

V

THE ARTS IN CYPRUS

A. Ecclesiastical Art

As with Syria, so with Cyprus the basis for the history of its arts in the period of Frankish domination is the work of Camille Enlart. His *L'Art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* was published in 1899, some twenty-five years before his account of the Latin kingdom in Syria, but the exhaustive care and the informed insight with which he studied the monuments have left little need for revision.

Syria enjoyed the first convinced enthusiasm of the crusades, and its twelfth-century pilgrimages included able masons in their ranks. The thirteenth century saw the seacoast towns on the defensive, still hectically prosperous, extravagant in festivity, occasionally prodigal in church building of resources that necessity more usually diverted to military defense work, while the west became more critical and less generous. The Latin empire of Constantinople was a fleeting episode which left little trace on the monuments of the capital city. In Greece, a penurious baronage found no continuing tradition of building among its scattered subject population, while the trading ports were from the first in Venetian hands. Rhodes remained Greek until after 1300. It is in Cyprus alone that the art history of the crusades works itself out over some three centuries. Concentrated within the protection of its island boundaries; well supplied with good building stone and local laborers who, though unskilled, proved apt pupils; rich, at least for a time, through the diversion of Levantine trade to its harbors, Cyprus under Lusignan rule, however turbulent in its brawls, experienced a rounded period of artistic opportunity.

The foundations for the study of Cypriote medieval archaeology were laid by L. de Mas Latrie in his *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (3 vols., Paris, 1852-1861) and *L'île de Chypre, sa situation présente et ses souvenirs du*

The actual conquest by Richard Coeur-de-Lion and the brief occupation under the Templars have left little mark, though there is enough to show that even then building was begun. The main undertaking of the early thirteenth century, under Hugh I and his bountiful queen, Alice of Champagne, was the cathedral of Nicosia, the greatest example of the new Gothic style to be erected in the Near East. The struggle between John of Ibelin and the bailies of Frederick II interrupted such activities, but the coming of Louis IX in 1248 brought a new impetus. With the fall of Acre, Famagusta became the chief emporium of the Christian Levant, and in its brief spell of opulence, ended by the Genoese seizure of the town in 1373, it became a city of churches, whose ruins are still today bewildering in their number. In Nicosia, meanwhile, the archbishop, John del Conte (1312-1332), was introducing a more Italianate style of Gothic, and the typical Cypriote decoration of somewhat heavy, clumsy foliage was being evolved. The splendid reign of Peter I (1359-1369) saw the island at the height of its magnificence.

The Genoese invasion and the disastrous Mamluk raid of 1426 destroyed much that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had created; decline set in. With weakening Frankish hold, a provincial Byzantine art reasserted itself and, furthered by the marriage of John II to Helena Palaeologina, Cypriote culture was permeated with

moyen-âge (Paris, 1879). Some important plans and drawings were published by E. l'Anson and S. Vacher in "Mediaeval and Other Buildings in the Island of Cyprus," *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Session 1882-1883*, pp. 13-22, pls. I-XX. The definitive work is C. Enlart, *L'Art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (2 vols., Paris, 1899). This is corrected in certain details by George E. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus: Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of the Island* (Nicosia, 1918), though Jeffery's conclusions are not always reliable. See also on points of detail the *Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, Jeffery's series of monographs *Historical and Architectural Buildings* [*Cyprus Monuments*, n.s., nos. 3-7], and R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936). There is a short but valuable chapter in G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, III (Cambridge, 1948), 1105-1142, and W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, tr. J. M. Brownjohn (London, 1966), pp. 85-91.

Mention of buildings is frequent in the Cypriote chroniclers and travelers; the most important are Estienne de Lusignan ("Steffano di Lusignano"), *Chorographia et breve historia universale dell' isola de Cipro principiando al tempo di Noè per in sino al 1572* (Bologna, 1573) and *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre et des roys, princes, et seigneurs, tant payens que chrestiens, qui ont commandé en icelle* (Paris, 1580); *Chroniques [de Chypre] d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; 2 pts., Paris, 1891-1893); and Giovanni Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina fatti . . . dall' anno MDCCLX al MDCCLXVIII*, I (Lucca, 1769). Many of the relevant extracts are collected and translated in C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria, with an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908), and T. A. H. Mogabgab, *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus, or Further Materials for a History of Cyprus*, parts I-III (Nicosia, 1941-1944).

Hellenism. The Venetian rule of the sixteenth century left as its memorial the walls of Famagusta; it brought no general stimulus to the arts. The façade of the Palazzo del Provveditore in Famagusta, built between 1552 and 1554, is one of the few pieces of genuinely Renaissance decorative architecture in the island. It was before its triple-arched portico some twenty years later that Bragadin was to suffer his awful martyrdom, the final heroic scene of the Venetian rule.

Of the island's churches pride of place goes to the cathedral, Hagia Sophia, of Nicosia. Its design and carvings reflect much of the history of the times. Through the survival of its cartulary, we are unusually well informed as to the doings of the cathedral chapter,¹ but even with this guide, and with that of chroniclers such as Amadi and Estienne de Lusignan, there are uncertainties as to the various stages of the building. The main construction certainly dates from the archbishopric of Eustorgue of Montaignu (1217-1250), but Amadi dates the commencement of the building in 1209, and Lusignan as far back as 1191. These conflicting statements probably reflect some preliminary stages which lacked continuous fulfilment.

On the doorway to the north transept there are two deeply undercut acanthus capitals and a frieze, forming an abacus for one of the capitals, which are exactly in the style of the Temple workshop in Jerusalem;² the capital opposite has a finely carved vine scroll of a quality more common in Palestine than in Cyprus; the bases of the columns have the characteristic Palestinian fluting. These details suggest that some beginning was made during the Templars' brief period of control, or at least that some of their masons found a home in the island. There was a Templars' church in which Guy of Lusignan was buried in 1194, and it seems probable that of this church only the eastern arm was completed. If this was replaced by the larger scheme of the cathedral, some of the earlier material may well have been reused. Certainly the north transept door as it stands is a patchwork of different styles, but its present form may date from the earthquake of 1491, when the east end of the cathedral was seriously damaged. Inside the ambulatory there is another fragment curiously misplaced. Four slender columns close the presbytery; of these three rest on the floor without bases or on bases now covered, but the fourth is placed on an upturned Gothic capital, with plain

1. J. L. LaMonte, "A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia," *Byzantion*, V (1929-1930), 439-522.

2. See above, pp. 80-86.

somewhat heavy volutes, of a type repeated on the window colonnettes of the ambulatory and transepts. The actual capitals of these pillars are more elaborately cut; two of them might well be from Byzantine building; the other two have the normal stiff-leaf foliage of the early thirteenth century. The transepts, rising only to the height of the aisles, have apsidal chapels of a typical twelfth-century Palestinian type, but the plan of the east end, an ambulatory without side chapels, is nearer to French practice, and its ribbed vaults, though somewhat clumsily fitted to the bend of the semicircle, are finely molded. The date of 1209 would fit well with the scheme. It is to be noted that the archbishop in that year, Thierry, is known to us only through his obit registered at Notre Dame in Paris, and that a close connection with the Île de France may be presumed.

During the episcopate of Eustorgue of Montaignu the progress of the building can be followed by references to the problem of financing it. The struggle with Frederick II brought an interruption; the coming of Louis IX, a new contact with metropolitan France, for the king is said to have brought some of his chief masons with him. Archbishop Eustorgue accompanied him on his crusade and died at Damietta in 1250. By then the choir and transepts had been in use for some time (there is some indication that they were consecrated in 1228). The completion of the nave, delayed by repairs necessary after an earthquake in 1270 and by brief episcopates, was not achieved till 1326, when archbishop John del Conte celebrated a great service of dedication. He embellished the church with a marble screen, wall paintings, and rich fittings, strengthened the buttresses of the chevet, and began work on the west porch, the most richly decorated part of the whole building.

Externally, the nave presents no abrupt contrast with the eastern arm, but the cornice changes from a curious Burgundian twelfth-century pattern to a Gothic stiff-leaf design, and there are variations also in the window moldings. Inside, cylindrical columns with plain octagonal bases, echoed by octagonal abaci, support the ribs of a quadripartite vault. The capitals, now heavily covered with paint, have been mutilated. There is in the Medieval Museum a capital of a similar size with elaborate stiff-leaf foliage volutes on ribbed stems; it comes from the ruins of a church, known only by its Turkish name of Yeni Jami, but it may well preserve the type of carving used in the cathedral. Such ornament would have relieved the present severe simplicity of the nave, so uneasily at variance with its mosque equipment of crude chandeliers, vivid carpets, and splashes of green

and red paint (pl. LV). The most marked feature is the gallery which runs below the aisle windows, raised on broad arcades, with a short flight of steps where the side columns separate the bays. This open passage is found in Burgundy and Champagne, but nowhere is the step design so completely or successfully worked out. Enlart has suggested, with some plausibility, that the connection maintained by the queen, Alice of Champagne, with the lands of her forefathers may account for some of the Champenois influences in Cypriote building. The windows of the clerestory of the nave have four lights, in contrast with the single lights in the chevet and the two lights of the remainder of the eastern arm. Their upper tracery is composed of trefoils set in circles. With the great west window they must date from about 1300, either from the episcopate, largely an absentee one, of Gerard of Langres (1295-1312) or from that of his successor, John del Conte. The south doorway (moved in the second half of the nineteenth century to the east end)³ with its marble framework, flat smooth leaves, and rounded monsters is quite unlike any other extant Cypriote work.

In 1491 Hagia Sophia was severely damaged in an earthquake. Dietrich of Schachten, a visiting pilgrim, describes how much of the choir fell, destroying the chapel of the sacrament behind it, and how in clearing the damage the tomb of a king was found, with the body fresh and undecomposed, clad in robes of state, with his golden crown, orb, and spurs, and documents dating his death to a period two hundred and more years earlier. This was probably Hugh III (1267-1284). The Venetians took the gold treasure.⁴

The west porch added by John del Conte was intended to support two towers advanced in front of the original façade. The upper tracery of the blocked north and south windows of the first façade can still be seen in the respective tower chambers. The towers were unfinished at the Turkish conquest. Presumably the new west front would have linked the towers with a chamber or gallery in front of the central west window, but here only the springing of an arch gives any indication as to the final scheme. The porch itself consists of three vaulted bays, with pinnacled gables above the entrance arches. The doorways have a series of capitals and consoles covered with luxuriant foliage characterized by the close spacing of the leaves and by their swollen centers and crinkled, uneven outlines. This is

3. It was still in position when Mas Latrie described it in 1848.

4. R. Röhrich and H. Meisner, eds., *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), p. 211; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 177.

thenceforth the most characteristic form of Cypriote decoration, one that degenerates easily into an ungainly monotony.

Of figure sculpture it was thought till recently that little remained: two censuring angels on either side of the main tympanum, again more Italianate than French; some battered remnants in small niches round the northern door; some decapitated beasts and defaced masks in the foliage; a figure with a sundial high up on one of the buttresses; some corbels and consoles; and some mutilated but striking gargoyles, which resemble those that are such a conspicuous feature of the church of St. Urbain at Troyes. In 1948, however, an opportunity occurred to clean the porch and replace the crumbling plaster covering the main tympanum. It was then discovered that under this plaster covering, the voussoir sculpture still existed, singularly undamaged. The arch has four orders, the outermost one with a small decorative pattern, then the other three with figures set in niches, as on the northern door, but here perfectly preserved—ecclesiastics, prophets, kings and queens (pl. LVIa). The two middle rows contain thirty figures each; the innermost one twenty-eight, fourteen kings balanced by fourteen queens. The niches are flat and round-headed, and figure and niche are carved from the same block so that there is no projection. A similar but single row of niched figures can be seen on the south doorway of the church of St. Jean-Baptiste at Chaumont-en-Bassigny, where the foliage is also not unlike that of Hagia Sophia. Their survival is probably due to their unambitious technique. The solid, squat forms were difficult to break off, easy to plaster over. Their large heads, staring eyes and the straight line of the garments above their ill-formed feet suggest a local, thoroughly provincial sculptor, but there are strong echoes of the greater achievements of the Île de France; some of the kings crook their thumbs through the bands of their cloaks with the famous gesture that passed from Chartres to Rheims, and from Rheims to the rider of Bamberg. The little queen holding her pet dog gathers her draperies with a swing of true French elegance (pl. LIXa).⁵ The mason who directed the carving knew either in the drawings of some sketch book or at first hand the style of northern France, though he and his assistants were not skilled in the execution of it. The removal of a band of plaster from the foot of the tympanum revealed carved figures below the three central niches, which with a smaller niche on either side had always been visible.

5. The statues, out of deference to Moslem feelings, have been covered over with removable boards at times, but lately have been left exposed.

The figures have been cut back flat to the main face, but the outlines of their poses and their haloes strongly suggest the apostles at the foot of a Transfiguration. The outside niches may have held figures of founders or particular patron saints, with, beyond, the censing angels, the only figures tolerated by the Turks. These angels are of a quality much superior to that of the voussoir figures. Between the doors must have stood a trumeau figure, for which the canopy still survives, and there are similar canopies for two other column figures on either side of the central entrance.

All three doorways are flanked by twin niches, of little depth and framed in elaborate foliage borders; above them two hands hold a crown; they must have contained paintings rather than sculpture, possibly panel icons, for two of them still have hooks fixed below the crowns. On some of the foliage carving there are still faint traces of color. In the shadow of its arched bays the porch must have been a rich and glowing spectacle in its original completeness, and a fitting entry to the cathedral as decorated within by John del Conte, with its marble choir screen, echoing presumably the style of the porch, its painted ceiling of stars on a blue ground, its woven fabrics, and its wall paintings. The archbishop also added a chapel, opening from the second bay on the south side, dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas. John del Conte was himself a Dominican, and the Friar Preachers were always an important force in the island; it was for the young Hugh II that Thomas Aquinas himself had written his *De Regno ad regem cypri*.⁶ This chapel Felix Fabri tells us was, when he visited it in 1484, "exquisitely painted with the legends of the Holy Doctor, while a gilt plaque on the altar sets forth his acts."⁷ Possibly to this same period belongs the rebuilding of the two-storied treasury in the north transept, the upper room of which, with its store cupboard built into the wall, is one of the best preserved parts of the whole church, and one where the stonework can be admired without the thick layers of whitewash that elsewhere blur all the details.

The silhouette of the great cathedral rises above the houses of Nicosia; despite its two Turkish minarets, it has a strangely familiar air to western eyes, familiar but disconcerting, for it lacks the high-pitched roofs of northern Gothic. From the arrangements of

6. See Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship, to the King of Cyprus . . .*, tr. G. B. Phelan, rev. with introduction and notes by I. T. Eschmann (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1948), pp. xxvi-xxxix.

7. *Fratri F. Fabri evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, II-IV; 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1843-1849), III, 230.

the earliest buttresses for the vault of the choir, it seems probable that such a roof was at first intended, but that soon it was decided to adopt the flat roofs of the island with their terraces of lime concrete, lightened at times by the insertion of pottery jars. It was the first compromise between Gothic art and local custom.

On the east coast of the island, later in date than Hagia Sophia but its only rival in scale and excellence, is the cathedral church of St. Nicholas of Famagusta. It appears to have been begun about 1300, when the will of Isabel of Antioch left five bezants for work on the cathedral. Bishop Baldwin Lambert engraved an inscription on the buttress to the west of the south doorway stating that by the fourth of August, 1311, the money collected for the building had been expended and that it was resumed by his orders on the first of September of that year, when six vaults of the two aisles had been completed and ten vaults of the aisles and eight of the nave remained to be built. It seems therefore that the terminal apses and two bays of the aisles were completed up to the vaulting but that neither choir nor nave was as yet covered; probably the side walls had been carried farther, as the inscription is placed well beyond the vaulted bays. The ground plan had also been established, with a nave and two aisles of seven bays, all terminating in polygonal apses, with no transepts.

Famagusta was the coronation church, where the Lusignans received the crown of Jerusalem, and therefore Rheims was probably in the mind of its designers, but the detail of the building, particularly of the chevet, comes, as at Nicosia, strangely close to the style of St. Urbain of Troyes, founded in 1262 and notable for its advance towards a freer, more flowing type of Gothic. It is not known how far Baldwin Lambert, a member of a wealthy Cypriote family, completed the building, and even the exact date of his death is uncertain. But with the exception of the four side chapels added later to the aisles, in imitation of those at Hagia Sophia, the cathedral is remarkably uniform. The west front (pl. LVII) maintains the purity of the true French Gothic style with none of the heavier richness of the porches at Nicosia. The figure sculpture, save for a few minor pieces, was all destroyed after the fall of the town in 1571, and the cathedral was much battered by cannon-balls during the siege. Then a long period of fanatical possession, lasting until the British occupation of the island, excluded all Christian visitors.

During the second world war Famagusta suffered some damage from the vibration of depth charges off the coast and from anti-aircraft fire, but the building has stood such tests with much

endurance; the twin towers, the pointed gables of the façade and chevet, still rise most nobly above the massive Venetian walls of the town. The central doorway has niches for six column figures and a central trumeau; the supports are carved with oak leaves; in two of the canopies small corbels still show the Agnus Dei; the voussoirs have the swelling, crinkled leaves so popular in the island and once had human or animal terminals, now sadly defaced. On a doorway on the south of the cathedral parvis, similar foliage has as terminals confronting winged dragons and two figures of Samson and the lion; the dog-tooth and zigzag embodied in the doorway suggest a later date than the cathedral porch, for in Cyprus these motifs enjoyed a belated popularity. The tracery of the great west window and of the wide windows of the aisles and the gables of the three porches of the façade, so much more French than that of Hagia Sophia, still reflect the charm of the last phase of geometric Gothic, before the curvilinear movement had gained the day; while the interior, somewhat bare and stern under its whitewash, with plain undecorated capitals, reminds us that this is an outpost, a little *retardataire* in its methods, hampered perhaps by an insufficiency of skilled carvers. At the foot of one or two of the columns is carved a curious motif, a pyramid crowned with a ball, which recurs in many other buildings of the town.

The two cathedrals, so romantic in their evocation of France, each presided over a large concourse of lesser buildings. Estienne de Lusignan states that Nicosia had eighty churches when in 1567 the Venetians took the drastic decision to withdraw the town within the new ramparts and level to the ground all that lay outside. His own church of St. Dominic was one of the most distinguished victims of this desperate defensive measure, which, before the menace of the Turks, sacrificed a great part of the city's architectural heritage. Today the few extant churches, not all surely identified and mostly diverted from their original purpose, serve to show something of the architectural development in the capital, but form an insubstantial list indeed compared with the buildings recorded but now destroyed.

Of the thirteenth century, Hugh II's foundation of St. Dominic (1250) must, next to the cathedral, have been the most splendid piece of Nicosian church architecture, but Lusignan tells us only of its beauty and royal tombs in general terms which give little information as to its plan or type. The Cistercian church of Our Lady of the Fields was destroyed at the same time, as was also that of Holy Savior of the Cemetery, where Henry I was buried in 1253 and

the boy king, John I, in 1285. The only remaining fragment of the thirteenth-century Gothic style, as it is found in the choir and nave of Hagia Sophia, is the much rebuilt inner aisle in the complex of buildings now known as the Bedestan.

The building activities of the turn of the century have left more trace. From the fall of Acre in 1291 to the coup d'état against Henry II in 1308, Cyprus enjoyed a period of comparative peace. The church begun by Henry II for the nuns of Our Lady of Tyre, a Jerusalem foundation, illustrates the position that the island now held as a place of refuge for the Latin east. The abbess, Margaret of Ibelin, remained a loyal supporter of their benefactor, and the nunnery was the scene of a riotous attack at the time of the murder of Henry's usurping brother Amalric, the titular prince of Tyre. These events left the building incomplete; it remains today, if the proposed identification with the church of the Armenians is accepted, a building of one vaulted bay and a polygonal choir, roughly completed by a section with a barrel vault and no windows. The tufted, flat-leafed foliage of the capitals of the south door, now used as a window, comprises early examples of the popular Cypriote type.

The period from the restoration of Henry II to the Genoese war of 1373 was the most prosperous and splendid of medieval Cyprus, though the foreign schemes of Peter I diverted resources from undertakings at home, and in Nicosia it is John del Conte's porch that sets the main features of the style of the century. Its structurally somewhat conservative Gothic, and elaborately ornamented doorways with friezes and capitals of luxuriant foliage, recur in the pleasant so-called church of St. Catherine (Haidar Pasha mosque), in the ruined fragment of the Yeni Jami (unidentified), in the porch of the Augustinian church (Omerieh mosque), and in its fullest elaboration, with an Italianate but provincial dryness of symmetrical design, in the rebuilt doorway ascribed by Enlart to St. George of the Latins but more likely always, as now, the doorway of a bath.

It is, however, in the building known as the Bedestan, on the south side of the cathedral parvis, that its influence is most clearly marked. Little is known of its history, but in the fifteenth century it was in the hands of the Greek Orthodox church. At some period after the conquest it was relegated to secular usage as a storehouse and market (*bedestan*). Recently it has been partially restored and the west end freed of some small shops built against it. Of its curious complex of four aisles, ribbed vaults, and dome, it is the two southern aisles that seem the earliest work. The nave, north aisle, and dome were added

at a later date, possibly when it was adapted for the Greek rite; a capital of the nave is carved with two hands giving the Greek gesture of blessing. On the exterior of the north wall are three doorways, of which the central one, blocked up with carefully fitted masonry, is the earliest. The small relief of the Dormition of the Virgin set in the lintel has escaped mutilation, but a well-carved figure on the keystone of the arch, which resembles a similarly placed figure on the Carmelite church at Famagusta, has been decapitated. The eastern of the three doors has a recessed porch of five orders carved with thick crinkled foliage; on either side are two shallow recesses above which hands hold crowns, copied, somewhat heavily, from those of Hagia Sophia. On the lintel is the figure of a saint holding a book, identified by the eighteenth-century traveler Giovanni Mariti as St. Nicholas;⁸ from this the Bedestan has sometimes been thought to be the church of St. Nicholas belonging to the order of St. Thomas of Canterbury and mentioned in fourteenth-century documents. The third doorway is modeled on the west door of St. Catherine's. The whole north wall seems to have been increased from its original thickness, and it is possible that all three doors are additions, brought from destroyed churches, possibly in 1567, possibly after the conquest when the Greek church in contrast to the Latin enjoyed a measure of patronage from the occupying Turks. To complete this strange, confusing history, a door from the west façade was moved during some clearance work in 1906 to the gardens of the then Government House. A second western door has now been revealed by the demolition of a shop. Whatever its history, the decorative motifs of the Bedestan present, along with genuinely Gothic features, a truly Cypriote blend of elaborate, somewhat debased detail, where late Gothic and Renaissance elements meet and intermingle. Similar patterns can be seen in the church of the Panagia Chrysolaniotissa, traditionally said to have been founded by Helena Palaeologina, wife of John II, in the mid-fifteenth century but now much rebuilt, and again in the Orthodox cathedral, which is probably on the site of the church of the Hospital.

The splendor and luxury of Nicosia did not, however, consist in its ecclesiastical buildings only. The royal palace, adjoining the church of St. Dominic, seemed to travelers the finest in the world. Its great throne room, its balconies, its golden ornaments, its tapestries, pictures, organs, and clocks, its baths, gardens, and menageries suggest the most sumptuous of medieval residences. All the buildings

8. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro*, I, 99.

were sacrificed in the demolitions of 1567. The simpler existence of a Cypriote bishop, even of one of great family, can be seen in the inventory of Guy of Ibelin, bishop of Limassol from 1357 to 1367. At the time of his death much of the furniture of his palace and even his miters and crosses had been pledged for loans, and his house at Nicosia, either from necessity or as befitting a member of the Dominican order, was sparsely furnished with rugs and cushions in the oriental manner.⁹ Here and there in the town there are fine doorways reflecting the same mixture of French Gothic, Italian Renaissance, and Catalan styles as exists in the churches. A fine flamboyant window, coming from the doorway arch of a palazzo used by the Turks as the Serail and pulled down early in this century, is preserved in the museum, and in its almost exaggerated richness is an eloquent example of Cypriote taste (pl. LVIIIa).

For a time, but only for a time, the prosperity of Nicosia was excelled by that of Famagusta. Today the two cities harbor their memories in very different ways. In each the Gothic cathedral rises high above the town, but while in Nicosia the streets are still full and lively, the old buildings submerged by later work, in Famagusta the new town has grown up outside the circuit of the ancient walls, within which a small Turkish village spreads its houses and streets among the ruins and still uses the great cathedral for its local mosque. From the ramparts this graveyard of churches, whose foreign style seems emphasized by the palms growing among them, is an unforgettable spectacle. Something of its recent strange remoteness has gone, for the wartime revival of Famagusta as a port brought intruding sheds and storehouses within the circuit, and a new prosperity has come to the old village, bringing fresh building and fresh activities, which the Department of Antiquities, for all its excellent work, has not been able entirely to control.

But Famagusta is still one of the most moving of the dead cities of the Middle Ages. It had but a brief life and its splendor was the ostentation of a sudden, ill-starred prosperity. The fall of Acre made it the Christian mart of the eastern Mediterranean, and a small Byzantine town, originally peopled by refugees from Salamis, rapidly became a Gothic city. The Franks had previously done little to it:

9. J. Richard, "Un Évêque d'Orient latin au XIV^e siècle: Guy d'Ibelin, O. P., évêque de Limassol, et l'inventaire de ses biens (1367)," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXIV (1950), 98-133.

now the cathedral was begun, and perhaps even before it the church of St. George of the Latins, which may be given the first place in Famagusta's architectural history. The bombardment of 1571 and probably the explosion of some stored ammunition have heaved the debris of its vaults to some distance and left only one wall and part of the apse standing. Much of its excellent masonry is reused classical stone, brought probably from Salamis and reset with the most exact and careful calculation. Only the soundness of the building has allowed this skeleton of an unsupported wall to endure so long. The church was a single nave of four bays ending in a three-sided apse; the vaults rose from clusters of three pillars; the west façade had two turrets, one of which still partially stands, rising little above the level of the roof, though on Gibellino's drawing of the siege (1571)¹⁰ the southern tower, of which there is now no trace, seems to have risen somewhat higher. The capitals of the columns, which still retain much of the sharpness of their cutting, have double rows of naturalistic foliage in which oak leaves figure prominently; in one instance, instead of leaves, the sculptor has carved a swarm of bats. The north porch has a pointed gable, filled with a large trefoil and ornamented with curving crotchets. The corbeling of the tower has a pair of fighting animals (pl. LXb), a reminder of the many classical carvings that, as well as squared building stone, must have been brought from Salamis to Famagusta (a fragment of such a frieze lies in front of the cathedral); the gargoyles of the apse are human figures, very sensitively carved, and belonging to the same type as those of Hagia Sophia. No documents date the building, but it is the work of highly skilled masons, contemporary with the cathedral, if not the prototype for it, and must therefore belong to the early years of the fourteenth century.

To the west and the south of the cathedral two large churches are still standing, that of St. Peter and St. Paul and the Greek cathedral of St. George. The identification of the former was made by Enlart on the basis of Gibellino's drawing and cannot be considered as certain. It was built, Estienne de Lusignan states, under Peter I by a wealthy merchant, Simon Nostrano. The design and a Syriac inscription found on the walls in 1939 suggest it must have belonged to one of the eastern churches, and possibly Nostrano should read Nestorano: this would then be the Nestorian church built by the

10. Stephano Gibellino, . . . *Il Ritratto della celebre città di Famagosta* . . . (Brescia, 1571), reproduced in Enlart, *L'Art gothique*, II, pl. XXI.

brothers Lachas, the wealthiest merchants of Famagusta, of whose prodigality and ostentation Machaeras tells many anecdotes.¹¹ Whatever its origin, it is still mainly standing, composed of a nave and two aisles, ending in a triple apse of three semicircles set in a square base. As in the cathedral, which has clearly influenced the whole design, the vaulting of the nave is carried on round pillars with plain capitals. Originally neither façade nor side walls had any buttresses, a custom probably borrowed from the churches of Acre, but the vault of the nave is supported by flying buttresses above the flat terraces of the aisles as in the cathedrals of St. Nicholas and Hagia Sophia. Such a structure depends on sound building and considerable thickness of wall. The church has both, but they have not saved it from danger, and some time before the Turkish conquest, probably after the earthquake of 1546 or that of 1568, the south aisle wall had to be supported by a row of five flying buttresses, which somewhat distort the present appearance of the building. The whole effect is severe; it lacks good sculpture and must have depended much on the richness of its interior decoration; only on the main north door, similar in type to that of St. George of the Latins, is there work of good quality. Carved in inset white marble, the capitals of the two door columns on either side have foliage with crotchets of a twelfth-century design; the marble jambs have a frieze of oak and vine leaves with one large palm front and as inner consoles two angels, one censuring, the other holding the sacred vessels under a veil; it is expert decorative work in the best French manner of a style earlier than the church. Marble carving was not a native craft, and this must surely be some reused material, possibly from some unfinished undertaking at the time of Louis IX's passage (pl. LVIIb).

The plan of St. Peter and St. Paul, itself probably taken from that of St. Andrew at Acre, was used almost contemporaneously in the Greek Orthodox cathedral of St. George. Built beside and adjoining the small church of St. Epiphanius, it marked a resurgence of Greek feeling and in scale is an attempt to rival the Latin cathedral. It differed from St. Peter and St. Paul in the height of its central apse; whereas the earlier church had a square end to the nave, rising above the semicircular apse, in St. George the apsidal semicircle continues

11. See Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, II, 17, note 5; Th. Mogabgab, "Excavations and Researches in Famagusta, 1937-1939," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1937-1939* (Nicosia, 1951), p. 188; and L. Machaeras ("Machairas"), *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, Entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. and tr. R. M. Dawkins (2 vols., Oxford, 1932), I, 83.

unbroken to the height of the nave vault (pl. LVIIIb). Both inside and outside this gives a much greater vertical emphasis and adds grace and distinction to the building. The vaults have fallen, probably brought down in the Turkish bombardment; a cupola covered the second bay from the east, as in the church of the Bedestan at Nicosia. The ornamental foliage of the west door is the usual thick, crinkled Cypriote leaf. The main apse retains shadowy frescoes of the life of Christ, set in a double row, and in the south apse the Deposition, Entombment, Harrowing of Hell, and Resurrection are reasonably visible. The building of this spacious, conspicuous church marks a break with the policy of Latin ecclesiastical exclusiveness.

Two churches recur constantly in the history of Famagusta, those of the Franciscans and the Carmelites. Of both there are considerable remains: well-built churches, single naves ending in polygonal apses, with side chapels forming transepts in the middle of their three bays. Vaulting, tracery, and carving, where they remain, are French Gothic of good quality. The Franciscan church certainly dates from about 1300; the Carmelite church of St. Mary, whose severe façade, buttressed with short polygonal towers, is a magnificent piece of regular ashlar, may possibly be somewhat later, from the time of the legate Peter Thomas, the companion of Peter I's crusade, who was buried in it and venerated by the Latins as a saint, though to the Greeks he was, at least on his first coming, an intolerant persecutor. It has a fine west window and as keystone of the doorway arch a well-carved figure, now headless, holding a book.

The church of St. Anne, which seems to have belonged to one of the Syrian churches, recalls St. Mary of Carmel in the beauty and simplicity of its building and in some of the details of its ornament. The church of St. George Exorinus (the Exiler) has Syriac inscriptions on its frescoes of saints, and was thought by Enlart to be the church of the Nestorians, mentioned above as built by the merchant princes of the Lachas family. The building is of excellent stone work but simple ornamentation, clearly by local workers. Here again hangings, painting, and metalwork must have constituted an inner richness, and the fragments of fresco painting still show that walls and vaults were completely covered by it.

The little church of the Armenians, probably built by immigrants from Ayas (Lajazzo) as the Cilician kingdom crumbled before the Mamluks, is composed of one bay; its masonry is that of the yard which worked at the three previous churches, but its size reflects the indigence of this refugee community. Space does not admit of any analysis of other and unidentified churches: two twin chapels are

sometimes thought from a blazon on the center of the smaller of them¹² to be the chapel of the Temple (built in the first years of the fourteenth century) and that of the Hospital, added when they took over the Temple's forfeited possessions. On the fragment of an arch, on the church of St. George Exorinus, and on the doorway of an unidentified building (the so-called Tanners' mosque), a chevron ornament is used, here as in Syria long surviving its Romanesque popularity.

In 1373 Genoa seized the town, and it was not till 1464 that James II reconquered it for Cyprus. Under the Genoese and their insistence on a trade monopoly, the town languished. No churches can be traced to this period: the building tradition, so masterly in its use of stone, if unadventurous in design and ill supplied in sculpture, suddenly ends. The elaborate loggias and trading houses of the merchants had already been turned into storehouses by the end of the fifteenth century. The Lusignan reconquest lasted for only twenty-five years, and it was from Famagusta that Catherine Cornaro sailed in 1489, leaving the standard of St. Mark flying on the piazza before the cathedral. Venice in her hundred years of domination transformed the medieval fortress into a circuit of walls, adapted for artillery. There was little time or means for church building: opposite the cathedral, they rebuilt for their governor the old royal palace, masking the earlier Gothic building with a Renaissance façade. The frontal colonnade, recently restored, is an impressive enough piece of Renaissance work, whether or not Giovanni Sanmicheli actually designed it.¹³ But it was only to serve as a setting for the final tragedy.

Venice could not spare much building energy or resources from the main defenses of the island, but one piece of fantasy is recorded of her rule. Estienne de Lusignan tells us that the Venetians carried out excavations at Paphos in 1564. In this enterprise Renaissance archaeology joined with medieval relic-seeking, for the search was prompted by the cult of Venus, whose tomb was identified with an antique sarcophagus from Salamis (a similar one is still in the courtyard at Bellapais), placed by the Venetians before the west front of Famagusta cathedral. Nicosia, not to be outdone, showed in Hagia Sophia a hollowed green jasper block as the coffin of the island's patroness. This latter has disappeared; the sarcophagus of Famagusta now serves as monument to the first English commis-

12. Now in the museum of Famagusta.

13. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 859.

sioner, Captain Robert Inglis (d. 1880), in the little graveyard at Varosha.¹⁴

It is in the two main towns, Nicosia and Famagusta, that the great Gothic buildings survive. Elsewhere, with the exception of Bellapais, the churches are mainly unpretentious buildings on a Byzantine model, made of rough, unsquared stones, quite unlike the excellent masonry, well cut and set with thin mortar, of the Frankish masons. At Paphos and Limassol, the other two Latin bishoprics, the Franks built cathedrals; of the former only a fragment is standing, sufficient to show that it was a vaulted building of well cut stone. In the ruins of a nearby mosque, some large Gothic capitals have been built into a roughly constructed archway; they are decorated with chevrons, foliage volutes, and palmettes; on one there is a headless figure of a man and a horse; they are crude in workmanship and should be early thirteenth-century, but may be a later imitation.

At Limassol little of the medieval work can be seen, though recent excavations have established that the core of the castle, beneath many later rebuildings, is a thirteenth-century church. A few monastic ruins—Stazousa, between Nicosia and Larnaca, St. Nicholas of the Cats at Akrotiri—have Gothic remains, but monasteries in the open country, particularly in the southern half of the island, were mostly destroyed in the Mamluk raid of 1426 and seem never to have recovered from it. Even on its hilltop, a conspicuous landmark from many parts of the island, the monastery of Stavrovouni, traditionally founded by St. Helena, was sacked on this occasion, but its buildings were Byzantine and the Latins added little to them.

Cyprus is rich in country churches, but here Byzantinism dominates. The buildings are exceedingly difficult to date, and in the rare instances where an inscription gives some year, it often refers to restoration or minor alteration. Certainly the small cruciform single-domed churches include among their number some pre-Frankish examples, and the type continued to be built throughout the whole medieval period. Sometimes in the mountains they are covered, as at Moutoullas (dated 1279), with wooden, high-pitched roofs whose eaves reach almost to the ground, and which possibly are a northern importation by the Franks. Relations between the two churches, Greek and Latin, were often strained: nowhere in the Near East were the Latins so intolerant, and the Council of Limassol in 1220, which reduced the Greek bishoprics to four and banished them

14. Enlart, *L'Art gothique*, II, 637; Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, pp. 126, 226.

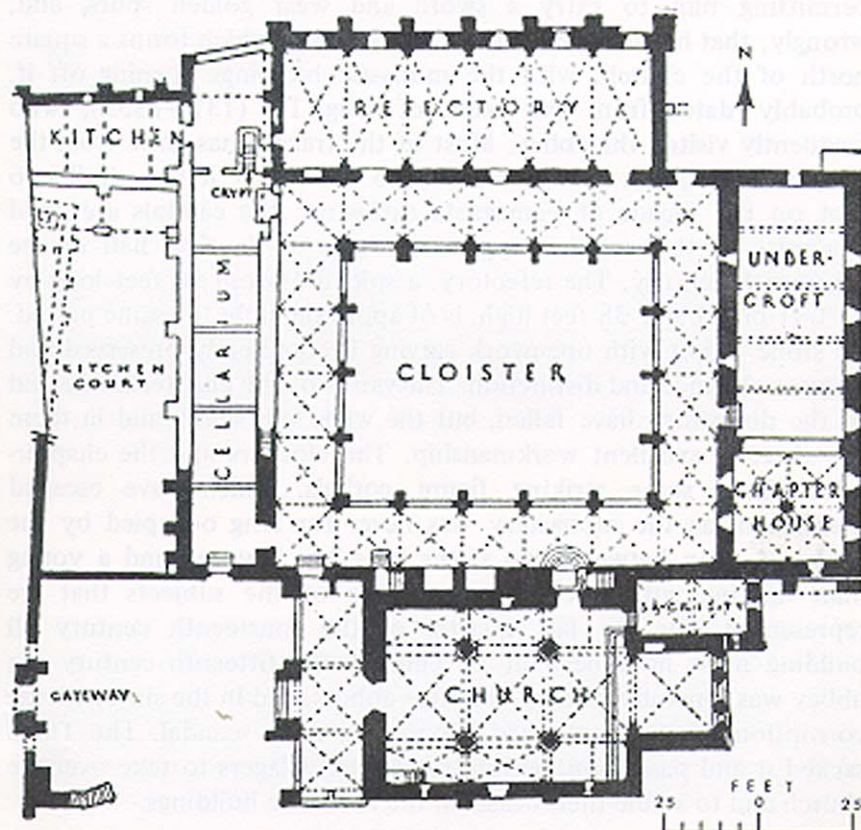
to the lesser towns, was a prelude to active persecution, resisted by the Greeks, even to martyrdom at the stake. By the end of the first century of their rule the Latins were, however, learning the need for a less rigid policy. As in Syria, it was the new arrivals from the west who exacted the most uncompromising standards. Peter I protested to pope Innocent VI in 1358 against the intransigency of the legate, Peter Thomas. The finest and purest examples of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture belong to the period of the most exclusive domination of Rome: there is a zealous boldness about Hagia Sophia or St. George of the Latins which is lacking in the more ordinary compromises of later buildings. In the country districts, save for monastic settlements, the true Gothic style never penetrated, nor did legatine authority much affect the ordinary agrarian life. Gradually, with generations of Franks born in the island, the distinctions are blurred. A Franco-Byzantine style emerges, shown in the villages by some Gothic details in the domed church built by a local lord; in the larger centers, by a combination of dome and Gothic vault and an interpretation of Gothic ornament with something of classical roundness and solidity, not always very happy in its effect.

Of such hybrid churches, outside of Nicosia and Famagusta, the most notable is that of Morphou, the church of a Greek monastery built over the tomb of St. Mamas. There has been much argument about its date, whether in its present form it is a late-eighteenth-century rebuilding, or whether it retains its medieval design with only minor modifications. The pillars of the old iconostasis, carved only to the front, show that it was even under Lusignan rule built for the Orthodox rite; the emphatic treatment of the capitals under the dome suggest that the latter was an integral part of the scheme. The carving on them, rich Gothic foliage interspersed with masks, could belong to the second half of the fourteenth century. The shrine of the saint, a tomb set in a wall niche, has undergone many alterations, the latest in 1907; here too the foliage is the typical Cypriote swollen, crinkled leaves, so full and heavy that they might well be insensitive imitations of the medieval style. A possible explanation of this puzzling building is that the cupola-covered church and rich, clumsy ornament are a product of the Byzantine-Orthodox revival led by queen Helena in the mid-fifteenth century. The present iconostasis and the baldacchino are Venetian work of the sixteenth century.

It would not be possible here to make any systematic survey of the lesser churches. Some can be fairly definitely ascribed to Latin patronage, but there is none that is clearly Gothic in style. Mostly

the Gothic work is additions, a nave added for the Latin rite as at Pelendria and the Gibelet chapel at Kiti, or a Gothic narthex built onto a Byzantine cruciform church, a practice which seems to have been curiously popular in the Venetian period, and which has given us at Antiphonitis and the Akhiropietos church at Lambousa two of the most charming of the island's examples of late Gothic building. Of exactly dated churches, Hagia Paraskeve near Askas, with its curiously foreign dedication to St. Christina, is inscribed as built in 1411; the chapel of the Passion at Pyrga must shortly precede the fatal year 1426; and at Potamion the church of St. Marina, still with dog-tooth molding as one of its decorative elements, is dated 1551.

In Cypriote architecture, the monastery of Bellapais, to use the most familiar name (though it is in fact a corruption of the Abbey of Peace), has a place apart. The buildings are of high quality and set out with a sense of plan far from usual in the island (fig. 9), but there is a harmony between them and their site which enhances their actual architectural merits. Bellapais, like Tintern or Jumièges, is a



9. Plan of the abbey of Bellapais

ruin which retains much of its structural beauty and has added to it a close communion with the landscape. The olive and carob trees covering the hillside have that contrast of greens which is one of the main charms of the island, and from the Gothic arches of the windows, over the sheen of the trees and beyond the wide space of water, can be seen the distant hills of Asia Minor. Its early history is little known. By 1205 there was a house of Premonstratensian canons established there, and it is probably from this period that the church dates, composed of a nave and narrow aisles of two bays, a crossing, and shallow transepts and a square chancel, all with rib vaults except the two transepts, which have barrel vaults. The capitals of the window columns and the west doorway belong stylistically to the first half of the thirteenth century.

In 1246 the abbey received an important bequest from a knight, Roger Normand, namely a fragment of the True Cross and 600 bezants. The prosperity of the monastery now grew rapidly; Estienne de Lusignan states that Hugh III raised the status of the abbot by permitting him to carry a sword and wear golden spurs, and, wrongly, that he was buried there. The cloister, which forms a square north of the church, with the monastic buildings opening off it, probably dates from the reign of Hugh IV (1324-1359), who frequently visited the abbey. Most of the tracery has gone from the cloister arches, but enough remains to show that it was similar to that on the façade of Famagusta cathedral; the capitals are good examples of the popular Cypriote foliage of the first half of the fourteenth century. The refectory, a splendid room 98 feet long by 33 feet broad and 38 feet high, is of approximately the same period. Its stone pulpit with openwork carving is completely preserved and of great elegance and distinction. The vaults of the chapter-house and of the dormitory have fallen, but the walls still stand, and in them too there is excellent workmanship. The cloisters and the chapter-house have some striking figure corbels, which have escaped mutilation, as the monastery was never for long occupied by the Turks. A man between two sirens (possibly Ulysses) and a young man fighting with two beasts are two of the subjects that are represented. By the last quarter of the fourteenth century all building must have been at an end. In the fifteenth century the abbey was generally held by absentee abbots, and in the sixteenth the corruption of its monks had become an open scandal. The Turks sacked it and passed on, leaving the Greek villagers to take over the church and to stable their beasts in the monastic buildings.

There remain for consideration some isolated pieces of sculpture, detached from their original buildings. The discoveries in Hagia Sophia have much increased our knowledge of Cypriote figure sculpture, and if the main cathedral of the island was content with work of this quality, it is unlikely that there was much superior workmanship among the carvings that Turkish iconoclasm destroyed. The decapitated gargoyles of St. George of the Latins or of Hagia Sophia suggest that in the early fourteenth century there were a few western sculptors of some merit at work in the island, but certainly there was never available the talent that served the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The riches of Cyprus could not buy or did not seek the master workmen who made the journey to the Holy Land in the first century of crusading enthusiasm. There are, however, sufficient fragments of carving to show the general range of accomplishment. The large standing figure of Christ (pl. LIXb) in the Pancyprian Gymnasium at Nicosia must come from some important sculptural group. At first sight it might well be a column figure from a porch, but the flat stone on which it is carved indicates rather the central figure of a tympanum or reredos. Though flat in modeling, it is a not unimpressive piece.

The Medieval Museum in Nicosia¹⁵ has a series of fragments, largely from tombs, which in Cyprus were often sarcophagi placed under elaborate niches (as at Morphou) and carved with figures or coats of arms. In fact the passion for wall niches unduly weakened many of the structures, as for instance in the Greek cathedral in Famagusta. One such fragment of a sarcophagus has a crowned and kneeling figure with the Lusignan arms, probably some youthful prince rather than any of the kings.¹⁶ Another, that of Adam of Antioch, is a triangular coffer which must have stood on short columns and in form corresponded closely to the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I in Jerusalem. It is carved with rosettes and leaves but the shields have no crests, as though, Enlart suggests, originally prepared for stock with no particular patron in view. The tomb chest of the Dampierre family has shields set in an arcade of

15. This collection of carved stones, known by Enlart's name of Musée Lapidaire or as Jeffery's Museum, was formerly housed in a fifteenth-century house to the east of Hagia Sophia. Some of the collection has now been moved to the medieval annex of the Cyprus Museum in the old arsenal (Topkhane), inside the Paphos gate. Here the great vaulted basement is probably part of the Lusignan palace.

16. Now in the Louvre: see M. Aubert, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge*, . . . , I (Paris, 1950), 186.

typical Cypriote tracery and foliage. Built into the wall of the chapel of the present Orthodox archbishop's palace is another tomb front; here in a series of Gothic niches is the Crucifixion between the Virgin and St. John, with a knight and his lady kneeling on either side. It is rude, coarse carving, the figures flat and thick, and is probably late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century work.

The little relief of the death of the Virgin above the lintel of one of the doorways of the Bedestan is a still inferior piece and could possibly be Greek work after the Turkish conquest. A fragment of a frieze in the museum, with a lion chasing a deer, seems to be a medieval copy of a classical design. More interesting and more ably executed are the curious sculptures which form the lintel and imposts of the south door of the Trypioti church in Nicosia. In the center a masklike figure rises between the branches of a highly stylized vine; on either side a grotesque lion paws the branches; the imposts have a mermaid and a monster-like creature and human-headed birds emerging from some very formal coils of foliage. It is cut with exactness and care despite the primitive types used and is almost impossible to date. The present church is a seventeenth-century building reusing older material. The formal coils of vine leaves and tendrils and the flat, featureless treatment of the figures recall the type of art found on the tomb of St. Theodora, the great shrine at Arta built about 1280 by the despot of Epirus, Nicephorus. Perhaps the Trypioti lintel reflects some Epirote tradition in the building undertakings of the Greek revival under Helena Palaeologina after her marriage to John II in 1442. In the church of St. Lazarus at Larnaca, Mariti saw in 1767 a marble pulpit with signs of the evangelists "well worked, in as much as Gothic taste allows."¹⁷

A marble tympanum (33 inches long by 24 inches high) in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham, Dorset, suggests in its squat figures the work of the Hagia Sophia voussoirs (pl. LIXc). It was found by Cesnola at Larnaca, but probably had come with other building material from the Famagusta area.¹⁸ It represents Christ in a

17. *Viaggi*, I, 42.

18. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 1137, pl. XVIII; A. Palma di Cesnola, *Salaminia, Cyprus: The History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis* (London, 1882), pp. 109-110, pl. IX; L. de Feis, "Le Antichità de Cipro ed i fratelli Luigi ed Alessandro Palma di Cesnola," *Bessarione*, VI (1899), 442, pl. III. In 1841 in Smyrna Sir David Wilkie saw a small group in marble showing Christ crowned with thorns by Roman soldiers, said to have been found in Cyprus; it was thought to be fifth- or sixth-century work, but it sounds as though it might well have been similar to the Farnham tympanum: Allan Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie, with his Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art . . .*, ed. Peter Cunningham, II (London, 1843), 372.

mandorla supported by angels; on his right hand are the Crucifixion, where a flying angel removes the crown of thorns from Christ's head, and the Carrying of the Cross; on his left hand are the Baptism, Annunciation, and Resurrection; below are the Virgin between two angels and six apostles on either side of her. The main theme is therefore the Ascension; the selection of the minor scenes appears somewhat unusual. It probably comes from the late fourteenth century, the period of fusion into a Byzantino-Gothic style. The soldiers wear chain mail. The hand of Christ makes the sign of benediction in the Greek manner, but this is so general throughout Cypriote carving and painting that little importance can be attached to it, and on artistic evidence it would seem probable that in the island the Latins came to use the Greek placing of the fingers. On a thirteenth-century tomb slab, which Enlart found reused in the minbar of Hagia Sophia, archbishop Theobald gives the Latin blessing:¹⁹ the lady abbess, Eschiva of Dampierre, on her tomb in Our Lady of Tyre of 1340, uses the Greek gesture. As an example of a more purely Italianate style of sculpture can be quoted the relief of St. Mamas on his lion, carrying the Agnus Dei, now in the cloisters of the modern church of the Holy Cross in Nicosia. It is dated 1524 and is a provincial Venetian work, a votive offering, in which the donor, supported by an angel, kneels before the saint in a setting of rocks and palms.

Heraldic carving probably played a large part in Cypriote as in Rhodian decoration. Two examples must serve, both drawn from an outpost of Cypriote rule, the town of Adalia on the south coast of Asia Minor, captured by Peter I in 1361 and held till 1376.²⁰ In the barracks here were, until recently, two carved marble slabs: on one were the arms of Peter I; on the other, now in the museum at Istanbul, two shields, each held by clasped hands. The shields displayed the arms of Peter's Order of the Sword, the Lusignan arms, and a lozengy coat which, if John de Sur can be identified (as seems probable) with John de Nevile of Arsuf, is his arms and a record of his governorship, which was distinguished by an art-historical incident, the theft of the icon of St. Nicholas from the church at

19. Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, I, 169-170, pl. 39. Although no Theobald is named by Gams or Eubel among the archbishops of Nicosia, there is a gap in the lists between 1264 and 1270; Theobald is called archdeacon of Troyes (*Trecensis*) in the fragmentary inscription, but Enlart identifies him as an archbishop because he wears the pallium.

20. F. W. Hasluck, "Frankish Remains at Adalia," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XV (1909), 270-273, and "A French Inscription at Adalia," *ibid.*, XVI (1910), 185-186. There are similar heraldic pieces in the National Archaeological Museum at Istanbul.

Myra and the bringing of it to Famagusta. This same lozengy coat of the Nevile family, or at least a variant of it, can be seen on the shrine at Geraki, one of the most curious monuments of Frankish rule in Greece.

If sculpture in the round is rare and, save at Hagia Sophia, battered, and if the canopied tomb recesses are empty and fragmentary, Cyprus possesses a considerable inheritance of incised stone funeral slabs. Reused as paving stones, frequently face downwards or covered by thick carpets, a surprising number have survived. For Nicosia many of them were published by Tankerville Chamberlayne (with drawings by M. W. Williams), in his *Lacrimae Nicossenses* in 1894,²¹ but examples are found in all parts of the island. Incised memorial stones were in use in Palestine in the thirteenth century, though only scant traces remain; in Cyprus they are frequent throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, being replaced at the end of the Lusignan period by slabs in low relief. Here we have priests, nobles, and ladies in their habiliments as they lived; a list of them would be a roll-call of the great names of the island. The church of Our Lady of Tyre is particularly rich in them: Marie de Bessan (died aged twenty-eight in 1322), a very well-preserved piece of simple outline incising; Johanna Gorap (died 1363), wife perhaps of that John Gorap who cut the head from the corpse of Peter I; John Thenouri (died 1363) in full armor with blazoned shield and wide flowing surcoat, cut in a grayish stone, as are some of the other better preserved and executed pieces; Balian Lambert (died 1330), perhaps a relative of bishop Baldwin of Famagusta, the chief builder of the cathedral, in simple chain mail. Finest perhaps of all, in Hagia Sophia, is the tombstone of Arnato Visconti (died 1341) with his feet on two twisting dragons, standing beneath an elaborate Gothic canopy whose foliage decoration recalls that on the porch outside. The slabs in low relief seem to have come in with the Venetian occupation. They survive mainly in outlying villages, where their inscriptions are in Greek.

If the gradual return of the Byzantine style is a marked feature of Cypriot architecture and carving, in painting this style remained the dominant pattern throughout, little modified by trends from the

21. *Lacrimae Nicossenses: Recueil d'inscriptions funéraires, la plupart françaises, existant encore dans l'île de Chypre*, I (Paris, 1894; part II did not appear); L. de Mas Latrie, *L'île de Chypre*, pp. 340-401; A. K. Intianos, "Κυπριακά μεσαιωνικά μνημεία: Ἐπιγραφές I," *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, IV (1940), 17-32.

west.²² The crusaders found in the island a tradition of fresco work that was already a distinguished one. In the mountain church of Asinou in the Troödos forest, there is a series of paintings which show the persistence of this school. Remote and somewhat inaccessible, away from Latin ecclesiastical centers, a place of country pilgrimage and originally founded in 1106 (as a dated painting of the donor proves) by a Magister Nicephorus, possibly a member of the Comnenus family, it remained little affected by the Lusignan world, but its frescoes, by script or actual date, can be ascribed to the early twelfth, mid-thirteenth, and mid-fourteenth century. The earliest, particularly that of the Dormition, are the finest, but the Praying Virgin of about 1250 is a noble work with little provincial hesitancy about it.

Of the major frescoes of the Frankish period nothing now remains, or at least is visible, for there are possibilities of survival behind the whitewash of Hagia Sophia and St. Nicholas of Famagusta, and in the latter a shadowy painting of the Crucifixion can still be seen. Famagusta in fact seems to have had a considerable school of painters. Blackened and mutilated, long used as targets by Turkish children, fragments of paintings cling to the walls of its ruins. The south chapel of the Franciscan church had in Enlart's day the figure of a knight standing by his horse, possibly the founder of the chapel, but this has now disappeared. Much of the painted work seen by him in St. Mary of Carmel has also perished. The frescoes in the churches of St. Anne, St. George of the Greeks, and the Nestorians are now the best preserved, and the heads of some of the saints in St. Anne's are particularly fine. Here the titles are in Latin; elsewhere in the town, as in St. George of the Greeks and the Armenian church, the inscriptions use the respective languages, though the paintings still belong to this Italo-Byzantine style.

It is, however, the richness of some of the smaller village churches that remains surprising. The chapel of the Virgin above the village of

22. G. A. Soteriou. *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, I (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, Θιολογικῆ-Ἱστορικῆ Σειρά, vol. III; Athens, 1935); W. H. and G. G. Buckler, "Dated Wall-Paintings in Cyprus," Université libre de Bruxelles, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, VII (1939-1944, New York, 1944), 47-70; W. H. Buckler, "Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIII (1933), 105-110; Bishop of Gibraltar, V. Seymer, W. H. and G. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes," *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII (1933), 327-350; A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Cyprus, 1964); *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, preface by A. H. S. Megaw, introduction by A. Stylianou (UNESCO World Art Series, 20; Greenwich, Conn., 1963); M. Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels, 1966).

Moutoullas has frescoes including portraits of the donors, John and Irene Moutoullas, dated 1279; these are purely Byzantine in conception. Away from the chief towns Greek patronage was still active, and it continued to be so, though gradually western settlers came to use Greek inscriptions and it is not always possible to distinguish with certainty the creed of the founder. By the fifteenth century, queen Charlotte wrote French with difficulty, as it was to her a foreign language. The well-preserved paintings of the church of the Archangel Michael at Pedhoulas, built in 1474-1475 by Basil Chamades, are an example of this enduring tradition; here the original iconostasis survives, more open than in later examples and painted with the Lusignan arms. The year in which the church was built and probably decorated was that in which James II married Catherine Cornaro; soon the Lusignan arms would no longer be significant. Kakopetria, in its chapel of the Virgin, has a series of frescoes dating from 1520, with the donors, under their Greek inscription, looking solidly Venetian in dress and type.

Even in the villages, however, some of the painting was carried out under Latin patronage. Pelendria has a small church with a double nave, the second probably added for the Latin rite. The donors are in fourteenth-century costume and their escutcheons make it almost certain that they are portraits of John de Lusignan and his wife, the prince murdered by the bravo of Eleanor of Aragon, as the queen held before him the bloodstained shirt of her husband Peter I. As ill-fated in their associations are the frescoes of Pyrga, where king Janus and his queen, Charlotte of Bourbon, kneel at the foot of the cross. The chapel of the Passion at Pyrga probably formed part of a royal manor and must have been built by Janus shortly before the Mamluk invasion of 1426 swept over the south of the island and he himself fell a captive into their hands on the battlefield of Khirokitia. There was little time for him to build after that. The frescoes are poor enough, local works in the Byzantine manner, curiously at variance with their French titles, "La Pentecouste," "La Cene dou Jeusdi saint." More notable and vigorous are the paintings at Yeroskipos, which from their costumes and armor must date from about 1400, and which are certainly western in their inspiration. The church of St. John Lampadhistis at Kalopanayiotis has, in a Latin chapel attached to the earlier Byzantine building, a well-preserved series of frescoes which, though with Greek inscriptions, clearly show Italian influences.

A similar process can be seen in the surviving medieval icons of the

island.²³ In the church of St. Cassianus at Nicosia, one of the richest repositories of this type of work, the Virgin stretches out her robe in protection of a group of Latin monks; the much-damaged border scenes may be from some Carmelite legend. Tradition affirms that this painting came from Hagia Sophia, and its style and importance (it is 79 inches by 61 inches in size) make this seem probable enough. The Madonna is crowned, an Italian rather than Byzantine custom, and it seems more likely that the design is influenced by Tuscan work of the thirteenth century than that it is a pure example of the Greek style from which Tuscany borrowed so largely. The noble icon of St. Nicholas in the church of the same name at Kakopetria is almost certainly by the same hand and corresponds in size and technique, but whereas the scenes of the legend in the former have Latin titles, here they are in Greek. The armor of the knight kneeling at the feet of St. Nicholas suggests a date toward the close of the thirteenth century.

Among the outstanding icons of Nicosia are a series of tall, narrow panels, formerly in the church of the Panagia Chrysolaniotissa, now in the collection of icons in the annex of the church of the Phaneromene. That of Christ blessing, with a group of donors below, is inscribed in Greek to the memory of Maria, daughter of the lord Manuel (died 1356). The portrait figure of this young girl, in an elaborate red dress with a pattern of stars and goldfish, is one of the loveliest pieces of painting on the island. All these panels are of high quality, suggesting the work of an artist from Constantinople or some artistic center such as Mistra, rather than the Greek milieu, still a somewhat dependent one, of Cyprus. Finest perhaps of all the Cyprio-Byzantine panels, though it lacks the charm and individuality of the Chrysolaniotissa pieces, is one, again in the church of St. Cassianus, of the Ascension, a vigorous piece with the strong colors characteristic of the island's art. It dates probably from the reassertion of Byzantine influences at the end of the fifteenth century. In Cyprus as in Crete, Venetian domination seemed favorable to the formation of a local Byzantine school.

23. D. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (Courtauld Institute Publications on Near Eastern Art, no. 2; London, 1937); A. Stylianou, "An Italo-Byzantine Series of Wall-Paintings in the Church of St. John Lampadhistis, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus," *Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München, 1958*, ed. F. Dölger and H. G. Beck (1960), pp. 595-598. Some color reproductions have been published by A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Geneva, 1969). The fate of some of these icons remains unknown as a result of the damage done to Nicosia in recent (1974) fighting [J. F.].

There remains one branch of painting about which little is known, the art of illumination. Fine manuscripts were prized in Cyprus, but it is uncertain whether or not there was a local school for their production. When queen Charlotte, in the course of her long appeals to Rome, made a present to Innocent VIII, it was a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles (now Vatican Gr. MS. 1208). The script appears to be of the twelfth century, but the miniatures, figures of apostles finely painted on a gold ground, are almost certainly later and may have been added to the manuscript shortly before Charlotte presented it. Another manuscript, the Hamilton Psalter with Greek and Latin text (No. 78 A.9 in the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin), has an inscription "isto libro la regina Charlotta de Jerusalem de Chypre et de Armenie" which has been questioned, not altogether convincingly, as a forgery. The numerous paintings, Byzantine in style, are of considerable quality, though much damaged; in one of them a lady and her consort kneel before an icon of the Virgin. Particularly fine is a marginal painting of the Ascension to illustrate Psalm XVII, "et ascendit super cherubim"; Cyprus seems a likely place of origin.²⁴ In the Bodleian Library there is a manuscript (MS. Laud Misc. 487) where the arms of Savoy are supported by two angels, figures obviously painted under Byzantine influence. This may also have belonged to Charlotte, whose husband was Louis of Savoy, or it may be associated with the lavish and extravagant Anna, daughter of Janus, who married Louis of Geneva, the son of Amadeo VIII of Savoy, in 1434. These same ladies are, with their Savoyard connection, the possible channel through which another manuscript passed into the library of Margaret of Austria, wife of Philibert II, and from there to the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels (MS. 10175),²⁵ the *Histoire universelle* of Bernard of Acre, which has already been discussed in connection with the Acre scriptorium. After the writer's name, in the colophon, comes the date 1432 and the notice of the birth of a daughter, "Goza de Lezenian," to whom Janus and his daughter Anna stood sponsors. The book therefore belonged to some

24. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 613, note 6; P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen . . . des Kupferstichkabinetts der staatlichen Museen, Berlin* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 25-30. See also H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 5-6 and note 12 with relevant bibliography [J. F.].

25. A. Bayot, "Les Manuscrits de provenance savoisiennne à la Bibliothèque de Bourgogne," *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société savoisiennne d'histoire et d'archéologie*, XLVII (Chambéry, 1909), 372-375. For Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 487 see O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*; vol. II, *Italian School* (Oxford, 1970), p. 88, no. 884, and pl. LXXVIII.

member of the royal house, possibly Janus's bastard son Phoebus, who was to be the most loyal supporter of his unhappy niece Charlotte.

It was in Venice, as much a meeting place of east and west as Cyprus or Acre, that there was being produced in the early fourteenth century another group of manuscripts with close crusading associations, copies of Marino Sanudo's *Secreta fidelium*, which that industrious propagandist was preparing for circulation to the western rulers. There are two splendid examples in the Bibliothèque royale at Brussels (MSS. 9347-8 and 9404-5), each with a dedicatory letter to Philip VI of France dated 1332 and practically replicas of one another. They are illustrated with maps and scenes of crusading combat. The British Library's *Secreta* (MS. Add. 27376) is a somewhat similar production of the same book, and the Bodleian copy (MS. Tanner 190) addressed to Robert of Boulogne, count of Auvergne, is a less lavish version of the same type. Another Bodleian manuscript (MS. Laud Misc. 587), a copy of Villehardouin's *Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople*, seems to be the product of the same workshop; it has a lively scene of the attack on the city, where the heraldic emblems recall those used in the Arsenal Bible, as also in the copies of the *Histoire universelle*. Philip of Mézières's illustrations of his new crusading order, the Order of the Passion, are purely western work, commissioned by him after he had left Cyprus following the murder of his hero, Peter I.²⁶

Frescoes, tomb slabs, and paintings give us some visual picture of the costumes and manners of the Franks in Cyprus. Travelers and chroniclers give many verbal descriptions of the splendid festivities of the island: the entertainments of Francis Lachas at Famagusta for Peter I when four men carried in a dish loaded with precious stones, sweet-smelling aloes were burned in the chimneys, and eighty silken carpets were laid on the floors; the splendors of the royal palace; the gardens filled with strange beasts; the sumptuous equipment of the churches. All this has disappeared, carried off in Turkish vessels or destroyed in earlier plundering raids. Of the lesser arts there is hardly any survival. A fine copper enameled bowl of Arab work inscribed in

26. British Library, MS. Royal 20 B. VI, and Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 813; see Maude V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (Oxford, 1937), pp. 286-292. For the Tanner and Laud manuscripts see Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, II, 12, no. 118 (MS. Tanner 190) and pl. XI; no. 120 (MS. Laud Misc. 587) and pl. XI [J. F.]

French and Arabic as made for "Hugh of Jerusalem and Cyprus," most probably Hugh IV, and a somewhat similar bowl with the Lusignan arms, also Arab work, serve as reminders that not all relations with Islam were hostile.²⁷ Famagusta cathedral still retains iron candelabra, somewhat similar to that which survives from the Dome of the Rock. A small cypress-wood box with metal medallions was seen by Enlart in a private collection in France, with an inscription that it was made in Cyprus. Many such small objects must have been exported, and doubtless among the medieval collections of western museums there are pieces of Cypriote origin without identifying marks. The great export, however, was in woven stuffs and embroideries, of which only fragmentary examples are known, and the bulk of which must have perished in the course of time.²⁸

Pottery has been somewhat more lasting, and through a Cypriote custom of burying a bowl in a grave many examples have survived, with designs, many of them figure subjects, drawn in graffito through a white clay slip, colored with greens, yellows, and browns, and completed with a transparent glaze. It is a type of pottery that seems to have had its main center at St. Simeon, the port of Antioch, but fragments of similar ware have been found, along with Cypriote coins, in excavations at the Palestinian castle of Château Pèlerin. It recurs at Corinth and at some Hohenstaufen sites in south Italy, and may prove to be a valuable guide to the dispersion of crusading influences. In Cyprus the great days of the craft appear to have been the fourteenth century, and it may well have owed much to refugees from the Syrian mainland. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth century it seems to have given way before the importation of pottery from Italy. A popular art, it catered mainly for Greek customers, and any lettering that occurs is Greek, but the scenes and costumes have the usual echoes of the Latin settlement. A bowl in a private collection, showing a knight embracing his lady, has something of the light-hearted gaiety, the love of splendid clothes, which made Cyprus

27. H. R. d'Allemagne, "Notice sur un bassin en cuivre exécuté pour Hugues IV de Lusignan, roi de Chypre (1324-1361)," in Enlart, *L'Art gothique*, II, 743-756.

28. An example of the sumptuous materials and skillful work that characterized Cypriote ateliers is an altar frontal now in Berne. Except for the later end panels, the crimson silk altar frontal was commissioned by Otto of Grandison as a thank-offering for his personal survival of the final siege of Acre in 1291. See M. Stettler, *Bildteppiche und Antependion im Historischen Museum, Bern* (Berne, 1959), sect. IVA with plates, catalogue list, and bibliography (no pagination). [J. F.]

despite all its misfortunes the envy, or the scandal, of the western world.²⁹

29. Catalogue, *Loan Exhibition: Medieval Cypriot Pottery from the collection of Mr. Christakis Loizides* (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, 1947) p. 6, no. 6, and fig. 4; J. du Plat Taylor and A. H. S. Megaw, "Cypriot Glazed Medieval Pottery: Notes for a Preliminary Classification," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1937-1939* (Nicosia, 1951), pp. 1-13. See also C. N. Johns, "Medieval Slip-ware from Pilgrim's Castle, 'Atlit (1930-1)," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, III (1934), 137-144; A. Lane, "Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria," *Archaeologia*, LXXXVII (1938), 19-78; and J. S. P. Bradford, "The Apulia Expedition: An Interim Report," *Antiquity*, XXIV (1950), 84-95. Additional crusader pottery has been reported from Cyprus; see J. Herrin, "Appendix: Kouklia 1972-The Medieval Pottery," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1973* (Nicosia, 1973), pp. 199 ff., and J. D. Frierman, *Medieval Ceramics VI to XIII Centuries* (Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), p. 26; the latter also covers pottery from the mainland crusader states (pp. 39-54). [J. F.]

B. Military Architecture

Of military architecture in Cyprus there has survived from the Frankish kingdom a varied heritage, ranging from town defenses to hilltop fortresses and isolated watch-towers; much more has disappeared. One type, the baronial castle, which had been a feature of the crusader settlements on the mainland, does not recur in Cyprus. The castles which the Byzantines surrendered to Richard passed to the crown on the establishment of the kingdom, under which castellation, like coinage, was a royal prerogative; only the military orders were permitted to possess castles of their own.

In Nicosia, the capital, nothing has survived above ground of the Lusignan fortifications, which the Venetians demolished in 1567 to build the present ramparts and bastions on a smaller circuit. The walls of the city were evidently derelict at the conquest, but it had near its center a Byzantine keep, where the Templars had to defend themselves in 1191. This was doubtless the castle which Wilbrand of Oldenburg saw being rebuilt in 1211; the *teichokastron*, begun by Henry II and still under construction in 1340,¹ was perhaps connected with it. The site of this "old castle"—on which the church of St. Clare, known as Castiglotissa, was later erected—has not been identified. The Frankish city walls, circular in plan with round towers, a ditch, and eight gates, were started under Peter I and hurriedly completed on the approach of the Genoese in 1372. Peter I also left incomplete a moated outwork to the south, known as the Margarita tower, in which it was said he planned to incarcerate his enemies. This was demolished, at least partly, with other buildings in 1376, when Peter II started work on a new citadel. This seems to have taken the form of a curtain wall encircling an extensive area adjoining the south sector of the city wall and including the royal court and the monastery of St. Dominic. It extended from the neighborhood of the present Paphos gate, outside which a short stretch of wall with a projecting rectangular tower has been found, to the Hagia Paraskeve gate, which was incorporated in it. In the citadel

1. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 181; Machaeras (ed. Dawkins), I, 43 and 71.

James I added royal apartments, which were completed in 1426 by Janus, to replace the palace which the Mamluks had burnt.

In Famagusta the Venetians were less drastic and contented themselves for the most part with the line of the existing Frankish town defenses, strengthening or rebuilding them as the requirements of artillery warfare dictated. Consequently much of the fourteenth-century citadel and town walls has survived, incorporated in the Venetian work. The citadel bestrides the sea wall and runs out to form one side of the harbor entrance, at the other side of which was the chain-tower, at the end of the breakwater.² It is a compact castle of modest size and replaces an earlier tower,³ possibly the work of Guy of Lusignan; like the town wall, it dates from the reign of Henry II, when the loss of Acre and the influx of crusader refugees called for the strengthening of Famagusta's defenses. The work was pressed forward by Amalric during his usurpation, and evidently completed before his death in 1310, when the city declared for the king and was put in a state of defense, with the gates walled up and the drawbridges demolished.⁴ It is unlikely that any important alterations were made before the Genoese invested the city in 1373. The sea gate to the citadel, through which their troops treacherously entered, on the heels of the envoys who were admitted to negotiate, has disappeared either in the Venetian remodeling or in the course of improvements which the Genoese themselves carried out during their 92-year occupation of the city. The latter included the cutting of a moat, filled by the sea, to isolate the citadel from the rest of the town. The town walls which Nicholas of Martoni saw in 1394—"high with broad alleys round them, and many and high towers all round"⁵—were probably much as they had been built nearly a hundred years earlier. Some modernization may have followed the first appearance of artillery in Cyprus, in 1404, when Janus besieged the Genoese in Famagusta and both sides used cannon furnished by Venice. Of such Genoese modernizations little is to be seen—some primitive circular gun-ports inserted in the earlier work may belong

2. Enlart, *L'Art gothique*, II, pl. XXII.

3. Estienne de Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, p. 49b, attributes its foundation to Guy of Lusignan; it was surrendered to Philip of Novara on the return of Henry I to the island in 1232 (*Gestes des Chiprois*, pp. 93 and 98). Part of it may survive in the wall and gateway below the floor in the undercroft of the great hall in the citadel, discovered by Mr. Mogabgab in excavations for the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

4. Amadi, *Chronique*, p. 335.

5. "Relation du pèlerinage de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)," ed. L. LeGrand, in *ROL*, III (1895), 628.

to them—and where the medieval work has been spared in the Venetian improvements, it dates in most cases from the original construction of the early fourteenth century.

A stretch of the sea wall north of the citadel is in something like its original condition; the octagonal Diamante tower at the angle has survived internal alterations. Standing on a conical base, into which the octagon interpenetrates, two stories survive, the lower built in bossed masonry. The Signoria tower next to it is almost intact, with its two superimposed vaulted chambers linked by a stair in the thickness of the wall. A landward extension contains a gateway which formerly gave access to the beach. The curtain wall between these two towers, patched externally and thickened on the town side, is also largely original, while in the sea, some hundred yards from shore, is the artificial reef designed to keep enemy vessels at a distance. Elsewhere, between the Venetian bastions, can be seen stretches of the original curtain, distinguished by their slender arrow-slits, notably in the south wall, in parts of which two superimposed rows of embrasures exist below the Venetian battlements. Finally, in the heart of several of the bastions can be seen the masonry of the original Frankish towers around which they were formed.

In the citadel, within the sheath of early Venetian bastions and ramparts, much of the Frankish fortress remains, ranged round the four sides of a small rectangular courtyard with square towers at the corners. That at the southeast angle was pierced by the Venetians to serve as the entrance, replacing the earlier landward gateway, traces of which can be seen in a section of the original south curtain adjoining this tower. The undercroft of the great hall on the north side comprising five cross-vaulted bays is the principal surviving feature, which, as the Jerusalem crosses carved on the bosses indicate, is part of the pre-Genoese fortress. In the Venetian rampart raised over this undercroft the plan of the upper chamber, with triple-engaged colonettes dividing the bays, has been recovered by excavation. Of the east range, which was demolished to extend the courtyard when the entrance was moved, only the main (east) wall survives.⁶

At Limassol the kingdom inherited a Byzantine castle, which Frederick II made his headquarters in 1228, unless a Frankish

6. Outside this wall Mr. Mogabgab's excavations have revealed an alley closed on the east by an outer wall with a "chemin-de-ronde" corbeled onto its inner face. The space between the inner and outer walls was filled later to form the artillery rampart.

building had meanwhile replaced it. This early castle, which seems to have passed to the Templars, only to revert to the crown on their suppression, was destroyed when the Genoese sacked the town in 1373. The new castle, variously attributed by the chroniclers to James I and to Janus, was constructed in the shell of a thirteenth-century church; despite the destruction of the upper part by the Mamluks in 1425, much of it has survived within the plain Turkish exterior of the existing building. The western bay of the church was turned into a keep of three or more floors, rising above the rest of the building, as is proved by a slender arrow-slit surviving in the upper part of its east wall.

The two castles on the sea wall at Paphos were minor works, if we may judge by the remains of the landward one incorporated in the Turkish fort: a small tower enclosed by a walled yard on three sides.⁷ At Larnaca the earlier structure incorporated in the corresponding Turkish building may well be part of the tower and lodging burnt in 1425.

All these, including even the Famagusta citadel, are minor works beside the Frankish fortress at Kyrenia, which despite Venetian additions and modern disfigurements remains the most imposing military monument of the Lusignans.⁸ The castle stands on a blunt peninsula between two small bays, the westward forming the harbor proper and the other a larger anchorage originally closed by an artificial reef but for a single narrow opening. The reef survives where it passes in front of the north wall of the castle to join the east breakwater of the harbor, of which the trace and the terminal chain-tower have been spared in the modern extension of the harbor. Of the walled *bourg*, which lay to the south and west, three Frankish towers survive: that at the southwest angle, circular and constructed in massive bossed masonry; to the north of it, a machicolated tower, evidently one of a pair flanking a west gate constructed in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century; and the third, also circular, at a reëntrant of the curtain wall which separated the town from the

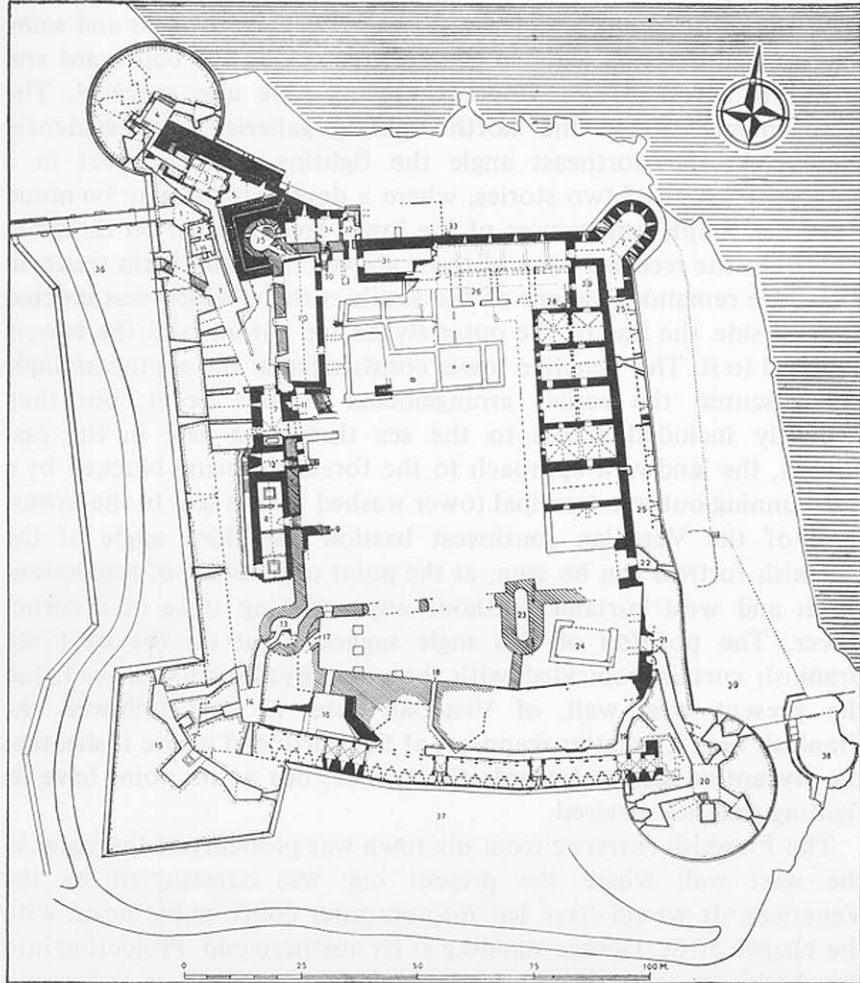
7. On the landward Byzantine-Lusignan fortifications at Paphos harbor, northeast of the Turkish fort, see A. H. S. Megaw, "Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos: Preliminary Report on the 1966-67 and 1970-71 Seasons," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1971* (Nicosia, 1971), pp. 117-146, and *idem*, "Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970-71," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVI (1972), 322-344. [J. F.]

8. This summary and the plan (fig. 11) incorporate the results of a survey carried out for the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, in the summer of 1948, by Mr. C. N. Johns and Mr. J. S. Last.

harbor. A wide ditch isolates the castle on the south and west, on which latter side it separates the castle from the town. Probably this is the Venetian enlargement of a Frankish or earlier ditch, the southern arm of which would have been continuous with that which ringed the town.

On the castle site the Lusignans took over an early Byzantine fortress, originally an enclosure about 264 feet square with hollow angle-towers of circular form, to which was added on the south a massive outer curtain with solid pentagonal towers. Dating from the period of the Arab wars or earlier, a considerable section of the pre-Frankish castle is still visible at the south end of the present courtyard, where the outer Byzantine wall now serves to retain the south and west ramparts on the inner side (fig. 10). An entrance in the outer south curtain is flanked by two couchant lions in relief and surmounted by a third, which, like the column drums and other blocks reused in the extremely irregular masonry, may well be of earlier date. At the northwest corner, reaching out toward the harbor, there seems to have been a salient within which the chapel, later known as St. George of the Donjon, was erected, probably in the twelfth century. The outer wall enclosing this salient probably ran on southward to enclose an outer ward along the west wall, corresponding to that on the south. We can hardly doubt that in the main it was this Byzantine castle which Wilbrand of Oldenburg saw in 1211 and in which the imperial faction were besieged in 1228 and 1232. The earliest Frankish repairs and improvements are, however, attributable to this period. Such are the upper story of the original inner northwest tower and perhaps the vaulted undercroft to the north of the gateway in the west range, built within the line of the Byzantine curtain.

At a later date much more drastic improvements were undertaken in ashlar masonry akin to thirteenth-century work on the Syrian mainland. These improvements form a single conception but were executed piecemeal, and in part at least must date from the turn of the century, when the kingdom's defenses were strengthened upon the fall of Acre. At this stage the Byzantine walls on the north and east were entirely replaced, the former by a high curtain with two fighting galleries below the parapet and the latter by a similar curtain, to judge from what remains of its fighting gallery at the courtyard level and the ruins of an intermediate tower which had an upper story. The eastern fighting gallery is backed by, but otherwise unconnected with, a lofty vaulted range which was divided by wooden floors into an upper story of residential chambers and a



10. Plan of Kyrenia castle

Hatched walls = Byzantine castle

Black walls = Frankish reconstructions and additions

Dotted walls = Venetian reconstructions and additions

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1— Entrance passage. | 17— To South-West Bastion (lower level) |
| 2— Guardroom. | 18— To South Fighting Gallery. |
| 3— Byzantine Chapel. | 19— Venetian Gallery. |
| 4— North-West Tower. | 20— South-East Tower. |
| 5— West Ward (north end). | 21— Gate to East Outwork. |
| 6— West Ward (centre). | 22— Gun-Chamber (site of Frankish tower). |
| 7— Gate-House (chapel over). | 23— Horseshoe Tower. |
| 8— Undercroft with oubliettes. | 24— Water Tank. |
| 9— To West Range (upper storeys). | 25— East Fighting Gallery. |
| 10— Early Frankish Undercroft. | 26— North Range (foundations). |
| 11— To Gate-House (middle storey). | 27— North-East Tower. |
| 12— Vaulted cell. | 28— North-East Staircase. |
| 13— South-West Tower (Byzantine). | 29— Chamber with reconstructed floor. |
| 14— West Ward, South End (Venetian gun-chamber). | 30— North-West Staircase. |
| 15— South-West Bastion. | 31— Undercroft. |
| 16— South Ward. | 32— Postern Gate. |
| | 33— Site of Frankish Postern. |
| | 34— Forebuilding. |
| | 35— Inner North-West Tower. |
| | 36— West Ditch. |
| | 37— South Ditch. |
| | 38— Base of Tower. |
| | 39— Site of East Outwork. |

lower series of rooms at courtyard level. Basement cisterns and some traces of an external wooden gallery overlooking the courtyard and providing access to the upper chambers have also survived. The arrangements within the north fighting galleries were evidently similar. At the northeast angle the fighting galleries meet in a horseshoe tower of two stories, where a development may be noted from the simple embrasures of the lower level (shown on the plan, fig. 10) to the recessed form of those above. The latter form recurs in the single remaining gallery of the south curtain, which was erected well outside the line of the outer Byzantine curtain and the towers attached to it. The Venetian tower constructed at the southeast angle has obscured the earlier arrangements at this point, but they evidently included access to the sea through a gate in the east curtain, the landward approach to the foreshore being blocked by a wall running out to a terminal tower washed by the sea. In the lowest level of the Venetian southwest bastion the third angle of the Frankish fortress can be seen, at the point of junction of the present south and west curtains, without any surviving trace of a corner tower. The position of this angle suggests that on the west the Frankish curtain coincided with the outer Byzantine wall, and that the present west wall, of Venetian date, in turn followed the Frankish line. The latter reappears at the north end where it sheathes the Byzantine salient towards the harbor, but at no point have its fighting galleries survived.

The Frankish entrance from the town was probably at the point in the west wall where the present one was constructed by the Venetians. It would have led into an outer court or barbican, with the chapel of St. George standing at its northern end. Projecting into the barbican from the inner Byzantine west wall, a gatehouse encloses the L-shaped entrance to the main courtyard, constructed in the massive masonry of the later Frankish style. The southern end of the barbican is now filled by the ramp which the Venetians constructed to reach their ramparts; originally it extended as a level approach to the southwest corner of the castle where a wide gateway, still almost intact, led to the spaces between the outer Byzantine and the Frankish south curtains, from which the south fighting gallery was reached. At the north end the barbican was commanded by a strong rectangular tower encasing the original northwest angle tower and itself buttressed by later masonry. This tower stands forward from the main line of the north curtain; at the angle where the latter is bent northward to close with it a postern leads to the northern foreshore. Here traces of a small protecting barbican are to be seen, and, on the main curtain, the corbels of a

projecting brattice which covered the entrance in its east wall. In its final Frankish form the castle is thus seen to conform with the principle of concentric planning so far as circumstances permitted; the outer ward was ample only on the west, cut up by the Byzantine towers on the south, and on the north and east reduced at least in part to the dimensions of fighting galleries isolated from the domestic accommodation within them.

Within these strong defenses, which in 1374 withstood all efforts of the Genoese to penetrate them, was the royal residence, used by queen Eleanor during the siege and by James I, who as constable had defended the castle, after his return from captivity in Genoa. Something of these royal apartments remains in the upper part of the west range, which to the south of the gatehouse backs onto the original Byzantine curtain and which would have been screened by the outer west wall. The chapel was in the third story of the gatehouse, lit by large windows opening on the barbican, and there were other chambers to the south communicating with it, but also reached and bypassed by a stone gallery corbeled onto the inner wall. Access to the stairs by which the gallery was reached from the yard was controlled by a gate leading to an alley between the northern section of the west range, constructed within the Byzantine wall, and the domestic quarters which occupied the northern part of the yard but of which only the foundations remain. South of the gatehouse in the west range survives an undercroft of three cross-vaulted bays, itself raised on basement vaults entered from both the courtyard and the barbican. In the floor of these basements are two shafts opening out below the neck into the virgin rock, perhaps the "grotte obscurissime et horrible" where the supporters of the usurper Amalric were thrown in 1315 to starve to death.⁹

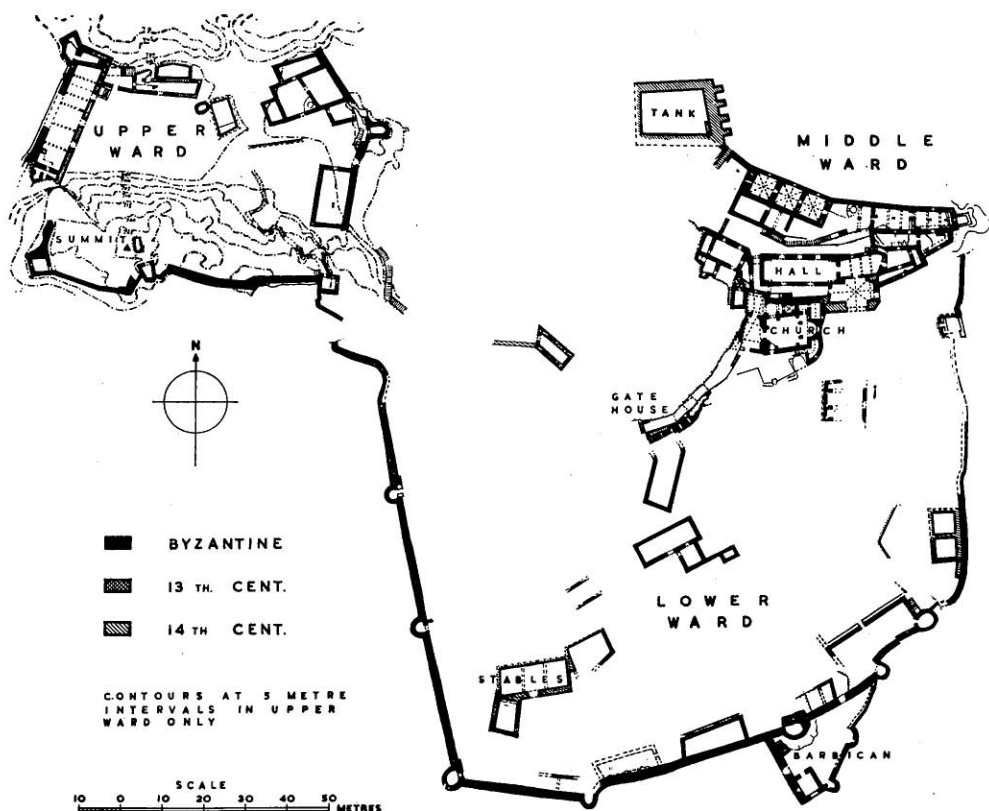
The damage sustained in the siege of 1374 was evidently made good by local repairs which did not affect the layout of the castle. Nor is there any evidence of new works after the castle was surrendered to James II, who in 1460 had attacked this last stronghold of Charlotte and Louis with artillery. It remained for the Venetians to attend to the modernization of the fortress.

The treaty assigning Famagusta to the Genoese introduced the new feature of a land frontier, to defend which James I built the castle of Sigouri in 1391, a typical castle of the plain, rectangular with square towers at the angles and a ditch filled seasonally from

9. F. Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Collection de documents inédits, Mélanges historiques, 5; Paris, 1886), p. 245.

the Pedias. Of its masonry nothing is now visible. James also improved the castle of La Cava, which had been built by Peter II at the Nicosia end of the route to Larnaca, whose importance as a port increased with the loss of Famagusta. Built across the narrowest point of a long plateau which was cut by a ditch, its meager ruins constructed in very massive bossed masonry are noteworthy for their conservative character: two massive towers linked by a curtain, recalling the early thirteenth-century sea castle at Sidon.

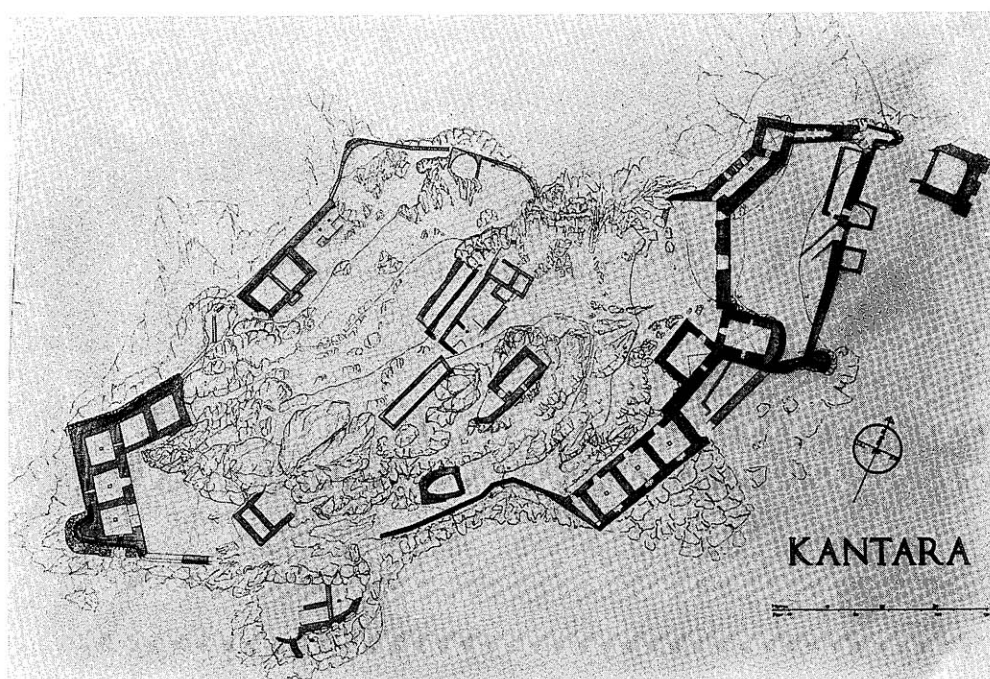
If we pass over the isolated watch-towers, of which the best preserved, at Kiti, is of Venetian date, there remain only the three hilltop castles of the Kyrenia range—St. Hilarion (Dieudamour), Buffavento, and Kantara—and what little survives of the fortifications erected by the military orders. The three castles were first built by the Byzantines, probably not before the opposite Cilician coast was overrun by the Selchükids and perhaps as part of the measures taken by Alexius I for the greater security of the island after the revolt of 1092. Only at St. Hilarion does much remain of the original work (fig. 11). Here there have survived from the Byzantine castle



11. Plan of St. Hilarion

the main entrance, reduced by a later Frankish arch, and the carved corbels of the brattice which overhung it, the greater part of the encircling walls at all levels with their semicircular towers and, in the middle ward, much of the gatehouse, the church, and chambers immediately adjoining it. The earlier Frankish improvements and additions, such as the rampart on the summit with its rectangular towers characterized by flat terrace roofs on timber, may date from the Lombard war, when first the imperial faction and then Henry's supporters were besieged here. The later and more substantial Frankish additions and reconstructions, for which a fourteenth-century date is indicated, had either steep-pitched wood-and-tile roofs, as in the case of the hall in the middle ward and the royal apartments in the upper, or like the undercroft of the latter building and the "belvedere" were covered with barrel or cross-vaults.

At Buffavento and Kantara the same characteristics are to be seen, except that the Byzantine work is less in evidence. Of the two, Kantara better illustrates the work of the Lusignan castle-builders (fig. 12). It is a walled enclosure as regular as the site permitted, with barrel- and cross-vaulted quarters attached to the curtain. On the more accessible eastern side there is a double line, forming a barbican about the entrance. Both lines run out on the flanks to horseshoe towers, forming an ensemble as dramatic as it is effective for defense



12. Plan of Kantara

(pl. LXa). Though the towers recall the semicircular contour favored in local Byzantine work, the castle seems to date in the main to the fourteenth century. James I is known to have put the finishing touches to it as part of the encirclement of the Genoese in Famagusta.

In contrast to their splendid fortresses in Syria, the military orders have left scant remains in Cyprus. Of the Templar castle at Gastria on the north side of Famagusta bay only the rock-cut ditch remains, which is to be regretted, as it was probably the first all-Frankish castle to be built on the island, mentioned as early as 1211. Of the tower at Khirokitia, where the marshal of the Temple was imprisoned when the order was disbanded, little remains above ground. The Hospitallers have left, at Kolossi, the keep which was erected as the grand commander's headquarters in the mid-fifteenth century. With its drawbridge, machicoulis, and battlements, which make no provision for artillery, it is a fitting representative of the later Middle Ages, unconnected with the defense of the kingdom but built for the security of a great landowner in troubled times. The ornamentation of the fireplaces is closely modeled on the contemporary carving of the buildings of the knights in Rhodes.

To sum up the achievements of the Lusignans in this field, it can be said first that no general program of fortification was undertaken on the establishment of the Franks on Cyprus. They inherited from the Byzantines a network of useful if somewhat outmoded fortresses, which were only gradually supplemented, improved, or replaced. Surviving thirteenth-century works are on a modest scale and owe not a little to the local Byzantine tradition. The big effort was made after the fall of Acre. It extended well into the fourteenth century, and it had behind it the experience of the builders of the great castles in Syria and the fine masonry tradition of that country.¹⁰ To it belong the walls and citadel of Famagusta, and to it we may attribute the main Frankish works of Kyrenia, which might reasonably be styled the last of the great crusader castles. With the prosperous years of the mid-fourteenth century came a greater, though mistaken, sense of security, reflected in the spacious residential accommodation added at St. Hilarion and Kyrenia. The Frankish walls of Nicosia were indeed started at this time, but they neglected an elementary principle of security in their multiplicity of gates, of which there were no fewer than eight. The misfortunes which assailed the

10. The inspiration was not, however, exclusively Syrian. The steep-pitched tiled roofs used at St. Hilarion reflect the direct influence of European practice.

kingdom with the coming of the Genoese did not at first affect the work of its castle-builders, who seem to have dealt promptly and effectively with the new problem of a land frontier. The scale and workmanship of what remains of La Cava are most impressive, and we must regret the destruction of the contemporary citadel in Nicosia. Nevertheless, there are conservative features in these later works indicating that the builders followed the thirteenth-century tradition of *outremer* rather than contemporary work in Europe. From the later disaster of the Mamluk invasion and the burden of the Egyptian tribute there could be no real recovery. Thus the fifteenth century passed without the erection of any important military monument, and it was left to the Venetians to convert the high-walled fortresses of Famagusta and Kyrenia so that they could mount and sustain artillery bombardments.