

V

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

The adoption by the kingdom of Cyprus of institutions which existed in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem is well known to historians. Yet it is sometimes not sufficiently recognized that over a period of three centuries (1192–1489), these institutions underwent a development which profoundly modified them.

From 1192 to 1197 Cyprus formed a simple seignury, at first in the possession of the English king; then, when Richard the Lionhearted renounced his suzerainty, and his protégé Guy of Lusignan died in 1194, Guy's brother and heir Aimery (1194–1205) was clever enough to acknowledge himself the vassal of the emperor Henry VI, who sent him a royal crown. In the same year, 1197, pope Celestine III created

There is an extensive bibliography on the history of Cyprus in earlier volumes of the present work, II, 599, and III, 340–341. The institutions of the kingdom have been briefly treated by George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II (Cambridge, Eng., 1948), 50–57. The high officers have been listed in the old work of Emmanuel G. Rey, *Les Familles d'outremer de Du Cange* (Paris, 1869).

Nevertheless, the sources are abundant. Besides the *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre* of Estienne de Lusignan (Paris, 1580), which, though still useful, must be used with caution, the *Livre de Philippe de Novare* and the *Livre contrefais des Assises* (published under the title *Abrégé du livre des assises de la cour des bourgeois*), have been edited in *RHC, Lois*, I, 469–571, and II, 227–352, respectively. The chronicles of Leontius Machaeras (Makhairas), *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled "Chronicle"*, ed. and tr. Richard M. Dawkins (2 vols., Oxford, 1932) (in which the translation of terms respecting institutions is not always accurate), and of Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, ed. René de Mas Latrie, in *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques*, V (Paris, 1886), are particularly useful. The invaluable *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* by Louis de Mas Latrie (3 vols., Paris, 1852–1861) should be supplemented by his "Nouvelles preuves de l'histoire de Chypre," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XXXII (1871), 341–378; XXXIV (1873) 47–87; and XXXV (1874), 99–158; and "Documents nouveaux servants de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre," *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques*, IV (Paris, 1882), 337–619. See also Jean Richard, *Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)* (Institut français d'arché-

a church of the Latin rite in Cyprus. Although the heirs of Isaac Comnenus (d. 1195) still laid claim to the island until 1218, the actual rise of the kingdom can be dated from 1197.¹

Imperial suzerainty occasioned difficult years for Cyprus, when Frederick II attempted to use his rights in order to nominate regents in 1228. King Henry I (1218–1253) was released from this dependency by Innocent IV in 1247, and the kingdom was from then on fully independent; the pretender Hugh of Brienne seems to have offered to become the vassal first of Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, and then of James I, king of Aragon-Catalonia, in exchange for their support, but without success.² Some authors of crusading plans (Pierre Dubois, Manuel Piloti) proposed to transfer sovereignty to a prince who would be more useful for their plans. In 1303 there were plans for having the pope make a son of Frederick of Sicily king of Cyprus, in exchange for the

ologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 73; Paris, 1962); "Un Évêque d'Orient latin au XIVe siècle: Guy d'Ibelin, O.P., évêque de Limassol, et l'inventaire de ses biens," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXIV (1950), 98–133; "Une Famille de 'vénitiens blancs' à Chypre au milieu du XVe siècle: les Audeth et la seigneurie de Marethasse," *Miscellanea in onore di Agostino Pertusi (Rivista internazionale di studi bizantini e slavi)*, I [1981], 89–129; and *Le Livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre pour 1468–1469* (Nicosia, 1983). See also Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *Pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

Among the studies of institutions, I might be permitted to cite my own articles, now reprinted in *Orient et Occident au moyen âge, contacts et relations* (London, 1976), and *Les Relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au moyen âge* (London, 1977): "Pairie d'Orient latin: les quatre baronnies des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre," *RHDFE*, ser. 4, XXVIII (1950), 67–88 (*Orient et Occident*, no. 15); "La Révolution de 1369 dans le royaume de Chypre," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, CX (1952), 108–123 (*Orient et Occident*, no. 16); "La Situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignans," *Praktikon tou protou diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, II (Nicosia, 1972), 221–229 (*Orient et Occident*, no. 17); "Chypre du protectorat à la domination vénitienne," *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, I–2 (Florence, 1972), 657–677 (*Les Relations*, no. 12); as well as books and articles cited in chapter VI of volume V of the present work, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States."

On ecclesiastical institutions see below, note 57. A chapter on institutions of the Lusignan kingdom will appear in the *History of Cyprus*, to be published by Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia.

1. On the date of Guy's death see Richard, "L'Abbaye cistercienne de Jubin et le prieuré Saint-Blaise de Nicosie," *Epeteris* of the Center of Scientific Research, Nicosia, p. 70 (repr. in Richard, *Orient et Occident*, no. 19). On the claims of Isaac's heirs see Heinrich Fichtenau, "Akkon, Zypern und das Lösegeld für Richard Löwenherz," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, CXXV (1966), 11–32; Rudt de (von) Collenberg, "L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)," *Byzantion*, XXXVIII (1968), 124–177; Walther Hubatsch, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Reichslehnschaft über Cypern," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1958), pp. 245–306.

2. *Les Registres de Grégoire X et de Jean XXI*, ed. Jean Guiraud, E. [Léon] Cadier, and Guillaume Mollat (Paris, 1892–1960), p. 343 (no. 832); Elena Lourie, "An Offer of the Suzerainty and Escheat of Cyprus to Alphonse III of Aragon," *English Historical Review*, LXXXIV (1969), 101–108.

surrender of the island of Sicily to the Angevins.³ None of these projects amounted to anything. But after his defeat at Khirokitia in 1426, king Janus (1398–1432) had to acknowledge his dependence on the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, who, from that time on, confirmed the kings of Cyprus in their office. The republic of Venice had to obtain the consent of the sultan in 1489 in order to take possession of the island.⁴

Aimery's direct line died out in 1267. The high court recognized Hugh III (1267–1284), son of Henry of Antioch and Isabel of Lusignan, as heir to Hugh II, and thenceforth Cyprus was ruled by a branch of the princely house of Antioch. However, it took up the name and the traditions of the Lusignans: the Lusignan arms of a lion on a field of white and blue bars were quartered with the lion of Cyprus, the lion of Cilician Armenia, and the cross of Jerusalem. Further, the Lusignan colors, white and blue, were adopted for the silken cords on documents from which hung the king's seal.⁵

Rules for the succession were not firmly established. Preference was given to male heirs (in 1385 James I, a brother of Peter I, was chosen over Marietta, Peter's daughter), but Hugh III derived his rights from his mother, Isabel, and Charlotte, the daughter of John II, succeeded her father in 1458. The principle of choosing the heir closest to the last holder of the crown was retained: thus Hugh III was preferred to Hugh of Brienne, and Peter I was preferred to his nephew Hugh, the son of his older brother Guy, who had died in 1346 before their father, Hugh IV, did, although it was necessary for Hugh to have his second son, Peter, crowned in his own lifetime. Henry II (1285–1324) formally deprived the children of his brother Amalric of any claim to the throne in order to leave it to Hugh IV, the son of another brother, Guy.

In case of dispute, the high court decided. But in 1460 James (II), the illegitimate son of John II, appealed to the sultan Inal and obtained from him the investiture of the kingdom, which his half-sister Charlotte and her husband, Louis of Savoy, had been requesting. This investiture legitimized the forceful takeover which had won him the crown. Likewise the high court intervened to nominate regents. The barons were able to set aside Henry I's mother, Alice, widow of Hugh I (1205–1218), in order to commit the regency successively to Philip and to John of Ibelin. Henry II's brother Amalric, titular lord of

3. *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Georges A. L. Digard, Maurice Faucon, André A. Thomas, and Robert Fawtier (4 vols., Paris, 1884–1939), III, 847–864 (no. 5348).

4. Richard, "Chypre du protectorat à la domination vénitienne."

5. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 133. These non-Lusignan "Lusignans", from 1267 on, are hereafter designated "de" rather than "of" Lusignan.

Tyre, obtained from the barons the government of the kingdom in place of his brother, who was declared incapable of ruling (1306).⁶ It was again the liegemen who, on the death of Peter I, gave the regency to his brother John, titular prince of Antioch, whose murder queen Eleanor brought about in 1375. Was it a high court decision in 1426 to give the regency to cardinal Hugh de Lusignan when his brother Janus was captured by the Egyptians? And was there likewise such a decision in 1473 to grant Catherine Cornaro, the widow of James II, the regency in the name of her infant son James III?

Aimery of Lusignan had joined the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem by marrying Isabel, the widow of Henry of Champagne (1192–1197); the two crowns were separated at his death in 1205. However, when Conradin of Hohenstaufen died in 1268, Hugh III was acknowledged as his closest heir. From that time on the kings of Cyprus were simultaneously kings of Jerusalem. When the Frankish possessions in Syria were lost, Henry II had the idea of making Famagusta, which he endowed with high walls and franchises, the reflection of his lost kingdom. The cross of Jerusalem was displayed on his banners, on the seal of the bailiff of the *comerc*, and on the coins struck in the town's mint. And after he had been crowned king of Cyprus in Santa Sophia of Nicosia, each new king would go to Saint Nicholas of Famagusta to receive the crown of Jerusalem, as late as the year 1372.⁷

A third crown devolved on the king of Cyprus at the death in 1393 of Leon VI de Lusignan, king of Cilician Armenia. From then on the (de) Lusignans bore the title "king of Latin Jerusalem [with the number in order of the royal succession since Baldwin I], king of Cyprus, and king of Armenia". It is not known, however, whether the fortress of Corycus, which the kings of Cyprus held from 1360 to 1448, was regarded as forming part of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia.

The Lusignans thus considered themselves entitled to confer the offices and fiefs of each of their three kingdoms. They nominated a marshal of Armenia;⁸ after they received the crown of Jerusalem, they nominated a seneschal, a constable, a marshal, a butler, and a chamberlain of Jerusalem; and after they received the crown of Cyprus,

6. L. de Mas Latrie, "Texte officiel de l'allocution adressée par les barons au roi Henri II pour lui notifier sa déchéance," *Revue des questions historiques*, XLIII (1888), 524–541. Cf. Charles Perrat, "Un Diplomate gascon au XIVe siècle: Raymond de Piis, nonce de Clément V en Orient," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, XLIV (1927), 1–58.

7. Richard, "La Situation juridique de Famagouste."

8. John de Tabarié (Tiberias) dead in 1402; a bastard of Peter de Lusignan, the titular count of Tripoli, in 1432; see Machaeras, caps. 680–681.

they nominated titularies of these same offices, as well as an admiral, a turcopolier, a chancellor, and an auditor for the kingdom of Cyprus. In addition, after the seigneurial families of the Holy Land died out, while retaining the titles of the princes of Antioch and Galilee and the counts of Tripoli for their younger sons, Peter I and his successors accorded to their subjects the titles of counts of Edessa and of Jaffa, and lords of Sidon, of Caesarea, and of Beirut. However, these titles did not include any territorial endowment, in contrast to the first titled seignury created in the kingdom of Cyprus, the county of Carpas (Karpasos; 1472).⁹

When Guy of Lusignan became lord of Cyprus, he concerned himself with attracting enough Franks to the island to stabilize its occupation and ensure its defense. Some came from the kingdom of Jerusalem or the other principalities of the Latin east, others came from the west, especially from Poitou. He distributed fiefs among them generously (his brother Aimery reputedly reduced the extent of these concessions). It was undoubtedly the domain of the "emperor" Isaac Comnenus, who had deprived numerous members of the Greek aristocracy of their possessions, which was thus parceled out, but many great Greek landholders, especially among the laity, and a number of Venetians were also despoiled — one tradition has it that the *archontes* had first to surrender half their possessions. In any case, it is certain that no Greek name is encountered among the vassals of the kings of Cyprus in the thirteenth century.¹⁰

Although generous, these feudal grants were never connected with important territories. There were no great seigneuries in Cyprus; most of them included no more than a single village (*casal*), or else a few scattered villages (one exception being the domain of Marethasa, belonging to the titular count of Edessa in the fifteenth century). Not all of them had even a fortified manor-house with a defense tower.

The customs of the kingdom of Jerusalem were imposed with respect to feudal law: only minor differences may be noted (as, for example, the fief being passed on only to the direct descendants of a deceased

9. L. de Mas Latrie, "Les Comtes de Carpas," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XLI (1880), 375 ff., and "Documents nouveaux," pp. 421-423; Richard, "Pairie d'Orient latin."

10. The "families of *archontes* which, without titles or arms, comprised a Greek nobility", may have maintained "within the fold of a population hostile to the invaders their rank and their prerogatives of yester-year", to reëmerge in the 16th century: Vitalien Laurent's review of G. Hill's *History of Cyprus* in *Revue des études byzantines*, VI (1948), 269. The only Greek "noble" known up to the 16th century is Constant Synkletiko, cited in 1318 in the account book of Psimolófo, but some civil servants of the king or the churches bore names which seem to indicate a Greek aristocratic extraction.

vassal).¹¹ Cyprus even conserved some practices which were tending to disappear elsewhere, in particular the right of the king to compel the heiresses of a fief to remarry, by offering them a choice among three men of their rank. The manuscript of the *Assises* indicates “comme dame doit estre requisite d’espouser baron”.¹² This obligation was derived from that of guaranteeing the services of the fief-holder in person.

Florio Bustron has given a precise definition of the military service of the vassals. The knight had to present himself to the army with four horses, the squire with three, the man-at-arms with two, and the turcopole (who was a lightly armed horseman, originally a Syrian) with one. Where the vassal was unable to guarantee this service—as in the case of a young unmarried woman or a widow who had not remarried, although other exemptions existed—the vassal had to pay a tax called “default of service”, which was assessed according to the number of fees of knights or other warriors which he or she held.¹³ Under Hugh III, the vassals claimed that they were not obliged to serve the king overseas or outside the kingdom. Prince Edward of England worked out a compromise limiting the duration of such service to forty days.

In accordance with the obligation to give advice to the king, the vassals were summoned to attend his court. The high court was made up of liegemen who judged cases concerning fiefs and vassals. Its jurisdiction is specified by two customals which particularly concern the kingdom of Cyprus: the *Livre à un sien ami* of Philip of Novara (mid-thirteenth century) and the *Livre contrefais des Assises*, or *Livre du Plédeant et du Plaidoyer*, written a century later.¹⁴

The high court was first of all an instrument of royal power, which elaborated the sentences promulgated by the king after the jury reported its decision to him.¹⁵ It had charge of maintaining the rights of the king as well as judging disputes between him and his vassals. In this regard, the vassals were the guarantors of the king’s acts; the *Livre*

11. *RHC, Lois*, I, 503–504; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, I, 44–45. On the formula of homage see *RHC, Lois*, II, 385–386.

12. *RHC, Lois*, II, 389. An exemption was given to James de Fleury for his wife, allowing her to remarry anyone she chose: Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 131.

13. Florio Bustron, *Chronique*, pp. 462–463; Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 131; *RHC, Lois*, II, 427–434; G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I, 168–170. The royalty seems to have been very liberal in conceding such “defaults”, which made possible concentrations of fiefs in fewer hands.

14. Maurice Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les livres des assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1923), pp. 70–81, 127–135, 168–170. Philip examines only the high court; the *Livre contrefais* deals primarily with the court of the bourgeois. Other works, though probably written in Cyprus (Geoffrey le Tort, James of Ibelin), are of no special interest for the kingdom.

15. See, for example, Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 155; cf. *RHC, Lois*, II, 386.

des remembrances de la secrète of 1468–1469 includes an entire chapter entitled “des chozes qui se font par la haute cour”. By this time the participation of this court was entirely formal, since it was reduced to two or three knights who ordinarily belonged to the council of the king. But this participation symbolized the control which the court exercised over the development of the royal domain. In 1372 it forbade Peter II to give, sell, or exchange any elements of this domain because he had not yet reached the age of twenty-five.¹⁶

The high court was also the court of first instance before which cases concerning the monarchy itself and the royal succession were brought. It judged the rights of claimants to the crown, proclaimed the legitimacy of the royal succession,¹⁷ and nominated the regent or, as in 1432 on the death of Janus, the regency council.

It also played another role. This court, which passed sentences and kept its own records,¹⁸ was also the instrument by which the vassals and rear-vassals of the king expressed themselves as a group. As in Jerusalem, the latter formed a body which some texts, dated 1272 and 1324, called “the community of the men of Cyprus”: they were the ones to voice their claims, through James of Ibelin, about overseas service; and it was to them that Henry II granted a “remedy”, after his restoration, “de sorte que les gens ne soient pas perdans,” by drawing up two charters, “dont l’une sera au pouvoir du roi et l’autre au pouvoir des hommes”.¹⁹

In fact the noble class was divided. It is likely that the high court consisted only of men of high nobility. These were the men who supported the usurpation led by Amalric of Tyre in 1306; it was the knights of secondary rank who put Henry II back on the throne in 1310. But it seems that the arbitrary acts of Peter I, who ignored the prerogatives of the high court and of the community of men, created unanimous opposition against him. He was compelled to authorize “les hommes”, among whom were his two brothers, to meet in order to present him with a list of grievances. On the day after his assassination, this list was transformed into a “remède” adopted by the high court, which stipulated among other things that thenceforth the *Livre de Jean d’Ibelin* would become the law code of the realm (1369).²⁰ The

16. Machaeras, *Recital*, cap. 327.

17. There is a full description of the sitting of the court when Peter II was proclaimed king, *ibid.*, caps. 319–324.

18. *RHC, Lois*, II, 246.

19. *Ibid.*, II, 369, 419, 430.

20. I have identified this document as the outcome of the deliberation of the liegemen, in “La Révolution de 1369”. It must have been finally drawn up the day after the murder of the

juridical theory of John of Ibelin, based on the *Assise de la ligèce*, could only strengthen the control exercised by the vassals over the crown.

In reality, although there was great respect throughout this period for this *Livre* (which the Venetian administration would later have translated into Italian), the Cypriote nobility did not succeed in imposing its will on the monarchy. The vassals' rights did not prevent the regents named either by Frederick II or by John of Ibelin from exiling their adversaries and confiscating their goods, which led to the exodus of many Cypriote nobles.²¹ Amalric of Tyre imprisoned and exiled his brother's followers, and Henry II cruelly revenged himself on Amalric's followers. Peter II confiscated the goods of his father's assassins, taking advantage of the fact that an attack on the island by the Genoese had defeated the party which had overthrown Peter I. John II seems to have deprived certain of his vassals of their fiefs in order to give them to others.²² But it was the advent of James II which provoked a real revolution. The great majority of liegemen had remained loyal to Charlotte and to Louis of Savoy; James, who was besieging them in Kyrenia (1460–1464), confiscated all their fiefs and distributed them among his own supporters — Cypriote nobles, persons of lower birth, Italian or Spanish adventurers — and, when the defeated came over to his side, he gave them other fiefs, taken from the royal domain or from other vacant properties. The result of this immense upheaval was to modify profoundly the structure of the nobility, now completely shot through with new elements.²³

Among these were the descendants of a non-Latin bourgeoisie, often of Syrian extraction, which had grown rich either in trade or in the exercise of offices in the royal administration. Already, under Peter II, Thibaut Belpharage (Abū-l-Farāj), the bailie of a casal of the royal domain, who had raised a troop of mercenaries to fight against the Genoese, was raised to the rank of knight and turcopolier of the realm, before being executed for the murder of the king's confessor, who had warned the king against giving Thibaut the castle of Corycus in fief

king, according to Peter W. Edbury, "The Murder of King Peter I of Cyprus (1353–1369)," *Journal of Medieval History*, VI (1980), 219–233. On the right to make common cause, claimed by the liegemen, see Machaeras, *Recital*, caps. 269–270.

21. Émile Bertaux, "Les Français d'outre-mer en Apulie et en Épire au temps des Hohenstaufen d'Italie," *Revue historique*, LXXXV (1904), 225–251.

22. At least we see the king dispose of "fiés arestés": *Documents chypriotes*, p. 146, note 2.

23. See my introduction to the *Livre des remembrances*. On the structure of the Frankish nobility before the difficulties at the end of the 14th century, cf. Rudt de (von) Collenberg, "Les Dispenses matrimoniales accordées à l'Orient latin selon les registres du Vatican d'Honorius III à Clément VII (1223–1385)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen âge, Temps modernes*, LXXXIX-1 (1977), 11–93.

(1376). Thomas Parek, cited in 1382, was also "a Greek bourgeois who had become a Latin knight".²⁴ After James II, the Greek or Syrian families which filled the offices founded families of knights and barons who held their fiefs first from the king, then under the lordship of Venice.²⁵

Unlike those of the Latin empire of Constantinople or the Norman kingdom of Sicily, the dynasty which established itself in Cyprus does not seem to have retained any of the dignities or high offices which had existed under Isaac Comnenus. The king surrounded himself with a group of high officers who bore the titles of seneschal, constable, marshal, butler, and chamberlain. The role of these officers, defined in the *Assises*, was probably not purely honorary: in 1367 the constable ordered the auction of the possessions of bishop Guy of Limassol, which was carried out by his *bannier*, and, in 1468, it was to him that a farrier engaged by the king was subject.²⁶ But the royal household ("nostre court") was organized into several offices which functioned apart from them. The principal office was the chamber, which was responsible both for supplies and for the upkeep of the lodgings, the clothing of the king and his servitors, and the management of the royal hunts: the huntsmen (*braconniers*) and the falconers came under the chamber. On the other hand, it was also the chamber which kept the royal treasure, and we shall find it again listed among the financial institutions. At its head was a squire, assisted by a scribe. The pantry, the butlery, and the stable constituted the three other services over which presided the *bailli de la court*, who in the fifteenth century assumed the title of *maistre de l'ostel*.

Were the constable and marshal of Cyprus in charge of the army? In 1425 the army was commanded by Henry de Lusignan, the titular prince of Galilee (although we do not know whether he was constable); the titular marshal of Jerusalem, who made decisions concerning provisioning, was Baldwin de Nores, who was above all the most trusted counselor of king Janus. The turcoples of the royal army were theoretically subject to the turcopolier. Besides the contingents who fought

24. Machaeras, *Recital*, caps. 555-561, 564-579, 599.

25. The role of the queen, Helena Palaeologina (1442-1458), in this introduction of Greeks into the nobility has sometimes been exaggerated. It was limited to favoring certain Greeks who came with her, notably her foster-brother Thomas of the Morea, who became chamberlain of the kingdom. This is what led one titular count of Jaffa (himself married to a Cantacuzena) to complain that "the government of this kingdom has fallen entirely into the hands of Greeks and petty people." See Raffaele di Tucci, "Il Matrimonio fra Ludovico di Savoia e Carlotta di Cipro," *Bolletino storico subalpino*, XXXVII (1935), 79-83.

26. Richard, "Un Évêque d'Orient latin," pp. 131-139; *Livre des remembrances*, no. 46.

on horseback and who were equipped by the vassals of the king, the infantry comprised free men, Frankish or Greek bourgeois, Armenians, and Syrians; we know that those from Carpas were compelled to serve on horseback.²⁷

From the thirteenth century on, however, the king also had to hire mercenaries. These were so numerous in the time of Peter I that the liegemen demanded in 1369 that no more than one hundred might be engaged without their consent. Beginning in 1373, however, the constable James de Lusignan had to reinforce his army with Armenian mercenaries, with Bulgarians previously in the service of Genoa, and with eight hundred men that Thibaut Belpharage hired in Venice. James II conquered his kingdom with a Moslem contingent, but he formed a permanent army by engaging some men-at-arms coming from the west with their *condottieri*: Peter of Avila commanded an *escadre* of knights, while some *condostables* had charge of the *sodées de pié*. The Venetians would later expel from the kingdom all those Franks and Sicilians whom they judged to be unreliable.

The marshal, for his part, was responsible for the material organization of the feudal army. Undoubtedly it was with regard to this that a tax called *maréchaussée* was levied on all owners of livestock: it was the marshal who had to replace horses lost by vassals in the service of the king. Moreover, his scribe (the *maréchaucier*) recorded the deeds which established fiefs in the *Livre des remembrances de la maréchaussée*: it is likely that he controlled the administration of homage.

In the thirteenth century the kings of Cyprus had no navy and had to depend on the Genoese. The fall of Acre induced Henry II to construct some warships in order to ensure the security of the coasts of Cyprus and to pursue pirates. There soon appeared an admiral of Cyprus. Hugh IV maintained six galleys in the squadron of the "Holy Union", which combatted Turkish piracy, and the arsenal of Famagusta built some warships.²⁸ Its activity increased under Peter I, who entrusted the office of admiral to his most faithful aide, John Monstry, whom the conspirators of 1369 pursued with hatred. Janus conducted privateering operations against the Moslems with "une galée et une galiote".²⁹ Finally, James II built for himself a small squadron of galleys and compelled his subjects to supply crews, and his captains

27. Richard, *Livre des remembrances*, Introduction. Free men also owed guard duty, especially along the coasts.

28. L. de Mas Latrie, "Nouvelles preuves," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XXXIV, 52; Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, pp. 33-49.

29. Emmanuel Piloti: *Traité sur le passage en Terre-Sainte*, ed. Pierre H. Dopp (Louvain and Paris, 1958), p. 174.

conducted operations which the Hospitallers and the merchants complained of.

The exercise of justice belonged to the seneschal, who presided over the high court in the king's absence. Viscounts in Nicosia (and in Famagusta from the beginning of the fourteenth century) presided over the court of burgesses, which was made up of twelve jurymen drawn from the Frankish bourgeoisie. The viscount, a Frankish knight nominated by the king, had the responsibility for the administration of justice as well as the maintenance of the king's rights, according to the conditions revealed by the *Livre contrefais*; he would have the orders and the *bans* of the king published and carried out. Henry II dismissed (in 1300?) viscount Hugh Piétau and his jurymen, who had refused to have enforced an *ordenement* which was contrary to custom.³⁰

An assize of 1355 reveals four bailies, those of Famagusta, Limassol, Paphos, and Cape Andreas, each of whom exercised in his "diossé" a jurisdiction analogous to that of the viscount, which extended over a vast district called the viscounty.³¹ Sergeants would assist these officers; they were placed under the direction of one of them who bore the title of *mathesep* (Arabic, *mahtasib*).

Around the time of Peter I this scheme was modified by the division of the island into twelve *contrées* at the head of which were either a viscount or a bailie, or more often a *chevetain*. A judgment rendered in 1406 by the captain and *chevetain* of Kyrenia shows that this officer was assisted by a court of four jurymen.³²

For the non-Frankish population special courts existed. In Famagusta, whose population was predominantly Syrian, the court of the *ra'is* seems to have ultimately supplanted the court of the viscount. But it is also known through gravestones that there were Frankish knights who bore the title of "rais des Syriens de Nicosie". For the Greeks, some documents originating in Marethasa reveal a *nomikos* and a *taboullarios*, whose titles are those of agents of the Byzantine judicial administration, some elements of which the Franks had thus conserved.³³

30. *RHC, Lois*, II, 235 ff., 320–321.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 322–324 (jurisdiction of the bailie of Famagusta); cf. Richard, "La Révolution de 1369."

32. Richard, *Livre des remembrances*, Introduction.

33. Jean Darrouzès, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre," *Kypriakai Spoudai*, XV (1953), 88, 96–97. The first citation of a *ra'is* by name comes in 1210: Edbury, "The 'Cartulaire de Manosque': a Grant to the Templars in Latin Syria and a Charter of King Hugh I of Cyprus," in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, LI (1978), 175. Cf. Richard, "La Cour des syriens de Famagouste d'après un texte de 1448," *In memoriam Professeur F. Thiriet (Byzantinische Forschungen)*, XII [1987], 383–398).

Each casal had its juryman, nominated by the lord from the local inhabitants, who undoubtedly assisted the seignorial bailie in the exercise of domanial justice. It is likely that the widespread enfranchisement of the Greek bourgeoisie under Peter I resulted in the access of Greeks (and Syrians) to the functions of the jurymen of the viscount's court, initially reserved to Franks "de la loi de Rome".

With regard to the confirmation of contracts, Cyprus was still unfamiliar with notarial institutions, according to the evidence of Pegolotti around 1325, and the king recognized as valid only those enacted before the courts, such as the court of the viscount, or before other jurisdictions, such as that of the bailie of the *comerc*, which was competent in commercial matters. Beginning in 1311 at the latest, however, a new high official appeared, the auditor of Cyprus, whose role seems to have been that of authenticating the contracts which his scribe recorded in his cartulary; he also exercised the functions of the king's procurator in the high court.³⁴ But, in fact, it was already necessary to recognize as valid certain acts drawn up by notaries. The famous Genoese notary Lambert di Sambuceto was acting in Famagusta at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century there were numerous imperial notaries; at the very most, certain acts accepted by the latter would then receive the sanction of the viscount's court.³⁵

The role of the high officers became noticeably less important in the direction of affairs. However, as early as the fourteenth century certain persons bore the title of counselor of the king. In the acts of John II and James II almost all the knights who represented the high court in the acts bore this title. And in 1452 the titular count of Jaffa, James de Fleury, was titled "chief de sonn connsel" — a title which might be compared with that of *governador del regno di Cipro*, which the admiral Muzio di Costanzo bore in 1473.³⁶ It seems that the king's council was a well-defined group, of which the holders of the high offices of the two realms formed a part, as also the *pourveours* and the bailie of the *secrète*, and undoubtedly other persons who were favored with dignities and pensions by the king. Without encroaching on the duties of the high court, they in effect supplanted the latter in the control of the government of the realm.³⁷

34. Richard, "La Révolution de 1369," pp. 119–122.

35. According to the testament of John Audeth: cf. Richard, "Une Famille de 'vénitiens blancs'."

36. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 155; L. de Mas Latrie, "Documents nouveaux," pp. 415, 423. Florio Bustron translates the passage where George Bustron (cap. 102) calls Muzio "vizores" by "ch'era vice-re de Nicosia" ("Documents nouveaux," p. 602), which seems to be a misconception.

37. The sentence of 1452, cited in the preceding note, gives the composition of the high court. All its members seem to have belonged to the king's entourage.

The acts of the government were drawn up by the chancery, whose head was a chancellor, initially a notable (an ecclesiastic of high rank, later Philip of Mézières), later a simple notary, usually an Italian. It included a vice-chancellor, scribes, and a judge of the chancery, and would draw up the acts of the king according to a formulary which had evolved over the course of centuries. They were sealed with a leaden bull, which was replaced in the fourteenth century by a seal of wax on which the king was represented sitting in majesty.³⁸

Although our knowledge of the administrative organization of the island is very scanty for the period of Isaac Comnenus's autonomous dominion, it may be assumed that, as in the other Byzantine provinces, the fiscal administration had been based on the division of the territory into units, the casals (*chōría*). In each casal a *katepános* levied public taxes (*dēmósion*, *strateia*) and there were cadastral registers (*praktika*) in which were inscribed the names of taxpayers assessed by household for the collection of the *kapnikón*. The duke had a bureau (*sékretion*) directed by a *práktōr*.

As far as can be seen, the Latins used this fiscal structure in organizing the kingdom. The division into casals provided the framework for the allocation of fiefs; and the management of the king's finances was ensured by the *secrète du roi*, or the *grande secrète* (as Philip of Novara calls it). Its head, the bailie of the *secrète*, is often called *práktoras* by Leontius Machaeras. It may be noted, moreover, that when the Mamluks took over Nicosia (1426), several officers of the *secrète* placed themselves at their disposal, and that they appointed a *práktoras*.³⁹

The *secrète* formed a college. The *secrétains* assembled for deliberation; one of them had charge of the *Livre des remembrances* in which were registered the orders of the king of financial import, the leases (*apauts*) of the revenues of the royal domain, the sales or exchanges made between individuals on property held of the crown by quit-rent or otherwise, and manumissions. It was the *secrète* which authorized expenditures by issuing writs of payment (*apodixes*) on the funds of the collectors, and examined the accounts of the latter; it also put domainial revenues out to farm.

Its personnel, other than the *secrétains*, consisted of scribes, sergeants, and a judge. At its head was a bailie, who up to the time of

38. Richard, "La Diplomatie royale dans les royaumes d'Arménie et de Chypre," *Bibliothèque des l'École des chartes*, CXLIV (1986), 69-86.

39. For what follows, see the *Livre des remembrances*, Introduction.

James II was a Frankish knight, while the *secrétains* came from the Syrian or Greek milieu which furnished scribes for all the administrations. Finally, a treasurer of the *secrète* seems to have had charge of the money derived from the royal domain (*régale*).

Peter I had created an office of inquests, and the "master of the inquests" made decisions concerning the royal domain without asking the consent of the high court (even though the *secrète* recognized the "chozes qui se font par la haute cour"). The liegemen obtained the abolition of the office of inquests in 1369.⁴⁰ Under James II, there were two persons of the nobility who were called *pourveours dou reiaume*; one of them bore the title of the "superior of our *secrète*", and both were associated with the bailie in the commands of the king as in the deliberations of the *secrète*. These men seem to have formed a section of the royal council competent in financial matters.

The royal chamber also had its part in the management of finances: the chamberlain John de Stathia, under Peter I, and the heads of the chamber, Anthony of Bergamo and James Soulouan, under James I, had the responsibility for extraordinary taxation. From 1468 to 1472 James Zaplana was "governor of the royal chamber". A treasurer collected the sums which came from extraordinary revenues. In 1466 James II introduced a new tax, and created what was called a "new office" for the purpose.

The *régale* (the royal domain), which furnished the monarchy with its ordinary resources, included all the cities of the realm: Nicosia, Paphos, Kyrenia, Famagusta, and Limassol. Each was fortified, or at least possessed a royal castle. That of Nicosia, where the king customarily resided, was enlarged by Peter I, who added the Marguerite tower, and by Peter II, who had this tower torn down along with the "Palace of the Counts" where the royal children were lodged, in order to build the New Castle. Country residences at La Cava, Potamiou, and Akaki,⁴¹ built in the fourteenth century, permitted the sovereign to devote himself to the hunt. The ancient fortresses of Pentadaktylos, St. Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara likewise belonged to the crown, as well as the Château-Franc, which James I constructed at Sígouri in order to keep an eye on the Genoese of Famagusta. Thus, with the

40. Machaeras, *Recital*, cap. 633 and note (ed. Dawkins, II, 211); Richard, "Un Évêque d'Orient latin," p. 125; "La Révolution de 1369," pp. 113-114 (where I mistakenly thought that the office of inquests might have had an essentially judicial quality).

41. Machaeras, *Recital*, caps. 87, 241, 594-597. According to George Bustron (cap. 1), after the royal palace was burned by the Mamluks (Machaeras, cap. 695), the king adopted as his residence the quarters of Richard de la Baume. Cf. Camille Enlart, *L'Art gothique et de la Renaissance en Chypre* (2 vols., Paris, 1899), II, 518-522.

exception of some towers belonging to the chief vassals and the fortified residences of the Temple and the Hospital (La Castrie and Kossi), the king had at his disposal all the fortresses of the realm, where he placed his castellans (later captains, at least in the most important ones), and occasionally garrisons. These fortresses also served as state prisons.

In area and in revenues the royal domain was as great as or greater than those of all the vassals combined. In the diocese of Limassol the king, the vassals, and the military orders shared the territory more or less equally. The accounts of the church of Limassol for 1367 show that at this time almost all the villages of the royal domain were farmed out (in *apaut*). But in the years which followed, the king resumed their direct exploitation; royal bailies were charged with administering these villages, grouped into districts whose number, according to a list drawn up between 1510 and 1525, exceeded twenty. The *Livre des remembrances* contains acts relative to the appointment of the bailies, whose duties seem to have been essentially financial.⁴²

The principal plantations of sugar cane, regarding which the king negotiated with the merchants who refined sugar, the salt beds of Larnaca, and the fisheries of the lake of Limassol belonged to the royal domain and ensured the king substantial revenues. Duties (the *gabelles*) were levied at the gates of Nicosia on the commodities taken to market; makers of fine cloth (camlet, samite) had to pay a tax when they sold their products, to which had to be affixed the bull of the royal dye-works. Other taxes were levied on commodities put up for sale in the market. Among them figured a tax of Byzantine origin, the *comerc* (*kommérchion*), the responsibility of a particular bailie. In Famagusta, in the fourteenth century, the bailie of the *comerc* collected the dues that the merchants had to pay when landing their goods, and presided over a court which settled disputes of a commercial nature.⁴³

Pegolotti, who provides evidence on these last points, also reveals how the mint of Famagusta functioned. In the thirteenth century "white bezants" were struck, after the model of the Byzantine *hyperperon*. In the fourteenth century, the bezant became a money of account, and the kings struck *deniers*, *gros*, and *sizains*. Financial difficulties compelled them to devalue the coinage: one devaluation undoubtedly oc-

42. On the dues levied by the bailies on the peasants of the villages in the royal domain, cf. volume V of the present work, chapter VI, section B. It was only in 1222 that the monarchy gave up the *chevagia et dimos* from church lands, paid up to that time by the *rustici*: L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 620.

43. Pegolotti, *Pratica*, ed. Evans, pp. 83-84.

curred in the first half of the fourteenth century, and another between 1440 and 1445.⁴⁴

The initiation of extraordinary taxes probably required the consent of the liegemen and prelates, but the king tended to perpetuate their levy. Thus the *testagium*, a yearly tax of two bezants on each inhabitant of the realm (the clergy being exempt) instituted in 1292 in order to pay the soldiers and to construct boats, was not abolished until 1306 by the rebellious liegemen, after fruitless efforts by Boniface VIII.⁴⁵ Under Hugh IV the maintenance of the ships which policed the sea was financed by a levy on merchants who brought merchandise from overseas.⁴⁶ In 1369 the liegemen demanded the suppression of the taxes created by Peter I: a tax for the maintenance of soldiers, another for the arsenal of Famagusta, a levy for the fortification of Nicosia, and another for the construction of galleys.

The Genoese invasion of 1373 severely impoverished the kingdom, all the more so as it cut off its income from the revenues of Famagusta. At first it was necessary to have recourse to expedients, notably the sale of enfranchisements to some *paroikoi* (Peter I had already extensively enfranchised the *perpiriari*, the Greek burgesses of the cities).⁴⁷ Further, a tax was created of one bezant per person, the *kephalatikón*; a salt levy, which compelled each inhabitant to buy one measure of salt each year at a price fixed by the *secrète*; and finally, a "royal tithe" on fiefs and rents, which was first levied in 1388 by a mixed commission of Genoese and Cypriotes in order to pay the war indemnity exacted by Genoa.⁴⁸ The salt levy and the royal tithe continued, in spite of numerous exemptions. But it was necessary to raise new taxes after the defeat of 1426, in order to pay the tribute owed to the sultan, which aroused the opposition of subject Venetians, who attempted to evade it (1448). James II, in his turn, after having sold exemptions and enfranchisements, obtained in 1466 the right to a tax of twenty percent on wages and incomes (the *rate*) for three years.

Cyprus thus had a fiscal regime which was very similar to that of the western kingdoms. Here also the royal domain, although quite sub-

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83; Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, pp. 16–17.

45. *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, II, 143–144, 703–704 (nos. 2609, 3114, 3589); L. de Mas Latrie, "Texte officiel de l'allocution," pp. 524–541.

46. Pegolotti, *Pratica*, pp. 85–86.

47. Cf. Peter II's letter confirming the enfranchisements made by his uncles (1374): Machaeras, *Recital*, cap. 576. On the enfranchisement of the *perpiriari* dreamed up by John de Stathia see *ibid.*, cap. 157.

48. *Ibid.*, cap. 618, noting the suppression by James I, at the same time, of the office of the "taille": did this office originate with the receipt of the κεφαλατικόν?

stantial compared to the holdings of the vassals and of the church, did not suffice to permit doing without extraordinary taxation.

The presence of colonies dependent upon the merchant cities of Italy, Provence, and Catalonia did not have the same characteristics on the island as in the Frankish states of Syria. The rights which the Pisans and Venetians had acquired in the time of the Byzantines, or of Guy of Lusignan, were modest. In 1232 Genoa received the first somewhat extensive privileges, thanks to the support of John of Ibelin. But it was not until 1291, at the time of the loss of their trading establishments in Syria, that the Pisans and Catalans obtained some privileges; the Pisans established some small colonies in which a privilege of 1321 permitted them to have parish churches.⁴⁹ Venice asked for a charter of privileges in 1302, but did not acquire it until 1328. Venice aspired to its own quarters in Nicosia, Limassol, and Famagusta. In fact, it was only in Famagusta that there were communities of privileged merchants: Sicilians, Provençals, Pisans, and Barcelonans. Their main privilege was that of paying the *comerc* at a very low rate; Pegolotti recounts how he managed to obtain the same favor for the Florentines when he was the factor of the Bardi in Cyprus (1324–1326).⁵⁰ Only the Genoese and the Venetians — who enjoyed a complete franchise — had any notable establishments there: a hall where their consul presided, a church, and a street of houses.⁵¹

They alone also played an important role in the history of the kingdom. Venice, for example, by threatening the king with a boycott, seriously affected the operations of Peter I against the Moslems, which had compromised Venetian interests by the sack of Alexandria. The boycott would have been all the more effective since the Venetians controlled practically all the exports of two of the principal resources of the monarchy, salt and sugar.⁵²

49. Richard, "Le Peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, VII (1979), 162–163. Aimery's diploma for the Marseillais must be dismissed as a forgery: Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein Akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1972). The authentic privileges given the Provençaux in 1236 (*ibid.*, pp. 193–194) make no allusion to a permanent establishment. On the Pisan churches see Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 73, note 7.

50. Pegolotti, *Pratica*, pp. 70–71.

51. Venice seems to have had a consul for the Venetians in Cyprus since 1296; the title "baillie" appeared in 1306. Cf. Giovannina Majer, "Sigilli di baili veneziani in Oriente," *Archivio veneto*, 5th ser., XXIX (1941), 117–124, a list which may be completed by consulting L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 840. On the existence of a consul distinct from the baillie, cf. *Livre des remembrances*, no. 224, n. 1.

52. On salt cf. Jean C. Hocquet, *Voiliers et commerce du sel en Méditerranée* (Lille, 1978), pp. 227–232; on sugar see the texts in the *Livre des remembrances*. Every year, in the fall, a

These two republics had to look after not only the interests of their merchants who traded in the kingdom or who put in at its ports, but also those of a considerable number of "white Venetians" and "white Genoese". These were descendants of Syrian protégés of Venice and Genoa who had established themselves in Cyprus after fleeing the Holy Land. They claimed to enjoy the exemptions granted to the Venetians and Genoese, and that their cases should come under the jurisdiction of the consuls of Venice and Genoa. This did not prevent them from acquiring land (the *Assises* forbade the sale of land to "gens de commune") or from holding administrative offices.⁵³

A quarrel between the Genoese and the Venetians, at the time of the coronation of Peter II in Famagusta, following an earlier conflict which had arisen under Peter I concerning the desertion of sailors who had claimed to be Genoese, led first to an order of the *podestà* of Genoa to his compatriots to leave the island, and then to the arrival of a Genoese fleet.⁵⁴ Peter II, captured by a ruse, had to consent to turn Famagusta over to the republic of Genoa as pledge for the payment of a heavy indemnity. This surrender was to last only twelve years, and reserved the rights of the king over the city (1374). James I had to give up Famagusta definitively on February 19, 1384. The city, with a band of territory surrounding it, was thus, in fact, independent of the kingdom until 1464. When James II repossessed it he preserved its peculiar status: the Greek bourgeoisie of the city continued to come under the jurisdiction of the court of the Syrians, and the royal writs drawn up at Famagusta were in Italian, not French.⁵⁵

Venice, which had preserved its neutrality, maintained its privileged status in Famagusta, but its galleys put in at Larnaca when they came to pick up salt, or at Limassol to load sugar. The bailie of Venice, who represented the doge in the king's court, and who administered justice to subject Venetians, moved to Nicosia. Some Venetians began to take advantage of the difficulties of the crown, but the republic continued to be cautious in its attitude toward the Lusignans. When the Mamluks took Nicosia in 1426, the Venetian subjects gave them a warm welcome, thinking they would be treated as neutrals. But, in view of the king's

galea zucharorum arrived to take on sugar (Richard, "Une Famille de 'véniens blancs'"). Cf. Pierre Racine, "Note sur le trafic véneto-chypriote à la fin du moyen âge," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, V (1977), 307-329.

53. L. de Mas Latrie, "Nouvelles preuves," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XXXV, 153-154; Richard, "Une Famille de 'véniens blancs'"; David Jacoby, "Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIIIe au XVe siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, V (1977), 159-188.

54. On the first conflict see Machaeras, *Recital*, caps. 145-156.

55. Richard, "La Situation juridique de Famagouste."

need of money, the Venetian merchants and the signory itself granted some loans for which the domanial revenues constituted the security. Venetian interests were becoming increasingly tied up with the fate of the kingdom. Mark Cornaro and his brother Andrew played an important role in the service of John II; Andrew became the auditor of the kingdom under James II, who married his niece Catherine.

The bailie of Venice, who was designated every two years by the great council, and who was assisted by a vice-bailie and a council formed by visiting Venetian noblemen, was one of the important persons of the kingdom. It was his intervention which permitted Catherine to overcome the plot of November 1373. From then on, however, the republic designated two counselors to "assist" the queen permanently, while a *provveditore* commanded the Venetian troops stationed on the island. It would be sufficient, in 1489, to keep the queen at a distance and to nominate a "lieutenant of Cyprus" who, with the two counselors, formed a body of "rectors of the realm", in order to bring Cyprus effectively under the direct government of Venice.⁵⁶

Because of the passing of the island under the domination of a Frankish dynasty, the Latin church had become the officially established church in the new kingdom of Cyprus.⁵⁷ The archbishop and the three bishops, with their chapters, seem to have received posses-

56. Richard, "Chypre du protectorat." The reforms introduced by Venice took careful account of the earlier constitution. With respect to the administration of justice, see L. de Mas Latrie, "Documents nouveaux," pp. 541, 554. For a layout of the administration of the island by Venice cf. G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 765-779, and L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, *in fine*.

57. For the period of the establishment of the Latin church and its early difficulties with the Greeks, cf. volume II of the present work, pp. 623-629. In place of the short, old work of L. de Mas Latrie, "Histoire des archevêques latins de Chypre," *AOL*, II (1884), 207-328, one may substitute John Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), translated into Greek and expanded by Charilaos I. Papaïoannou (3 vols., Athens, 1923-1932), as a basic work of reference. It is unfortunately marred by the assumption of a state of permanent tension between Greeks and Latins. See also G. Hill, "The Two Churches," in *History of Cyprus*, III, 1041-1104; Joseph Gill, "The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus, 1196-c. 1280," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, V (1977), 73-93. The history of the Latin church has been in part revised by the study of materials in the collection of *Instrumenta miscellanea* of the Vatican Archives, which has provided, in particular, the dossier of the succession of bishop Guy of Limassol in 1367: cf. Richard, "Un Évêque d'Orient latin," and *Documents chypriotes*, pp. 61-110. The important series of the acts of the synods of the province of Nicosia (up to 1354) has been published in Mansi, *Concilia*, XXVI, cols. 211-382. The cartulary of Santa Sophia of Nicosia, published by L. de Mas Latrie as an appendix to vol. III of his *Histoire*, was reprinted by John L. LaMonte, "A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia," *Byzantion*, V (1929-1930), 439-522. An important study of the Greek church and its relations with the Latins is Darrouzès, "Textes synodaux chypriotes," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXXVII (1979), 5-122.

sion of the cathedral churches of the four episcopal sees (Nicosia, Famagusta, Limassol, and Paphos), but without the substantial endowment which these churches had enjoyed under the Byzantine regime. Their endowment remained relatively modest; it was increased by gifts from Frankish nobles, as the cartulary of Santa Sophia of Nicosia shows. But the bulk of their revenue came from tithes which, as in the kingdom of Jerusalem, were paid by the king and by the nobles on the revenue of their domains, as well as by the holders of certain "free" lands, in accordance with the concordat of 1222. From these revenues the bishop had to ensure the maintenance of his church, the payment of the prebends of the canons and of the "assises" of the rest of the clergy, and the pay of "parochial priors" of the few parochial churches of Latin rite. However, this allowed the maintenance of only very modest cathedral chapters.⁵⁸

As in the west, the bishops of Cyprus felt it necessary to be assisted in the exercise of their episcopal duties by auxiliary bishops. Several bishops from the Holy Land thus established themselves in Cyprus at the end of the thirteenth century and on occasion obtained the administration of episcopal sees (the see of Tortosa was even united to that of Famagusta). Later their number decreased, and it seems that only one auxiliary served as vicar *in pontificalibus* in the four dioceses: Dimanche de Deux-Lions, titular bishop of Mesembria, in 1367; Salomon Cardus and Anthony Audeth, titular bishops of Tortosa, then Nicholas de Courio, titular bishop of Hebron, who died in 1468.

The *Constitutio Cypria* of 1260 attributed to the Greek bishop the function of "vicar of the Greeks" under the Latin bishop. The Greek bishop resided in the same diocese, but in another city: Soli for the diocese of Nicosia, Lefkara for that of Limassol, Arsinoë (Polis) for that of Paphos, and Carpas for that of Famagusta. The bishop of Soli, however, enjoyed the possession of a second episcopal see, the church of St. Barnabas at Nicosia. Each of them was assisted by a chapter of Greek canons: in 1301 the deans of Soli and of St. Barnabas intrigued for the succession to the bishopric. Their endowment was likened to an episcopal *mense*. In 1321 pope John XXII increased that of the bishop of Lefkara by placing under him the monastery of the Holy Savior of Lefkara.⁵⁹ The Greek bishop had complete authority over

58. This comes from the accounts of the diocese of Limassol in 1367: Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, pp. 61 ff. The tithe levy was introduced in Cyprus by the Franks; Greek bishops were entitled, as before the conquest, to assess a hearth-tax on the followers of the Greek rite, and a *kanonikon* on the clerics.

59. Ferdinand M. Delorme and A. L. Tăutu, eds., *Acta Romanorum pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276-1304)* (PC, Fontes, ser. 3, V-2; Vatican City, 1954), pp. 195-

the Greek priests of his diocese, and he was the judge of the Greek laity for all matters within the competence of the church's courts, which is to say for the greater part of private law. He had to swear obedience (the oath was carefully phrased, according to the compromise reached in 1260) to the Latin bishop of the diocese, but it was rare that a Latin bishop ventured to visit the person who was canonically his subordinate, as did the Dominican Bérard, bishop of Limassol in 1295, who deposed bishop Matthew of Lefkara as a "heretic".⁶⁰ It is noteworthy that some bishops, like Leo of Soli, did not hesitate to have recourse to Rome in order to strengthen their position. In the three centuries between 1260 and 1570, incidents provoked in general by excess of zeal on the part of some prelates, or of papal legates such as Peter de Pleine Chassagne in 1310 or Peter Thomas in 1360, were relatively rare; the two churches lived their parallel lives without interference. The Latin church, however, seems to have feared seeing its faithful pass to the Greek rite, and some measures were taken to prevent it. Meanwhile, the monarchy worried about limiting the access of *pariques* to the priesthood, seeing this as an indirect means of escaping their servile condition.

Among the Syrians,⁶¹ the Melkites (*Syri*) were grouped with the Greeks and were placed under the same bishops. The Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians, and Copts had their own churches, notably in Famagusta and Nicosia, and their own ecclesiastical organization; they were probably not constrained to perform an act of obedience to the Latin bishop of each diocese. However, archbishop Elias summoned the heads of these communities to a provincial synod in 1340, along with the Greek bishops, in order to obtain their adherence to the canons that he promulgated; and, after the Council of Florence, representatives of the pope came to demand their adherence to the church union which had been proclaimed there.

The establishment of Latin monasticism was accomplished in stages.

198, 219-226 (nos. 119-120, 132-133); Täutu, ed., *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334)* (*ibid.*, VII-2; 1952), pp. 79-80 (no. 39).

60. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 74, notes 1, 2. Despite this deposition, Matthew seems to have remained in office until his death (archbishop John refused to carry out the sentence laid on him). He was then replaced by Olbianos, abbot of the monastery of Asomatos, who asked Bérard to confirm his election: K. Hatzipsaltis, "Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου," *Kypriakai Spoudai*, XXII (1958), 14-15 (for the oath taken to the Latin bishop, *ibid.*, p. 18). Cf. also Darrouzès, "Textes synodaux," pp. 11-12, 20, 23. On the jurisdiction of the Greek bishop see Estienne de Lusignan, *Description*, p. 84. Greek bishoprics were reduced in number from 14 to 4, after 1220, in order to ensure exact congruence of Greek and Latin dioceses.

61. Richard, "Le Peuplement latin et syrien de Chypre."

It is not known to what extent any Latin monasteries replaced Greek monasteries; this was undoubtedly exceptional. It may perhaps have occurred in the case of the Benedictine monastery of the Cross in Cyprus (Stavrovouni), to which the monastery of St. Paul of Antioch was united after 1268, or in the case of the priory of Augustinian canons of Bellapais, which later adopted the Premonstratensian rule. But Latin monasticism was generally a matter of new foundations (the Cistercians of Beaulieu, and the Cistercian sisters of St. Theodore). The religious who were expelled by the Mamluk invasion transferred their communities to Cyprus: thus the Benedictine sisters of Our Lady of Tyre and of Our Lady of Tortosa were in Nicosia. Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites then established the centers of their respective provinces of the Holy Land in Cyprus. The Temple and the Hospital, which were well endowed there, likewise established their seats in Cyprus, on a temporary basis, after the fall of Acre. The Teutonic Knights and the order of St. Thomas the Martyr (or the order of the English) also had headquarters there.⁶²

The growth of Latin monasteries was paralleled by that of Greek monasteries. The concordat of 1222 had sought to limit the number of Greek monks, and it is possible that a part of their domains had been appropriated for the formation of fiefs. But the survival of large foundations which possessed some important domains, such as Kykkou, Mangana, Agros, Machaeras, and Enkleistra, and the two abbeys in Nicosia called "of the Men" (Andrion) and "of the Women" (Ienachio), is noteworthy. The Armenian prince Heṭoum, who had become a Premonstratensian, asked Clement V to unite Mangana to Bellapais. The inquiry prescribed by the pope had no effect, and Mangana kept its independence. Now and again the seigneuries subject to these monasteries may have had to pay tithes; the pope exempted them from doing so. Peter I was one of the benefactors of Kykkou, and Frankish nobles often gave evidence of their devotion to the monasteries. The Greek monasteries of Palestine, which like their Latin counterparts had lands on Cyprus, held on to them, as, for example, did that of St. Theodosius of the desert of Judaea and especially that of Sinai, which founded

62. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, pp. 67-69, 111-120. The goods of the Temple, seized upon the arrest of the knights, whom Henry II punished severely for the help they had given Amalric of Tyre (Hugh III had already dealt with them heavily by taking the castle of La Castrie), were given to the Hospital, except for Psimolófo, which was given to the titular patriarch of Jerusalem, Anthony. The Hospital divided its share between the chief commandery (Kolossi) and the commanderies of Phínika and Tembros; in 1468, James II appears to have appropriated the revenues of these domains. Many knights of Rhodes entered his service.

a priory, St. Simeon of Famagusta, which pope John XXII endowed with privileges in 1334.⁶³

There were also many small abbeys⁶⁴ which were incorporated into the Frankish seigneuries as they had been in the great Byzantine domains, with the Latin lord now becoming the monastery's patron, investing the abbot, and sometimes donating an icon or having a church built. In the towns, the families which occupied high administrative posts also founded monasteries or churches such as St. John of Bibi or St. Nicholas tou Soulouany. Christians of eastern rite also had their convents, such as those of the Jacobites at Omorphita (Morfittes) and of the Armenians at St. Macarius. The Ethiopian convent of Jerusalem itself had a priory at Nicosia.

The Cypriote monarchy, which had to get the Holy See to intervene on several occasions to support it in its difficulties, tried to reconcile its concern for keeping the peace between the different religious communities with its attachment to the Roman church. It does not seem to have had any serious problems with regard to the latter, with the exception of crises caused by the conflicts between the archbishops of Nicosia and the Greek episcopate before 1260. The kings of Cyprus seem to have tried to have Cypriote subjects provided with ecclesiastical benefices, though with only partial success.⁶⁵ Henry II tried in vain to have his chancellor Henry de Gibelet promoted to the archiepiscopal see. The brother of Janus, Hugh of Lusignan, was archbishop-elect of Nicosia, then became a cardinal (he played something of a role in the Council of Basel and took part in the negotiations between France, England, and Burgundy). But John II could not get the pope's agreement for the nomination to the same see of his bastard son James, who remained a postulant until he became king.

63. *Livre des remembrances*, no. 160, n. 1; Richard, "Un Monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote au début du XIIIe siècle," *Praktika* of the Second International Congress of Cypriot Studies (Nicosia, 1982). Marie of Ibelin founded the convent of Phaneromini in 1340 to house the miraculous cross of Tokhni. On the Latin foundations cf. Rudt de Collenberg, "Les Grâces papales, autres que les dispenses matrimoniales, accordées à Chypre de 1305 à 1378," *Epeteris*, VIII (1975-1977), 187-252.

64. Cf. N. Kyriazis, *Tô μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ* (Larnaca, 1970). A good example is Saint Sabas, in the diocese of Paphos, in the possession of Baldwin of Morphou in 1234. This abbey was the object of a proposed reform in 1306. It received a donation from James II in 1468 (*Livre des remembrances*, no. 117). The supposition that it belonged to the Latin rite in the 13th century is incorrect.

65. Rudt de Collenberg, "État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre avant le Grand Schisme d'après les registres des papes du XIIIe et du XIve siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen âge, Temps modernes*, XCI (1979), 197-332; *idem*, "Les Cardinaux Hugues et Lancelot de Lusignan et l'autonomie de l'église latine de Chypre, 1378-1467," *Archivum historiae pontificiae*, XX (1982), 23-128.

One remains struck by the loyalty which, on the whole, the peoples of the kingdom evinced for the Frankish dynasty. The only known popular rebellion was that of the peasants who rose up after the defeat of Khirokitia, electing several captains and even proclaiming one Alexius "king" at Lefkoniko: it was a sort of *jacquerie*, quite comparable to that which troubled the kingdom of France after Poitiers.⁶⁶ The chronicler Leontius Machaeras, in the fifteenth century, shows himself to be a devoted subject of the Lusignans.

The various communities experienced a gradual coming together. Kings and nobles made pilgrimages to Greek monasteries; the confessor of king Peter II, a Latin priest, visited his mother, a religious in the Greek convent of St. Mammas of Nicosia; the Dominican James ("Estienne") de Lusignan had a brother who was a Basilian; the Audeths, who belonged to the Jacobite rite, established religious services in the Latin and even the Greek rite, and left legacies to Coptic, Jacobite, Armenian, Maronite, Greek, and Latin churches. One of them even became a bishop in the Latin church.⁶⁷ The use of Greek was so widespread among the Franks that queen Charlotte spoke it better than French, and Hugh Boussat took his personal notes in Greek.⁶⁸ Latin priests had to take measures to prevent their flock from adopting customs appropriate to the Greek church.⁶⁹

While the feudal institutions had been conceived for the purpose of strengthening the domination of the Frankish element, they gradually ceased to play this role. Greek and Syrian names penetrated little by little into the nobility, especially from the time of James II on. Rich burgesses had before that time acquired landed properties and become lords of fiefs. During the Venetian domination, the Synkletikos and the Sozomenos held first place among the liegemen,⁷⁰ but well before that time the royal administration had been filled with Greek and Syrian elements.

The feudal regime, though it endured until 1570, was probably no

66. Machaeras, *Recital*, caps. 636-637.

67. *Ibid.*, caps. 566-571; Richard, "Une Famille de 'véniens blancs'."

68. Edith Brayer, Paul Lemerle, and Vitalien Laurent, "Le Vaticanus latinus 4789," *Revue des études byzantines*, IX (1951), 47-105.

69. In a contrary sense, see the reflections of Leontius Machaeras respecting Thibaut Belpharage's conversion to the Latin rite (cap. 579). The reminder by Sixtus IV in 1472 of the rules imposed on Greek bishops by the *Constitutio* of 1260 (Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 325-330) is evidence of the habitual transgression of those rules, especially with respect to episcopal jurisdiction. A 16th-century tradition has associated the name of Helena Palaeologina with a renewed audacity of the Greek clergy, but I believe that these transgressions were an older phenomenon.

70. This is not an isolated case, as can be seen by a quick look at the schedule drawn up by the Venetian administration between 1510 and 1521, which includes a list of those enfeoffed.

longer the essential characteristic of Cypriote institutions. Despite the rebellion of the liegemen against Peter I, the Lusignan monarchy maintained itself as the real master of the kingdom. Janus, John II, and James II governed without concern for the control of the high court, which was completely transformed by the very composition of the nobility. The Latin church, whose wealth remained restricted, no more represented a force of opposition than did the Greek church. The cities did not play a political role. The very crises which the kingdom experienced, with the exception of foreign interventions, were more the result of court intrigues and palace revolutions than of more profound movements. It was indeed the permanence of a well-established monarchy which guaranteed the stability of the kingdom of Cyprus, a mosaic of peoples, but of peoples among whom a true symbiosis was achieved up to 1489, and even beyond while under the domination of Venice.