also used to support exiled prelates from the mainland.

From the 1240s, Queen Alice (†1246), King Henry I (†1253), Queen Plaisance of Antioch (1258-61) and the future King Hugh III (1263 on) were at least nominally in charge of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. At Henry I's death in 1253, his son, Hugh II (1253-67), was an infant, so Plaisance, the queen-mother, acted as regent, as had Alice for Henry himself, until her death in 1261, and Henry's cousin Hugh of

Antioch-Lusignan succeeded her as regent. When the young Hugh II died in 1267, the regent was crowned Hugh III (1267-84). Then, in 1269, after Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, executed the last Hohenstaufen king of Jerusalem, Conrad V, Hugh III of Cyprus actually became king of Jerusalem. Hugh now had to commit even more Cypriot resources to the defense of Syria against the Muslim tide. In 1271 the Cypriot knights refused to continue to fight off the island, asserting that they were not obliged, and Hugh was forced to accept a compromise in 1273, whereby they would serve four months per year. Hugh III's succession did not go uncontested either in Cyprus or in Jerusalem. His cousin, Maria of Antioch, was pressing her claim to Jerusalem and in 1277 sold her rights to Charles of Anjou, whose representative took charge in Acre, the *de facto* capital. When the Templars sided with Charles, Hugh confiscated the order's property on Cyprus and razed their castle at Gastria. Hugh III died in 1284 in Tyre while trying to regain control.

Hugh's son John reigned for only one year, dying in 1285. John's brother, Henry II (1285-1324), was finally able to take advantage of the chaos in Charles of Anjou's kingdom following the great revolt of 1282 called the Sicilian Vespers, and, patching it up with the Templars, Henry was crowned king of Jerusalem in Tyre in 1286. The Angevins did not give up their claims, but for the moment Henry was in power. Five years later, however, a truce with the Mamluks that had held since 1272 was broken and, despite the efforts of Henry II and the Cypriots, Acre fell in 1291.

The Zenith of Medieval Cyprus, 1291-1372

The fall of Acre and the other Christian outposts on the Syro-Palestinian coast was a disaster for the West and seemed that way at first for Cyprus as well. King Henry II of Cyprus was now king of Jerusalem in name only. It was only a matter of time before the sultan's military might would be focused on Cyprus and the nearby Kingdom of Armenia. Refugees from the mainland, who had been fleeing to Cyprus for decades before the Muslim advance, now flooded into the island. The result was predictable: prices rose, the dispossessed were often reduced to poverty, and local resources were strained to meet the demands, a situation made worse by crop failures during the last decade of the century. The crown resorted to various forms of charity and price controls to alleviate the distress, as surviving ordinances bear witness.

Yet there was also excitement in the expectation of a new crusade to recover the Holy Land, with renewed hopes that an alliance with the Mongols would deal a severe blow to the Mamluks. The great military orders, the Templars and Hospitallers, relocated to Limassol, which must have taken on the aspect of a boom town. Other refugees, Franks and Syrians, settled there and in Paphos, as tombs from the era attest, but Nicosia received many more refugees. The mendicant orders, hitherto concentrated in the capital, established convents in Limassol and Paphos as well. The export of the traditional Cypriot products, salt, wine, sugar, and cotton, increased to the benefit of Limassol and Paphos and their hinterlands in particular, while the manufacture of camlet and other products flourished in Nicosia.



Cyprus and nearby region in 1355

Nothing matched the spectacular growth of Famagusta, the port city closest to the Levantine coast. Soon all four main mendicant orders, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians, founded convents there, and several Nicosia convents of Benedictine, Cistercian, and Franciscan nuns has sister houses in Famagusta as well. The Syrian and later Armenian population of the city rose dramatically, as did the Greek and Italian constituents, due to new trading opportunities. A large portion of international trade between East and West was now redirected to pass through Famagusta, assisted in part by a papal ban on trade with Mamluk lands, which Nicholas IV issued soon after the fall of Acre. It seems that, while Henry II tried to enforce this ban, merchants based on Cyprus actually increased their own volume of trade with the Muslims, and Famagusta became a great emporium. The Italian mercantile cities, above all Genoa and Venice, made Famagusta an important part of their international trade networks, and the chance survival of some fifteen hundred charters of the notary Lamberto di Sambuceto from around 1300 provides much information on the life and extent of the Genoese community.

Henry II responded to this development by raising Famagusta's status to a capital-in-exile for the

Kingdom of Jerusalem. Until the Holy Land could be retaken, the king of Jerusalem was to be crowned in Famagusta Cathedral. Pope Boniface VIII in a way assisted by joining the episcopal see of Famagusta with that of Tortosa on the mainland. The old cathedral of St Nicholas the Confessor was much too small for the growing Latin-rite population, even if it was only a fraction of the total populace, and so a new structure was begun around 1300 which, despite financial vicissitudes, was completed in a quarter century and still stands magnificent today. Henry also busied himself with Famagusta's city walls, which the capital would also receive during his reign.

But all this could change at any moment. Cyprus was engulfed in a sea of Muslims, and if the Templars and Hospitallers rivaled the kingdom itself in military might, Venice and Genoa certainly exceeded it. The kings of Sicily continued to lay claim to the title of Jerusalem, and in 1303 Pope Boniface VIII even ratified the Treaty of Caltabellotta, which contemplated giving Cyprus itself to Frederick of Aragon in exchange for the return of Sicily to King Charles II. Governing Cyprus was thus a delicate balancing act, one that a number of nobles and the king's own brother thought Henry incapable of performing. On 26 April 1306 Henry was removed from power and his brother Amaury, lord of Tyre, was appointed governor. According to documents the nobles sent to the pope, Henry had done nothing to prepare for the expected Mamluk invasion, to defend the neighboring Kingdom of Armenia, to alleviate food shortages, to assist Amaury against the Saracens, or to provide justice, especially to the Templars and Hospitallers. The nobles also asserted that Henry was gravely ill and could not rule.

Perhaps the most serious charge was that Henry failed to court friendly relations with Genoa. Queen Alice had granted the Genoese their first privileges in 1218, and in 1232 Henry I added exemption from local jurisdiction in most cases. The Genoese asked for even more rights in the late 1280's, but Henry II and Genoa failed to come to a new trade agreement, and relations steadily declined from there. During a war between Genoa and Venice in the 1290s, Cyprus favored Venice in the skirmishes that took place around Cyprus. After the Genoese victory, they requested that Henry pay an indemnity, but Henry refused. The Genoese then moved to boycott the island, and Henry retaliated. At this point Genoese pirates began to threaten Cyprus' new prosperity, even raiding the island on occasion. Since this prosperity in turn depended in part on the papal ban on trade with Egypt, Henry sometimes enforced this by seizing Genoese shipping. Numerous Genoese pirates were executed in 1303, and Cyprus and Genoa almost went to war in late 1305.

Amaury did what he could to earn the pope's support for his coup, including attempts to 'reform' Greek, Latin, and Georgian monasteries, succeeding only in achieving the change to a more appropriate dress for a Latin nunnery. We are exceptionally well informed about the coup, although our Cypriot narrative sources were written from the perspective of the eventual victor, King Henry. Amaury's support gradually began to erode, until he was forced to enlist the aid of his brother-in-law, King Oshin of Armenia, to whose court he exiled Henry in February 1310.

Meanwhile, two momentous events were taking place that would have a profound impact on Cyprus. First, just as Amaury took power, the Hospitallers, allied with Genoese privateers, set off to conquer Rhodes, a process that was completed in 1310. The uncomfortable relationship between the Cypriot crown and an international military order headquartered in Limassol thus eventually ended when the Hospitallers moved to Rhodes, leaving only enough personnel to manage their Cypriot properties.

These properties were soon to grow in number because of the second event: the arrest, trial, and dissolution of the Templars, which began in France in late 1307. Amaury had got on well with the Templars and was reluctant to carry out the papal orders he received in early 1308. After a brief period of tension, the members of the order on Cyprus were arrested and imprisoned. Soon after the trial began in May 1310, Amaury was murdered on 5 June.

The repercussions of the coup and Templar dissolution remained for several years. Amaury's supporters named another brother, Aimery, as his successor, but eventually the Hospitallers tipped the scales in favor of the king. Yet the king was in exile in Armenia with King Oshin, brother of Amaury's widow, Isabel. In 1308 the pope had assigned a papal legate, Peter of Pleine-Chassagne, bishop of Rodez, and two nuncios to deal with the usurpation and then the trial of the Templars. The legate and one of the nuncios, Raymond of Pins, with the assistance of the Hospitaller master, eventually secured Henry's release in August 1310, and Aimery and the other rebels were captured. In 1316 they were moved to Kyrenia Castle where they soon died. Cyprus had retained close relations with Armenia for decades, including marriage ties between the royal houses. Several high-ranking members of the Armenian royal family, such as Amaury's agent Hayton of Gorhigos, even joined Latin monasteries on Cyprus. But Henry's experience and the terms of his release spoiled these relations, and the two powers were almost at war in 1318, although later the situation improved.

According to the nearly complete surviving record of the Templar trial, those sent to investigate the order had failed to find the incriminating evidence that Pope Clement V and King Philip IV of France were seeking, even from non-Templar witnesses. So in 1311 the pope sent inquisitors with instructions to apply torture. Although a number of the Templars on Cyprus were eventually released, by 1316 many of them, including the marshal, had died in the dungeons of Kyrenia Castle. Most of their property was given to the Hospitallers, who became easily the wealthiest landowners on the island after the crown.

While legate on Cyprus, Peter of Pleine-Chassagne also busied himself with ecclesiastical reform, holding a provincial synod in Nicosia in June 1313. He had already made new regulations for the Greeks, most of which were contrary to the *Bulla Cypria*, and a riot broke out in Nicosia on 1 May in which a mob tried to kill the legate, but failed to find him. Three Greek bishops were held responsible and jailed, Bishop Hilarion of Karpasia dying in prison. Several years later Pope John XXII released Bishops Leo of Solea and Olbianos of Lefkara, having summoned them to Avignon, granting them privileges and nullifying the new regulations, but warning them to respect papal legates in the future.

The problems with Genoa that in part lay behind Amaury's coup returned and never completely disappeared. Henry refused to repay the balance of a large loan his brother had taken from Genoa, and Genoa seriously considered invasion. Following continued Genoese piracy and plundering expeditions near Paphos in the early 1310s, and more confiscations of cargos from Henry, the king supposedly imprisoned all 460 Genoese inhabitants of Nicosia in 1316 and only released them in 1320. Finally Genoa and Henry's successor Hugh IV concluded a peace treaty in 1329, although it was not until a new treaty of 1338 that Genoese piracy ceased to be a major preoccupation.

The reign of Hugh IV (1324-59) is often seen as the high point of Frankish Cyprus, an era of peace

and prosperity. Contemporaries were full of praise for Hugh, a patron of the arts and learning who enjoyed the company of the wealthy Greek Cypriot intellectual George Lapithis, some of whose writings are preserved. Lapithis debated Latin scholars in Hugh's court, perhaps the Parisian masters of theology who lived in Nicosia during his reign, above all the Franciscan archbishop of Nicosia Elias of Nabinaux. Learned Arabs from Mamluk Egypt also frequented the court, which was a haven for the Byzantine opponents of Gregory Palamas as well. Giovanni Boccaccio, famous author of the *Decameron*, in which Cyprus figures prominently, was busy for years composing *The Genealogy of the Pagan Gods* at Hugh's request.

Contrary to the modern image of Hugh as cruel and weak, the king was known above all to contemporaries as just. From 1334, he was active in the international naval leagues established to halt the advance of the Turks in the Aegean and Southern Anatolia, the Turks having replaced the Mamluks as the main Muslim threat to Christendom. Hugh first joined Venice, the Hospitallers, France, the Byzantines, and the pope, and in 1337 Benedict XII congratulated Hugh for a victory over the Turks, as a result of which four cities on the coast paid Hugh tribute. Hugh himself organized the second naval league in 1341, this time without France and Byzantium, and in 1344 they captured the important town of Smyrna, which remained in Western hands until 1402, with Cyprus paying its share for the defense.

It was in Hugh's reign, in 1340, that Archbishop Elias held a unique provincial council in Nicosia attended by the Latin, Greek, Maronite, and Armenian bishops, the religious leaders of the Syrian Jacobites and Nestorians, and many other Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Armenian-speaking clerics and laymen. The acts are recorded in the *Synodicum Nicosiense*, a record of local ecclesiastical legislation. Nothing could symbolize better the harmonic relations between the various religious and linguistic groups of Cyprus, who all looked to Hugh as their leader, than the common profession of faith they adopted. One should not exaggerate the unity of the Cypriot population, but by Hugh's reign there had developed a true sense of identity under the Lusignan dynasty, which patronized churches and monasteries of the various communities, best illustrated in the story of the Cross of Tochni as told by Leontios Makhairas. A disruption did occur the year after Hugh's death, but as in 1313 it was the fault of an overzealous outsider and was just as brief. Soon after his arrival at the end of 1359, the papal legate Peter Thomas, a Carmelite, had the Greek bishops and many priests gathered in Nicosia Cathedral to "correct" them and to confirm them in Latin. Once again a mob caught wind of what was happening, which went against local tradition, and they burst into the cathedral to kill the legate, who was only saved by the timely arrival of Prince John and the viscount. As before, the Greeks were told to go about their business as usual and King Peter I informed the pope about the legate's provocations.

The latter years of Hugh's reign were marred by a noticeable decline in Cyprus' role as an entrepôt in East-West trade, as a result of changing trade routes and the complete lapse of the papal ban on commerce with the sultan in the 1340s. This decline was exacerbated by the Black Death of 1347-48, which probably carried off a third of the island's population and continued to return in waves well into the next century. The overall volume of international commerce in luxury items declined with the population. The demographic contraction had disastrous effects on the Latin monasteries, as numerous tombs attest. Noble status was usually required for entrance into monastic orders, and

on Cyprus the nobility was Latin-rite and concentrated in the cities, which explains the unusually high number of Latin monasteries in Nicosia and Famagusta. After 1348 the population of monks and nuns dropped dramatically and could not be replenished, a further Cypriot catalyst for a pan-European decline in Latin monasticism in the late Middle Ages.

During Hugh's final years occurred the second of the two events that have led modern historians to characterize Hugh as cruel. In 1340-42, Hugh had treated his son-in-law, Ferrand of Majorca, rather harshly, but this may have been prompted by Ferrand's treasonous recognition of his uncle, King Robert the Wise of Sicily, as king of Jerusalem, which Ferrand's own secret report reveals. Then, in 1349, Princes Peter and John set off on a clandestine journey west, and when Hugh had hunted them down and brought them back, he imprisoned them for seventy days in Kyrenia Castle. Given that Peter was heir to the throne and had gone against the king's wishes, we can attribute his punishment to Hugh's sense of justice and concern for the succession. The episode illustrates an important aspect of the character of Hugh's successor, the most famous of all kings of Cyprus, Peter I (1359-69). Peter Edbury has argued convincingly that it was in part to reverse Cyprus' economic decline that King Peter led the last great victorious crusade in 1365, taking and sacking Cyprus' main commercial rival, Alexandria. Yet Peter was also a romantic, as his actions in 1349 demonstrate. He took pilgrimage and fasting vows, founded his own chivalrous order, the Order of the Sword, and is said to have had visions of the Cross. Medieval authors, among them Chaucer and Guillaume de Machaut, considered him a model crusader, celebrating his exploits.

At first Peter followed his father's policy of focusing on Anatolia; in 1360 the Armenians handed him Gorchigos and the following year he took Antalya from the Turks, who continued to pay tribute. In 1362 he finally succeeded in going west, the first reigning king of Cyprus to do so. Accompanied by his chancellor, the famous knight and writer Philip of Mézières, and the papal legate Peter Thomas, King Peter's primary task was to deal with the claim to the throne of his nephew Hugh, the son of King Hugh IV's first son, Guy, who had died in 1343. Peter satisfied Hugh with the title of prince of Galilee and 50,000 bezants. But Peter was also heavily involved in drumming up support for a planned crusade, traveling all over Europe: Venice, Genoa, Avignon, France, England, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and back to Venice. At first King John of France was to lead the campaign, but when John died in 1364 Peter took over. Yet Peter went to extraordinary lengths to carry out the plan, offering to help Venice put down a revolt on Crete in 1363 and giving in to all Genoese demands in April 1365 following an episode of violence in Cyprus.

Peter finally traveled from Venice to Rhodes in August 1365. There he gathered his forces, estimated at 10,000 men, 1,400 horse, and 165 ships, a large fleet, but not massive. Most of the troops, moreover, were Cypriots and others who were already in the East, such as Hospitallers, so the extensive wandering in Europe had not been a great success. Nevertheless, departing on 4 October, Peter's actions the next few days were to secure his name in history. The Cypriot chroniclers, Mézières, and Machaut describe the events. Once they had set sail, Peter revealed their destination: Alexandria. Five days later the fleet arrived at the unprepared city, Peter entered easily, and his troops put it to the sack. But in doing so they destroyed two of the three land gates, rendering the city indefensible from the Mamluk relief army that would come from Cairo. The king, his chancellor, and the legate were

furious, having wished to hold the city, but the soldiers insisted on leaving with their tremendous booty. Peter reluctantly withdrew on 16 October.

The Mamluks sought peace. The sack of Alexandria had harmed Venetian and Genoese commercial interests, and even subjects, so they undermined Peter's efforts to continue the war. Peter agreed to negotiate in 1366, but he kept up the pressure at the same time, sending a large fleet of 116 ships to Syria in January 1367, although it only managed to pillage Tripoli. Throughout the year negotiations continued without result, and Peter raided Syrian ports in the autumn. Toward the end of the year, Peter went west again. On the surface, the motivation for the trip seems to have been that a nobleman, Florimond of Lesparre, had challenged him to a duel in the court of the king of France, because of an argument, which Pope Urban V ended up settling in favor of Peter. It is likely, however, that Peter sought backing for a new crusade. This never came to pass, and eventually the Cypriots and Mamluks agreed to peace in 1370, after Peter's death.

Peter's demise was no less dramatic than his life. He returned to Cyprus from the West in October 1368, disappointed and perhaps slightly insane. He had been informed of rumors that his wife, Eleanor of Aragon, had taken a lover, but when the nobles denied it, the unfortunate informant was imprisoned and died. Peter became angry, paranoid, and tyrannical, subjecting nobles to all sorts of indignities, in particular the Gibelet family. On 15 January 1369 Peter imprisoned the steward of the palace, John Gorap, for forgetting to buy oil for the asparagus, threatening to behead him the following morning. Instead, in the morning, faced with this abuse of power, Princes John and James, Peter's brothers, decided to accompany some nobles to visit the king and have him renew the oaths he had taken on his coronation. On the way they released Gorap and others wrongly imprisoned. Leontios Makhairas describes the drama in graphic detail. In short, when the group arrived, one of the king's mistresses, Eschive of Scandelion, was in bed with him, and she covered herself and left. John entered the bedroom and presented the king with the group's written demands. When John left so that the king could dress, Gorap, Henry of Gibelet, and others rushed in, stabbed Peter to death, and mutilated his body. Since Queen Eleanor engineered Prince John's assassination in 1375 to avenge her husband's murder, it is likely that Peter's brothers were co-conspirators.

This was the second coup d'état of the century, but this time, as happened elsewhere in Europe in these decades, overbearing rule was met with regicide. Later that day the princes and nobles passed an ordinance with thirteen clauses, no doubt having composed it the evening before. The thirteen clauses together address what the nobles considered Peter's abuses of power and dangerous policies over the previous years, calling for the rule of law with the counsel of the Haute Cour. To this end, they ordered that the thirteenth-century jurist John of Ibelin's *The Book of the Assizes* would become the reference work for the law of the realm.

Kingdom in Decline, 1372-1474

The dramatic events of the last four years of Peter's life left a profound imprint on the final two centuries of Latin rule. Perhaps because of the disruption of Genoese (and Venetian) trading interests in the area that resulted from the sack of Alexandria, the Genoese invaded Cyprus a few years later. The immediate cause of the invasion stemmed from a violent incident between Genoese and Venetian citizens in Famagusta. The Italian merchant communities had been involved in such clashes for over half a century. Some Genoese were killed in rioting in Famagusta in 1310, and there was more trouble with the Genoese in 1331. In 1349 an argument between a Sicilian and a Venetian in Famagusta turned ugly, but the Venetians left it to Hugh IV to deal with the Cypriots and others who had damaged their property and injured some thirty Venetians, which is indicative of the differing attitudes of the Genoese and Venetians toward the crown. Genoa, on the other hand, nearly went to war with Cyprus in 1343-44 and 1364-65, in the latter case because of another violent episode. After this last, Peter I was forced to placate Genoa with extensive new privileges to avoid having to abandon his cherished crusade, including the right to build an administrative loggia in Famagusta and the right to intervene militarily in case the Cypriots went back on their word. Although the differences between Venice, Genoa, and Cyprus concerning the war with Egypt seem have been resolved by treaty in 1370, we should not be surprised that a disagreement between citizens of the two Italian cities led to a Genoese invasion in the 1370s.

The violence began after the coronation of Peter II (1369-82) as king of Jerusalem in St Nicholas Cathedral in Famagusta in October of 1372. Struggles between Genoese and Venetians in Famagusta occurred in the 1340s and 1360s. Now they quarreled over a seemingly trivial element of the ceremonies, and the Cypriots took the side of the Venetians in the chaos that followed. In rioting Genoese property was destroyed and lives were lost, but since Peter blamed the Genoese for the incident, they received no redress. From there things escalated rapidly: many Genoese left the island, the city prepared for war, and it issued demands that could hardly be met in full. The Cypriots, for their part, were not disposed to give in and excluded Genoese ships from Cyprus. Despite intense papal and Hospitaller efforts to find a peaceful solution, an advance fleet sailed from Genoa in early 1373. Genoese pillaging was met with reprisals against the Genoese remaining in Cyprus, until the situation deteriorated to the point that the Cypriots actually handed the port of Antalya in Asia Minor back to the Turks rather than lose it to Genoa. Limassol was burned and Paphos captured.

The main Genoese fleet of 36 galleys and over 14,000 men arrived in late 1373 to join the seven galleys that had come earlier. The Cypriots decided to negotiate, but through Genoese deceit King Peter II, his uncle Prince John, and his mother Eleanor of Aragon were imprisoned. Peter's uncle Prince James, however, refused to be lured into a trap and continued the fight, taking Kyrenia. Nicosia was pillaged, but James inflicted great losses on the Genoese until they decided that total victory was not worth the cost. For their part, the Cypriots realized that they could not win the war and saw that

the continued destruction of the countryside and cities would only worsen matters.

The negotiated settlement was harsh for the Cypriots, who agreed to pay a huge indemnity of over two million gold florins in installments, 90,000 gold florins for the expenses of the invasion fleet, and an annual tribute of 40,000 gold florins, offering many important hostages to Genoa and ceding Famagusta as further security until the indemnity was paid, which never happened. James accepted voluntary exile wherever he wished, but again through trickery the Genoese had him brought to Genoa where the future King James I remained for many years. Although the Cypriot economy did not collapse completely, the war signaled the end of the era of affluence that had been based on its strategic trading position.

The invasion and partition of Cyprus in 1374 ushered in a new phase of Cypriot history in more ways than one. Paphos and Limassol never really recovered. Not only was Famagusta under the direct rule of Genoa, but the death or exile of much of the French-speaking population as a result of the war radically changed the demographic make-up of the nobility. From now on Greeks, Italians, and others played an increasingly predominant role in society, with Greeks and Syrians finally joining the feudal nobility. The Greek bourgeois class, the *perpyriarioi*, had already become significant enough by the mid-fourteenth century for the *Assizes* of the Cour des Bourgeois to be translated into Cypriot Greek, and when Peter I was desperate for cash, many *perpyriarioi* purchased their freedom. These trends continued during the last century of Lusignan rule, in which the Cypriot dialect of Greek was without question the *lingua franca* for all Cypriots, represented in literature by the chronicles of Leontios Makhairas and George Boustronios. In these and other local narratives, the use of new terms equivalent to 'Cypriots' — *Kypriotes*, *Ciprici*, *Chiprois* — to describe the inhabitants of the island in various languages heralded the nascent development of a common Cypriot identity united around the monarchy. Nevertheless, foreshadowing things to come, we also see the gradual rise of the Italian language – even its influence on Greek – helped in part by James' long captivity in Genoa. The *Livre des remembrances*, the only volume that survives of the royal Secrète, the financial office of the Lusignan state, dates from 1468-69 and contains documents in Latin, French, Italian, and Greek.

Religiously, the troubles of the West had a greater impact than the Genoese invasion, although the Genoese did control the see of Famagusta. In 1378 the Great Schism began, and for almost forty years there were two and then three popes, a situation that returned during the Council of Basel (1431-49). Cyprus switched allegiances, but on the local level this set in motion the 'Cyprification' of the church. The kings saw the opportunity to take control over ecclesiastical appointments and revenues, naming members of the royal family archbishops of Nicosia, no matter how unsuitable they were, and interfering in the other dioceses. The popes' own candidates often remained in the West anyway, and the Greek bishop of Solea may have taken over the role of religious leader, in processions, for example. Except for Lefkara, the Greek bishops had returned to the capitals of the Latin diocese in the fourteenth century, and in 1472 Pope Sixtus IV had to complain about this situation, which undermined the authority of the Latin Church.

During this time of western distraction, some members of the Greek higher clergy took the opportunity to approach the patriarchate of Constantinople to seek reunion with the Greek Church. In 1405 Joseph Bryennios, an experienced representative of the patriarch, came to Cyprus to investigate the request,

and a detailed record has survived. The internal divisions of the thirteenth century were still evident, since only three of the four Greek bishops sought reunion. Although the Greek clerics present insisted that they were Greek Orthodox in faith and rite, Bryennios considered them Roman Catholic, for they took an oath to the pope and Latin bishop, participated in common ceremonies and processions with the Latin clergy, and had recourse to the pope for appeals in ecclesiastical court cases. The Greeks replied that these things were superficial and necessary under the circumstances, but Bryennios rejected their application, and in 1412 a similar request was refused. In general, Greek Cypriots were excluded by the Orthodox, not only in Constantinople, but also in Jerusalem, although some Greek priests pursued ordination off the island rather than at the hands of Greek bishops who had sworn allegiance to Rome. This situation obtained until the Ottoman Conquest.

The religious status of non-Greeks was no less vague. Peter I had already complained that Latin ladies were frequenting Greek and schismatic churches. Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan was at ease speaking with the Greeks at the Council of Basil. King Janus asked for an office for the local St Hilarion, the result being preserved in a famous musical manuscript housed in Turin. Positions below the level of bishop in the Latin Church were often occupied by Cypriot Greeks and Syrians. The Syrian Audeth family provides an interesting illustration of the blurring of lines, patronizing non-Chalcedonian churches and joining the Greek and Latin clergy. One member, Nicholas, became the head and reformer of the Carmelite Order in the sixteenth century. The common processions and ceremonies that Bryennios complained about, which had taken place since the early fourteenth century, were paralleled by common pilgrimages and places of worship, the examples of Stavrovouni, St Mamas, and la Cava, and a series of sites linked to St Catherine in and around Famagusta, being the most conspicuous in the reports of pilgrims.

Genoa now had a colony in Famagusta, with a Genoese bishop and a substantial Genoese community, although the Greek population outnumbered them. For his release from captivity in 1383, King James I (1382-98) was forced, among other things, to give up sovereignty of the city and the surrounding area, what has been described as a state within a state, now ruled by a captain. Documents in the Genoese archives record its ninety-year history. The Genoese required all major international shipping to go through Famagusta. Still, in the fifteenth century the city did not enjoy the prosperity it had had in the fourteenth. Other trading groups stayed away from the port, reducing its income. Some of the population emigrated, and in 1394 an Italian visitor, Niccolo da Martoni, noted that “a great part, almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship.” The bishop’s revenues were only half what they had been before the war, and there were complaints that the city was unhealthy. Moreover, defense against external threats from the Cypriot troops, Catalan pirates, and Mamluk invaders cost money, even if the city did have a military value. By 1447 Genoa decided to turn the administration of the colony over to the Banco di San Giorgio of Genoa. Famagusta continued to decline, however, and even some citizens chose to leave and join the Genoese communities in Limassol and Nicosia instead.

The Cypriots tried and failed to retake Famagusta already in Peter II’s reign, despite the help of Venetians and Catalans. James I’s coronation as king of Jerusalem thus took place in Nicosia in 1389, and not in Famagusta as was tradition. In 1393 he gained the empty title of king of Armenia, which

had disappeared completely, and from then on the Lusignans had three crowns. James' son Janus (1398-1432) received all three in one ceremony. Janus was born in Genoa, being named after the Roman God of the city, so James had to exercise caution with until his son's release. Not long after Janus came to power, however, he laid siege to Famagusta in 1402, but gave up in 1403 upon the arrival of a Genoese fleet. He tried again in 1404, but the two sides agreed to a peace treaty in 1410. Janus' efforts were expensive and he was in no position to continue, let alone accept Genoa's offer in 1420 to sell Famagusta, at a price the Venetians found so exorbitant that they would not lend Janus the money.

Janus' ambitions thus came to nothing. Worse still, his kingdom suffered from returns of the plague in 1409, 1419-20, and 1422, and swarms of locusts in 1409-12. The ultimate catastrophe was still to come, however. Janus allowed Catalan pirates to pillage Mamluk coastal areas from Cypriot bases, and the Genoese did as well. In 1422 such attacks on Syria and Egypt reached new heights, and Sultan Barsbay (1422-37) had enough, deciding that it was also time to avenge Peter I's sack of Alexandria in 1365. He sent five ships and a thousand men to attack Limassol in 1424, sinking pirate vessels, taking hostages, and seizing booty. Encouraged by the ease of the venture, Barsbay built a larger fleet, sending forty ships in 1425. Genoese Famagusta offered symbolic submission, so the Mamluks pillaged the surroundings and moved to sack Larnaca, where they fought a pitched battle, inflicting a serious defeat on the Cypriots. Limassol and the surroundings were again looted, and the fleet returned with more booty and over a thousand Cypriot captives who were sold into slavery. The full-scale invasion came in 1426, after King Janus refused a peace initiative. Over a hundred ships reached Limassol, sacking the town yet again, for several days, beginning 1 July. On the 7th the Mamluks met the Cypriots at Khirokitia, crushing a large Cypriot army, and King Janus himself was soon taken captive. Hugh of Lusignan, archbishop of Nicosia and the king's brother, retired to Kyrenia and Nicosia was turned over to the invasion forces for security, but the Mamluk troops could not resist. After pillaging, destroying, raping, and killing, the Mamluks set sail from Larnaca with 6000 captives on 18 July. The destruction and further decimation of the Frankish population was another great blow to Latin monasticism on Cyprus. Two of the three leading abbeys, Benedictine Stavrovouni and Cistercian Beaulieu, did not survive the Lusignan period, and in contrast to the flourishing Greek houses, the Latin monasteries that lasted until Venetian rule were largely empty of inmates.

Leontios Makhairas relates how, in the chaos and absence of royal control, rebellions sprung up throughout the island. An Italian named Sforza tried to take power in Paphos using Spanish troops. Peasants revolted in groups, robbing the estates of the aristocracy and committing the occasional atrocity. A certain Alexis even proclaimed himself king. The nobles and wealthy bourgeois, Franks and Greeks, appointed Hugh of Lusignan regent, and Hugh managed to establish order, executing 'Re Alexis' in 1427. Despite the traditional explanation, it is clear that these revolts had no national character, nor were they directed at the king, who was in captivity. Rather the peasants' anger was aimed at the upper classes, regardless of background, as in similar revolts in Europe in the fourteenth century.

Janus remained in Egypt for almost a year while his kingdom tried to raise the half of his 200,000 dinar ransom required for his release, an interesting story in itself. After his return, Cyprus would

have to pay the balance and an annual tribute of 10,000 dinars as well, so Cyprus now suffered the humiliation of being subject to two different powers. Janus thus died an unhappy man in 1432, leaving his only son, John II (1432-58), with an uncertain future.

The humanist Pope Pius II, i.e., Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, described John II as more or less useless, so it is probably best that during the early years of his reign he played little part in government. At his succession John was only fourteen, so his able second cousin Peter of Lusignan acted as regent. One wise move Janus managed to make after his return from captivity was to send his brother Hugh, who was raised to the cardinalate in 1426, to the West in 1427 as ambassador, and Cardinal Hugh continued to serve in that capacity, playing an important role at the Council of Basel (1431-39), where he secured financial support for Cyprus from the Church. After Hugh died in 1442, John's illegitimate cousins Lancelot and Phoebus of Lusignan assisted. The kingdom continued to face returns of the plague, crop failures, and Genoese demands for payment, but luckily Genoese power in the Eastern Mediterranean was in decline in the 1440s and 1450s.

Even the Genoese realized that Cyprus had to be protected from another Mamluk invasion and from the attacks of a new menace, the Turks. The Mamluks sent troops to collect the tribute for the sultan, the 'Lord of Cyprus', but they also raided Hospitaller estates on the island in retaliation for their allowing Catalan pirates to operate out of Rhodes. Small Turkish states threatened Cyprus starting in the 1440s, and in 1448, after more than eighty years in Cypriot hands, Gorchigos in Asia Minor fell. Karpasia suffered a major attack in 1451. While Venice stood idle, Genoa, Aragon, France, and the pope sent assistance, including via the sale of an indulgence for works on the walls of Nicosia in 1454-55, an early example of the use of movable type. The external situation stabilized after 1455, but the economic difficulties continued, with a cycle of loans, delayed payments, negotiations, interventions, and new demands from the creditors. John had wanted to implement a universal tax, but the Venetians threatened to withdraw and to enforce an embargo, so John had to revoke his plan.

Another crisis arose. Gradually the families descended from Hugh IV's male children failed in the male line, and it was crucial that John produce a legitimate male heir. John is best known in history for the women in his life, three Greeks, or at least they all had much Greek blood. In 1440 Cardinal Hugh arranged his first marriage, to Amadea of Montferrat, whose mother was of the house of Savoy but whose father was a Palaiologan, but she died within months. In 1442 John married Helen Palaiologina, daughter of the despot of the Morea, another indication of the dilution of Latin exclusivity among the Lusignans, the culmination of Lusignan-Palaiologan marriage negotiations that had begun as early as 1372 with Peter II. Traditionally Helen has been seen as the real power in Cyprus and a fanatic champion of the Greeks in both the Church and the government, but this is an exaggeration based on a misinterpretation of the sources. Indeed, Helen's mother was Italian, her uncle the Latin archbishop of Patras. She did patronize Greek refugees from Constantinople, but the Latin bishop of Limassol also counted on her support. Helen bore King John two daughters, Charlotte and Cleopa, although the latter died young. Before his marriages, King John had a son by a mistress, Marietta of Patras (†1503), whom Helen is said to have bitten and whose nose the queen ordered to be cut off.

Marietta's child was James "the bastard," whom in 1453 John appointed archbishop of Nicosia at the age of fourteen, excluding the pope's (canonically legitimate) candidate, the Greek Dominican

scholar Andreas Chrysoberges. Had he been of legitimate birth and age, James would still have lacked the temperament, preferring women, horses, and war to churches. A strange series of events led to the Cypriot Civil War of 1460, described in the chronicle of George Boustronios, who takes us down to the end of the Lusignan dynasty. Charlotte married John of Coimbra, who was murdered in 1457. Archbishop James killed the murderer, but, not finding support, he went into exile in Rhodes. The following year saw James' secret return and murder of the popular viscount, Charlotte's marriage to Duke Louis of Savoy, and the death of King John and Queen Helen. Charlotte enjoyed the loyalty of the majority of the nobles, and although she did not agree with them, her advisors wanted James out of the way permanently. After a failed coup attempt, James sought the backing of none other than the Mamluk sultan to take Cyprus by force.

James and Charlotte both wooed the Mamluks in 1459, and Charlotte — perhaps speaking in Greek through interpreters — also courted support in the West from the papacy, Genoa, and Savoy. James carried the day with the sultan and invaded Cyprus with his Egyptian troops in 1460, and Charlotte and Louis retreated to Kyrenia Castle, which was besieged for four years. But the Mamluks left James with a small force of only four hundred men, forcing him to take extreme measures to finance his campaign, including sacking Greek monasteries, and this earned him the enmity of the Hospitallers and the Genoese. Thus James resumed the effort to recover Famagusta in 1461. Charlotte was winning the propaganda war in the West, where James was viewed as an apostate, but she derived little concrete benefit. She even turned to the sultan herself, but to no avail. In 1464, after a long siege, James succeeded both in ending Genoese rule in Famagusta and in driving Louis and Charlotte into exile. For the first time in ninety years Cyprus was united under one ruler.



Catherine Cornaro

King James II's position was hardly secure: he lacked the recognition and legitimacy Charlotte enjoyed, he had problems with the Mamluks and now the Ottomans, and the lengthy sieges and warfare around Paphos had been catastrophic. To gain allies, he had granted estates to Catalans and Sicilians, and with the departure of many of Charlotte's supporters, this effected yet another major change in the composition of the aristocracy. He befriended the Hospitallers of Rhodes and followed a wise economic policy, but the plague, locusts, and bad harvests limited his options. Needing an ally against the Ottomans, he turned to the Venetians, who shared common interests with James against Genoa, Charlotte, Savoy, and the Turks, with whom they were at war in the Peloponnese — Euboea was about to fall in 1470. So in 1468 James was engaged to Catherine Cornaro, fourteen years old, whose maternal grandmother was from the Greek Empire of Trebizond and whose father's family already had significant interests in the Cypriot sugar industry. She arrived in Cyprus in late 1471 and the wedding was celebrated.

It had been arranged that the Venetian state would be Catherine's heir, should she die childless, but

James III was born in 1473, the year of James II's premature death. With such an unstable situation the party of the Kingdom of Naples took the opportunity to murder Catherine's uncle and advisor, Andrew, and attempted a coup, only to be stopped by the Venetian fleet. With the death of the infant James III in 1474, Venice *de facto* came into power, already considering the island a colony, to which it sent a provveditore as its highest officer, along with other administrators. As in Genoese Famagusta, the Venetians quickly took over high ecclesiastical offices, and all four Latin sees were occupied by Venetians by 1489. *De iure* it looked as if Venice would simply inherit the island at Catherine's death, but when Charlotte's party failed an assassination attempt against Catherine in 1479, this helped persuade Venice that Catherine ought to be coaxed into abdicating earlier in favor of direct Venetian rule. This she did in 1489, living out her days in Asolo.

Venetian Recovery, 1474-1571

By 1474 Venice's association with Cyprus was more than three centuries old. Recent research has shown the intensity of Venetian settlement on the island already in the Byzantine period, with a large and wealthy Venetian community in and around Limassol in the twelfth century, and smaller groups in Paphos and Nicosia. Most of their property, it seems, was confiscated after the Frankish conquest, but by the early fourteenth century there were again numerous Venetians on the island, in Famagusta and elsewhere, with trading privileges. Later in the century members of a branch of the Cornaro family different from Catherine's arrived and became a major economic force with the produce of their casale of Episkopi. Ties with Venice were strengthened by the many Cypriots studying at the University of Padua, under Venetian rule after 1406. In 1393 Peter of Caffran had set up a scholarship for Cypriots in Padua and there was a significant Cypriot student population in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Even a member of the royal family, Cardinal Lancelot of Lusignan, studied at the university from 1428, before ending his days in the service of the Duke of Savoy from 1442 to 1451. This can only have served to further encourage both the rise of the Italian language in Cyprus at the expense of French and, eventually, the influence of Venice over Genoa. The Cypriot presence in Padua became so strong that there was an official "Cypriot Nation" in the university, lasting beyond the Ottoman Conquest.



Famagusta Gate, Venetian Walls of Nicosia

Benjamin Arbel has dispelled the myth that the Venetian period was one of corruption, theft, oppressive taxation, neglect, and the tyrannical exploitation of the Cypriots, accompanied by demographic, industrial, agricultural, and commercial decline, an increase in sickness and poverty, and the persecution of Greeks and nobles. The historians that created and developed the myth did not exploit the unpublished archival sources, tens of thousands of documents, generally failed to examine those that had been published, neglected to read the narrative sources carefully, and simply copied and then embellished each others' accounts.

Proper historical research since World War II has in fact shown that, for the most part, Venetian rule ushered in a period of rebirth and renewal for Cyprus, after over a century of demographic and economic decline following the Black Death and returns of the plague, exacerbated by the Genoese and Mamluk invasions and the annexation of Famagusta. Despite the colonial nature of Venetian rule and the Serenissima's focus on commercial profit, Cyprus benefited in various ways as the empire's commercial focus in the Eastern Mediterranean. Venice's powerful navy provided security from invasion, and during the last century of Latin rule the island enjoyed internal peace, in stark contrast to the previous century. Before the negative effects of the new trade routes around Africa and to the Americas could be felt, the Venetian trading network reached its zenith in the mid-sixteenth century,

which maximized opportunities for the export of Cypriot agricultural products, grain, salt, sugar, wine, carobs, and cotton. Naturally Cypriot farmers and the landed aristocracy saw a share of the profits, but so did the urban elite and middle class. Many Cypriots actually transferred to Venice, such as the Greek Cypriot members of the Hellenic Fraternity of Venice, while others worked on ships in the trade routes. Much of the trade between Famagusta and the Levantine coast was left to Cypriot seamen, especially Arabic speakers, while the Venetians themselves concentrated on the island's links with the West. Meanwhile in some ways the lot of Greek serfs improved as well, with the abolition of certain servile obligations, for example.

At the end of the Lusignan period, about ten Greek families belonged to the Cypriot aristocracy. Venice approached the Greek nobles the same way it did all the others. One family stands out: the Syngliticos. This family had been part of the bureaucracy of the Frankish state in the fourteenth century and steadily rose in power and wealth. In the sixteenth century it was perhaps the richest family in Cyprus. Seizing opportunities for gain, they were able to purchase the rich casalia of Aradhippou and Morphou. Through their wealth and marriages with the Venetian aristocracy, they also became powerful in local government, exceeded in influence only by two Venetian families. The leading Syngliticos was in charge of the defense of Nicosia in 1570. In an age of blurred lines between Greeks and Franks, Orthodox and Catholics, where some individuals followed mixed traditions, the Syngliticos held high offices in both the Greek and the Latin Church. Thus even Greek Cypriots had a hand in the military, ecclesiastical, and political government of the island.



The so-called Othello Tower at the Venetian Walls of Famagusta

The most telling and important proof against the myth of general decay is the great increase in population in the Venetian period, more than doubling, and this was accompanied by the growth of the cities and the expansion of arable land. Venetian policy was directed at reversing the population decline of 1348 to 1470. Public health improved with quarantine measures, the removal of malarial swamps, and the cleaning of harbors, and we read of doctors and hospitals. The government and private citizens encouraged immigration from Greece, the Balkans, and the Levant. Fields that had been abandoned were cultivated again, and the amount of agricultural land actually increased beyond previous highs, while in times of bad harvests the mother city could step in to assist. The

Venetians were the first rulers of Cyprus to keep extensive statistics, so we learn that the population, probably around 100,000 at the beginning of Venetian rule, rose steadily to 200,000 by 1570, despite the continuing return of the plague. The population would not reach that level again until the English period. Nicosia's population also doubled to 25,000, returning to its pre-1348 height, which it would not match again until the 1930s. The Venetians poured money into the restoration of Famagusta after the decline of the Genoese period, and by 1570 the population had reached 10,000. They made similar efforts in Paphos and Limassol, but here the success was more limited, with populations of 2000 and 1000 respectively, but several other villages had 1000 inhabitants by the Ottoman Conquest, including the Greek episcopal sees of Rizokarpaso and Lefkara. Statistics also show a dramatic increase in agricultural production in grains, wine, and cotton, and while sugar production held steady, the carob became important and the state monopoly on salt, inherited from

the Lusignans, continued to be lucrative, much more than enough to pay the tribute.

Although in many respects the earlier system of government was retained, to accomplish its goals Venice had to restructure the administration to some degree. Venetian Cyprus was governed by a council, the *Regimento*, headed by the *Luogotenente*, who had two advisors. The Captain of Famagusta was the military leader, unless Venice thought it necessary to send a *Provveditore*. By 1480 the language of government, at least in its communication with Venice, changed from French to Italian. Venetian rule was thus accompanied by the Italian Renaissance, until then only superficially present in Cyprus. Art historians have identified an “Italo-Byzantine” style of painting, found in wall paintings and icons. Greek artists continued to follow Byzantine models, while showing an awareness of Italian developments. Good examples are in Galata and Kalopanayiotis. Renaissance architectural details are to be found in many structures of the period, although for Greek churches the “Franco-Byzantine” style was not eclipsed. Pure Renaissance elements are in the hospice attached to the Augustinian convent in Nicosia, the palace of Famagusta, and the ciborium found in the excavations of Paphos Cathedral, now housed in the district museum. The greatest works without doubt are the classical fortifications in Kyrenia, Famagusta, and, above all, Nicosia. The walls of Nicosia, designed by Ascanio Savorgnano and constructed just before the Turkish invasion of 1570, form a perfect circle with eleven evenly spaced arrowhead bastions.

In literature the poetry of Petrarch influenced sixteenth-century Greek Cypriot works, but for most surviving works Italian was now the dominant language of learning and literature. Cypriot schools were linked to the Venetian network. Upon completion of their higher studies in Italy, especially Padua, several Cypriots of varying backgrounds chose to stay as professors, authors, and editors of medieval works for printing, whereas others returned to play a role in the government bureaucracy. In 1531 a commission was set up for the Italian translation of the *Assizes* of the *Cour des bourgeois*, accomplished by Florio Bustron in 1534. More importantly, the sixteenth century was the Italian century in Cypriot historiography. Florio Bustron himself composed an important chronicle in Italian. The similar chronicle known as *Amadi* was also written in Italian, perhaps largely translated from earlier French sources now lost. One version of the *Chronicle of Leontios Machairas* was translated into Italian as the *Chronicle of Strambali*. A Dominican friar from a cadet line of the royal family, Etienne de Lusignan, began to compose his important *Chorografia et breve historia dell' isola de Cipro* in 1570 in Naples, having left Cyprus before the Ottoman conquest on a voyage. There are other, less significant Cypriot chronicles in Italian, as well as numerous Italian-language accounts of the conquest itself.

Peaceful rule meant uneventful rule, but the Ottoman threat became more and more palpable over time. Venice was at war with the Ottoman Empire in 1499-1501, although Cyprus remained unscathed. Mamluk Egypt fell in 1517, but Venice continued to pay the annual tribute of 8000 ducats, only now to a different sultan. Five years later Hospitaller Rhodes was conquered. In 1537-41 there was again a state of war between the *Serenissima* and the *Sublime Porte*, and this time the Turks raided Limassol in 1539, but the city was by then ruined and mostly deserted. The only real disaster came at the end, with the Ottoman Conquest itself. Before that, however, there were a few years of internal unrest, perhaps exacerbated by the increased international tension.

It was once thought that the Venetians so feared rebellion that they destroyed the castles of the nobles and the mountaintop fortifications of the Kyrenia Mountains, planning to turn the site of ancient Curium into a kind of giant fortified prison for the Cypriot nobles. In reality, Cypriot nobles had never owned castles, while in anticipation of the Ottoman invasion the Venetians actually repaired former royal castles in the mountains, sending non-combatants to St Hilarion and Buffavento in 1570. As for Curium, the Venetian senate and Cypriot nobles are actually said to have cooperated in planning to turn Curium into a fortification against the Ottomans, but they abandoned the project because of the lack of water supplies. The construction of the new walls of Nicosia, and the necessary destruction of many outlying buildings, including palaces, churches, and monasteries, was also the product of cooperation between Venice and the Cypriot aristocracy. In this way fortifications elsewhere were also strengthened and modernized. In short, there is little evidence for civil unrest or anxiety about it before the 1560s.

In the 1560s the Ottomans stepped up their efforts to create disturbances in preparation for the invasion. Jacob Diassorinos, a Greek from Rhodes with links to Moldavia, tried to lead the Greeks of Cyprus to revolt 1563, apparently in the hopes of becoming king with the support of the Ottomans, but he was quickly executed after failing to heed the warnings of the Venetians to desist and depart. Inciting the Greeks against the Latin Venetians would have been made easier by the foolish actions of the last archbishop of Nicosia, Filippo Mocenigo. Filippo came to Cyprus after attending the Council of Trent, filled with the militant spirit of the Counter Reformation. Ignoring the Greeks' rights as spelled out in the *Bulla Cypria*, and putting aside the terms of the Council of Florence, Mocenigo attempted to implement the harsher decisions of Trent and commissioned a study of the errors of the various Christian sects on the island, preserved in an unpublished manuscript. In 1567 he convoked a council in Nicosia Cathedral that resembled Elias of Nabinaux's council of 1340, with the higher clergy of all these groups participating. In contrast to Elias' success, Mocenigo repeated the folly of the papal legate Peter Thomas two centuries earlier, provoking the Nicosia mob to break down the door and rescue "the disobedient" Bishop Neophytos Logaras of Solea. The population increase also had its downside, and the authorities executed the ringleaders — including a Greek priest — of riots that occurred in 1566 during a food shortage, when it was thought that Venice was exporting grain. The Ottomans encouraged other conspiracies and rebellions, holding out promises of better years to come under Turkish rule. Some peasants living far from the walled towns decided to cooperate. Meanwhile, the complete restructuring of Nicosia and its defenses in the last three years of the Venetian period caused further hardships for the lower classes.

The new walls of Nicosia did not work. The Lieutenant Niccolo Dandolo led Venetians and Cypriots of all types in defending the city for six weeks in the summer of 1570, but the capital fell and the defenders were slaughtered. Then it was Famagusta's turn. There the Captain, Marcantonio Bragadino, was in charge, and for almost a year the city held out, until the remaining members of the Venetian and Cypriot garrison surrendered on the condition that their lives be spared. Instead they too were slaughtered, except that Bragadino merely lost his nose and ears. Two weeks later, however, he was flayed alive. His skin was stuffed with straw and sent to Constantinople as a trophy, but the Venetians managed to retrieve it in 1580 and bring it back to Venice. Thus ended almost four centuries of Latin rule on Cyprus. While economically and demographically the island would not recover until the

twentieth century, the death of one multicultural society was the birth of another.

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