

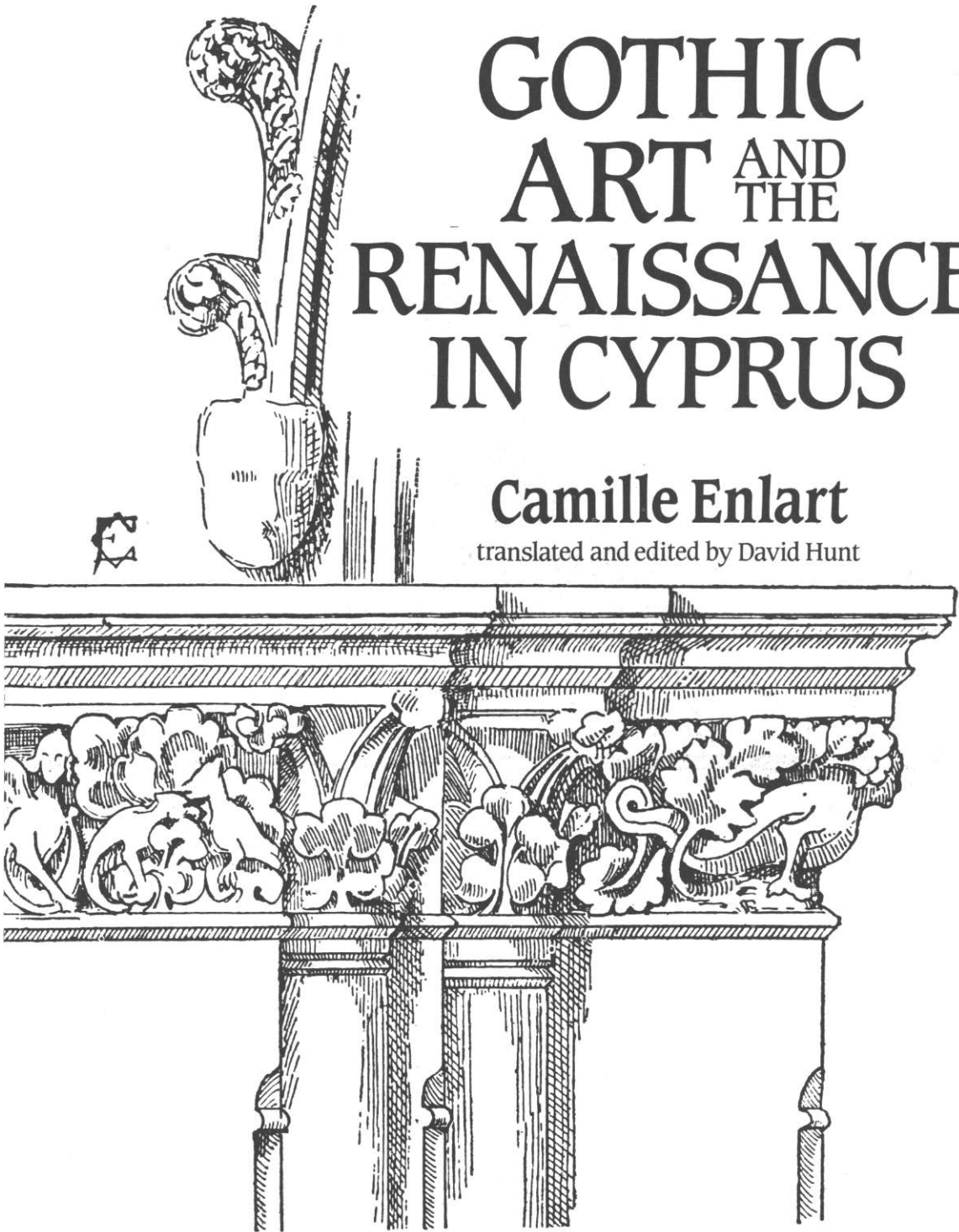


Bust of Camille Enlart (*Musée des Monuments Français*).

GOTHIC ART AND THE RENAISSANCE IN CYPRUS

Camille Enlart

translated and edited by David Hunt



TRIGRAPH LONDON

in association with the A.G.Levantis Foundation

French edition first published (2 vols) 1899 by
Ernest Leroux, Paris
Photographic reprint 1966 by
Les Editions Loiseau, Famagusta
First published in English 1987 by
Trigraph Limited
West Africa House
Hanger Lane
London W5 3QR

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Enlart, Camille
Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus.
1. Architecture — Cyprus
2. Architecture, Gothic — Cyprus
3. Architecture, Renaissance — Cyprus
I. Title II. Hunt, *Sir David*, 1913-
III. L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre. *English*
720'.95645 NS1490.C9
ISBN 0-947961-01-1

Origination by Lindfield Graphics, Haywards Heath, Sussex
Printed in Great Britain by Adlard and Son Limited, Dorking, Surrey
Bound by Skyline Bookbinders Limited, Dorking, Surrey

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The publishers are grateful to all those mentioned above for their contributions. Plates and plans of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, are published by kind permission of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum. Plates Nos III and LXIV by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum respectively. Plate No. XLVI by courtesy of the French National Museums. Drawings made by Carol Wates and Tessa Henderson are published by courtesy of Lady Hunt. Figure No. 1 is taken from A. Palma di Cesnola, *Salamina, Cyprus etc.* (London, 1882); No. 408 from E.G. Rey, *Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie etc.* (Paris, 1871); drawings by Edward l'Anson and Sydney Vacher from *The Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1882-1883.*

EDITOR'S NOTE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Camille Enlart's book on medieval and renaissance art in Cyprus is such a classic that the translator approaches his task with more than ordinary trepidation. Fortunately the author is so skilful at combining erudition with entertainment that only faithfulness is required. This has been my aim. The vocabulary of Gothic archaeology has its own special peculiarities both in French and in English, and over the past ninety years there have been changes. Where technical terms are involved I cannot hope to have pleased everyone by my version but cases of doubt may be resolved by reference to the Glossary, where I have carefully specified which French words I am translating. I am obliged for assistance on such matters, and indeed generally, to Dr. Nicola Coldstream; but she must not be held responsible for any infelicities that may have survived, for which I am solely to blame.

Enlart appended to his book no less than twelve pages of 'Corrections and Additions'; these have all been included in the text. In the course of the past ninety years changing opinions and new discoveries have meant that his judgments are out of date in a few cases. I have done my best to indicate where this has occurred and to summarise briefly the current state of opinion. It is all the more impressive to note how much of the book has retained its full authority. Frequently it preserves detailed evidence of buildings which have since been destroyed or suffered severely in the misfortunes of the island. The church at Antiphonitis is an example.

Allowance must be made for Enlart's personal prejudices, as Dr. Coldstream affectionately acknowledges in her Introduction. Within that allowance he remains generally acclaimed for a stirring account of a romantic and little-known period of history and of an exotic extension of a familiar style of medieval art and architecture. In the last quarter of the twentieth century Cyprus has become better known than when Enlart wrote, partly for its political vicissitudes and partly for its holiday attractions. To have introduced his book for the first time to English-speaking readers may be of value for both areas of interest.

I am indebted to many people for assistance in this work but before all others I must express my feelings of devoted gratitude and admiration to my wife, Iro. She has conducted extensive research and worked on the production of the book with a single-minded assiduity, redesigning Enlart's two volumes and devising a layout which should appeal to the modern reader. The idea of reviving this rare but much-admired classic in an English translation was inspired by her and she has carried it successfully to publication after more than three years of dedicated work. She and her sister, Fofi Myrianthousi, and Trigraph,

EDITOR'S NOTE - ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

the publishing house that they founded, can be proud of this addition to its valuable list of books on Greece and Cyprus.

Enlart illustrated his book with 421 drawings. They all have been incorporated in this edition, supplemented by a few additional drawings taken from elsewhere. (The numbers of the figures do not therefore correspond with Enlart's numbers.) He added thirty-five plates, mainly from photographs. For technical reasons the majority of these could not be reproduced. Some have been replaced by drawings taken from them by Carol Wates; some of the buildings were drawn in pencil by Tessa Henderson and are included among several other photographs in the Plates section at the end of the book. I am grateful to both artists, and to all those whose names appear in the list of illustrations, for their contribution.

For the preparation of some of the plans I am indebted to Mr. D. London. The reader should note that the plan of Famagusta to which Enlart refers in chapter IX of part I is here plan No. IV and the engraving by Stefano Gibellino is plan No. III. I am grateful for permission to reproduce plans from the Blue Guide to Cyprus to A & C Black and Mr. Ian Robertson.

I should like to thank, for their helpful advice, Mr Christos and Dr. Helen Cassimatis, Dr. A. Papageorghiou, Dr. Andreas and Dr. Judith Stylianou, Mr. Paul Williamson and Dr. David Winfield; for the loan of relevant books Mr. Constantine Leventis and the London Library; for photographs and other material the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, Lord Attlee, the Trustees of the British Museum, Dr. Nicola Coldstream the *Musée du Louvre*, Mrs. Agni Michaelides, the *Musée des Monuments Français*, Penguin Books, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Mr. Reno Wideson; for proof reading, Mrs. Doris Earle and Mr. Richard Hunt.

For their generous advice and co-operation in the final production of the book I should like, on behalf of the publishers, to thank Miss Sue Richards for the jacket; Mr. W.J. Humphrey of Lindfield Graphics for origination, the printers, Adlard & Son Ltd., in particular Mr. John Finch, Mr. Colin Taylor and Mr. Jack Noddings; Mr. Colin Jordan and Skyline Bookbinders Ltd.

In conclusion I must express the warmest gratitude to the A.G. Leventis Foundation which has supported this publication. The Foundation commemorates a distinguished Cypriot who was a generous benefactor of his native country; it has made a great contribution to the perpetuation of his ideals by its steady and well-considered encouragement of publications designed to bring to the knowledge of the world the Cypriot cultural heritage and the Cypriot achievement.

DAVID HUNT

INTRODUCTION

CAMILLE ENLART AND THE GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE OF CYPRUS

Nicola Coldstream

From the city walls, the cathedral of Famagusta is an unforgettable sight. It rises above the roofs of the town, traceried gables and pinnacles etched in the sunlight, its flying buttresses silhouetted against the blue depths of the harbour, the whole floating as quietly as the ships anchored in the bay beyond. It is a Gothic church, familiar to anyone from western Europe, yet subtly different. Unlike its northern cousins, it has a flat roof, a minaret guards its west doorways, and the green fronds of the trees in which it is set are not of pleached lime but of palm and wattle. The cathedral does not stand by itself; the old city is crowded with the ruins of medieval churches, some large, some small. The remains of houses and palaces may still be found in use as barns or dwellings. The cities of Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, Paphos and Kyrenia likewise have their medieval quarters, and the Cyprus countryside is littered with the ruins of monasteries and small chapels, as well as the fortified farms and castles of the medieval rulers. Of all the conquerors of Cyprus, the Lusignan dynasty of the high Middle Ages has left the most prominent traces.

Lusignan building is the subject of this book. The dynasty acquired Cyprus in 1192 as a consolation prize after Guy de Lusignan had lost the battle of Hattin, and thus Jerusalem, to the Moslem army led by Saladin in 1187; and once they had settled in they stayed until the end of the Middle Ages, although from 1371 to 1474 the Genoese held Famagusta and dominated the island's trade. In 1489 the Venetians acquired Cyprus and ruled it until the Turkish conquest of 1571. Cyprus is steeped in legend, and it is appropriate that the Lusignans were of exotic and legendary ancestry; the family came from western France, descended it was said from the mermaid Melusine, whose image is carved on the capitals and doorways of several Romanesque churches in Poitou and Saintonge. In Cyprus they led a life which, while markedly less sophisticated than

that of any rich Byzantine Greek, must have seemed extraordinarily romantic both to themselves and the people of western Europe. Cyprus was both an escape from and a staging post to the crusader kingdoms of the Holy Land, and as the crusaders' fortunes sank so did those of Cyprus improve; by the late thirteenth century Famagusta had the most flourishing port in the eastern Mediterranean. Louis IX of France (St. Louis) was one of many western rulers who rested and re-victualled in Cyprus on their way to Palestine. In this finite and exclusive world, a cultured circle rapidly grew in the Lusignan court, and with it the cultivation of chivalric practices which were to become so marked a characteristic of life in the courts of Europe. The first recorded Round Table, emulating those of the legendary Arthur, was held in 1224, not, however, in England or France, but in Cyprus.

The Lusignans took trouble to extend and fortify the Byzantine castles of the island, and the indigenous population did not fare well under their rule. Materially, they may have retained some independence, but in religious and spiritual matters they were humiliated and oppressed. The Lusignans were Roman Catholic, heavily supported from Rome, and the Church was constantly supplied with western ecclesiastics to fill vacancies in the hierarchy. The Orthodox church of the Cypriots was not proscribed, but it was dispossessed. In 1260 a papal decree appointed the Latin archbishop of Nicosia the ecclesiastical head of both Catholic and Orthodox churches, and the Orthodox bishops had to swear an oath of allegiance to Rome. Thus humiliated, they were allowed to continue, but it is perhaps owing to the unforgiving nature of the relation between the two Churches that in Cypriot medieval architecture we do not find the lively and fruitful fusion of elements that true syncretism could produce, as for example in Norman Sicily. In Cyprus there are signs of western influence on the Greeks: the Orthodox cathedral in Famagusta was rebuilt in the fourteenth century with some distinctive western characteristics, but there are no signs that the Lusignans appreciated or understood the religious art of their subjects.

Both Lusignans and Cypriots have left a fascinating legacy. The Greek churches are a mixture of native tradition and Constantinopolitan luxury, while the Latin churches are of western style. There is, as we shall see, a distinct current of local taste in this western style, but there are few concessions to geography and climate. That the buildings have survived at all is an accident of history: they have been damaged by earthquake, flood and bombardment, and their original lines have been concealed beneath efforts at restoration. In the towns they are in areas settled by the Turkish population, and the indolence of the inhabitants no doubt contributed to their preservation. The cathedrals of Famagusta and Nicosia were converted into mosques, and although Moslem use has stripped the interiors, it has also ensured that, with some repairs and accretions, the buildings remain for us to ponder today.

INTRODUCTION

One of the first people to ponder the Lusignan architecture of Cyprus was Camille Enlart, author of this book, and *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (first published in 1899) is the fruit of his interest. Enlart was a remarkable man. He was born in Boulogne-sur-mer in 1862, son of an old Picard family. He remained a devoted Boulonnais all his life, writing his doctoral thesis on the Romanesque churches of Picardy, and before his death he gave his entire archaeological collection to the Boulogne museum. Brought up among the ancient walls and buildings of the old quarter of the town, he decided at a very early age to become an archaeologist, and he prepared himself for a life in archaeology with the methodical determination that characterised all his subsequent work. He studied foreign languages, learned to draw at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, and in 1885 he enrolled at the *Ecole des Chartes*, where, as a pupil of Robert de Lasteyrie, he studied historical documents and matured his comprehensive and broad-based approach to the study of medieval monuments.

Enlart's main scholarly preoccupations emerged early. In 1889 he went to Italy for two years, and travelled all over the peninsula, studying the influence of France on Italian Gothic architecture, with particular reference to the Cistercian Order of monks, which, he was convinced, was the main bearer of French ideas. He returned to Paris to become assistant librarian at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, and in 1903 he was appointed Curator of the *Musée de Sculpture Comparée* at the Trocadéro, a collection of plaster casts of all the major monuments of France. He stayed there until his sudden death in 1927, becoming *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* in 1910, and a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1925. The job did not prevent Enlart from travelling widely in Europe, Scandinavia and the Middle East. Wherever he went he photographed and drew plans of the ancient buildings. Sometimes, as with his visit to Cyprus in 1896, these missions were under official auspices; at other times he went independently. Almost every tour resulted in a publication of the monuments of that region, and the bibliography of his writings is a stimulating mixture of detailed local work, such as his *Hotels de ville et beffrois du nord de la France* (1911) and grand comprehensive surveys, such as *Les origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie* (1894), the fruit of his Italian journey. His most massive work is the *Manuel d'archéologie française*, published in four volumes between 1902 and 1916. This is his monument to French medieval civilisation, treating of religious and civil architecture from Merovingian times to the Renaissance, with a final volume devoted to costume.

Enlart devoted his scholarly life to expounding the diffusion of French styles of architecture through the rest of Europe and beyond. He saw very clearly that Gothic architecture was a French invention; indeed, in his introduction to the *Manuel* he says rather firmly that it ought to

be called French architecture rather than Gothic.¹ He studied the spread of French medieval art, carried, as he saw it, by Cistercian monks, into the remote regions of Scandinavia and the Latin kingdoms of the Levant. He was especially excited by what he saw in Cyprus and the Levant, for several reasons: as a Boulonnais he was proud that the crusading family led by Godfrey of Boulogne should have been so prominent, and, more seriously, he was delighted to discover, particularly in Cyprus, fine medieval monuments in their pure form, untouched by the antiquaries and restorers who had been busy on French buildings throughout the nineteenth century. In the *Manuel*, this volume and his other works, Enlart was concerned to strip buildings of their later accretions, and to discover if he could the 'genuine' buildings of the Middle Ages.

Enlart was profoundly French, and profoundly believed that in the Middle Ages France had been pre-eminent in all serious matters. For him, as for many of his contemporaries, the reign of St. Louis (1226-1270) was the high point of medieval civilisation. Although, as we shall see, this belief occasionally led him to overstate his case, he was not blinded by any sort of nationalistic fervour. The only serious controversy of his life was provoked by the publication in 1906 of his article, *L'origine anglaise du style flamboyant*, which set out to demonstrate that the flamelike curves of the latest style in French medieval architecture had been anticipated in England by as much as half a century.² This article has since become a classic, but there was a furious reaction in France, and much ink and bad temper were used in attempts to refute, indeed reverse his views. At length, and well before his death, his more narrowly nationalistic colleagues conceded that he was right, but the whole episode caused such bitterness and pain that some shadow of the pain lingered until he died, as is clear in the speeches made then by his friends.³

1

The term 'Gothic' is not medieval, but a term of abuse given by Renaissance men, who thought the style was barbaric. Enlart thought it should be called either French or 'ogival', meaning 'ribbed'. *Manuel d'archéologie française*, I, 1902,

C. Enlart, *L'origine anglaise du style flamboyant* in *Bulletin Monumental*, LXX, 1906, pp. 38-81 and *Archaeological Journal*, LXI, 1906, pp. 51-96.

Camille Enlart 1862-1927
(Paris, 1929).

E. l'Anson, 'Medieval and Other Buildings in the Island of Cyprus', *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1882-1883, pp. 13-31. Some of Vacher's drawings are reproduced in this volume.

The present volume, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, should be approached with Enlart's attitudes in mind. Published in 1899, when he was only 37 years old, it is an astonishing achievement, and the range of his scholarship and the depth of his knowledge will ensure that it will never be superseded, although after more detailed and recent research modifications will certainly be made here and there. Enlart visited Cyprus in 1896 under the auspices of the *Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts*, and he was among the first seriously to study the visible remains of the crusading inhabitants of the island. The Marquis de Vogüé, to whom this book was dedicated, and Baron Rey had inspected the monuments in about 1860, and the British Administration had done some survey work: Edward l'Anson and Sidney Vacher had published some measured drawings of Bellapais and one or two other buildings in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* for 1882-1883 ;⁴ but Enlart was the first person systematically to identify, plan, draw and photograph the buildings, and, armed with his training in

archive and documentary work, he was able also to do research into the historical record. In addition, with his vast knowledge of Gothic architecture in western Europe, he was able to suggest the context and influences within which the Gothic architecture of Cyprus should be placed. This aspect has hardly been discussed in print since. George Jeffery's *Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (1918) amplifies and supplements the structural side of Enlart's work. Jeffery was Curator of the Monuments, in charge of restoration, and the two volumes taken together are indispensable tools of anyone seriously interested in the medieval buildings of Cyprus; but Jeffery was not particularly concerned to place Cypriot architecture in the wider picture. His successors at the Department of Antiquities have continued where possible the work of restoration and excavation, but, largely owing to the scarcity of Enlart's book, there has been little further discussion of the nature of Gothic architecture in Cyprus.

Enlart himself divided Lusignan architecture into several phases, and detected four main streams of outside influence. He was concerned only with the architecture of the Lusignan dynasty and others of western descent. He was very interested in the native architecture and painting, but his purpose in this book was to elucidate the styles and sources of the invaders' buildings. Enlart divided the periods of architecture as follows: he isolated an early phase, which for some reason he did not really count, associated with the first Lusignan years after 1192, and only to be found at the cathedral of St. Sophia at Nicosia. This was influenced by French architecture of the second half of the twelfth century. The first measurable phase lasted from *c.* 1209 to *c.* 1280: this was inspired from northern France, with up-to-date knowledge of decoration, but some archaic methods of construction. Phase two, from the mid-thirteenth century to *c.* 1350, was for Enlart the apogee of Cypriot Gothic; in this phase he detected influences from the Midi, Provence and the Champagne region, in particular the church of St. Urbain at Troyes. During the third phase from *c.* 1360 onwards, the influence of the Midi, especially Provence, became more pronounced, but by the late fourteenth century a fourth phase had begun, which lasted through the fifteenth. This, according to Enlart, was inferior both in style and workmanship; it contained a strong Catalan influence, which then gave way to the impact of the Venetian Renaissance, but even here there was a strong mixture of Byzantine, Romanesque and inferior Gothic. In these last years Cyprus had turned in on herself, and was no longer open to inspiring contacts with France.

Enlart's main sources of influence were, then, north France, Champagne, the Midi and Provence, with Spain and Venice. To the long list of churches in these regions with features exactly like those in the Lusignan churches of Cyprus, he added a formidable assembly of princes and prelates, churchmen appointed from these areas to high positions in

the Latin church of Cyprus. The presence of these men was proof enough to Enlart that they brought their local styles with them.

So much research has been done into the history of European medieval architecture since the 1890s that it is inevitable that Enlart's views now have to be modified. It is, however, a matter of adjustment rather than complete revision, for, like all classic works of scholarship, this book contains much that is still valid. Nowadays, art historians would be less ready to assume that patrons brought styles with them, although it is clear that they must have to some extent; but what patrons did supply was the money, and today the emphasis would be placed, not on the origins of the patrons so much as where the master mason received his training, and what buildings he might have seen, for it was the masons and sculptors who built the churches, and who advised their patrons on the most fashionable and suitable models. As with all historians, Enlart's own attitudes formed his judgments: his intensely romantic admiration for Louis IX led him to ascribe to that monarch works in Cyprus which really cannot be associated with him; and the assumed pre-eminence of France in architectural influence around 1300 is now being questioned. The position seems to be more complicated and subtle, and as it has direct bearing on the development of architecture in Cyprus, it might help the reader to give a brief account of Cypriot medieval architecture with these modifications in mind.

The striking fact about Lusignan architecture, in which Enlart was quite right, is how strongly it turned to western Europe for its models. They are not filtered through the Holy Land. After 1192, when crusader building in Palestine had virtually ceased, there is no sign of influences from the mainland in Cyprus: styles come direct from Europe. This is emphasised by the exiguous signs of crusader influence in buildings before 1192. All that now survives are some re-used capitals on the north doorway of Nicosia Cathedral, which are a basket-shaped 'crusader' type, found in the Holy Land. It is also true that flat roofs are favoured in both areas, but so they are all over the Mediterranean: the Gothic cathedral of Palma de Mallorca presents a similarly flattened top to the world. Otherwise, those details of Lusignan architecture for which there are no ready European parallels can be characterised as examples of regional taste, which existed everywhere. In Cyprus they continued to prefer columns to moulded piers, and favoured plans without transepts.

Against this background of regional taste, Enlart's five phases, with the early one, can for practical purposes be reduced to three, using the major monuments as signposts to the lesser ones. The cathedrals of Limassol and Paphos have all but vanished, but Nicosia and Famagusta evidently set standards of building which were followed elsewhere. The three revised phases run from *c.* 1192 to *c.* 1300, during which time the greater part of St. Sophia at Nicosia was built; from *c.* 1300 to *c.* 1360, which saw a new workshop come into the island to build the cathedral

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of St. Nicholas at Famagusta and works associated with it; and from c. 1360 to the Turkish invasion, when Cyprus became inward-looking, the workmanship poor and the style idiosyncratic. During the first phase buildings were modelled on north and west French designs at least a generation earlier. In the second they were surprisingly abreast of current developments; and in the third they followed their own course.

The early period is represented by the cathedral of St. Sophia at Nicosia, which in some ways looks to regions of France close to the Lusignan homelands south of the Loire. This is interesting, and possibly indicates that in the early days the Lusignans were still close to the lands of their origins. The plan (Fig. 32) has no marked crossing, and transepts in the form of single-storey chapels attached to the north and south sides of the church. This type of plan belongs to a group of churches in west central France, in particular Avénières church at Laval, dating from the middle of the twelfth century.⁵ The plan was also used at Cunault on the Loire, a short distance from the abbey of Fontevrault, whose patrons were the feudal lords of the Lusignans. Fontevrault has a curious bridge arrangement on the aisle wall of each bay, not unlike the bridges at Nicosia. The decorative details of St. Sophia take us a little further afield, and demonstrate that the origins of the master mason are as significant in church design as those of the patrons. They are part of the decorative repertory developed in the regions around Paris in the second half of the twelfth century -, the twinned windows, crocket capitals (now defaced), shaft-rings and angle shafts in the windows all find parallels in such buildings as the cathedrals of Arras and Laon. Laon also provides an exact model for the earliest flying buttresses of St. Sophia. Laon, which was begun in the 1160s, was an immensely influential building, whose shadow fell as far away as Ripon in Yorkshire. Many masons studied the details of Laon, and noted them down for use elsewhere. What the architect of St. Sophia did not do was turn for inspiration to the newest generation of great churches, the cathedrals of Chartres and Bourges, which are exact contemporaries of Nicosia but in a totally different category. St. Sophia is not a great church, but a modest two-storey building based on smaller, older models, with one or two top dressings from cathedral architecture. Why St. Sophia should have been based on such buildings is not clear. No doubt there were economic reasons for building a small church, but the tendency to build in styles that were already out of date in the west has been noted in the architecture of the Holy Land as well. The age and availability of masons may be the explanation.

Enlart's building sequence for St. Sophia was very complicated, involving the very early phase, the campaign of 1209-1228 and a third campaign in the mid-thirteenth century, under the auspices of Louis IX who spent the winter of 1248 in Limassol. The upper windows of the three western bays and the western block itself were built in a fourth campaign

Congrès Archéologique de France, ÇXIX, 1961, pp. 376-95; *Bulletin Monumental*, LXV, 1911, pp. 102-19. Stephen Gardner, 'The Church of St. Etienne in Dreux and its role in the formulation of early Gothic architecture,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* CXXXVII, 1984, pp. 86-113.

in the fourteenth century. This latest work is easy to pick out: it has huge traceried windows, and capitals with foliage in two tiers. It is much more difficult to find Enlart's third phase, allegedly inspired by the presence and money of the King of France. Enlart's first, mini-phase, consists of the earlier material re-used in doorways, but the main campaign of 1209 onwards shows only minor modifications in such details as hood mouldings over windows, and there is no serious stylistic development or break until the fourteenth-century work begins. There are no signs of influence from masons attached to the court of Louis IX and the fact that Enlart found references to their presence in Palestine (and by implication in Cyprus) merely emphasises the point that they had no hand in any building work in Cyprus itself.

By the time Louis IX set out on his journey in 1248 his architects had designed and built the nave of St. Denis and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris; in doing so they had transformed architectural styles there, and Paris was becoming the architectural centre of Europe. The new style, known to modern commentators as Rayonnant from the radiating patterns of its rose-windows, had been consolidated in buildings of which Louis IX was patron. It involved the use of thin walls reduced to a minimum and cut through with passages, vast areas of stained-glass windows and abundant use of mouldings and tracery applied across all undecorated surfaces. Where the early experiments in Gothic structure, from which came St. Sophia, had emphasised the structural workings with unambiguous clarity, Rayonnant did the opposite. Structurally, the buildings are little different, but now the workings were concealed beneath a series of decorative devices in which tracery and mouldings conspired to hide the bulk of the masonry, and interior surfaces, flattened and smoothed, presented a sheen of brilliant, jewelled colour. The masons who accompanied Louis IX to the Holy Land had developed this style in its pure form. There is not a trace of this style of the 1240s in Cyprus, not even in small surviving buildings which would show that a lost, greater building must once have existed. It is reasonable to infer that, although Louis IX may have showered Cypriot churches with gifts, he did no building; and only deep pride in this glorious monarch could have provoked Enlart's uncharacteristic blindness to the evidence.

The plain, heavy and by now very old-fashioned style of Nicosia Cathedral seems to have prevailed until the late thirteenth century, as it is still found in buildings of that date, such as the Franciscan church at Famagusta. One building which might have given us a clue to the mid-century architecture has completely disappeared: the church of the Dominican friars at Nicosia was built about then as the burial church of the royal family. It was certainly a monument upon which care would have been lavished, and St. Sophia itself may have been left unfinished because attention was switched to the new church. But as there are no signs of a radical change in architectural styles before 1300, we may

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assume that its style was not revolutionary.

The radical change occurred in the early fourteenth century with the building of Famagusta Cathedral, which introduced a completely new style to Cyprus, with the very latest in architectural developments. There is no doubt that a new workshop came to do the job, or at least to teach the Lusignan masons how to carve window tracery, new mouldings and new foliage designs. In order to comprehend this new style we have to consider what had been happening in western Europe over the last fifty years. The Rayonnant style had established itself all over the central and southern parts of what is now France, newly conquered by St. Louis. Some of its characteristics, though not its entire structural system, had been eagerly adopted by English and German masons, and in the French regions themselves the style was being developed as it spread. On the Rhine were the two greatest masonic workshops in Europe, those of Strasbourg and Cologne, where work was busiest around 1300. At Strasbourg, in churches on the Rhine in the cultural sphere of Strasbourg and Cologne, in England and the Champagne masons were trying out new tracery forms and wall-structures which went far ahead of Paris, and left France behind. For in this period the architectural initiative, the creativity and inspiration lay not in France, but in England and Germany, where, steeped in the Rayonnant style, masons were exploring its further possibilities. It is this, later, style of architecture which came to Cyprus.

Famagusta is in some ways very Cypriot. Despite the fashion in western Europe for moulded piers, Famagusta has columns, and no passages are cut through the thickness of its walls. It has no transepts. But it has huge windows filled with tracery, gables over them elaborately carved with foliage, and a west façade of three gabled doorways with three windows above them. A few of the minor details can be associated, as Enlart says, with the Champagne and Provence; but in all major aspects Famagusta owes its appearance to the Rhineland. The patterns of the window tracery, double-cusped circles above with trilobés below, are found in an identical combination at Cologne Cathedral, along with the pierced buttresses. The overlapping gables with tracery on the west front are less daring versions of the gables on the façade of Strasbourg; the west front tracery patterns and the continuous mouldings of the doorways are echoes of Strasbourg and two churches closely associated with it, the cathedral of Freiburg and St. Catherine at Oppenheim, both on the Rhine. These buildings date from around 1300; Famagusta Cathedral was therefore based on designs that were a matter of a few years, perhaps months, old. They were, moreover, cathedral designs. This time Cyprus was not fifty years out of date, and Famagusta is in every way a strong contrast to the plodding provincialities of Nicosia.

The style of Famagusta Cathedral was adopted at once, and it can be seen all over the island. The new Orthodox cathedral was built with window tracery clearly influenced by that of its near neighbour, and the

6 cathedral workshop built the small chapel of St. George of the Latins
Camille Enlart (1929), 69. . . . f h north, and the conventual buildings of Bellapais Abbey,
 to s stones are on p. 23 p^{arts} N i i. Cathedral were finished in the new style. The
 buildings of this Famagusta-inspired phase are notably well constructed,
 of beautifully wrought stone. The masonry is as superb as the detailing,
 and we can agree with Enlart that what followed showed a marked de-
 terioration in quality.

The latest phase was poorly built, as George Jeffery confirmed when he restored the cloister at Bellapais. It seems to reflect the impoverished conditions in the island caused by Genoese aggression. Any stimulating contacts with western Europe appear to have ended, and the repertory became almost exclusively insular. This is not to say that it does not have a lot of charm: its variations on windblown leaf forms, combined with chevrons and dogtooth more familiar from the Romanesque period, are very attractive. The west doorway of St. Sophia at Nicosia, parts of Bellapais cloister and many country ruins are in this style, which, insofar as it resembles nothing elsewhere, does have some claim to be the authentic style of Cyprus.

While some of Enlart's conclusions can be questioned, the information he collected will remain of the utmost value. It was he who identified the church buildings, he who planned and recorded them. He was a tireless worker, who cheerfully tolerated conditions which made his less adventurous friends shudder. His fellow Boulonnais Henri Malo recalled with distaste that Enlart's diet in Cyprus consisted of elderly goat and mutton, not bred for the table, washed down with *Commandaria*, a drink viewed with some suspicion. Enlart was also a cheerful and irreverent companion: Henri Malo accompanied him on many expeditions in France and while on a trip to record some castle ruins, Enlart was busy drawing a plan when two cows came up behind them and tossed Henri Malo on their long and pointed horns. As he rose to his feet, bruised and shaken, he saw Enlart brandishing the camera and crying, 'Alas, my camera was not set up!' They recovered their 50 centimes entrance fee.

Enlart was honoured several times abroad. In 1910 he was elected honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. His scholarship and expertise were universally admired, but what shines as brightly from the words of his friends after his death is his generous and affectionate nature. With his books, his most appropriate epitaph may perhaps be the remark he made to his friend and colleague Paul Deschamps: '*Ce que j'apprécie le plus au monde c'est le travail et l'amitié.*' We can no longer enjoy his friendship but the fruits of his scholarship are with us for ever.

C. ENLART

L'ART GOTHIQUE

ET LA RENAISSANCE

EN

CHYPRE

ILLUSTRÉ DE 34 PLANCHES ET DE 421 FIGURES

Ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts.

TOME PREMIER



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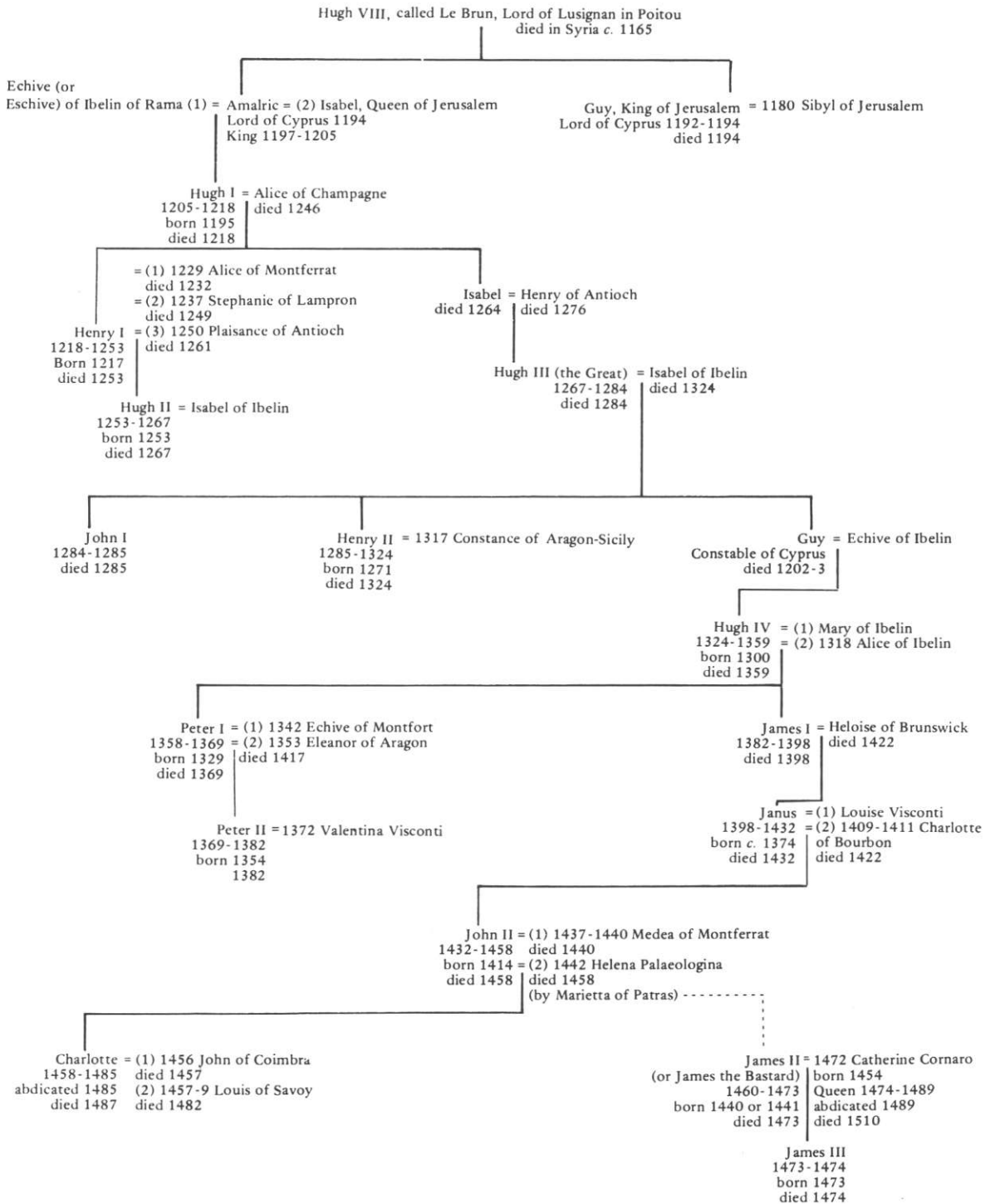
The Marquis de *Vogué*
Member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*

Sir

It was right and proper to dedicate this work to you not only because you are the person to whom the scientific study of the archaeology of the Latin Levant owes its origin but also because this book is in essence an expansion and a corroboration of the single page which you devoted to Cyprus in your *Eglises de la Terre-Sainte*. You were good enough to encourage me to undertake a study for which you with your manifold preoccupations had been unable to find the time yourself and I must also thank you for allowing me to reproduce the splendid drawings made for you by the late E. Duthoit. Finally, I am deeply indebted to you for the advice you have so kindly given me from the depths of your erudition and from experience. Pray allow me to make such poor repayment as I can by this public testimony of my profound and respectful gratitude.

CAMILLE ENLART

THE LUSIGNAN KINGS OF CYPRUS



FOREWORD

THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

CIVILISATION TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS MONUMENTS PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED MISSION OF THE AUTHOR

'—Tous ceux du pays, et specialment
les gentilzhommes sont aussi bons
françois que nous sommes en France.'

PIERRE MESENGE, 1507

The history of the Kingdom of Cyprus is so little known that if this archaeological study may be thought to contain too many anecdotes I hope that I shall be forgiven in view of the interest which it offers, especially for the French reader. To recall the personalities, the principal events and the most curious details of that history, along with the monuments which were the work of these men's hands and formed the background of so many moving episodes, seems to me to be a way of illuminating the significance of the monuments and of setting those narratives into their proper context. It may be convenient at this point to give a summary of the history of Cyprus for the benefit of those to whom it is unfamiliar.

1

CIVILISATION

This little kingdom, now vanished forever, lasted for four centuries. It was nothing else but a French colony. Now it is a well-known fact that French colonisation, when it succeeds, produces a complete assimilation, in which it differs from Norman colonisation. It is perfectly appropriate that the Assizes of Jerusalem, the codification of the laws of the King-

dom of Cyprus, are an integral part of the material used for the teaching of old French law. Nicosia Cathedral, where the manuscript of the Assizes was kept in a coffer with many locks,¹ is no less a French production than they are. The buildings and inscriptions of Cyprus speak our language in all its native purity, just as the history of the Lusignan kingdom bears witness to all the characteristics, good or bad, of our race. The monuments, indeed, like photographs registering passing events, fix and preserve the moving picture of history.

It is of course true that French manners, the French language and French art did not take possession of the country so exclusively as to banish Byzantine traditions; but since the French colonists were numerous and intelligent whereas the indigenous population was sparse, not very active and not well educated the Greeks to a large extent came under the influence of their conquerors while exercising practically no influence on them. The Greek language and the Byzantine style of art were reduced to being no more than a local patois and a folk art. Distinguished Greeks spoke French; when, in the fifteenth century, Leontios Machaeras decided to write his chronicles in what he considered the national language all he found available was a corrupt dialect full of French expressions. He recognises the fact and complains bitterly of it. Similarly, when the Greeks wished to build fine churches, not only in the fourteenth century but after they had improved their position in the fifteenth century, they built them, or tried to, in the Gothic style.

The fifteenth century saw an attempt at fusing the Greek and the Latin elements. John II married a Palaeologos and James II was the son of a Greek woman. At the same time the French influence came under pressure from Catalans, Genoese and Venetians. In the end the last-named gained the upper hand and won sovereignty over the island; the old French families, too faithful to the memory of their princes, fell into disgrace and were deported, to be replaced by Venetians. By 1507 Canon Pierre Mésenge, a Norman traveller, depicts as follows the situation and the sentiments of the people of Cyprus: 'The whole country has now been subject to the Lordship of Venice for eighteen or twenty years; since that time they have changed all the system of government and the customary way of life, for whereas in the past legal processes, writs and pleadings were in French now they are in Italian; the populace is very discontented with this because all the people of the country and in particular the noble families are as good Frenchmen as we are in France and they are wonderfully discontented to be subjected to the Lordship of Venice.'²

Eleven years later these measures had borne fruit. Jacques Le Saige had much difficulty in making himself understood in French in Nicosia.³

Thierry of Niem⁴ describes as follows the manners of the Cypriots: '*Fastus gallicus, syra mollifies, graecae blanditiae ac fraudes quae unam videlicet in insulam convenere.*' This description seems more contrived

1

See Introduction to *Les Assises de Jerusalem*, published by Beugnot, 1841, p. lxxi.

Amiens Library, fonds Lescalopier, MS No. 5215, fol. 89.

Pèlerinage, Douai edition, 1857, p. 138.

Quoted by Meursius, *Cyprus*, p. 152,

than accurate; apart from a few exceptions as rare as they are regrettable, softness and treachery have never been the faults of the Cypriots, except among the indigenous population. History as well as the monuments bear witness to the vigour and activity of the people of Cyprus from the time when they founded the kingdom and defeated and expelled the troops of Frederick II right up to their heroic and vain resistance in 1570.

Cyprus never ceased to produce perfect examples of chivalry, and if the merchants of Cyprus were as rich and in as high consideration as those of Flanders, they did not, like them, eclipse the prestige of the nobility. The nobility seems generally to have reached a level of achievement adequate to match its responsibilities, and the same can be said of the Lusignan family.

The greatest of the Lusignans, Peter I, was one of the most perfect models of chivalry. He himself left a sublime expression of his chivalrous ideals in the proud device of the Order of the Sword which he founded; the badge was a sword surrounded by a scroll with the inscription: '*C'EST POUR LOIAUTE MAINTENIR.*'⁵ Surely this emblem and this inscription have a different significance, a different air, from the Golden Fleece, the Garter, the Broom, the Hound, the Cockleshell or the Thistle? The names of the Order of the Star, Guide of the Magi, or of the Holy Ghost, the Divine Inspirer, though loftier indeed, to me seem less well chosen and less significant.

The Church of Cyprus also produced some great figures such as Archbishop Eustorgius of Montaigu who built St. Sophia and died in the camp of St. Louis; his beatified successor Hugh of Fagiano, a bigoted ascetic born rather for the cloisters from which he came and to which he returned than for the archiepiscopal throne; the good Bishop Guy and Baldwin Lambert his successor who built at their own expense the cathedral of Famagusta; finally St. Peter Thomas the Papal Legate who renounced all worldly wealth and who in the middle of the fourteenth century inspired the crusade that captured Alexandria.

Philip of Mézières, Peter I's Chancellor, who conceived the idea of the military Order of the Passion, and fought all his life for this noble dream, also merits a mention among the Saints of Cyprus.⁶

Truth demands however that the sanctity of Cypriot morals should not be exaggerated: the austere Philip of Mézières thought it necessary to exclude celibacy from the rule of his Order of the Passion.⁷ This wise measure, inspired by experience of the East, was perhaps the reason why Rome opposed the Chancellor of Cyprus's noble creation.

Although in certain respects they were very loose the manners of the Latins of Cyprus remained always manly: the pleasures of the nobles were above all jousting and hunting.

The love of luxury was general among the well-to-do classes from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; it was particularly marked in Cyprus, and Thierry of Niem's reference to *fastusgallicus* is doubly correct: their

These insignia can still be seen in Venice, carved on the façade of the palazzo of the Cornaro de Piscopia. The Head of this house had had the honour of entertaining Peter I and being decorated with his Order, cf. Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, p. 815. The house is now the Palazzo Loredan. The insignia consisting of a naked sword palewise within a scroll bearing in Gothic minuscules POUR LEALTÈ MAINTENIR occur in two places, with the arms of Cyprus and Jerusalem. I am grateful to my friend and colleague J. J. Marquet de Vasselot for kindly confirming these details for me in Venice.

See his life by N. Jorga (Paris, 1892).

See A. Molinier, *Description de deux manuscrits contenant la règle de la Militia Passionis* (*Arch. de l'Or. lat.*), I, p. 337.

way of life was both ostentatious⁸ and French. However besides the luxurious customs of the Middle Ages in the West the Cypriots had added certain practices borrowed from the East such as hunting with leopards,⁹ the wearing of too much finery, and some of their marriage and funeral customs.¹⁰ There were some even more bizarre habits: the nobles used to dye the tails of their dogs and their horses orange with henna.¹¹ This orientalising tendency produced also some material objects of a hybrid character, for example the splendid copper basin in H. d'Allemagne's collection a description of which, kindly given me by its erudite owner, will be found later. But such mixtures of styles and customs seem to have been only exceptions; costume, language and habits remained almost exclusively French.

The evidence of this can be seen from literature, which has an honourable place in the history of the Kingdom of Cyprus, keeping constantly in step with intellectual movements in the West.

The literary monuments that survive from the thirteenth century are the works of Philip of Novara¹² and John of Journy. The latter composed in 1288 at Nicosia that talented but over-lengthy poem¹³ *La dime de pénitence*.¹⁴ The same poet had in his youth composed *fabliaux*, a weakness which he deplores in his palinode.

In the following century the things of the mind were held in very high honour at the court of Cyprus. Hugh III was chosen by St. Thomas Aquinas for the dedication of his *De regimine principum*,¹⁵ Boccaccio addressed his *De genealogia deorum*¹⁶ to Hugh IV. Peter I had for his Chancellor Philip of Mézières, one of the greatest writers and philosophers of his century, and his exploits were celebrated in verse by William of Machaut.

Through the relations between Hugh IV and Boccaccio Cyprus had played its part in the humanistic movement from its earliest beginnings. By the time the Renaissance had extended more widely Cyprus had become an Italian possession, and thus had a further reason to conform with the movement. The pretentious rhetoric of the epitaphs of Janus¹⁷ and of James the Bastard¹⁸ bears witness to the intellectual interests that were in fashion in the fifteenth century and one of the first Venetian Proweditori was the humanist Carlo Capelli who composed the inscription on his own tomb in St. Sophia at Nicosia.¹⁹ The Venetians carried out archaeological excavations at Paphos and although they had not enough money to erect churches adorned with effigies of pagan deities, as was fashionable in Renaissance times, at least they restored the tomb of Venus in the square in front of the cathedral at Famagusta.

If the Renaissance was not very fertile in Cyprus it was because of lack of means. It in no way superseded the Gothic and Byzantine traditions but blended with them and added to the confusion of styles and ideas.

But if the civilisation of the Kingdom of Cyprus kept pace with

Ludolf von Sudheim, p. 34:
'Sunt eciam ibi nobiles,
barones, milites et cives
habentes largos redditus,
ita quod simplex miles
habet annuatim tria milia
florenorum. Nobiles autem
habent multos canes et
falconarios, suos redditus
consumentes___In medio
Cypri est metropolis Nycosia,
ubi propter aeris temperiem
semper sunt conventus
nobilium et episcoporum,
festa tornamenta videntes.'

ib: '... et eciam tenent
leopardos qui venantur
carnes fermas;' cf. *Voyage
du seigneur d'Anglure*,
p. 85.

10

See p. 211; cf. the narrative
of James of Verona, and
Jacques Le Saige, p. 144.

11

Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*,
fol. 224 v^o.

12

See below, p. 428, note 59.
His works can be found in
the *Assizes*, ed. Beugnot
(1841), 2 vols; *Les gestes des
Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud
(Geneva, 1887) and *Les
quatre tems d'aage d'orne*,
ed. Marcel de Fréville,
Soc. des anc. textes (1888);
cf. Beugnot, *Bibl. de d'Éc.
des Chartes* (1840-1841),
vol. II, pp. 1-31.

13

Over 3,000 lines, in fact. In
it the author compares
penitence to a tax payable
to God, and paid reluctantly.
It ends with a prayer for
King Henry II.

European civilisation it was in particular in architecture that the Middle Ages excelled in Cyprus more than elsewhere. There were two reasons for this; the settlers were French and the country was particularly well-endowed with the necessary materials. 'Theophrastus' according to A. Gaudry, 'justly remarked that Cyprus is the country where gypsum is at its finest and most copious. The island has also excellent limestone. It has no true marble but its shores are lined with free stone. Building must accordingly be cheaper there than in other countries; for this reason the Middle Ages have left many ruins of impressive buildings.'¹⁰

'The coarse Pliocene or Quaternary limestones of the East resemble exactly our coarse Eocene limestone of Paris. Their thick and regular beds provide magnificent ashlar blocks. Such materials naturally became the ordinary building stone. Even the castle of Buffavento, which is situated about 1,000 metres above the level of the sea, at the summit of steep hills, was built with coarse limestone; instead of using cretaceous limestones forming the bed-rock of this castle it was found better to take the trouble of hauling rocks taken from the coastal belt up to this tremendous height.'¹¹

2

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION

From the beginning of the conquest the Latin clergy brought the Greek clergy under its supremacy and removed the Greek episcopal sees from the cities to the countryside. The Kingdom constituted a Latin archbishopric of which Nicosia was the metropolis with suffragan bishops at Famagusta, Limassol and Paphos.¹²

Most of the religious orders of the West were represented in these four dioceses. The Benedictines, apart from the abbey of Stavrovouni, had only women's convents of which there were three in Nicosia: Our Lady of Tyre, St. Anne, and St. James by the wool market. The Cistercians, who only arrived in the Kingdom in the thirteenth century, too late to make much impression, also had a women's convent in Nicosia dedicated to St. Theodore, and a men's convent with the same dedication not far from Pyrgos in the most deserted part of the northern coast; their principal establishment was the abbey of Beaulieu in the diocese of Nicosia. The Augustinians had an important house in the capital and some other establishments in Famagusta, Limassol and Paphos. The Carmelites were established in Nicosia, Famagusta and the suburbs of Limassol; they also no doubt possessed the convent, now ruined, called Karmi on a mountain to the west of St. Hilarion. The Franciscans had the church of St. John of Montfort in Nicosia and some other houses in Famagusta, Limassol and Paphos. The nuns of the Order of St. Clare had convents in Nicosia and Famagusta. The Order of the Cross had the church of

14

See the paper by P. Meyer in *Archives des Missions* on the British Museum MS.

15

Bustron, p. 252; cf. Attar in Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 523 and Loredano, *Storia de' Re Lusignani*, p. 346.

16

Lusignan, *Généalogies*, fol. 17 v^o and 19 v^o.

17

See below, p. 76, note 11.

18

See below, p. 242.

19

Christof Furer von Haimendorf refers to this man, who was famous in his time, and copied the following inscription, which has now disappeared, in St. Sophia (*Itinerarium Aegypti* etc., p. 108): Hoc ego ipse Carolus, eques Reipublicae Venetae, Cypri prorex dictavi, et meo corpori has ediculas erigendas curavi, animum autem ad Deum volaturum optavi et fidi. Vos electi Dei, salvete, et ejus immensam pietatem vestris precibus mihi conciliate.

Quod vixi valuique bonos,
Hospes bone, juvenis
Vita labor, requies mors
mihi certa fuit.

Mens fuerat quicquid praecelarum est scire; negavit
Mors cita; quod vixi scire
nihil didici

Sed caecas hominum mentes;
haec omnia vitae
Somnia sunt, animum vivus
in astra redit.

Quin ea, quam metuunt
homines mors, vita putanda

Aeternum per quam vivimus et sapimus.

St. Julian in Nicosia. There were Dominican convents at Nicosia, Famagusta, Limassol and St. Epiphanius at Vavla. Finally, the most important abbey in Cyprus, Bellapais, belonged to the Premonstratensians who also had the church of St. Luke next to St. James in Nicosia.

The military orders naturally had important establishments in the island. The Templars, who for a brief period had owned the whole of Cyprus, eventually kept the castles at Nicosia, Limassol and Gastria, a very rich house in Famagusta and numerous other possessions which, in 1308, passed to the Hospitallers. The latter order had their Grand Commandery at Kolossi, another Commandery at Khirokitia, which was destroyed in 1426 by the Mamelukes, houses at Nicosia, Famagusta and Limassol and some subsidiary establishments. The Knights of St. Thomas of Canterbury had the church of St. Nicholas in Nicosia, possibly to be identified with the still surviving building which in the sixteenth century became the Greek cathedral.

In spite of this the religious orders in Cyprus did not have the same artistic influence as they had in other countries. In France the Benedictine monks built the finest Romanesque churches, the ideas of St. Bernard are closely connected with the formation of the Gothic style; it was imported by his Order into Italy and the Scandinavian countries and, in association with Cluny, into Spain; the Franciscans and the Dominicans introduced a more austere variety of the same style and it was they who created the southern version of it. Nothing like this happened in Cyprus. The Cistercians arrived late and had no influence; the Benedictines at Stavrovouni and the Dominicans at Vavla built in the local style; the Augustinians, Franciscans and Carmelites had only modest churches. The splendid abbey of Bellapais is beautiful because it was the kings who made it so. It was they too who built St. Sophia at Nicosia and the beautiful castles. The cathedral of Famagusta owes its splendour to its bishop Baldwin Lambert. To sum up, it was under the protection and with the inspiration of the kings and the heads of the secular clergy that medieval art penetrated Cyprus and evolved there; The regular clergy had no influence on its development.

20

L'île de Chypre, Revue des Deux-Mondes (1861), p. 224.

21

Géologie de l'île de Chypre, p. 257.

22

See Mas Latrie, *Histoire des archevêques latins de Chypre* (1882).

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

For the purposes of this study of the Gothic monuments of Cyprus I have followed the current territorial divisions because they are simpler than those of the Middle Ages and their boundaries are more certain. Cyprus is today divided into six districts: Nicosia, Kyrenia, Famagusta and the Karpas Peninsula, Larnaca, Limassol, Paphos and Polis tis Chrysokhou. Under the Lusignans there were twelve: Nicosia, Famagusta, Paphos, Limassol, Kyrenia, Salines (Larnaca), the Mesaoria, the

POLITICAL HISTORY

Karpas Peninsula, the Masoto, Avdimou, Chrysokhou and Pendaria. I reproduce the order in which they are enumerated by Father Lusignan.²³

POLITICAL HISTORY

A brief *résumé* of the history of the Kingdom of Cyprus would run roughly as follows. At the end of the twelfth century and in the thirteenth century it established itself securely under the protection of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Every blow struck at the Kingdom of Jerusalem by the Saracens brought fugitives to Cyprus. Every crusade and every pilgrimage brought money into the kingdom of the Lusignans. Every unsuccessful expedition, and there were plenty, enriched it with new settlers. Finally, when Acre fell in 1291 Cyprus took on great importance. From then until 1373 its prosperity was enormous, so much so as to incite the cupidity of the Genoese, those traitors to the cause of Christianity who brought about the irreparable ruin of that prosperity. From then on there was nothing but a deteriorating process of decadence right up to the sixteenth century. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the Egyptians had joined the Genoese in the work of devastation; and when the Kingdom made an effort to break its chains and put itself on a sounder footing Venice seized it. Worn out by so many struggles Cyprus fell at last in 1571 under the baneful yoke of the Turks.

According to local legends some German saints are supposed to have arrived in Cyprus in the fourth century. Monsieur Sathas has conjectured that these supposed westerners were military colonists from Albania.²⁴

In 1135 there was the first western invasion, though it was purely transitory. Reynard of Châtillon, inventing as an excuse a complaint against the Emperor Manuel Comnenos, and without any declaration of war, launched a raid which devastated the entire island.²⁵ There were already at that time western merchants, principally Italians, who had set up trading posts in the ports of Cyprus.

The final conquest came in 1191. Richard the Lionheart decided to make Cyprus into a base for his fleet; having met with double-dealing on the part of the Duke Isaac Comnenos, he challenged him and took possession of the island. In a matter of a few days a sudden impulse and a rapid military action had produced the most lasting result of all the crusades.

Richard sold his conquest first of all to the Templars, who pacified it but did not pay up; the King of England then ceded it instead to Guy of Lusignan in return for some money that he badly needed and some rights which he could exploit in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁶ Guy of

23
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 214 v°.

24
See the introduction to his *Vies des Saints Allemands de Chypre*. *Archives de l'Or, lat.*, vol. II, p. 405.

25
Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon* (Paris, 1898), pp. 68-79.

26
Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, p. 9.

Lusignan, who had allowed the Holy City to fall into the hands of the infidels, and who had only just emerged from captivity, had had quite enough experiences for his taste; Richard on the contrary was off to seek some and dreamed only of chivalrous exploits. Both sides were thoroughly pleased with their bargain and the island of Cyprus too must have felt that it had come off well.

Guy never took the title of king; it was his brother and successor Amalric who in 1196 obtained it from the Emperor Henry VI. Amalric was also King of Jerusalem. In 1205 his son Hugh I succeeded him; he took part in the crusade of 1218 and died in the next year leaving a son of nine months, Henry I. Philip of Ibelin, the King's uncle, and his mother Alice of Champagne governed in his name; but after a few years war broke out between the Regent and Frederick II who planned to replace him by five baillies devoted to himself. In 1229 and 1232 successive invasions by the imperial armies were successfully repulsed and the glorious victory of Agridi (15 June 1232), won just when Henry I came of age, assured the independence of the Kingdom. Agridi was to the Kingdom of Cyprus what the battle of Bouvines was to France. The flight of the Imperialists freed the Kingdom of subjects who were unfaithful to the national cause and of their adherents; they retired to Apulia where they were recompensed with estates by Frederick II.²⁷

In 1247 Henry I welcomed St. Louis and his army to Cyprus and entertained him there for seven months. He crossed the sea with him, shared with him his captivity and, after being released with him in 1249, died in 1255. His only son, Hugh II, died at the age of fourteen and in 1267 the crown passed to the collateral branch of the Lusignans of Antioch in the person of Hugh III. Hugh III had been the rival of Charles of Anjou for the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; he managed to obtain it but the Saracens robbed him of the greater part of its territory. He lived for the most part in Cyprus, surrounded by a brilliant court and played a full part in western intellectual movements.

His elder son John I only reigned from 1284 to 1286. His second son Henry II is celebrated for his misfortunes. In 1291 he lost Acre, his last possession on the mainland. During the following years there was a steadily worsening struggle between Henry II, who suffered from epilepsy, and his brother Amalric, Prince of Tyre, who in the end deprived him of his power and in 1310 deported him to Armenia. Amalric was assassinated in the same year and the legitimate king was restored in 1311. At the same time the Hospitallers, who had troubled the peace of the Kingdom, left it for the island of Rhodes which they had just seized. In 1327 Henry II died without children and was succeeded by his nephew Hugh IV, one of the greatest kings of Cyprus. Admittedly he was intolerant and violent to excess, but his tyranny does not appear to have extended beyond his own family. Henry II had been a great builder. Hugh IV showed himself to be an equally great protector of the arts and

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This forced emigration had important consequences for the history of art. The Gothic buildings in the French style erected by Frederick II in Apulia after 1232 were the work of Cypriots; it is by this indirect route that French art was transmitted to part of southern Italy. See the article by E. Bertaux in the *Revue Historique* of 1899: *Français d'Outre-Mer en Apulie au temps de Frédéric II*. This curious example of an artistic rebound has already been pointed out by Join Lambert; his further studies are expected to provide the proof.

in particular was responsible for the construction of most of the abbey of Bellapais. His son and successor Peter I inaugurated in 1361 the most glorious reign in the history of Cyprus. His father had bequeathed to him in the person of the Chancellor Philip of Mézières a devotedly loyal servant who was one of the great intellects of his century. His second councillor, the Papal Legate Peter Thomas, was both a saint and also another man of great intelligence; the fact is that Peter I, in spite of the violent character which he inherited from his father and the easy-going immorality which he shared with many princes, had outstanding personal qualities to which Froissart, William of Machaut and other contemporaries agree in rendering a deserved tribute.

Beginning in 1361 Peter I carved out a continental dominion for himself by the capture of Gorhigos and Adalia. These successes justified the undertaking of a much greater enterprise, the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Accompanied by his advisers the King of Cyprus twice made the round of the courts of Europe, in 1361 and 1364, to ask for money and troops for his crusade. His mission won for Peter I the admiration of Froissart and enabled him to be present at the coronation of Charles V at Rheims. When he returned to Cyprus in 1364 he found himself, in spite of numerous disappointments, in command of a fine fleet and a gallant army with which, by a bold stroke, he captured Alexandria. It was an empty triumph with no future, for the victorious soldiers had no other thought than to carry away their prodigious loot and forced their commanders to withdraw. It was a bitter disappointment for Peter I, and another soon followed. The barons of his High Court refused his demand for justice on the Count of Rochas, the Queen's lover. In 1366 Peter Thomas died. Deprived of his counsels and his friendship the King abandoned himself to his passions and above all to his hatred for the barons who had utterly betrayed him three times.²⁸ The King's assassination by a baronial conspiracy, on 17th January 1369, put an end to the outrages with which he had sullied the closing years of a fine reign.

Cyprus had now reached the summit of its prosperity and all the elements had been assembled for an imminent disaster. Peter I's son, familiarly known as Little King Perrin, was a sickly child. His mother's character was malignant and violent and she combined with that a total lack of all moral sense. She ruled the country with her husband's two brothers John of Antioch²⁹ and James who was the only one up to his task. While the royal council was deeply divided between rival factions the enmity of the Sultan of Egypt and the rival ambitions of the Genoese and the Venetians, who were dissatisfied with their privileges, though they were in fact already excessive, plunged the Kingdom into the greatest dangers. The part that the Genoese played in these events was exactly what could be expected from a nation totally free from any scruples when it sees the chance of waging a profitable war. After many

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He went so far as to rape their wives and daughters. Being authorised by the *Assizes* to prescribe a husband for the widowed Mary of Gibelet he forced her to marry not a member of the nobility but a serf of the lowest degree; after which he condemned her and her brother to hard labour.

29

For a portrait of this prince see below, p. 352, figure 314.

hypocritical provocations they landed a force in 1373 under the pretext of restoring order in the Kingdom. What they did in reality was to put it to the sack. They exacted a crushing ransom as the price for their departure; but they still remained in possession of Famagusta. Finally they kidnapped James the Constable by a treacherous subterfuge and imprisoned him in Genoa in circumstances of the greatest indignity.

While this campaign was being waged and international law continuously violated the Hospitallers of Rhodes remained indifferent and inactive, partly because they were afraid, partly because they were pleased to see the ruin of a neighbouring state. The powers of Europe, not wishing to add to their own troubles, took up a criminally selfish position. Only the Pope had at first raised his voice in favour of Peter I's orphan son and the common interests of Christianity. But the diplomacy of Genoa, abetted by the blind hatred of the Queen Mother for her brothers-in-law, soon succeeded in changing the Pope's noble attitude. The cost to Christianity was the ruin of an advanced post which the infidels had never been able to breach and the loss of Cyprus's possessions in Asia Minor; for the Cypriots preferred, and quite rightly, to hand them over to the Moslems rather than let them fall into the hands of the Genoese.

In 1382 the unfortunate Peter II died without leaving any child from his marriage to Valentina Visconti, daughter of the Duke of Milan. Eleanor of Aragon had been, at last but too late, sent into exile. She had assassinated the Prince of Antioch; in consequence James the Constable, still a prisoner in Genoa, was the sole heir to the throne. His liberation cost him disastrous concessions but he re-organised his kingdom and erected fortresses, not so much against the Saracens as against the Christians, and died in 1398. His son Janus derived his name from Genoa where he had been born, in prison. He married Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the Count of La Marche.³⁰ The Kingdom was just becoming prosperous once more, in spite of its struggles against the Genoese, when in 1426, probably under Genoese incitement, the Egyptians invaded Cyprus, cut to pieces Janus's army at Khirokitia and took him prisoner. From then onwards the Kingdom of Cyprus was a tributary vassal to the Sultan of Egypt. Janus died in 1432. His son John II³¹ was one of those incompetent kings who only earn the indulgence of history if they suffer tragic misfortunes; his were all ridiculous ones. He was dominated in turn by Marietta of Patras, his mistress, by his wives Medea of Montferrat and Helena Paleologina, and finally by his bastard son James. He gave his sister Agnes in marriage to Louis of Savoy and the report of the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy bears elegant witness to the poverty and wretchedness of the court of Cyprus.³² In 1448 John lost the strongpoint of Gorhigos, the last Christian fortress on the mainland. His only legitimate child, Charlotte, had married John of Portugal who gave promise that in him Cyprus would have a king capable

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For portraits of James and Charlotte of Bourbon see below, p. 331, figure 295.

31

An illustration in the German MS. No. 141 in the Stuttgart Library has preserved for us a portrait of John II. His features express very well the feebleness of his character. This portrait, together with the other royal portraits in the MS., has been published by Vallet de Viriville in vol. XV of the *Annales archéologiques*, p. 103.

32

See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III.

of obliterating the memory of the shameful reign of John II. He was poisoned by the Queen's favourites and Charlotte was remarried to her first cousin Louis of Savoy, a prince endowed with neither energy nor intelligence. In 1458 she became Queen; in 1464 she was dethroned and exiled by her brother James the Bastard in alliance with the Sultan of Egypt.

James II, the Bastard, was a real Lusignan. Like Peter I, he personified all the virtues and all the defects of his race. Strict to exact vengeance from everyone who opposed him he nevertheless re-organised the Kingdom he had usurped, drove out the Genoese from Famagusta and then, unfortunately, found himself at a loss where to turn for money and allies. Influenced at the same time by political considerations and also by the beauty of the betrothed whom Venice had offered him, he married Catherine Cornaro,³³ god-daughter and adoptive daughter of the Senate. Venice was a powerful but also an overpowering ally; moreover having cast itself in the role of mother-in-law it quickly showed that this was no fiction. Relations were becoming very strained in 1473 when the son-in-law died suddenly, and in a manner of which no adequate explanation was ever given. Suspicions deepened when, first, his posthumous son James III died at one year old, and, shortly afterwards, his illegitimate sons were deported, deprived of their property and eventually, in all probability, poisoned.

Ever since Catherine's accession Cyprus had been a Venetian protectorate. She struggled in vain for thirteen years against their encroachment until in 1489 she brought herself to the point of deciding to abdicate and to surrender to the Venetian Republic a titular sovereignty which was by that time purely honorific and scarcely honoured. Charlotte of Savoy found no ally to maintain her rights. The people of Cyprus reacted strongly against the dispossession of a dynasty to which they had become strongly attached in gratitude for benefits received over more than three centuries. But Venice was able to crush popular discontent by exemplary severities and succeeded,³⁴ at the cost of praiseworthy sacrifices, in putting the island in a state of defence and bringing back a last gleam of prosperity. Admittedly the measures taken are open to criticism: the dismantlement of the old fortresses, the mistakes made in the planning of the defences of Nicosia, the systematic disarming of the native Cypriots and the selfishness of the central government were the principal faults, dearly paid for in 1570-1571 by the loss of Cyprus. Apart from the heroism of the defence, for which much must be forgiven to the Venetians, two lamentable and dishonourable circumstances characterised the conquest. In the first place the Greek Cypriots and their clergy, who had for so long been oppressed by the Latins, betrayed their masters in favour of the infidel stranger who before long would impose on them a yoke which was a thousand times heavier than that of their predecessors. In the second place the peoples of Europe showed

33

There is a portrait of Catherine Cornaro in a picture by Gentile Bellini, 'The Miracle of the True Cross', Venice, Academia, No. 568. (See G. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *La peinture en Europe, Venise*, p. 13), and one by Titian in the Uffizi, Florence.

34

See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, pp. 394, 408, 410, 412, 431, 435, 484.

a total indifference to the common cause of all Christianity by allowing Cyprus to be overwhelmed; this cowardice also was to be dearly paid for, nor did the victory of Lepanto wash away the stain, since Cyprus remained in Turkish hands. But it is pointless to dwell on these sad facts; we learn from history that we never learn from history.

What happened to Cyprus we know only too well, what happened to the Lusignan family will perhaps never be known. In 1580, ten years after the fall of Cyprus, Father Stephen Lusignan, of the Order of St. Dominic, composed a history of his glorious and well-loved country in an attempt to stir up some generous sentiments in her favour in the heart of the Christian princes whose courts he successively visited. His efforts were met with nothing but pious homilies in which he was reproached for not retiring to some monastery; his reply is not without pride: 'I wish that these self-important people who are brave only in words would effectually undertake to rescue, and to bring out of Cyprus to some Christian country, my sister Isabel and her husband and son who live in the village of Silicon where they have nothing to eat but barley bread and live in great fear that the Turks may turn their son into a Janissary or a Moslem. Let them at the same time rescue from Cyprus, from Famagusta, Lucy, the daughter of my sister Lusignan with her husband and her son or let them ransom Laura, the other daughter of this sister of mine who is a slave in Cilicia; let them ransom Philip Palaeologus and his sister who are captives in Constantinople; and then I promise these grumbling princes that I will effectively follow their advice.'³⁵

Recalling the disasters of Cyprus he adds: 'My father was killed there and so were my brothers and sisters, nephews and relations; and many more of my friends in religion are captive. And what grieves me more than all is that this misfortune has come upon us by reason of the idleness and neglect or envy of the Christians.'³⁶

The Christian nations were indeed deeply moved but not in a way that would stir them to action. People who liked to read sentimental tragedies or accounts of chivalrous daring in the safety of their rooms bought many copies of the work of Calepio and Martinengo and of the engraving of the siege of Famagusta; de Thou paid homage to the heroism of the defenders of Cyprus,³⁷ and Brantôme singled out for mention the heroic action of a noble lady of Cyprus and the story of how another was fortunate in finding a merciful release. This was, unhappily, a single individual case: a young girl of eighteen years old, 'beautiful as the day' and 'of a good family' was put up for sale in the bazaar of Constantinople and was being subjected, under the eyes of the crowd, to a most distasteful examination, when the Bishop of Dax, the French Ambassador, saw her as he was passing and bought her.³⁸ The other heroine was the one who blew up off Famagusta the great galleon of Mustafa Pasha loaded with the most beautiful female slaves and the treasures of Nicosia.³⁹ So Cyprus became fashionable by reason of its

35

Descr. de Cypre,
Avertissement au lecteur,
fol. 291 v^o.

36

ib., preface.

37

Histoire, 1, XLIX.

38

She was not sold by auction but at a reduced price, the brutalities to which she had been subjected having reduced her market value. Many thousands of others were not so lucky as this unfortunate woman; Brantôme does not record her name nor what happened to her in the end. See Brantôme, ed. Laigne, vol. V, p. 67 (*Vie de M. de Vielleville*). He also contributed to the ransom of Calepio, cf. Lusignan, fol. 268 v^o.

39

ib., vol. IV, pp. 152-3 and X, p. 138. In this second passage Brantôme is ironic rather than generous. Gibellino's engraving shows the blowing up of Mustafa's flagship; Martinengo, who was an eyewitness, relates the story in his *La Prinse de Famagoste*. Lusignan, fol. 267.

misfortunes and Shakespeare raised to the height of tragedy the trivial anecdote of Othello. But its history was soon forgotten, and as for the lessons which it offered, Stephen Lusignan must have been the only one to ponder on them.

The proof of this rapid oblivion appears in the account of his voyage by the Sire de Villamont in 1590. When his curiosity moved him to stop in Cyprus he was immensely surprised to learn from a Greek priest that the island had been French and to discover what memories the Lusignans had left there in their monuments and in the hearts of the people.

5

MODERN EXPLORATIONS
PRESENT SITUATION

Very much later, in 1846, another Frenchman, but one who was in contrast very well informed about the past of Cyprus, Count L. de Mas Latrie, was anxious to visit the island whose history he intended to write. The number and the beauty of the reminders of France exceeded his expectation. He was fully aware of their importance but he recorded rather than described the Lusignan monuments. His *Histoire*, and his historical map of Cyprus, make up a work which would have been more than adequate to honour the entire career of any scholar. To explore Cyprus was in any event doubly praiseworthy at the time when it was under Turkish domination; the Marquis de Vogûé and Baron Rey also faced numerous difficulties when, in about 1860, they studied the monuments of Cyprus. The former had dealt with them in an excellent page of his *Eglises de la Terre-Sainte*; the latter sketched and described the castles of St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kolossi and the tower of Kiti. At about the same time Monsieur Gaudry carried out a thorough and very interesting geological survey.

Since 1878 things have very much changed. The British Administration has introduced order and justice and Cyprus is now accessible to travellers. For my part I consider it my bounden duty to add that I have received the most courteous welcome from British officials and very effective assistance in my work.

Medieval archaeology in Cyprus scarcely took advantage of these facilities. The explorations of British scholars were limited to antiquity, except for Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, who was only concerned with tombstones. Other travellers have restricted themselves to generalities. History and archaeology only occupy quite a secondary place in the very interesting books by His Imperial Highness Archduke Salvator, Mrs. Lewes, Mr. Mallock and Monsieur E. Deschamps.

There are not many visitors to Cyprus in these days. Trade is on such a small scale that it is badly served by shipping companies. Its reputation

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I suggest the following programme for the tour. If one disembarks at Larnaca in the morning one can see St. Lazarus and proceed to Nicosia either on horseback or by the diligence, arriving the evening of the same day. One day will be sufficient for seeing Nicosia, and another to go on to Kyrenia on horseback and to look at the town. Starting from Kyrenia one can spend a day visiting St. Hilarion and another at Bellapais; then, returning to Nicosia, one can reach Famagusta in a long day. The next day can be spent in sight-seeing in Famagusta and the next in returning to Larnaca. This makes nine days; on the morning of the tenth day the next steamer arrives at Larnaca. This tour is all on horseback but if it is possible to obtain one of the carriages which are available in Nicosia and Larnaca this can be used everywhere except for going to Bellapais and St. Hilarion. The experienced traveller will have no difficulty in finding food and lodging except at Kyrenia. From Larnaca it is just as easy to go to Limassol by sea and from Limassol, where there are adequate facilities, one can see Kolossi in a day and in two to four days make an expedition to the summits of Troodos, or Mount Olympus.

41

The finest of the Byzantine churches in Cyprus are at: Akhiropiitos (two churches; one, the older and more

beautiful, now abandoned, with marble columns bearing a cross carved on the shaft);

Aphendrika (well constructed church with two aisles); Absinthiotissa (trilobed in plan, large narthex); Antiphonitis (church of the Archangel, dome on round pillars, fine mural paintings);

St. Barnabas (two large domes); Kyrenia (attractive chapel in the castle, dome on four marble columns, handsome floor; large marble capital near the parish church); Kiti (large church, fine mosaic in apse); Ayios Chrysostomos (church half in ruins, half rebuilt, curious paintings); Yeroskipos (three

aisles, transepts, five domes on drums); Famagusta

(former Greek cathedral adjoining a Gothic church);

St. Hilarion (church and chapel with an oratory between them which still has traces of a painted Annunciation); Larnaca (large church of St. Lazarus);

Lythrangomi (Panayia Kanakaria, restored Romanesque church with three domes, fine mosaic in apse);

Paphos (three churches);

Pelendria (principal church, with dome under a roof, fine paintings; in neighbouring village very old church almost entirely rebuilt); Ayios Philon

(elegant and beautiful ruined church on a cliff near Rizokarpaso); Pissouri; Panayia Melissa, in a ruined village on the north coast of the

Karpas; Rizokarpaso (large handsome church of Ayios Synesios, half rebuilt); Ayios Sergios (large church); Stavrovouni (trilobed in plan, three aisles, two central domes); Yialousa (exterior decorated with arcades, second dome on the narthex; second

for unhealthiness is well established and unfortunately thoroughly justified. The only two points where ships do call contain nothing either beautiful or noteworthy. The time spent in port is too short and the communications too inadequate to allow a visit to Nicosia, Famagusta or Bellapais unless the traveller decides to stop until the next steamer, in other words devote to Cyprus one or two weeks, which he is bound to find thoroughly uncomfortable. To explore the whole of Cyprus requires several months and much effort. It will never be an easy trip. On the other hand it is possible now, with reasonable convenience, to see all the principal monuments in ten days or so, that is to say between two steamers; it is a tour that will become classical on the day when the monuments of Cyprus receive the attention they deserve and when a travel agency has taken the necessary and very simple steps to provide transport, lodging and food for the tourists.⁴⁰

6

THE AUTHOR'S MISSION

I can claim to have made a thorough and complete exploration of Cyprus. I am quite sure I cannot be accused of having left out a single Gothic monument of any importance, unless of course the chance of excavation should turn up something in Limassol, Paphos or in the old suburbs of Nicosia. Even then I would not expect that there would be any fragment whose study could have made any difference to the conclusions of my work.

There are however two categories of medieval monuments which I have not had the time to study: the Byzantine churches,⁴¹ many of which could have had some influence on western art at the time of the pilgrimages, and the mosaics and frescoes. These latter might be used to draw some very interesting conclusions for the general history of art, especially the contact, dating from the fourteenth century, between Byzantine art and the art of Giotto; it might be possible to determine on the basis of evidence from Cyprus better than from anywhere else what one borrowed from the other and at what period they began to make contact. Cyprus is extremely rich in medieval frescoes but bad weather, neglect and vandalism take their toll every day. Others, no doubt the most beautiful, are hidden under whitewash in the cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta and other important buildings.

It is noticeable that in the countryside in Cyprus Gothic buildings are much fewer than in the towns; this would be readily apparent to anyone who decided to repeat my explorations of rural Cyprus. The fact is that the nobles and the merchants lived and built in the urban centres, leaving the country to the native peasantry. There is a very striking contrast between the beautiful Gothic edifices of Famagusta and Nicosia

and the miserable Byzantine erections in the various villages; and in the regions at a greater distance from the towns such as Troodos, Chrysokhou or the Karpas peninsula it is possible to travel for a week without finding a genuine Gothic building. I may say that it took me a lot of time and a great deal of trouble to make sure that such a negative judgment was justified.

In spite of these gaps the material was so abundant that I have deliberately omitted the monuments which either have been or are about to be the subjects of good descriptions. I have not duplicated what Baron Rey has done for the plans of St. Hilarion and Buffavento, nor the work of de Rozières and Schlumberger on the numismatics of the Kingdom of Cyprus. Since Count de Mas Latrie has published some reproductions of tombstones and Major Chamberlayne has begun to make a complete collection of them, which is to be followed by a heraldic register of Cyprus, I have not devoted much study to coats of arms and have only dealt in general terms with tombs, apart from one or two hitherto unpublished. I have also taken care to avoid duplicating the drawings of Gothic architecture which have already been published by Edward I'Anson and Sydney Vacher.

The mission whose results are published in this book was carried out in February, March, April, May and June of 1896 under the auspices and at the expense of the Ministry of Public Instruction. I trust that I have been worthy of this high patronage, but I should be guilty of great ingratitude if I did not thank here those who have given me most help. In the Ministry itself Monsieur X. Charmes, the then director, who was kind enough to authorise both my mission and the present publication, and Monsieur R. de Saint Arroman; at the *Commission des Missions* Dr. Hamy who has given me most valuable and thoroughgoing assistance, Monsieur G. Perrot and my much-loved master Count de Lasteyrie, the late Monsieur Scheffer, Monsieur Babelon, Count A. de Barthélémy, Monsieur Roujon, Director of the *Beaux-Arts*, Monsieur Paul Dubois, Director of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, and my superior Monsieur Eugène Müntz thanks to whose good offices I obtained the necessary leave to accomplish my mission. I am also under great obligations for their valuable help and their useful advice to the Marquis de Vogiié, to Baron Rey, the late Count de Mas Latrie, Monsieur Homolle, Director of the *Ecole d'Athènes*, and Monsieur Maspero, and to those who on my arrival provided for me all the facilities to organise and to carry to completion this exploratory mission: Monsieur Boysset, French Consul in Cyprus, the Peristiani brothers, consular agents at Limassol, His Excellency the High Commissioner, the District Commissioners and other British officials⁴² and Dr. Murray, Director of the British Museum whom I had the good fortune to meet in Cyprus. I owe special thanks to Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, who most cordially put at my disposal his services as an official, his personal connections and his erudition. Another

aisle to south, half Gothic, built in 1794). Lesser Byzantine churches are at: Alaminos (enlarged); Ayios Andronikos (two churches); Buffavento (ruin at foot of mountain); Khirokitia (Panayia tou Kampou); Dhali (two small churches); Dherinia (two churches); Komi (three churches); Leonarisso; Pyrga (fifteenth-century paintings); Pyroi, Trimithi; Ayios Georghios, between Antiphonitis and Akanthou. Notable specimens of wall-painting are to be found in St. John of Bibi in Nicosia, a series of paintings too frequently repainted, in a ruined village church near Eleousa, in the churches of Famagusta and elsewhere.

42

H.E. Mr. Sendall; Mr. King, Mr. Glossop, Mr. Travers, Mr. Cobham and Mr. Mitchell, District Commissioners of Nicosia, Kyrenia, Famagusta, Larnaca and Limassol respectively; Captain Young, Chief Secretary and Captain Fielden, ADC to H.E. the High Commissioner; the Commanders of Military Police, Mr. Ongley of Famagusta and Mr. Mavrocordato at Paphos; and among other British officials Mr. Mavrocordato in Nicosia and Drs. Heidenstamm and Williamson. Finally, I should feel very guilty if I forgot to mention all those who gave me material assistance in organising my expedition. I received most valuable and unselfish help from Monsieur Tano, a professional antiquarian whose wide knowledge of the subject is familiar to the directors of all our great museums, and also from Monsieur Célestan Béraud, the agent of the *Messageries Maritimes*. I was fortunate in obtaining the

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services as dragoman of Mr. Miltiades P. Antoniadès who remained always faithful and obliging among all the difficulties, risks, toils and privations frequently to be met with on our travels.

person to whom I have also been indebted for valuable help is the learned Mr. Cobham, author of the Bibliography of Cyprus.

Among the colleagues and friends who have helped me with their experienced advice and with their kind services I am finally happy to thank particularly Monsieur Omont, Monsieur Maurice Prou, Monsieur Georges Durand, Monsieur Emile Molinier, Monsieur Kohler and Monsieur Millet.

PART I

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

CHAPTER I

CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN ARCHITECTURE IN CYPRUS

1

ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE

Romanesque architecture had undoubtedly made its presence felt in Cyprus before the western invasion; that was in 1191, whereas Romanesque architecture had been brought from the coast of Syria, where it was already being practised in the twelfth century by the Romanesque architects who have left us in Beirut a beautiful church in the finest French style,¹ not to mention those noteworthy Romanesque churches in Palestine studied by the Marquis de Vogiié.²

One proof of the source from where the Romanesque style was imported into Cyprus can be derived from the situation of the buildings; its influence can only be traced in the Karpas Peninsula, that elongated promontory which stretches in the direction of the coast of Asia Minor and approaches it closely. Seeing that in the course of the twelfth century Cyprus was cut off from its cultural roots it is reasonable to accept that the inhabitants had no better means of obtaining church architects than to bring them from the neighbouring continent.³

The apse and the transept of the Byzantine church of Rizokarpaso, chief town of the Karpas, appear to derive from an architecture which is as much Romanesque as Byzantine, as shown by the billet moulding which frames the windows of the apse.

2

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

As soon as he took possession of Cyprus in 1192 Guy of Lusignan began making strenuous efforts to populate the island with western settlers.⁴ He took care also to provide himself there with artists capable of constructing and decorating castles, palaces and churches for him. Some

1

Now the Bazaar Mosque.

2

Les églises de la Terre Sainte (Didron, Paris, 1860).

3 (Ed. Note.) On the churches of the Karpas believed by Enlart to be Romanesque see further: G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), pp. 258-60; R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1916), pp. 167 and 414; G. Soteriou, *Ta Paleochristianika kai Vyzantina Mnimiatis Kyprou, Praktika tis Akademias Athinon*, 1931; A.H.S. Megaw, 'Three Vaulted Basilicas in Cyprus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 66, 1948, pp. 48-56 and ib. 'Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No 28, 1974, pp. 59-88; A. Papa-georghiou, *L'art byzantin de Chypre et l'art des Croisés, Report of the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia*, 1982, pp. 217-26.

isolated features of Nicosia Cathedral appear to belong to the French style of the second half of the twelfth century and are without doubt the earliest evidence of these first works.

From 1209^s until 1280 Gothic art produced some fine works in Cyprus: Kyrenia Castle, the east end of Nicosia Cathedral, the church at Bellapais, the Great Hall of St. Hilarion and part of the doorways of SS. Peter and Paul in Famagusta. All these buildings are in an excellent style, drawing their inspiration particularly from the north of France with some differences imposed by the climate and by the need for economy. Their construction also presents certain old-fashioned features, but the decoration, at least that done in the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century, does not fall behind its French models. From roughly the middle of the thirteenth century until about 1350, Gothic art in Cyprus draws its inspiration from models in Champagne, and to some extent in the south of France.

This second period produced works of great value without a single trace of archaism such as, from 1260 to about 1320, St. George of the Latins at Famagusta, the upper parts of the nave and the porch of St. Sophia at Nicosia and finally, Famagusta Cathedral which was begun in 1300, interrupted for only a few days in 1311 and finished before the middle of the fourteenth century. A small chapel in Famagusta also deserves mention as a work of the same class, and in the first ten years of the fourteenth century there was also built the pretty chapel of Our Lady of Tyre, strikingly original with its flattened proportions and wide windows. Under Hugh IV (1324-1339) there took place the construction of the cloisters and the adjoining buildings at Bellapais; St. Francis, the Carmelite church and the castle at Famagusta, St. Catherine and the Yeni Djami at Nicosia belong to the same period. The construction, the plans and the general proportions are in no way inferior to the examples quoted earlier though the details of the ornaments are no longer so beautiful. A third period began when, about 1360, these models inspired imitation. The influence of Champagne had by then disappeared, being gradually supplanted by that of the Midi. At Famagusta the beautiful churches of St. George of the Greeks, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Anne and the Nestorian church, the Franciscan church at Paphos, the church at Stazousa, the church of the Holy Cross at Tochni and St. Nicholas at Nicosia, represent the respectable beginnings of this period, one which is greatly inferior to its predecessor. Finally at the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century there is a fourth period which is very much inferior. In it there was a return to the structural designs and decorations of the Romanesque period while at the same time all sorts of fourteenth-century motifs remained in use and grew progressively more degenerate. The church at Morphou, which is Gothic in its stone-work and in its sculpture but Byzantine in its form and in its vaulting, is the first of this type to be completed and the best specimen of *the genre*.^s The church

There is general agreement among later writers that they are Byzantine nor Romanesque. Megaw, who in 1948 (*JHS*, vol. 66, pp. 48-56) thought that they were originally built in the sixth or seventh century and reconstructed with stone-vaulted roofs probably in the late tenth century, stated in 1974 (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 28, p. 76, note 80), 'the writer's initial preference for assigning these vaulted reconstructions to the tenth century was abandoned in the light of later discoveries'.

See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. I, p. 9.

i.e. the date of the laying of the foundation stone of the existing Nicosia Cathedral.

A little earlier the church of St. Nicholas in Nicosia, Gothic throughout, had been given a central lantern borne on pendentives and covered with a dome.

of St. Sozomenos is a smaller example of it and the church at Trimithi a poverty-stricken miniature version. A whole series of small churches in Famagusta belong to the same period. Before long, with the arrival of the Renaissance, there is another element to be added to these more or less clumsy mixtures of a Gothic art increasingly cosmopolitan in inspiration, degenerate Byzantine art and reminiscences of the Romanesque.

In the first Gothic period in Cyprus the proportions of the buildings are good but rather squat; the ornamentation is applied soberly but in a grand style. It seems likely that it had been the intention, in principle, to give Nicosia Cathedral a low pitched roof, and even a sort of triforium, but that idea was almost immediately given up in favour of a system of flat roofs as in some buildings in Spain, in particular Barcelona Cathedral. This avoidance of pitched roofs involves the absence of a triforium which gives to the churches that squat appearance which is sometimes reproduced in buildings with a single nave such as Our Lady of Tyre. The upper parts of St. Sophia are small in proportion to the lower parts as at Notre Dame in Rheims, Bourges Cathedral and Uzeste (Gironde). The following period shows the same relative proportions between the lower and the upper storeys of the towers of the façade of St. Nicholas at Famagusta; but this building can rank as a model of fine slender proportions. The same qualities can be found again to an eminent degree in Famagusta at St. George of the Latins and at Bellapais in the refectory, which provides a curious contrast with the crushing though quite imposing heaviness of the church. The elaborateness and the high finish of the ornamentation does not exclude a great purity of taste in its choice and discrimination in its distribution. There is one strange peculiarity: in the nave of St. Sophia at Nicosia as at St. Nicholas in Famagusta the exterior is much richer in sculpture than the interior and the upper parts are more ornate than the lower.

The third period is marked by great ponderousness and monotony, a less interesting and more parsimonious ornamentation and a simplified construction which pays little attention to elegance, but with all that goes a remarkable understanding of the proportions of the building as a whole, of the general effect and of the art of the mason if not of that of the architect.

The last period has little to its credit beyond the beauty of the masonry and the solidity of the construction. Architecture has relapsed into infancy, ornamentation is drab, the proportions have once more become squat but have ceased to be harmonious; their heaviness and clumsiness recall buildings erected in the fourteenth century in Greece and in the fifteenth century in Rhodes. As for Renaissance buildings in Cyprus only in a few were the builders able to bring back some elegance to their proportions.

The first Gothic vaults in Cyprus are rather old-fashioned; the ribs are wider than the main arches as in the transitional style; not only that, but

apsidal chapels with quarter-dome vaults persist in the transept of St. Sophia at Nicosia and barrel vaults in the transept at Bellapais; some of the ribbed vaults too are in a very backward style. Let it be recalled for example, that a series of transitional churches in northern France have vaulted apses whose ribs come to rest on the keystone of the transverse arch of the sanctuary. Examples are the churches of Marolles (Seine-et-Oise), of Nouvron-Vingré (Aisne) and of Quesmy (Oise), Berzy-le-Sec, Bruyères-sur-Fère, Chelles, Laffaux, Largny, Vauxrezis, Bonnes, Courmelles near Soissons, Pernant, Torcy and St. George at Boscherville near Rouen.

The same feature turns up about half a century or more later in the apse of St. Sophia in Nicosia. The apse of the lower part of the private chapel built against the north side of this great church is vaulted on a different plan, common towards the middle of the twelfth century in the north of France, in which the semi-circular structure is covered by a ribbed vault. This plan can be found in the north of France at Forest-l'Abbaye, the Templar church near Abbeville, at Glennes (Aisne), Crouttes, Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont and Vaumoise (Oise).

These two systems of vaulting were sometimes employed in the south as well as the north of France; the former can be seen at Thor (Vaucuse), at Chirac (Lozère) and at Saint-Caprais d'Agen,⁷ and the second in Poitou at Jazeneuil, and in the church at Lusignan itself, the cradle of the royal family of Cyprus. It is in consequence difficult to say what was the source from which the architect of St. Sophia derived the idea of this inelegant method of vaulting.

In the second period the vaults of the Gothic buildings are as perfect, as light, as solid and designed with as much self-confidence as in the finest architecture in France. One sees for example the very free use of *tas-de-charge* consisting of horizontal blocks in positions high above the ground, which undoubtedly made a great contribution to rendering these buildings resistant to earthquakes. There is also much use of earthenware for different functions. Some, with the opening set in the curves of the vault, are acoustic jars; they can be seen at the church of Stazousa and in the one in Famagusta next to the churches of the Carmelites and of the Armenians.⁸ At St. George of the Greeks large jars set in concrete above the springs of the vault have been used to lighten the filling above them to carry a flat roof. A similar artifice must have been employed in other churches which, not being ruined, do not allow the fact to be seen. The same technique is found in Perpignan Cathedral.

In the fourth and fifth periods, that is to say in the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth, the ribbed vaults became heavier and heavier. In about 1500, in the western part of the church of Akhiro-piitos, the vaulting has become as heavy as the very earliest ribbed vaults in France, in so-called transitional buildings. However it is almost entirely abandoned thereafter in favour of groined vaults, cupolas and, in

It can also be found in Italy, e.g. St. Anthony's in Padua, in Spain, e.g. at Veruela, in Portugal at Alcobaça and in Sweden at Warnhem. One could quite plausibly suggest that its origin is derived from the groined semi-domes found in Provençal Romanesque architecture e.g. St. Restitut, St. Quinin de Vaison, Monmajour etc.

8

On the use of these vases see Didron, *Acoustique monumentale, Annales archéologiques*, 1862, p. 294; and A. Vachez, *Des Echea ou vases acoustiques, Congrès archéologique de Montbrison*, 1886, p. 252; Otte, *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Archäologie*, vol. I, p. 45; L. Cloquet, *Vases acoustiques, Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1897, p. 518; de Backer, *Les poteries acoustiques du couvent des Récollets à Anvers* (Antwerp, 1897), and *Vases acoustiques à Vlotslavek* (Poland), by the Abbé A. Brykcsinski, *Rev. de l'art chrétien*, 1898, p. 130.

particular, barrel vaults. These three methods of vaulting come back gradually into favour from about 1360.

Nicosia Cathedral has still got apsidal chapels with quarter-domes, something which disappears in buildings of only a few years later; in around 1360, however, not only is there a reversion to this style of apsidal chapel, for instance at St. Nicholas in Nicosia and in the chapels added to the cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta but large apses too are vaulted on this system as at Stazousa, St. George of the Greeks, SS. Peter and Paul at Famagusta, Kiti, Tochni and many others.

The church of St. Anne at Famagusta, which has a handsome Gothic chevet, has reverted to a simple groined vault over the nave. The same method is employed, more systematically, in the churches of the Nestorians and the Armenians and in another church nearby. St. Nicholas at Nicosia has among its ribbed vaults one bay with a barrel vault and a cupola on pendentives. The church of Tochni has two barrel vaults on either side of a ribbed vault. The church of Our Lady of Tyre, which was begun with a ribbed vault, was completed on the barrel vault system.

There is the same evolution in domestic and military architecture. In the 13th century Kyrenia Castle has exclusively groined vaults or barrel vaults; in about 1310 Famagusta Castle has exclusively ribbed vaults; at a later date in the fourteenth century the abbey of Bellapais has a basement room with a barrel vault; the castles of Buffavento and Kantara have exclusively groined vaults and barrel vaults.

The groined vault is very often employed in Cyprus for oblong bays. The result in these cases is to have two pointed barrel vaults of equal proportions crossing, one of which is longer than the other and produces sections of barrel vault extending beyond the groins, as at the church of the Nestorians in Famagusta and in Kantara Castle.

The church at Bellapais has no flying buttresses-, the oldest flying buttresses in Cyprus are certainly those on the sides of the choir of St. Sophia at Nicosia where the crossing must originally have had no flying buttresses. They are made up of two superimposed arches supported by a buttress which between the two arches has been given the shape of a massive column. The upper arch abuts against the wall without any linking feature but springs from the capital of the column; the lower arch is joined to the base of the column by a projecting voussoir. One of the flying buttresses on the southern side, no doubt earlier, dies out into a single continuous inclined slope which joins the head of the pier at an angle; there is no pinnacle on the pier. The shape is like that of the flying buttresses on Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

The sculpture on these flying buttresses appears to be rather later than their construction which itself is later than the construction of the vaults. They represent the second stage in the development of the flying buttress. This architectural feature began in France by being hidden under the roofing and then it began to rise a little above the roofs of the

side aisles, as at Domont; it then raised itself higher as at Saint-Germain-des-Prés or it acquired two superimposed arches as at Mont-Notre-Dame near Soissons and on the apse at Gonesse, where the lower arch is still concealed by the roofs as was the original intention at Nicosia. Single arches applied their support more or less at the point where the thrust of the vault came; the double arch generally gave support both above and below that point but the effect of the two arches was co-ordinated by an intermediary stay or by a buttress with the result that the wall was firmly braced at a great height. The upper arch had also the advantage that it reached almost up to the eaves and it was then only necessary to construct a gutter on its extrados to make a channel which was very useful for carrying off rain water; this is the type of the earliest flying buttresses at St. Sophia. At the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth a solution was discovered which was at the same time simpler, more elegant and more scientific by applying the arch to the precise point of thrust and by constructing on top of it a lattice work carrying a conduit. By about 1200 the idea had already been conceived of putting pinnacles on the top of the abutment piers which would prevent the masonry courses from slipping, under the pressure of the flying buttress, while also producing an elegant silhouette. They were in use at St. Sophia from the thirteenth century, ending in a coping with a double slope. All these improvements are carried out in the second type of flying buttresses added to the nave shortly after 1312. Concrete water channels set on top of the extrados of the vaults of the nave lead the rain water into the gutters of the flying buttresses and slits constructed in the sides of the gutters serve as overflows in case the channels are overloaded. In 1311 the same model was used for the nave of St. Nicholas in Famagusta whose apse had no flying buttresses, as was no doubt the case at St. Sophia also. In Famagusta a final improvement has been added. The abutment piers are topped by taller pinnacles which take the form of miniature bell towers rather than of gabled roofs and the intrados of the flying buttress is adorned with a moulding.

Progress, or perhaps I should say progression, stops there. Of the Gothic churches built later some will have only a single nave with massive buttresses, others will be very low and those which have flying buttresses will have reverted to less sophisticated types; in the second half of the fourteenth century the flying buttresses added to the apse of St. Sophia merely reproduce on a heavier scale those of the nave, and the lattice work is replaced by a solid wall. At Famagusta the flying buttresses of the churches of SS. Peter and Paul and St. George of the Greeks take a step further in the direction of simplicity: their abutment piers terminate in pinnacles with undecorated pitched roofs, their gutters are neither carried on lattices nor framed with drip-mouldings and the arches have no mouldings at all. After the fourteenth century the flying buttress is no longer used except as an expedient to prop up

buildings which had been damaged by earthquakes. Those that are used have become hideously ponderous and coarse, for example those at Avgasida, Melandryna, Stavrovouni, St. Sergius and those which were restored or added to the cathedral of Famagusta and the church of SS. Peter and Paul.

The buttresses have only very small set-backs, or none at all, from top to bottom. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century it is usual to have a moulding or colonnettes in the angles of the principal buttresses as in the porch of Nicosia Cathedral, at Stavro tou Missiri-cou and on the episcopal palace in the same city, the porch at Akhiropiitos, St. Mammas at Dhali, Ayia Napa, the abbey of Morphou and others.

In the second half of the fourteenth century it is quite usual to have no buttresses at all and make all the walls of a uniform thickness, as at Famagusta in the churches of St. George of the Greeks and SS. Peter and Paul.

Interior supports in Gothic buildings in Cyprus are almost exclusively cylindrical columns, usually of wide diameter. The only exceptions to this practice are St. Nicholas in Nicosia and the abandoned church near Prastio which had composite pillars, the palace at Famagusta which has octagonal pillars, the church of the Nestorians in the same city where the pillars are former walls pierced to allow side aisles to be added and finally two columns with octagonal shafts preserved in the prison at Nicosia.

The oldest columns, at St. Sophia in Nicosia and at Bellapais, have square capitals carved with crockets, those at Bellapais have abacuses with chamfered corners; not long afterwards there appeared in the nave of St. Sophia the plain octagonal capital and then, in the porch of St. Sophia and at St. George of the Latins in Famagusta, the sculptured octagonal capital which went on to be adopted in the monastic buildings at Bellapais. In about 1300, however, in the last bay and in the windows of the nave of St. Sophia, and also in Famagusta Cathedral, the circular abacus replaces the octagonal abacus. During the whole of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the majority of the capitals will be round and without sculpture.*

Window jambs are decorated with colonnettes; other colonnettes are arranged in groups of three to receive the springs of the vaulting ribs. There are never more than three to a group and they are engaged either to pilasters or to the walls, not to isolated supports. They are not arranged in a triangle but in a straight line. Colonnettes with shaft rings, common in France at the beginning of the Gothic period, are equally common in St. Sophia at Nicosia, where they continue to be used in the windows in a rather old-fashioned way until after the middle of the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century the springs of the vaults are often carried on an encorbelment formed by either very short colon-

(Ed. note.) Enlart is too sweeping here; there are notable examples of capitals carved with foliage at Bellapais, on the porch of Nicosia Cathedral and St. George of the Latins.

nettes or brackets; like the absence of carved decoration this represents an economy.

The French fourteenth-century practice of flattened ribs running down the shafts of Gothic columns or colonnettes begins to make its appearance in Cyprus from the beginning of that period on the upper windows of the nave of St. Sophia. In that instance the rib is not cut flat but before long cases can be found where it has changed into a wide flat plane; a profile in this style, though it is never exclusively employed, has continued uninterruptedly in use down to the present time.

Pillars and columns without capitals make their appearance in Burgundy,¹⁰ Sweden¹¹ and perhaps also in Languedoc¹² from the end of the thirteenth century though they remain very exceptional up to the fifteenth century, becoming thereafter very common. They are also known in Cyprus. The south aisle of St. Nicholas at Nicosia has fifteenth-century pilasters with no capitals and in the crypt of St. Andrew the arches and cross ribs of the vault are joined directly to the shaft of a round central column. In a building adjoining the cathedral at Famagusta the mouldings of the vaulting arches run right down to the ground.

The windows at Bellapais and in the older parts of St. Sophia at Nicosia do not yet have mullions. It seems that it was only in about 1280 that mullioned windows appeared, at St. George of the Latins in Famagusta and then in Nicosia at Our Lady of Tyre and in the upper part of the nave of St. Sophia. Some are narrow, with two lights, others very broad, with multiple lights. Their tracery is identical with French examples and they have mouldings on the arches; jambs and mullions are decorated with colonnettes.

Narrow window-openings with central mullions came to be adopted at St. Catherine in Nicosia but in Famagusta Cathedral a much later type of window makes its appearance, in a completely fourteenth-century style with bases but no capitals on the toruses or colonnettes of the jambs and with toruses without either bases or capitals on the two central mullions.

Windows with flamboyant tracery were used in domestic architecture; there is one, almost complete, in the royal palace at Nicosia and other examples used to be visible in two palaces close to St. Sophia. In ecclesiastical architecture, on the other hand, flamboyant tracery is hardly ever found except in the *oeils-de-boeuf* of St. Nicholas in Nicosia. Indeed after the middle of the fourteenth century the use of mullions and *rayonnant* tracery, examples of which are found in the cloisters at Bellapais, showing a still more developed style than in Nicosia Cathedral, was abandoned for church windows. This abandonment is bound up with the practice of systematic simplification and economy which Cypriot architecture adopted at that date. In almost all the churches built later than *c.* 1360 there is a reversion to the early Gothic lancet, without mullions or colonnettes or even, as a rule, mouldings. Four exceptions

¹⁰
The choir of St. Germain
at Auxerre.

¹¹
Uppsala Cathedral.

¹²
At least in the fourteenth
century; see the church
at Fleurance, near Auch.

must be noted: the windows in the west front of the churches of SS. Peter and Paul and of the Carmelites, both in Famagusta, though dating from the end of the fourteenth century, still have tracery in the style of the end of the thirteenth; then, in the fifteenth century, there is a chapel with a wide window which has been added to Famagusta Cathedral; and finally, at a very late date probably in the sixteenth century, there is the small Byzantine church of the Virgin of the Vines, between Limassol and Pelendria, with a window in the apse which has been claimed as Gothic and whose mullion, decorated with strange carvings, carries two small arches with a circle above them.

Rose-windows or circular windows were in use from the beginning of the thirteenth century. There is a large one at the north end of the transept in St. Sophia; unfortunately the tracery is missing. There is no rose-window in the west end of either St. Sophia or St. Nicholas in Famagusta; instead there is the usual large window which around the date of 1300 took the place of the rose-window at the west end of large churches. At Famagusta, as at St. Nicaise in Rheims or Tours Cathedral, the design of this great window takes the form of a rose-window in the *rayonnant* style as a gesture to tradition. In the second half of the fourteenth century rose-windows, or rather *oeils-de-boeuf*, in the west end come back into favour along with other old-fashioned features; they can be found at St. George of the Greeks and the Nestorian church in Famagusta and at St. Catherine in Nicosia.

Ogee arches are extremely rare. After the end of the fourteenth century and up to the sixteenth it was customary to put a finial on top of the hood-moulds of Gothic windows. Two windows, in the palace of the Greek archbishop and in the old royal palace at Nicosia, and a solitary hood-mould over a door in a ruined building also in Nicosia, have a drip-moulding shaped as a small ogee; there is an identical example at St. Mammas at Dhali and, finally, a freely designed ogival lintel over the main doorway of the church at Avgasida. These are the only examples, although from a date shortly after the beginning of the fourteenth century some of the window tracery in Famagusta Cathedral has a suggestion of the ogee and the window in the apse at Stazousa is surmounted by a ribbon moulding which rises in a scarcely perceptible ogee.

The evolution of doorways follows a parallel course to that of other architectural features. At Bellapais and in Nicosia Cathedral the thirteenth-century doorways have solid tympana and projecting jambs with colonnettes corresponding to the arches. At Famagusta Cathedral after 1311 the projections have been changed into grooved mouldings, the colonnettes into rounded fillets and the solid tympana pierced with open tracery. At about the same time St. Sophia and St. Nicholas in Nicosia have doorways with splayed jambs. At this point the evolutionary process has reached the same final stage as in France but there is a re-

13
Medieval and Other Buildings in the Island of Cyprus, Transactions of the R.I.B.A., May 1883.

14
 The same thing happened to the inscription about the hospital of St. Stephen at Famagusta, which also turned up among debris at Larnaca. The ruins of both Famagusta and Paphos provided much material for the new town at Larnaca and also for the construction of Port Said.

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 (Ed. note.) This tympanum is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and is described and illustrated by Paul Williamson in his *Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1983). It is of much finer quality than Enlart was able to judge from an unsatisfactory line drawing. Michael D. Willis in 'The Larnaca Tympanum', *Kypriakon Spoudon*, 1981, pp. 15-28, has attempted to relate it to developments in sculpture in Tuscany in the late twelfth century; he dates it to between 1210 and 1220 and postulates that the sculptor was a Tuscan working for Lusignan patrons.

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 Examples in France are: in the twelfth century the ambulatory at Domont (Seine-et-Oise); in the thirteenth, the

gression about 1400: the doorways all have solid tympana, the projecting jambs are sometimes decorated with mouldings but more often with colonnettes, especially in later constructions where the colonnettes are heavier than they ever were in the early Gothic period. Examples are, among others: in Nicosia the fifteenth-century doorway of St. Nicholas; in Famagusta, the church adjoining the church of the Carmelites and the small Mustafa Mosque and the doorway of the church at Vatili.

Solid tympana, whether dating from the thirteenth century (e.g. the north doorway at St. Sophia, and Bellapais) or from the fourteenth (e.g. St. Anne at Famagusta) are often left entirely plain or else with carving only on the lintel (e.g. St. Nicholas at Nicosia, St. Nicholas at Akrotiri, the refectory at Bellapais etc). Tympana decorated with arcades dating from about 1240-1250 can be found over the southern doorway of St. Sophia, from shortly after 1300 on the doorways at the west end, and from about the end of the fourteenth century at the churches of St. Catherine and St. Nicholas in Nicosia. There are also niches in the jambs of the doorways at the west end of St. Sophia and of the main doorway of St. Nicholas. At Famagusta Cathedral these niches are only found on the main doorway; their canopies and supporting brackets project strongly and on the northern doorway of St. George of the Latins there are aedicules similarly treated. We can be sure that in the case of the two latter doorways these niches were intended to contain statues; it seems likely that the same is true also of the south-west doorway of Nicosia Cathedral which has large brackets. Moreover there were statues and statuettes in low relief in some of the arcades of the tympana referred to above, as is shown by the fact that there has been some replastering of the surfaces and also by the two beautiful censer-bearing angels which have survived at the ends of the tympanum arcades above the main doorway of St. Sophia, the Turks having contented themselves with hammering away their faces. Elsewhere, for instance in the very shallow niches of the jambs of the north-western doorway of St. Sophia and the one at St. Nicholas, there is no trace of replastering to be seen and there is not enough depth to accommodate a statue. On the other hand there are brackets and in each of the end arcades two hands coming down from heaven holding a crown; it must therefore have been intended to have figures in those niches but they will have been painted, either directly on the marble or on a coat of plaster. The tympana with smoothed surfaces, or with empty arcades, were certainly decorated with painted figures of which some traces remain here and there.

A single example of a tympanum carved overall with figures was found in Cyprus, sold and shipped abroad by Cesnola (Fig. 1). It is only known to me through the poor drawing published by Edward I'Anson and Sydney Vacher in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*.¹³ (It is still not certain whether it is a tympanum or a retable-, its strange shape could lend itself to either attribution.) It was found at



Fig. 1
Thirteenth-century
tympanum, now in the
Victoria and Albert
Museum, London.

Larnaca, as were many different pieces of debris from the ruins of Famagusta or Paphos and must have been brought to Larnaca by sea from one or other of these towns.¹⁴ The upper part is semi-circular; the design is crude and the composition barbarous; without any doubt it dates from that period which begins at the end of the fourteenth century when all sorts of old-fashioned mannerisms were prevalent, combined with a deep-rooted decadence.¹⁵

Statuary and ornamental carving in the thirteenth century appear to have been well up to the standard of their French models. The vine, the main source of Cyprus's wealth, is a frequent motif but the oak, which is very rare there, is even more common. The flora peculiar to the island does not seem to have been copied except on the small, delicate and graceful capitals, dating from about the mid-fourteenth century, on the main doorway of Famagusta Cathedral.

In the fourteenth century ornamentation is very contorted. It is rather monotonous; there was only a small number of French sculptors and their pupils were content merely to copy them. They continued copying for several generations, so much so that in the monastery of Ayia Napa, built in the sixteenth century in a classic Renaissance style, the capitals are in a good fourteenth-century style. The same archaism can be found in some of the mouldings.

Besides being old-fashioned, sculpture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is heavy and incorrect. The same can be said for the carving of figures on tombs, almost all of them no later than the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is noteworthy that in the Gothic buildings of Cyprus, as in France, sculpture was often executed *in situ*.¹⁶ In Nicosia at St. Nicholas and at

partly blocked-out sculptures on the north side of St. Peter at Poitiers and at the church at Puisieux (Loiret) and other instances which I have collected in a note on *Les Sculptures exécutées après la pose* (*Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, 1895).

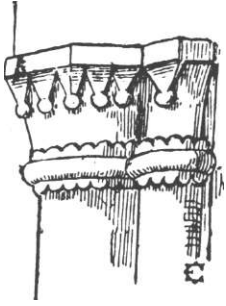


Fig. 2
St. George of the Latins,
Nicosia.

St. Catherine, and also in Morphou, one can see capitals which have remained simply blocked-out; the same is true of some of the sculptures on the west doorway of the church of St. Sozomenos.

A particular type of *cong * becomes a *clich * of Cypriot architecture in the late fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, repeated so often and so monotonously as to be intolerable. Similarly, torus mouldings which follow the outline of the angles of a building or a buttress and die out into small capitals or plain profiles or sometimes bunches of leaves, are attractive enough on the porch at St. Sophia in Nicosia or at SS. Peter and Paul in Famagusta; but in subsequent periods they become a real abuse, especially in domestic architecture. They die out at the extremities almost invariably in mouldings and running ornaments in a strange style looking like fringes of small balls or bells. The origin of this motif, a favourite in the decadent period of Cypriot architecture, is rather curious. The very flattened bases common in France at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth centuries have a protruding torus moulding on the plinth. A common device was to support the swell of this moulding on small consoles shaped either in cavetto form or as inverted pyramids, sometimes with a small knob at the point. This latter type, usually rather badly designed, was adopted in Cyprus and repeated *ad nauseam*, with an obsession hard to explain. In the fifteenth century this degenerate pattern provides a frequent motif for the capitals of the colonnettes so freely employed on exterior corners of buildings. There are examples at Stavro tou Missiricou and St. George of the Latins at Nicosia (Fig. 2) and at St. Nicholas in Nicosia it becomes a running pattern. Turn it the other way up and it becomes an equally common motif for *cong s*, taking the form of a small pyramid surmounted by a ball; there are examples of this at SS. Peter and Paul in Famagusta, Avgasida, Pelendria and Morphou.

Fluted plinths, as used in northern France from 1140 to about 1220 on doorways and, rather later, at Le Mans, below the columns of the cathedral choir, were imitated in Nicosia Cathedral on the two doorways on the north side. This motif too was popular over a long period; in the fourteenth century it was copied for a doorway at St. Nicholas in Nicosia and at Morphou for the tomb of St. Mammias. Invention did not stop there: the flutes were transformed into long, fluted ribbon-courses which were used as stylobates (e.g. St. Nicholas in Nicosia), cornices and friezes (e.g. St. Nicholas in Nicosia, and the building in the parvis of St. Nicholas at Famagusta).

A very common accessory in Cypriot architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is the flagstaff-holder.

In the upper parts of the walls of the ancient theatre at Orange and the amphitheatre at N mes there are still preserved stone rings to hold the masts to which were attached the canvases that shielded the circus or the theatre from the sun. This feature of Roman architecture was brought

back into favour by the Gothic architects of Cyprus and Rhodes; to hold the staffs of the banners flown over the mansions of the nobility,¹⁷ and on churches on feast days, they constructed at the summit of the walls, one course of masonry apart, a bracket with a recess in its upper part and above it a projecting block of stone pierced by a hole to form a retaining ring. Flagstaff-holders of this type can be seen in Rhodes in the Street of the Knights (*Strada Nobile*) on the façades of palaces of the fifteenth century. They can also be seen on fourteenth and fifteenth-century churches in Cyprus, for instance on the arcaded belfry of the royal chapel at Pyrga, on St. Mammas at Dhali and in Famagusta on all the bays of the churches of St. Anne, of the Nestorians and of the Carmelites, on the twin chapels supposedly belonging to the Hospitallers, on SS. Peter and Paul and elsewhere.

All the Latin buildings of Cyprus are in stone. The great majority are very well built. The fine free-stone used is a coarse-grained limestone of a fairly warm tint; at Nicosia Cathedral it is dull and gloomy but at Bellapais a beautiful yellow; at Famagusta, where it has a wonderful light golden tone, the colour of the cathedral stands out delightfully against the blue of the sea. White or grey marble was often used and is an excellent material for sculpture; these marbles were all imported and most of them were taken from ancient buildings, especially from Salamis. Roman column-bases were reworked in this way for thirteenth-century capitals at Famagusta, their ancient outlines still to be made out beneath the Gothic carving.

The masonry of Latin edifices was consistently careful even in times of the greatest decadence and makes a striking contrast with the work of Byzantine masons in Cyprus. Moreover there are never any instances of the errors caused by negligence or lack of understanding so prevalent in the masonry of Italian monuments. So far from that, the springers, the extrados, the *tas-de-charge* and the chamfers bear witness to the care and intelligence of the masons; lintels often have a relieving course dressed as voussoirs; in fact even today the art of the Cypriot masons, bastard and degenerate as it is, still preserves good French traditions which have unfortunately been long forgotten in France.

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Italian Renaissance buildings also occasionally have flagstaff-holders. Some very striking ones in the form of a dragon can be seen in Florence, the work of Giovanni Bologna.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN CYPRUS

1

THE INFLUENCE OF NORTHERN FRANCE

The French schools of Gothic architecture which have been influential in Cyprus are those of the Ile-de-France, Champagne and the school common to Languedoc and Provence. Spanish and Italian architecture has also had a certain influence.

1

This scheme can be found in the Romanesque period as well but only in a few churches in the central area e.g. St. Saturnin in the Puy de Dôme, Veauce in the Allier and Bois-Ste-Marie in the Brionnais. The same is true of the German school also e.g. Our Lady at Maas-tricht, St. Mary of the Capitol at Cologne and St. Quirinius at Neuss in the Romanesque period and in the thirteenth century the church of Pamele near Oudenarde. It may be of German origin; if so it would not be unprecedented in northern France. It can be seen also in the church of St. Peter at Doullens, which shows other signs of marked German influence.

The Ile-de-France school is the oldest and most important of the Gothic schools; its characteristic features indeed form the basis for every definition of the Gothic style. Its only direct influence is on Nicosia Cathedral. The founder, Archbishop Thierry, came from Paris where his brother was a sub-precentor at Notre Dame. This explains the similarities presented by the choir and the transept of the cathedral with certain buildings in Paris and its immediate surroundings. The choir of St. Sophia, the oldest example of Gothic architecture in Cyprus, is built on a very unusual plan (Fig. 32). The chevet has no chapels but at the points where the ambulatory begins there are, instead of a transept, two square chapels of the same height as the aisles. Each of them has a semi-circular absidiole and a staircase turret connecting with a flight of steps mounted on a flying buttress to give access to the vaulting of the nave, and perhaps also to an upper storey which might have been planned for the chapels.

This scheme of construction should be compared to those of the early Gothic churches built in or near Paris in the second half of the twelfth century. The chevet without chapels, found already in about 1120 at Monriental near Compiègne,¹ corresponds exactly with the original plan of Notre Dame at Paris and of the collegiate church at Mantes which is in many ways comparable and was built at the same time. In the immediate neighbourhood of Paris the same plan can be found at Domont and Deuil in about the middle of the twelfth century and, a little later, at Gonesse. Another example is at Conflans-Sainte-Honorine. At Domont

See the drawing of this doorway in my article *A propos des fouilles de Naplouse*, *Revue Biblique*, 1896.

almost immediately after the chevet was finished a single, square chapel was added at its east end. It is a plan found frequently in Champagne, for instance in the cathedrals at Sens, Langres and Auxerre and in buildings which derive from them.

Transepts lower than the nave are encountered in Romanesque architecture but this scheme only survives very rarely into the Gothic period. However there are some twelfth-century examples in the neighbourhood of Paris such as St. Martin at Étampes. The design of the chapels which take the place of the transept at Nicosia, with their absidioles, is very close to that of the two flanking chapels at the western ends of the ambulatory in the church at Poissy, which are built on the same lines; the chapels at Poissy could also be considered as a rudimentary transept except that they gently conform to the curve of the ambulatory, which is not the case at Nicosia. In the church at Domont the two arms of the transept are square; one, in its present state, is lower than the nave and seems originally to have had an upper storey intended as a treasury. Unfortunately the transept at Domont has suffered much damage and been extensively restored.

The church at Gonesse has, instead of a transept, sacristies or treasuries with two vaulted storeys, served by a spiral staircase on the south-west like those at Nicosia. To the north, one of the flying buttresses adjoining the sacristy has on its upper side a flight of steps giving access to the vaulted roof of the choir. There is a similar arrangement in the same place in Nicosia Cathedral.

The two oldest doorways of St. Sophia are those on the north side, one of them going back to the earliest years of the construction and the other slightly more recent. These doorways have colonnettes on fluted plinths. This is a very common form of ornamentation in the north of France from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century; examples from the twelfth century can be seen on the south doorway of Notre Dame at Etampes, on the main doorway of the collegiate church at Mantes, on the St. Anne doorway at Notre Dame in Paris, on the main doorway of Chartres Cathedral, at Notre Dame in Châlons and on the south doorways at Notre Dame in Le Mans. Further twelfth-century examples are, in Spain, at Zamora Cathedral, in the east at Nablus² and Gaza,³ in Italy at the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Barletta; from the thirteenth century there are examples at St. Andrew, also at Barletta, and at Rouen Cathedral.

This style of ornamentation, elaborated with varying degrees of imagination, was copied in Cyprus in some buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such as St. Nicholas at Nicosia and at Morphou. From about the same period Cypriot architecture took over and repeated to excess the motif of rosette diapers aligned in grooves. This is a motif characteristic of the twelfth century in the north of France which lingered into the thirteenth century in Normandy and Flanders; in the

3

The church at Gaza is the subject of an article by Monsieur Clermont-Ganneau in *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* (London, 1860), p. 384. It is illustrated with excellent plates by Monsieur Lecomte du Nouy, the architect.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Eleousa and the churches at Lapithos; in the seventeenth the mosque at Larnaca; in the eighteenth and nineteenth, houses and country churches in Larnaca, Nicosia and their environs.

Arcades of this type are very rare; examples are: the large arcades with flattened arches which frame the insides of the openings in the chevet in the churches of St. Andrew at Vercelli, Lombardy, (thirteenth century) and simorre, Gers (fourteenth century). The church of St. Martin at Ypres has also arcades with flattened arches in the aisles, but they are quite small.

Some time after the end of the eleventh century a ring of rectangular chapels was added to the chevet of the church at Nesles (Somme). In the twelfth century either one or three shallow rectangular chapels were built opening off the chevets of the churches at Berzy-le-Sec, Nouvion-le-Vineux, LeMont-Notre-Dame, Notre-Dame-des-Vignes at Soissons, Cuise-la-Motte, Vernouillet etc. However the design of the church at Bellapais probably does not derive from these northern examples since there is an exact parallel in the

former cathedral at Digne which has the same scheme as Bellapais for choir and transepts. This abbey church is, taken as a whole, inspired by the architecture of the Midi.

On the other hand another example of possible North French influence is the collegiate church of St. Walburga at Furnes (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries); it has flying buttresses with trefoil lattices identical to those on Nicosia and Famagusta Cathedrals and the triforium shows a succession of openings with corbelled lintels (see also the triforium of the church at Léau) whose unusual outline is repeated in the niches of the principal doorways of St. Sophia and St. Nicholas at Nicosia.

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The county of Champagne had many dependent fiefs, on which see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue des actes des comtes de Champagne*; N. de Wailly, *Jean sire dejoinville* (Didot, Paris, 1874); Longon, *Atlas historique de la France*, etc.

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On the Gothic buildings of Champagne see Taylor and Nodier, *Voyage pittoresque. Champagne*; Viollet-le-Duc, *Diet, d'architecture*; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Repertoire archéologique du département de l'Aube* (Paris, 1861); Arnaud, *Voyage archéologique e pittoresque dans le département de l'Aube* (Troyes, 1837); Fichot, *Sraris-tique monumentale de l'Aube* (Paris, 1884); Auffaivre and Fichot, *Les Monuments de Seine-et-Marne* (Melun, 1857); E. de Barthélémy, *Diocèse ancien de Châlons-sur-Marne. Histoire*

south of France it is found in the fourteenth century, as on the window of a secular building at Angoulême and in Italy in the cloisters of Fosanova; in Cyprus it makes its first appearance at the end of the thirteenth century, is extremely popular in the fifteenth century and has remained in constant use to the present day.⁴

The marble capitals of the northern doorway of the transept of St. Sophia are carved with vine scrolls ('pampres') which are closely similar to those on the voussiors of the main doorway of Notre Dame. The foliar motifs on the imposts of the old south doorway, which has been moved to the east, are strikingly reminiscent of the frieze which at Notre Dame runs below the Kings' Gallery.

A specially noteworthy feature at St. Sophia is the great depressed engaged arcade running along the lower part of the aisle walls. Arcades constructed on a very similar pattern, with an identical pattern of mouldings and crowned by a string-course projecting in a similar manner, can be found in the church at Domont, on the east side of both arms of the transept.⁵

There are arcades, presumably intended to house altars, in the same place in the transept of the abbey church at Bellapais. Niches of this kind are derived from the shallow, barrel-vaulted rectangular chapels, common in the north of France in the middle of the twelfth century⁶ — more common, admittedly, in apses than in transepts — and which survived into the thirteenth century at Villers-Saint-Paul.

In the abbey church at Bellapais the vaults of the nave are carried on bulky engaged columns with heavy capitals in the style of the early thirteenth century. They have cruciform abacuses to correspond better with the springers. Similar columns with similar capitals are used for the same function at Notre Dame in Étampes, and the same capitals at Pontpoint and at St. Peter in Montmartre (in the apse) both of which latter buildings date from the middle or the second half of the twelfth century.

2

THE INFLUENCE OF CHAMPAGNE

The school of Champagne is the least original of all the Gothic schools in France, owing everything to its powerful neighbours; but it covered a more extensive territory than most others,⁷ it produced a number of outstanding works at an early date⁸ and it had great influence outside its own area.

The influence of Champagne extends not only to Cyprus but to Greece as well.⁹ It is also found in Provence, Languedoc, north-west Spain and Germany. Proximity is sufficient explanation for Germany and for the rest of the sphere of influence there are historic reasons. In Spain they are that the ruling house of Champagne succeeded to the

throne of Navarre in 1234 and that large numbers of knights and soldiers from Champagne took part in the *Reconquista*. The county of Champagne also provided strong contingents to the crusades, which explains the influence of its school of art on the south of France, Cyprus and Greece.

In Cyprus it was particularly strong because at the very time when the Latin kingdom was sufficiently established to be able to think of building its destinies were presided over by a youthful, intelligent and enterprising queen, Alice of Champagne. She was the wife of King Hugh I of Lusignan (1205-1218) and daughter of Henry, Count of Champagne and King of Jerusalem. After her husband died she redoubled her activities as the stories about her romantic adventures and her political ambitions make abundantly clear. Even St. Louis needed all his wisdom to manage this strong-minded woman. Queen Alice never for a moment lost sight of her ancestral domains; on the death of her uncle Theobald III in 1201 she even laid claim to the inheritance¹⁰ and from 1219 to 1235 maintained her right against her cousin Theobald IV both in the field and through the law-courts. She returned from Cyprus to France, where as long as she lived she still retained both lands and lieges;¹¹ John of Brienne inherited these estates in 1257.¹²

It is significant that, apart from her possessions in Champagne itself, Alice held lands at Mantes,¹³ where the church is very similar to the cathedral she founded in Nicosia, and also at Sancerre,¹⁴ where the abbey church of St. Satur is, of all the buildings in France, the one that is most strongly reminiscent of the Gothic style adopted in Cyprus.

Besides Alice of Champagne herself there were at the court of Cyprus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many families who came from that region or from the area dominated by its school of architecture.¹⁵

The influence of Champagne manifests itself in Cyprus from the date of construction of the choir in Nicosia Cathedral and is found from the early thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century. The following are the signs by which it can be recognised.

It is well-known that a particular type of cornice, which very probably derives its origin from Burgundy and which certainly was widely adopted there,¹⁶ is also common in Champagne; this is the type in which the cornice slab is supported on modillions whose curved lateral faces join to form a series of semicircles.¹⁷ Examples in Champagne are in the churches at Thennelières, Saint-Lyé, Auzon, Gérosdot, Torvilliers, Villacerf and Courtaout in the Aube, Chaumont and Bourbonne-les-Bains in Haute-Marne, and Ecrouves near Toul.

In cornices of this type the modillions can be either concave or convex in profile. According to Viollet-le-Duc the latter form is the earlier but it remains in use at least until the fourteenth century. Outside Burgundy and Champagne this type of cornice is scarcely ever found except on buildings which have evidently been influenced by one or the other of these two regions, and in particular on those built by Cistercian

et monuments (Paris, 1861), 2 vols; Gaussen, *Portefeuille archéologique de la Champagne* (Bar-sur-Aube, 1861), (text by E. Le Boran and d'Arbois de Jubainville); E. Michel, *Monuments du Gâtinais* (Paris, 1879); C. Givélet, L. Demaison and H. Jadard, *Répertoire archéologique de l'arrondissement de Reims (Académie de Reims)-, Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Langres* (Langres, 1847-1885, 3 vols.); *Bulletin et journal de la Société d'archéologie lorraine*; Max Quantin, *Répertoire archéologique de l'Yonne* (Paris, 1868); Victor Petit, *Villes et campagnes de l'Yonne (arrond. d'Avallon)* (Auxerre, 1870); Abbé Brune, *L'architecture religieuse dans le Jura (Bulletin archéologique 1892)*; Bouchot, *La Franche-Comté* (Paris, 1890); *Congrès archéologiques: Sens, 1847; Troyes, 1853, Châlons-sur-Marne, 1855, 1875-, Reims, 1883-, Besançon, 1891*; L. Demaison, *Date de l'église Saint-Remy de Reims* (Rheims, 1883); *Note sur deux inscriptions de l'église Saint-Remy de Reims (Bulletin archéologique, 1884)*; *Les architectes de la cathédrale de Reims, ib., 1894*; *Documents inédits sur l'église Notre-Dame de l'Epine (Académie de Reims, 1895)*; Abbé Tourneur, *Description de Notre-Dame de Reims*, 6th ed. (Rheims, 1889); Abbé Cerf, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Reims, 1861*; L. Gonse, *La cathédrale de Reims (France artistique et monumentale)* (Paris, 1894); A. Gösset, *Histoire et monographie de la cathédrale de Reims* (Paris, 1894); A. Lebourg, *La démolition de l'église Saint-Nicaise de Reims (Académie de Reims, 1881-1882)*; Grignon, *Cath.*

architects.

It only occurs in Cyprus on the ambulatory and the transept of Nicosia Cathedral, i.e. the oldest parts. There the profile of the corbels is a quadrant (Fig. 3).

Burgundian churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and those belonging to the school of Champagne, have normally a circulating gallery running along the window-sills and passing through the pillars. In Burgundy this passage is usually covered with flat slabs and in Champagne by a series of very broad formerets, like short barrel vaults. The following are examples of this scheme: Auxerre Cathedral, Saint-Jean-de-Sens, Saint-Julien-du-Saut, Pont-sur-Yonne, Rheims Cathedral, Saint Père-sous-Vezelay, the cathedral and St. Gengoulf at Toul, St. Dié Cathedral (Fig. 4), the choir of the collegiate church at Epinal (Fig. 5) and St. Satur near Sancerre.

There is the same arrangement in the aisles of Nicosia Cathedral but here it has a special feature: in each bay the passages ascend and descend by flights of steps constructed on the upper parts of a large, depressed arcade, the part of the gallery which is level with the window-sills being much higher than the corbelled openings in the pillars — a picturesque scheme but a tiring walk. Stairways of a similar kind can be found in the choir at Saint-Père-sous-Vezelay and in the transept of St. Dié Cathedral (Fig. 4) though in those cases they are neither systematic nor repeated; there is only one flight of steps, in the first bay of the choir or the transept, adjoining a part of the building where the gallery is placed lower, which is much more sensible than in Nicosia. In cases in Champagne where aisled churches have only a simple chevet, as is quite common, there is often a circulating gallery running along halfway up the chevet between two storeys of windows corresponding to those of the nave and of the aisles. This gallery makes it possible to walk the whole way round the church above the level of the aisle vaulting. It is a scheme repeated with widely differing variations at Braine, Champeaux, La Chapelle-sur-Crécy, Cuis, Saint-Dié Cathedral, the collegiate church at Épinal, Essômes, Mezy, Moret, Mussy-sur-Seine and St. Urbain at Troyes.

The same plan was adopted for Famagusta Cathedral. As it does not have pitched roofs, and hence no triforium, there is very little space between the sills of the upper windows and the tops of the lower ones. In consequence the gallery takes the form of a simple balcony, running round on the outside to connect the flat roofs of the aisles. Its flooring slabs and parapet are supported on massive brackets like those of a machicolation.

The chevet at Famagusta Cathedral is very closely similar to the one at St. Urbain at Troyes. There is the same plan, the same type of piscina — rather an unusual one, in the form of a rectangular niche the back of which is decorated by an engaged trefoil filling supported on two arches and a central mullion — the same gables framing the upper windows, the

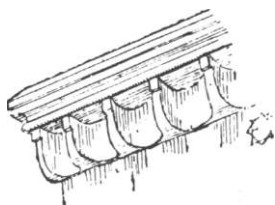


Fig. 3
Nicosia Cathedral.

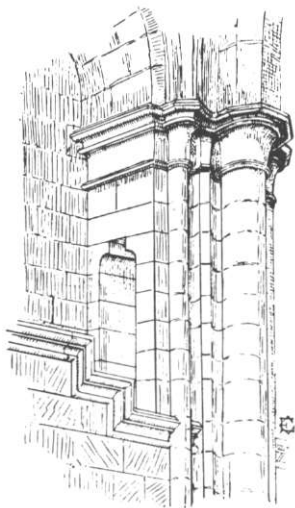


Fig. 4
St. Dié Cathedral, detail
of transept.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHAMPAGNE

same use of circular medallions to brace the gables, a balustrade of the same design running along the top of the walls, the same small pinnacles on the buttresses and the same doorways with tympana whose glazed openings are of an almost identical design.

The tympana and gable-ends of these doorways also evoke parallels with Rheims Cathedral. There are analogies to be drawn too between St. Sophia and the church at Montiérender; when it was proposed, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, to put a roof over the ambulatory at St. Sophia the architects provided, to carry the ridge-piece of the roof, a moulded slab supported on bulky consoles with a profile of two superimposed quadrants. The same scheme can be observed under the roofs of the galleries in the ambulatory at Montiérender. Similar consoles also support the gutters in the church at Mussy-sur-Seine. In Champagne many churches, and especially minor thirteenth-century churches, have a rectangular chevet pierced by three windows, for instance at Lorris and Puisieux, and this is the scheme adopted for the choir of the abbey church at Bellapais.

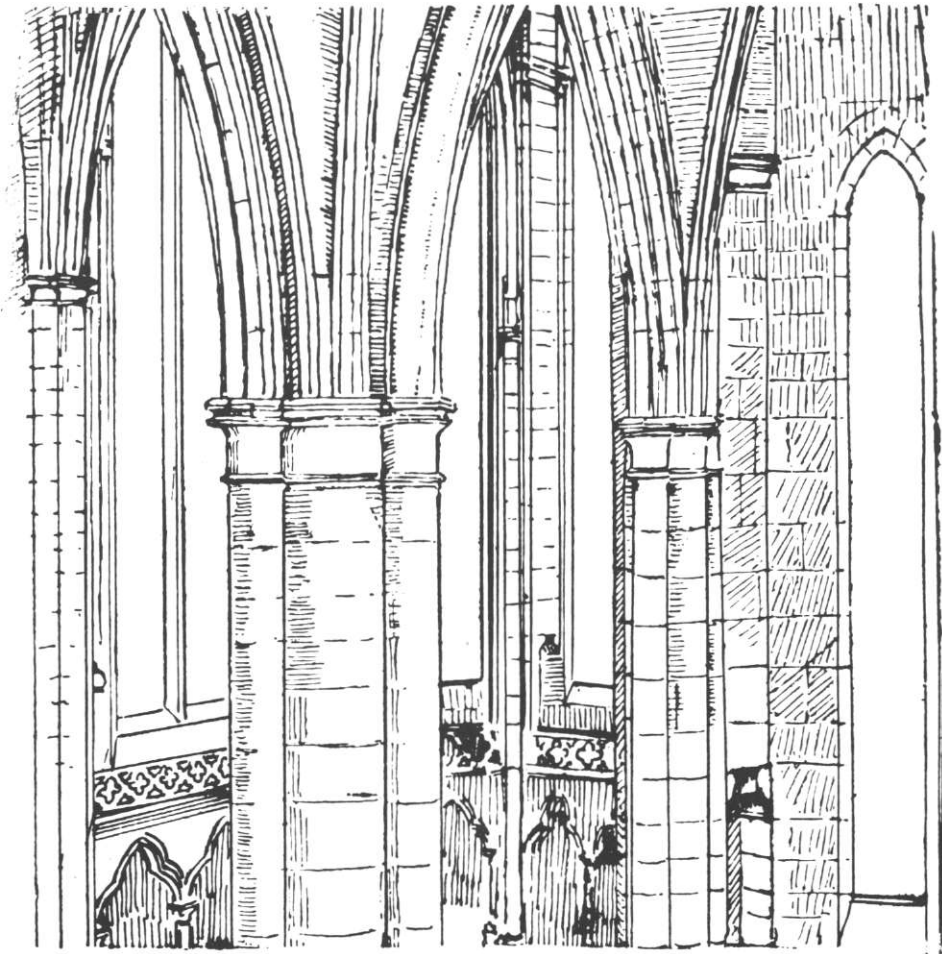


Fig. 5
Choir of the church at
Epinal.

de Châlons (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1885); Quicherat, *Registres de l'oeuvre de la cathédrale de Troyes, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), p. 192; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Documents relatifs à la construction de la cathédrale de Troyes* (Troyes, 1862); Babeau, *St. Urbain de Troyes, Annuaire de l'Aube*, 1891; Henry Brocart, *Les rues de Langres*, etc. (Langres, 1890); G. Save and C. Schüller, *L'église de Saint-Dié* (St. Dié, 1883); E. Héron de Villefosse, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Orbais*; Allou, *Notice sur la cathédrale de Meaux*, 2nd ed. (Meaux, 1871); E. Vaudin, *La cathédrale de Sens* (Paris, 1882); Guillaume, *La cathédrale de Toul* (Nancy, 1863); Givelet, *Monographie de Saint-Nicaise de Reims* (*Mem. de l'Académie de Reims*, 1898); E. Nesle, *Album pittoresque de l'arrondissement de Châtillon-sur-Seine* (Dijon, 1853); C. Fichot and A. Aufauvre, *Album pittoresque et monumental du département de l'Aube* (Troyes, 1852).

There are many instances that could be added of relations between Cyprus and Champagne. Bourquelot mentions commercial connections (*Foires de Champagne*, pt. I, p. 203) and examines in detail the romantic tale of Hervis in which a Princess of Cyprus marries the hero at the fair of Provins (ib. p. 116). Much later, in the second half of the fourteenth century, William of Machaut (on whom see Mas Latrie, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, 1876), the poet who wrote on Peter I, was a native of Champagne and a canon of

In the ambulatory at Montiérender the doorway of the staircase leading to the gallery has a tympanum decorated with a trilobed depressed arch similar to the one on the tympanum of one of the doors of the treasury which occupies the same position in the ambulatory of Nicosia Cathedral. At Montiérender the treasury is fourteenth-century; St. Sophia has a porch of the same period and in both of them one finds ogee arches with two linked torus mouldings, a profile very unusual at such a date. This same profile can also be found in the fourteenth century in the abbey church at Ambronay (Ain) which is within the sphere of influence of the school of Champagne; the pillars of one side of the nave are almost counterparts of those in Famagusta Cathedral.

The ambulatory at Montiérender has unusual arcades in the form of lintels supported by corbels with a cavetto profile.¹⁸ A similar singularity is found in the church of St. Martin at Ypres, which shows clear signs of the influence of Champagne. This design is also strongly reminiscent of that of the strange arcades in the monastery of Val-des-Choux (Haute-Marne) which themselves resemble a window in the Gothic keep at Castrogiovanni in Sicily. Castrogiovanni Castle was built by Frederick II and the military architect whom he employed in Sicily and in Apulia was Philip Chinard who came from the neighbourhood of Troyes and had spent his youth in Cyprus.¹⁹ Other examples of this unusual design can be found in St. Walburga in Furnes and the church at Léau.

The arches of the great west doorway at St. Sophia and those of the principal doorway of St. Nicholas in Nicosia are of the same design as those of the ambulatory at Montiérender. In Famagusta Cathedral the arches of the doorways and windows are decorated with foliar motifs identical with those on the south doorway at St. John the Baptist at Chaumont.

The remarkable gargoyles at St. Urbain at Troyes are undeniably close relations of those on the church of St. George of the Latins at Famagusta. In both cases there can be seen a nude woman and nude figures loosely draped; the artistic merit of both is on the same level and the resemblance striking.²⁰

The architects of the school of Champagne in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries almost always employed an arch more sharply pointed than the normal Gothic one; there are numerous examples of this among which I could cite Corribert, Dormans, Remiremont and St. Dié. This type of arch can be found also in Cyprus, in particular in one of the windows in the west end of SS. Peter and Paul in Famagusta.

A very special type of corbel which was probably invented in Burgundy, and which was certainly more popular there than anywhere else, was adopted in Champagne along with other Burgundian fashions and was also occasionally imitated in Provence. In this type the lower block takes the form of an inverted triangle whose apex blends into a

chamfer which dies out beneath the corbel.²¹

In Cyprus corbels of this pattern, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, can be seen at Bellapais Abbey on the door of the basement of the dorter, at St. Mammias in Dhali and in the ruins of the Augustinian monastery at Nicosia (Fig. 6).

An unattractive perversion of this design also occurs sometimes in the fifteenth century; in this the mouldings which should form an inverted triangle are arranged with the point uppermost. Examples of the corrupt form can be seen at St. Mammias in Dhali and in a small Famagustan church, between St. Anne and the Carmelite church.

A peculiarity which is common in the Champagne school of architecture is the bell-tower with four gable-ends. Having exported its Gothic style to Germany, Champagne received back in exchange this architectural feature which was in widespread use there from the Romanesque period onward; examples are the bell-tower of St. Gereon and the Holy Apostles in Cologne, the cathedrals of Bonn, Paderborn and Speyer, St. Paul at Worms, the abbey church at Laach, Our Lady at Halberstadt and the church at Andernach.

Examples in Champagne of the bell-tower with four gable-ends are, in Rheims the cathedral and St. Nicaise, Dormans, Voulton, Rampillon, Presles (fifteenth century), Mormant, La Chapelle-sur-Crécy (Seine-et-Marne) Vasseny (Aisne) and the original bell-tower of Notre Dame at Soissons.²² The church of St. Giles at Etampes also has a bell-tower of the same type.

The four gable-ends which crown each of the two towers of Famagusta Cathedral are remarkable examples of this style. The close resemblance between the west end at Famagusta and the cathedral and St. Nicaise at Rheims makes it plausible to attribute this feature to the influence of Champagne. As I shall demonstrate later, it is also possible that it was derived from buildings in Provence; possibly, however, Provence originally borrowed it from Champagne.²³

In Champagne many thirteenth-century churches have twin windows. This was a reminiscence of a scheme adopted in the Germanic Romanesque style to bring the fenestration into harmony with the twin arcades of the naves, as at Saint-Dié and elsewhere. In the Gothic period this scheme occurs at Notre Dame in Châlons, St. Christopher at Neufchâteau, the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Troyes and the apsidal chapels at Montiérender (where it is made necessary by the form of the sexpartite vaulting, as at Gonesse); at Le Breuil near Orbais only the first bay of the choir has a window of this type and this is true also of St. Sophia at Nicosia.

In Champagne the cusps in window tracery of the end of the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth sometimes end in fleurs-de-lis of a rather special kind. I illustrate in figure seven an example of the type, taken from the lateral doorways of the west end of St. Urbain in Troyes.

Rheims Cathedral. Peter I went to Rheims in 1364 to attend the coronation of Charles V. Among the knights who served with Peter I on his expeditions there were two from Champagne, John of Rheims and Walter of Conflans; they are referred to in Machaut's poem on the capture of Alexandria and appear to have given him copious information about the campaign. It is very natural that these political and literary connections should have had their influence on artistic relationships as well.

On this subject see my article *L'architecture gothique en Grèce, Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1897

10

See Joinville, ed. by N. de Wailly, pp. 49, 59, 60; Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, pp. 40-41; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue des actes des comtes de Champagne*.

11

Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 59, 60. The lands retained by Alice were at Wassy, Mantes and several other places in the counties of Champagne and Brie.

12

Arch. Nat. J. 433, No. 3, 1247, Nicosia. Henry I renounced his rights in Champagne and Brie to John of Brienne; Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, p. 69. In 1257 John of Brienne inherited the possessions of Alice of Champagne.

13

Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

The same pattern is to be found reproduced exactly at St. Catherine in Nicosia, St. Francis in Famagusta and Bellapais Abbey.

The use of thick columns, common in twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century churches, lasted longer in Champagne, as shown by the church of St. Eugène and Châlons-sur-Marne Cathedral. In Cyprus it is the general practice. The tall columns in Chalons Cathedral, with their octagonal capitals carved with flaccid foliage, not very decorative and with no claims to effectiveness, range or elegance, are strikingly similar to the columns and capitals in the church at Morphou.

Round capitals are abundantly common both in Champagne and in Cyprus. A special variety is the plain, uncarved capital. They are not rare in Champagne and are generally the rule in Lorraine and in the Gothic style which spread from Champagne and Lorraine into the adjacent regions of Germany.³⁴ Examples can be seen at Les Istres near Epernay (Fig. 8), on the bell-tower of La Chapelle near Orbais, at Luxeuil, at St. Christopher and at St. Nicholas at Neufchâteau (Fig. 9), at Montiérender in the north-east chapel, at Metz on the doorway of St. Ségolène, in the abbey church of St. Satur near Sancerre, in the choirs of St. Dié Cathedral (Fig. 4) and of the collegiate church of Epinal (Fig. 5) and at Remiremont; also in certain German churches such as St. Elizabeth at Marburg, St. James at Stralsund, St. Mary at Stargard and St. John at Stettin. In Cyprus there are examples in the nave of Nicosia Cathedral, in St. Francis at Paphos, in St. Nicholas, SS. Peter and Paul, St. George of the Greeks and St. Anthony at Famagusta and at St. Sozomenos.

As we shall see, this pattern could equally well have been borrowed from Provence as from Champagne. The church of St. Paul at Besançon has some very peculiar capitals dating from the fourteenth century. Most of them are divided into two bands,³⁵ decorated with strange, jagged foliage in low relief. One of them is carved with large cloverleaves counterposed. The same division into two registers and the peculiar motif of counterposed cloverleaves are found again at Famagusta on the thick abacuses of the consoles supporting the vaulting of a ruined church close to the church of SS. Peter and Paul.

The church at Ecrouves near Toul has small thirteenth-century brackets of a rather unusual design at the springs of the nave vaults. They are inverted pyramids, rectangular in plan, with a round pellet at the apex; on the angles are many-lobed leaves treated almost in low relief without either a bend or a crocket. Brackets identical in all respects are found supporting the springs of the vaults of the porch at Bellapais and also the hood-mould of a doorway in the Nestorian church at Famagusta.

The choir of the church at Dormans has very unusual groups of engaged columns which turn through a right angle beneath the capitals. This strange mode of encorbelment is well adapted to the line of thrust

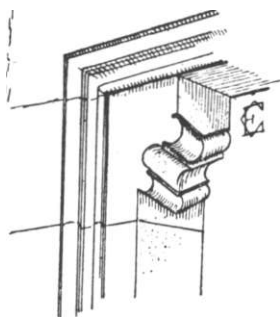


Fig. 6
The Augustinian
Monastery (Emerghié),
at Nicosia.



Fig. 7
St. Urbain, Troyes.

14
Arch. Nat. J. 433, No. 4.
St. Louis acquired the
contested fiefs of Blois,
Sancerre and Châteaudun
renounced by Alice of
Champagne and simultane-
ously surrendered to the
crown by Theobald.

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of the vaults. A much coarser example of the same peculiar architectural feature can be seen in Famagusta in a small church situated between the Carmelite church and the church of the Nestorians.²⁶

A Burgundian type of encorbelment, composed of grouped brackets,²⁷ was also in use in Champagne. It is found in Cyprus as well, in a church of the Hospitallers at Famagusta, on the porch at Akhiropiitos and in the church which is called the Stazousa, built apparently by the Cistercians. In the last case the model perhaps came from Burgundy rather than Champagne.

A special form of decoration can be observed on the inner side of the principal doorway of Rheims Cathedral. The three doors are framed by a large number of pointed, cusped blind arches containing small figures. Beneath each row there are very fine panels of foliage ornament as supports for the figurines. The ornamentation of the tympanum in Nicosia Cathedral shows a similar scheme.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOUTH OF FRANCE

There is an equally clear historical explanation for the influence of southern French art. The Mediterranean ports were the natural points of departure for Frenchmen sailing to Cyprus; the merchants of Marseilles and Montpellier had been granted important privileges there;²⁸ there was vigorous trade between Narbonne and Famagusta.²⁹ Not far from Cyprus and near the Armenian coast there was a *Portus Provensalium*.³⁰

Quite a number of persons of distinction in the Latin East, and especially in the Kingdom of Cyprus, derived their origin from noble families of Provence, for example the families of des Baux, de Pins, de Villaret, Alaman, de la Baume, Bérenger and de Saint-Gilles. In particular there came to Cyprus from the south of France highly-placed churchmen whose influence on religious architecture would naturally be considerable.

Beginning in the thirteenth century Auvergne, the northernmost part of the territory covered by the Gothic school of Languedoc, gave to Cyprus a famous archbishop, Eustorgius of Montaigu; his tenure of the archiepiscopal see was prosperous and distinguished by many valuable works and his family held high positions in Cyprus.³¹ He was elected in 1217 and died in 1251 while on campaign with the army commanded by St. Louis. By way of recompense the crusade of 1248 brought from the south of France another senior churchman who settled in the island without breaking his links with his country of origin. The church in which he had served in France is unquestionably one of the most remarkable examples of southern Gothic art. His name was Bernard of Écotay and he had been sacristan of the collegiate church of Our Lady at Mont-

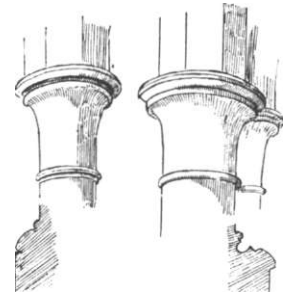


Fig. 8
Les Istres.

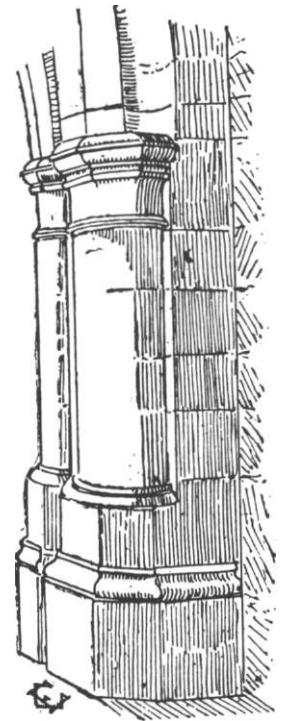


Fig. 9
Crypt of St. Nicholas
at Neufchâteau.

15

The families of Brienne, Montbéliard, who were related to the royal family, and the powerful families of Brie, Dampierre and Soissons. Philip Chinard, Frederick II's military engineer, and his half-brother Gawain of Chenevey (near Troyes), were Cypriot descendants of a family from Champagne as has been established by my colleagues and friends Emile Bertaux and Join-Lambert.

See E. Bertaux, *Castel del Monte et les architectes français (Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1897)*. Other nobles from Champagne made visits to Cyprus of varying lengths e.g. William II, Count of Joigny, who is recorded as having a town mansion in Paphos in 1248 (Joinville, ed. by N. de Wally, p. 342) and Edward I, Count of Bar, who died in Famagusta in 1336 (see Max-Werly, *De l'art et des artistes dans le Barrois, Réunion des sociétés des beaux arts des départements, 1896, p. 282*). Archbishop Gerard of Langres (1295 - 1312) was also from Champagne by origin having been Dean of the chapter of Langres at the time he was appointed to Cyprus.

16

On these cornices see Enlart, *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie (Bibliothèque des Ecoles d'Athènes et de Rome, 1894), p. 273*.

17

This cornice was sometimes copied in the south of France, as were other features of the architectural style of Champagne. It can be found in particular at Balbièges near Mende, Sé-

brison. He sailed in 1248 with Guy V, son of Guy IV, Count of Forez, in the suite of St. Louis. In 1250 he became dean of the chapter of Nicosia Cathedral.³² His seal, affixed to a letter with which Guy de Preycieu sent an important relic of the True Cross from Cyprus to the nuns of St. Thomas-la-Garde, is evidence of the good relations he then maintained with his fellow-countrymen.³³

In the fourteenth century it was almost invariably from the south of France that the curia at Avignon selected the archbishops and legates whom it sent to administer the archdiocese of Cyprus. When the need arose for works of art, from about 1330 onwards, it was nearly always from the south of France that the ecclesiastical establishment in Cyprus felt it necessary to procure the artists. My observations in Cyprus have completely confirmed what Monsieur Eugène Müntz has written about the artistic influence of the Avignon papacy.³⁴

Cardinal Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux was nominated Archbishop of Nicosia by Pope John XXII in 1332. He belonged to the Franciscan Order and at the time of his nomination he was probably, according to Monsieur de Mas Latrie, in the monastery of his Order in Avignon.³⁵ He came from a noble family of Périgord.³⁶ Several members of it were already settled in Cyprus and two of them occupied fairly important positions in the Church; Leger of Nabinaux was dean of the chapter of St. Sophia³⁷ and Itier of Nabinaux was a Franciscan brother.³⁸ Elias was elevated to the cardinalate by Clement VI in 1342 upon which he returned to Provence and administered his diocese from there. In 1344 he was replaced in the see of Nicosia by another Périgourdin, Philip of Chambarlhac, often called also Philip the Gascon. He came from the small town of Agonac, five miles from Périgueux. He was the uncle of Peter of Chambarlhac, Seneschal of Périgord, and was descended from a family whose name frequently appears on the list of benefactors of the abbey of Chancelade.³⁹ Before his appointment he had been Bishop of Sion, in the Valais, in 1338, and of Nice in 1342, chaplain to the Pope in Avignon from 1333 to 1338, a canon of St. Peter's in Rome, rector of the Patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany⁴⁰ and also archdeacon of Ghent, in the diocese of Tournai.⁴¹ Before he left he had a number of favours and special privileges conferred on him by Clement VI and in 1347 he obtained a bull according an indulgence of a hundred days on any of the faithful who would contribute to the completion or repair of St. Sophia.⁴² In 1348 he was still at the Papal court in Avignon but in 1350 he was certainly resident in his archdiocese and in the following years he is known to have been very active there. In 1357 he returned to Avignon and was engaged in organizing a new crusade. In 1360 he was nominated Archbishop of Bordeaux and it was while he was on the way to take possession of his new see that he died, in June 1361, at the abbey of St. Tibery, near Agde.

His successor, Raymond of la Pradèle, was also from Périgord. He had

a nephew called Gantonet of Abzac, a knight who had been in the service of Peter I and Peter II of Cyprus and returned to die in Périgord. Raymond himself owned a mansion in Avignon. In about 1370 he was succeeded by an Archbishop Palounger about whom almost nothing is known but who appears to have a good southern French name.⁴³

Superior to the archbishops, who were in any case often absentees, were the Papal Legates who during that period were almost permanently resident in Cyprus. It was from the south of France that the Papal court at Avignon selected these prelates.

Raymond of Pins,⁴⁴ from a Provençal family that also produced two Grand-Masters of the Hospital,⁴⁵ arrived in Cyprus in 1310. He had been sent to try to bring under control the political revolution which had taken place there. He negotiated a reconciliation between the exiled King Henry II and his brother Amalric, Prince of Tyre, who had usurped the throne. After Amalric's assassination he negotiated the return of the King, travelling several times to Armenia, and worked for the restoration of royal authority in Cyprus. Then in 1311, he died, perhaps of exhaustion, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans in Nicosia.

At the same time as this Legate Extraordinary there was resident in Nicosia, from 1308 to 1315, an ordinary legate, Peter of Pleine-Cassagne who had been Bishop of Rodez since 1301.⁴⁶ Appointed by the Holy See as legate in the East, he was more concerned with ecclesiastical administration than with political affairs. He lived in the Archbishop's Palace in Nicosia and played an active role in the religious and secular life of the Kingdom of Cyprus. The archbishop, Gerard of Langres, had abandoned his see in 1299 and was eventually deposed by the Pope. His successor, John de Polo, elected in 1312, did not arrive to take possession until 1319. Peter of Pleine-Cassagne had to divide his activities between his two dioceses of Nicosia and Rodez and gave equal attention to both. On his return to France in 1316 he preached in favour of the churches of the East but when he died in 1318 he chose to be buried in Rodez and left it his property. He assisted in the construction of Rodez Cathedral and obtained a bull of indulgences in favour of the works there; he also oversaw in person the building of a large part of Nicosia Cathedral and almost the whole of Famagusta Cathedral. The resemblances between these three cathedrals must be derived from the influence of this bishop; in their construction he clearly made use of the services if not of the same artists at least of artists educated in the same southern French school, either at Rodez or Avignon, in which two places he resided alternately.

In 1359 the Apostolic Legate in the Kingdom of Cyprus was Peter Thomas, a Carmelite born in Périgord. He chose to live in the Carmelite house in Famagusta where he died in 1369 and where his relics were venerated.⁴⁷ He was, with the Chancellor, Philip of Mézières, one of the closest advisers and an inseparable companion of King Peter I.⁴⁸

verac-le-Château, near Rodez (the tower), Chirac (deconsecrated parish church), Clermont-l'Hérault and Montpazier. In the last example the corbels are spaced out. Already in the twelfth century the Romanesque cloister of Vaison Cathedral has a cornice almost Burgundian in style.

18

This design is German in origin cf. in particular the exterior arcades on the Romanesque towers at Andernach in the Rhineland.

19

See E. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, and on Philip Chinard *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, pp. 68, 107, 108; Amadi, pp. 145, 173, 175; Bustron, pp. 80, 98.

20

For illustration of the St. Urbain gargoyles see P.F. Marcou, *Album du Musée de Sculpture Comparée* (Paris, 1898), 2nd series, plates 79 and 80.

21

See my *Origines de l'architecture gothique en Italie*, p. 273.

22

On this tower see Tavernier and Née, *Voyage pittoresque de la France*, plate XV.

23

There are a few towers with four gables in Italy e.g. Santa Maria Novella in Florence, no doubt inspired by a Germanic source, and also Palermo Cathedral. In Greece the tower of the Pantanassa at Mistra has the same pattern at the top, perhaps derived from the towers at Famagusta

It was Peter Thomas who made the Carmelites the most influential religious Order in Cyprus.⁴⁹ It is significant that it was mainly from the south of France, from which he himself came, that his Order drew its recruits; Languedoc or Spain, occasionally Italy but never any of the northern countries, were the usual places of origin of the Generals of the Carmelites, and the normal scenes of their General Assemblies.⁵⁰

In 1363 an event took place which possibly was of great importance for the course taken by the arts in the Kingdom of Cyprus. King Peter I, accompanied by the Legate and the Chancellor, visited Europe and stayed at the Papal court at Avignon and later at Rome.⁵¹ He came twice to Avignon. His first visit was on 29th March, 1363. 'About Candlemas,'⁵² says Froissart 'the King of Cyprus arrived in Avignon, whose coming mightily pleased the court; many of the cardinals went out to meet him and escorted him to the palace and into the presence of Pope Urban who received him courteously and graciously, as did the King of France who was there present. And when they had been there for a space and partaken of wine and sweetmeats the two kings took leave of the Pope and withdrew each one to his own mansion.'⁵³

Peter I presented Urban V with a silver lantern. The Pope gave it to the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles and presented the King, in return, with two gold rings and an *Agnus Dei*, for the making of which the goldsmith Johannes Vesati of Rodez was paid three gold florins.⁵⁴

On 10th June King Peter left Avignon. His departure was marked with a certain amount of ceremony and the Pope reimbursed to Anthony degli Abbati, Sergeant at Arms, forty-one florins which he had paid on behalf of the King of Cyprus and his suite at the bridge of Sorgues.⁵⁵

'Art historians,' says Monsieur Eugène Müntz,⁵⁶ to whose erudition and benevolence I owe my acquaintance with these documents, and to whom I must express my gratitude, 'have not up to now taken sufficiently into consideration the influence of the Italian painters resident at the Papal court. It was through them that the teachings of Giotto, the great innovator in painting, made their way not only into France but also into Germany and Flanders. The very fact that they were established in so active an international centre as Avignon, the constant resort of leading representatives of Catholic Europe, emperors, kings of France, kings of Spain, kings of Denmark and so on, ensured them a select clientele. Before going into details let me make the point that although Italy can lay claim to the majority of the painters and goldsmiths attached to the court of Avignon the architects and sculptors employed by the Popes were all French.'

We do indeed find that in the buildings erected in Cyprus under Peter of Pleine-Cassagne and Raymond of Pins, or during the reign of Peter I, southern French Gothic architecture is allied with Italian painting of the school of Giotto.

The influence of Avignon is to be observed also in domestic and mili-

24

This type of capital was sometimes exported from Champagne by Cistercian monks e.g. in the refectory and the cellars of the abbey at Noirlac (Cher) and the Collège des Bernardins in Paris.

25

It is a clumsy copy of the well-known type of two-tiered capital in the cathedrals of Rheims, Chartres and León (Spain) and in the collegiate church at St. Quentin.

26

These examples can be compared with the bent engaged columns on the walls of the ambulatory of Trondheim Cathedral in Norway and the addorsed columns in some Burgundian buildings, e.g. St.-Seine and the chapter house at Fontenay, whose shafts grow narrower towards the base by regular steps. In the fifteenth century the bent colonnette became a frequent motif in the Germanic countries and in eastern and northern France.

27

See Enlart, *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie*, (*Bibliothèque des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1894), p. 271.

28

See Louis Méry, *Hist. de la commune de Marseille*, vol. I, pp. 419-20, privilege of 1236 preserved in the city archives; Rouffi *Hist. de Marseille*, vol. I, p. 96; Mas Latrie, *L'île de Chypre*, vol. II, pp. 97, 204, 208, 250, 268; vol. III p. 728.

tary buildings of the fourteenth century in Cyprus. I may add that this fact is both consistent with the documents and in line with the observations on the subject of the royal castle of Karlstein in Bohemia, published by Dr. Franz Bock,⁵⁷ Mr. Joseph Neuwirth⁵⁸ and Mr. J. Helbig.⁵⁹ This castle near Prague was built by the Emperor Charles IV (d. 1378) who began it in 1348; he went himself to Avignon for the architect Matthew of Arras, who also worked on the construction of Prague Cathedral. Matthew died in Prague in 1352. Karlstein Castle has been rightly compared to the palace of the Popes at Avignon by reason both of its architecture which is close to the style of southern France and of its Italian paintings.

Southern French architecture had already supplied Cyprus with the models for its few Romanesque churches. In style they belong to that school or rather to the school of the great architectural region which includes the Bourbonnais, the Maçonnais,⁶⁰ Forez,⁶¹ Velay,⁶² Limousin,⁶³ part of Berry, Vivarais, Gévaudan, Languedoc, Roussillon,⁶⁴ the Pyrenees and northern Spain. In all these areas the same principles were followed, with a few variations in detail of which some were borrowed from neighbouring schools (Burgundy, Auvergne, Provence, Poitou and Saintonge) while others are too insignificant and insufficiently localised to deserve being called schools.

The type presented by the four Romanesque churches in the Karpas peninsula consists of three naves without a transept, with semi-circular barrel vaults; a central nave slightly higher than the other two; transverse ribs, cruciform pillars, and, on the inside of the lateral naves, a range of large blind arches; an apse the same width as the main nave and two apsidal chapels at the end of each lateral nave with doorways linking the three.⁶⁵

The churches of Le Bourg de Thisy and Châteauneuf (Saône et Loire), St. Désiré and Nérès (Allier), St. Marcel at Le Puy, Pommiers, Valbenoîte, St. Rambert and Chandieu (Loire), Cruas (Ardèche), Le Monastier (Haute-Loire), St. Junien (Haute-Vienne), Uzerche (Corrèze), Celle-Bruère (Cher), Le Monastier (Lozère) and Arles-sur-Tech (Pyrénées Occidentales) correspond by and large to the description above and the same is true also of the two churches at Aphendrika, Sykha church and the church of Kanakaria near Leonarisso. Romanesque churches in Cyprus do not have engaged columns but simple pilasters as with the more rural of the French examples.

In a series of Romanesque churches in central France there are small treasuries inserted between the apses and the apsidal chapels; some are shaped as absidoles, others are concealed by a thickening of the masonry. Examples are to be found at St. Désiré (Allier), Ineuil (Cher) and Aigues-Vives (Loire-et-Cher). This form of construction was imitated in the Gothic period at Famagusta in the Greek cathedral and the Nestorian church.

29

See Desimoni, *Actes génois de Famagouste*, *Rev. de l'Orient lat.*, 1896-1897.

30

See Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

31

His nephew Gerard, killed in 1229 at the battle of Nicosia, was also a nephew of the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital; see *Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 60.

32

De Meaux, *Le pays de Forez. Histoire et description générale*, quoted by F. Thiollier, *Le Forez pittoresque et monumental* (Lyons, 1889), p. 9.

33

Guy de Preycieu's letter, copied from the original by Dom Estiennot, ends as follows: 'Et parce que je n'oy point de sael, je ai pree maistre Bernard le deen de Nycossie que fut segrestain de Montbrison que il mette son seel en ceste present chartre en garentie de ce dont je doing a la meson. Ce fait en l'an de l'incarna Jesu Chri MCCLII.' D. Estiennot, *Bibl. Nat.*, *MS. latin* 12748, fol. 361.

34

Les Papes d'Avignon et les monuments du midi de la France, *Magasin pittoresque*, vol. LXI, pp. 383, 402.

35

Hist. des archevêques de Chypre, p. 58.

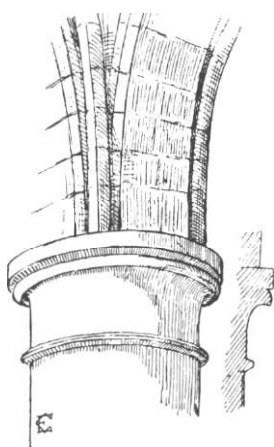


Fig. 10
Dominican church at
Agen.

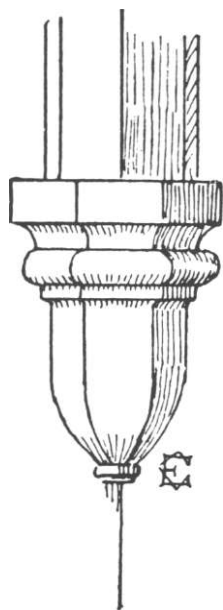


Fig. 11
St. Pargoire.

Gothic churches in Languedoc and Provence⁶⁶ rarely have ambulatories; in Cyprus Nicosia Cathedral is unique in having one. Even such large churches as St. Maximin in Provence, Clermont-l'Hérault in Languedoc and, in Famagusta, St. Nicholas, St. George of the Greeks and SS. Peter and Paul merely have apsidal chapels at the east end of the aisles. More frequently still southern Gothic churches have merely a single nave; examples among the thousands that could be quoted, are Villeneuve and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, St. Pargoire (Hérault), the nave of Toulouse Cathedral, St. Vincent at Saint-Flour, the churches of the lower town at Carcassonne and Orgon.

Normally these churches are surrounded by low chapels fitted in between the buttresses, as at St. Cecilia at Albi, Moissac, Lamourguié in Narbonne, Montpellier and Perpignan Cathedrals, Martel and Beaumont in Lomagne. In most cases these chapels have been added one at a time after the construction of the main building. When it was not felt necessary to have more than two, or four, they were put in the last bay before the choir so as to form a kind of transept. This was done at Najac, where there are two chapels, one of them surmounted by a bell-tower, at Orgon and at St. Pargoire, where there are four chapels. Similarly, many churches in Cyprus consist of a nave only e.g. Stazousa (Beaulieu?); in Nicosia the Augustinians' church, Yeni-Djami, St. Catherine and St. George of the Poulains-, in Famagusta St. George of the Latins, the Carmelite church, St. Anne, St. Francis and about ten other small churches had two low chapels added, forming a kind of transept. The same addition was made also to St. Francis in Paphos. Large churches often have no transept, for instance Bourges and Albi Cathedrals and the church of St. Maximin. The same is true of Famagusta.

In the south of France there are survivals of old-fashioned styles fully comparable with those found in Cyprus. Well into the thirteenth century churches can be found there which are vaulted with a simple pointed barrel vault with or without transverse ribs; examples are Verrières (Loire), Vicq (Allier), St. Louis at Hyères (lateral naves) Sisteron Cathedral, Notre Dame du Bourg at Digne and Seynes (Basses-Alpes) which are all buildings closely comparable with the church at Karmi near Limassol. At St. Victor in Marseilles the nave, erected in the thirteenth century with the intention of adding ribbed vaults, was finished off with a barrel vault. The same thing happened at Nicosia in the western portion of Our Lady of Tyre. The thirteenth-century church of St. Seurin in Bordeaux was roofed with ribbed vaults over the central nave and a series of transverse barrel vaults over the aisles. The latter are precisely similar to the barrel-vaulted transept of the church at Bellapais. The chevet of Bellapais is square like that at St. Seurin, lit by a group of three windows. It also resembles Digne Cathedral, which has the same barrel vault in its transept and the same arcade of blind arches on either side of the altars.

One of the types of support which southern French architecture

favoured was a round, very tall pillar crowned by a round, very low capital, sometimes completely plain. It occurs, already in the eleventh century, at St. Philibert at Tournus and St. Dalmazi near Rodez; in the twelfth in the nave of St. Nazaire at Carcassone and at Monsempron (Lot-et-Garonne); in the thirteenth in the transept of St. Emilion; in the fourteenth in the transept of St. Nazaire at Carcassone, the Dominican churches at Toulouse and Agen (Fig. 10) and at Fleurance (Gers). The same type of pillar can be found at Famagusta in the churches of St. Nicholas, SS. Peter and Paul, St. George of the Greeks and at St. Sozomenos and Trimithi.

In all these churches the vaults generally spring from brackets. In St. Nicholas in Nicosia and Stazousa these have a curious resemblance to some of the brackets in St. Pargoire (Fig. 11); other brackets in the same church are like those in St. Anne and in the manor at Famagusta; those in the lower chamber of the manor of Covocle are equally similar to one in the cloister at Silvacane, which is derived from a Burgundian type of corbel.

In the same cloister at Silvacane, which dates from the thirteenth century, some of the corbelled brackets supporting the springs of the arches are rather curiously shaped: they take the form of small colonnettes with a very short shaft which bends to penetrate the wall at a right angle (Fig. 12). This same type is found at Famagusta in the church of the Nestorians, which dates from the fourteenth century. An earlier example can be seen in Palestine, in the church of Jeremiah at Abu-Gôch.

Some Gothic churches in the south of France had simple groined vaults instead of ribbed vaults even at a very late date: for instance in *c.* 1300 in St. Pons at Mauchien (Fig. 13) and, well into the fourteenth century, at Séverac-le-Château. The same practice is commoner at Famagusta, for instance in St. Anne where, as at Séverac, only the choir has ribbed vaults, in the churches of the Nestorians and the Armenians and in a neighbouring church. In Syria too in the thirteenth century the ribbed vault was less usual than in France.

From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century the extrados of the vaults of churches in the south of France are often covered by a plain flat surface to form the roof, with a gutter corresponding to each spring of the arches and an obtuse lateral gable at each lunette of the vault. In the thirteenth century this scheme is found at the abbey church of Vignogoul near Montpellier and in the thirteenth or fourteenth century in the apse of Forcalquier Cathedral; in the fourteenth century at Montfavet near Avignon, at St. Pargoire (Hérault) (Fig. 14) and on the chapels at Maguelonne⁷ and Montmajour; it can still be seen in the time of Henry IV at the parish church of Villeneuve-d'Avignon and in the church of the Observants at Tarascon. In Italy it was used in the diocese of Rome at Valvisciolo near Sermoneta (thirteenth century) and in the diocese of Perugia at Montelabbate (fourteenth century). Both these are

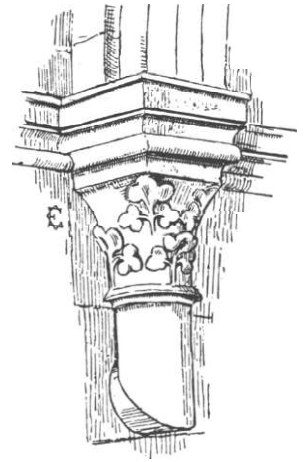


Fig. 12
Cloister at Silvacane.

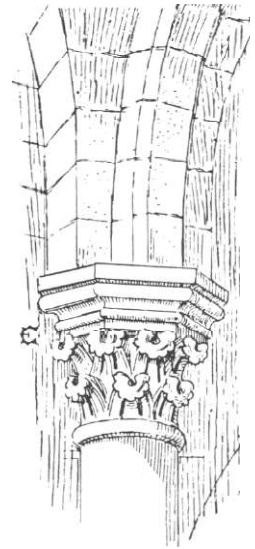
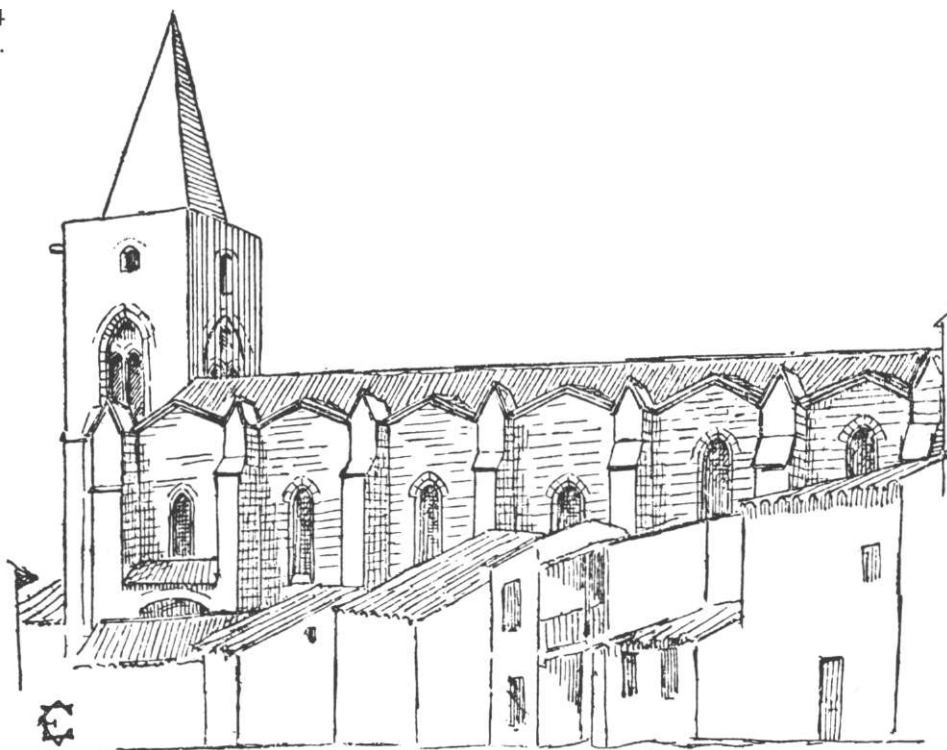


Fig. 13
St. Pons at Mauchien.

Fig. 14
St. Pargoire.



Cistercian churches.

In Cyprus this system of construction is adopted at Famagusta for the churches of the Nestorians and the Armenians and a neighbouring church, for St. Mammas at Dhali and for the church of the Holy Cross at Tochni; it has survived in use down to the present day.

Many Gothic churches in the south of France have an *oeil-de-boeuf* in the eastern gable of the nave, between the nave vault and the lower vault of the choir. This practice is exemplified in St. Martha at Tarascon, at Orgon and in St. Siffrein at Carpentras. It can also be found in Cyprus in SS. Peter and Paul at Famagusta and at Kiti.

In the architecture both of Provence and of Languedoc in the thirteenth and fourteen centuries there are to be found relatively thick columns surmounted by a heavy octagonal capital with a low abacus crowned by a bell decorated with one or two rows of bunched foliage carved in a rather feeble style and giving a disorganised impression. When the capital is tall its profile is only slightly curved but it is much more strongly curved when the capital is low. Capitals of this sort can be seen at Clermont-l'Hérault (Fig. 15), in St. Florent at Orange (Fig. 16), in St. Martha at Tarascon, St. Pons at Mauchien (Fig. 13), St. John at Aix and in the Templar church at Avignon. At Bellapais the columns and their capitals in the dorter and the capitals of the cloisters and the refectory, conform to this same type. So do the capitals of the porch of

36
Baluze, *Vitae pa. Avenion*,
vol. I, col. 996; Mas Latrie,
Hist. de Chypre, vol. III,
p. 736, No. 1 *Hist. des*
arch. de Chypre, p. 58.

37
Labbe, *Concil.*, vol. XI,
Constit. Nicos., col. 2400,
2432.

38
In 1339; see Cartulary of
St. Sophia, No. CIX.

Nicosia Cathedral, but their workmanship is superior to any other examples I know. They are squat and curved like those of the Templar church at Avignon or St. John at Aix and like the ones in the Bellapais dorter, which are even more squat. In the Bellapais cloisters on the other hand, the capitals are much taller and there is no curve, as in St. Martha at Tarascon and at Clermont-l'Hérault.

The foliar motifs of these capitals are often much more systematic and conventional than in northern France as will be evident from examples illustrated from Orange and Clermont-l'Hérault. They demonstrate also the similarity of their motifs with those of the capitals at Bellapais. An example of a pillar taken from the choir in the church at St. Amand de Boixe near Angoulême (Fig. 17) belongs to the same Late Gothic coarse and heavy style as those of the refectory at Bellapais and of St. Catherine at Nicosia. A detail of the fourteenth or fifteenth century doorway at Brantôme (Fig. 18)⁶⁵ rivals in barbarity the carvings of the same period at Karmi and in some churches in Famagusta; the motifs are identical.

Quite often, from the end of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, the architecture of the south of France, which seems to have been short of good carvers and to have chosen to follow the practices of the Champagne school, had recourse to plain concave capitals, round or polygonal. Instances of this can be found throughout Rodez Cathedral and the large and beautiful church of St. Maximin (Fig. 19) and in the choir of St. Fulcran at Lodève; other examples are a pillar in the cloisters of St. Trophime at Aries, some columns or colonnettes in St. Sauveur at Aix, the choirs at St. Pargoire and Orgon (Fig. 20), the churches at Montfavet and La Tour d'Espagne; St. Didier and St. Martial at Avignon; at Villeneuve-d'Avignon the cloisters of the collegiate church, the two chapels of the Charterhouse, and the doorway of Fort St. Andrew (Fig. 21); at Montmajour the chapel added in the fourteenth century on the north side of the transept; at Tarascon a chapel added to St. Martha; the church at Beaucaire, the doorway of the collegiate church at St. Flour, Montpellier and Narbonne Cathedrals, the aisles at Bazas Cathedral (Fig. 22), the lower part of the bell-tower of St. Eutrope at Saintes (Fig. 23), the upper part of the choir of Bordeaux Cathedral (Fig. 24), some capitals in the church at Uzeste, the chapter-house of the Franciscan friars at Auch, the monastery at St. Emilion and elsewhere. Similar capitals are to be seen in the nave of St. Sophia at Nicosia, and in St. Nicholas, SS. Peter and Paul and St. George of the Greeks in Famagusta where their use in interiors was regular. The same applies also to St. Anthony at Famagusta, the keep at Limassol and at least one of the Paphos churches. Finally, there are cases in Provence, in buildings in a less defined style, where instead of a capital a sort of heavy abacus is used fitting badly on to the shaft in a way reminiscent of Carolingian architecture,⁶⁶ as in the very ugly church at Severac-le-Château, a barbarous fourteenth-

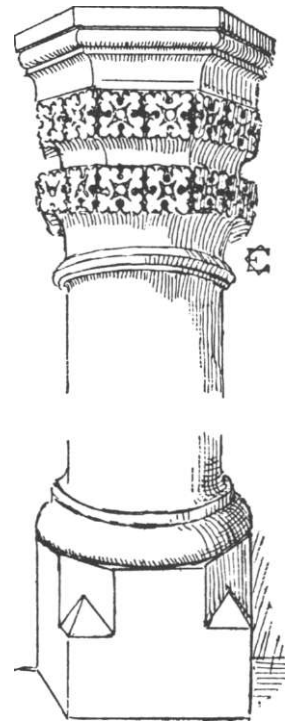


Fig. 15
Clermont-l'Hérault.

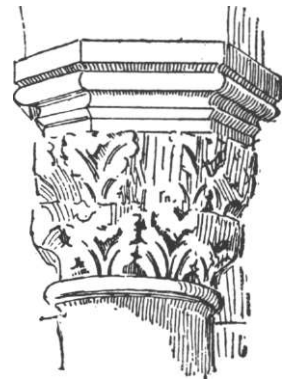


Fig. 16
Saint-Florent at Orange.

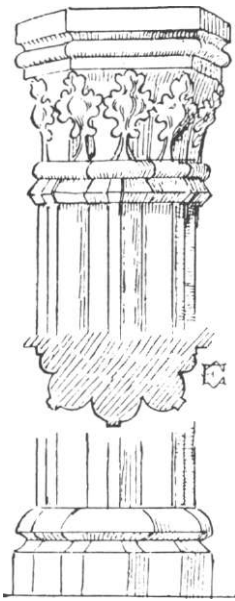


Fig. 17
St. Amand de Boixe.

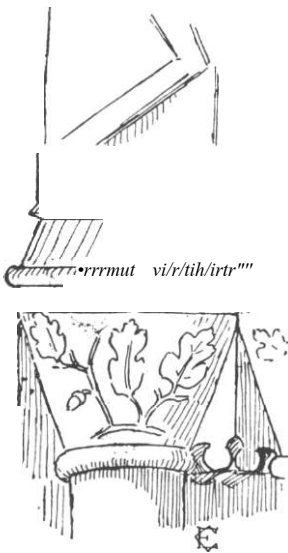


Fig. 18
Brantôme.

century construction, and in Cyprus in Trimithi church. Provençal architecture in the fourteenth century can show instances of extremely squat capitals which take this shape because they are made from stone found only in very narrow beds. Capitals of this sort are to be seen in the niches of the tombs in St.-André-le-Bas at Avignon, and they are found also in St. Nicholas at Nicosia and in St. Sozomenos.

A special type of bracket with a round, deeply hollowed-out bell and ending in a long point is applied to the shafts of round pillars to support the springs of the vaulting in the cloisters at Villefranche in Rouergue. A similar detail can be seen in the aisles of Bellapais church, though these appear to have been built in the thirteenth century whereas the cloisters at Villefranche are of the fifteenth century. Presumably a common model exists, or existed in the thirteenth century, in the south of France.

Some church doorways in Cyprus are specially characterised by a sharply-pointed pediment, carved with leaves, and very tall jambs. Doorways of this type are also found in south French architecture, as in Béziers and Marmande Cathedrals and elsewhere, and in Spain, where the doorway of Manresa Cathedral resembles closely the northern doorway of SS. Peter and Paul at Famagusta and also, though less closely, the bays of the porch at Nicosia. In this type the tympanum, decorated with arcades, is like the one over the western doorway of St. Catherine or one of the northern doorways of St. Nicholas at Nicosia. The pediments and the open-work tympana of the doorways of Famagusta Cathedral are reminiscent not only of Notre Dame and St. Nicaise at Rheims and St. Urbain at Troyes but also of Béziers Cathedral, St. John at Aix and the church at Monpezat.

In a very large number of Gothic churches in the south of France the windows are narrow lancets with simple splays on the interior and exterior. This is also the type used for the windows of the Carmelite church, St. Anne, and SS. Peter and Paul at Famagusta and at Karmi and Stazousa.

Gothic architects in the south of France were fond of using *oeils-de-boeuf* to light chapels annexed to their churches. Examples can be quoted from Clermont-l'Hérault, St. Pargoire and the St. James Chapel in Toledo Cathedral. The same practice can be found in St. Francis at Famagusta, and at Nicosia in the cathedral and in the church of the Augustinians.

In some of the fourteenth-century Gothic buildings in Provence bases take the form of a single torus moulding, as at Clermont-l'Hérault (Fig. 15), in Aix Cathedral, on the west doorway of St. Didier at Avignon and at St. Amand de Boixe (Fig. 17). The ones at Montfavet are possibly due to restoration. In Cyprus bases in this style can be found in the cloisters and the dorter at Bellapais.

Mitred arcades in the Toulouse style of Gothic, very common from

the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, mainly in brick-built bell-towers in the departments of Haute-Garonne, Tarn-et-Garonne and Arège, are not found in buildings in Cyprus; however they clearly inspired monumental masons there when carving blind arches on tombstones,⁷⁰ and the principal doorway of St. Sophia at Nicosia has two rows of mitred blind arches on its tympanum.

Arcaded belfries were a favourite architectural device in the south of France where, in the Gothic period, they were usually surmounted by a pointed gable. A large number of examples could be quoted: at Auterive (Tarn-et-Garonne, fourteenth century), Blasimont and Doulezan (Gironde, where the belfries extend over the whole width of the west end of the church), Castillon (Ariège, chapel in the castle), Cavaillon, Cazeaux (commune of Lannes, Lot-et-Garonne), Laune, St. Castor at Nîmes, Ourjoux (Ariège), St. Michael at Poujade, Savignac (Gironde), Puy-Ricard near Aix-en-Provence, Pierrefitte (Hautes-Pyrénées), Notre Dame du Taur at Toulouse and Villeneuve-d Avignon, with many others.

There are some bell-towers in the south-west, e.g. St. Radegonde at Poitiers, and more frequently in the south-east, e.g. Isômes, Ainay in Lyons, Embrun Cathedral, Névache, Monestier-de-Briançon, Saint-Chafrey, Vallouise, Les Vignaux, La Bessée and others, which have triangular acroteria on their corners like those on the lids of ancient sarcophagi. A similar feature can be seen on the arcaded belfry of St. Anne at Famagusta. This has alternate voussoirs in contrasting colours like those of the Dominican church at Sisteron. This system of alternating colours, so common in Italy, is used only sparingly in south-eastern France, and also in Cyprus, where the only other example I know is provided by the Serai in Nicosia.

Another southern French practice is to place a continuous gallery, often fortified, halfway up the bell-towers. It is to be observed already in the Romanesque period at Moissac; in the Gothic period it changes into a corbelled gallery whose supports often resemble the machicolations used in military architecture. Examples, among others, are the bell-tower of the Carmelites and the clock-tower at Avignon, the bell-tower of Saint-Remy, Montauban, Caussade, Beaumont in Lomagne and Larrazet. Sometimes these corbelled galleries are added to arcaded belfries, as at Notre Dame du Taur, Villeneuve de Tolosan and Pierrefitte.

The same practices can be exemplified in Cyprus: there is an arcaded belfry at Bellapais, which has four lancet-shaped arcades and a pointed pediment occupying almost the whole west end of the church, also at Pyrga, Melandryna and, at Famagusta, in one of the twin churches and in the church of the Nestorians. The last-mentioned has a communicating gallery supported on machicolated consoles, and it seems likely that there was originally a similar feature at SS. Peter and Paul.

The spandrels of the arches on the pulpit in the refectory at Bellapais can be compared with those on the font in St. Sauveur at Aix.

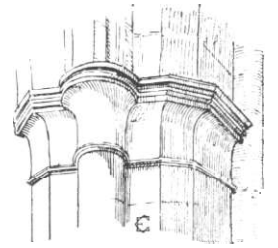


Fig. 19
St. Maximin.

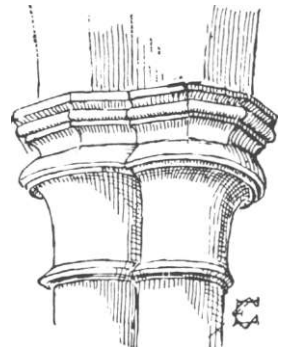


Fig. 20
Orgon.

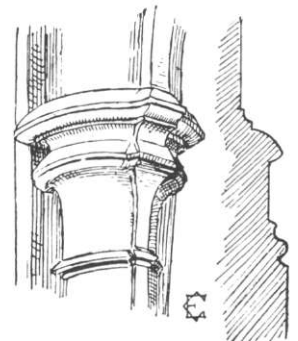


Fig. 21
Villeneuve-d Avignon
(doorway of Fort
St. Andrew).

ORIGINS OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN CYPRUS

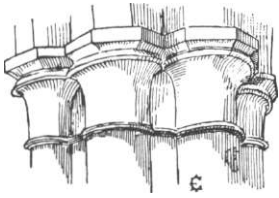
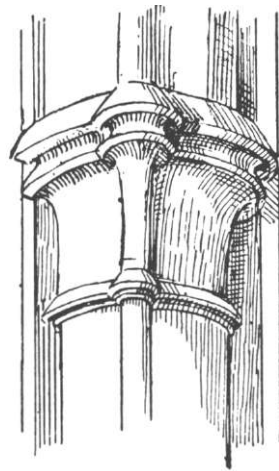


Fig. 22
Bazas Cathedral.

On the façade of the Bishop's Palace at Famagusta there is a continuous series of trilobed blind arches between the sills of the windows and the doors or arcades of the shops on the ground floor. There is an exactly similar row of blind arches running above the monumental entrance of a canon's house near the cathedral at Rodez and continuing round the look-out turrets at the two ends. This building, like the Bishop's Palace at Famagusta, dates from the fourteenth century. A similar arrangement, dating from the fifteenth century, can be seen in the arcaded breast-walls of the windows of the Court of the Orange Trees in the Palace of the Diputaci6n at Barcelona.



There is a remarkable resemblance between some of the lintels found over fourteenth to fifteenth-century doorways in Provence and in Cyprus: in the fourteenth century the one in St. Florent at Orange and those in the Yeni-Djami and St. Catherine at Nicosia are alike in having a deep groove framed by mouldings and decorated with sculptured motifs; those over the Cypriot doorways are exactly similar to some fourteenth-century abacuses in the cloisters of St. Trophime at Arles.

In the fifteenth century the lintel over the doorway in St. Siffrein at Carpentras has a groove surmounted by a row of pediments, an unusual feature, repeated at Nicosia on a lintel in the Tripiotis quarter.

The shape of some of the buttresses on Gothic buildings in Cyprus deserves mention. It is quite common to find a bead moulding in the angles of buttresses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for instance in Nicosia on the porch of St. Sophia, on St. Nicholas, St. George of the Poulains and Stavro tou Missiricou, on St. Mammas at Dhali and elsewhere. This ornament seems to have been borrowed from thirteenth and fourteenth-century buildings of the schools of eastern and southern France, e.g. the choirs of Besançon and Béziers Cathedrals and, in Spain, the cloisters of St. Augustine and of the cathedral at Barcelona, the cloisters of Burgos Cathedral and the choir of Palencia Cathedral.

The buttresses of St. Catherine at Nicosia are more peculiar, being trapezoidal in plan consequent upon the lines of thrust of the different arches of the vaulting. In elevation they resemble polygonal turrets. These strange-looking buttresses should be compared with those of St. Cecilia at Albi and those of the south-western chapel of Béziers Cathedral, the former taking the form of cylindrical turrets, the latter spur-shaped, like the abutment piers of a bridge.

The monastery buildings at Bellapais resemble the Palace at Avignon, in particular by reason of their small rectangular windows with horizontal drip-stones above them. The keep at Kolossi is also reminiscent of the same palace and, in addition, of the priory at Montfavet and the square keeps of the south of France.

Provençal stone-masons made great use throughout the Middle Ages of the carved signs known as 'masons' marks'. In the Romanesque period they are usually letters, often in an old-fashioned style; in the Gothic

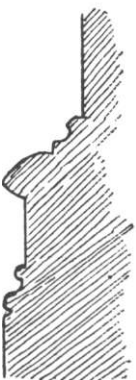


Fig-23
St Eutrope at Saintes.

period they are generally fanciful designs, geometric or abstract. They can be seen among other places at Aries, on the battlements of Aigues-Mortes and Avignon,⁷¹ on the Pont-Saint-Espirit, the refectory at Silvacane, St. Didier at Avignon, the Charterhouse and Fort St. Andrew at Villeneuve and Tarascon Castle.

In Cyprus the same marks are seen at Aphenrika, on the walls of Famagusta, Kyrenia Castle (often on stones taken by the Venetians from older constructions), at Covocle, Nicosia Cathedral and Bellapais.

NON-FRENCH INFLUENCES THE RENAISSANCE

Besides the influence of France Cypriot architecture in the fifteenth century came under the influence of north-eastern Spain. Possibly some Spanish artists arrived in the island earlier than that but it would be impossible to prove this by inspecting the buildings since in Spain, as in other countries where the Gothic style had been imported from France, it hardly took on a local character until its very last period.⁷² Spanish influence can also be readily explained by historical considerations; there was regular maritime traffic between Barcelona and Famagusta in the fourteenth century.⁷³ In addition to commercial relations there were numerous family connections between the Kingdom of Cyprus and Aragon and Majorca: the Lusignan King Henry II married Constance of Aragon; Ferdinand II of Majorca, whose mother was Isabella of Ibelin, married Eschive of Lusignan, daughter of King Hugh IV, and their daughter, Alice of Majorca, returned to Cyprus to marry Philip of Ibelin, Lord of Tyre.⁷⁴ The son and successor of Hugh IV, Peter I, married Eleanor of Aragon.

Two Spanish princesses, famous, admittedly, for anything but their virtues, thus set the tone for the brilliant court of Peter I and, contemporaneously, relations grew ever closer between Cypriot merchants and merchants from Catalonia and Aragon who acquired in Cyprus in the middle of the fourteenth century commercial privileges more extensive than those of the Provençals.⁷⁵

Later, when Don Peter Tafur visited the island between 1435 and 1439, the Admiral of the Kingdom, Carceran Soarez, reminded him that they were both Castillians;⁷⁶ when he went to Paphos he stayed with a Castilian esquire, Diego Thénario.⁷⁷ (There was also a Tafur family in Cyprus.) In 1475 the archbishop of Cyprus was a Catalan, Luis Perez Fabricius, who had been elevated to that dignity by the influence of his compatriots.⁷⁸ (The family of Perez Fabricius had married into the royal family; Isabella of that name was the grand-mother of the historian Stephen Lusignan.) According to Florio Bustron they formed in 1473

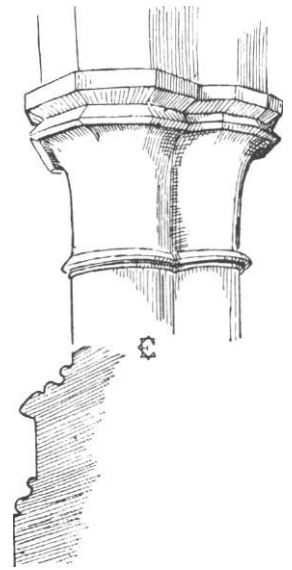


Fig. 24
Bordeaux Cathedral.

39

Mas Latrie, *Hist. des archev. de Chypre*, p. 63; de Courcelles and Saint Allais, *Nobiliaire universel*, vol. XVII, p. 147; Abbé Grimaud, *Documents sur le Valais*, vol. IV, 1880. Most of the information about the life of this prelate derives from Monsieur de Montégut, *President du Tribunal at Limoges*; see Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

40

Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome* (Italian text), vol. VI, p. 231; Thiener, *Cod. dipl. S. Sedis*, vols. I and II.

41

Voisin, *Archidiacres de Tournai. Mém. de la Soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai*, vol. XVI, 1897, pp. 28 and 29.

42

Cartulary of St. Sophia, No. CXXIV.

43

Andrew, Bishop in *commendam* of Cavaillon in 1395, is entitled Bishop of Nicosia, *Gallia Christiana*, vol. I, p. 952. The title shows that he was not, as has apparently been supposed, Archbishop of Cyprus but Bishop of Nicosia in Sicily.

44

On his mission see Amadi, pp. 326, 329, 331, 335, 356, 371, 377, 385, 388, 391.

45

Odo, who died at Limassol in 1295, and Roger who supported Peter I in 1360.

46

This is the correct spelling of the name of his birthplace in the Rouergue; it is also spelled Plaine Chassaigne or Plencassaigne. On this man see Brunei, *Hist. des évêques de Rodez*, *Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 2637*, pp. 575 et sq.; Baluze, *Vitae paparum*, vol. II, col. 139. Rainaldi, 1309, vol. XXIII, p. 480, (note); Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 1309, 52, vol. VI, p. 150; Amadi, pp. 334, 354, 359, 372, 395, 397; Bustron, p. 246; Mas Latrie, *Chron. d Amadi*, p. 345, (note); L. Bion de

a political faction which had to be reckoned with.⁷⁹ They were opposed to the faction of Catherine Cornaro and the Republic of Venice, the eventually victorious rivals of Catalonia for the trade of Cyprus. When Cyprus became a Venetian colony Catalan influence consequently disappeared. It had been of only short duration and in the arts in particular the traces it left were few though strongly marked.

At the moment when Catalan art was at its most flourishing, and when in Perpignan, Barcelona and Palma numerous domestic and religious buildings in a characteristic flamboyant style were being erected, Cypriot architecture was languishing, with unintelligent reproductions of outmoded forms and practices; it is easily understandable why Cyprus should call in some artists of the Catalan school at that time. It was not, perhaps, necessary to go far for them because this school was already dominant in Sicily.⁸⁰

The Palace, or Serai, at Nicosia is a large building executed in this particular flamboyant style, which the local architects had only partially adopted. It is true that it was built by the Venetians: the lion of St. Mark dominates the main entry; it is also true that the rich doorway which opens under the lower portico of the courtyard has, among its flamboyant decorations, a zigzag hood-mould which certainly derives from Cypriot art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but the enormous Gothic window above the main entrance on the courtyard side has nothing in common with either Venetian or Cypriot art. The shape of the hood-mould, with its crockets and floral finial, its impost set well below the true springing of the arch and, in particular, the fact that it is entirely in reticulated tracery make this window completely identical with those in the bays of the cloisters at Vich and in the Barcelona town-hall and also with a large window in the Archbishop's Palace in Palermo which opens on the Piazza del Duomo.

Perhaps the most characteristic peculiarity of the Catalan flamboyant style is its reversion to the use of colonnettes whose capitals have a Romanesque outline. They are much taller than any other flamboyant specimens and have two rows of foliage producing more or less the impression of acanthus leaves. The abacus is thick with a wide chamfer decorated with carvings in low relief, very often wild-rose flowers. The shafts are slender and are often composed of four small addorsed shafts, producing a quatrefoil section.⁸¹ Examples of this type can be found in Barcelona in the Palace, the cloisters of St. Anne (Fig. 25) and the convent of Montesion, the Town Hall and the Maison Julia in Perpignan and the cloisters at Vich.⁸²

There are some very similar colonnettes in Famagusta. These have been removed from their original site, which was the door of a building closing the south side of the parvis of the cathedral; some of them are today used to support a platform in the mosque (the former cathedral) and the remains of others can be seen in the collection of stones in the

palace.

Palace gateways with round arches formed of very broad keystones, completely smooth, are characteristic of Late Gothic and Early Renaissance domestic architecture at Zamora, Lerida, Barcelona, Perpignan and Palma, in Sardinia, and in Sicily at Taormina, Castrogiovanni (Enna) and Randazzo; the same practice is also found in Nicosia. Quite frequently in this style, the bays, although perfectly semi-circular, are framed by rectangular hood-moulds as for instance on the gateway of Ayia Napa.

Finally, the Rhodian architectural style of the fourteenth century³³ is identical with that of certain Spanish buildings, for instance the palace known, though on no good grounds, as the Palace of Dona Urraca at Zamora. This style was brought to Cyprus in the fifteenth century by the Knights of Rhodes in their Commandery at Kolossi. The motifs of the carving on the fireplace there are like those which decorate the great hospital in the town of Rhodes and also the castle at Lindos. The fifteenth-century churches in Famagusta resemble the church at Philerimo.

Spanish influence hardly had time to manifest itself in Cypriot architecture when it was completely extinguished by the influence of the Italian Renaissance.

Before the Venetian occupation of Cyprus large numbers of Genoese and Venetians lived and did business in the Kingdom. They had had important establishments at Famagusta and Limassol ever since the thirteenth century and these had been continuously prosperous. From 1373 to 1464 Famagusta was in Genoese hands and when it did revert to the Kingdom of Cyprus the Kingdom became first a protectorate and then a colony of Venice. Italian influence is almost absolute in Cypriot painting; paintings of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in all the churches of Famagusta are much more Giottesque than Byzantine even in the Greek cathedral and the Nestorian church, though not in the Armenian church.

The very faint traces of fourteenth-century paintings that can be seen in Nicosia Cathedral and the monastery churches at Vavla and Melandryna (in the Karpas peninsula) are Italian in style; the choir and the porch at Bellapais have mural paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of which some are identical with those to be seen in churches in Siena and its neighbourhood, others are completely comparable with those in the palace of the Popes at Avignon. Even those paintings which bear inscriptions in French, as at Pyrga, or in Greek, Syrian or Armenian, as at Famagusta, are often in a clearly Italian style. Right at the top of the Makheras mountains, at Pelendria, you will find Italian frescoes of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; nowhere in the Kingdom of Cyprus is there a place so primitive or remote that Giottesque art failed to penetrate there and it is even to be found in places that seem never to have been reached by French Gothic art.

Architecturally, however, the Kingdom of Cyprus was always divided

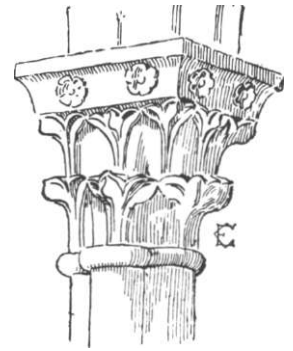


Fig. 25
Cloisters of St. Anne,
Barcelona.

Marlavagne, *Hist. de la cathédrale de Rodez* (Didron, Paris, 1875), pp. 36, 201, 260 and Mas Latrie, *Hist. des arch. de Chypre*.

47

On Peter Thomas see, in addition to the chronicles of Cyprus, his life, by Philip of Mézières, *Acta Sanctorum*. January, vol. II and another life, by Carmesson, in *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 5615.

48

On Philip of Mézières see his biography by N. Jorga, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes*, 1897.

between two schools: the native inhabitants mostly remained faithful to pre-conquest Byzantine art; the Franks employed, or copied from, French Gothic artists; with very few exceptions Cyprus, like the Christian Levant, had the good sense to wait for the Renaissance before imitating Italian architecture.

49

The confessor of Queen Eleanor of Aragon, wife of Peter I, was Brother Glimin, from Narbonne; cf. Bustron, p. 325.

50

See Suarez, *Orbis Christianus*, *Bibl. Nat. MS. lat.* 8983, fol. 279-88. Between 1290 and 1434 there were five Italian Generals, three of them from Bologna, two Spaniards, five from Languedoc, and three whose nationality is uncertain but who were probably also from the Midi because one was elected at Montpellier and died at Toulouse and the others were bishops of Vaison and of Marseilles. In 1529 the General of the Order was a Cypriot, Nicholas Audet.

51

See Amadi, pp. 412 and 418; Bustron, pp. 260 and 266; Strambaldi, pp. 50, 85, 86 et sq.

52

Candlemas is 2nd February.

53

Froissart, vol. I, pt. II, ch. IV.

54

Registers of Urban V, 298, fol. 104.

55

Reg. 299, fol. 139, v^o.

56

Les papes d'Avignon et les monuments du midi de la France, *Magasin pittoresque*, vol. LXI, pp. 383, 384 and 402.

The principal exception to this rule makes its appearance in the fifteenth century in the doorway of St. George of the Latins at Nicosia, whose richly-carved low arching is like the windows of a house on the Lungarno at Pisa or, even more strikingly, the terra-cotta arcading in the cloisters of the Charterhouse of Pavia.⁵⁴ In addition, the west end of St. Nicholas at Nicosia, the imposts of the entrance gateway of the ruined monastery at Stazousa and some doorways of town-houses in Nicosia have carvings in the Italian fifteenth-century style, probably Venetian for the most part. If the medieval Italians were bad architects they were, in compensation, excellent workers in marble. It was in this capacity that they were called on, in about 1400, to execute one or more tombs at Nicosia, remains of which are conserved in the museum there and which can only be regarded with real horror by lovers of architecture and sculpture.

The Venetian style was predominant in Cyprus from the fifteenth century right down to the present day in the gilded woodwork which is so common in churches. A very large number of iconostases, pulpits and lecterns in Greek churches in Cyprus are completely identical in style with the wood-carvings and picture frames produced in Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Monumental masons in the same period often followed the same style. It must be observed, however, that the Venetian Gothic style is exemplified all over the Levant and also that whereas Venice had a number of commercial establishments and factories there and practically monopolised commerce, the manufactured art objects produced in Venice for export to the East are copied from eastern originals; indeed the decorative arts as practised in Venice itself are thoroughly impregnated with oriental influences. There is however in Venice an intimate combination of this art and the western flamboyant style so that the art⁵⁵ exemplified in curious specimens of Cypriot ecclesiastical woodwork is only half occidental and owes nothing to Italy beyond the circumstance that Italy was the centre where it was developed. Still, it is perfectly legitimate to use the term 'Venetian style' to describe it, and it must be accepted that it had a numerous progeny in Cyprus, though exclusively in the sphere of furniture.

The great influence exercised simultaneously by Italian painting and the South-French Gothic architecture in Cyprus during the fifteenth century strikingly confirms the views formulated by Eugène Müntz on the artistic role of the papal court at Avignon.

Renaissance art also penetrated into Cyprus with the Venetian occupation and was worthily represented there. There is, for example, some

controversy on whether Leonardo da Vinci visited Cyprus, with which he seems to be acquainted.⁵⁶ Marcantonio Michiel, who was Catherine Cornaro's architect in Italy and built for her the castle at Asolo,⁵⁷ had perhaps been called on to provide plans for the buildings that she caused to be erected in Cyprus. These are only assumptions; but it is known that among the great artists of the Italian Renaissance one was a man from Cyprus: Cesati,⁵⁸ called *il Grechetto*, one of the re-creators of the art of gem-engraving. He worked in Rome and Venice and returned towards the end of his career to Cyprus where he must have found plenty of antique models to study and to reproduce. He died there in 1564. He had had the honour of being admired and highly praised by Michael Angelo. Italian Renaissance art was dominant in the workshops of Cypriot monumental masons and sculptors at Nicosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, Akhiropiitos, Larnaca, Absinthiotissa and Ayia Napa, and produced some good pieces of architecture at Famagusta, Nicosia and Ayia Napa. The purest examples of the style are found in public buildings such as the gates and the palace at Famagusta. We know moreover that it was in Famagusta that Giovanni Girolamo Sanmicheli died, in 1559, at the age of forty. He was the son of the Venetian architect Paolo Sanmicheli and the best collaborator of his uncle, the famous Michele Sanmicheli whose death in the same year was said to have been caused by grief at the loss of his nephew.⁵⁹ It is certain that Giovanni Girolamo had been called in to direct the construction of the defences of Famagusta, on the same lines as those at Candia (now Heraklion), built by his uncle;⁶⁰ he also did a survey, and perhaps a plan, for the modernisation of the fortifications of Kyrenia.

In other buildings in Cyprus the style of art imported from Italy is blended with that mongrel Byzantine-Gothic style which subsequently arose in Cyprus, as at Stavro tou Missiricou in Nicosia, or Ayia Napa, and which is dominant down to the present day.

57

Dr. F. Bock, *Schloss Karlstein in Böhmen, Mitteilungen der k.u.k. Zentralkommission*, 1862, pp. 69, 90.

58

J. Neuwirth, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte Böhmens* veröffentlicht von der Gesellschaft zur Förderung Deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Litteratur in Böhmen (Jos. Koch, Prague, 1896).

59

J. Heibig, *Le château de Karlstein et les peintures qui le décorent, Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1897, p. 93

60

See Jean Virey, *Architecture romane dans l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon, Société Éduenne*, 1892, and F. Thiollier, *L'art roman à Charlieu et dans le Brionnais* (Montbrison, 1892).

61

See Thiollier, *Le Forez pittoresque et monumental*, 2 vols (Lyons, 1889).

62

See Noel Thiollier, *L'architecture romane dans l'ancien diocèse du Puy, Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes*, 1896.

63

See Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale du Cher* (Bourges, 1875, 1889).

64

See J.A. Brutails, *Notes sur l'art religieux du Roussillon, Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1892-1893.

65

(Ed. note). On these churches see p. 33 note 3.

66

On the Gothic buildings of these two regions see: Taylor and Nodier, *Voyage pittoresque; Languedoc. Congrès archéologiques: Mende et Valence*, 1857; *Rodez et Albi*, 1863; *Montauban, Cahors et Guéret*, 1865, *Senlis, Aix et Nice*, 1866; *Carcassonne, Perpignan, Narbonne*, 1868; *Agen et Toulouse*, 1874; *Arles*, 1876; *Vienne*, 1879; *Avignon et Fréjus*, 1882; *Pamiers, Foix, Saint-Girons*, 1884; *Montbrison*, 1885; *Dax et Bayonne*, 1888; *Album des monuments de l'art ancien du midi de la France*, publ. by the Soc. archéol. du midi, Toulouse; Mérimée, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, *Revue archéologique du midi de la France*; J. Renouvier and R. Thomassy, *Monuments des anciens diocèses de Maguelonne-Montpellier, Béziers, Agde, Saint-Pons et Lodève* (Montpellier, 1835), (plates by Laurens); H. Crozes, *Répertoire archéologique du département du Tarn* (Paris, 1865); Devais, *Répertoire archéologique du département de Tarn-et-Garonne*, Soc. arch. de Tarn-et-Garonne, 1872; Tholin, *Architecture religieuse de l'Agenais* (Agen and Paris, 1874); *Les églises du Haut-Languedoc*, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 1872 and *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. du midi*, 1876; J.A. Brutails, *Notes sur l'art religieux du Roussillon*, *Bulletin archéologique*, 1892, 1893; *Mono-graphie de la cathédrale et du cloître d'Eine* (Perpignan, 1887); Cénac-Moncaut, *Voyage archéologique et historique dans l'ancien comté de Comminges* (Tarbes, 1856); Leo Drouyn, *Variétés girondines*, 2 vols (Bordeaux, 1878-1885); Eug. Müntz, *Hist. des arts*

dans la ville d'Avignon pendant le XIV^e siècle (Bordeaux, 1887); *Les architectes d'Avignon au XIV^e siècle*, *Mém. des Antiquaires de France*, 1882, 1883, 1887, 1891; *Le palais des Papes à Avignon*, *France artistique*, 1893; *Nuovi documenti sui lavori d'arte fatti eseguire a Roma dai papi d'Avignon*, *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1891, p. 126; Macgibbon, *The Architecture of Provence and the Riviera* (Edinburgh, 1888); Rossignol, *Mono-graphies communales du Tarn*, 4 vols, 1864-1866; Chaudruc de Crazzaumes, *Tableau chronologique des monuments historiques de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 1883; A. Saint-Paul, *Carnet d'un archéologue*, *Bull. Monum.*, 1883; Mille, *Mono-graphie de la basilique métropolitaine Saint-Sauveur d'Aix* (Aix, 1883); H. Crozes, *Mono-graphie de Sainte-Cécile d'Albi* (Toulouse, 1873); A.F. Lièvre, *Angoulême*, 1885; H. Lopès, *L'église métropolitaine et primatiale Saint-André de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1882-1884); Abbé Arbellot, *Mono-graphie de la cathédrale de Limoges* (Paris, 1883); P. Laurent, *Documents inédits sur la cathédrale Saint-Just de Narbonne* (Carcassonne, 1887); R. Fage, *Le vieux Tulle* (Tulle, 1883); Abbé Albanès, *Le couvent royal de Saint-Maximin* (Draguignan, 1880); Rostan, *Notice sur l'église de Saint-Maximin (Var)*; G. Digard, *Deux documents relatifs à l'église Saint-Maximin*, *Mél. de l'Éc. de Rome*, 1885; F. Cortez, *Notice sur Saint-Maximin*, *Bull. archéol.*, 1885, p. 260; Andreoli and Lambert, *Saint-Siffrein de Carpentras* (Marseille, 1862); H. Revoil, *Album de l'abbaye de Montmajour*, Bégule and Guigue, *Mono-*

graphie de la cathédrale de Lyon (Lyons, 1880); Abbé Brun, Berchon and Brutails, *Uzeste et Clément V* (Bordeaux, 1894); M. Faucon, *Documents inédits sur l'église de la Chaise-Dieu*, *Bull. archéol.*, 1884; E. and A. Molinier, *L'église de Najac en Rouergue*, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, 1892; Bion de Marlavagne, *Hist. de la cathédrale de Rodez* (Paris, 1875); J. de Lahondès, *Saint-Etienne de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1890); G.G. Lettu, *Description de l'église métropolitaine d'Auch*, 2 vols; Abbé Caneto, *Sainte-Marie d'Auch*, 1857.

67

For the former see the proceedings of the *Congrès Archéologique*, 1868, p. 361 and for the latter Taylor, *Languedoc*, 25 5 bis.

68

The drawing is incorrect in showing a zigzag at the beginning of the arch; it actually has a saw-tooth motif. The arch is twelfth-century, the capitals were re-cut in the fourteenth or fifteenth.

69

Chapel of the Holy Trinity in St. Honoret on the island of Lérins, the bottom storey of the tower at Brantôme and the crypt of St. Ebrégisile at Jouarre.

70

See the very handsome folio published by Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, *Lacrymae Nicossiensis* (Quantin, Paris, 1894).

71

Illustrations of those at Aigues-Mortes can be seen in the proceedings of the *Congrès archéologique*, 1868,

p. 352; on those at Avignon see Albert and Auguste Maire, *Les signes de tâcherons sur les remparts d'Avignon*, *Bulletin monumental*, 1884, p. 34; cf.

C. Pfau, *Das Gotische Steinmetzzeichen* (Leipzig, 1895); Revoit, *Architecture romane du Midi*, Rey, *Architecture militaire des Croisés*;

E. Flouest, *Marques des tâcherons à la chapelle de la Corroierie, Côte d'Or* (*Procès-verbaux de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 6 July 1881), and *Annales archéologiques*, vol. II, p. 237; M.A. Malpièce, *Documents sur les artistes du moyen âge*; vol. III, p. 31, *Signes lapidaires au moyen âge*, anonymous article.

Comparing the inscribed signs which I collected in Cyprus with the masons' marks on certain buildings in southern France I find that of the 56 marks recorded from Nicosia Cathedral (Fig. 33) 10 are found on Agde Cathedral, 15 at Aigues-Mortes, 17 on the walls of Avignon, 7 on the Charterhouse of Villefranche, 3 on the refectory at Silvacane, 5 on St. Didier at Avignon. Of the 11 at Bellapais (Fig. 122) 2 are found on the walls of Avignon, 2 on Agde Cathedral, 2 at Silvacane on the refectory, 1 at St. Didier, Avignon, 1 on Fort St. Andrew at Villeneuve-d'Avignon. Of the 22 at Kyrenia Castle (Fig. 370) 5 are on Agde Cathedral, 8 on the walls of Aigues-Mortes, 3 on the refectory at Silvacane, 5 at Villeneuve-d'Avignon, 8 on St. Didier, Avignon. Of the 57 marks on the walls of Famagusta (Fig. 382), 10 are on Agde Cathedral, 16 at Aigues-Mortes, 10 on St. Didier,

Avignon, 6 on Fort St. Andrew, 19 on the walls of Avignon, 8 on the Charterhouse of Villefranche, 6 on the refectory at Silvacane.

On the Asomatos church at Aphendrika (Fig. 284) there is a mark which recurs at St. Didier, Avignon; of 3 marks at Trapeza (Fig. 284) 1 recurs on Agde Cathedral, 2 on the walls of Avignon.

Of 2 marks on Paphos Cathedral 1 recurs on Agde Cathedral and 1 at Aigues-Mortes.

Of 21 marks at Kouklia (Fig. 422) 4 recur at Aigues-Mortes, 2 on Agde Cathedral, 5 on St. Didier, Avignon, 2 on Fort St. Andrew, 5 on the refectory at Silvacane, 9 on the walls of Avignon and 1 on the Charterhouse of Villefranche.

Masons' marks are common elsewhere in France and there are large numbers in Spain; see Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London, 1865), plates IV, VIII, IX, XII, XV, XIX, XX, XXIII; in the twelfth century on St. Mark's and the cathedral at Salamanca, the Templars' church at Segovia, Veruela Abbey, St. Mary at Benavente, St. Mary at Corunna and St. James at Compostella; in the thirteenth Tarragona and Lerida Cathedrals; in the fourteenth the collegiate church at Manresa; in the fifteenth Segovia Cathedral. They are equally numerous in Germany, see Otte, *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Archäologie*, vol. I, p. 43; Dr. G. Schaefer, *Kunstdenkmäler im Grossherzogthum Hesse*, p. 44; Dr. Paul Clemen, *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, vol. II, p. 133; Dr. P. Adamy, *Kunstdenkmäler in Grossherzogthum Hessen*, pp. 28, 45, 90, 91

etc. The marks in Cyprus are, however, closer to those in the south of France, Spain and Sicily.

72

The same is true of the Gothic style imported into Germany from France; it only acquires a special character of its own at the end of the sixteenth century. In England the Norman style only gives way to Perpendicular in the fifteenth century. In Italy the only Gothic style with a claim to originality is the Venetian Gothic of the same date.

73

See Desimoni, *op. cit.*

74

See Mas Latrie, *Documents génois concernant l'île de Chypre, Arch. de l'Or, lat.*, vol. II, pp. 170 et seq. In 1370 Alice of Majorca was the mistress of the Admiral, John of Monstry, which brought about his disgrace and death. Three years later she took another admiral as her lover, Peter of Campo Fregoso, a man ill-disposed towards the Kingdom of Cyprus; his wife demanded and obtained from the Genoese the decapitation of Philip of Ibelin; see Strambaldi, pp. 114, 115; Machaeras, p. 61 and Mas Latrie, *loc. cit.*

75

Capmany, *Memorias sobre la marina comercio y artes de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1779), part II, ch. III and IV, vol. I, pp. 64, 70, vol. III, p. 18 and Mas Latrie, *L'tie de Chypre*, p. 228.

76

Andanças y viajes de D. Pero Tafur (Miguel Ginestra, Madrid, 1874), p. 68. On Tafur see Amadi

ORIGINS OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN CYPRUS

- pp. 507, 514 and Strambaldi,
pp. 281, 286.
- 77
Op. cit. p. 72
- 78
See Mas Latric, *Hist. des arch. de Chypre*.
- 79
Bustron, pp. 437, 44, 445.
- 80
In Sicily Palermo, Castro-
giovanni (Enna), Randazzo
and Taormina still preserve
numbers of large town houses
built in the Aragonese or
Catalan style of the
fifteenth century and, in
particular, of the early
sixteenth; cf. Enlart, *Arch.
gothique en Italie*, p. 220.
- 81
This type of colonnette can
also be found in two
Cistercian cloisters in the
diocese of Rome: Casamari
(thirteenth century) and
Fossanova (fourteenth
century); cf. Enlart, *Arch.
gothique en Italie*.
- 82
See J.A. Brutails, *La loge
de mer et l'architecture
civile à Perpignan*, *Album
du midi de la France*, vol. I,
pp. 129 et seq. For Spanish
examples see Piferrer and
P. Margall, *Cataluna*
(Barcelona, 1884); for Palma,
see Archduke Louis Salvator
of Austria, *Die Stadt Palma*
(Leipzig, 1882).
- 83
For Rhodian buildings see
the album of lithographs by
Witdoeck, companion
volume to Colonel Rottier's
*Description des monuments
de Rhodes* (Brussels, 1830).
- 84
On these cloisters, built
c. 1460 to 1465, see Luca
Beltrami, *La certosa di Pavia*
(Milan 1895); Storà
*documentata della certosa di
Pavia* (Milan, 1896); Carlo
Magenta, *La certosa di Pavia*
(Milan, 1897).
- 85
Examples of the influence
of this style can be found
in Greece at Mistra and,
in stone-carving, on Crete.
- 86
See Richter, *The Literary
Works of Leonardo da Vinci*
(London, 1883), vol. II,
Topographical Notes; IV,
Levant, pars. 109-112 and
*Dissertation on the Voyages
of Leonardo in the East*,
1482-1486, pp. 281, 282;
cf. C. Ravaisson-Mollien, *Les
écrits de Léonard de Vinci*,
Gazette des Beaux-Arts,
XXIII, pp. 225, 248, 331,
349, 514, 535. Ravaisson
proves, as against Richter,
that Leonardo could only
have spent a few months in
the Levant but he is inclined
to agree that he was there.
This is plausible, since his
description of Paphos
(Richter, p. 262), though
allegorical, conforms to what
the place in fact looks like.
On the other hand Leonardo
does not appear to have
made a proper visit to
Cyprus; I imagine that he
merely touched at Paphos on
his way to the Levant, as
did Bartholomew of Salignac,
Carlier and other travellers
of the same period. If he
never actually visited Paphos
he must have used some
traveller's notes.
- 87
See E. Müntz, *Hist. de
l'art pendant la Renaissance*,
vol. III, p. 712.
- 88
See Müntz, op. cit., vol. II,
p. 292, vol. III, p. 712.
- 89
Nagler, *Kunstlerlexikon*,
vol. IX, p. 248.
- 90
See the facsimile of his
drawings in F. Ronzani and
G. Lucioiii, *Le fabbriche
civili ecclesiastiche e mili-
tari di Michele Sanmicheli*
(Antonelli, Venice, 1832).

CHAPTER III

NICOSIA

THE BUILDINGS

Vanished Churches

The capital of Cyprus is in the centre of the island, surrounded by a plain dominated by high ground on all sides. From whichever direction the traveller approaches it he can discern from a distance the silhouette of its buildings and its date palms against the blue background of the mountains. The chroniclers of Cyprus¹ recount how, in 1425, when the Egyptian Mamelukes were advancing to capture Nicosia after having defeated and captured King Janus, their armies halted on the heights that overlook the city and at first dared not march in, so huge it seemed to them. Nicosia was then three times larger than it is today and dominated by many buildings that have since disappeared. With its low, rambling houses standing in extensive gardens it resembled the horizontal development of our Gallo-Roman cities. It passed through vicissitudes similar to theirs; in times of invasion it was necessary, in order to put it in a state of defence, to demolish the suburbs and with their ruins to construct ramparts, which proved ineffective. According to Stephen Lusignan the result of these labours in 1567 was to destroy eighty churches, both Greek and Latin, three Greek monasteries, two nunneries and the Corneliano Palace, built by Cornelio Cornaro² on the site of the royal palace.

Nicosia³ was always the capital of the Kingdom of Cyprus; from the start of the Latin domination down to the present day it has remained the most important city in the island. It owes its continuing prosperity to the exceptional healthiness of its climate and its water. It is almost exactly in the centre of the island and is built on level ground in the middle of a broad, fertile plain, far enough from the unhealthy coasts and sheltered by mountains to north and south. Through the lower part of the city runs the Pedieos river which in 1330 rose in a devastating flood. The palace and the great market square were on the edge of the

1

Amadi, p. 510; Strambaldi, p. 283; Bustron, p. 367.

The father of Queen Catherine; Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 32.

3

Four engravings of Nicosia, are in existence though, unfortunately, they are more of the nature of hastily-drawn simple diagrams than proper panoramas: *Nicosia*, late sixteenth century (gives names of bastions); *Nicosie*, Peeters, Antwerp; *Nicosia in insula Cyprî metropolis fertilissima opp.*; *Nicosia*, eighteenth-century, from G. Rossaccio, *Viaggi de Venetia a Constantinopoli*, p. 43. (Ed. note.) See A. and J. Stylianou, *The History of the Cartography of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1980).

4 Bustron, pp. 149, 170.

ib., pp. 168, 170.

NICOSIA

lower part of the city, near the river.

Lusignan, *Généalogies*,
fol. 14 v°.

Bustron, p. 109.

8

Lusignan, op. cit., fol. 22.

'Pilgrimage of Nicholas of
Martoni', publ. by Le
Grand, *Revue de l'Or*, latin,
1896.

10

Description de Cypre,
fol. 31 v°.

11

The most important burials
were: 1256, Hugh II, 1266,
his wife (Lusignan,
Généal., p. 22); Bohemund,
son of Hugh III (Strambaldi,
p. 262); Amalric of Montfort
transferred from St. Sophia
by order of the Holy See
and buried in the Chapter-
house (Bustron, p. 134);
1310 the Papal Legate Ray-
mond of Pins (Bustron,
p. 243); 1332 Archbishop
John de Polo, in the centre
of the choir (Amadi,
p. 212); 1358 Hugh IV
'at the threshold of the door
leading to the cloister' (Ma-
chaeras, p. 47, Lusignan,
Généal., p. 19); 1370 Peter I
'in the cloister ... near the
church door; his tomb is
level with the ground with
only a plain slab of marble
over it, though a handsome
one, and facing it is another
stone bearing his epitaph'
(ib.); also preserved were his
spurs of gilt copper, inscribed
with the names of the Three
Wise Men; 1374 the Prince
of Antioch, murdered on the
orders of the Queen Mother
(Bustron, p. 339); 1382
Peter II (Bustron, p. 349);
1398 James I, on the right of
the high altar (Bustron,

The cathedral of St. Sophia, in contrast, is on a plateau which is the highest point of and in the centre of Nicosia. Between it and the lower square is the bazaar quarter, whose principal street rises towards St. Sophia, running along the whole of its south side and then traversing the rest of the city. The cathedral has always been completely detached. On the north a handsome square is situated between it and the archbishop's palace; on the south only the main street separates it from St. Nicholas; on the east a medium-sized street runs around the east end and must have prevented the addition of chapels to it; finally, on the west there is a small courtyard. Towards the lower part of the city and roughly half-way between the cathedral and the lower square is the church of St. George of the Latins, frequently mentioned in history. Further down still, in the bazaar, is an unidentified chapel, now the Iblik Bazaar Mosque. Near the palace the Arab-Achmet Mosque, built in the seventeenth century and paved with French grave stones, may have replaced a church. Close to it is an ancient chapel transformed into a mosque called the Serai Mosque; it has no features of interest apart from its grave-stones. This mosque must have been either the church of St. James or the Carmelite church.

To the north, not far from St. Sophia on the plateau which dominates Nicosia, are the ruins of an important and beautiful church now called the Yeni Djami; between it and the cathedral there are remains of some important fifteenth-century buildings which might have been a monastery.

To the east, or rather north-east, also quite close to St. Sophia, is the church called by the Moslems the Haidar Pasha Mosque and by the Greeks St. Catherine; it belonged to a monastery of which some vestiges remain.

Further away from the cathedral and lower down in the southern part of the city one comes to St. John, now the Greek metropolitan church, which seems to have been previously the Greek monastery of Bibi, and the chapel called Stavro tou Missiricou, the former Armenian cathedral, and further still, beside the Limassol road, the great Augustinian church of St. Mary, now the Emerghié Mosque. Also in the lower part of the city, about halfway between the latter church and the lower square, is the former women's convent of Our Lady of Tyre with its handsome church which now belongs to the Armenians.

This church, the Augustinian church and St. Sophia Cathedral are the only ecclesiastical buildings in Nicosia whose identification is certain. St. Nicholas is so called because of a small figure which is carved on the tympanum of its main doorway but is much later than the doorway itself; however history records a church of St. Nicholas which belonged to the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the church that bears that name today adjoins some remains of monastic buildings. The attribution

is therefore very probable. The same is true also of the church of St. George of the Latins. The church of St. Catherine is unknown in history, but the Christians of Nicosia give the name to one of the principal churches of the city; however St. Catherine, like St. George and St. Nicholas, is the object of such veneration in Cyprus among Greeks, and even among Moslems, that her name has been more or less arbitrarily attached to a multitude of buildings; and the Greeks, left alone with the Turks after 1571, eagerly joined with them in obliterating all traces of the Latin domination. It is highly likely that St. Catherine had a different name in medieval times but I have found no evidence that would enable me to restore it. The ruins of the Yeni Djami also belonged to an important and handsome church which it would be rash of me to attempt to identify.

The headquarters of the Templars were very close to the royal palace; some buildings were given to the Hospitallers in 1308.⁶ It is possible that the small church near the palace, now the Serai Mosque, or alternatively the Arab Achmet Mosque, with its Gothic tombstones, may mark the site of the Templars' church. Guy of Lusignan, the founder of the Kingdom of Cyprus, was buried there in 1197⁶ as was King Henry I in 1253.⁷

Also close to the palace and communicating with it across the river was the Dominican monastery founded in about 1250 by Henry I and completed by Hugh II.⁸ It had two cloisters, one large and one small, referred to by Nicholas of Martoni in 1395.⁹

Father Stephen Lusignan, who lived for a long time in the Dominican monastery, has left an account of its destruction by the Venetians in 1567 when the fortifications of Nicosia were reconstructed. He gives some details¹⁰ about the buildings: 'There was the King's Chamber and the Queen's Chamber, each separate, from which they used to hear the whole of the services during Holy Week. In this church was the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.... It had a wonderfully beautiful garden—These gardens were between the two cloisters—This church was the place of burial of several kings, queens and kings' sons, together with a large number of princes, barons and other noblemen.¹¹ There were also up to eighteen archbishops or bishops buried there, and one of the sons of St. Louis, King of France, who died very young during the six months that the King spent in Cyprus. Others say that it was the son of his brother, Charles, King of Naples. During the same period many other Frenchmen died there, counts, barons and bishops. The church had two dorters and two cloisters the walls of which, like the other public rooms, were all sheathed in marble.'

Unfortunately Father Lusignan gives few details about the architecture of St. Dominic; he only mentions, in connection with a discovery of relics, a retable of about 1370 on which were 'depicted' SS. Ursula, Eulalia and Mary Magdalen, and, kneeling before them, Queen Eleanor

p. 353; Strambaldi, p. 262); also his son Henry, Prince of Galilee (Lusignan, *Général*, p. 53); 1432 King Janus, in the choir, facing his father James I 'in a most beautiful and magnificent sepulchre' (Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 155 v^o) with the following epitaph:

Hic situs est Janus, qui
Ciprum rexit amenam.
Trajano similis integritate
fuit.
Cesar erat bello, superans
gravitate Catonem.
Nobilibus fuerat portus et
aura viris.
Ut Deus in terris, decimo
castissimus anno
Vixit et in populis gratior
ipse Deo
Sanctior his cunctis
et sanguine clarior extat
Umbra polum cèlebrât, de-
tinet ossa lapis.

(Bustron, 371); 1458, Helena Palaeologina, wife of King John II (Strambaldi, p. 288).

12
Lusignan, *Description de Cypre*, fol. 63 v and 64:
'In the year of Grace 1567, when the church of St. Dominic at Nicosia was demolished, many relics of saints were found under the altar of St. Eulalia. Among others were seven heads on which the wounds could still be seen. There were also some bones, a woman's garment made all of silk, two arrows and a sword stained with blood, as was the garment also; then there were some palm branches, and some anthems inscribed in a small frame on parchment in praise of St. Eulalia, St. Ursula and St. Mary Magdalen who were the saints to whom that altar was dedicated. From what we could see we con-



Fig. 26
Omoloyitades.

of Aragon, wife of Peter I.¹²

Count L. de Mas Latrie believes that some carved pieces built into the walls of the church of Omoloyitades, near Nicosia, may have come from the ruins of St. Dominic.¹³ Unhappily this church has been rebuilt since 1847 and few of these relics are still to be seen. The detail that I reproduce (Fig. 26) may have been part of the tracery of an arcade of the cloister, or of a tomb, dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Among the churches destroyed in 1567 must be included also the church of Our Lady of the Field, also known as the church of St. John of Montfort. It belonged to the Cistercians and then passed to the Franciscans of the Observant Order.¹⁴ St. John of Montfort, whose tomb was venerated there,¹⁵ was a Count of Rochas.¹⁶ According to Nicholas Le Huen his body was preserved 'perfectly incorrupt; and it is the most beautiful dead body that I have ever seen anywhere in the world. The people come here on devout pilgrimages to acquire merit.'¹⁷

In 1461 this church had twelve silver statues of the apostles, which were probably altar ornaments, crosses, censers and chalices also of silver, a golden pax set with precious stones and two rubies, one of which was on the high altar.¹⁸ These ornaments were sold or broken up to support Charlotte of Savoy.

The church of the Dominicans in Nicosia was originally dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.¹⁹ One of the tombs in the church, not identified by Lusignan, was made, he says, of a marble called *smiuse* which 'straightway heals all wounds' and because of this 'had been many times broken because of the property of the marble.'²⁰ This is an odd cause for its destruction when one takes account of so many others.

There are frequent references to the church in the chronicles of Cyprus.²¹ In 1300 it was left a legacy by Bernard Fayssa, merchant of Narbonne.²² In 1317 King Henry II was buried there, close to the altar, and in 1324 Queen Isabel his mother was also buried there, at his feet.²³ The King's tomb was no doubt a sarcophagus raised above the ground; the figure which I was fortunate enough to discover must have come from this sarcophagus.²⁴ In 1317 John of Ibelin, who died at fifteen years old, was also buried there; he was the son of the Seneschal of the Kingdom and in 1318 John of Ibelin, the Seneschal himself was buried in the same place;²⁵ in 1331 his widow, Marie, was buried in the chapter-house in a nun's habit.²⁶ In 1369 Count Philip of Brunswick, step-father of King Peter I, was buried there,²⁷ in 1395 Count Simon of Brunswick;²⁸ and in 1457 the Prince of Antioch.²⁹

Nicosia had also a convent of St. Clare.³⁰ It was already in existence in 1300³¹ and is mentioned again in 1310.³² In 1368 Peter I forced Jeanne Laleman, his mistress, to leave it and by his violence intimidated Mary of Gibelet into taking refuge there.³³ Father Lusignan speaks of it as though it were still in existence at the end of the sixteenth century.³⁴ It was built on the site of the old castle, from which it derived its popular name

eluded that the relics were of certain holy virgins, companions of St. Ursula, and that they had been placed there by Queen Eleanor of Aragon, wife of King Peter of Lusignan, at the time when the Genoese were ravaging and plundering the island of Cyprus. The which it was easier to believe in that on the top of the altar there were paintings of these three saints and of the aforementioned Queen, kneeling before them.'

13

L'île de Chypre (Didot, Paris, 1879), p. 32.

14

Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 89.

15

See Bartholomew of Salisgnac, *Itinerarium Ierosolimitanum*, vol. IV, ch. V.

of Castigliotissa.

Among the suburban churches of Nicosia one of the most famous was that of the priory of Our Saviour of the Cemetery (*juxta Cimiterium*), known in popular parlance as 'St. Cemetery.' In 1256 Henry I³⁵ and in 1284 John I were buried there.³⁶ In 1292 the church and the monastic buildings were considerably enlarged by a certain Brother Thomas, acting prior; the document in the cartulary of St. Sophia³⁷ which gives these details adds that they were situated '*in claustro S. Michaelis Nicosiensis.*' The archbishop, John of Ancona, stipulated that after the death of Brother Thomas these buildings were to become the property of the cathedral. The cemetery and St. Saviour's Church were located outside the city, at a distance from St. Sophia. In fact when in 1367 the Papal Legate Peter Thomas organised a procession from the cathedral to the cemetery the cortège had to pass right through the city.³⁸ There was a pulpit in the cemetery, as sometimes in France; Peter Thomas preached from it.³⁹

St. James's Church belonged to the Premonstratensians.⁴⁰ It was near the royal palace and the town-house of the Count of Tripoli.⁴¹ In 1702 a St. James's Church, either that or another, belonged to the French Capuchins⁴² according to Lusignan⁴³ there was another in the wool market, which belonged to a nunnery.'

Lusignan also mentions in Nicosia the monasteries of St. Benedict, of the Friars and of the Carthusians; of the religious order of St. Julian 'who always carry a small silver cross in their hand and wear a blue habit'; of La Cava; and of the Benedictine nuns, dedicated to St. Anne but known under the name of St. Theodore,⁴⁴ which was situated between the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries and had been founded in March 1243 by Alice, widow of Philip of Ibelin, for Cistercian nuns.⁴⁵ Another nunnery, dedicated to St. Lazarus, is reported as existing in 1310 by Florio Bustron.⁴⁶ Is it perhaps to this establishment that Bernard Fayssa of Narbonne left a legacy in 1310?⁴⁷ The wording is 'infirmis Sancti Lazari'; but more probably this legacy was for a leper hospital. (Florio Bustron's reference is clearly to Our Lady of Tyre.) The same will mentions a royal hospital in Nicosia dedicated to St. Julian.

Among the churches that have disappeared I must mention the following as well: the church of the Holy Innocents, referred to by Lusignan;⁴⁸ a church of St. Michael which existed in 1353⁴⁹ a church of St. Veneranda mentioned by Strambaldi (perhaps the name is a corruption of Sainte-Vendredi which would be a French translation of Ayia Paraskevi, a church in the suburbs); and a chapel of Our Lady built by the Seneschal Guy of Ibelin in his garden whose foundation was confirmed in 1327.⁵⁰ At that time this chapel was served by five priests; its founder further endowed it in 1329.⁵¹

Among the churches not belonging to the Latins, Lusignan mentions⁵² the Greek cathedral which he calls *Crussostheistrie*-, the church of the

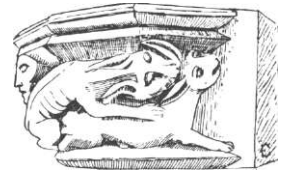


Fig. 27
Nicosia Museum (fourteenth or fifteenth century).

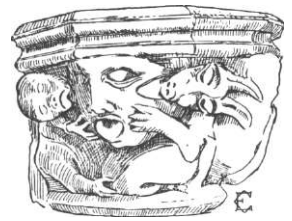


Fig. 28
Nicosia Museum (fourteenth or fifteenth century).

16

Lusignan, *Description de Cypre*, fol. 63. Dapper preserves a strangely different, late seventeenth-century tradition about this person, to the effect that he was known as St. Francis, a Burgundian soldier.' He adds that his body 'was lying in a wooden coffin' (*Descr. des ties de l'Archipel*, 1702, p. 32).

For further information on St. John of Montfort, who

died in 1283, see *Gestes des Chiprois*, pp. xx, 192, 193, 197, 198, 203, 207, 212, 215, 216, 219, 230, 236, 237, 251, 315. On his relics see Le Saige, p. 139: 'I saw him quite naked; he seemed to be sleeping.'

17

Des saintes pègrinations de Jerusalem (Lyons, 1488), fol. 16 v°.

18

Mas Latrie, *Nicosie*, article in *Le Correspondant*, 1847, vol. XVII, p. 528.

19

Lusignan, *Hist.*, fol. 89 v°.

20

ib., fol. 225 v°.

21

Amadi, pp. 399, 402-3, 406; Strambaldi, p. 14; Bustron, pp. 34, 240, 498, 522; Lusignan, fol. 39, 63, 89, 90 **V**; cf. Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. I p. 100, II, pp. 73-4.

22

Bernardus Faxie, in Desimoni, *Actes génois de Famagouste*, *Rev. de l'Or, lat.*, 1896, No. CCCCLVII.

23

Amadi, p. 403; Bustron, p. 262; Lusignan, *Généal.*, fol. 18 v°.

24

See below, p. 365.

25

Amadi, p. 403.

26

ib., p. 405.

Machaeras, p. 167.

Holy Cross, the Armenian cathedral (possibly the one which in the seventeenth century belonged to the Italian missionaries)⁵⁵ which is now an almost abandoned mosque called Stavro tou Missiricou; the church of St. Anthony, the cathedral of the Copts or circumcised Christians; the cathedral of the Jacobites, dedicated to the Virgin and referred to by Le Quien under the dates 1454 and 1457;⁵⁴ the Maronite⁵⁵ and Nestorian cathedrals and the cathedral of the Nubians or Indians. The Jacobites had a second church, dedicated to St. George, which was in existence in 1457.⁵⁶ The Greeks obviously had numerous churches including the Tripiotis church which bears the date of 1690 but contains some pieces of fourteenth-century architecture.

A Greek monastery, which in 1245 had already disappeared, is referred to in that year in the following terms: 'Curia ubi fuit olim abbatia que vocatur *Teupetomeno*.'⁵⁷

In 1310 there was a large convent of Greek nuns in the street of the Syrians, near the Syrian loggia.⁵⁸ Perhaps this was identical with Ayia Phaneromeni, whose great church has recently been rebuilt. Another, Pallouriotissa, still exists outside the city; the convents of Ayii Pantes and Jenechie were demolished in 1567 for the construction of the fortifications.⁵⁹

It appears therefore that there were in Nicosia at least twenty-five Latin churches or chapels whose names are known and over fifteen other churches; according to Lusignan these figures should be doubled.⁶⁰

Whatever the true figures may be, all that remain now are ten Gothic churches of which eight were undoubtedly of the Latin rite and of which only four are identifiable, two definitely and the other two probably.

VANISHED CHURCHES

- 28
Le Saint voyage de Jérusalem du Seigneur d'Anghure, publ. by F. Bonnardot and A. Longnon, *Soc. des anc. textes*, 1878, p. 87.
- 29
Bustron, p. 374.
- 30
According to Le Saige in 1518 the convent 'around which there is a large garden ... is small, and so is the church; but it is very pretty and handsomely decorated.'
- 31
Will of Bernardus Faxie of Narbonne, Desimoni, loc. cit.
- 32
Bustron, p. 270.
- 33
Bustron, p. 272.
- 34
Description de Cypre, fol. 30 v°
- 35
Lusignan, *Généal.*, fol. 16 v°.
- 36
ib., fol. 8.
- 37
No. LXV.
- 38
Mézières, *Vita B. Petri Thomasii, Acta Sanctorum Januar.*, vol. II, p. 1006. 'Transeundo per Nicosiam, ad cimiterium ivit.'
- 39
ib.: 'Ad cimiterium ivit et cathedram ad predicandum ascendit.'
- 40
Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 30 v°.
- 41
ib., fol. 89 v°.
- 42
Dapper, op. cit., p. 32.
- 43
Hist., fol. 89.
- 44
op. cit., fol. 30 v°.
- 45
Cartulary of St. Sophia, No. LXIV.
- 46
p. 211.
- 47
Desimoni, op. cit., No. CCCLVII.
- 48
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 30 v°.
- 49
Mas Latrie, *Hist. des arch. de Chypre*, p. 66.
- 50
Cartulary of St. Sophia, No. CIX.
- 51
ib., No. CXIII.
- 52
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 30 v°.
- 53
Dapper, op. cit., p. 32.
- 54
Oriens Christianus; Bishop Dionysius was consecrated there in 1454 and Bishop Athanasius in 1457.
- 55
In 1430 the Maronite bishop, George, was present at the Council of Nicosia (Le Quien, op. cit., III, 1206); Gabriel Barclai, the Maronite bishop of Nicosia in the fifteenth century, was the author of various works (ib., 86).
- 56
In 1457 Bishop Athanasius held ordinations there (ib., pp. 80, 97).
- 57
Cartulary of St. Sophia, No. LVIII.
- 58
Bustron, p. 230.
- 59
Lusignan, op. cit.
- 60
The chapel of the Virgin of Mercy (La Miséricordieuse) was founded by James I (1382-1398) on the site of a fortress. There are some details about it in an inventory of 1468 published by Mas Latrie (*Hist. de Chypre*, p. 268); see below p. 210, n. 4.

CHAPTER IV

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA

Nicosia

HISTORY

Nicosia is still a city of low houses widely spread out, with numerous gardens in between, and in consequence the great Gothic cathedral of St. Sophia, though deprived of the crowning glory of its towers, dominates the broad townscape in a remarkably imposing way. Such a noble building rising among a swarm of dilapidated hovels gives a very good idea of what a medieval city looked like. The predominant characteristic of St. Sophia (Fig. 29) is its appearance of strength. It expresses the vitality and dynamism of the kingdom whose first great architectural achievement it was and also its purely French traditions. Like the kingdom itself it suffered innumerable assaults, long periods of poverty and deplorable transformations; but its vital force was stronger than they and it will put up a stout resistance for a long time to come. In spite of earthquakes and neglect the construction is still thoroughly sound even in the smallest details.

According to Strambaldi, the building of St. Sophia began in 1194-1195; Father Stephen Lusignan³ even puts the start back to 1193. On the other hand Amadi writes, under the year 1209, 'Alberto terzo arcivescovo comincio a far le fundamenta della madre chiesa di Nicosia,'⁴ and Florio Bustron repeats this: 'Santa Sofia, la qual havera principiata Alberto, terzo arcivescovo, del 1209.'⁴

These last two pieces of information are not entirely correct: Archbishop Albert held the see from 1211 to 1217 and may no doubt have been concerned with the construction in its early stages but in 1209, which Amadi and Bustron give as the date of the laying of the foundation stone, the archbishop was Thierry. Thierry's name is preserved in the record of deaths of Notre Dame in Paris;⁵ he died before 1211, on the 8th of June, and his brother Pierre, who was sub-cantor of the cathedral of Paris, founded a yearly service in his memory.⁶ At some

Ed. Mas Latrie, p. 11: 'et cominciorono (i dieci canonici) edificar chiese et corte di vescovi et cominciorono Santa Sophia.'

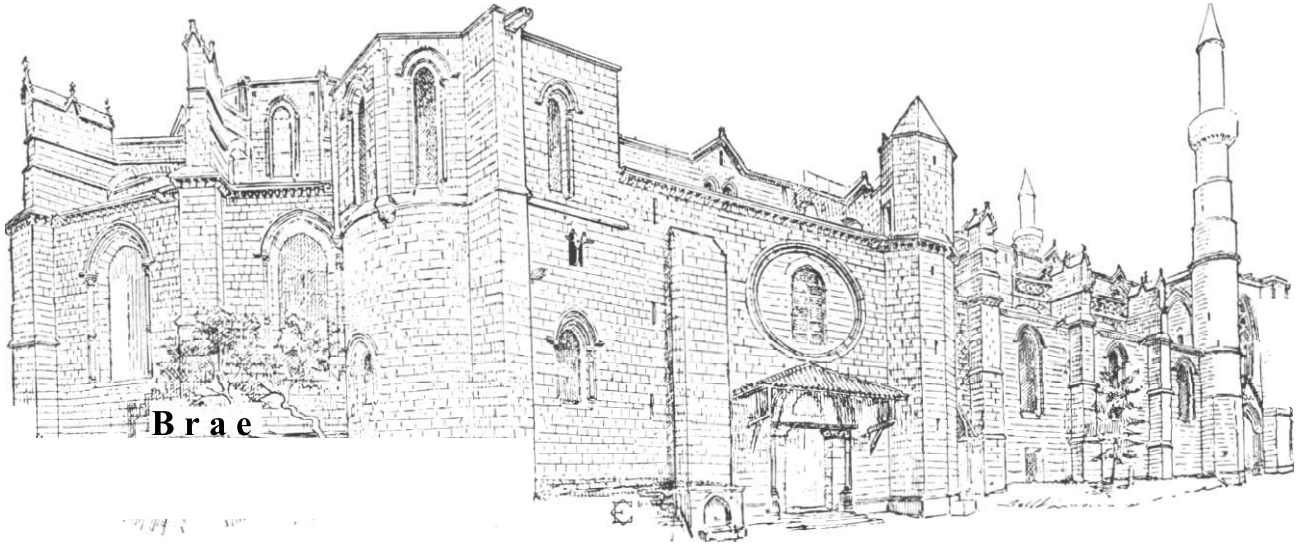
Description de Cypre (Paris, 1580), fol. 123.

3
fol. 26.

4
fol. 82.

Guérard, *Cartul. de N.-D de P. Obituaire*, vol. IV, p. 506; Mas Latrie, *Hist. des archevêques latins de Chypre*.

Guérard, loc. cit. ib. and Mas Latrie, op. cit., p. 6 (210): 'Eodem die (XIV Kal. jului; in margin, ante 1213), obiit Terricus Nichossiensis archiepiscopus cujus anniversarium capitulum fieri



date after 1210 King Amalric was buried in the new church.⁷ After the brief tenure of two archbishops, Durand, who was not confirmed by the Pope, and Albert, wrongly identified as the founder of St. Sophia, the see of Nicosia was occupied by one of the two prelates who beyond all contention did most for their cathedral; he was the Frenchman, Eustorgius of Montaigu,⁸ from the Auvergne. His counter-seal (Fig. 30) gives the oldest representation of St. Sophia.⁹ During his time as archbishop donations flowed in. Already in 1217 Philip of Ibelin founded a chaplaincy and gave to the church the estate of Prestrona (Peristerona).¹⁰ In 1220 Queen Alice of Champagne handed over a mill to it.¹¹ In 1219 the archbishop went with John of Brienne¹² on his expedition but in 1221 he took up once more the affairs of his church and bought from his colleague of Tyre the manor of Livadia.¹³ He also obtained from Pope Honorius III a prohibition against the opening of private chapels in Nicosia without his permission, because they would draw away a source of revenue from St. Sophia.¹⁴

According to some historians the cathedral of St. Sophia was finished in 1228¹⁵ but there can be no question of anything more than the completion of the most essential parts, probably the choir and the transept, which are earlier than the rest of the building. In 1230 the church bought an estate from Baldwin, Lord of Morphou.¹⁶ Two years later the work of construction was interrupted by a disaster; the army of the Emperor Frederick II captured Nicosia and put it to the sack.¹⁷ It was not long however before the Cypriot army took the offensive and drove off the German invaders. King Henry later besieged Kyrenia castle where the last remnants of the imperialists were holding prisoner Queen Alice of Montferrat, the young woman whom the Emperor had made him marry; however she died while the castle was still under siege. Her body was handed over to the King who had it brought to Nicosia and buried in

Fig. 29
The cathedral of
St. Sophia, Nicosia.

concessit ad petitionem Petri
succentoris parisiensis, fratris
sui, Idem enim Petrus, ob
remedium anime dicti fratris
sui et sue, de dit nobis
quadraginta libras parisi-

Lusignan, *Généalogies*,
fol. 15 and *Descr. de Cypre*,
fol. 126.

Mas Latrie, op. cit.,
pp. 10-25.

Described in the Cartulary of
St. Sophia No. LVIII, 'Ab
alia vero parte erat sculpta
ecclesia quedam et scriptum
erat: ECCLESIA NICOSI-
ENSIS'; illustrated by Paoli
in the *Codex Diplomaticus*,
vol. I, p. 112, plate V
No. 58.

10
Cartulary of St. Sophia
No. XL.



Fig. 30
Counter-seal of
Eustorgius of Montaigu.

St. Sophia.¹⁸ Not long afterwards the last Germans and Lombards left Cyprus and work started again on St. Sophia.

At some date after 1223 the archbishop bought a new estate for the church from the abbot of the Templars¹⁹ and King Henry gave him a manor²⁰ which he exchanged next year for two others.²¹ In 1224 Baldwin of Morphou granted the cathedral an income from St. Sabas near Paphos.²² In 1236 it acquired an income of 2,000 white bezants secured on the Larnaca salt works.²³ In 1239 King Henry gave it an important endowment.²⁴ In 1245 it obtained some quit-rents and in 1247 bought four gardens in Nicosia from John of Ibelin,²⁵ probably to provide space for enlargement. However all these acquisitions went towards the construction of the cathedral and the bishop's palace rather than to provide for the cathedral clergy. This was an interpretation of the duties of an administrator wholly unacceptable to the Papal Legate **Eudes of Châteauroux**. In 1248 he issued a decree which obliged Archbishop Eustorgius to establish twelve canons in his church (previously, as recorded in the text of the decree, it had had up to 16) and created in addition a Dean of the chapter. The decree also prescribed the establishment of a school of grammar and a school of theology in the archbishopric and a school of grammar in each of the three suffragan dioceses.²⁶ The expense of all these innovations must have severely hampered the completion of the building. Fortunately, however, in the very same year an unexpected source of help arrived to compensate for them; in July 1248 **St. Louis** landed in Limassol with his court and a very large suite which included **artists and artisans**.²⁷

The King of France had taken pains in advance to organise the colonisation of his future conquests in the East. We know what these conquests amounted to, but in the meantime **his colonists and his artists could find employment for themselves in the Kingdom of Cyprus** while St. Louis was with great difficulty concentrating his army there in 1248 and 1249. When he finally sailed from Cyprus the finances of the expedition were already in so bad a state that some of the people he had brought with him had to remain. After the campaign had failed other Frenchmen too had to find a refuge there and some means of supporting themselves. In the course of his stay **St. Louis spent large sums of money; there is no doubt that the archbishop was able to take advantage of his piety and his liberality for the benefit of the continuation of his work on the building of St. Sophia.** **Archbishop Eustorgius** certainly had an excellent relationship with St. Louis. In 1249 he sailed to Egypt with him and remained by his side, dying in his camp next year.

The French expedition was destined to render back to the Church of Cyprus what it had taken from it; it was a prelate from St. Louis's suite, **Hugh of Fagiano**, formerly **Dean of the chapter of Rouen**,²⁸ who succeeded Eustorgius of Montaigu and continued his work. In 1264 he is on record as having bought from the Templars four houses neighbouring on

11
ib., No. LXII.

12
Mas Latrie, ib.

13
Cartulary, No. XLiv.

14
ib., No. LXVI.

15
Mas Latrie, ib.

16
Cartulary, No. LIII.

17
Philip of Novara, *Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, *Société de l'Orient latin* (Geneva, 1887), p. 94

18
Amadi, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, p. 174

19
The latter used the purchase price to buy houses at Acre. Cartulary of St. Sophia, No. XLIII.

20
Cartulary, No. LIX.

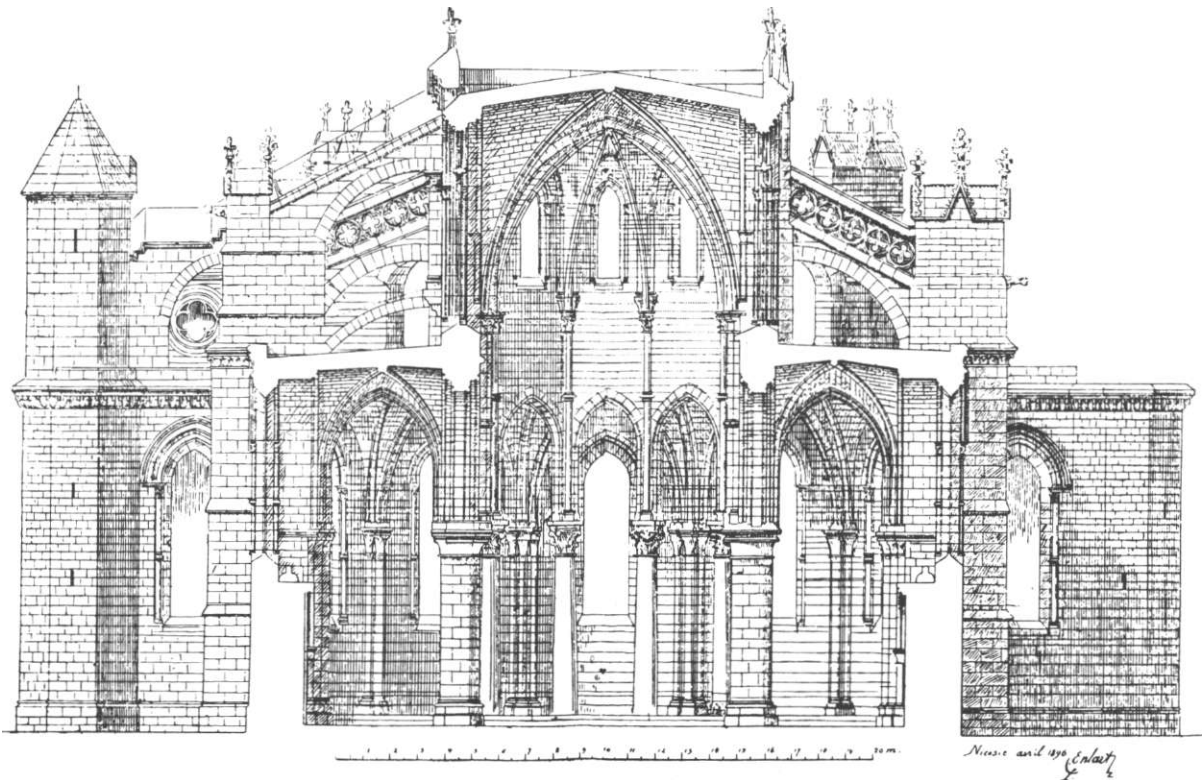
21
ib., No. LX.

the archiépiscopal palace in order to settle a law-suit.²⁹ At this date however he was no longer living in Cyprus; his bigoted character had made him so hated by the Greeks on the one hand and by the royal government of Cyprus on the other that he had to return to Italy, his native land, about 1260. In 1263 he founded there, at Rezzano near Pisa, a monastery which was given the name of Nicosia.

In 1267 an earthquake³⁰ probably caused some damage to St. Sophia. Two new incumbents, Bertrand and Raphael, make only a transient appearance on the archiépiscopal throne. The same year is marked by a royal endowment in favour of St. Sophia.³¹ In 1280, under Archbishop Arnold, there is a record in the cartulary of St. Sophia of some alarming events: certain laymen were excommunicated by the Synod of Nicosia for disturbances caused in the cathedral.³² In 1284 there were buried there King Hugh III of Lusignan,³³ his son and his father who all died in Tyre in the space of four months. Their bodies were brought back by the Constable Simon of Montolif.³⁴ In 1286 King Henry II enriched the cathedral with a new endowment.³⁵ Archbishop John I (Brother John of Ancona 1288-1295) certainly concerned himself with the work of construction of St. Sophia because on 10th September 1292 Canon Gerald of Antioch sold his house close to St. Sophia to Archbishop John 'ementi et recipienti pro parte, et nomine, et AD OPUS ecclesie sue predicte.'³⁶ In 1300 St. Sophia received a legacy of seventeen bezants from a

- 22
ib., No. LXI.
- 23
ib., No. L (in French).
- 24
ib., Nos LIV and LV.
- 25
ib., No. XLIX (in French).
- 26
Labbe, *Conciles*, vol. XI,
pt. II, coll. 2400-2405.

Fig. 31
St. Sophia, section north-south.



merchant of Narbonne, Bernard Fayssa (Bernardus Faxie) who had died in Famagusta.³⁷ Three years later there was a great earthquake³⁸ which may have damaged the building. In 1310, according to Florio Bustron,³⁹ the usurper Amalric Prince of Tyre was buried in the choir of St. Sophia near his father Hugh III. In 1304 Amalric of Monfort had been buried there near his uncle the Lord of Beirut in front of the entrance of the choir.⁴⁰

In 1312 John de Polo, also known as Giovanni del Conte, a Roman bishop, succeeded Archbishop John I. He only arrived in Nicosia in 1319 but he immediately began active work on the building of his cathedral.

His first seven years in Nicosia were probably employed in finishing the nave and on the 5th November 1326 he solemnly consecrated the edifice. The words 'et primo' which in the chronicles of Amadi and of Florio Bustron, copying him, precede the record of the consecration and the fact that they both begin their list of the works of John de Polo with it do not mean that the consecration preceded the other works but rather that it surpassed them in importance. Among these works⁴¹ is the porch up to the top of the vaulting, probably, that is to say, the whole of the porch as it is today because the upper part is still missing and the second storey remained unfinished. John de Polo also added some flying buttresses of a different design from the preceding ones; he built, consecrated and decorated a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas⁴²; he provided a large baptismal font and a rich marble rood-screen, two large bells and two silver angels, probably for the high altar; he had the vaults of the nave and the six columns of the choir painted and enriched the sacristy with a large number of expensive draperies, silk tapestries, altar frontals and sacerdotal vestments.

He did not succeed however in finishing his cathedral. At the end of his reign the great floods of 1330⁴³ spared St. Sophia and the archbishop's palace, which indeed served as refuge for the population of the lower quarters; but this public disaster impoverished the country so much that all luxury expenditure was brought to a stop. Two years later John de Polo died and Cardinal Elias of Nabinaux succeeded him until 1344. After him came Philip of Chamberlhac, who only arrived in 1350, and who left Cyprus ten years later to become archbishop of Bordeaux.⁴⁴ Between his election and his assumption of office comes the bull of Clement VI about the restoration and completion of St. Sophia, issued at Avignon in 1347.⁴⁵ Archbishop Philip seems to have contributed personally to the needs of his cathedral and enriched it in 1353 with an endowment,⁴⁶ but his period as archbishop marked the last days of Cyprus's prosperity and already serious symptoms were presaging the decline of Latin domination. It was in about 1360 that the Greeks of Nicosia attempted to break down and burn the gates of St. Sophia in a demonstration against the Papal Legate Peter Thomas who was proposing

27

'He had enlisted artisans of every kind, even ordinary labourers, who were intended to help with the supply of the army while it was in Egypt and afterwards, to colonise the country.' Dareste, *Hist. de France*, vol. II, p. 235.

28

He was still at Rouen in 1247; in 1248 he sailed with St. Louis; Mas Latrie, *Hist. des arch. de Chypre*.

29

Cartulary, No. LI.

30

Bustron, p. 112.

31

Cartulary, No. LVI.

32

ib., No. XXIX; a letter from Archbishop Matthew of Caesarea on the subject of a constitution of the synod of Nicosia; see Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. XXVI, p. 319.

33

Traditionally Hugh III was buried at Bellapais Abbey, which he founded, but this is conclusively disproved by the contemporary account of the Templar of Tyre.

34

The Templar of Tyre (Gerard of Montréal), *Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, *Soc. de l'Orient lat.*, p. 317.

35

Cartulary, No. LII.

36

ib., No. LVII,

37

Desimoni, op. cit. No. CCCCLVII.

to give Latin confirmation to the Greek bishops. The Latin lords arrived in time to save the legate's life; he had taken refuge by the main altar where he faced his assailants with the cross in his hands.⁴⁷

In 1369 an assembly of all the feudatories of the Kingdom presided over by the Prince of Antioch, was summoned to the palace to produce an official compilation of the laws of the Kingdom. They decided, according to Beugnot,⁴⁸ that 'the book, sealed with the seals of four of their number, to whom its safe-keeping was entrusted, should be enclosed in a coffer deposited in Nicosia Cathedral. It could only be removed from there by royal order and in the presence of the four nominated feudatories.'

In 1372 Nicosia Cathedral saw the imposing ceremony of the coronation of Peter II.⁴⁹ Next year it suffered a dreadful disaster, the Genoese ravaged the entire island, occupied Nicosia and sacked it three times in the space of a few months.⁵⁰ These calamities must have brought the completion of the cathedral to a final halt. However Jean of Bries, who was Turcopolier of Cyprus and acting Seneschal, made an endowment to St. Sophia in 1383⁵¹ and at his death in 1391 left it a large legacy.⁵²

In the last years of the fourteenth century two pilgrims who have left us the record of their journeys, the Lord of Anglures⁵³ and the Italian notary Nicolas of Martoni,⁵⁴ admired the cathedral. There was a brilliant ceremony there in 1399 for the coronation of King Janus,⁵⁵ but his reign was fated to be disastrous, especially for St. Sophia. In 1425 he failed in his efforts to resist the invasion of the Egyptian Mamelukes which he had imprudently provoked; he was defeated and taken prisoner at Khirokitia. In 1426 the Egyptian army entered Nicosia, pillaged it and then abandoned it;⁵⁶ but the population had fled and did not return. A troop of worthless mercenaries, led by one of the Sforza family, arrived to glean after the Moslems and to complete the ruin of the unfortunate capital of Cyprus. Then some bands of peasants took up arms, massacred the nobles and ravaged their houses.⁵⁷ It was a jacquerie complicated by a religious war and by racial hatred.

In 1432 St. Sophia was repaired and King John II was solemnly crowned there.⁵⁸ He was the last king of Cyprus to live in the capital. His son and successor James the Bastard was more interested in Famagusta which he had recaptured from the Genoese and it was in the cathedral of that town that he was buried in 1473. The chapter of St. Sophia refused to lend the royal winding sheet for the ceremony.⁵⁹

In 1487 a Carmelite monk from Pont-Audemer, Nicholas Le Huen,⁶⁰ visited St. Sophia. He called it 'magnificent.' In the interior he saw the arms of the King of France and the Duke of Normandy.

Under Catherine Cornaro, and in the early years of the Venetian domination, St. Sophia was almost abandoned. An earthquake threw down parts of the building,⁶¹ probably the upper part of the west front. Father Stephen Lusignan places this disaster three years after the Vene-

38
Bustron, p. 134.

39
ib., p. 198.

40
ib., p. 134.

41
Listed in Amadi, pp. 405-6
and Bustron, p. 255.

42
'Fece far la capella de
S. Thomasso de Aquin de-
penzerla et sacrarghe (sic)
l'altare;' Amadi, loc. cit;
Bustron, loc. cit. has almost
identical language.

43
In this flood 3,000 persons
died in Nicosia; it is de-
scribed by Amadi, p. 405,
and Bustron, pp. 254-5.

44
For Philip of Chambarlach
see Mas Latrie, *Hist. des arch.*

45
Cartulary of St. Sophia
No. CXXIV, *Indulgentia pro
fabrica Ecclesie Nicosiensis.*
CLEMENS, episcopus, servus
servorum Dei, universis
Christi fidelibus presentes lit-
teras inspecturis, salutem et
apostolicam benedictionem.
Ecclesiarum fabricis manum
porrigere adjutricem pium
apud Deum et meritorium
reputantes, frequenter Christi
fidèles ad impendendum eccle-
lesiis ipsius auxilium nostris
litteris exhortamur, et ut ad
id eo fortius animentur quo
magis ex hoc animarum com-
modum se speraverint ad-
pisci, nonnunquam pro hiis
temporalibus suffragiis spiri-
tualia eis munera, videlicet
remissiones et indulgentias
elargimur. Cum itaque sicut
pro parte venerabilis fratris
nostri Philippi archiepiscopi

Nicosiensis nobis extitit
intimatum Ecclesia Nicosi-
ensis pro parte complenda
seu reparanda extitisset
opere non modicum sumptu-
oso, ac propterea sint ad id
pie fedelium elemosine oportune,
universitarem vestram
rogamus monemus et hortamur
attente vobis in remissione
peccaminum injungentes
quatenus de bonis vobis a Deo
collatis ad ipsius ecclesie
reparationem seu consumationem
operis hujusmodi pias elemosinas
gratia caritatis subsidia subrogetis,
ut per subventionem vestram
hujusmodi opus valeat consumari,
et vos, per hec et alia bona que Deo
inspirante feceritis, ad eterne
beatitudinis gaudia pervenire
possitis. Nos enim de omnipotentis
Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri
et Pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate
confisi, omnibus vere penitentibus
et confessis qui manus ad hoc
porrexerint adjunctrices centum
dies de injunctis eis penitentibus
misereticorditer relaxamus. Presentibus
post viginti annos minime valituris
quas mitti per questores districtus
inhibemus eas si secus autem fuerit,
carere juribus decernimus. Datum
Avenionis XIII Kalendarum
Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno VI°.

46

Cartulary No. CXXX.

47

The scene is described by Machaeras, pp. 53-4; Bustron, p. 258 and especially in the life of St. Peter Thomas by Philip of Mézières, *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. II.

48

Assises de la Haute-Cour, Introd. p. lxxi.

tians took over,⁶² that is to say in 1492; but the dates which he gives are often erroneous and it seems likely that the earthquake took place at latest in 1491 because this is the date given in an order by the Venetian Senate for the repair of the damage.⁶³ A special commission was charged with collecting the necessary funds; it taxed the archbishop to make an annual contribution of 250 ducats and offered him the position of chairman of the restoration committee if he would agree to come and live in his archiepiscopal palace. However he refused to do so. This archbishop was a Venetian noble Benedetto Soranzo. The restoration was so thorough-going that in 1507 Pierre Mésenge could say 'this church is very beautiful, all newly built because 20 or 22 years ago it was totally demolished by an earthquake, a thing which often happens in the aforementioned country.'⁶⁴

In 1496 the Venetian archbishop Sebastian Priolo granted various privileges and concessions to his cathedral.⁶⁵ In 1507 Pierre Mésenge found there 'a dean, a provost, three archdeacons, twenty-four canons, and thirty or thirty-two chaplains; the service is in Latin according to the Roman use.'⁶⁶ In 1547 it was shaken by another earthquake.⁶⁷ It had been so neglected by this time that when the Governor wanted to attend a service he was obliged to send for a priest to come and celebrate in St. Sophia. By about 1565 this regrettable state of affairs had been remedied, according to the report made by Sagredo to the Venetian Senate.⁶⁸

Five years later the army of Sultan Selim invaded the island of Cyprus, sounding the last hours of Latin domination. An enfeebled Venice sent an inadequate reinforcement to Nicosia of three thousand men commanded by Martinengo; but the commander died on Corfu and when the troops arrived his body was ceremoniously buried in St. Sophia.⁶⁹ This was both a bad omen and a genuine misfortune because it meant that the defence of Nicosia would be very incompetently conducted. A few days later the town was surrounded. As the heroic and desperate defence began the clergy, the people and the garrison gathered in St. Sophia. The archbishop Podocator was in Venice, indifferent to the peril of his flock; in his place Contarini, bishop of Paphos, which had just been destroyed, ascended the pulpit of the cathedral and exhorted Venetians and Cypriots alike to defend their faith. After the sermon the captains embraced him.⁷⁰ A few weeks later all the congregation had been either massacred or reduced to slavery. For three whole days the Turks ravaged and looted in Nicosia. When the orgy came to an end of 15th September 1570, St. Sophia, despoiled of its altars, its stained glass windows, its tombs, its choir-stalls and its Christian ornaments was solemnly converted into a mosque.⁷¹ The towers flanking the façade were extended upwards to form minarets, a mihrab was set up in the southern arm of the transept and the body of the church was cut obliquely by steps oriented towards that sanctuary. Carved and painted figures were destroyed or obscured with plaster, the whole of the interior was whitewashed and the glass

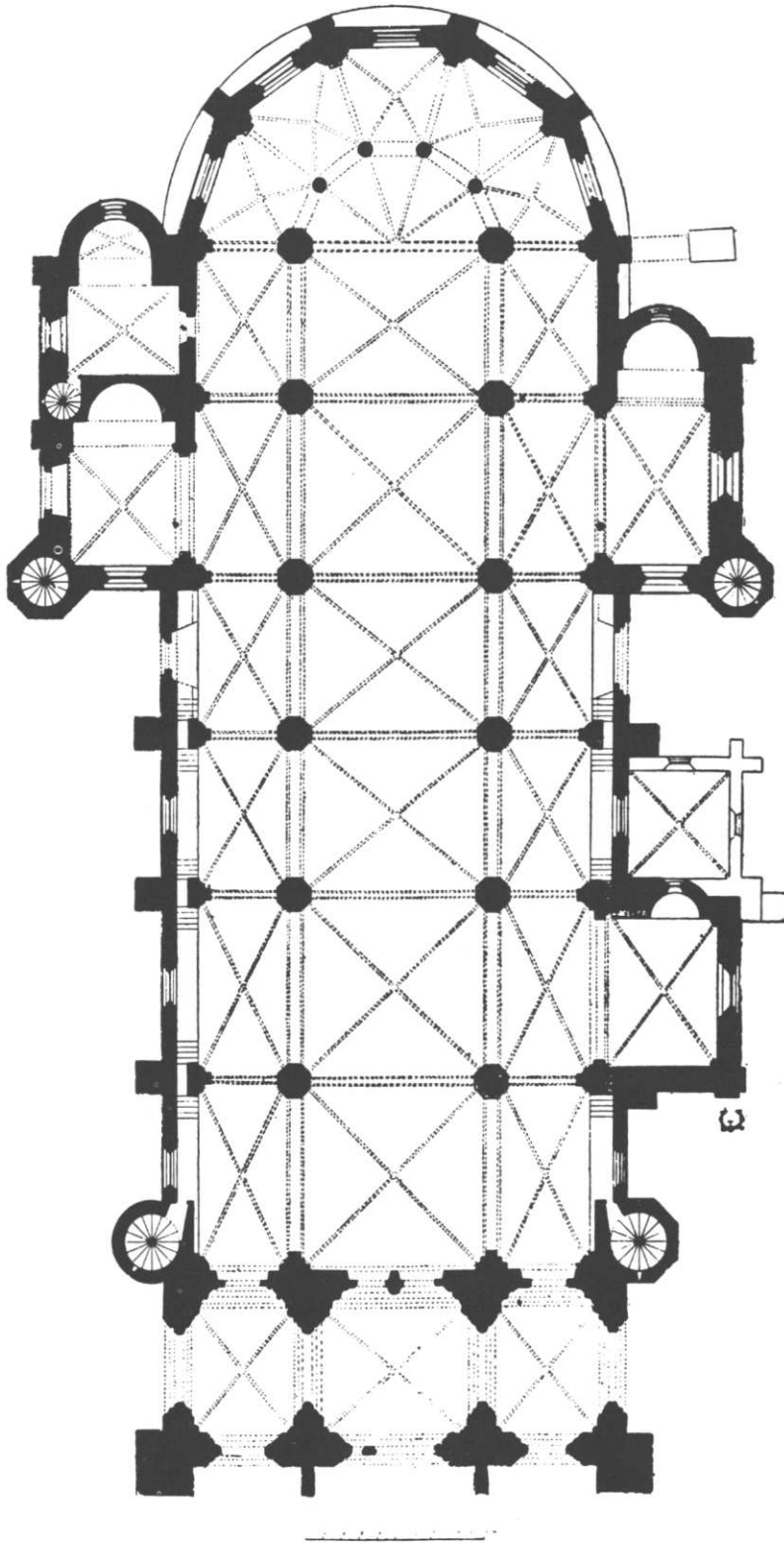


Fig. 32
Plan of St. Sophia.

49
Bustron, p. 282.

was replaced with pierced plaster screens. This is the state in which St. Sophia is to this day. Taking everything into consideration it has been only slightly disfigured and adequately maintained.

50
Amadi, p. 187; Machaeras,
p. 257; Strambaldi, pp. 173,
187; Bustron, pp. 312, 315,
316.

DESCRIPTION

51
Cartulary, Nos CX-CXII.

The building is constructed in limestone from Kyrenia, coarse-grained, like that of the Ile-de-France but pinker. The blocks are of moderate size and perfectly squared; many masons' marks are to be seen (Fig. 33). At first glance the building gives a strong impression of simplicity and unity. This is to some extent a fair impression: the first architect of St. Sophia clearly found himself faced by a distinct shortage of resources and in these circumstances he behaved like a true artist; he wished to do something great in spite of all the difficulties, he decided not to sacrifice either the solidity of his building or the elegance of its execution but he carried through some intelligent simplifications and reduced the small details of architecture and decoration to the minimum necessary. His successors were blessed with more abundant resources and with equally good taste; they constructed their additions in harmony with the older

52
ib., No. CXII.

53
Le Saint voyage de Jérusalem, (1395-1396), ed.
Bonnardot and Longnon,
Société des anc. textes,
1878, p. 84.

54
His account of his pilgrimage
(1395) publ. by Le Grand
in *Rev. de l'Orient latin*,
1896.

55
Bustron, p. 353.

56
ib., p. 367.



Fig. 33
Masons' marks.

DESCRIPTION

parts and distributed their ornamentation well, but since their additional funds only became available when construction was already far advanced this ornamentation was restricted to the upper parts of the cathedral and to the porch.

Evidence of the effect of this lack of money in the early stages of the work is provided by the re-use of several fragments taken from earlier buildings. To begin with, there are in the ambulatory four marble column shafts of Roman origin and two Corinthian capitals in a style approaching the Byzantine; in addition there are various fragments in a French style of the end of the twelfth century which no doubt represent remains from the cathedral that was begun in 1193. One of the Roman columns in the ambulatory has for a base an early Gothic capital, octagonal in form, decorated on the angles with eight rudimentary leaves terminating in spherical crockets and with a second row of lanceolate leaves without details and without crockets. This squat capital has no astragal, it must have been directly connected to the shaft of the column.

On the east side of the building there is a thirteenth-century doorway which has been moved from its original position on the south side. One of the plinths of its side columns (Fig. 48) is a square block of white marble decorated with early Gothic floral scrolls issuing from the jaws of a lion with a bristling mane. This fragment is in the French style of the middle of the twelfth century.

The northern doorway of the transept (Fig. 42) has fluted plinths like those found in northern France in the twelfth and sometimes also in the thirteenth century; but the acanthus-leaf capitals belong to the late Romanesque style and are not at all Gothic. The abacuses of the columns on the other hand are decorated with leaves and flowers in an Early Gothic style. Finally the doorway which leads into the north-east corner of the nave (Fig. 48) has, on the eastern side only, a fluted plinth resembling those of the doorway I have just mentioned but the rest of this piece of architecture belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century. It seems possible that this jamb of the doorway was put in position at the time when the transept was built and before the construction of the nave; it is for that matter not impossible that not only the old doorway of the transept but also some of the masonry surrounding it belong to the twelfth century. This hypothesis would agree with the Romanesque layout of the apsidal chapels in the transept; but it is not a strong argument for an early date because very large numbers of semi-domed apses were built in Cyprus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and they appear alongside architectural forms which are undeniably Gothic and even Late Gothic.

The cathedral of the thirteenth century (Figs. 29 and 32) consisted of a nave of four bays with a porch at the west end extending over the whole of the façade, a simple transept whose salient arms are of the same height as the aisles, a two-storeyed chapel, probably used as a treas-

57
ib. p. 358.

58
ib. p. 371.

59
ib. pp. 434-5.

60
The account of his travels printed in Lyons in 1488 is an enlarged translation of Breydenbach (Mainz, 1486), see Brunet *Manuel du libraire*, coll. 1249-1254. but the passage in question is original.

61
Lusignan, *Description de Cypre*, fol. 310 v^o.

62
Lusignan, op. cit., fol. 210 v^o: 'Three years after the Venetians took possession of Cyprus there was a great earthquake, so dreadful that part of St. Sophia, the cathedral of Nicosia, fell to the ground and many buildings both in that city and in others throughout the island were ruined, demolished and destroyed.'

63
Venetian archives, Senato Mar. Reg. XIII fol. 74 v^o and Mas Latrie, *Histoire des archev.*, p. 106.

64
Amiens, MS. fol. 89 v^o

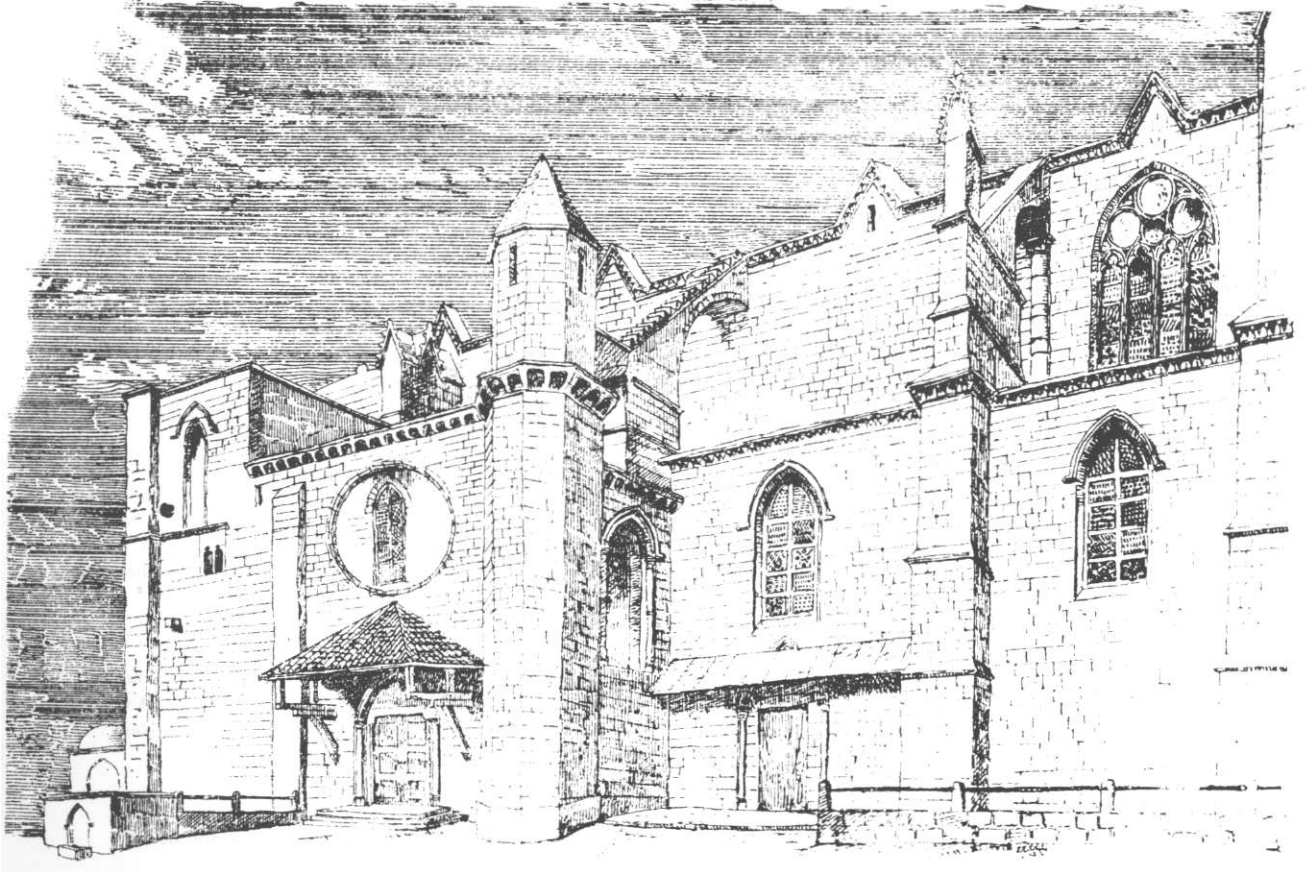
THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, NICOSIA

ury, situated in the angle of the choir and the north transept, and finally a seven-sided polygonal choir and an ambulatory without chapels. Two chapels were subsequently built protruding from the two central bays of the southern side-aisle. The one to the west, which is the older of the two, must have been made to house the font and to serve as foundation for a bell-tower, though the latter does not seem even to have been started. Shortly afterwards, when the porch was built, two great towers were constructed at the extreme end of the last bay. They were probably never finished and have certainly suffered greatly from earthquakes, damage by time and human action.

A close examination of these various divisions of the cathedral will make it possible to establish the date of their construction and the regional origin of the artists who carried them out.

The ambulatory and transept are the oldest remaining portions. Their architecture belongs to that simple and noble style of art which has given us the cathedral of Sens, the choir of Notre Dame in Paris and Notre Dame at Mantes. In Nicosia, however, the style is slightly later; the starting date of 1209 would suit perfectly this part of the building. The plan (fig. 32)¹² is striking. The ambulatory without chapels resembles the original one at Notre Dame in Paris, the one in the cathedral at Arras

p. ^
Part of the north front
St. Sophia,



DESCRIPTION

which has, most unfortunately, been demolished and those still remaining at Notre Dame in Mantes, at Gonesse, at Deuil and in the Danish cathedral of Roskilde which appears to be the work of a north French artist. The cornice of the ambulatory and transept (Fig. 37) is of a very characteristic type of which there is no other surviving example in Cyprus. It belongs recognisably to a well-known type of cornice, specially common in Burgundy and Champagne; when it turns up in other countries it can be used to identify the work of artists from those two

65
Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*
(Paris, 1580), p. 321.

66
loc. cit.

67
Cartulary, ad fin.

68
Labbe, vol. XI, part II,
annex, *Constitutions Nicosienses*,
coll. 2376-2441 and
Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*,
vol. III, pp. 543-3.

69
Calepio, *Prise de Nicosie*,
appendix to Lusignan, *Descr.*
de Cypre, fol. 241.

70
Calepio, op. cit., fol. 247.

71
Calepio, loc. cit., fol. 263 v°.

72
With figure 32 compare the
plan of the church at
Gonesse, published in
Archives de la commission
des monuments historiques,
new series, vol. I.

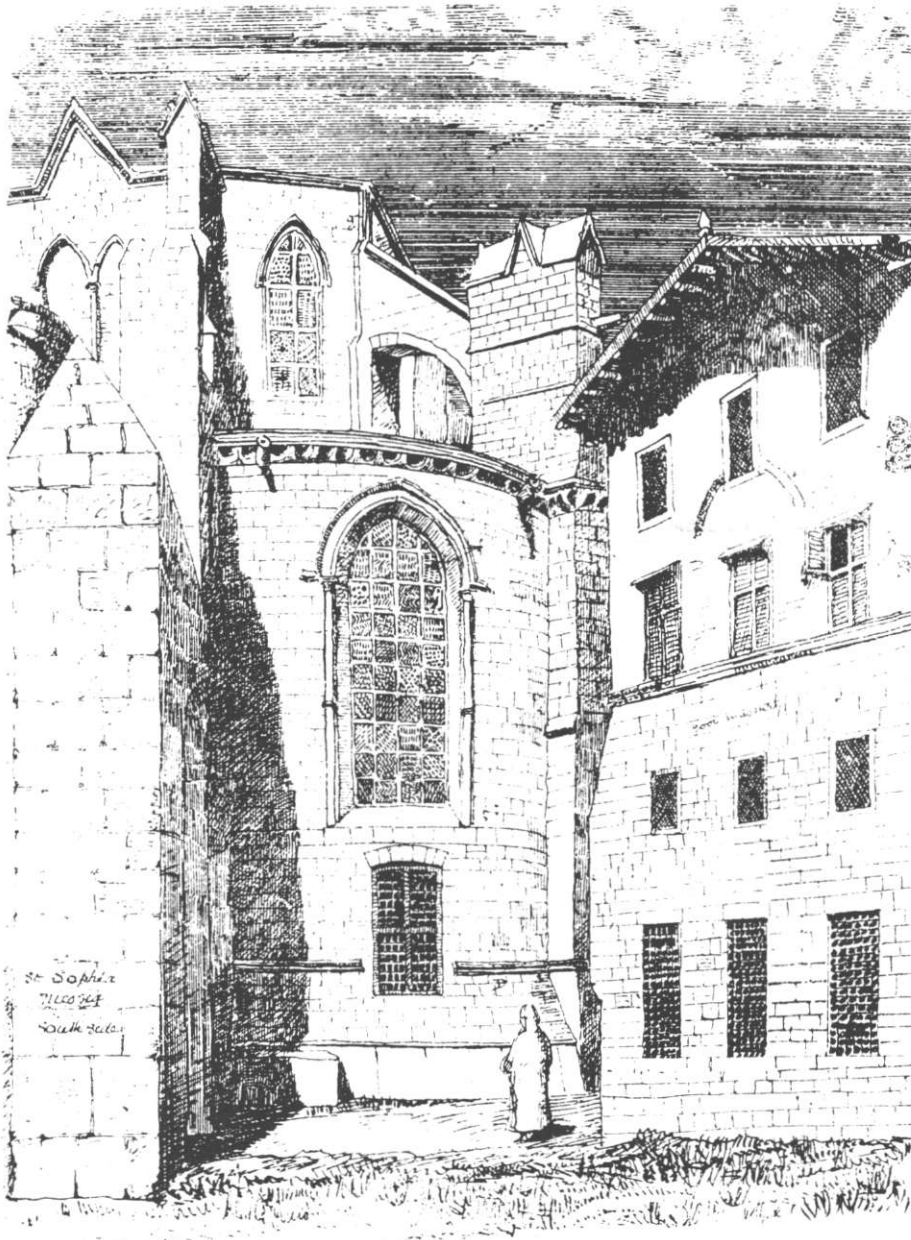


Fig. 35
South bay of ambulatory, St. Sophia.

French provinces, the Cistercian monks for example.⁷³ The windows both of the ambulatory and of the transept (Fig. 40) are very large and constructed in the form of a pointed arch. They belong to a Gothic style in which mullions are not yet in use but which is already making great use of the pointed arch. These windows are enormous. They are surrounded by a hood-mould with two orders of moulding, the outer with two colonnettes and the inner with a wide chamfer. The colonnettes have squared capitals with two rows of crockets and the shaft is formed by two long separated pieces set *en délit* and separated by a shaft ring which has the usual double profile of an attic base. The bases, with a claw motif, are still fairly flat. These windows are closely similar to those in the ambulatory at Gonesse.

There is no evidence that the interior of the ambulatory has had its floor level raised, nevertheless there is no trace to be found of the bases for three of its columns; the fourth, as already mentioned, rests on an upside-down capital. The effect which this produces is disagreeable, though the Turks appear to have found it much to their taste since they have imitated in paint the shape of the leaves of the capital at the bottom of the other columns. Perhaps this capital was used as an underpinning by the Venetians in 1491. It is certain that this is the date of the tie-bars which can now be seen beneath the arches and the transverse ribs

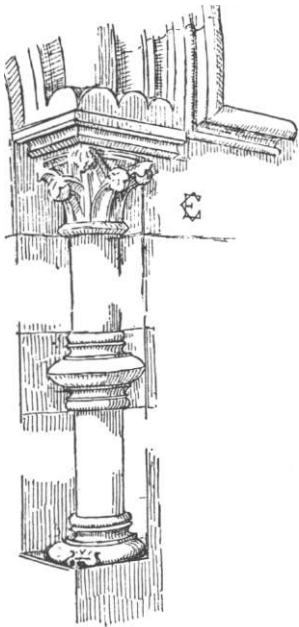


Fig. 36
Windows in the ambulatory.

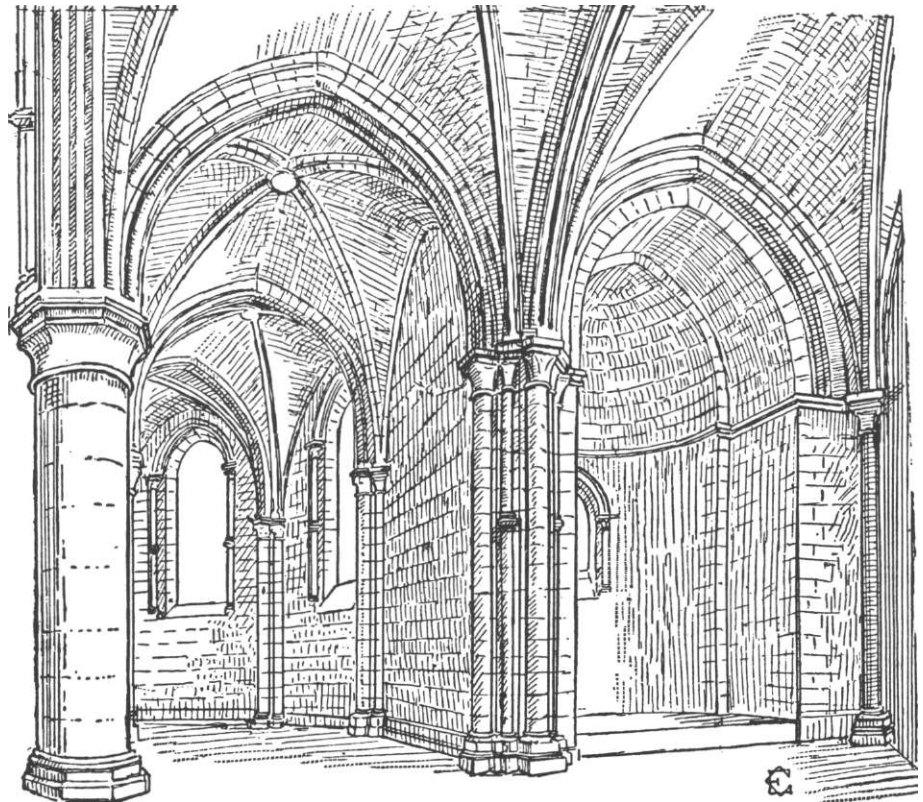


Fig. 37
Ambulatory and southern arm of the transept.

DESCRIPTION

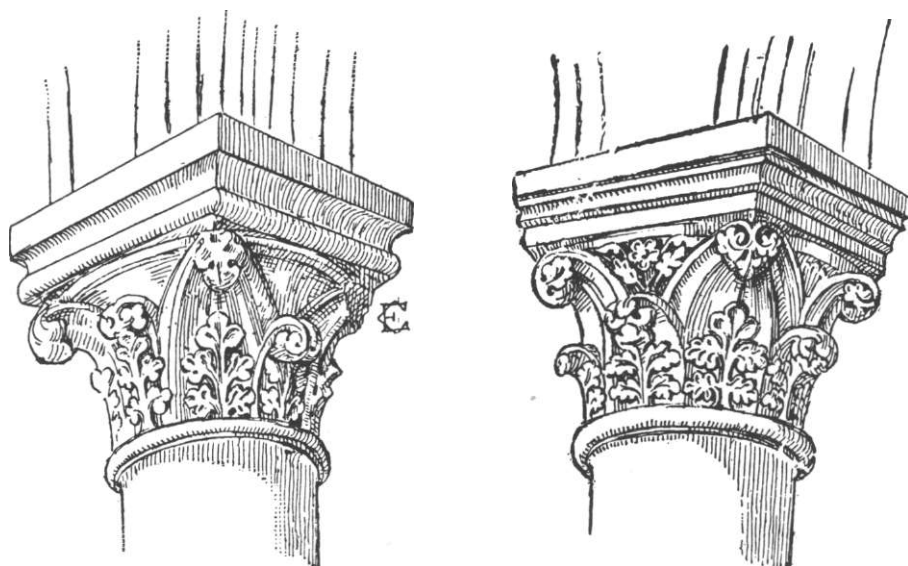


Fig. 38
Capitals in the choir.

of the ambulatory. These are plainly a subsequent addition because they are not in the place where the original French builders placed their tie-bars, which in any event they sawed off after the vaults had been completed.⁷⁴ In fact they correspond perfectly with what was a general practice in Venice.⁷⁵ It was also in 1491 that the ambulatory was surrounded on the outside by a stone battering plinth with a moulding running along the top, decorated with a series of sculptural motifs in a rather coarse Renaissance style. At the same time additional support was given to the first buttress to the south-west of the ambulatory by means of a very heavy double-arched double flying buttress.

Two capitals of the columns in the ambulatory (Fig. 38) clearly are of the French style of the Early Gothic period. They do perhaps lack a certain amplitude in composition and execution and their rather feeble relief carvings have been made a great deal feebler since the Turkish conquest by successive layers of repulsive green paint. The columns of the rectangular bay of the choir and of all the rest of the cathedral have octagonal capitals with no carving.

The vaults are elegant and well planned except for those in the apse where there is a very old-fashioned arrangement of the main arches abutting on the key-stone of the transverse ribs. In section the main arches are stronger than the cross ribs and have two projecting mouldings, except in the ambulatory. On the angles there are toruses; on the main arches there is a thinner torus with two cavettos. The keystones of the vaults were decorated with sculptured circular medallions, now plastered over by the Turks and painted green. One of them, in the northern arm of the transept, is decorated with a draped figure framed in a beaded circle. I was able to make this out thanks to part of the plaster having fallen off. There are no formerets in the vaulted section of the

73
See above, p. 49.

74
See, for instance, Amiens Cathedral where the ends of these beams are still visible.

75
For example in the church of the Frari, in San Zanipolo and some other minor Gothic churches in Venice and also in St. Anastasia in Verona.



Fig. 39
Arches; transverse ribs;
arches in the porch.

ambulatory; where they exist elsewhere they have a torus moulding at the corner as with the rib vaults.

The vault springers are supported on the walls by groups of three colonnettes attached to a pilaster. Their capitals appear always to have been plain, without sculpture. These capitals are at right angles to the arches that they carry. In the corners of the transept the vault shafts are in two sections cut *en délit* separated by shaft rings.

In the choir the ribs descend onto slender colonnettes with central shaft rings resting on the abacuses of the main capitals. The abacuses of these colonnettes are attached to consoles carrying other colonnettes supporting formerets of the choir. These abacuses are at an angle to the main ribs. All the colonnettes in the choir have capitals with two rows of crockets. The windows in the choir are small lancets framed by a chamfer and by two nook-shafts without shaft rings; there is a torus on the upper keystone. The rectangular bay of the choir is lit⁶ by twin windows (Fig. 46) of the same shape and decoration as those in the apse. The masonry and the decoration of the upper parts of the choir show numerous traces of recutting. The round capitals without abacuses of the windows in the chevet, with their bells decorated with a single leaf, could not be earlier than 1300. Those in the double window on the south side do not seem to have been made for the place they now occupy.

The ambulatory is covered by a flat roof. The vaulting of the choir is protected by a layer of cement which originally, perhaps, was covered by tiles or stone slabs. At the bottom of the gutters formed by the extrados of the vaulting there is a water channel which passes through the walls and communicates with gutters carried on the backs of the flying buttresses. Nothing is known about the design of the original fliers; it is even possible that, to begin with, the builders tried to do without them around the apse. The present arches (Fig. 29) are rather coarse imitations of those erected at the beginning of the fourteenth century by John de Polo. They can be distinguished from the latter because in their case the gutter rests not on a lattice but on two solid courses running between the drip-stones. Similarly, the piers are crowned by a coping with two angled side pieces and two lateral gables, resembling those on a reliquary in the form of a chapel. Their copings are enriched by curled foliated crockets and floral ornaments. These flying buttresses appear to date from the end of the fourteenth century.

76

This system is regularly adopted in the thirteenth century at Champeaux, Lagny (Seine-et-Marne) and Notre Dame at Chalons. In the church at Breuil, near Orbais, the rectangular bay of the choir has only a single twin window, as in St. Sophia at Nicosia. See my remarks in the preceding chapter on the influence of Champagne.

The cornice of the choir is a good deal later than the cornice of the ambulatory. It forms a sort of big cavetto but close examination shows that the stones which adjoin the heads of the buttresses have carved crockets, identical with the pattern of the cornices of the nave and side-aisles. It seems clear therefore that a similar cornice was intended for the choir. The upper part of the choir must have been severely damaged at the end of the fourteenth century and thereafter rebuilt with the exception of the vaulting and the buttresses but including the fliers. This was a

DESCRIPTION

period of economic recession and it was obviously thought necessary to exercise great economy. In consequence it was decided, through lack of resources, not to reproduce the carved decoration, of which some scraps still remain. It is likely that this work was done after the disasters of 1373.

The transept has one peculiarity which is extremely rare after the Romanesque period: it is the same height as the aisles. The two arms are therefore properly speaking no more than two square chapels (Figs. 29, 31, and 37). They are roofed with rib-vaults and, another old-fashioned feature, each of them has on the east a small semi-circular absidiole like the chapels at the beginning of the ambulatory in the church of Poissy. This low transept does nevertheless make a certain effect because the aisles are tall in proportion to the central nave. There is no pitched roof but a flat roof and no gabled end but a cornice continuous with that of the ambulatory. Two polygonal towers containing staircases abut on the western corners. The one on the south is blocked up and has lost its top. It can be deduced that it was the intention to add an upper chamber on this arm of the transept, as at Gonesse. The northern tower on the other hand still has, as will be seen, an upper part, though this appears to be more recent than the lower part.

The transept has windows on the west and south sides; on the north a great rose-window, whose tracery has unfortunately disappeared, stands over the small doorway incorporating earlier work to which I refer above. This doorway (Fig. 42) is made of white marble; the pointed arch above it, decorated with mouldings and surmounted by a hood-mould, rests on two colonnettes with capitals close to the Corinthian pattern and with fluted plinths. The abacuses of the capitals are decorated with ornaments in a more Gothic style, as are the rich capitals of the pilasters supporting the lintel. One of the latter capitals is carved with exuberant vine-leaf motifs, the other one was decorated with animals which have been hammered away by the Turks. The tympanum and the lintel do not appear to have been carved.

The two apsidal chapels are roofed with semi-domes (Fig. 37). The one on the south has a small window with a round arch supported on colonnettes and decorated with mouldings (Fig. 40); the northern one is blind and let into the wall which separates this arm of the transept from the treasury. The northern arm of the transept is also narrower than the southern because of the presence of the treasury. This forms a second square chapel with a small apse.

Both the square bay and the absidiole are vaulted with rib-vaults supported on corbels like reversed pyramids and without foliage. On the north side and in the apse there are two small windows resembling those of the southern apse of the transept (Fig. 40). The treasury communicates on the south with the ambulatory through a doorway surmounted by a pointed arch with a trilobed tympanum; the jambs are decorated with two columns (Fig. 41). The whole of this doorway has been dam-

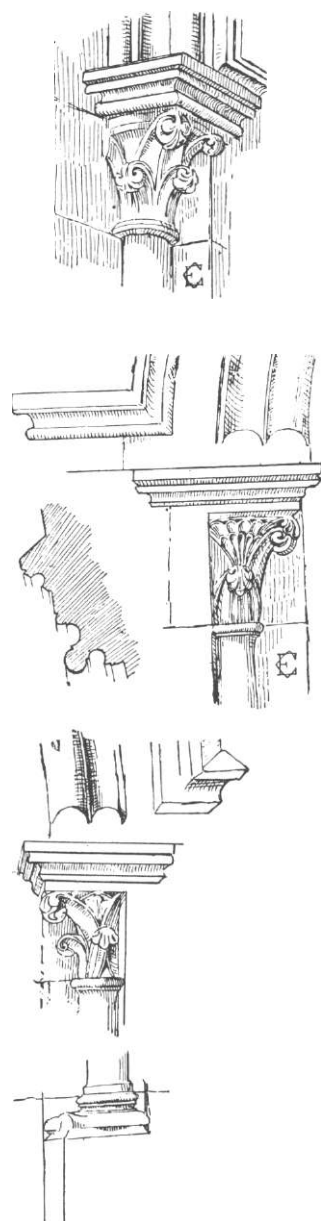


Fig. 40
Windows in the transept chapels.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, NICOSIA

aged and plastered over but the doors have some interesting remains of thirteenth-century hinges. They do not match, and come no doubt from different doors, but all are in the best French style.⁷⁷ The treasury has an upper storey which is reached by a spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall at the north-west corner of the chamber.

The upper storey (Fig. 43) appears to have been originally similar to the lower one except that it was lit from the north and on the south had small windows opening onto the cathedral, with stone benches in their embrasures. The window which gave a view into the cathedral has been blocked up. The southern one is intact with its central colonnette supporting a lintel of two blocks, carved with trefoil arches. These windows are of a type found in domestic architecture (Fig. 29). At the end of the

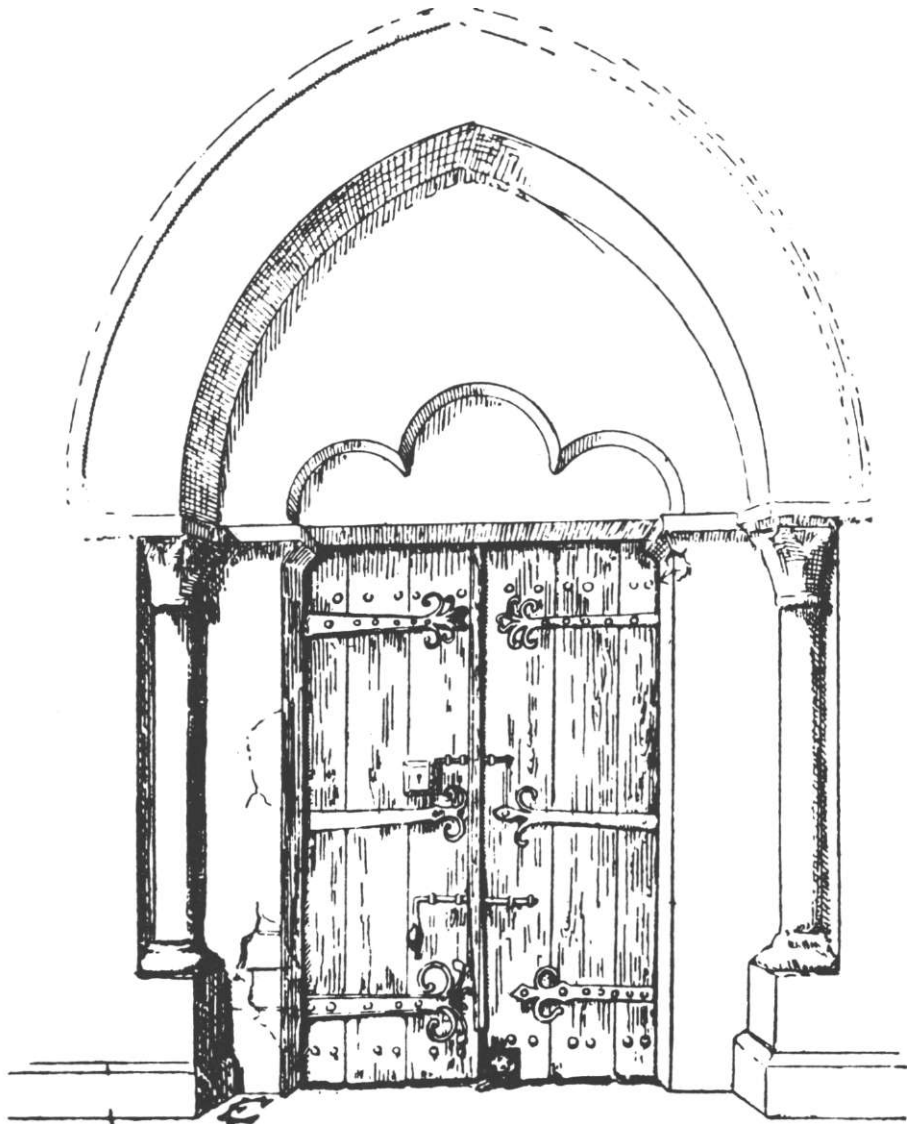


Fig. 41
Doorway of the chapel
in the ambulatory.

DESCRIPTION

thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century the upper chapel was raised in height. The rectangular part of it was given a rib-vault with a boss decorated with a large, round foliage motif; the springs of the arches rested on corbels in the shape of capitals. Colonnets were constructed in masonry recesses to carry the springers of the entrance arch and also those of the ribs of the polygonal vault of the apse; their buttresses rest on corbels in the shape of colossal human heads (Fig. 29).

The apse of Besançon Cathedral was redesigned in a very similar way, with buttresses resting on sculptured supports there as well; but the colossal heads in Nicosia are more reminiscent of the ones used as brackets for the buttresses of the southern side-aisle of Saint Christopher at Neufchâteau, these having been made at almost the same period to carry the supports for flying buttresses, a work completely analogous with the case under consideration.

The upper chapel of the treasury is lit on the east side by three lancets and on the north by only one. These windows have elegant colonnettes with round capitals ornamented with foliar crockets. On the south and west, above the flat roofs of the ambulatory and the transept, they have been replaced by *oeil-de-boeuf* windows with quatrefoil tracery. This upper chapel which has been almost rebuilt might possibly be the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury which we know was built in the cathedral by direction of John de Polo. Its style agrees with that of the parts of the structure which are certainly his work. Whether this is so or not this treasury, composed of two superimposed apsidal chapels built against one side of the choir, is precisely similar in design to the well-known treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. It is also reminiscent of two-storeyed private chapels such as the Sainte-Chapelle itself and those at Meaux, Laon, Angers, Rheims, Stavanger in Norway, the one at Blaye Castle and many others. The window with benches looking out into the choir must have been designed to allow some important person to be present at the services without being seen. According to Philip of Mézières in *Le Viel Pelerin*⁸ the King of Cyprus had a window of this sort in his oratory; but it would not be correct to take this passage as referring to the oratory, or treasury, under consideration. This one must have been designed for the archbishop, whose palace was just across the square; the King's oratory was at the church of St. Dominic, next to the royal palace.

The bay of the central nave, from which the transept opens out, is identical with the other bays apart from being broader. On the south it is lit by a twin window, as in the neighbouring bay of the choir, but there is no window to the north where there was perhaps a straight staircase in the thickness of the wall to link the roofs of the aisles with those of the nave. In any case there has been some reconstruction here. This central bay is the only one with thirteenth-century flying buttresses, two on the north (Fig. 46) and two on the south, all four of the same

77

Possibly they came from the west doors, whose panels the Greeks attempted to smash when they rioted against Peter Thomas (see above, p. 86).

78

Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, p. 207, note.

pattern. These flying buttresses are double; their upper arch abuts against the wall a little above the springing of the arches of the vaults and the lower arch a little below, level with the window ledges and with the stump of an entablature on consoles which is found on the north side not far from the extrados of the aisle vaults. Originally the lower flying buttress was intended, as will be seen, to be hidden by the roof with which the first architect had planned to cover the aisles, and to contribute to its support; only the inclined plane erected on the extrados could have been meant to be seen and this has now disappeared.

The two flying buttresses abut on a solid pier which between the two arches takes the form of a thick engaged column with a squat, square capital ornamented with two rows of crockets in a fine, broad foliar design (Fig. 46). The more elegant of these capitals is very close in appearance to a capital in Rheims Cathedral; another can be paralleled from the church at Chissey in the Jura. These flying buttresses must date from about 1220 or 1230, though they are of the same type as those in Laon Cathedral, at Notre-Dame in Châlons, at Mont-Notre-Dame and at Mouzon and also those of the choir at Vézelay. The one to the north-east has had another flying buttress added to it at some later date. It is a simple one with an arch of small radius stretching to the transept turret; its purpose is to provide for a staircase joining this turret to the roof ridge of the cathedral, passing over the back of the flying buttress.

One of the flying buttresses on the south side appears to be the oldest. It is crowned with a simple coping slanting down over both sides of the top of the abutment as at Saint-Germain-des-Prés and on the southern arm of the transept of Soissons Cathedral. The edges of this coping are ornamented with one of those convex drip-stones which are common in the north of France at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries. The upper extrados of the two other flying buttresses has a channel in it to carry off the rainwater collected by the vaults of the nave; their abutments culminate in a pinnacle in the form of an oblong pier with four faces, crowned by a pitched roof, as on the nave of Soissons Cathedral. There are dentellations along the ridge of this roof and the gable-ends are crowned with finials with a gadrooned knot, as on the flying buttresses at Mantes; the sloping sides are decorated with backward-curving crockets. The gutter runs along the top of the main support and the water comes out through the mouth of a gargoyle in the form of a lion. The hind-quarters are not carved.

At the level of the head of the lower flying buttress, between the transept and the nave, but only on the north side, there is an architectural detail which shows that the aisles were originally meant to be roofed. This is a portion of an entablature carried on corbels with a double quadrant moulding. It projects a little above the flat roof of the aisle and looks very like the external passages constructed in front of the window ledges in the larger French churches. The only *raison d'être* of

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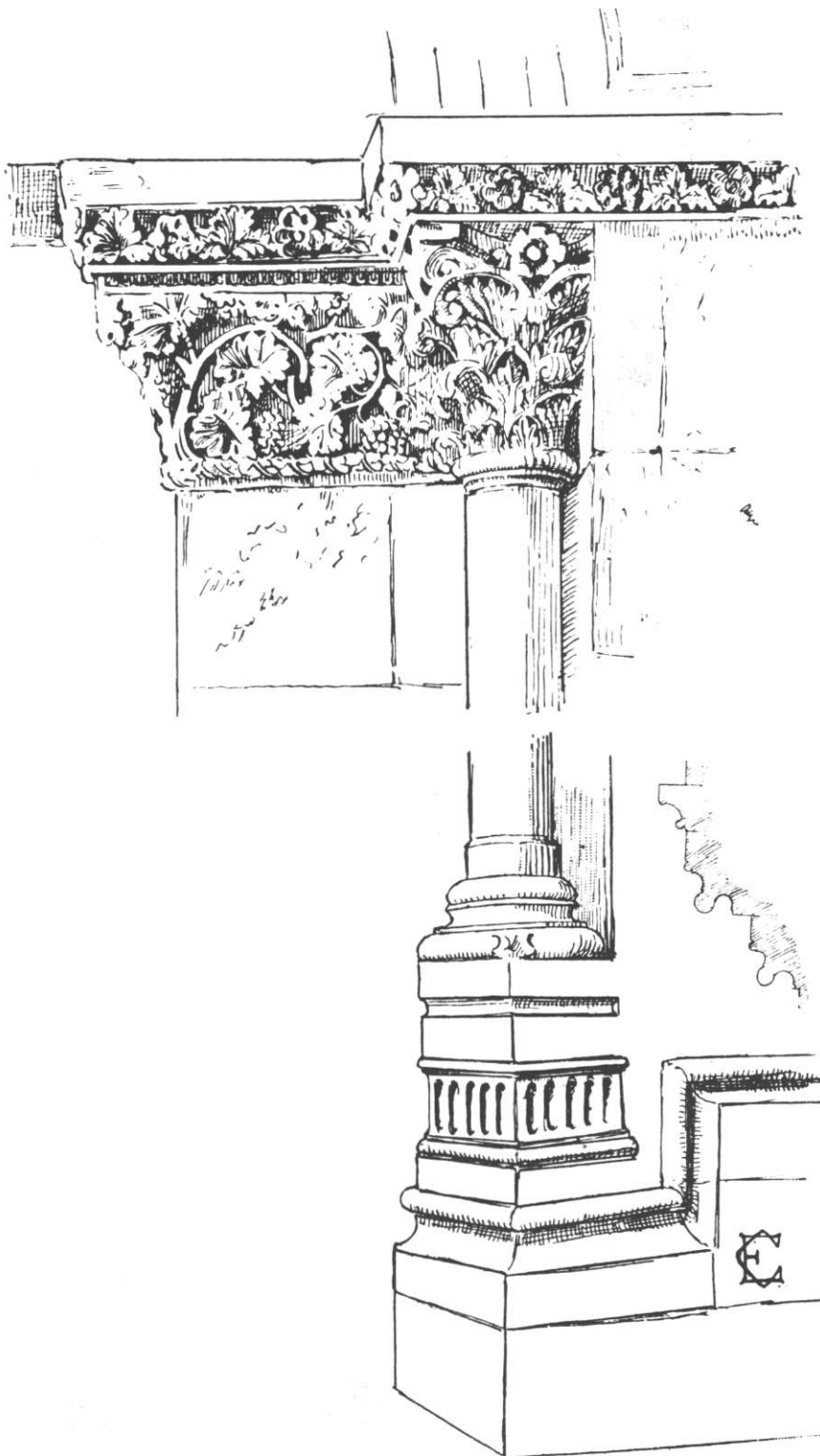


Fig. 42
Northern doorway of the
transept.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, NICOSIA

these passages is when the side aisles have pitched rather than flat roofs. Alternatively it might have been built to carry the ridge beam of a lean-to roof. In either case it would mean that the aisles of the choir at Nicosia were originally intended to have a very low pitched roof. This hypothesis is made all the more likely by the fact that beneath the cornice-like structure in question there are traces of a trefoil-shaped opening whose sill is below the present roof of the aisle. It must have been an aperture of a triforium and the level at which it was pierced presumes that the extrados of the vaults was not covered by a flat concrete roof but sloped towards the interior of the cathedral. Obviously, in that case, the extrados was meant to be protected by a roof.

The entablature on corbels could not be intended for a passage gallery but must be the actual support for the ridge beam of the side-

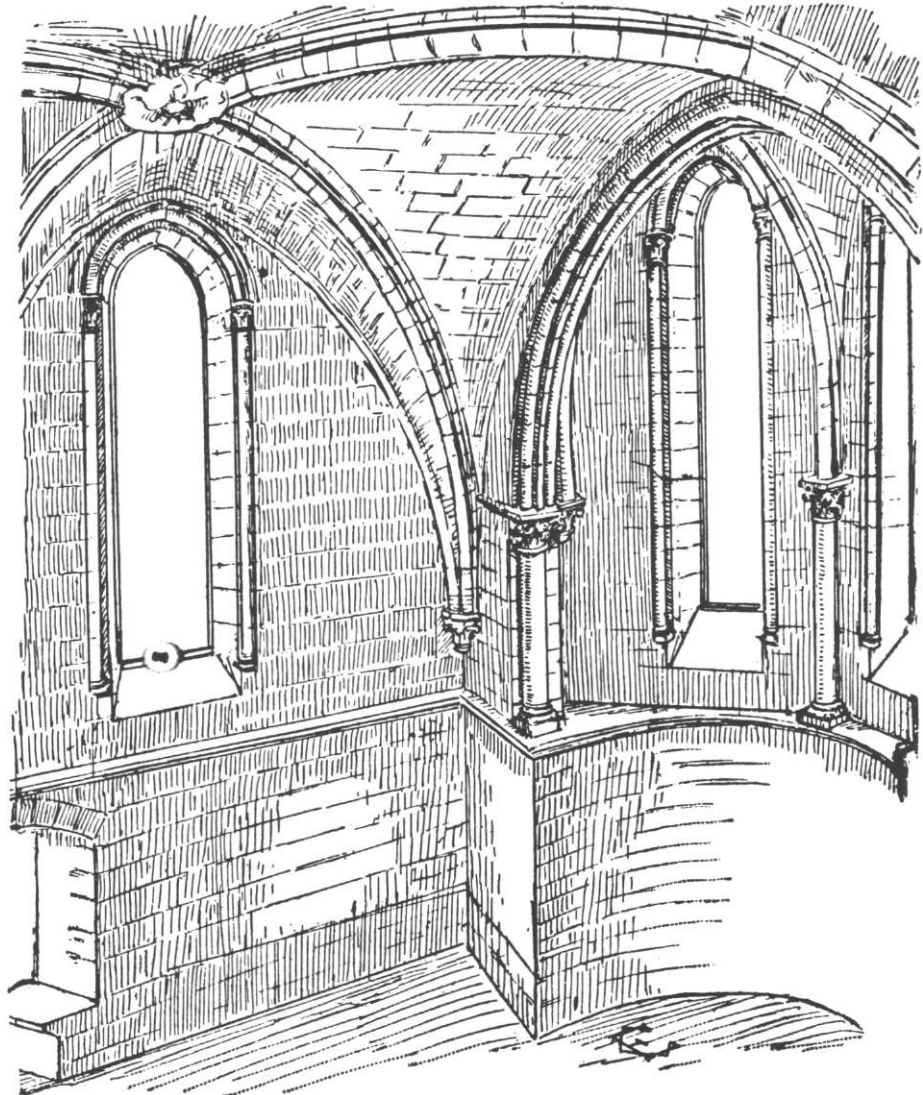


Fig. 43
Upper chapel.

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aisle roof. Otherwise the roof would have been too low; moreover if there had in fact been a roof on top of these corbels some traces would remain whereas the stone is smooth and perfectly finished off, without any sign of reworking. The roof of the galleries of the ambulatory at Montiérender has in fact ridge beams resting on an entablature whose supporting corbels are close in appearance to those in question and this ambulatory has strong stylistic analogies with, and is close in date to, the one at Nicosia.

The aisles visibly belong to a different period from the transept and the ambulatory though they conform generally in scheme. They are seventy centimetres higher and their masonry and decoration present significant differences. Instead of the Burgundian cornice there is a French one with a frieze of full-blown crockets like those on the capitals; The windows (Fig. 47) are narrower, their colonnettes still have shaft rings, but are ungrooved; the bases are flatter and no longer have claw motifs but rest on octagonal plinths; the capitals are round and without crockets and their shafts are not monolithic but constructed in drums,⁷⁹ some of the hood-moulds have spiral-shaped returns which look like great snails.

The interior (Figs. 31 and 45) shows a lay-out typical of Champagne or Burgundy. An access gallery runs in front of the window ledges across the pillars, which are linked by broad formerets. The walls are thicker at the foot, where they are decorated with blind arches supported by colonnettes. In Nicosia Cathedral there are two particular and unusual departures from this standard design: each bay has a single wide opening spanned by a flattened round arch and the doorways inserted in the pillars are pierced at a lower level than the passage, which consequently has to be connected with the doorways by steps. The passage in fact consists of a series of landings, corresponding to the sills of each window and placed on the top of each flattened arch, and a series of steps ascending and descending along the tops of the arcades. In this it resembles the interior passage at Montauban which runs beneath the deck of the bridge called 'the consuls' bridge', following the contours of the extrados of the arches.

These aisles must date from the time of St. Louis's presence in the island, in the reign of Archbishop Eustorgius of Montaigu.

The first bay of the aisles after the transept had two doorways, to the north and south. The southern one was taken down a few years ago by the Turks⁸⁰ and transferred to the end bay of the ambulatory. It appears to be slightly later in date than the northern one, which remains *in situ*. The latter (Fig. 52) is the most unpretentious of the six doorways in St. Sophia. Its hood-mould and pointed arch are simple mouldings; the tympanum and lintel are not carved; each jamb is decorated with a single colonnette whose grey marble shaft is antique or, rather, Byzantine. The two crocketed capitals have all the elegance of the French style of about

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These colonnettes, of an unusual design, are exactly similar to those of the southern doorway of St. John the Baptist at Chaumont (early fourteenth century). Note also that shaft-rings on fourteenth-century columns are characteristic of the school of Champagne, see for instance the north doorway of Soissons Cathedral, Strasbourg Cathedral, Our Lady at Trier and the church at Chaumont (Fig. 44).

80

It is described as being still in place in the English edition of the book by H.I.H. Archduke Louis Salvator of Austria, *Levkosia the Capital of Cyprus* (Kegan Paul and Co., London, 1881). (Ed. note.) See new edition (Trigraph, London, 1983).

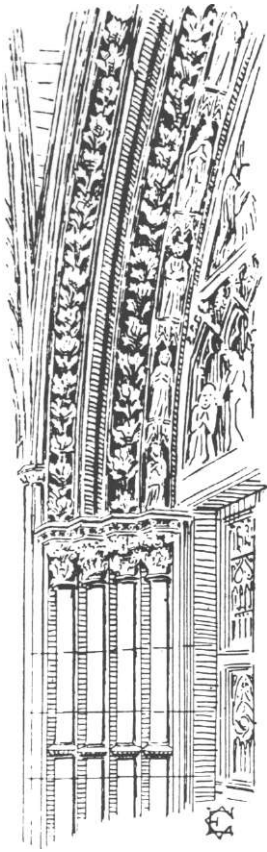


Fig. 44
South doorway, St. John
the Baptist, Chaumont.

the middle of the thirteenth century. They are joined directly to imposts forming a section of a frieze, of the same height, decorated with ivy and other foliar motifs treated with a restrained realism and deliberate simplicity. They are from the hand of an excellent sculptor. The bases look very much as though they are some twenty-five years earlier in date than the capitals and may perhaps be so; they are comparatively tall, with claw feet, and are of a piece with an elevated plinth. The one to the east is fluted (Fig. 52) and rests on a stylobate decorated only with a torus and a cavetto whereas the one on the opposite west side is a few centimetres taller, with an attic profile. It appears that the arrangement was a skilful combination of fragments of two different dates.

The doorway which has been transferred from the south side to the east end is much larger and richer. It is entirely constructed in polished marble. The pointed voussoirs are moulded and rest on either side on two pilasters and two columns whose capitals and extended imposts form a sort of broad frieze of handsome and broadly executed sculpture in the best style of the mid-thirteenth century (Fig. 49). On the right-hand side the imposts are decorated with an interlacing of multi-lobed leaves and fantastic animals, sirens and dragons. One of them has a crocket formed by two bodies joined in a single head, as in the Romanesque style. The square capitals, with an elegantly curved profile, have ribbed leaves terminating in thick bunches of foliage. On the other side of the doorway the decoration is much more uniform; a succession of strikingly carved lobed leaves, rather resembling those of water cress, spreads along the imposts and decorates the bells of the capitals.

The old bases have been destroyed and replaced by Turkish bases, very coarse and resembling the kind used in the wooden architecture of Norway. The moulding of the plinth survives; it consists of a torus and a reversed cavetto. One of the socles has been made out of the small marble fragment of the end of the thirteenth century already mentioned. The tympanum has three trilobed blind arches supported on handsome colonnettes with elegant capitals. The central blind arch is much bigger than the other two and two trefoils have been cut into its spandrels. There seems little doubt that this arcade originally contained some pieces of sculpture whose loss is to be eternally regretted. In the two side arches these figures have been replaced by painted groups of three cypresses and in the middle by a long inscription in Arabic characters which ends with the date A.H. 992, 1584 of our era. The bold moulding of the hood-mould is ornamented with crockets and the two ends rest on carved human heads which have been hammered away. The crockets are hook-shaped, covered with small leaves more or less symmetrically arranged but varied in detail.

This doorway is equally remarkable for the skill with which the marble has been carved and for the merit of the composition and the design. It is undoubtedly the work of a good French artist of the mid-

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He is said to have accompanied St. Louis in 1208 and to have built a castle in Jaffa; see Bauchal, *Diet. des archit. français*; Dus-sieux, *Artistes français à l'étranger*, Félibien, Guilhaemy and other historians of Paris.

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thirteenth century. Very probably the artist was one of those who came to Cyprus in 1248/49 with St. Louis ; perhaps it was Eudes of Montreuil.⁵¹

The upper part of the nave belongs to a third stage of the work, probably under Archbishop Gerard of Langres. The arcades, the vaults and their supports in the nave imitate the form of those of the choir. The capitals in the last bay, however, are more recent in date than the others; their bells are more deeply hollowed-out and their abacuses blend more carefully into the outline of the ribs (Fig. 45). This bay (Fig. 57) is also broader than the earlier ones. It must have been built under Gerard of Langres, at the same time as the windows. The windows (Fig. 50) plainly belong to a date around 1300 as is evidenced by the style of some of the



Fig. 45
Nave of St. Sophia.

capitals, the exaggerated flatness of the bases and, in particular, the chamfered edges of some of the shafts of the colonnettes. These windows take up the whole of the space between the vault and its supports and the flat roofs of the aisles; they have slightly pointed arches and are divided into four lights surmounted by tracery of three circles, the main one decorated with a quatrefoil and the other two with trefoils. The jambs have two colonnettes on each side, separated by grooves; the outer colonnettes have angular shafts. The arches reproduce the profile

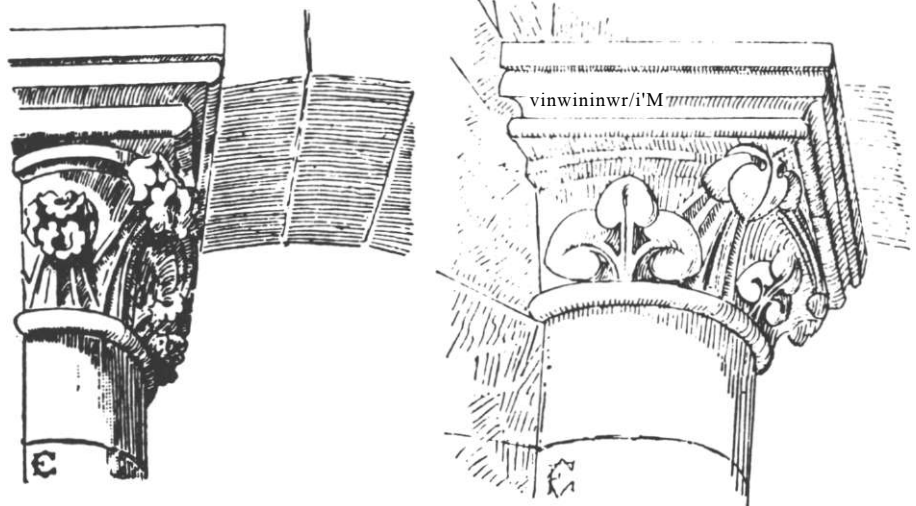
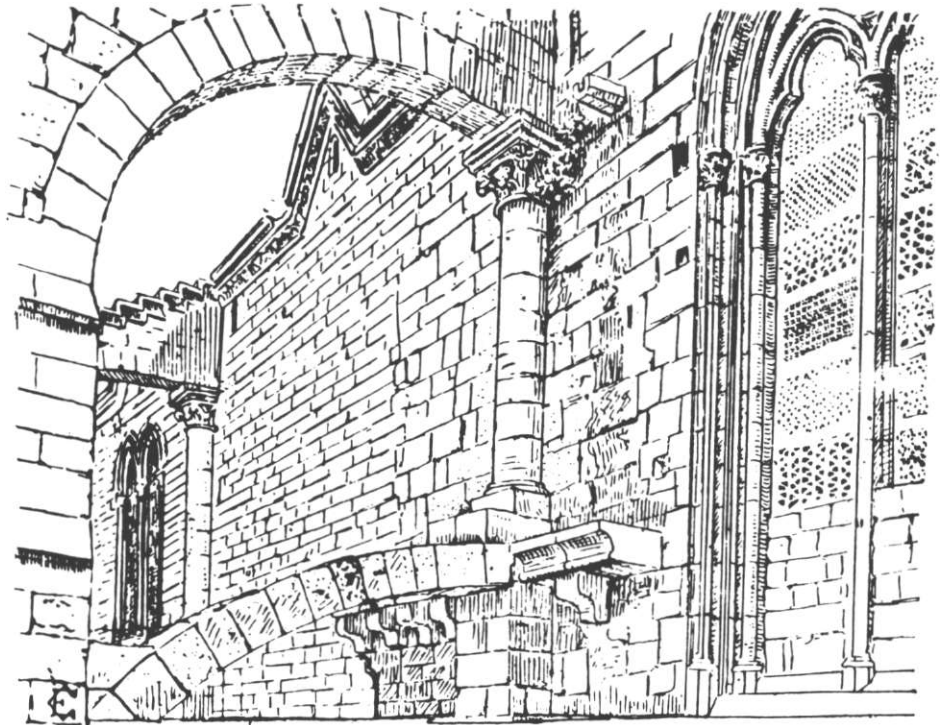
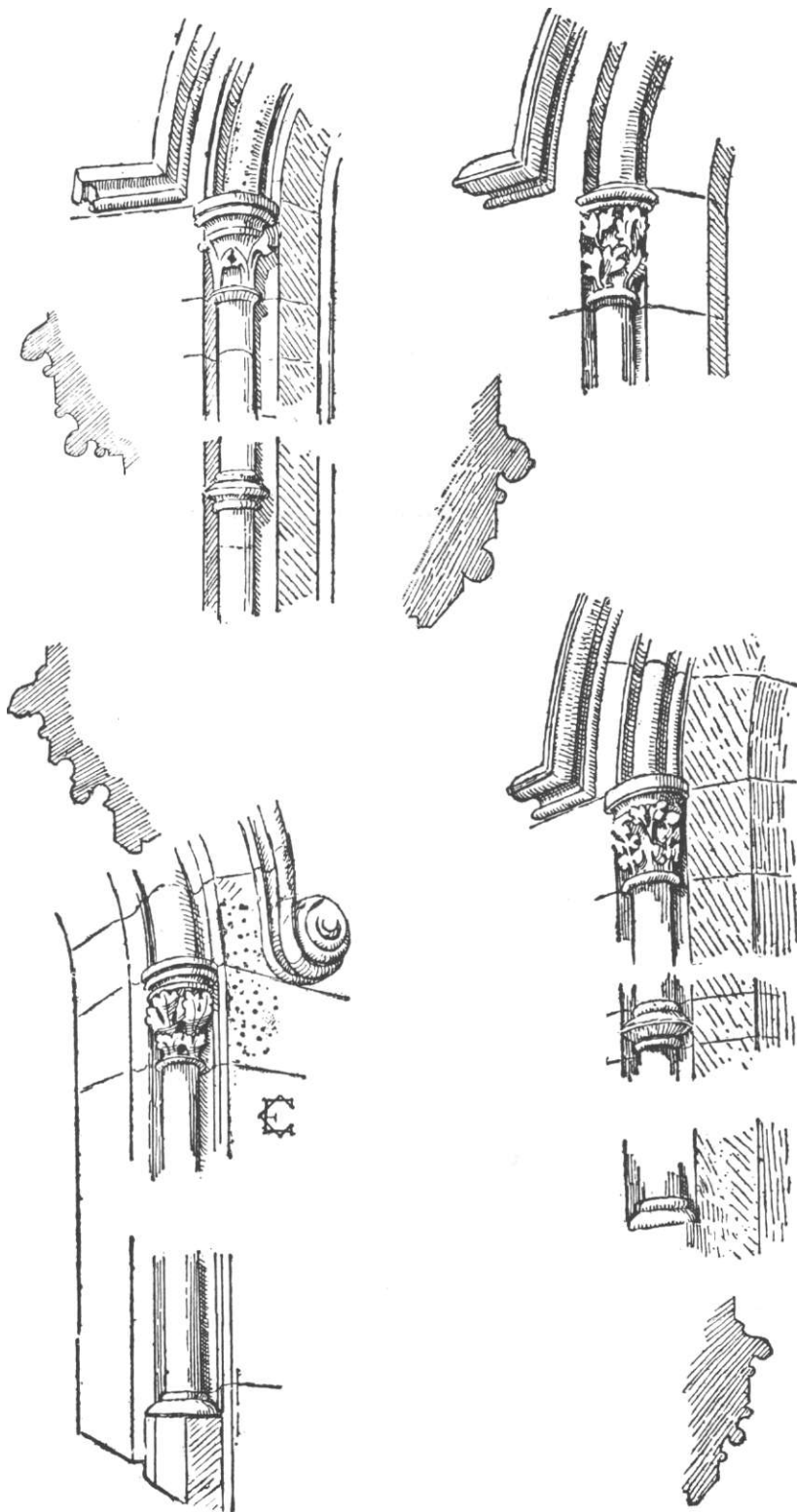


Fig. 46
Flying buttresses on the
north side of the choir.

DESCRIPTION



47
Windows in the aisles.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, NICOSIA

of the jambs. The capitals are round and crowned with very narrow abacuses of varying profiles. Many of the abacuses and most of the astragals have drip-stones. The bells of the capitals are decorated with one or two rows of very varied foliage which is generally treated in a completely naturalistic way. Many of these capitals are delightful.

The cornice (Fig. 51) has bunches of flowers in the same style at the apices of fluted crockets resembling those in the cornices of the aisles. The cornice of the nave rises and forms a small gable above the apex of

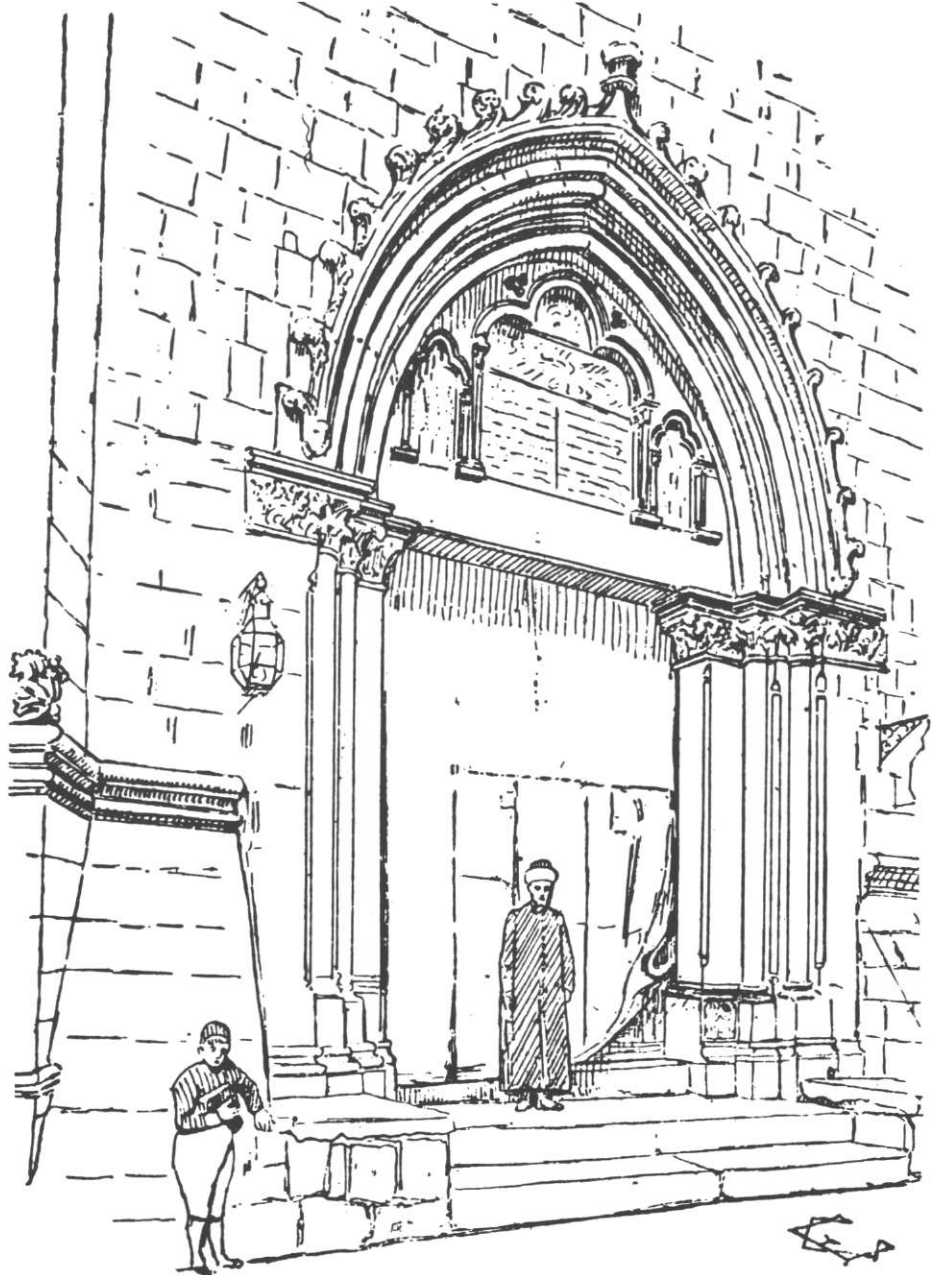


Fig. 48
South doorway.

DESCRIPTION

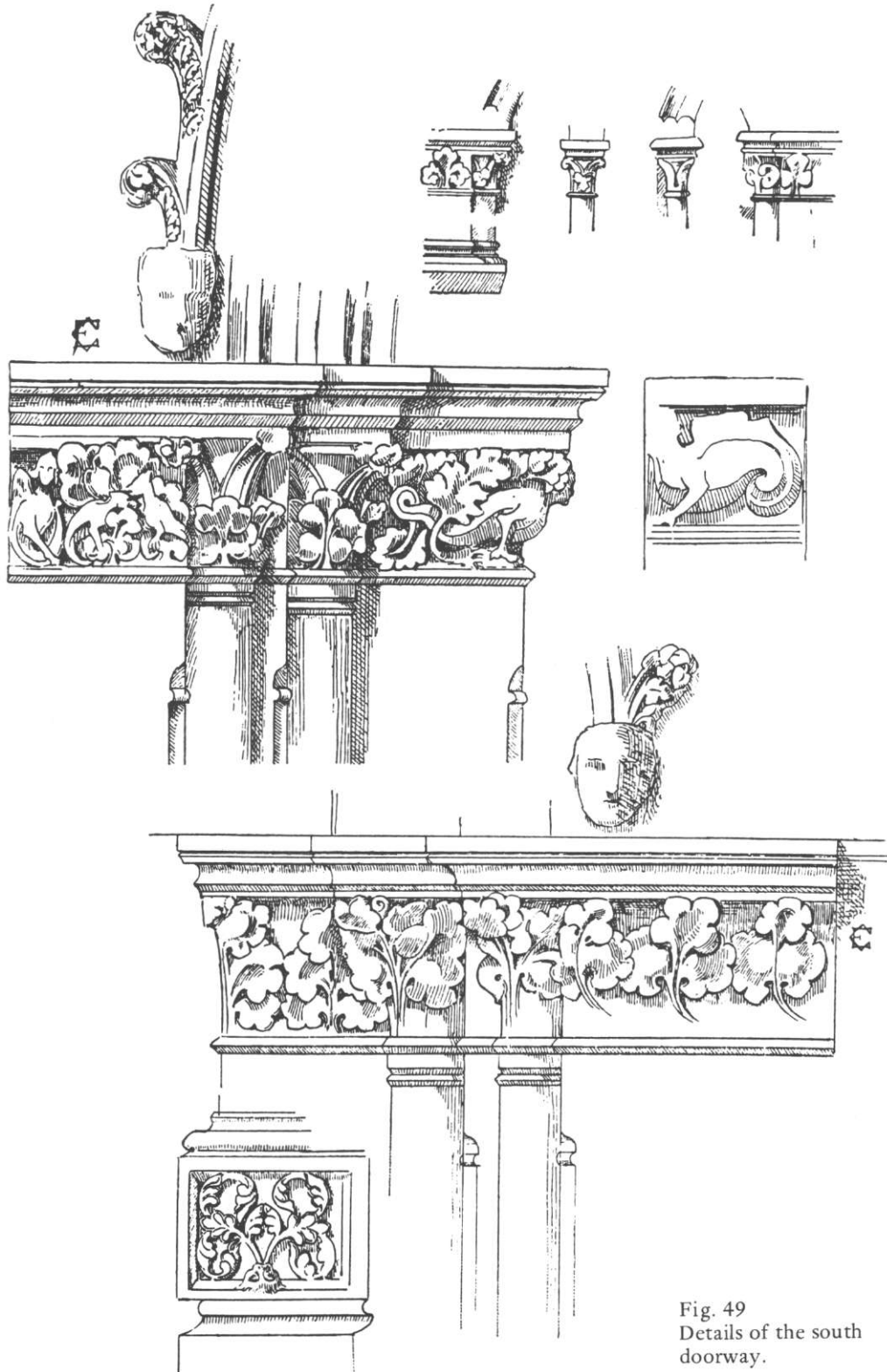


Fig. 49
Details of the south
doorway.

each of the windows of the main building. Windows surmounted by gables are known to have become fashionable in France at the end of the thirteenth century. The choir of Amiens Cathedral and the cathedral at Cambrai, now destroyed, are among the oldest examples of this particular arrangement which becomes quite normal in the fourteenth century. These gables break the monotony of the wall and give a valuable emphasis to the apex of the windows. The carving of the gables has a different decorative theme from the cornice frieze; instead of crockets there are now large jagged leaves, well designed, treated in a broad style and deeply hollowed-out in the carving. The effect is most striking. The artist has shown perfect taste because these two motifs match splendidly; crockets on the gables would have produced a poor effect because they would have worked against their linear pattern whereas the foliar motifs, less plain and precise in their general form, are in harmony with the ascending movement of the architecture. The gables were crowned with finials of which only the stalks remain. Each of their tympana is pierced by a small lancet opening which adds an apt lightness to the appearance of the whole order.

Above the vaults is a layer of concrete; originally this may perhaps have been covered with stone slabs or tiles. It follows the line of the extrados and forms deep valleys which are closed on the outside by the gutter walls. At the bottom of these hollows there is a hole leading to the sloping water channels which run across the top of the buttresses. The gutter walls are also pierced at each depression by two slits, one on either side of the head of the buttresses; these serve as an overflow for the roof valleys in case the hole in the channel were to be blocked or in case the torrential rains of Cyprus were to take on a quite exceptional intensity. The head of the flying buttresses rests on a plain buttress surmounted by a three-sided pinnacle, trapeze-shaped in outline and hollowed-out by long, narrow, pointed niches (Fig. 51). No doubt these pinnacles had pyramids which rose above the cornice and helped, with the gables and their finials, to break the horizontal line and to give a certain lightness to the massive building.

The flying buttresses of the nave (Fig. 31) were erected only under the pontificate of John de Polo between 1312, or rather 1319, the date of his arrival in Cyprus, and 1332. The extrados is crowned with a double drip-stone carrying a lattice of quatrefoils set in circles²² which in turn carries a coping forming a channel for discharging water, decorated with two torus mouldings and two inclined planes. This water channel ends, having crossed the head of the supports, in gargoyles in the form of animals half-engaged in the buttress. The piers terminate in an oblong head-piece covered by a sloping roof, in the sides of which two lateral gables form a sort of transept. The four gable ends are topped with finials and their side-edges are bordered with a drip-stone and carved with cusped leaves with their points raised (Fig. 53). The finials are varied

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The same type of flying buttress is found on St. Walburga at Furnes, and also on Famagusta Cathedral; a closely similar type can be seen on St. Martin at Ypres, Notre Dame at St. Omer and Cologne Cathedral.

DESCRIPTION

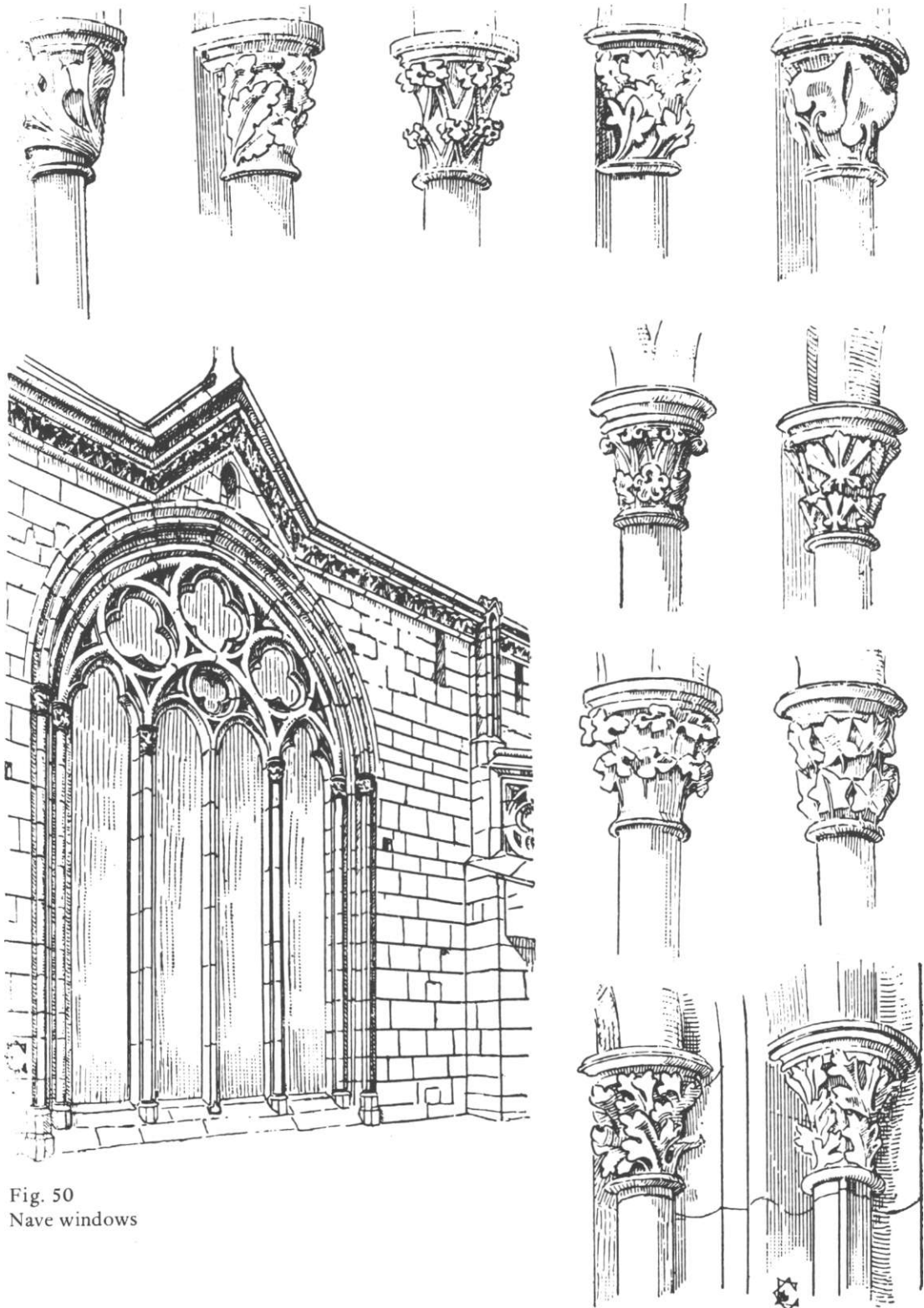
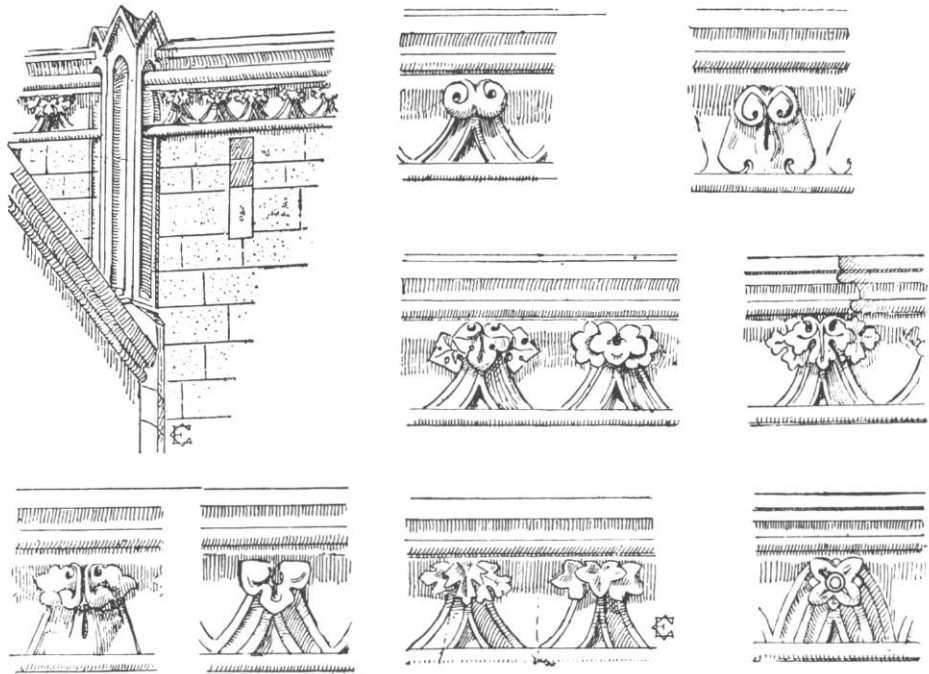


Fig. 50
Nave windows

Fig. 51
Cornices of the nave
and aisles.



and very elegant. The southern gable of the second flying buttress on the south side of the nave has on it the demi-torso of a figurine carved as emerging from the pier and holding in its two hands in front of its chest a disc on which is the sundial of the cathedral (Fig. 54). This sundial looks very like those which are held by statues of angels on the cathedrals of Laon, Chartres and Genoa.

It was probably also under John de Polo, who had the baptismal font constructed, that there was attached to the last bay but one towards the west of the north aisle a chapel, of the same height as the aisle, which must have been used as a baptistery. It was probably intended to carry a turret. The cornice of the wall which had had to be taken down in order to build the chapel has been re-used on it. This chapel has an apsidal niche like those of the transept. In the fifteenth century this niche was blocked on the outside and a second, lower chapel, which must have been a funerary foundation, was built on at the east end of the baptistery. In the walls of this latter chapel there are *oeils-de-boeuf* with tracery, framed on the outside by coats of arms bearing three fir cones reversed, two and one.

The west end of St. Sophia (Figs. 55 and 56) dates from the fourteenth century with its porch, its towers and the two staircase turrets; the latter are built onto the north-east and south-east corners of the towers to serve their upper parts and also the galleries, and the roof, of the aisles and the porch. Their corbelled doorways open into the last bay of the aisles. The southern turret is polygonal, the northern circular; this, with the east wall of the northern tower, is the oldest part of the

⁸³
op. cit., p. 138.

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façade. Here one still finds the crocketed cornice of the nave whereas on the other faces of the tower the crockets have been replaced by other designs belonging to the very late fourteenth century if not the fifteenth. This northern tower does not extend above the nave. The southern tower is only represented by a bay of the porch, its turret and some projecting blocks of masonry at the south-west corner of the nave with which it was to have been bonded. Nicosia Cathedral could never have been finished; we know in any case that the earthquake of 1490 or 1491 threw down some of its upper parts.

The west end was in its present state in 1518 when Jacques Le Saige describes it as follows: 'There is the most beautiful beginning of a bell-tower and of a fine flight of steps that is possible and there are now five entries; one passes beneath the aforementioned tower before entering the church. There are three entries and at the two ends of the crossing there are two beautiful small doorways made of fine stone.'

The wall of the façade is pierced at ground level by three doorways and in the upper part by a very large window occupying the whole of the space between the vault, the walls and the terrace roof of the porch. It is divided into six lights, all of them most richly ornamented in the

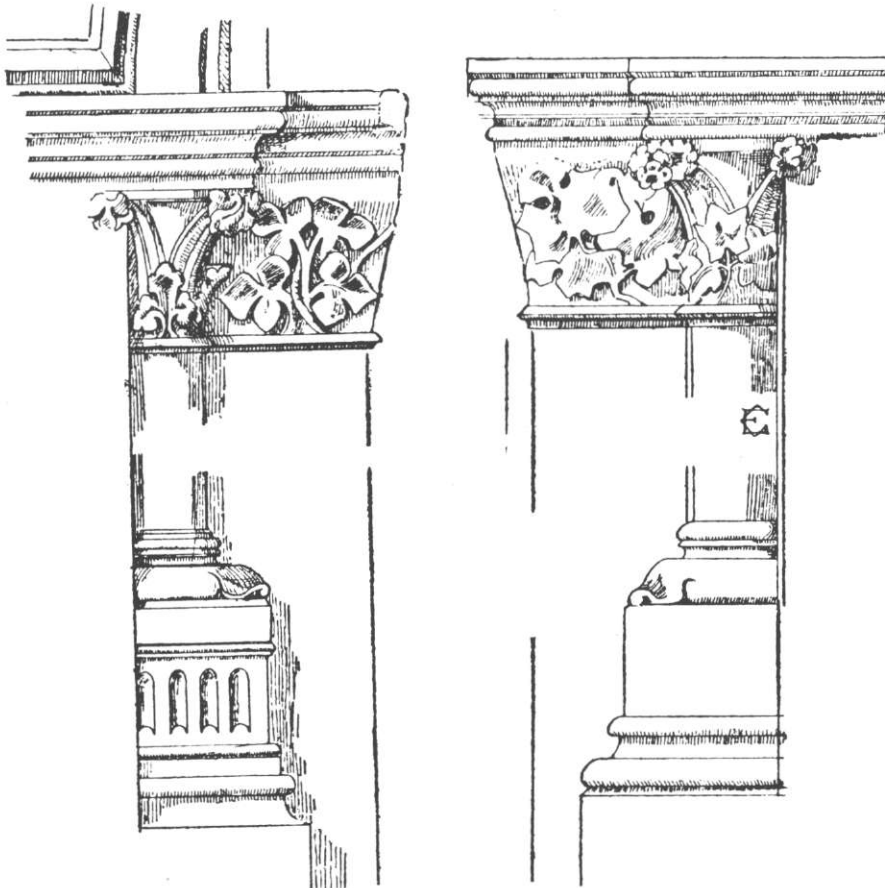
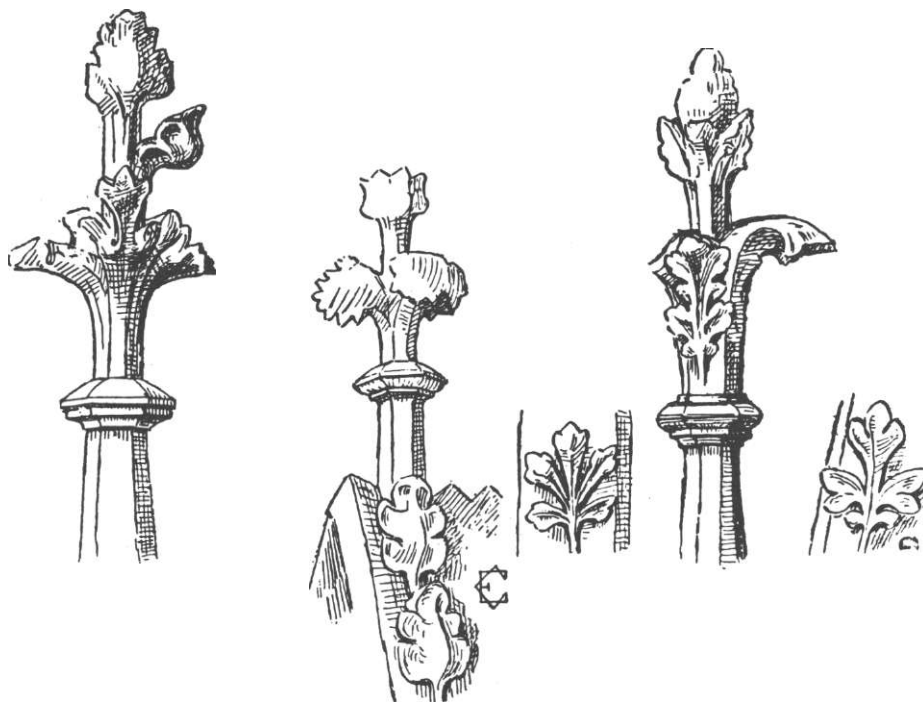


Fig. 52
North doorway in the
nave.

Fig. 53
Details of the supports
of the nave flying
buttresses.



style of the early fourteenth century. On the outside this window is surmounted by the remains of a small gable resembling those above the side-windows. There should have been an arcade linking the two towers above the central arcade of the porch. This disposition resembles closely that of the west end of St. Vincent at Avila. It might be conjectured that there would have been a roof over this arcade and the wall of the façade in order to form the base for a large outside balcony above the porch; but the existence of a gable over the main window appears to be irreconcilable with this hypothesis; the arcade linking the two towers must therefore have been simply intended to brace them and to carry a passage joining their upper storeys as at Notre Dame in Paris and at Notre Dame in Mantes.⁸⁴ One could however argue, also very plausibly, that this arcade was not built and the gable I mentioned was made after the idea of its construction had been abandoned.

The other side of the façade, that is on the interior of the cathedral, presents an extremely elegant design (Fig. 57). Under the main window there extends a second range of stone tracery and a passage like the one at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons; but the gallery is lower at Nicosia, on the rear side of the tympanum of the doorway, because the cathedral has no triforium. This passage gallery consists of a range of double bays, with trefoils above them, with a balustrade. It is covered with a set of lintels resting on two corbelled-out masonry courses. Above the side doorways there are other traceried openings whose design matches that of the great window. The bottom of these bays is on the other side of the

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An upper passage of this kind, running through the top of the gable, is found in some other large ecclesiastical buildings in France dating from the late twelfth to the fourteenth century e.g. the cathedrals at Noyon, Lisieux, Coutances, Amiens, St. Pol-de-Léon, Dijon (St. Benignus) and others.

It provided a means of walking right round the building at the level of the top of the walls.

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tympana and forms passage galleries analogous to the one mentioned above. The upper part was meant to be glazed and to open level with the floor of the chambers in the first storey of the towers. On the south side, when it was discovered that there were insufficient resources to erect the tower, the opening, which would have been inadequately protected against rain water, was blocked by a facing of dressed stone; on the north the glazing has been broken by the Turks and replaced with plaster and rubble as in the case of several windows in the nave.

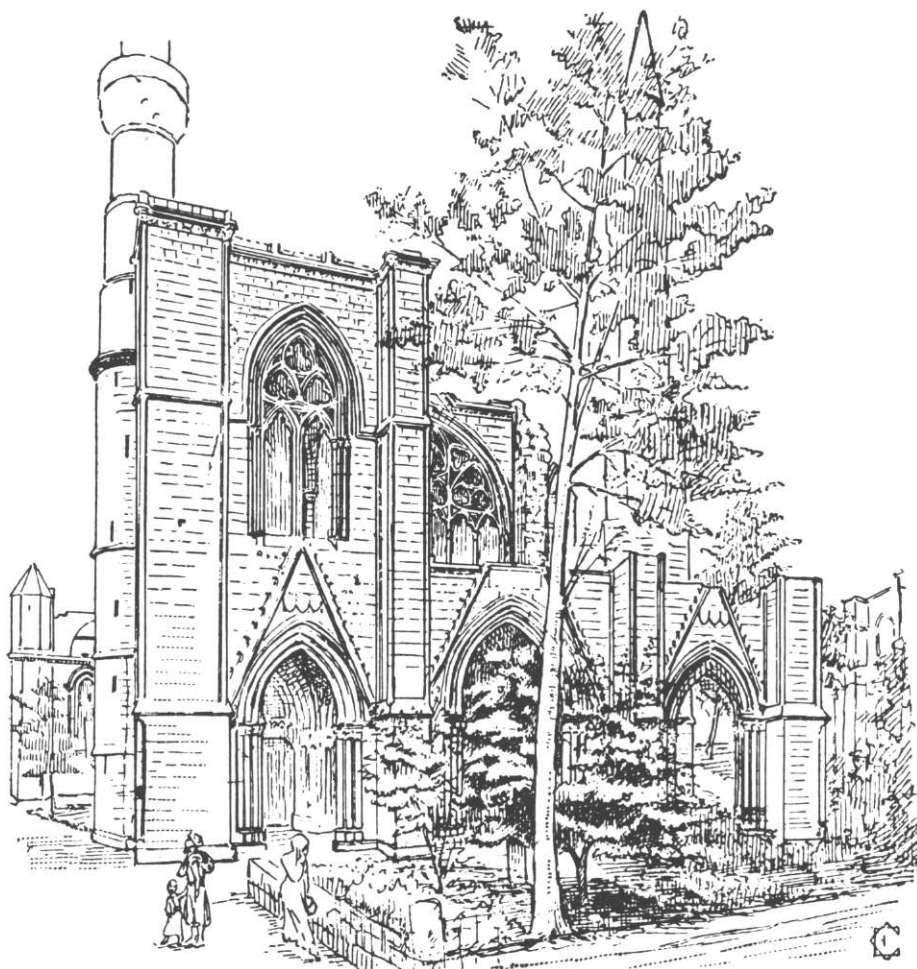
The porch (Fig. 67) is an admirable specimen of French architecture. Work was probably begun by Archbishop John of Ancona who bought



Fig. 54
The sundial.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, NICOSIA

Fig. 55
West front.



a plot of ground in 1292 for the building of his cathedral; but it was carried out and finished, as we know for a certainty, by John de Polo.⁵⁵ It is covered by three vaulted bays the arches of which, as in some churches in Champagne, have an old-fashioned profile of two torus mouldings.⁵⁶ The transverse ribs are double, decorated with torus and grooves. The piers which separate the three doorways, and the inner side of the pillars which carry the three western arcades and the two lateral arcades of the porch, have projections decorated with narrow columns on which rest the springs of the ribs, the arcades and the main arches of the vaults. Their capitals (Fig. 58) are octagonal and squat, crowned with abacuses carved with drip-mouldings; their bells are decorated with attractive and varied foliar motifs, bunched, interlaced and twisted in a complicated way. The westernmost ones are in the more recent style. The scotia of their bases is beaded, as in part of the choir of the cathedral at Beauvais and Amiens, both built in the second half of the thirteenth century.

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'Commincio la galilea fino a li volti', Amadi, p. 405; Bustron, p. 255.

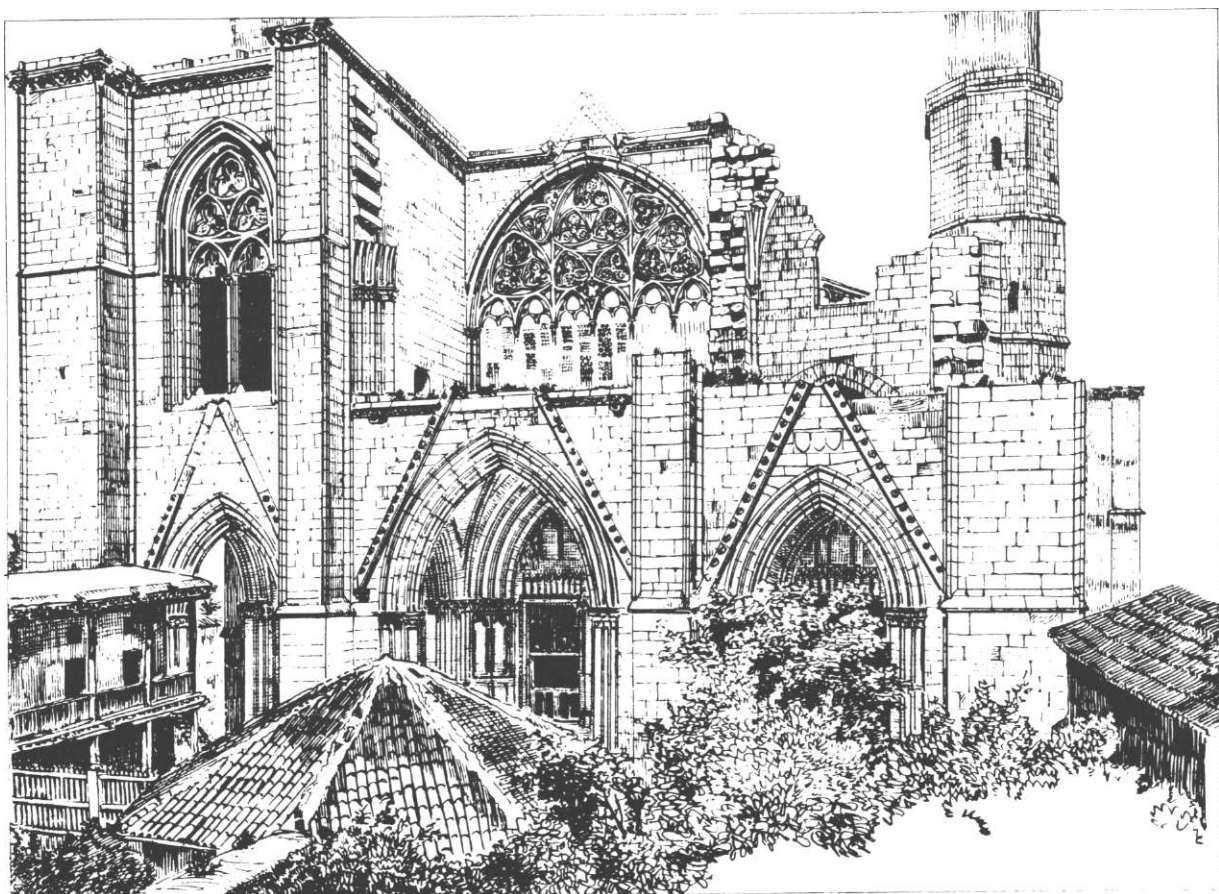
Compare the choir of St. Paul at Besançon (? thirteenth century): Chissey (Jura, middle of the thirteenth century): Montiérender (fourteenth century).

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Between the doorways the supports of the ribs of the porch are capitals without shafts; they rested originally on canopies covering two statues standing on short columns of the same diameter as the upper capital. Baron Rey was kind enough to let me know that he saw the two canopies in place in 1860, but since then they have been destroyed without leaving a single trace. The sculptures of the three doorways are in Pentelic marble and cipollino, obviously taken from ancient buildings; marble column-shafts of Roman date are still very common in Cyprus and the Gothic builders of the island did not fail to use, as at St. Sophia and at Famagusta and elsewhere, marbles recovered from ancient edifices.

The flanking walls of the doorways (Figs. 59, 60 and 66), have an original feature: they are widely splayed and each of them has two shallow rectangular niches; the niches on the central doorway are cut off short at the top by a lintel carried on hollowed-out corbels. Beneath these niches are brackets with bells carved with various foliar motifs treated with great naturalism and realism. On the north doorway (Fig. 59) the niches are formed by a blind arcade of round arches cut by sills at half their height. At the back and at the top of each niche there is carved

pjg 55
West front.



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, NICOSIA

in low relief a crown decorated with fleurs-de-lis held by two arms coming from above. The effect is agreeable and must have been intended to express the heavenly crowning of the Saints whose effigies were in the niches. Admittedly the niches of the central doorway and of the northern doorway are far too shallow to have contained statues, but their polished marble background was admirably suited for painted figures like those which decorated many of the tympana of Gothic doorways in Italy, and even in France, and are found on many Byzantine buildings. Undoubtedly the intention was to have statues on the pillar between the two doors, to left and right of the great doorway and on the south-west doorway. Unfortunately it will never be known whether they existed or whether they were never carried out because of lack of means. It is certain that if the conquerors of 1570 had found them they would have broken them up, in which case the fragments of marble would have been put to good use by the Turks to make the lime which they use so much.

The four projecting arches of the doorways join onto the splayed door-jambs by means of reversed pyramidal corbels decorated with foliar carvings many of which have a small grotesque human mask in the



Fig. 57
West end, interior.

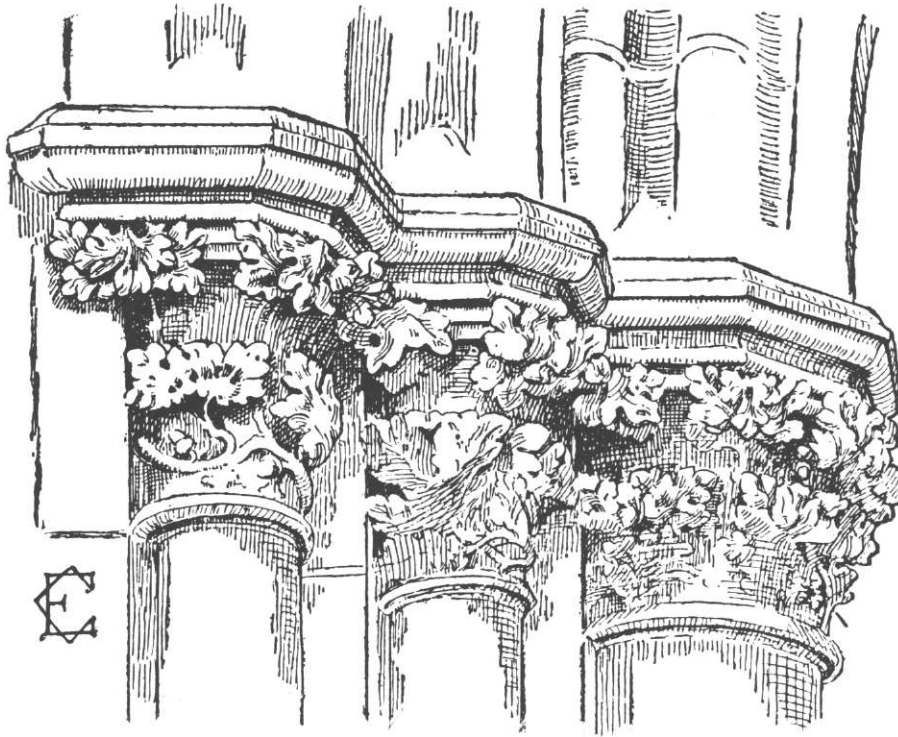


Fig. 58
Porch capitals.

middle. This foliage is very jagged, with narrow incisions in low relief; at a distance they give the effect of pine needles but from close-up they look quite different.

The patterns on the arches are various but in each case they form a set of motifs corresponding to the voussoirs with intervals corresponding to the joints of the masonry, an excellent principle.

The set of motifs for each of the doors is as follows:

North doorway (Fig. 59). First order: moulded; four grooves decorated with small leaves; second order: set of flowers with four petals decorating two deeply-cut grooves. The flowers of the keystone have lanceolated petals, the others round ones; third order: moulded; fourth order: moulded; tympanum: the upper part plastered; it must have contained figures; lintel: decorated with nine blind arches of a pointed trilobed shape surmounted by gables with small crockets and a beaded groove. Small pinnacles between these gables.

Frame. Under the lintel a groove decorated with twenty-three wild-rose flowers. The bells formed of bunches of leaves elongated and jagged, matching those on the consoles of the ribs. On the side-piers: above, a groove containing on each side five statuettes in aedicules; below, ten flowers with four pointed petals; stylobate: decorated with a concave quarter-circular moulding with a human figurine.

Splay. A set of pointed supports decorated with bunches of leaves, jagged and undulating, corresponding to the four ribs. Above, a frieze of

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thirteen crockets ending in wide-spreading bunches of foliage, it runs across the top of two blind semi-circular arches with a torus profile moulding resting on three colonnettes. Angels with censers in the spandrels. These would seem to have been very close in appearance to those of the interior arcades of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris but unfortunately they have been entirely defaced with hammers. Set of small buds on the underside of the torus. On the inside of the arcade a trilobed rib descending along the colonnettes; it has a groove decorated with wild-rose flowers. A grooved sill decorated in the same style crosses the two arcades about one and a half metres above the ground. In the tympanum

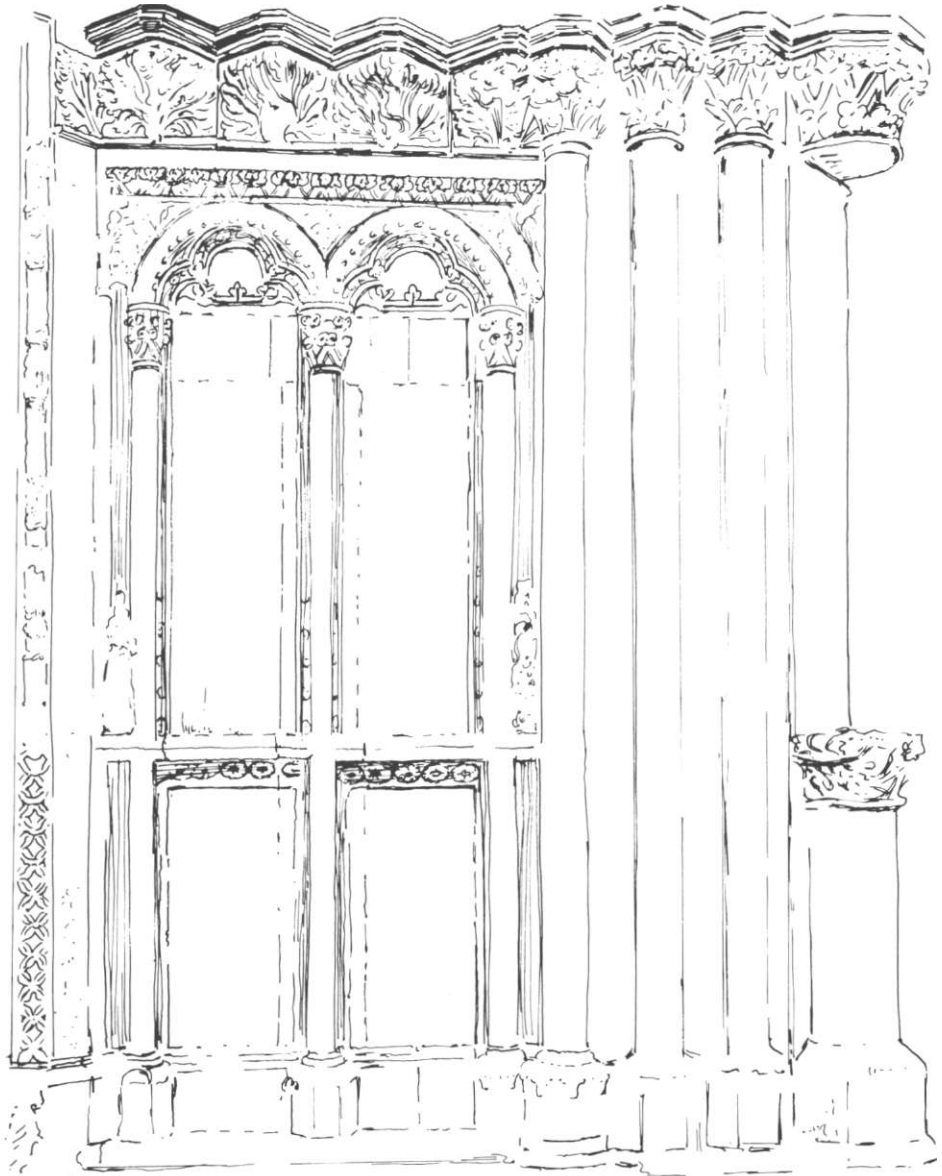


Fig. 59
Details of the north-
west doorway.

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of the arcades hands holding crowns with floral decorations. Below, slabs of polished marble which must have been decorated with figures either painted or in low relief. The bases are linked to those of the stylobate; their scotia is ornamented with beads.

Central doorway (Fig. 60). First, second and third orders: the keystone groove contains sequences of bunches of leaves of different sorts very deeply carved; the other groove has been filled with plaster; perhaps it contained small figurines such as busts of angels; fourth order: the keystone groove is decorated with fine wild-rose flowers of five petals; the groove on the vertical face has leaves with nine elongated lobes,

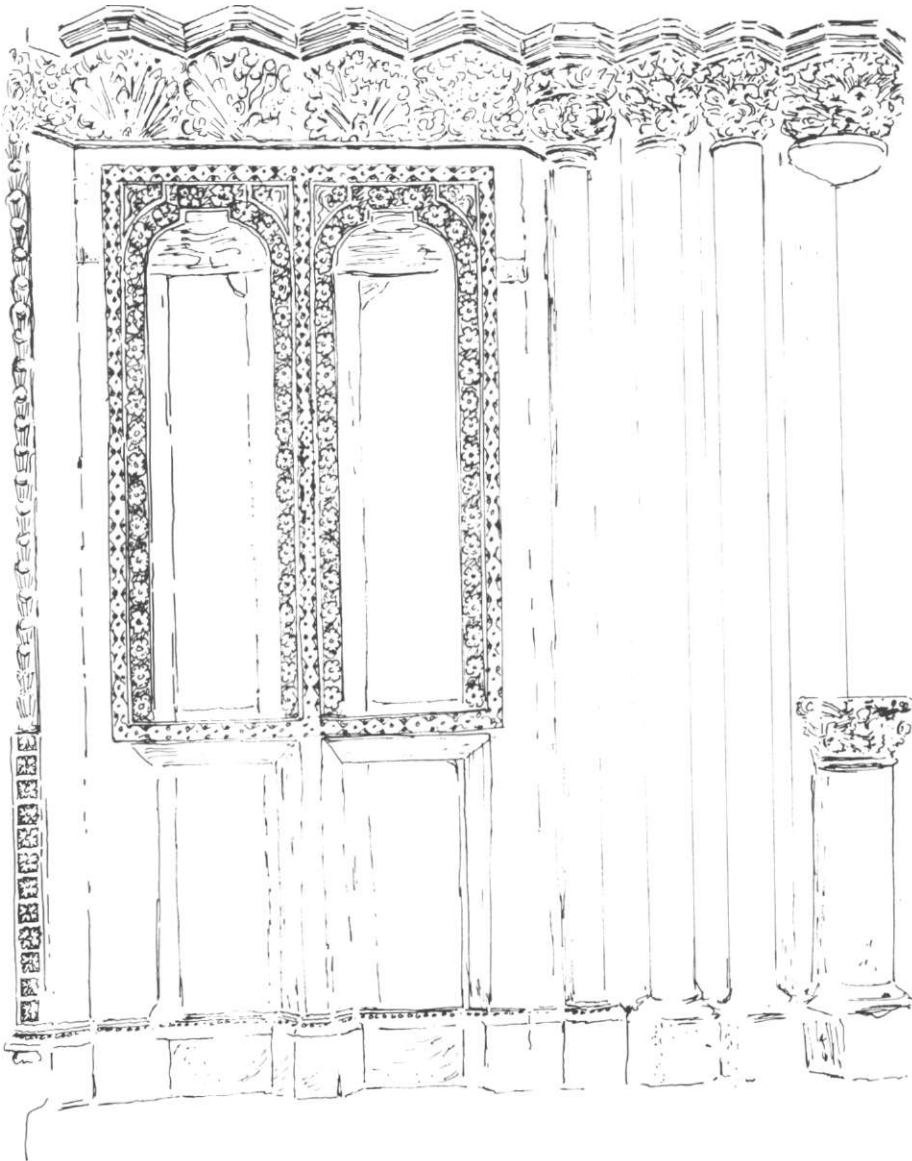
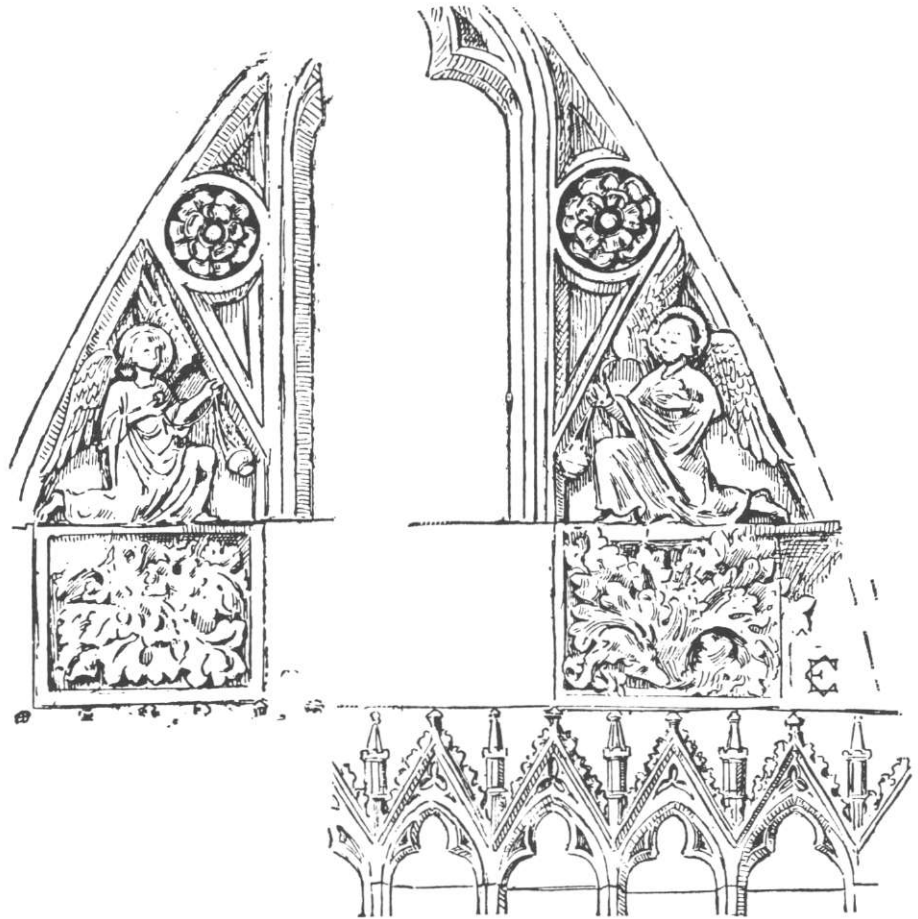


Fig. 60
Details of the central
doorway.

Fig. 61
Tympanum of the
central doorway.



very deeply chiselled, which are imitated in several other monuments in Cyprus.

Tympanum. The upper part is decorated with five unequal blind arches which formerly contained figures. They are pointed and cusped; in the spandrels double roses in circles; beneath a plastered stylobate (predella); it was decorated with a set of sculptured motifs which supported the figures. At the two ends (Fig. 61) two mitred blind arches have kept their censer-bearing angels in a pose resembling that on the tympanum of St. Martin in Laon, one knee resting on polygonal platforms supported by rich bunches of leaves. Lintel of cipollino marble ornamented with twenty pointed cusped arches crowned by acutely-pointed gables with small foliage; pinnacles between the gables: these arcades have small platforms designed to hold statuettes.

Frame (Fig. 60). Broken angle decorated with a sequence of leaves, jagged and folded over. In the lower part of each jamb this motif is replaced by a superposition of twelve small square panels decorated with deeply-cut rosettes (four fleurs-de-lis conjoined at base). On the angle of the stylobate a *congé* formed by a large crocket. Corbels as with the

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preceding one; central pillar decorated by a short column, now broken, a statue, now disappeared, and a canopy with five pointed pediments.

Splay. Two shallow niches, cut short at the top to form a lintel supported on two quarter-circle corbels. In the upper part crowns with floral decoration held by two hands. Round the outside edge a groove with scattered wild roses; dragons in the spandrels. Round these niches there is a rectangular double frame with a sort of border formed of a continuous sequence of small flowers with four rounded petals. Underneath this double niche two hollow rectangular panels with a bevelled edge. Stylobate surmounted by a continuous base with a beaded scotia.

Southern doorway (Fig. 67). First order: the two keystone grooves are decorated with small intricate foliage; on the vertical face a plain groove and a groove decorated with small flowers with four rounded petals. Second order: two grooves decorated with broad vine leaves, jagged and undulating. Third and fourth orders: two grooves with sequences of large leaves resembling the ones mentioned before. Tympanum: upper part: three pointed cusped blind arches, which must have served as a frame for painted figures. Lintel of white marble veined with grey decorated with twelve blind arches of the same form surmounted by pointed gables with small leaves and pinnacles. In each of them there is a small platform to support statuettes, no doubt of the Apostles.

Frame. Groove sown with wild-rose flowers. Corbels as before.

Splay. Group of two rather shallow arcades with round arches richly framed by a series of five-lobed leaves, jagged and folded. Spandrels

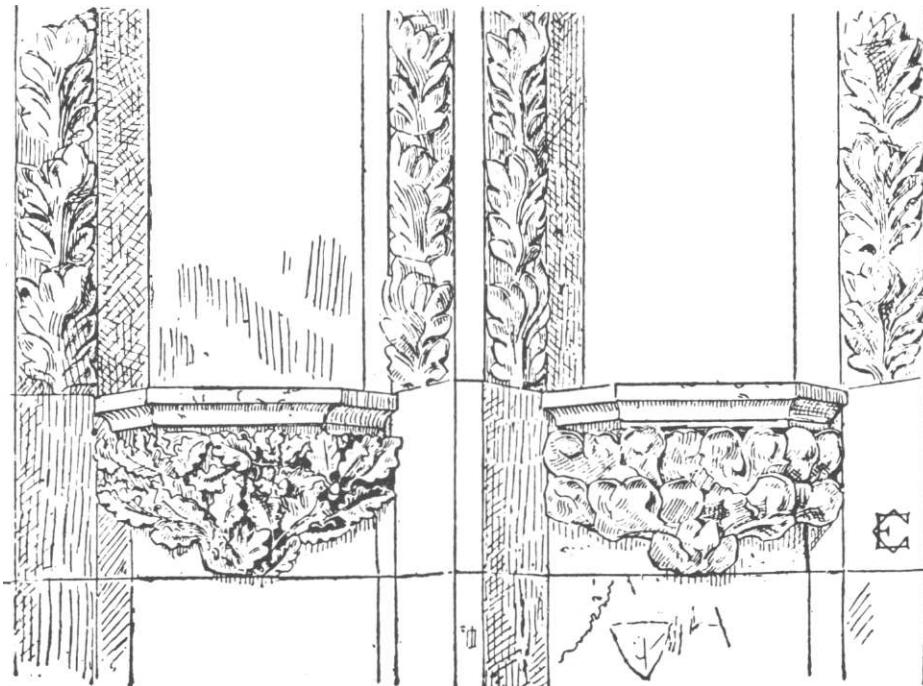


Fig. 62
Brackets of the southern doorway of the west end.

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decorated with bunches of small foliage; tympana decorated with cusps and crowns as in the arcade of the previously-mentioned doorways; at about one and a half metres from the ground there is a projecting bracket below each blind arch. They are polygonal in shape and decorated with rows of differing foliage, thickly bunched and intricately carved; they project far enough to carry statues. Beneath the level of these brackets the mouldings of the blind arches become simple bevels without any sculpture. Stylobate surmounted by a continuous base with a beaded scotia.

On the marble plaques in the splay there are various designs and

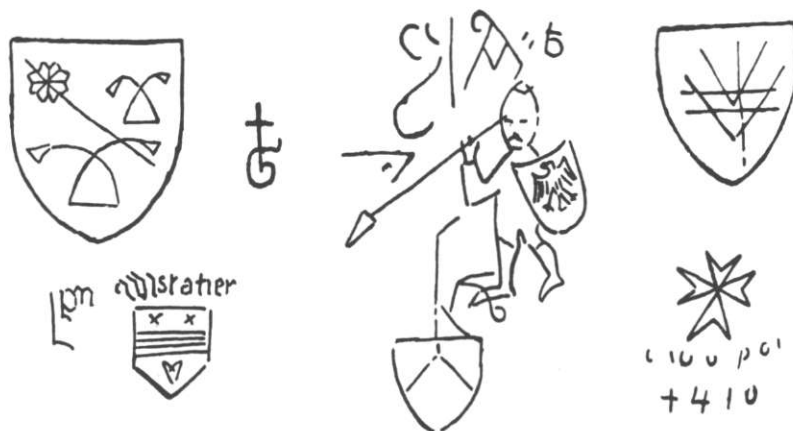
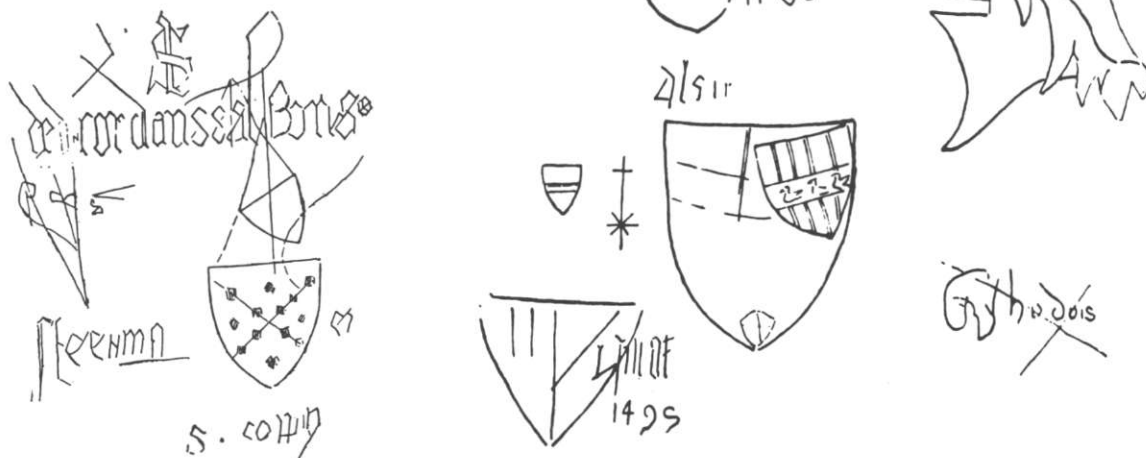


Fig. 63
Fig. 64
Fig. 65

Graffiti on the doorways of the west end.



inscriptions scratched by pilgrims (Figs. 63-65). One or two perhaps come from the fourteenth century by the majority if not all are from the fifteenth. (The had already attracted attention in 1518 on the part of Jacques Le Saige who says:⁸⁷ 'Many pilgrims have made their marks and put their names on the wall. I saw the name Jehan Potiez de Mon on one of the doors.')

There is a sketch of a foot soldier of that period with a pointed helmet; he is thrusting with his lance and protects himself with a notched shield bearing an eagle displayed. There is also a monogram G with a cross on it which resembles some of the tokens issued by Italian merchants in the fifteenth century.⁸⁸ Also to be seen are a number of armorial bearings accompanied by names and dates. The date 1499 is inscribed alongside the name L. Huat and a shield with indecipherable bearings. Further along you can read Guy Hodois Pn Wlstatier, with a coat of arms. A Maltese cross with an illegible name has the date 1410. Round another escutcheon is SL (a monogram; perhaps standing for scel=seal) of the lady of Ansalbons — steenma eius (sc. stemma, = arms) — s. Coppin. On the principal doorway there were other graffiti of the same kind; there is still to be seen a helm with a lambrequin and a shield with the inscription Aubulard, 1480.

These three doorways are decorated in a simple style, which has become more austere through the loss of its statuary. Some of the marble sculptures on them recall the west doorway of Genoa Cathedral, a work which is almost in the French style. The scheme of the arcades and the panels of foliage on the tympanum of the main doorway, and even the workmanship of these panels, are strongly reminiscent of the reverse side of the great doorway of Rheims Cathedral with its compartmented decoration. The panels at the two extremities owe their preservation to the fact that the two angels were spared. Moslems believe in angels and have preserved sculptures of them both in Cyprus and in Rhodes, nevertheless they took great pains to hammer away their faces because to the adherents of the conquering religion any representation of a human face was impious. In spite of their condition the angels on the grand doorway of St. Sophia are still of great interest; their proportions are good and their pose attractive; their draperies are treated with skill; they are worthy specimens of French sculpture. The fact is that examples of figure sculpture have become excessively rare in Cyprus and among the specimens that do remain, all of them damaged, those that are later than the beginning of the fourteenth century are noticeably bad.

The exterior aspect of the porch (Fig. 67) is simpler. Each arcade is surmounted by a sharply pointed gable beneath which are three shields in a row. The sloping sides of these gables are decorated with crockets in the form of bunches of slender leaves. In the north-western and south-western exterior angles of the outer buttresses there are thick semi-circular torus mouldings which terminate at the level of the impostes of the blind arches in flower-heads framed by a small trilobed arch. There

87
op. cit., p. 130.

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See C. Piton, *Les Lombards en France et à Paris*, vol. II, *Numismatique* (Champion, Paris, 1893).

is a similar decoration at SS. Peter and Paul in Famagusta.

The escutcheons must have been chopped out at a recent date and the gable of the central bay of the porch, now truncated, must after the restoration in 1491 have carried a bas-relief with the lion of St. Mark. In fact N.D. Hurrel tells us: "Above the main doorway there are carved arms which are said to be those of Lusignan with those of Jerusalem and of this island and also those of the Republic of Venice with an inscription written on the stone: 'Pax tibi Marce evangelista' which

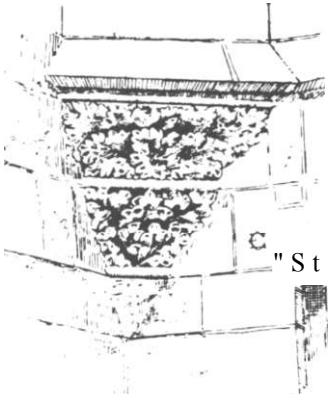


Fig. 66
Encorbelment on
southern tower.

Fig. 67
Arcade at southern
end of the porch.



is on a label issuing from the mouth of the lion St. Mark has sitting beside him.'

A polygonal piece of masonry on corbels has survived at the level of the first stage of the towers in the angle of the staircase turrets. It is the wall of the passage which joins this storey to the stairway. The encorbelment is decorated with leaves on a very large scale making a superb decorative effect especially on the south side (Figs. 66 and 67). On this side I should reckon it equal in merit to some motifs in Rheims Cathedral to which this sculptured decoration is strikingly similar. This triangular motif includes two rows of differing foliage and a terminal head which has been most carefully hammered away.

Only the first storey of the northern tower has survived but it is practically intact. It must have been erected by John de Polo because we know that this archbishop had two bells put in the church⁸⁹ and there is no other bell-tower. From the style the work would date rather from the end of his pontificate, around 1330. This storey is roofed with a rib-vault with simple panel profiles but supported on four columns with sculptured capitals very closely similar to those of the porch. On the north and west there are some beautiful windows with elongated pointed arches, divided into two lights and crowned with sharp-pointed trefoil tracery. The mullion and the jambs have handsome colonnettes with sculptured capitals; above the arch is a hood-mould. All the details are in a thoroughly classical French style of the fourteenth century.

The window on the east side is quite plain; on the south a door with a corbelled lintel communicates with the flat roof which covers the centre of the porch. The corners of each buttress are decorated with a prismatic projecting shaft-ring. On the south-west buttress there is an engaged bundle of small colonnettes with sculptured capitals bearing the strongly moulded springer of the principal arch which was planned to connect the two towers.

The cornice above the first storey of the tower is decorated with crockets only on the east and around the staircase turret. On the other faces is a design, or rather a series of designs, distinctly later in date and much inferior, of animals and vegetables, more or less fantastically treated, aligned in a groove. The execution is rather flat and of very indifferent merit. A frequently repeated motif resembles what is called in heraldry a crequer plant (from the French *créquier*, a wild plum-tree) with three symmetrical branches ending in a single root; the lateral branches have a double bend. This design is curious because it is a translation, in a late and debased Gothic style, of a favourite motif of Turkish works in stucco. The cornice continues without interruption, showing either that the grand arcade, which was intended to run from one tower to the other, was only a simple supporting feature or else that its construction was abandoned when the cornice was made. On top of the cornice are the sills for the great window bays which were to light the

89
p. 104.

90
'Messe due gran campane,'
Amadi, p. 406; 'pose due
gran campane,' Bustron,
p. 255.



r
Fig. 68
Colonnette from a
pulpit.

91
Nicosia, anonymous en-
graving, late sixteenth cen-
tury, and G. Rosaccio,
*Viaggio de Venetia a Con-
stantinopoli* (Venice, 1598),
plate 43; the engraving by
Peeters, Antwerp, seven-
teenth century, is a copy of
Rosaccio.

92
Cartulary, No. LVI.

93
ib.

94
Cartulary, No. LII.

95
By John de Polo; probably
between the time of his ar-
rival in Nicosia and the great
flood which caused so much
damage there. 'Fece el bel
lutrin,' according to Amadi,
p. 405; Bustron adds 'de
marmaro', p. 225.

upper storey of the tower. They were meant to occupy practically the whole width of the front of the tower and to have been divided into three by two mullions in the shape of colonnettes. It was a well-understood principle of Gothic builders progressively to increase the illumination and to lighten the structure of the upper storeys. Presumably the windows in this storey were meant to be surmounted by gables as in Famagusta Cathedral. Whether this storey ever existed is difficult to say. Two engravings⁹¹ representing Nicosia at the end of the sixteenth century show a tower surmounted by a spire rising at one of the corners of the façade of St. Sophia; but these are imprecise, coarsely done and plainly inaccurate so that it may well be that this tower is nothing more than a mistaken enlargement of one of the minarets which the Turks put on top of the two staircase turrets of the towers.

The last addition to the architecture of St. Sophia made by the Christians was a chapel built out from the third bay of the south aisle, next to the baptistery chapel. It dates possibly from the late fourteenth century but more probably from the fifteenth. In form it is a simple square chamber, rather low, with a rib vault and lit by *oeils-de-boeuf*. On the outside there are two shields with the bearings of the unknown founder; the charge is three bunches of grapes (or fir-cones) two and one. This chapel is by and large lacking in any merit either archaeological or artistic.

Practically nothing is left of the interior furnishings of the cathedral. We know from literary sources that besides the main altar there was an altar of Our Lady,⁹² probably in one of the chapels of the transept, and three altars in the nave. Of these the first two, constructed shortly before 1270, were backed up against pillars and were consecrated on the north to St. Nicholas and on the south to St. George.⁹³ Another altar, erected in 1285 or 1286 by King Henry II, was dedicated to St. Francis and placed under the rood-screen as is shown by a reference in a charter of endowment to:⁹⁴ 'The new altar which we have had constructed under the screen of your church to the honour of Monseigneur St. Francis.' This screen must itself have been reconstructed not long afterwards,⁹⁵ between 1319 and 1330. It was made of marble. When the Turks captured the city they demolished it and threw it out of the church together with the choir stalls and the altars.⁹⁶ It does not appear that any remains of them have come down to these days. The marble presumably was burned for lime and the wood it was only too easy to destroy.

There was probably a pulpit separate from the screen and it is possible that we may have a scrap of it in a small platform erected by the Moslems in the south-east of the nave. It has four colonnettes of white marble (Fig. 68) and some slabs carved with small blind arcading with round arches, in no very distinguished style. The colonnettes, though possibly not the arcading, certainly come from one of the ancient furnishings of the cathedral. They belong in style to the thirteenth century; their capitals have four broad ribbed leaves whose crockets must have

DESCRIPTION

been cut away and their Attic bases are of full height. They measure 1.06 metres in height. The pulpit at St. Sophia then would have resembled those of such churches in Italy as Siena, Pistoia and many others.

The baptismal font was a huge basin of marble, also made between 1319 and 1330.⁹⁷ It is not impossible that it may have been used in the construction of the ablution fountain which is now in front of the mosque. This fountain certainly has a very large octagonal basin framed in masonry and almost hidden by woodwork. It does not appear that it ever had any particular artistic character.

The tombs were all opened and destroyed in 1570.⁹⁸ The scraps of tombstones which can be found in the pavement are mutilated and defaced and I have not discovered a monument that was to be seen in St. Sophia at the beginning of the eighteenth century and which Dapper describes in the following terms: 'There is to be seen there an old tomb made out of a single piece of very fine jasper in the shape of a coffin lid, 8V2 feet long and 4H wide and 5 high which is said to have been found buried.'⁹⁹ Perhaps this monument was like the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon at Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰ The scraps of tombstones still to be found in St. Sophia are slabs with linear engraving; they have been published by Major Tankerville Chamberlayne.¹⁰¹ None of them is earlier than the fourteenth century except perhaps the one of Raoul of Blanche-Garde on which there is carved a helmet of the time of St. Louis.¹⁰²

There were paintings, executed by order of John de Polo and therefore between 1319 and 1330, covering three bays of the vaults and the eight columns of the choir as well as the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas.¹⁰³ There is no description of these paintings in the chroniclers, but the pilgrim Nicholas of Martoni, who saw them in 1305, says that the vault of the choir was entirely painted in blue with gold stars.¹⁰⁴ There were also paintings in the side-aisles. Diagonal chevrons in black and white decorated the toruses of the large squat arches which carry the communicating gallery. I was able to recognise a fragment of this painting whose style may be considered as belonging to the fourteenth century. It is recorded that Archbishop John de Polo had two great bells made and that he also enriched the altars with various ornaments. These were: first, two silver angels, probably for the main altar, then three large altar facings of gold brocade, one red, probably also for the main altar, the others white.¹⁰⁵ He had a silk embroidery made, representing the Transfiguration. On festival days it was spread in the central arcade of the ambulatory above the altar.¹⁰⁶ If so this great embroidery was about 2 metres long by 2.04 deep. It will have resembled either the small silk tapestry dating from the early sixteenth century which is preserved in the treasury at Sens or perhaps rather the silk embroideries of the fourteenth century which can be seen in the museum at Cluny,¹⁰⁷ in Stockholm Museum¹⁰⁸ and on some copes preserved at St. Maximin, at Pienza in Tuscany, at Anagni and in Toledo Cathedral.

96

See the account by Calepio annexed to Lusignan's *Descr. de Cypre* (Paris, 1580), fol. 262-3.

97

'Mese la gran gorna de marraaro de la fonte', Amadi, p. 405; Bustron, p. 255.

98

Calepio, loc. cit.

99

Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel (Amsterdam, 1702), p. 32.

100

This tomb, which was destroyed in the early nineteenth century, has been frequently published. It was a ridged stone shaped like a shallow coffin or a thick sarcophagus cover, supported on four colonnettes, a type in wide-spread use in France in the twelfth century.

101

Lacrymae Nicossiensis (Colin, Paris, 1894), pp. 137-60, plates XXV-XXX.

102

ib., No. 283, plate XXIX.

103

'Fece far la capella de S. Thomaso de Aquin, et depenzerla ... fece depenzer tre volti de la nave de la giesia; fece depenzer le sie Colone che sonno atorno al grande altar', Amadi, p. 405; reproduced almost verbatim by Bustron, p. 255.

104

'et tota ipsa lamia, ab archoro versus altare magnum, est picta cum azolo fino et stellis aureis,' *Pèlerinage à Jérusalem*, publ. Le Grand in *Revue de l'Or, latin*, 1896, p. 635.

John de Polo had, finally, a very large number of sacerdotal vestments¹⁰⁹ made but we have no description of them. There was also in St. Sophia a very rich funeral pall which was used at royal funerals.¹¹⁰

It may be useful to end this long and detailed examination by recapitulating the chronology of the construction of the cathedral and the varying styles of its constituent parts.

The work of construction or restoration began in 1193 in the transitional North French style. Of this work there remain: a large capital which is used as a base in the ambulatory, a panel decorated with a foliar scroll which has been used as a column base in the doorway recently transferred to the east end, the two small columns and their bases of the north doorway of the transept and one of those in the north doorway of the nave. Work on the existing building began in 1209 in the style of the Ile de France. The ambulatory and the transept were built first and in 1220 or 1230 construction had reached the upper part of the choir of which there now remains scarcely anything beyond the four flying buttresses. In 1248, thanks to the liberality of St. Louis and the assistance of the artists that he brought with him, work began on the aisles and on the lower part of the nave; these portions, like the cornice of the ambulatory and the transept, show the influence of the style of Champagne. In 1292 a plot of ground was bought to enable the nave to be finished, it must have been then that the last, western bay was built, whose style and dimensions are different from the others, and the foundations of the porch were laid. In the last years of the thirteenth century and the first of the fourteenth century the damages caused by the earthquakes of 1267 and 1303 were repaired and the upper part of the nave was finished. The consecration took place in 1326 after the vaults and their flying buttresses had been completed. At the same time a baptistery chapel was added to the southern aisle and the upper storey of the treasury chapel was raised. The upper storey of the north-western tower dates undoubtedly from the end of the reign of John de Polo because he had two great bells made and hung, but in 1330, as a consequence of the disastrous flood, work was interrupted. In 1347 the cathedral was unfinished and was in need of repair, probably in the upper part of the choir; it must have been late in the fourteenth century, and no doubt after the misfortunes of 1337, that work on the reconstruction of this part of the cathedral was undertaken. The rebuilding is in a coarse and impoverished style and the flying buttresses which were built then are a heavy imitation of the early fourteenth-century ones.

In 1491, as the result of an earthquake,¹¹¹ a battering plinth was constructed round the ambulatory, tie-beams were added in the arcades of the choir and a flying buttress was built against the south-west of the choir. Finally in 1570 the statues, the windows, the choir screen and stalls, the tombs, the paintings and all other furnishings of the cathedral were destroyed.

105

'Fece far tre paramenti grandi brocadi de oro, li dui bianchi et uno vermiglio,' Amadi, p. 406-, Bustron, p. 255.

106

'Fece un gran razzo de seda dove era recamata la Transfiguration, la quai si meteva in mezzo de la giesia quando era festa.' *ib.*; some verbal differences in Bustron.

107

Figuring St. Mark and St. John.

108

No. 167.

109

'Fece cappe, carsuble, toniche, et altri paramenti et fornite la sacristia de cio che bisognava____' Amadi and Bustron, *loc. cit.*; some variations in Bustron.

110

In addition to the benefactions of John de Polo, i.e. the silver angels and the silk tapestries, there were in the treasury of St. Sophia in 1518 according to Jacques Le Saige (*op. cit.*, p. 139) 'the right arm of St. Lawrence in a silver reliquary and a double cross' containing 'a good four palms' length of the Holy True Cross.'

111

On this important restoration see the debate in the Venetian Senate, published by Mas Latrie in his *Documents nouv. sur l'hist. de Chypre*, p. 559. The references in the document to the supply of materials are to iron and timber.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA

OUR LADY OF TYRE

Our Lady of Tyre in Nicosia was the principal convent for women in the island of Cyprus.

According to the chronicle of Amadi Baldwin I, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon and King of Jerusalem, who died in 1116, married as his first wife a niece of the Emperor of Constantinople. He repudiated her and forced her to take monastic vows, founding for the occasion a new order known as Our Lady of Jerusalem; their habit was black. Later the order took the name of Our Lady of Tyre.¹

The convent of Our Lady of Tyre in Nicosia is mentioned for the first time in 1300 in the will made at Famagusta by a merchant of Narbonne, Bernardus Faxie, probably Bernard Fayssa.²

Amadi's chronicle³ describes it as a convent whose nuns were famous for their virtues and for their charity. It was an old-established foundation which was ruined by an earthquake;⁴ the cracks in the fabric were so serious that the church was in danger of falling to pieces and it was most dangerous to enter it. King Henry II, before he was deprived of his power, learned about this and promised the Abbess, then Sister Beatrice de Pinqueny (possibly Picquigny) and her nuns that, if they agreed, he would pull the convent down and build them a new one; they concurred in the royal wishes and gave their consent to the demolition. The King started on the new construction and had spent 18,000 bezants by the time that his brothers and their adherents seized power from him; he then stopped the work because he no longer had the means to subsidise his building plans. Under the regency of the Prince of Tyre a lady of good family and outstanding virtue was elected Abbess. She was Margaret of Ibelin, daughter of John, Count of Jaffa (the author of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*) and was related to the King, and also to the Princess of Tyre, through her father the King of Armenia. She was opposed to the intrigues,

i
Amadi, p. 28.

Actes génois de Famagouste,
No. CCCCLVII, 3 December
1300: 'Item dominabus, illis
duabus de Tiro Nicosie pro
pietancia et missis canendis
bissantios decern.'

pp. 349, 350, 351; cf.
Bustron, p. 211. What fol-
lows in the text is an only
slightly abbreviated transla-
tion from Amadi.

No doubt the one of 1303.

and the reforms, of Henry II's brothers and their partisans; she and her nuns used to pray to God to make peace between the King and his brothers, bring him back to Cyprus and restore him to his throne. This was reported to the Prince of Tyre in quite different terms; he was told that the Abbess, not content with the prayers for the King that she ordered, used to heap curses on himself and the Constable and the Prince and the Lady of Tyre. In consequence he hated her and looked for an opportunity to do her an injury, without ever finding one.

When the Lord of Tyre died information was brought to his widow, the Constable and the Prince that the Abbess and the whole convent were transported with joy. The informants added that the wives of some of the knights who had gone to Famagusta in support of the King's cause had taken refuge in the convent, fearing that the criminals would sack their houses, following the usual practice in times of revolution.

On that very day, 14th June 1310, there was a disturbance in the palace of the Lord of Tyre. A cleric of the name of Simon Mache or Machie claimed to have seen from a balcony Simon of Montolif in the convent, the man who had murdered the usurper. Everyone ran to arms at once, small and great. They broke down the convent gates, laid hands on the nuns, and, drawing swords and knives, made as if to cut their throats; they pushed them about, threatening to cut off their heads, or their ears, or to disembowel them, using the sort of language they would have used to prostitutes in a brothel; they paid no attention to the ties of kinship between themselves and the nuns, who were all of good family, daughters of knights and leading citizens. They smashed the furniture and the windows, stole everything they could lay hands on and ransacked the entire abbey seven or eight times over. The Abbess summoned all the nuns, put them on oath and charged them on their sacred obedience to declare whether they knew anything of the assassin Simon of Montolif. Each in turn denied all knowledge but his pursuers were not satisfied; they seized a Turkish slavegirl belonging to the Abbess and one of the nuns' maidservants and threw them into prison; they threatened the nuns that they would burn down the convent. Terrified, they carried out their belongings and tried to abandon the building.

That evening the Abbess went to see the Legate. She complained of the outrages inflicted on her in her own house and the threat to burn down the convent as soon as it was night; the nuns, she added, were trying to escape. She asserted her innocence, declaring that the Lord of Tyre and his wife were her own close relations and that she would never have consented to give asylum to the assassin of so noble a member of her own family. If the accusation against her could be proved, she said, she was willing to be burned alive, she and all her nuns. The Legate comforted her and sent her back to her nuns, assuring them that they would not be troubled again; when night came he would set a guard over them of his own servants and, if necessary, would come himself. The

Amadi, p. 276; Bustron,
pp. 161, 183, with Mas
Latrie's notes.

Amadi, p. 271.

Bustron, p. 255.

8

Machaeras, p. 211; cf.
Strambaldi, p. 105.

Strambaldi, p. 105. Her father, Henry of Gibelet, had been deprived of his viscounty and imprisoned because he refused to surrender to the King a leash of Turkish greyhounds; her brother, James of Gibelet, had been condemned to hard labour; she herself was threatened by the King with a forced marriage to a cobbler called Camus and when she took refuge first with the Poor Clares and later with the Carthusians he had her dragged out and tortured by burning her feet. After that she and her brother were sent to work as labourers for the men constructing the earth works and the stone work of the castle of the Margarita.

10

Machaeras, p. 211.

11

Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*,
vol. III, pp. 542-3.

12

Descr. des isles de l'Archipel (1702), p. 32. This must be the tomb of Eschive of Dampierre.

OUR LADY OF TYRE

Abbess accordingly returned and that was the end of the disturbances, all caused by the hatred felt for the Abbess.

In 1308 the Abbess was Sister Euphemia (Fémie) a former Princess of Armenia, Lady of Sagette, daughter of King Hayton I, sister of Leo III, widow of Julian of Sidon (died about 1273) and aunt of the Princes Alinak and Oshin.⁵

In the same year, 1308, Margaret of Lusignan, Princess of Antioch, daughter of Henry of Lusignan and sister of King Hugh III was buried in the church of Our Lady of Tyre.⁶

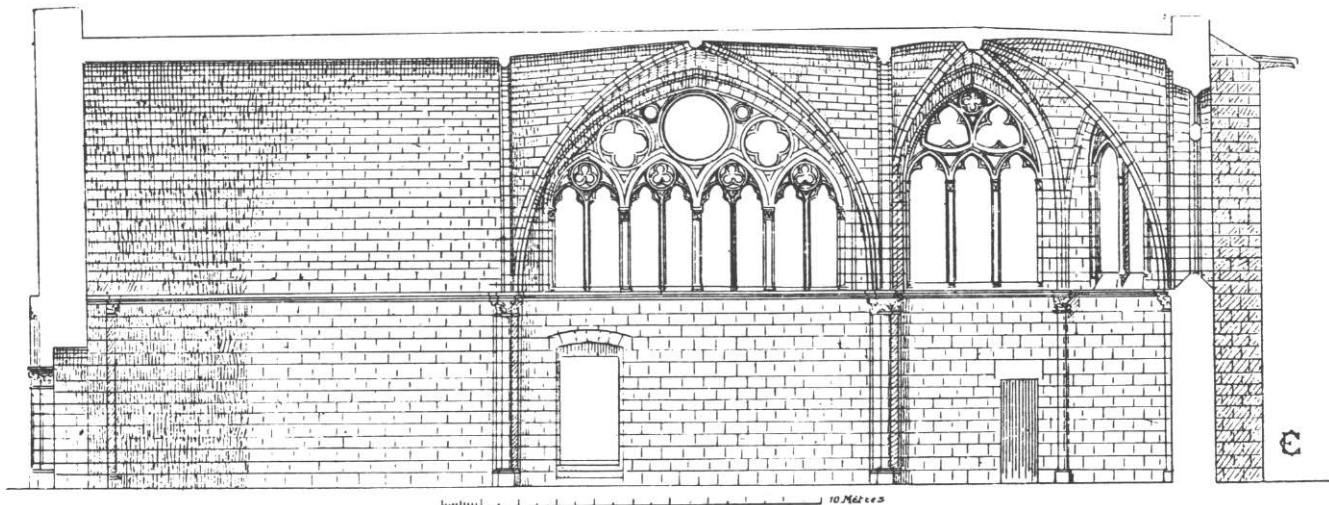
At this period the convent appears to have been in the hands of Carthusian nuns; Florio Bustron, under the date of 1330, calls it *La Certozza*,⁷ in 1369 Strambaldi calls it *La Tartusa*,⁸ and Machaeras, under the date 1373, *Taprova*,⁹ possibly there was some confusion between *Certosa* and *Tortosa*. There was an abbey in Cyprus, also referred to by Amadi, called Our Lady of Tortosa which must be different from Our Lady of Tyre.

It was in this convent also that Mary of Gibelet took refuge when fleeing from the persecution of King Peter I.⁹

In 1373 Raymond of Cafran, who had been killed by the Genoese at Famagusta, was buried in the Charterhouse at Nicosia.¹⁰ In 1565 the church of Our Lady of Tyre was poor but well maintained, according to a report by the Proweditore Bernardo Sagredo.¹¹ After the Turkish conquest of Cyprus it became the church of the Armenians, according to Dapper who visited it in about 1700. After mentioning that it had belonged to Carthusian nuns he speaks of 'several gravestones carved in relief with figures of these nuns which can still be seen there and in particular the gravestone of an abbess, pictured with a cross in her hand, which has an incscription in French running right round it.'¹² These tombs are still in existence in the Armenian church but the burials are not all of nuns, and none of them is decorated with figures in relief: the effigies are

Fig 69

Longitudinal section.



carved simply in outline.¹³ They belong to distinguished families, demonstrating the high social standing of the convent of Our Lady of Tyre.

In appearance the building (Fig. 69) has all the marks of a church built between 1303 and 1310 and left unfinished at the latter date. It consists of a plain nave, of two bays, and a polygonal choir. The original intention was to roof it with ribbed vaulting throughout but the western bay, having been left unfinished in 1310, was later given a barrel vault. The choir consists of a straight section and three angular faces; the vault has six ribs. The supports are groups of three engaged colonnettes except in the four outside corners where they are single colonnettes.

There are three doorways, at the west end and on each side of the central bay.

The proportions are broad and low, inspired by local practice. In northern France the standard pattern for important churches, with aisles, triforia and clerestories, obliged the architects to increase greatly the height of the naves and in cases where there were no aisles — the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, for example — they nevertheless retained the elevated proportions to which their builders had become accustomed. In southern France on the other hand, and this is true also of Cyprus, large churches such as Nicosia Cathedral have aisles without pitched roofs and naves without triforia, so that the proportions are much less lofty. The same canon of proportions has been used for the single nave of Our Lady of Tyre.

The abacuses of the colonnettes are linked by a continuous string course forming the window-sills. The windows take up the whole space between this and the vaulting. The lunettes of the vaults in the apse are narrow; they are pierced by lancet windows divided by a central mullion surmounted by a quatrefoil in a circle. Since the rectangular bay of the choir offered much broader wall spaces these have been lit by three-light windows whose upper tracery consists of two trefoils surmounted by a quatrefoil.

The two bays of the nave are much broader. The westernmost has been rebuilt; in the other there are very wide windows whose obtusely-pointed arch has been slightly depressed into the shape of a basket arch. They occupy the entire width of the bay and are divided into four lights; their upper tracery consists of three circles framing quatrefoils. Their shape is strikingly reminiscent of the architecture of the cathedrals at Bourges and Toledo. The mullions have small colonnettes with round, carved capitals. The capitals of the groups of columns are bunches of bushy and contorted foliage making a congested and inartistic effect. The bases are very low.

The profile moulding of the arches of the vaults is a slender torus outlined by cavettos. This has been deformed by mutilation and by being plastered over, as has also happened with the bases. The design of the western bay has suffered still more serious alteration; the bay, wretchedly

13

These tombs were published
by Mas Latrie in 1847
in the *Magasin pittoresque*
and also in 1894
by Major Tankerville Cham-
berlayne in his *Lacrymae*
Nicossienses.

OUR LADY OF TYRE

finished off after the events of 1310, has no windows and only a pointed barrel vault. The doorway at the west end (Fig. 70), which appears to have been re-inserted in a façade of later date, is a thoroughly French piece of architecture of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The jambs are formed by pilasters whose inner angles are decorated with two colonnettes with independent shafts. The capitals



of the pilasters and colonnettes are carved with weak and over-elaborate foliar motifs, including bunches of oak-leaves. The tympanum is quite plain and framed by a pointed arch decorated with a torus, a grooved moulding and a fillet. The lateral doorways were similar; the one on the south side has been blocked up and mutilated; the one on the north has been remade following the construction of a portico in Moorish style which has been built against the whole length of that side.

The leaves of the door at the west end are an example of Gothic woodwork unique in Cyprus. They appear to be contemporary with the building; as is well known, woodwork earlier than the fifteenth century is extremely rare. These leaves, which resemble those in Sées Cathedral, dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, are carved with two registers of blind arcades with trilobed heads. They have clearly been taken from another, wider door. One has two arches, the other three. The woodwork is not jointed but held together by clinched nails in the eastern fashion still in use. This method of assembly also existed in the West, at least in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴ The wood is either pine or cypress. The arches are simply cut out on a cross-member; their three lobes are circular and the points of their cusps end in a small disk. In these small circles and in the spandrels the semi-circular headed nails complete the decorative effect. The impostes have a semi-circular profile as on the leaves of the fourteenth-century door of the church at Ville-sous-Orbais, in Champagne. The jambs are separate from the cross-members and held by three nails. A series of boards placed vertically forms the backing of the false-frame, holding it together and making a uniform background for the blind arches.

14

Compare the castle door in Amiens Museum; the church door at Montferrand in the Auvergne; a Breton door dated 1546 in the possession of the author.

15

1323, 7th August (London); published by Mas Latrie in his *Doc. nouv. sur l'hist. de Chypre*, p. 357.

16

2nd February, *ib.*, p. 362. In c. 1350 Ludolf of Sudheim met the brothers of the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury; see the account publ. by Dr. G.A. Neumann, *Arch. de l'Or. lat.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 335.

17

Amiens MS., fol. 89 v°.

The church of Our Lady of Tyre is strikingly reminiscent, as I have shown, and especially by virtue of its large windows, of the nave of Nicosia Cathedral and of Bourges Cathedral. The latter is known to have been consecrated in 1324; its tall windows can be ascribed a date close to 1280. The windows of the nave of St. Sophia date from the first years of the fourteenth century. The style of carving, both on the interior and the exterior of Our Lady of Tyre, is also characteristic of French art of about 1300. This handsome and curious chapel must undoubtedly be the one whose history is recounted in Amadi's chronicle.

2

THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS

There are only a few references in old documents to a church of St. Nicholas at Nicosia. However we learn from the nomination of John of Paris as Prior of the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury in that city, in 1323, that the Priory church was dedicated to St. Nicholas.¹⁵ It is identical with the one described in 1375 as 'ecclesia S. Nicholai Anglicorum',¹⁶

THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS

It is probable that this is the church which is still in existence, almost intact (Fig. 71) on the south side of the cathedral parvis with a figure of St. Nicholas carved in the fifteenth or sixteenth century on the lintel of the main doorway (Fig. 72). The church was plainly attached to some monastic buildings that have been almost completely destroyed. Part of a wall from one of these buildings is still connected to the west end, the masonry being bonded in.

In the sixteenth century the knights of St. Thomas had died out in Nicosia but the church in question must have become the Greek cathedral because both Pierre Mésènge and Jacques Le Saige use that term to describe a church very close to St. Sophia. The former, writing in 1507, says 'right next to (St. Sophia) there is a Greek collegiate church where the liturgy is performed in Greek with much solemnity and with more devotion than I have seen in any other place throughout the whole of Greece; in these two churches there are two suffragan bishops, one Latin and the other Greek.'¹⁷ Le Saige, writing in 1518, says 'I went to a small Greek church quite close to St. Sophia. It is dedicated to Our Lady. It was a pleasure to be there because there was one of the priests who was at least seventy and sang so loud that it was wonderful. After vespers in Greek they brought in two large loaves and cut one up into big pieces which they gave to each of us, and then gave us some good wine to drink.' It is possible that the church was originally dedicated to Our Lady as well as to St. Nicholas because one of the doorways is decorated

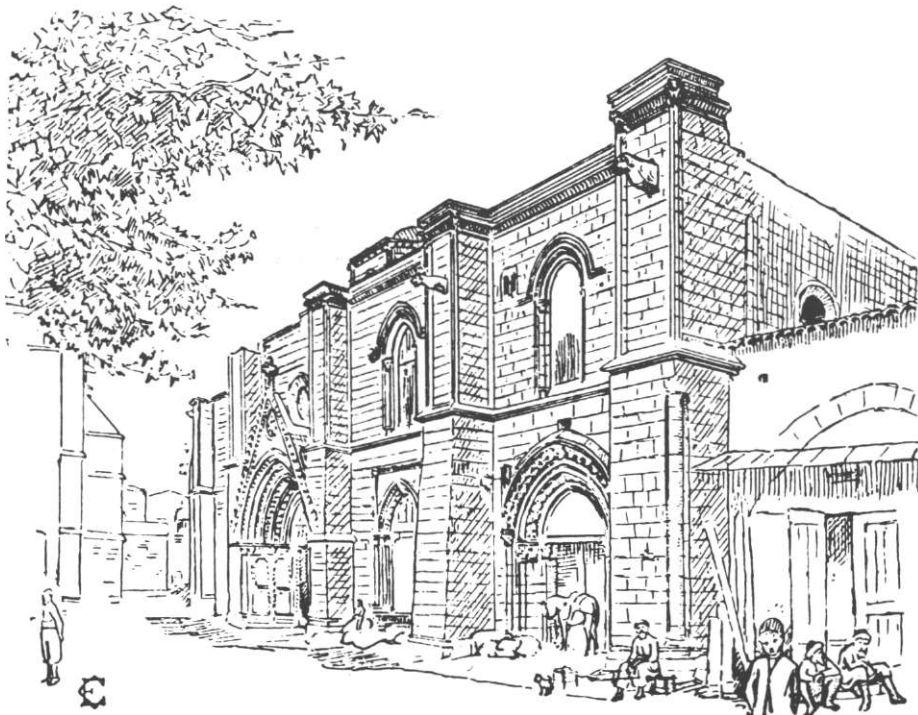


Fig. 71
The church of
St. Nicholas, Nicosia.

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA

with a Dormition of the Virgin; however neither that carving nor the one of St. Nicholas goes back to the original date of construction.

This church was visited and described by de Bruyn in 1700:¹⁸ It was then used as a bazaar. Nowadays it is a barn to receive the governmental tithes; it had already been put to that use when the late Count de Mas Latrie visited it in 1847.¹⁹

The plan of St. Nicholas (Fig. 73) consists of a central nave with on



Fig. 72
St. Nicholas, main
doorway.

THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS

the north, another nave with an apse at the east end and, on the south, two lateral naves of equal dimensions divided by a row of columns and terminated at their east ends by a solid wall into which two apsidal chapels have been inserted. The bays of this southern pair of naves do not correspond with those of the two other naves; the western half of each of them is in ruins.

At the west end a porch of four bays extended over the entire width of the façade. There were three doorways in it; on the south side another door led into the monastery; on the north three other doorways, more richly ornamented, opened onto the cathedral parvis. There were, then, seven doors in this medium-sized church; on the other hand there were very few windows. This was standard architectural practice, then and now, with both secular and religious buildings in the island of Cyprus.

St. Nicholas shows no trace of a bell-tower but on the last bay but one of the principal nave towards the east end there is an octagonal drum, cylindrical internally and carried on pendentives, above which is a hemispherical dome lit by eight windows — a remarkable blending of Byzantine and Gothic architecture. The apses of the lateral naves are roofed with semi-domes; the apse of the northern nave has in front of it a short section with a pointed barrel vault. All the other parts of the church are roofed with ribbed vaults except that those of the two western bays of the main nave have been recently replaced by a barrel vault. The northern nave does not extend so far to the east as the central one but they both have five bays. The twin naves on the southern side are shorter still; they used to have six bays but the last three, at the west end, are in ruins. One of the columns between the two has a capital which can be dated to about 1270 (Fig. 74). The others are clearly fifteenth or early sixteenth century, as are the octagonal half-pillars without capitals along the south wall which support the springs of the vaults. The apses, the vaults of the northern nave, the west porch and the western doorway on the north side certainly belong to the same period and the same is true of the engaged piers which support the vaulting of the choir (Fig. 77) and the dome. The piers of the main vaulting (Fig. 75) and the central doorway on the north side might, like the column already mentioned, belong to the end of the thirteenth century; they could also be fourteenth century. The main doorway is certainly fourteenth century. This is a very rich and rather handsome piece of architecture occupying the whole of the central bay of the northern nave. It is in fact an obvious imitation of the doorways at the west end of St. Sophia, which are known to have been built between 1312 and 1330; it has the squat proportions which are characteristic of the late Gothic style in Cyprus and which are dominant in statuary as in architecture. Let us now consider the details of this remarkable patchwork building.

The double nave on the south bears no relation to the rest of the plan. Its central part is no doubt the oldest portion of the church because on

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Descr. des isles de l'Archipel, p. 380.

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Journal de l'Instr. Publ., 1847, No. 2.

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA

one of its columns is the capital already mentioned which with its corners slightly squared is typical of the style of the end of the thirteenth century (Fig. 74). Its two rows of crockets end in spreading bunches of leaves. This piece is certainly not a later insertion since one of the ribs springing from this column has a keystone carved in the same

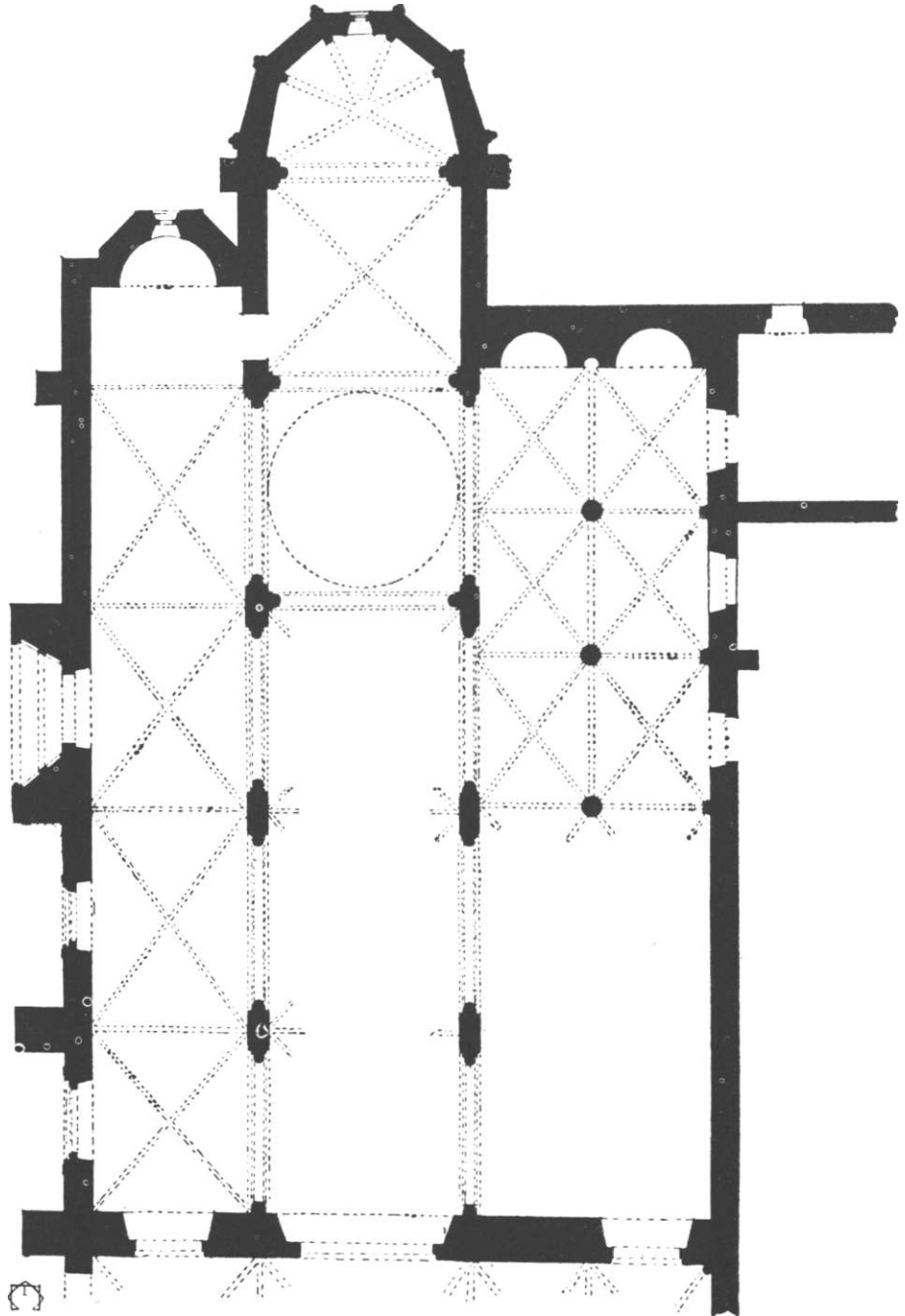


Fig. 73
Plan of St. Nicholas;

THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS

style, taking the form of a very deeply-carved bunch of foliage surrounding a double rose similar to those on the tympanum of the principal doorway of St. Sophia. The whole of the western end of the twin naves is in ruins except for the doorway, which is late fourteenth or fifteenth century and resembles in style the Doge's Palace at Venice.

The eastern portion has, on the south side, polygonal half-piers with-out capitals and, in the middle, columns whose capitals have coats of arms on shields between the crockets. The outline of these shields is already Renaissance in style. The keystones of the vaults are similar. The two apses present no characteristics which would allow their date to be established; a formeret framing the southern one has plainly been restored. This apse is slightly larger than the other one and possibly once corresponded to the central nave of an earlier church with two rows of columns. In any case it is likely that the two apses of the southern body of the church are earlier than those of the other naves; in fact they are one bay further back and could not be contemporary though on the other hand they do not appear to be later. The original plan might therefore have had a chevet with three apses built into a thick wall, as in Poitiers Cathedral.

On the north side the springers of the vaults of this southern double nave do not correspond with the bays of the central nave and are supported very clumsily on different parts of the main arcade. At the points where they join, the mouldings of the latter are interrupted by very peculiar sloping and twisted brackets. Underpinnings like these, added as an after-thought, neat, laborious and ungainly, are not at all rare in medieval art.

The arches and pillars of the central nave make a powerful effect. The broad pointed arches have a double bandeau with a torus bordered by two cavettos on each projecting angle. The pillars are markedly squat and oblong, stylistically close to those of Avgasida and the ones at the end of the nave of St. Sozomenos. They are cruciform with small columns inserted in the re-entrant angles and thick adorsed columns on the narrow faces to receive the second ribs of the arches. The capitals of these columns are very shallow; some have a simple and thoroughly clumsy profile, others are rectangular as first blocked out (Fig. 75); none are carved. The capitals of the engaged columns under the dome and in the right-hand bay of the choir also have only plain mouldings (Fig. 76) but they are on a much more elegant scale than the capitals of the nave arcades, well composed to a fine design. They are low and their octagonal abacus connects with a circular bell of slender proportions. This is a French type which may have existed since the fourteenth century but which is particularly prevalent in the fifteenth. The small capitals carved with jagged leaves which crown the slim colonnettes of the main apse belong to the style of the same period (Fig. 77). On the outside of this apse the same style appears in the angular toruses which project at the

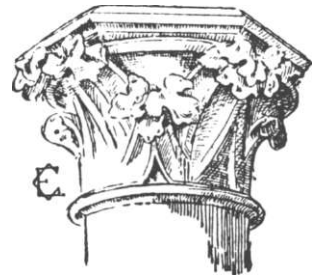


Fig. 74
Capital from southern
nave.

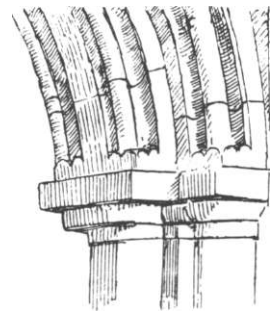


Fig. 75
Piers of the main
vaulting.

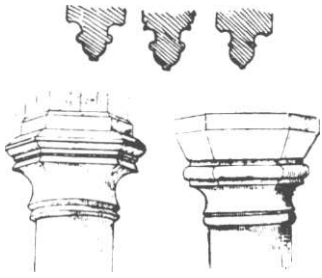


Fig. 76
Capitals in the choir and
profiles of the vaulting
arches.



Fig. 77
Colonnettes in the
sanctuary.

corners and are connected with two horizontal bands, making rectangular panels. The window in the apse has a hood-moulding surmounted by a coarse and heavy floral finial in the flamboyant style.

The arches which carry the lantern have a double pointed curve with mouldings on the same lines as those of the main arches of the naves. The windows in the lanterns are in a plain pointed style with, on the outside, a drip-stone hood-moulding; the external cornice has a groove carved with large wild-roses at intervals.

The eastern end of the main nave had two engaged columns under the dome, no doubt carried on corbels. They supported a rib whose inner edge is carved with a zigzag torus, a survival from the Romanesque. The capitals of these columns are very shallow, polygonal in shape and in a fifteenth-century style. The bell, both on the north and the south side, bears a strange ornament (Fig. 78) of two arms whose hands are making a gesture of benediction; the arms are not crossed like those on the blazon of the Franciscans but opposed; both are wearing a sleeve, the benedictory gesture is that used in the Greek rite. They resemble the coat of arms of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam.

Between the two western bays of the nave the springs of the vaults are supported on polygonal brackets of which only one remains (Fig. 79). It is decorated with composite leaves, recalling French art of the fourteenth century. This piece appears to be contemporary with the main arches and the pillars and must therefore have belonged to the original plan of the principal nave.

Incorporated in the north wall of the latter there still survive two large wooden brackets projecting to some distance from the wall, made of either pine or cedar. They are carved with scrolls of foliage in an Italian style of shortly before the Renaissance. They may have supported a platform, perhaps for a pulpit or an organ; presumably they date from the reign of Catherine Cornaro or the beginning of the Venetian occupation i.e. the end of the fifteenth century.

The vaults of the northern nave cannot be earlier than the end of the fourteenth century. Their arches, all identical in section and in profile, rest on gadrooned brackets (Fig. 80).

On the north-west of this nave and at a certain height above the ground two large marble brackets project; they are in an Italian Renaissance style and no doubt supported a sarcophagus.

The apse, vaulted with a semi-dome, is preceded by a short bay with a barrel vault and lit by two windows one above the other.

The side elevation of this nave, which faced the parvis of the cathedral (Fig. 71) is the richest part of the church and provides one of the best examples of the fine effect that can be produced by a completely irregular architectural scheme.

The bays are framed by five buttresses; half-way up them there is a small sloping set-back with a drip-stone and at the top a fluted frieze

surmounted by a cornice. In the angles of the upper parts of the buttresses are prism-shaped colonnettes surmounted by small seated animals which take the place of capitals and support the angles of the cornice on their shoulders. Some rather well carved gargoyles in the shape of different animals protrude from the front of the buttresses four courses down from the frieze.

The upper part of the façade is lit by four windows and the lower part pierced by four doors; all these openings are of differing dimensions.

The first window to the east is small and insignificant; the second is an *oeil-de-boeuf*, opening behind the gable of the main doorway and originally filled with a heavy tracery consisting of four cusped lobes issuing from a ring of foliage (this window has now been taken down and deposited inside the church); the third window resembles the side windows of the western bays of the cathedral. Its pointed arch rests on two colonnettes and is framed by a hood-mould which terminates in two volutes above the impost; the last window is similar but without the surrounding decorations. On the east side of it, higher up, is a very small pair of windows, round-headed with cusps, standing in front of a cavity in the wall; possibly this was a cemetery light like the one built into one of the buttresses of the church at Ayen (Corrèze).²⁰

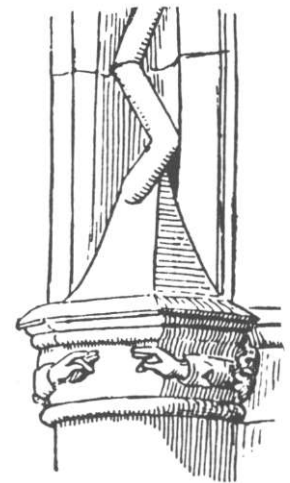


Fig. 78
Capitals on east side of the nave.

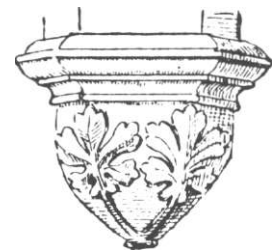


Fig. 79
Bracket in western bay of the nave.

The principal doorway, in the second bay from the east, is the most remarkable feature of the church. It has a pointed arch of five registers, bonded into the buttresses on either side and surmounted by an acute-angled gable. All the five arches are covered with elegant and well-studied carvings, plainly imitating the western doorways of the cathedral. The motifs are foliar, serrated and vigorously undulating; there are one or two on each voussoir giving a compartmentalised effect. The side-pieces of the doorway do not follow the curve of the arches; instead of a regular series of set-backs they merely present two slanting faces onto which the voussoirs are fitted by means of triangular brackets; these latter are in the form of reversed pyramids, carved with bunches of very jagged foliage with often in the centre a human mask in a good decorative style. In each of the side pieces there are two shallow niches, inspired by those of the west doorways at St. Sophia, fading out into lintels carried on corbels. Their periphery is carved with jagged and angular foliage and at the back of the upper part of each of them there is a low-relief carving of a crown borne by two hands. All round the frame of the door runs a groove with wild-rose flowers at intervals. Above the one-piece lintel there has been subsequently added a second one in an Italian Renaissance style, in the middle of which is a statue of St. Nicholas standing in a rectangular frame; to left and right are six shields, baroque in profile, with coats of arms. The gable above the doorway is pierced by a circular opening filled with flamboyant tracery and matching more or less with the larger *oeil-de-boeuf* pierced in the wall behind the gable. The slopes of the gable are decorated with bent leaves and the summit

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On the cemetery light at Ayen see the article by E. Rupin in the *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1894, p. 385, and figure p. 388.

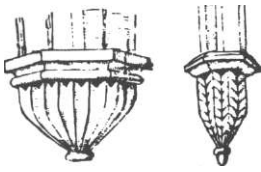


Fig. 80
Brackets in the northern
nave.

bears a finial of thick foliage, jagged and twisted, born on a prismatic stalk whose sides carry small leaves. The general effect is of a stick of Brussels sprouts.

The second doorway is much less complicated and seems to be earlier; its foliar decorations, simpler and fuller, look more like the style of the thirteenth century. It has only two registers of pointed arches supported by colonnettes. Between the two torus mouldings on these arches and between the two colonnettes of each jamb there is a groove with wild-rose flowers at intervals. Under the apex of the outside arch there is a statuette either of Christ or of an apostle holding a book. The style of this doorway is reminiscent of that of the tomb of St. Mammias at Morphou; the capitals are similar and are similarly crowned by *congés* carved with fine though perhaps over-florid foliage. Another similarity is that the low bases, in the fourteenth-century style, rest on octagonal, fluted socles. The flutes actually continue down onto the step formed by the vertical portion of the threshold. The central portion of the lintel of this doorway has been decorated, no doubt at a later date, with a small bas-relief in a long rectangle (Fig. 81). Count de Mas Latrie has fallen into error about what it represents;²¹ it is nothing more than a very common scene in Gothic iconography: the Dormition of the Virgin. Christ is represented within an elliptical mandorla supported by two angels holding the Virgin's soul in the form of a child in swaddling clothes; only six apostles are shown, two of whom are kneeling or crouching at the foot of the bed; at its head an angel swings a gadrooned censer. Four apostles are standing in the two upper angles of the composition. The Virgin's arms are stretched out and her hands crossed. This little bas-relief is interesting, as being one of the very rare pieces of sculpture to have escaped the vandalism of the Turks. Unfortunately it is also thoroughly unattractive, blending the heaviest and most ordinary style of fifteenth-century western art with the most frigid and commonplace Byzantine style; there is also some Italian influence.

The third doorway appears to be the most recent in date. Like the central and northern apses it is in a clumsy and coarse flamboyant style. It has a hood-mould with a complicated profile and three pointed arches. Two are carved with an identical series of massive twisted leaves. The third arch, between them, has plain mouldings; it was supported by a colonnette with a free-standing shaft whereas the other two have smaller colonnettes incorporated in the jambs of the doorway. The same characteristic is to be observed on the church of St. Catherine. The round capitals are decorated with coarsely executed twisted foliage; the sculptor was unskilled in carving hard stone and has rather feebly chopped out some interlacings mixed with contorted leaves. The bells of the two capitals which support the lintel are decorated with ungainly statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, a scheme of decoration which is close to that of the doorway of St. Nicholas at Akrotiri, near Limassol, and likewise to

21

Journal de l'Istr. Publique,
1847, No. 1.



Fig. 81
The Dormition of the
Virgin.

the also very ponderous statuette of St. Paul in Famagusta Museum.

The spacious western porch, whose ruins can be seen at the back of some shops in the bazaar, was roofed with ribbed vaults springing from foliated brackets and in the corners from engaged columns with deeply-carved capitals. There were three doorways in it; the two outer ones medium-sized with round arches, the centre one very broad, probably divided into two, with jambs made of blocks of grey marble set *en délit*. The doorway on the southern side is the only one where the decoration survives, consisting of pilasters with foliated capitals supporting an arch whose two grooves are carved with rosettes and bunches of foliage. These doorways had a rectangular framing formed by angular beads, a scheme which recalls the external decoration of the apses. The same ornamentation occurs also at Ayia Napa; it derives from the school of flamboyant architecture which originated in Spain and was dominant in the Balearic islands, Sicily, to some extent in the Kingdom of Naples, and on Rhodes. It is called Aragonese but could equally well be called Catalan; it is likely that it was Catalans who introduced it into Cyprus. The capitals of the porch are clearly Venetian, closely related to those on the Doge's Palace.

As is plain from this description the west end, the porch, the greater part of the lateral naves and two of the apses of St. Nicholas must have been built in the fifteenth century. The dome is from the same period or possibly from the end of the fourteenth century; the north wall and the east ends of the naves date from the fourteenth century; the main arcades appear to be earlier; one of the columns and some vaulted bays in the southern naves, one window and a doorway on the north side might also date, at the earliest, from the end of the thirteenth century. Finally, the two apses built into the end wall on the south-east belong to the oldest part of the building; they could be earlier than all the rest

21
Journal de l'Instr. Publique,
1847, No. 1.

22
Voyage d'Italie et du Levant,
by Fernel, Fauvel,
Baudouin de Launey and de
Stochove, Sieur de Sainte-
Catherine, a gentleman of
Flanders (A. Maury,
Rouen, 1670), p. 249.

23
*Descr. des isles de
l'Archipel*, p. 32.

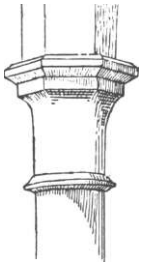


Fig. 82
Capitals of the nave,

but although there is no evidence against such an hypothesis there is equally nothing that confirms it. The decorated lintels of the northern doorways and the cornice on this side are on the other hand the latest portions of the building, probably no earlier than the sixteenth century. It is obvious that few buildings have been more often reconstructed, and show a greater mixture of style, than St. Nicholas, even in those portions which were built in the same period. In it the Gothic style from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century shows examples of the French, probably the Spanish and the Venetian manners; it is also varied by borrowings from Byzantine art; and finally the whole is overlaid with touches of Renaissance style.

The fact that a *pot-pourri* like this produces an effect which is not merely quaint and picturesque but harmonious is undeniable and does no little credit to the styles of the Middle Ages and the good taste of the men who handled them.

3

CHURCH OF ST. MARY OF THE AUGUSTINIANS
(now the Omerye or Emerghié Mosque)

The credit of having identified this mosque with the ancient Augustinian church of Nicosia goes to the late Count L. de Mas Latrie and the researches of Major Tankerville Chamberlayne into the gravestones found in its paving have confirmed the attribution.

Travellers of the last two centuries had also collected traditions of the former dedication of the church. The account given by the Lord of Stochove in a book of travels published in 1670²² says that the former Augustinian church is 'most noteworthy for its beauty'. He saw also 'a beautiful but rather ruined cloister': and 'many ruins of other buildings'. The description published by Dapper in 1702²³ appears to contain an

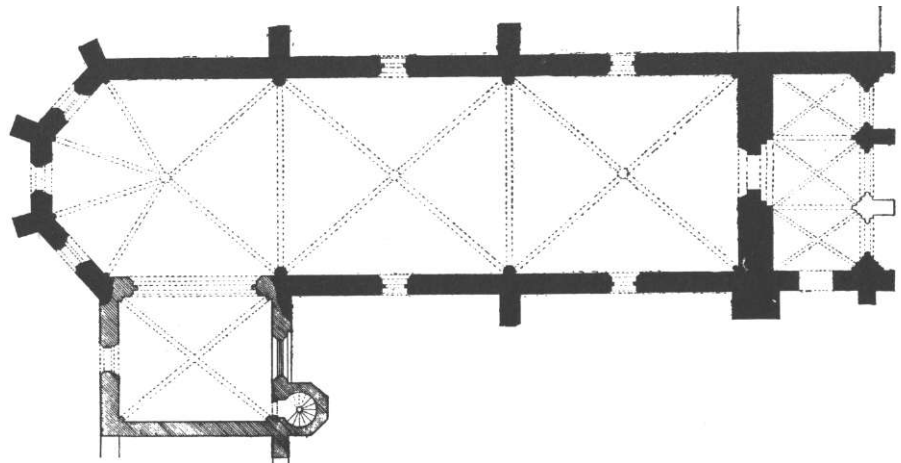


Fig. 83
Plan, St. Mary of the
Augustinians.

CHURCH OF ST. MARY OF THE AUGUSTINIAN S

error when it says that this is the church 'in which are the superb and sumptuous tombs of most of the Christian kings of the island', because most of the royal tombs were in St. Dominic's and that church was destroyed by the Venetians in 1567.

The ruins of the cloister seen by the Lord of Stochove are no longer in existence, unless he mistook the porch at the west end of the church for a cloister. As for the other buildings one rather interesting one survives, built against the north side of the nave in a Renaissance style. It is no doubt the hospice for strangers which was erected at the expense of the

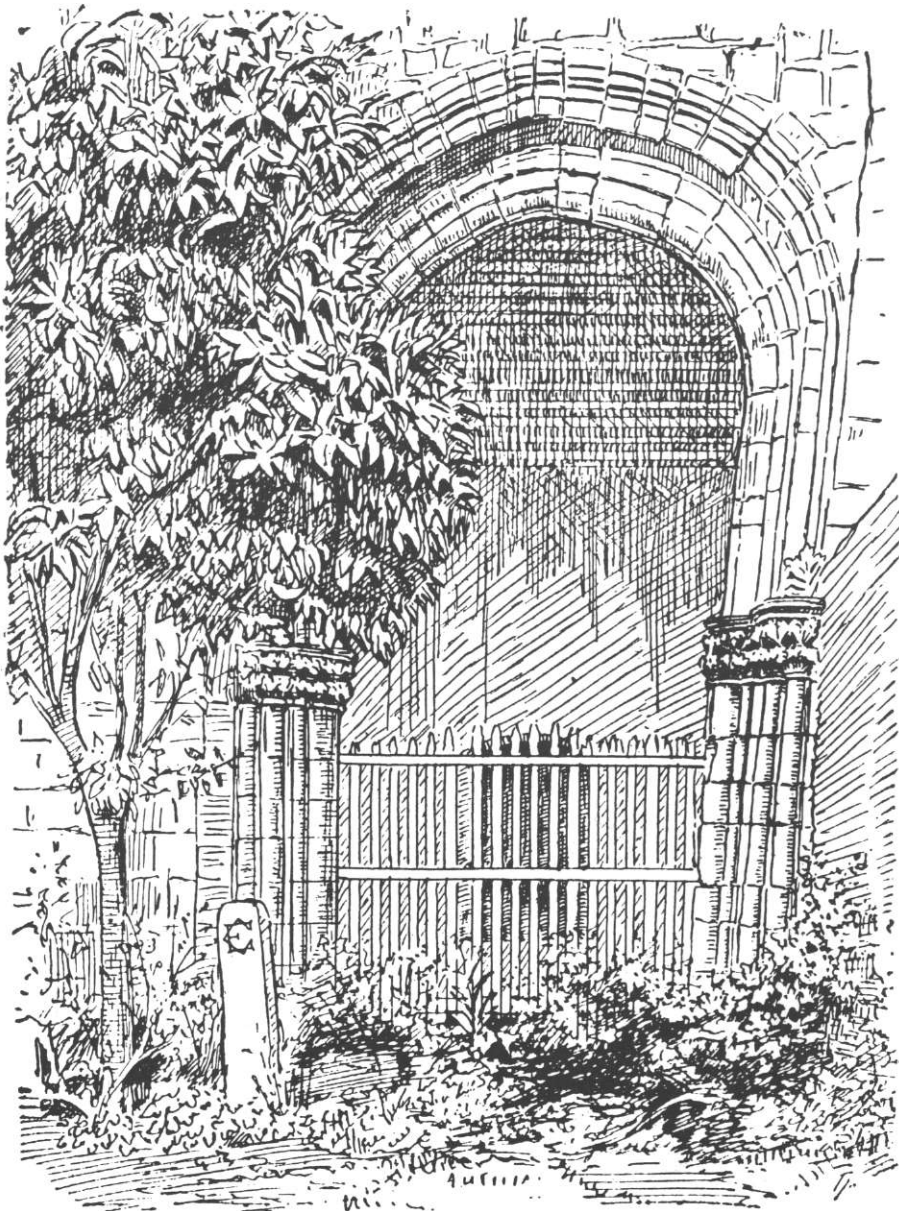


Fig. 84
South-west arch of the porch.

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA

Archbishop of Cyprus, William Gonème, after he had retired in 1469 to the Augustinian monastery, as recorded by de Mas Latrie.²⁴

In the preceding century the Augustinian monastery in Nicosia was visited by the pilgrim Nicholas of Martoni. He says that in 1395 it was, with St. Francis and St. Dominic, one of the three most important in the city, that each of them contained a large and a small cloister, and that by the side of the Augustinians there was, right in the middle of the city, a field of wheat and barley producing about thirty bushels.²⁵ That is exactly what one finds today next to the Omerye Mosque.

The church (Fig. 83) originally consisted of a nave of three bays ending

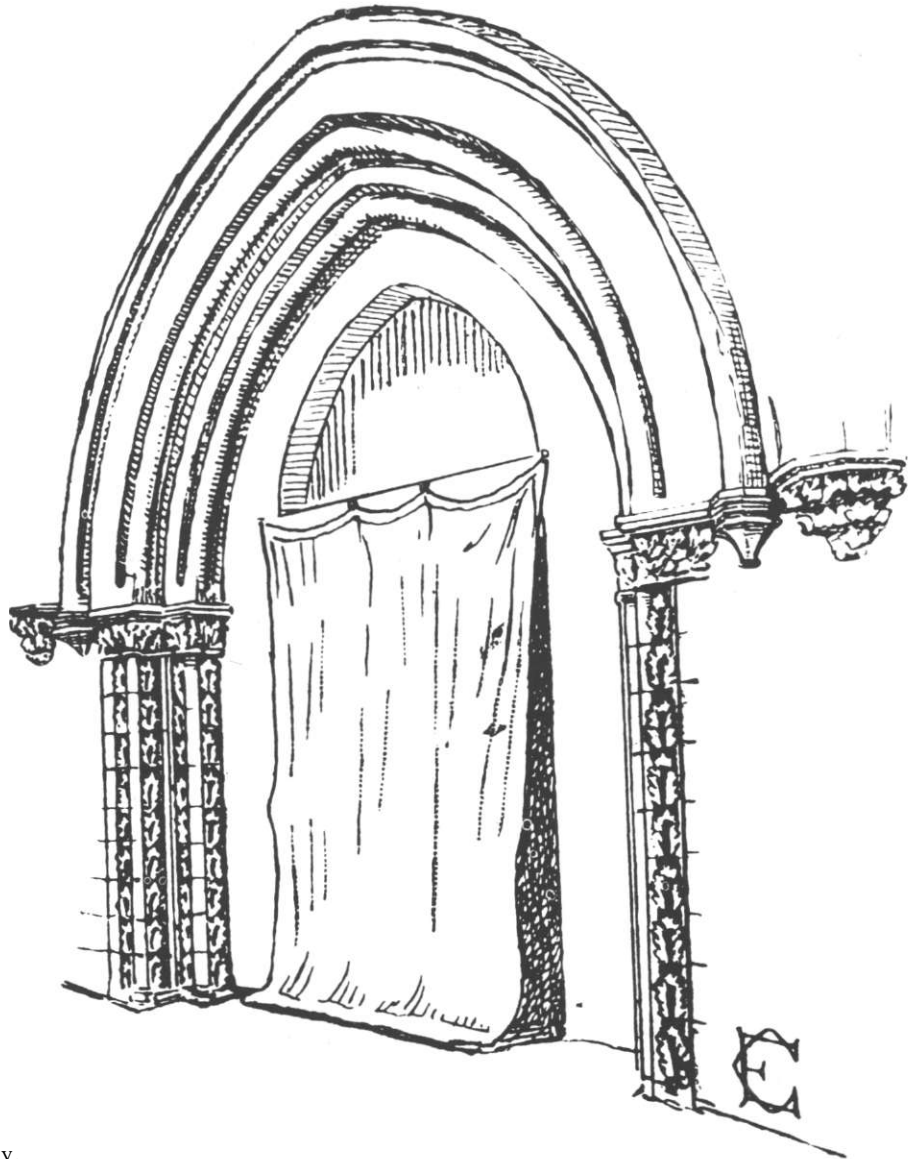


Fig. 89
West doorway.

CHURCH OF ST. MARY OF THE AUGUSTINIAN S

in a three-sided apse and a porch with a triple arcade at the west end. The church and the porch were roofed throughout with ribbed vaults. They are 11.85 metres broad; the church is 41.18 metres long and the porch 5.2 metres (all measurements internal). The last bay to the east has had a square chapel added to its north side at a later date, possibly the base of a tower. In the north-west corner of this chapel there is an octagonal turret, containing a spiral staircase, which today is extended upwards to form a minaret. The architecture was extremely plain. The arches of the vaults, with a profile consisting of a simple panel, were supported on single engaged columns with tall octagonal capitals. The two columns at the rear of the apse are smaller and back onto dossierets; the four columns of the apse itself have capitals carved with two rows of small curled leaves, the capitals of the other columns have completely smooth bells (Fig. 82).

The vaults of the porch were supported on the east side by brackets with a double row of foliage (Fig. 85) and on the west side by groups of three columns. Other groups of three columns from which spring the moulded arcades of the porch abut on the north and south faces of the pillars which are supported on the west side by buttresses serving as revetments to the vaults. The central arch of the porch was very broad, probably semi-circular. The two others, in order to bring them up to the same level as the central one and to allow the same height to their columns, are pointed and raised on very tall stilts above the imposts (Fig. 84). The octagonal capitals of the porch arcades are carved with two bunches of thick jagged foliage; the abacus is insignificant.

The only doorway (Fig. 85) was a pointed arch. Each of the enjambments takes the form of a pilaster and two projections each carved with an angle colonnette and a groove moulding containing a series of long, many-lobed leaves, deeply cut in the centre. This ornamentation is identically repeated at Our Lady of Tyre in the funerary monument in the shape of an aedicule of Eschive of Dampierre.

The exterior of the church is ponderous and bare. The massive rectangular buttresses run straight up without projections or drip-mouldings, except on the porch. The windows, tall and narrow, have a double frame with bevelled angles. On the western façade of the chapel on the north-east there is a rose window framed by a double chamfer, like those on the other windows, with elegant tracery consisting of a central quatrefoil surrounded by eight trefoils (Fig. 86).

Beyond this chapel, to the north-east of the church, is the ancient conventual building already referred to, in the Renaissance style. A door in it is noteworthy for having preserved its Gothic corbels in the Burgundian style (Fig. 6).

The Omerye Mosque has suffered severe damage. All the vaults have collapsed, no doubt as the result of an earthquake. Part of the porch fell down at the same time and its south-western arch, the only one still

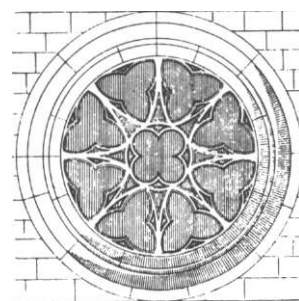


Fig. 86
Rose-window of the chapel.

24
Hist. des archevêques de Chypre, p. 93; *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 310; Venetian Archives, Senate, Secret XXIV, fol. 21 v°.

25
Voyage de N. de Martoni, p. 635. 'Sunt in dicta civitate Nicosie monasteria et loca, videlicet Sancti Francisci, Sancti Dominici et Sancti Agustini, que sunt multum magna et pulcra, et quodlibet monasterium habet duo enclaustra, unum magnum et alium parvum cum fructibus arangeorum et aliis fructibus. Intus per terram sunt multa jardena. In veritate prope monasterium Sancti Agustini vidi campum seminatum grano et ordeo intra menia civitatis circa modia triginta.'

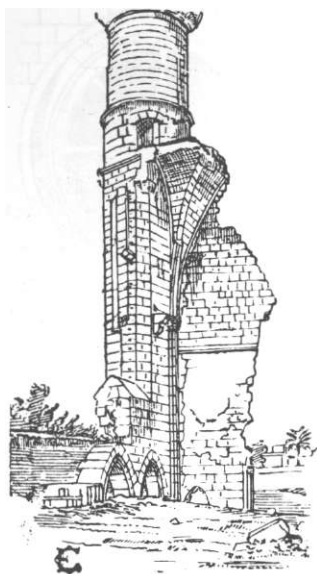


Fig. 87
Yeni Djami.

complete, was pushed badly out of shape (Fig. 84). After this the porch was propped up and patched together after a fashion, the walls of the church were cut down to about the level of the window sills and the vaulting was replaced with beams resting on the pointed ribs in a style commonly used in domestic architecture in Cyprus.

This church obviously dates from the fourteenth century, most probably from the first half, to judge from the carving of the capitals and the doorway. The plain capitals also are like those in the cathedral, which are of the thirteenth century, and those in St. Nicholas at Famagusta, which are of the early fourteenth. The north-eastern chapel, though later, also seems to be of the fourteenth century judging by the tracery of the rose window; the porch, I think, is not earlier than the end of the same century.

THE NEW MOSQUE (Yeni Djami)

This is the name given both to an ancient ruined mosque in Nicosia and to a small mosque recently built besides its remains. The ruined mosque was a Gothic church; only small fragments remain but they are enough to inspire a lively regret for its demolition. The story you are told is that this was due to the ignorant cupidity of a pasha who wanted to lay

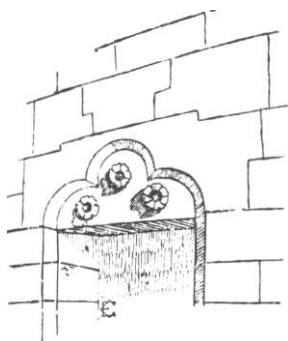


Fig. 88
Staircase doorway,

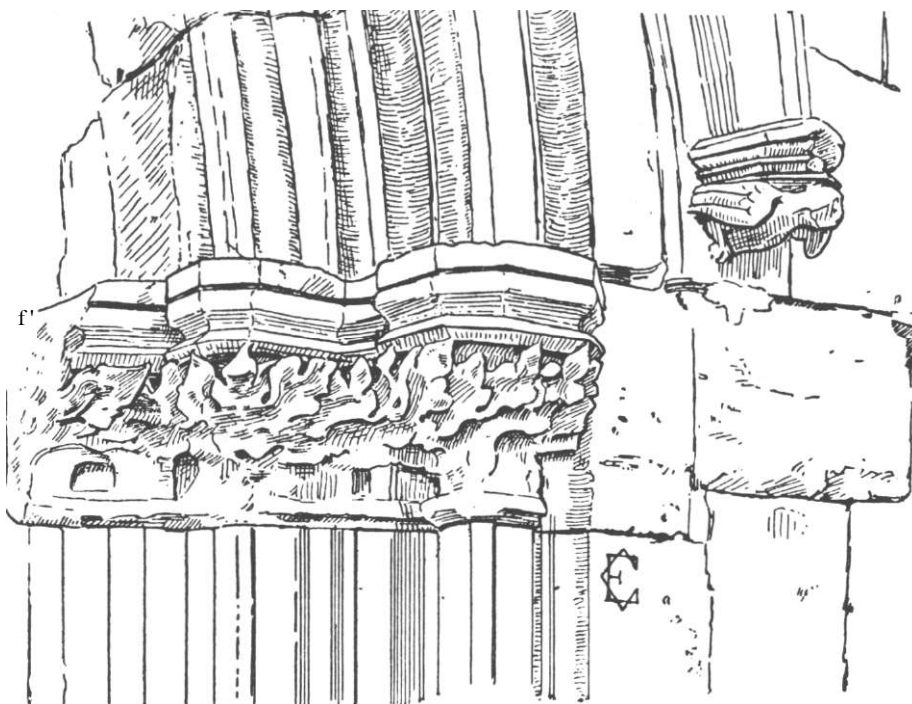


Fig. 89
West doorway.

THE NEW MOSQUE

his hands on a treasure that was supposed to be concealed in the mosque.² #

The staircase turret which rose at the south-west corner of the church was extended into a minaret; this is the only portion which remains complete. The internal door leading to it has a three-lobed tympanum (Fig. 88) with three rosettes as a simple and effective ornament. Close to this door one of the jambs of the doorway at the west end (Fig. 89) has been preserved. It is decorated with two colonnettes whose shafts are reciprocally curved, with a fillet; they are separated by a groove and crowned by low capitals carved with jagged leaves which undulate as if blown by a strong north wind. The capitals run together to form a kind of frieze. A fragment of the hood-mould springs from a bracket decorated with a winged dragon, finely carved. The doorway must have had a central pillar because its grey marble lintel (Fig. 90) is made in two pieces, which can be seen lying among the ruins. This lintel was almost identical with the one over the western doorway of St. Catherine's; a recessed panel is carved with four winged dragons, dog-headed and with tails terminating in leaves, separated by large semi-double rosettes.

A small length of wall is all that survives of the south-west side of the church. On the inside and in the lower part it had two pointed arches with a torus moulding on their angles and decorated above with a drip-moulding. In the same corner is preserved part of the ribbed vault and its supports. The profile of the arch shows a slender torus between two talons (Fig. 91). The supports are, in the angle, a narrow column with two grooves and, between the bays, a group of three similar columns; the shafts, and the torus of the ribs, have a fillet flanked by two reciprocal curves.

To judge from this corner of the ruin the church had only a single nave; it must have been very like St. Catherine, though in a slightly earlier and better style. However among the ruins is to be seen the capital of a very massive independent column (Fig. 92). It is octagonal in shape and its low bell is carved with two rows of twisted leaves, poorly designed and weak in style; the low abacus, in the shape of a cavetto, is an integral part of the capital; the astragal has been worn away.

In the light of this capital, which indicates the existence of aisles, and on the other hand of the ruins of the western bay which never had aisles, one is led to suppose that the church had the same plan as the church of the Nestorians at Famagusta after it had been redesigned. In that case it would have exhibited a three-fold division, except in the last bay to the

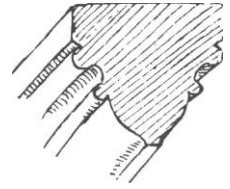
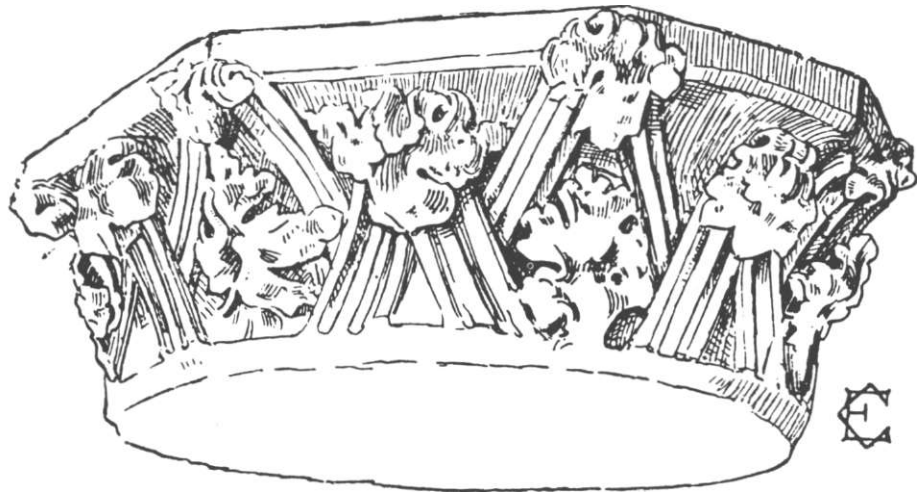


Fig. 91
Vaulting arches.

Fig. 90
Lintel of west doorway.

Fig. 92
Capital.



west which would have served as a sort of narthex. It is possible, however, that the big capital comes from a chapter-house or even from the support of a large-sized font.

Whatever the plan of this building may have been it certainly was in a reasonably good style of the mid-fourteenth century, with many similarities to St. Catherine. Its destruction is a sad loss to the history of French art in Cyprus.

5

THE CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE

No ancient text has a word to say about St. Catherine, but this is the dedication ascribed by Christians of the present day in Nicosia to a mosque situated to the east of the cathedral which was previously a Gothic monastic church.

This church (Figs. 93 and 94) may be reckoned one of the most elegant examples of Gothic art in Cyprus. It is a small building (internal measurements 18 by 8 metres), rib-vaulted throughout, consisting of a single nave with two bays and a choir with a three-sided apse. Against the north-east face of the apse there is a square building of two storeys, formerly a treasury. There is a much lower and very small square construction against the south-east face. A round turret at the south-western corner of the building contains the spiral staircase leading to the leads, which has been made into a minaret. The two corners of the west end are further reinforced by a buttress perpendicular to the vaulting rib whose thrust it takes. The buttresses of the nave have the highly unusual form of solid three-faced turrets. This shape is well thought out, the long sides of the buttresses being perpendicular to the thrust of the ribs that they support. On the inside the supports are groups of three very narrow colonnettes, the central one having a vertical fillet. These bundles of

²⁶
See *Levkosia* by H.I.H. Archduke Louis Salvator of Austria; English translation (Kegan Paul, London, 1881), p. 27; (Ed. note.) See new edition (Trigraph, London, 1983.

THE CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE

colonnets are close to those in the refectory at Bellapais.

There are three doorways on the north, south and west sides of the first bay. They are all alike in having pointed arches decorated with mouldings, jambs carved with colonnettes separated by grooves, tympana with blind tracery and pointed hood-moulds carved on the extrados with luxuriant foliage surmounted by a finial ornament on a plain stalk. Tall slender pinnacles frame the western doorway which is surmounted by a very small circular window. Above the other two and in each bay of the building there are narrow and very tall pointed windows with colonnettes on their jambs and splayed only on the outside; they are surmounted by a continuous drip stone, which stands out around each of them, and are divided by a mullion surmounted by a small openwork trefoil. The window in the northern face of the choir is smaller and crowned with a drip stone on the inside; it opens on the upper storey of the treasury. A continuous string-course, also with a drip-moulding, runs below the windows.

A rainwater channel is pierced through the upper parts of the buttresses, discharging through large animal-shaped gargoyles; at the tops of the buttresses there are small horizontal platforms with the cornice running round them. The cornice is decorated with two torus mouldings, the groove between which is carved with a diaper of small flowers.

The decoration of the southern (Fig. 95) and western doorways is fairly luxuriant. The crockets and finials are formed out of beautiful



Fig. 93
St. Catherine.

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA

composite leaves with a wavy outline. The hood-moulds spring from consoles; on the west they are carved with very detailed foliage and on the south they must have been carved with figures because they have been defaced with mallets; the hood-mould is a heavy one and its groove moulding, like the main one on the arches it shelters, is decorated with two rows of twisted foliage. The arches are supported on either side by three colonnettes; the shaft of the middle one is made of a separate block of marble but the pair on either side of it are engaged with the

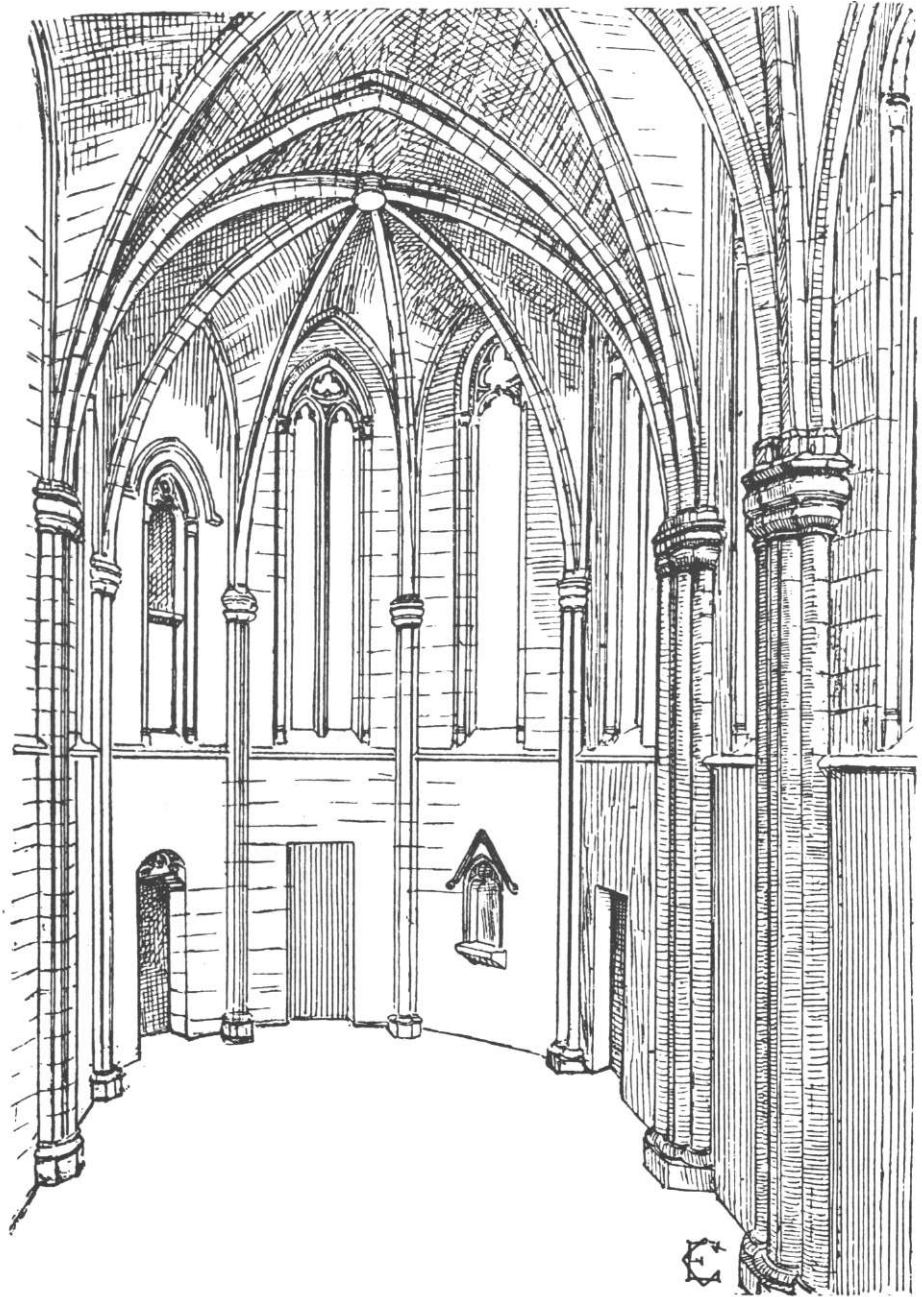


Fig. 94
St. Catherine.

THE CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE

jamb and their shafts are decorated with a vertical fillet. All three have round capitals with abacuses consisting of a single bead moulding and bells carved with small curly foliage. Their low bases protrude from their plinths and are supported on a series of small brackets shaped like a reversed pyramid with a ball at the apex. The lintel rests on carved corbels. The tympanum of the western doorway is decorated with three blind arches of tri-lobed shape with an acute angle at the apex, which must have sheltered figurines, probably painted; that of the southern doorway

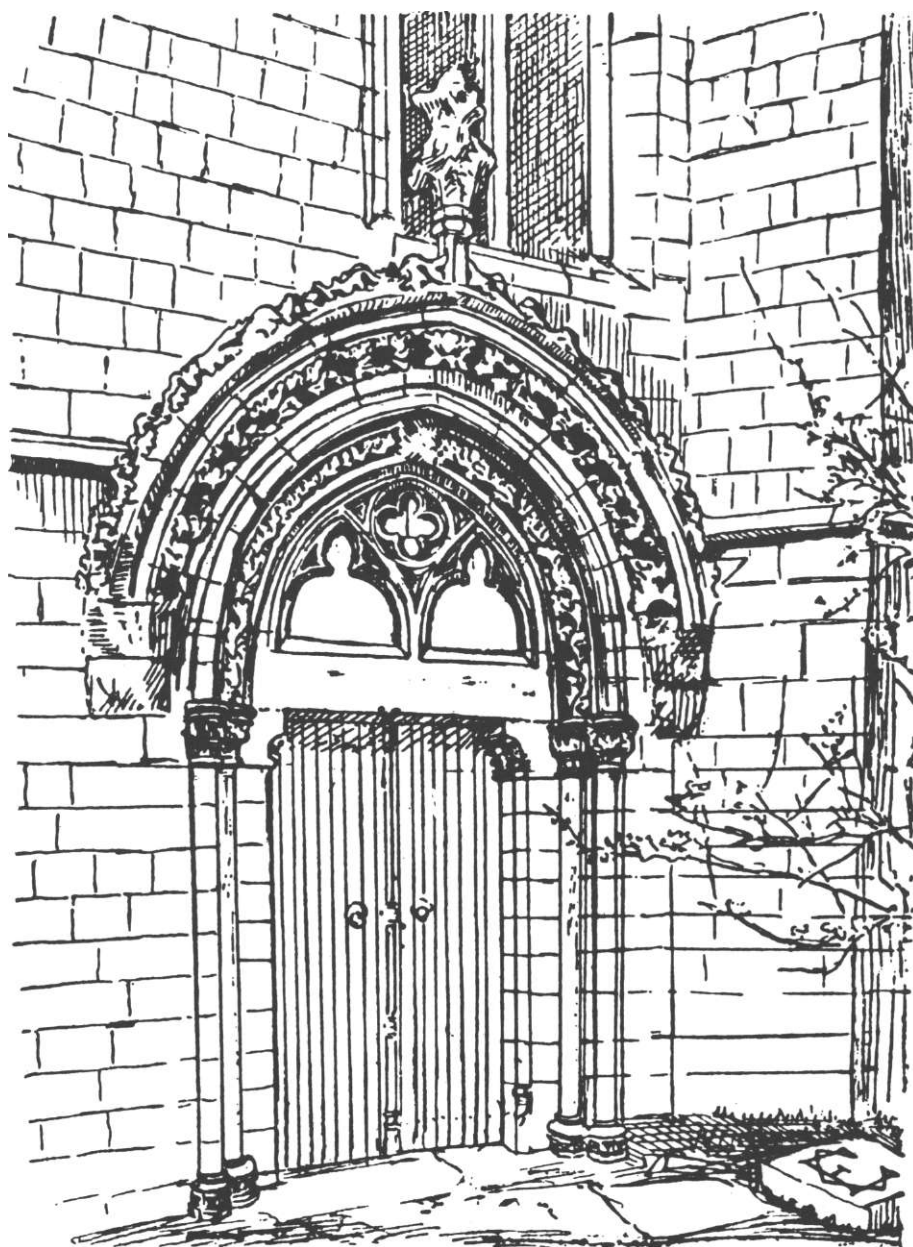
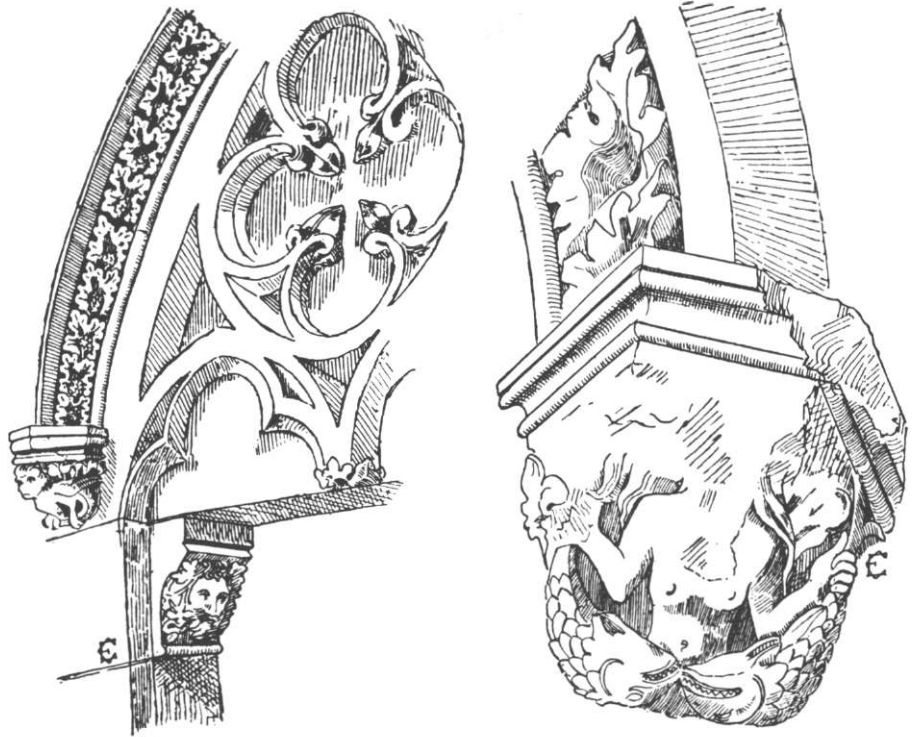


Fig. 95
South doorway.

Fig. 96
Detail of north doorway.

Fig. 97
Detail of north doorway.



has two cusped blind arches with a quatrefoil above them surrounded by a circle. The marble lintel of the western doorway is richly carved with four dragons with roses in between them in a recessed panel. It is made out of two blocks and the point of intersection, now mutilated, must have been supported by a vertical mullion in the form of a colonnette. The northern doorway (Fig. 96) has a hood-mould without either crockets or finial but the groove moulding on the inside of the drip-course is carved with a row of vine-leaves and bunches of grapes.

The brackets from which this hood-mould springs are carved on one side with a dragon and on the other side a pseudo-Melusine (Fig. 97), i.e. a naked woman holding the tails of two fishes, each bent round in a quarter circle, and giving the impression at a distance of being her legs. This motif is not uncommon in France at this date. One of the corbels of this doorway is decorated with a double rose, the other with a curly-haired head surrounded by foliage.²⁷ The tympanum is decorated with a quatrefoil tracery, the points terminating in fleurs-de-lis; the jambs have no colonnettes. On the inside the doorway which connected the sanctuary with the treasury has corbels whose profiles are those of an inverted Attic base; above is a simulated depressed arch with cusps forming three lobes framing rosettes; as on the staircase door in the Yeni Djami the triangles formed by the cusps contain curled leaves. Facing this door is the piscina with a pointed arch, also cusped, framed by an angled pediment with a slab carved with rosettes composed of four acanthus leaves

²⁷ The Turks of Nicosia claim to have made out the date 333 in the curly locks of this head, and give that date to the building. This is an example meant to be serious of a practice which others take more frivolously when faced with conventionalised foliage or styles of hairdressing.

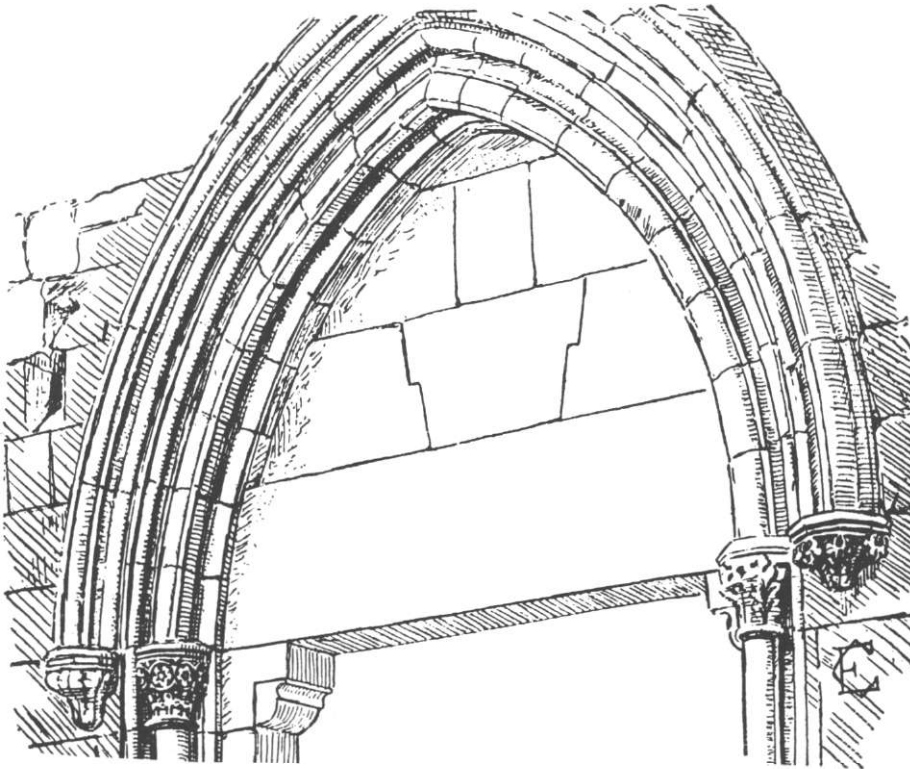


Fig. 98
Doorway of the
monastery.

radiating from a buc .

The capitals of the groups of colonnettes which support the vaulting have remained simply blocked out; the bases are composed of a fillet and a flattened torus moulding projecting from the plinth and supported on small brackets with a point ending in a ball. The profile of the arches of the vaulting is a torus with a fillet separated by two chamfered grooves.

There was a monastic building to the north of this church of which there remains a west wall on the interior of which can be seen a bracket in the shape of a polygonal pyramid and, on the exterior, a doorway with a pointed arch, (Fig. 98) a drip-course hood-mould supported on brackets of a similar type, and very tall jambs provided with colonnettes whose octagonal capitals are decorated with foliage and roses.

St. Catherine at Nicosia is a perfect and complete specimen of south French Gothic architecture of the last years of the fourteenth century.

6

THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE OF THE LATINIS

The church of St. George called 'of the Franks', 'of the Latins' or 'of the Poulains' is one of the most famous in the history of Cyprus. It was on the market place and very close to the royal palace.

The earliest mention of it occurs in the fourteenth century. It was

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA

there that in 1306 the citizens of Nicosia appeared before John le Tort and Hugh du For to swear allegiance to Amalric, Prince of Tyre, after he usurped the authority of his brother Henry II.²⁸ On St. George's day in 1309 an English Franciscan, Brother Adam, preached a sermon there in the course of which he launched out into accusations against the usurping Prince of Tyre; not long afterwards he was exiled to Armenia where he fell sick and died.²⁹ In 1324 John of Montolif received the oath of allegiance of the citizens of the city to the new king, Hugh IV, in St. George's.³⁰ In 1330 a flood, which caused the deaths of three thousand people, submerged the lower town and came into the church; a nail was driven into the wall to mark the height it reached, which was over ten *braccia* (i.e. about 6 metres).³¹ In 1353 Perrot of Lusignan, son of King Hugh IV, who died on 29th July, was perhaps buried in this church, at any rate a piece of his tomb has been found there.³² In 1368, on the evening of Wednesday 17th January, the nobles who, that same night, were going to murder King Peter I left the palace in a fury at the insults he had heaped on them and went to St. George of the Latins; they stopped there to discuss their plans and then went to the house of the Prince of Antioch to finish the discussion and resolve that they would be avenged.³³

28

Amadi, p. 250: 'Monasterio franco de San Zorzi ch'è in mezo de la piazza.'

29

Amadi, p. 298.

30

Amadi, p. 402: 'A la giesia de S. Zorzi che è in la piazza de Nicosia de li latini.'

31

Machaeras, p. 40; Bustron, p. 255: 'S'ha messo per segnale a San Giorgio di Latini in piassa un chiodo al muro begnato della detta fiumara che si vede alto piu de .x. brassa.'

32

See Mas Latrie, *Découvertes recentes en Chypre*, reprinted from *Revue des questions historiques*, July, 1883 and also *Découverte des tombeaux d'un prince de Lusignan et du maréchal Adam d'Antioche* in *Revue illustrée de la Terre-Sainte*, 1889.

33

Machaeras, pp. 150-52.

34

D. Pero Tafur, *Andanças y viajes*, p. 67.

35

p. 510.

36

p. 254.

Between 1435 and 1439 the Catalan Don Peter Tafur, on a visit to the court of Nicosia, heard mass in St. George of the Latins.³⁴

In 1570 the church was sacked by the Turks who constructed in the ruins of the nave the Great Bath (Biiyiik Hammam) which is still there.

It is not necessary, in my opinion, to identify this church with the St. George of the Sataliotes referred to by Amadi³⁵ and Strambaldi.³⁶

All that remains of the original building are the three western bays of the nave, reduced in height and sunk deep below the present surface of the ground. The side walls are each supported by two Gothic buttresses; the west end has had a subsequently added mass of heavy masonry stuck onto it. In this there is a richly decorated doorway (Fig. 99) which resembles fairly closely one of those on the north side of St. Nicholas and even more closely the tomb of St. Mammias at Morphou.

The added masonry is slightly narrower than the width of the original building. The western corners of the church were decorated with a colonnette framed by two bead mouldings and two toruses. The capital of the colonnette (Fig. 2) is carved with a row of small inverted pyramids with a ball at the apex.

The doorway (Fig. 99) is in the same style with a certain admixture of Italian Gothic of the fifteenth century. Apparently it has been dismantled and reshaped as evidenced by the fact that although the impostes correspond exactly with the profile of the vousoirs they are separated by a kind of springer, very narrow, clumsily cut and without carving; the arch itself, which has a very low curve with a join in the centre, looks odd and gives the strong impression, from the way the carved motifs join, that

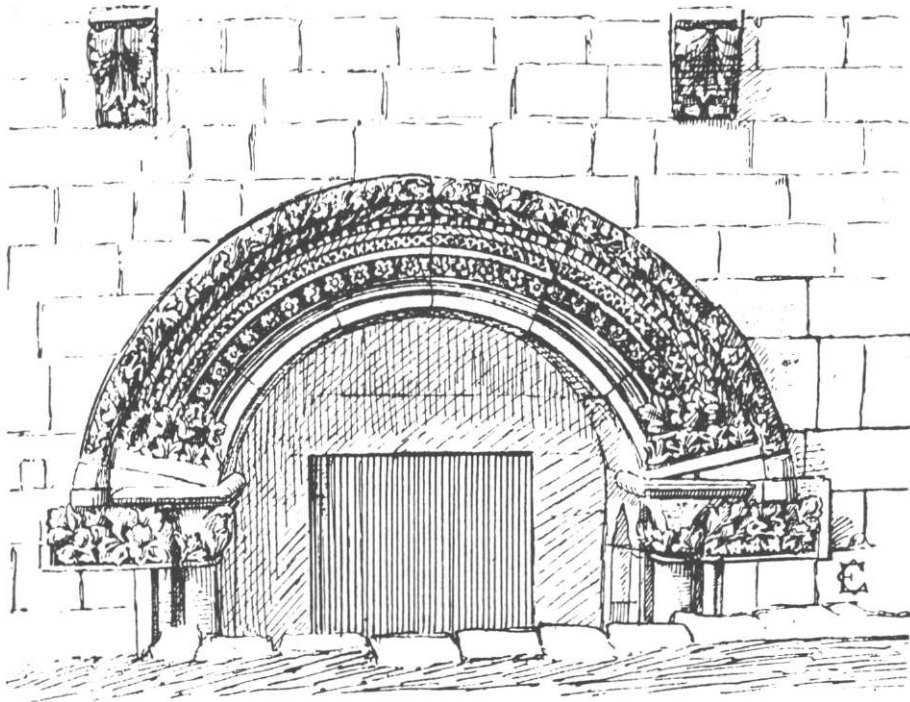


Fig. 99
St. George of the
Latinis.

one, two or three voussoirs have been removed; finally, two niches have been carved out of the reveals of the Gothic jambs which are Turkish in design, being semi-circular in plan and terminating in an ogee-shaped heading. On the probable assumption that the added masonry on the west end was the work of the Moslems when they adapted the church into a bath house it was presumably they who put the doorway back into the façade, altering its shape slightly in the process. Above it two handsome corbels project from the wall, carved with volutes and acanthus leaves in the best Renaissance style. They must be supposed to have carried a sloping roof over the doorway. Perhaps they performed the same function before the doorway was removed and reconstructed, though it is also possible that they were brought from elsewhere; they might, for instance, have been the supports of a sarcophagus.

The arch of this doorway looks very close to the arcades of the two cloisters in the Charterhouse of Pavia but the jambs, on the contrary, would seem to be in the French style of the end of the thirteenth century. The proportions of the column, framed by two grooves and two fillets; the style of the tiny plane-tree sprays which are carved with great freedom of design to run continuously across the tall bells of the capitals and the friezes or impostes which join onto them; the diminutive abacus composed of a plain torus moulding with a fillet; all these would suit an attribution to the last years of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. The arch on the other hand combines Renaissance with Gothic elements and could be later than the jambs; though that is a

hypothesis neither certain nor even likely. It consists of a single row of arch-stones with which is combined the encircling projecting moulding, resting on brackets shaped like a reversed cone half-hidden in the foliage of the friezes of the jambs. This torus moulding is carved with vine leaves recalling antique Roman works and certain Renaissance monuments. Immediately below it runs a fillet carved with a row of separate curled leaves set in a spiral, then comes a row of dog-tooth and finally a cable moulding; all of these motifs are frequently used as ornaments in Italian fourteenth and fifteenth-century art.

Below the cable moulding is a groove set with a diaper of small flowers with four pointed leaves. This is a French twelfth-century ornament, retained in use in Normandy and Flanders into the thirteenth century and in Italy into the fourteenth, much in fashion in Cyprus during that century and even more so in the fifteenth. Below the flowerets is a ribbon moulding and next a wide groove in which there is a series of fine five-petalled flowers, a motif also found on the arch of a grand doorway in a house in Nicosia belonging to the same style. Finally there is another ribbon moulding and a torus fitted into the lower angle of the curve of the arch.

The springers in their present state are raised and inclined to fit with the thin triangle of stone that was added when the doorway was reconstructed. These springers are ornamented with richly carved *congés* of foliage which blend into the ornamentation of the voussoirs, but not into that of the projecting torus, composed of, first, a slender ribbon moulding on top of the jambs, then of another ribbon carved with four large leaves of five lobes and finally of two rows of foliage of a similar variety which hide the beginnings of the carvings of the arch.

The elements of which the doorway is composed are *prima facie* very disparate. One might concede that the jambs date from the first origins of the church, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, but there are no grounds for affirming that they are earlier than the arch, which belongs to the Italian style of the fifteenth century. Cypriot sculpture is so full of archaisms of this nature that it would not be disconcerting to ascribe the whole scheme of the doorway to the fifteenth century. I conclude that the building may include some pieces from the fourteenth century but that it was rebuilt, at least in part, in the fifteenth, at a time when Italian influence was dominant everywhere in Cyprus

THE CHURCH OF TRIPIOTIS

There is no information to be obtained on the history of the church of Tripiotis in Nicosia except for the inscription in Greek placed near the southern doorway which gives the date 1690. Of all the Greek churches

THE CHURCH OF TRIPIOTIS

in the city it is the one which contains the most relics of antiquity.

The church has an apse, two apsidal chapels and three naves of three bays, barrel-vaulted; the central barrel vault is interrupted halfway along its length by a dome; the naves on either side have transverse ribs mounted on quadrant consoles. The arcades have semi-circular arches on columns with very low octagonal capitals. The angles where the arches of the arcades meet on the capitals are carved with *congés* in the form of leaves to accommodate the transition from the quadrangular to the octagonal section. Lanceolate leaves, very clumsily carved, decorate the corners of the capitals; these are integral with their abacuses, in the form of three fillets separated by bird's-beak mouldings. These barbarous capitals are clumsy imitations of a French Gothic type. It is one which occurs occasionally in France, notably on the font at Êquennes (Somme) which could either be a coarse work of the middle of the twelfth century or a later imitation.

However, the most interesting details are to be found on the outside, on the south and west doorways. The southern one has a lintel, supported by two segments of frieze projecting like corbels, which is richly carved overall in a late Romanesque style. On the lintel is carved the upper part of a human figure emerging from two scrolls of vine leaves which he grasps with his hands; at each side is a lion passant, affronted. The friezes are carved on the edge with human figurines and on the front with birds, one lion-headed the other human-headed, whose tails are elongated into scrolls of leaves, some lobed in side-view, others spread out in frontal view in the shape of fleurons or palmettes.

Although this decoration is Romanesque the three or four human heads included in it are wearing their hair in the style of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The design is feeble; the workmanship everywhere careful, well-turned and polished. As a whole the effect is slight. The composition is badly proportioned and frigid, falling equally into the opposed faults of meanness and ponderousness. The style is that of Provençal or Italian works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The buttress flanking this doorway to the west contains a carving half way up which has plainly come from elsewhere: it is a voussoir of a pointed arch (Fig. 100) carved in very high relief with a mitred, beardless head at the apex and on either side large composite leaves, twisted and rippling, in the French style of the fourteenth century. It appears close in style to the carvings on the voussoirs in Famagusta Cathedral. The execution is extremely coarse. The piece could date from the end of the fourteenth or from the fifteenth century and is not a genuine French work but rather a local copy of a French motif.

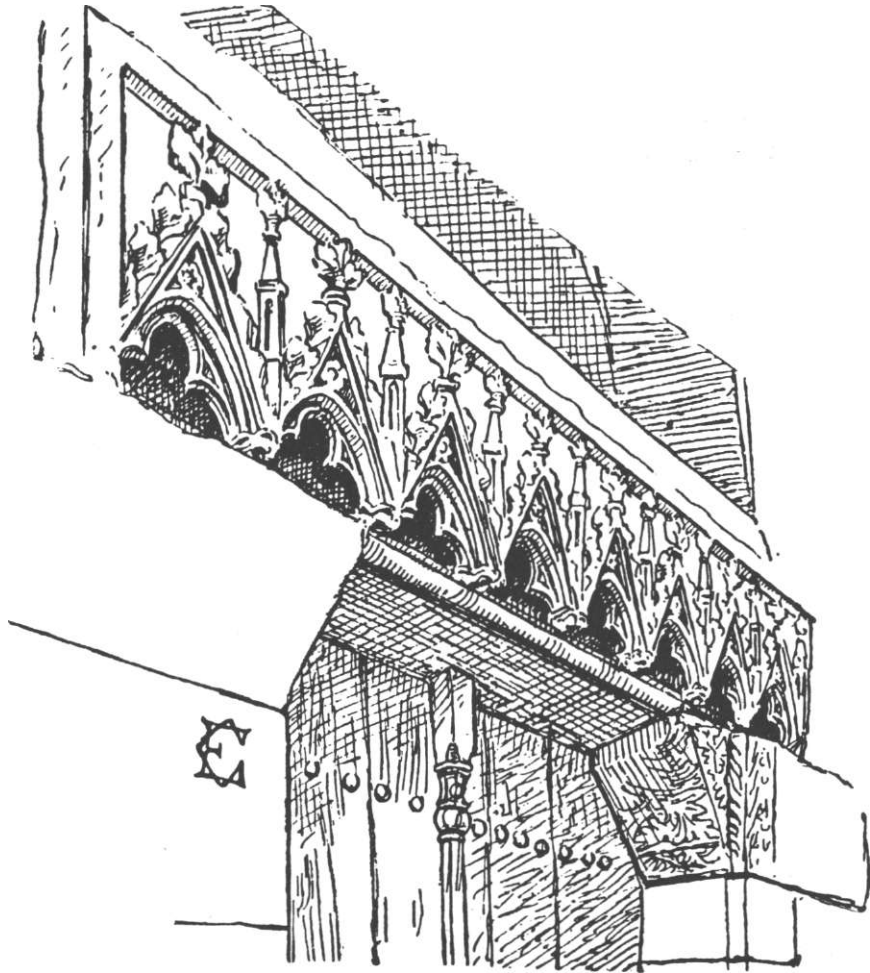
The north doorway has a carved lintel in the purest Italian Renaissance style. It is in low relief; the workmanship is dry and harsh.

The west doorway is the most remarkable. A long lintel formed of a single block of white marble (Fig. 101) is supported on triangular cor-



Fig. 100
From the church
Tripiotis.

Fig. 101
West doorway.



bels profusely carved in very low relief; badly designed and badly carved they could be described as the height of barbarity. The lintel is decorated with eight trefoil blind arches, cusped and surmounted by crocketed gables with a finial ornament. In the triangular pediment of the gables is carved a wild-rose flower and between them there are pinnacles, the arch springers and the pinnacles rest on finely carved brackets. The eight arches are cut away and hollowed out from the lintel block in such a way as to form a kind of canopy. This note-worthy architectural fragment might have formed the top of a tomb, or a retable; or perhaps, and this is more likely, it was the lintel of a wide doorway. Indeed there is in the church of St. Siffrein at Carpentras, over the southern doorway, an identical lintel, dating from the fifteenth century. That might be the date of this one also or rather perhaps the fourteenth century.

This church of Tripiotis, decorated with architectural scraps of such different styles and varying merits, must either have replaced an important Gothic church or have been first reconstructed at the time when

the Venetians were demolishing the suburbs of Nicosia and the churches in them, allegedly to the number of forty. That was in 1567, a date which would suit just as well as 1690 for the degenerate architecture of Tripiotis; in that case the inscription would refer to a restoration. Whatever the truth may be neither of those two dates is right for the fragments which interest us: the lintel of the north gateway looks rather earlier even than 1567; the south doorway may have been brought from elsewhere. In the latter case it must have been fitted in with much more care and skill than the other fragments; an alternative hypothesis would be that it is a part of an earlier building left *in situ*. The scrap of voussoir near it, on the other hand, and the lintel of the west doorway with its magnificent canopy are incontestably pieces brought from elsewhere. Perhaps they do come from churches demolished in 1567, noteworthy among which were the churches of the Dominicans and Franciscans which contained many famous sepulchres.

8

THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN OF BIBI

The Hospitallers owned in Nicosia a fortified town-house and a church, the latter consecrated, as was the custom of the Order, to St. John. It was one of the oldest establishments of the Latins in the city. Before the founding of St. Dominic it was a burial place for the kings of Cyprus: in 1218 Hugh I was buried there, joined in 1257 by Alice of Champagne, his wife³⁷ and in 1267 by Hugh II.³⁸

In 1229 there was a memorable siege of the Hospitallers' tower in Nicosia.³⁹ The famous Philip of Novara had shut himself up in it after escaping from an ambush laid for him by the five bailies who had been set over the Kingdom by Frederick II. His first concern was to erect fighting galleries on the top of the tower, to excavate a cistern and to lay in a stock of biscuits; he then managed to send a message to Beirut in the form of a rhyming letter addressed to Balian of Ibelin exhibiting his desperate situation and his high spirits. His cry for help was answered, the Ibelins came to his rescue and on 14th July 1229 they captured Nicosia.

The church of St. John is today the Greek metropolis of Nicosia; it is not, however, the Hospitallers' church but that of the Greek abbey of Bibi which had a relic of the finger of St. John and is often mentioned in history.⁴⁰ The Archbishop's palace adjoins it and an extensive enclosure surrounds the palace, its gardens and the church. The buildings are of no great interest; the oldest portions of them date from the fifteenth century. The church is a single plain nave, barrel vaulted, and mainly remarkable for its numerous late Byzantine mural paintings. The south doorway has a carved lintel in Italian Renaissance style. The west

37

Lusignan, *Généalogies*, fol. 15 and 16.

38

Amadi, p. 216.

39

Gestes, pp. 54-60.

40

Bustron, p. 35; Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III, pp. 276, 281, 294 n., 504.

41

(Ed. note.) According to Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918 and Zeno, London, 1978), p. 55, the mosque here described is not the Iblík Bazaar Mosque but the Karamanzade Mosque.

42

L'île de Chypre (Didot, Paris, 1879), p. 377.

43

On the verso of folio 16 (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, fonds Lesoufaché). On N. de Huen see *Les Pèlerins Normands en Palestine* by Count de Marsy, *Antiquaires de Normandie*, 1894, p. 10 et sq.

44

According to Lusignan the church of the Holy Cross was the cathedral; but according to the pilgrim Pierre Mésenge (Amiens Library, fonds Lescalopier, MS. 5215, fol. 89 v^o) the Greek cathedral was, in 1570, near St. Sophia 'right adjoining the church'. It must therefore have been the church which is now known as St. Nicholas, perhaps wrongly. Holy Cross was the Armenian, not the Greek cathedral.



Fig. 102
West doorway.

doorway is Gothic, of the fourteenth or, more probably, fifteenth century. The tympanum (Fig. 102) is trilobed, with spandrels carved with foliage in the cusps; there is a shield bearing two lions rampant *affronté* in the middle and below a Greek inscription giving the date when the building was restored, in 1736. In the top of the façade an interesting fifteenth-century sarcophagus has been embedded. This patchwork façade is covered by a sort of porch which gives access from the parvis of the church to the courtyard of the Archbishop's palace.

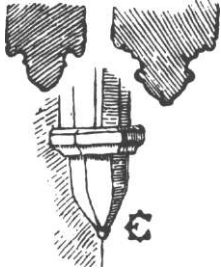


Fig. 103
Details of the porch.

9

THE IBLIK-BAZAR MOSQUE

This mosque,⁴¹ although oriented from east to west, appears to have been an ancient chapel. It is composed of a more or less rectangular room which is of no interest in itself but is approached through a very peculiar porch. It is unvaulted and trapeziform, opening on the street through three low pointed arches with mouldings of a late Gothic type supported on polygonal cone-shaped brackets (Fig. 103).

This distinctly unusual type of porch was in use in the fifteenth century throughout France. The one in question can be compared with the porches at Bourbon-l'Archambault, the Charterhouse of Villefranche in the Rouergue, Saint-Just (Charente-Inferieure), Alençon Cathedral, St. Maclou at Rouen, St. Germain at Argentan and the churches at Falaise and Maignelay (Oise).

10

THE CHURCH OF THE CARMELITES

(The Serai Mosque)

The late Count L. de Mas Latrie describes as follows the mosque which adjoins the Serai of Nicosia: 'a church in the pointed style which seems to me to be of the fourteenth century; it is perhaps the former Carmelite monastery (cf. the evidence of Nicholas of Huen's Voyage to Jerusalem (Lyons, 1488),'⁴² The only dated gravestone that survives goes back to 1302. There are no longer any useful indications to be derived from the architecture which appears to have been always undistinguished, the building has been entirely restored, plastered over and whitewashed. It is correctly oriented and has on the north side a porch which gives onto a sort of courtyard or garden which must have been a cloister. To the north runs a portico whose pointed arches spring from three thick, short columns whose capitals (Fig. 104) are decorated with plain mouldings. Two are octagonal, the third circular. They have not much in the way of style, like the rest of the mosque; however they can be taken as

STAVRO TOU MISSIRICOU

specimens of the sort of Gothic capitals which were most popular in Cyprus. This example is probably very late.

The identification proposed by Count de Mas Latrie is acceptable; the passage taken from the description of Nicosia in *Sainctes Pérégrinations de Jérusalem* by Nicholas of Huen, printed at Lyons in 1488,⁴³ runs as follows: 'Our Carmelite house is near the Royal Palace, it was founded by French nobles as can be seen in the church by the arms of the King of Jerusalem, of the King of France and of the Duke of Normandy. They are also to be seen in the great cathedral. Near our monastery rests the body of St. John of Montfort.'

The Carmelites were therefore neighbours to the Franciscans. As for the coats of arms that the pilgrim mentions it is interesting to note that they are also painted in the Carmelite church in Famagusta.



Fig. 104
Capitals of the portico,
Carmelite church.

11

STAVRO TOU MISSIRICOU

The chapel that the Greeks call Stavro tou Missiricou has been converted into a small mosque. It is almost abandoned and in an advanced state of dilapidation. It is the old Greek church of the Holy Cross,⁴⁴ a small, square, low building with a central dome, purely Byzantine in plan and in internal appearance; externally it is in a style which is a weird mixture of French Gothic, Italian Renaissance and oriental elements. To the Gothic style belong the buttresses, with a sloping batter halfway up provided with a drip-course and with gargoyles at the top, the polygonal turret which held the staircase leading to the roofs, now extended into a minaret, and, finally, the colonnettes on the corners of the building crowned with small octagonal capitals with miniature brackets terminating in balls.

The Italian Renaissance comes into its own in the rectangular framing of the doors, the profile of the cornice and the fluting on the gargoyles, the crest of stone arabesques which runs along the top of the walls resembles the gable of the west end of the church of St. Calais, a French Renaissance building. The fine stonework of the ashlar masonry is of oriental appearance; the rest is all Byzantine.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCHES OF NICOSIA DISTRICT

i

MORPHOU ABBEY

Morphou, which the Latins called *le Morf*, was the site of a Greek monastery well before the European conquest. It was a place of pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Mammas, the martyr. St. Mammas was a young shepherd from Candelore in Syria, murdered by Moslems. When they got possession of Syria the marble sarcophagus containing the saint's relics floated out to sea, according to the legend, and was cast up on the shore in Morphou bay. The story can be believed, at any rate on the assumption that the sarcophagus was in a ship carrying fugitives; moreover Strambaldi asserts that the saint's body was brought from Candelore by his relations. He adds that a miraculous liquid continually flows from his tomb; Father Stephen Lusignan gives some very remarkable details about the virtues of this liquid.¹

The Latins as well as the Greeks were devotees of this pilgrimage; a Carmelite pilgrim in the fifteenth century extols its efficacy.² It is still popular today and the town of Morphou is one of the most important in Cyprus.

Count de Mas Latrie³ is of the opinion that the church at Morphou was a French building adapted to the Greek rite after the disappearance of the Latin church. On this theory the strange appearance of the building derives from a mixture of Gothic and Byzantine styles: the former is dominant in the lower parts of it and the latter in the upper. Against that is the fact that St. Mammas at Morphou is not a reconstructed building; its dressed stone masonry is beautifully regular with no trace of reworking except for the addition of uncompleted porticos. Moreover it is certain that it was built for the Greek rite; apart from the fact that there is no mention in history of a Latin religious building on the site the two last capitals of the nave were never carved on their east side

Strambaldi, p. 14; Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 37 v°:

'And straightway one sees flowing from his tomb a liquid, very sweet and very precious, such as one sees at the sepulchre of St. Nicholas, St. Andrew and others, which has miraculous effects both against storms at sea and against all kinds of maladies. If one puts some of it in a room, or on one's person, and if one then has carnal knowledge of a man or of a woman it forthwith disappears and evaporates; no one knows what it becomes but it withdraws itself from the persons by whom and the room in which that act was committed.'

This exudation from the tomb of St. Mammas continues in fact to this day and although I thought I could dispense with the experiment described by Father Lusignan at least I can complete his account by showing where the water comes from that disappears

which is hidden from the congregation by the iconostasis. The vaulting fits perfectly with the infrastructure; there is nothing to indicate a change of plan in the course of construction and although the position of the dome, erected over two bays, might appear to be the outcome of second thoughts, the particular ornamentation of the intermediate capitals in those bays seems to me to prove that, when they were made, the location of the dome at this point had already been decided. The design derives from the foresight or the personal taste of the architect who either wanted to avoid an exceptional widening of the arcades or preferred the visual aspect of an uninterrupted succession of equal arcades. It remains, however, plausible to suppose that the church and the monumental tomb that it encloses belong to two different but, admittedly, closely consecutive periods. The tomb of St. Mammias was probably constructed originally in a more or less French style. Some years later a Byzantine architect built the church with the assistance of masons and a sculptor who were either French or followed French models; they seem to have been inspired by some of the elements in the decoration of the tomb and also by other Gothic buildings. Though the tomb can pass as purely Gothic the church certainly belongs rather to the Byzantine school of architecture; there is nothing French about it except for the masonry and the sculpture. It is a relatively good example of a mixed genre which is rare, and rarely successful. One can regard it as a curious attempt by Cypriot artists who must have lived towards the end of the fourteenth century or perhaps the beginning of the fifteenth and who wished to regenerate the old style of Byzantine architecture by introducing into it the principles of the fine construction and fine sculpture practised by the Franks. The attempt was only partly successful for lack of a good sculptor.

The church at Morphou (Fig. 105) is nevertheless larger, more spacious and better built than most of the other Byzantine buildings in Cyprus. It has borrowed from Gothic buildings their lucid simplicity and the elegance of their slim lines. It consists of an apse and three naves with pointed barrel vaults. The central nave is broader than and dominates the others; they are connected by two rows of semi-circular arcades. The lateral naves end in a straight wall but in each it is pierced by a window whose embrasure resembles a niche in the form of an apsidal chapel and which has a semi-circular window ledge that must have served as an altar. This is a scheme which occurs also in Norway at the church of St. Mary at Bergen, a Romanesque church of the twelfth century.

The hemispherical dome which rises over the last two bays of the nave is supported on a tall cylindrical drum pierced by six elongated round-headed windows. At the extremity of the apse there is a single window. The south nave has a central doorway and five windows; the north nave has a doorway and only four windows because of the tomb of the saint which is built into the wall of the penultimate bay towards the east.

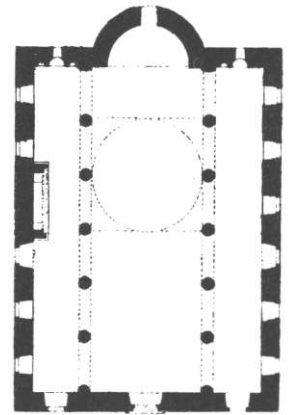


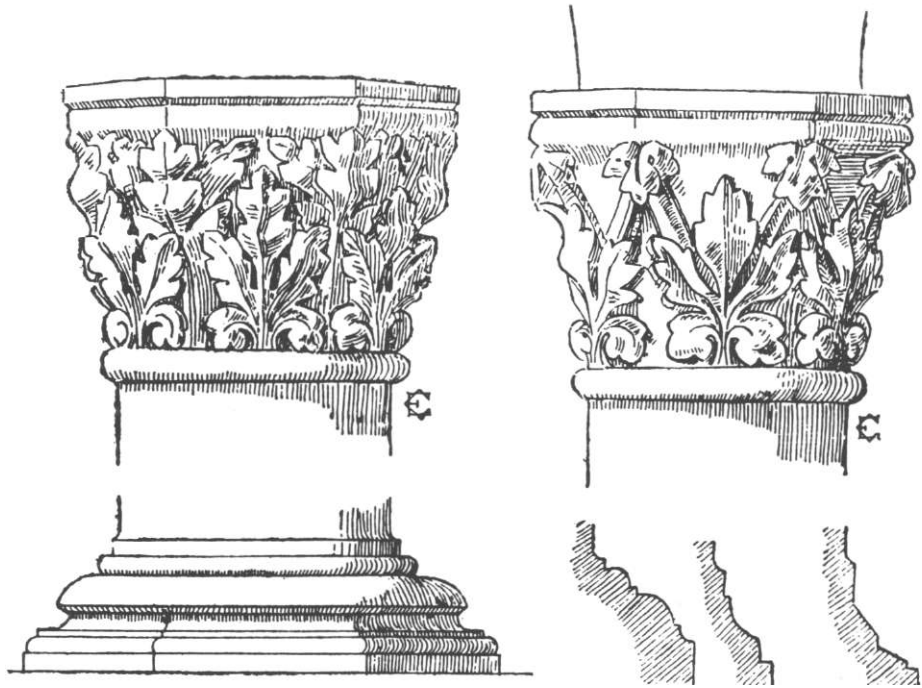
Fig. 105
Abbey church, Morphou.



Fig. 106
Side doorways.

in such miraculous circumstances. When I was alone in the church, which was closed with me inside, and absorbed in my work, the Greek priest, thinking I was not looking or knew nothing about the miracle and was giving no thought to it, lifted a small plank placed on top of the hole made in the lid of the sarcophagus out of which the faithful drew the miraculous liquid and emptied a small pail of water into it. It may, of course, have been holy water.

Fig. 107
Columns in the nave.



The tops of these windows are slightly pointed; they have no ornament except for a simple blunted chamfer on the exterior. They are tall and narrow with only a slight splay on the interior.

There are three doorways in the west end and above the central one there is a group of three identical windows separated by marble colonnettes. The arched tops of the windows are semi-circular, carved with Gothic mouldings.

The five doorways have pointed arches and are extremely plain. Those in the sides have jambs in one piece and a single arch decorated with well-carved Gothic mouldings. The central doorway has three arches and the jambs have three slender colonnettes; the ones supporting the upper arch have separate shafts of grey marble. The octagonal capitals have been left simply blocked out except for one, which may also be unfinished, that has been carved with heavy spherical crockets. The flattened bases are on the lines of French works of the fourteenth century, they rest on tall, fluted octagonal plinths and where their torus protrudes beyond the plinth it is supported on a row of small brackets in the form of reversed pyramids with a ball at the apex, an ornament much abused in Cypriot Gothic. The same motif, in reverse, forms a *congé* for the imposts of the arches of the various doorways combined with rows of water-leaves in a more effective way. These *congés* are also carved with rather thin but pretty small leaves, tri-lobed, in the grooves of the arches.

The lateral doorways have corbels shaped like an Attic base reversed,

The source of the humidity may have been condensation on the interior of the sarcophagus as happens at the tomb of St. Nicholas in Bari; but obviously the few drops produced in this way did not satisfy the ardour of the pilgrims, especially in view of the circumstances that attend its disappearance if Father Lusignan's story is true.

Nicholas le Huen, ²*Des saintes pérégrinations de Jérusalem* (Lyons, 1488):

'About six miles distant from Nicosia is the body of Saint Memer, from which there flows an oil of great virtue.'

angled in the style of Burgundy or Champagne (Fig. 106).

The columns inside the church (Fig. 107) have low bases of various types borrowed from French architecture of the fourteenth century. Those to the south have only simple cavettos for bases. The shafts have a reversed band at the bottom, as on ancient columns. The capitals are octagonal; broad leaves form crockets or cling to the face of the bell; the abacus, very small, is integral with the stone of the capital. The crockets are on stalks which cross the bell diagonally and a row of large jagged and angled leaves runs round the circumference. The general aspect is heavy and the details lack elegance and charm.

The two capitals placed under the dome (Fig. 108) are more richly but less effectively decorated. Their weak and disorganised ornamentation has as its central motif, on the nave side, a grotesque mask or head composed of foliage; on the north a man with his hair and beard, worn in the style of the fourteenth century, represented by leaves and on the south a woman garlanded with vine-leaves whose stalks issue from her mouth, which is a common motif in French art of the same period.

The tomb of the saint for whom the church was built is of a quite different quality. The wall of the church against which it is backed is not connected with the remains of the bounding wall of the monument which shows that the building is a little later than the Gothic tomb. It probably dates from the period when the Greek Church supplanted the Latin Church, either under Janus or under John II and Helena Palaeologos, or possibly under James the Bastard i.e. between 1398 and 1473.

In accordance with Greek usage the church is isolated in the centre of a very large square cloister. The galleries of the cloister are wooden but the buildings to which they are attached are of excellent masonry. The external aspect is of a great square enclosure, imposing in its simplicity and austerity. The corners are carved with torus mouldings or shafts of colonnettes; in the middle of the north face is a large pointed doorway

L'île de Chypre, p. 34.

4

There is a church at Famagusta in an equally mixed style which shows the same scheme.

5

Mas Latrie, *Wist.*, vol. III, p. 195.

6

Strambaldi, p. 13.

Amadi, p. 483.

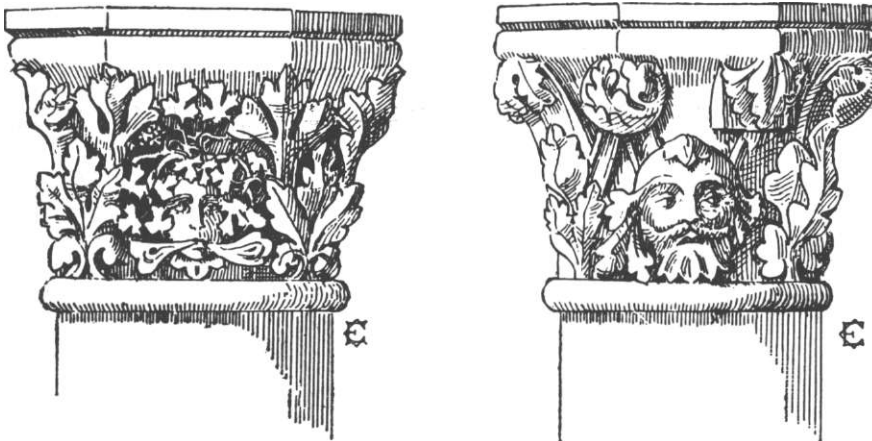
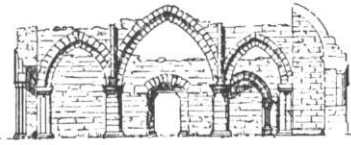


Fig. 108
Capitals under the dome.



framed by a hood-mould in the pure French Gothic style of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The imposts of this doorway consist of a plain projecting block of stone which was perhaps meant to become part of a sculptured frieze.

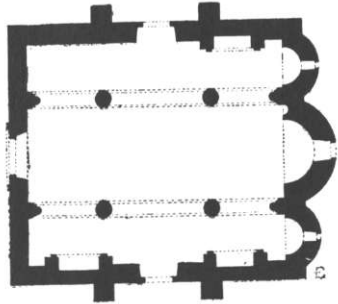


Fig. 109
Plan and transverse section.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MAMMAS, ST. SOZOMENOS

St. Sozomenos is a village near Dhali and, on the other side of the river, the royal villa of Potamia. Its land was part of the royal demesne,⁵ a dependency of the villa of Potamia. The saint whose name the village preserves was a hermit who came here from Syria with Christians driven out by the Moslem invasion.⁶ The cave where he lived is still shown. The village, which has now become entirely Moslem, contains two churches, both more or less ruined. One is a small and wretched Byzantine building, barrel-vaulted; the other, dedicated to St. Mammias, is a fairly important ruin whose construction and decoration show evidence of a certain sumptuousness. St. Mammias is the patron saint of the great Greek monastery at Morphou and it is noteworthy that the church at St. Sozomenos presents many analogies both in style and in plan with the one at Morphou, whose monks may possibly have had a hand in the building of the church at St. Sozomenos. This could not have been the church of the women's monastery called St. Mammias of the gardens, mentioned in Amadi's chronicle under the year 1375, because the route to that from Nicosia was by way of St. Dominic's bridge, in the opposite direction to Potamia.⁷

The church of St. Mammias (Fig. 109) consists of three naves of three bays, each ending in an apse; it appears never to have been completed. Nothing remains of the vaulting except for the conical semi-domes over the three apses; the walls of the central nave and the upper parts of the lateral walls are also missing. It is not possible to say exactly what style of vaulting the builders adopted or, as the case may be, intended to adopt.

The lateral walls, though fairly high, have no buttresses at all. The walls of the central nave have four colonnettes resembling those which in other buildings support Gothic vaulting but which here as likely as not supported only transverse ribs. There is some likelihood that St. Mammias at St. Sozomenos was intended to have barrel vaulting and a central dome, like one of the ruined churches at Famagusta, the church of Tripiotis at Nicosia and the church of Morphou. As in the last two the supports are round pillars in the shape of columns. The low bases and the round capitals formed of a simple set of mouldings recall the architecture of the cathedrals at Nicosia and Famagusta, the four slender colonnettes set on top of these capitals are plainly copied from those same models. These colonnettes have no bases but instead high plinths in

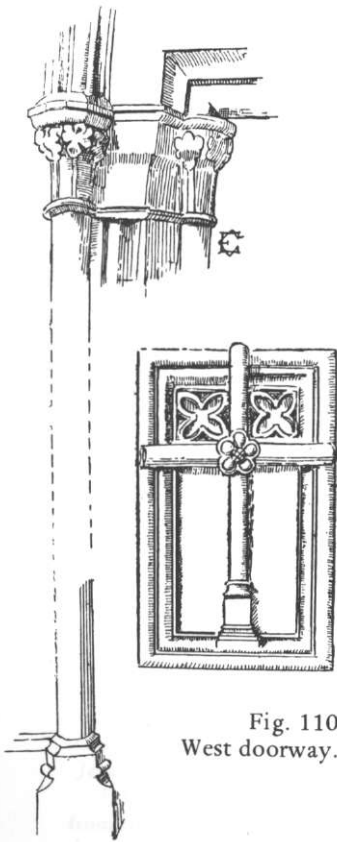


Fig. 110
West doorway.

THE CHURCH OF ST.MAMMAS, ST.SOZOMENOS

the forms of short pilasters with Gothic profiles at top and bottom (Fig. 111).

The three arches have a double pointed arch without mouldings. Their springers are in part dressed horizontally following a practice borrowed from the best Gothic buildings in France.

The central arch is wider and taller than the two which flank it to east and west. This arrangement tends to prove that there was a central dome erected over these arches and on the ribs supported by the four colonnettes. It might have been like the arrangement of the church at Tochni, where the central dome is replaced by a bay of Gothic vaulting. The end bays and the side naves were almost certainly covered with barrel vaults.

The engaged columns which support the end springers of the arcades at their eastern and western extremities are backed by dossierets carved with vertical talons which fade into the plinths and the capitals. Their bases and capitals (Fig. 112) are different from the others in the church. The capitals are very low and square, their proportions being the same as those of a Doric capital; those on the east have been left simply blocked out, those on the west have a cushion and water-leaves are carved at the corners of their thick abacus.

The side naves have neither buttresses nor windows. Each apse has a round-headed window with a slight splay on the inside and framed on the outside by a hood-mould.

There are three doorways, at the west end and in the north and south

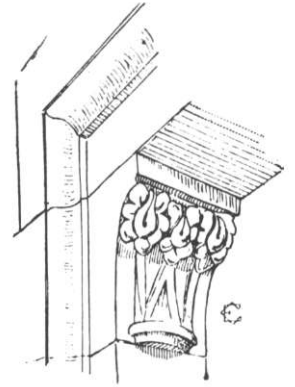


Fig. 113
South doorway.

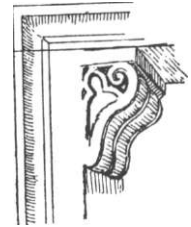


Fig. 114
North doorway.

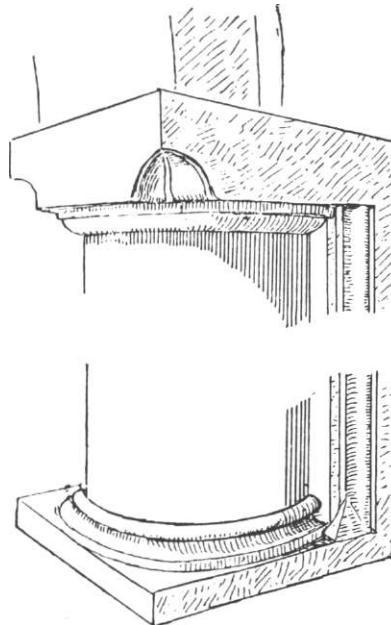
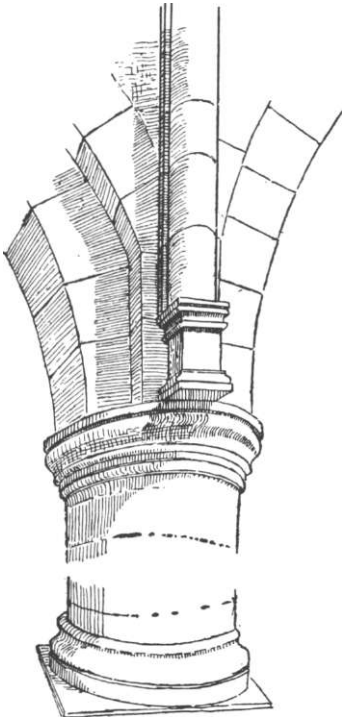


Fig. 111
Central columns.

Fig. 112
End columns.

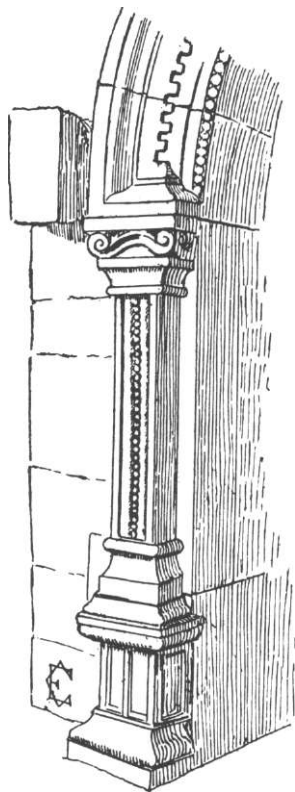


Fig. 115
Jambs of the tomb niches.

sides of the central bay. All are pointed, with plain tympana. The west doorway (Fig. 110) has a moulded arch and hood-mould with a complicated profile both of which rest on colonnettes with elongated circular capitals carved with foliage which was possibly intended for oak-leaves. Part of these capitals has remained simply blocked out. Above the doorway a long, rectangular stone panel has been built into the wall. It is carved with a Latin cross flanked by cusped blind arches; the cross stands on a small plinth with a bead moulding round its edges. The panel is also surrounded by a bead moulding. On the intersection of the arms of the cross is carved a single rose.

The lateral doorways have a plain bead moulding on the arch and no carving except on the corbels that support the lintels. The sculpture here is very strange: on the south (Fig. 113) it consists of segments of circular capitals with foliage projecting from the vertical part of the corbels and on the north of three-lobed Gothic arcatures on the lateral faces of volute brackets of a type borrowed from antique art (Fig. 114).

The church appears to have been built to house the tombs of noble families. In the four corners of the lateral naves, symmetrically arranged, there are four identical sepulchral monuments built into the walls; they take the form of semi-circular arched niches. The copings are missing. The arches are carved with ribbon mouldings with small unfinished pearled mouldings in the corners. The jambs (Fig. 115) are in the shape of pilasters with volute capitals mounted on plinths. In style they are already of the Renaissance and prove that the church, in spite of its many borrowings from French art of the fourteenth century, is in all probability not earlier than the fifteenth.

3

THE CHURCH OF ST. MAMMAS, DHALI

The church of St. Mammas at Dhali lies between ancient Idalium, which is still a town of some importance, and the ruins of the royal villa of Potamia, which has become a Turkish *tchiflik*. It is a small church, standing by itself on the river bank.

Nothing is known about its history but it is likely that if it existed in 1425 it was destroyed then by the Moslem invasion in the course of which Potamia and the surrounding region were specially devastated. It can therefore be taken as probable on historical grounds that the chapel with which we are concerned was built or rebuilt after that date. This hypothesis is confirmed by its architecture.

St. Mammas at Dhali is a rectangular building with an apse at the east end and a doorway in each of the other three sides. The apse is a copy of the one at Stazousa. Externally polygonal it is roofed with a conical semi-dome, it has a small round-headed window with a small *oeil-de-*

THE CHURCH OF ST. MAMMAS, DHALI

boeuf above it in the gable of the nave, these being the only two windows in the building.

The nave is covered by two bays of groined-vaulting or rather by a pointed barrel vault with two transversal insertions of the same design but smaller, the ribs not reaching the crown of the longitudinal vault. A transverse rib supported by engaged columns divides the two bays. These columns also support the low relieving arches which lighten the lateral walls, along which they are disposed in large blind arcades.

The transverse rib and the groins of the vault do not rest directly on the capitals of the columns but on a double encorbelment which surmounts them. This combination, which is similar to that of the bays of the chapterhouse of San Galgano in Tuscany (thirteenth century) is certainly very successful but the same cannot be said of the decoration which has been applied to it. Taken as a whole the decorative scheme is clumsy and more or less geometrical and its poverty, ponderousness and aridity recall certain Italian buildings of the end of the Middle Ages.

From the outside the shape of the vaulting is expressed on the east and west by a gable end and on north and south by twin gable ends. The extrados is tiled and forms six valley-channels. This is the usual scheme for churches in the south of France at the end of the Middle Ages. A set of mouldings runs along the line of the gables and prism-shaped gargoyles correspond with the channels. Massive rectangular buttresses are erected at the ends of the north and south sides with thick torus mouldings on their corners. In the two sides are pointed doorways (Fig. 116); their tympana are smooth but deeply sunk, perhaps intended to contain bas-reliefs or, more probably, paintings, and surrounded by an arch carved with a narrow projecting ribbon moulding and with a groove containing a diaper of angular, four-pointed flowerets. A foliar *congé* in the fourteenth-century style acts as a springer-stop on either side. A hood-mould with a groove containing similar flowerets frames the arch; at its lower end on either side there is a horizontal return, carved at the end with a rosette, and at the summit it rises slightly in an ogee. The opening of the doorway is framed by a torus moulding which forms a colonnette on each jamb with a capital decorated with coarsely executed foliage. The lintel is supported by two corbels. Their profile is an Attic base reversed, the mouldings describing a re-entrant angle, an unhappy inversion of the well-known Burgundian corbel. It can be seen very clearly carved (Fig. 117) on the west doorway, which has only a plain lintel.

This church demonstrates perfectly what happened in the fifteenth century to the traditions of French architecture in Cyprus when they fell into the hands of Greeks directed by Venetians. It should be compared with the churches of St. Sozomenos and Morphou and with some of the buildings in Famagusta.

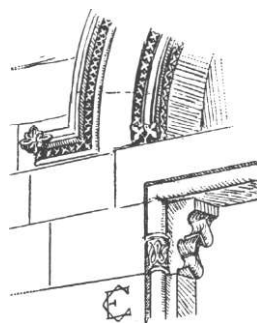


Fig. 116
Church of St. Mammas
Dhali; south doorway.

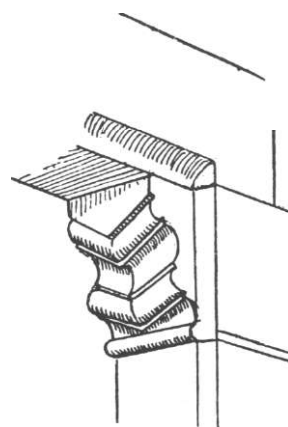


Fig. 117
West doorway.

CHAPTER VII

THE ABBEY OF BELLAPAIS

Kyrenia District

I

HISTORY AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Bellapais Abbey, also known as *Episcopia*, or the White Abbey,¹ was the most important in Cyprus. Its privileges were extensive, its origins, however, obscure. Its situation, towards the foot of the mountain, a short distance from Kyrenia and the Karamanian Sea, is one of the most beautiful and most fertile to be found anywhere. No doubt it was already inhabited in Roman times and under the Lusignans Augustinian canons lived there. Thierry, Archbishop of Cyprus, who was alive in 1206,² authorised them to adopt the Premonstratensian rule.³ Under this new rule the abbey rapidly prospered and became so influential that it wished to become independent of the archbishops; in 1232 Pope Gregory IX had to recall the Abbot to his canonical obedience.⁴

I

L'abbazia de Premostratensi, hoggidi chiamata abbatia Bianca, era antiquamente una Piscopia, et alle volte ancora si chiamavano li frati de quella abbatia frati della Piscopia. Fl. Bustron, *Notes*, p. 464.

Mas Latrie, *Hist. des archev. de Cypre*, p. 26.

See letter of Gregory IX, dated from Rieti 9 April 1232. Cartulary of St. Sophia, No. XXXVI.

ib., NoXXXVII, 8 February, 1246. The legacy amounted to 600 Saracen bezants, charged with the maintenance of a chaplain at Paphos. The name of the Abbot at this time was George.

In 1246 the abbey received a legacy from a knight called Roger the Norman together with a relic of the True Cross.⁵ In 1248 the Blessed Hugh of Fagiano, an Italian who had at one time been Dean of Rouen Cathedral, and who had come to Cyprus with St. Louis, became a monk at Bellapais. In 1251 he was elected Archbishop of Cyprus but his intolerance towards the Greeks could not be reconciled with the prudent statesmanship of Henry I. He put the Kingdom under the interdict and after a very stormy tenure of the archiepiscopal see retired, in about 1260, to Tuscany where he founded in 1263 an abbey at Rezzano and gave it the name of *Episcopia* in memory of Bellapais.⁶

In 1309 the seneschal Balian of Ibelin⁷ was buried in the abbey; there was another rich burial there in 1344, the epitaph of which was still partly preserved in the seventeenth century.⁸

According to Stephen Lusignan King Hugh III (1267-1284) gave the abbots of Bellapais the privilege of wearing a sword and gilded spurs;⁹ he was himself buried there.¹⁰ Mariti¹¹ even describes his tomb but ac-

according to Amadi's chronicle¹³ the burial-place of Hugh III was Nicosia.¹³

Florio Bustron tells us that the magnificent buildings that housed the monastery were the work of King Hugh IV. He was a pious monarch and a good friend to the arts; according to Bustron he loved staying at the abbey.¹⁴ This account is confirmed by the style of the buildings. The work of construction must have been brought to completion during the prosperous reign of Peter I; nothing was added in the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth even work of maintenance stopped. From the reign of James the Bastard (1460) Bellapais was held *in commendam*¹⁵ and the resulting disorder reached its peak in 1565. The decay of this beautiful abbey was then the cause of great scandal and of much concern to the honest Venetian *provveditore*, Bernardo Sagredo.¹⁶

It was occupied by French monks who all had women living with them and the only novices they admitted were their own children.¹⁷

Mas Latrie, *Hist. des archev.*
pp. 25-39.

Amadi, p. 293.

De Bruyn, *Voyage du Levant*
(Delft, 1700), p. 193.

9
Hist., fol. 137 and v°.
Lusignan considers him the
founder of Bellapais.

10
Généalogies, fol. XVIII.

11
Viaggi, vol. I, p. 125.

12
Amadi, p. 216.

13
According to Lusignan (*Gén.*,
fol. 17-18) and F. Attar
(Mas Latrie *Hist. de Chypre*,
vol. III, p. 523) Bellapais
was founded by Hugh III
(1267-1284) but, as already
remarked, the abbey is much
older; some of the build-
ings are earlier and a greater
number later than the reign
of Hugh III who presumably
only completed the church
and began the cloisters.

14
Bustron, p. 258: 'Edificio
l'abbatia bianca con quella
stantia meravigliosa dove per
suo diporto andava spesso'

15
Mariti, vol. I, p. 125.

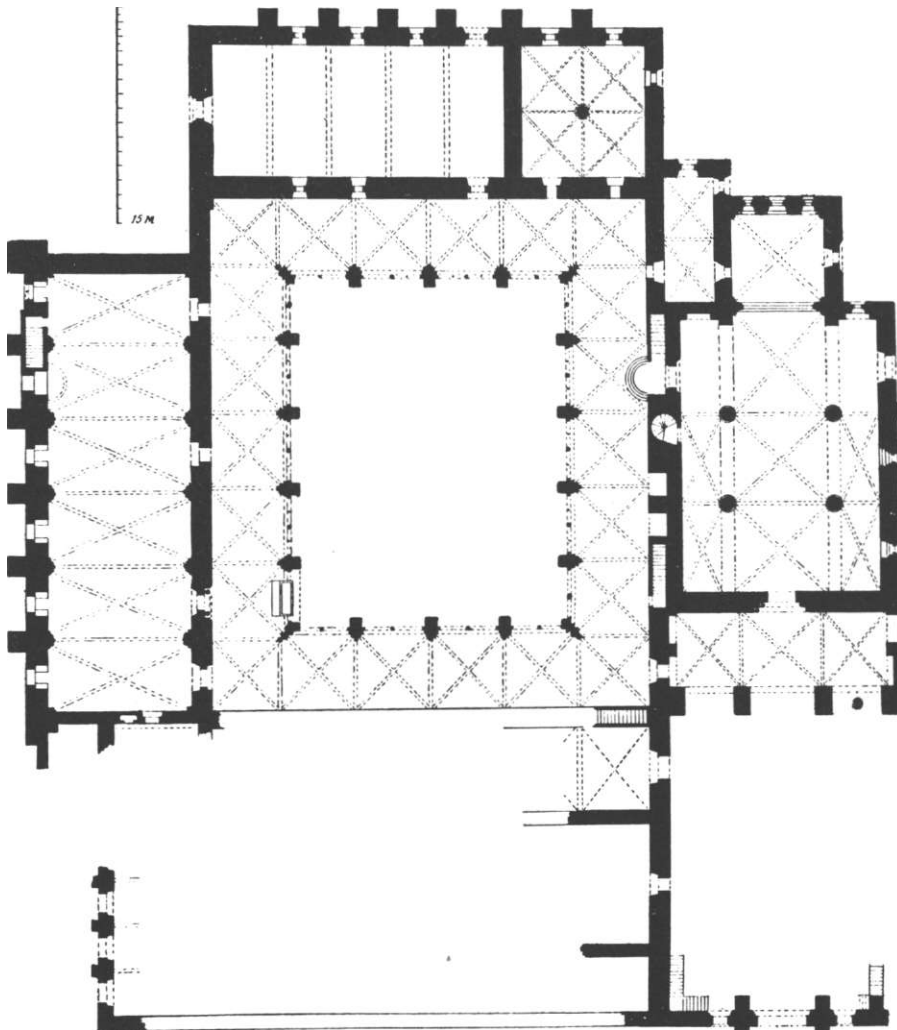


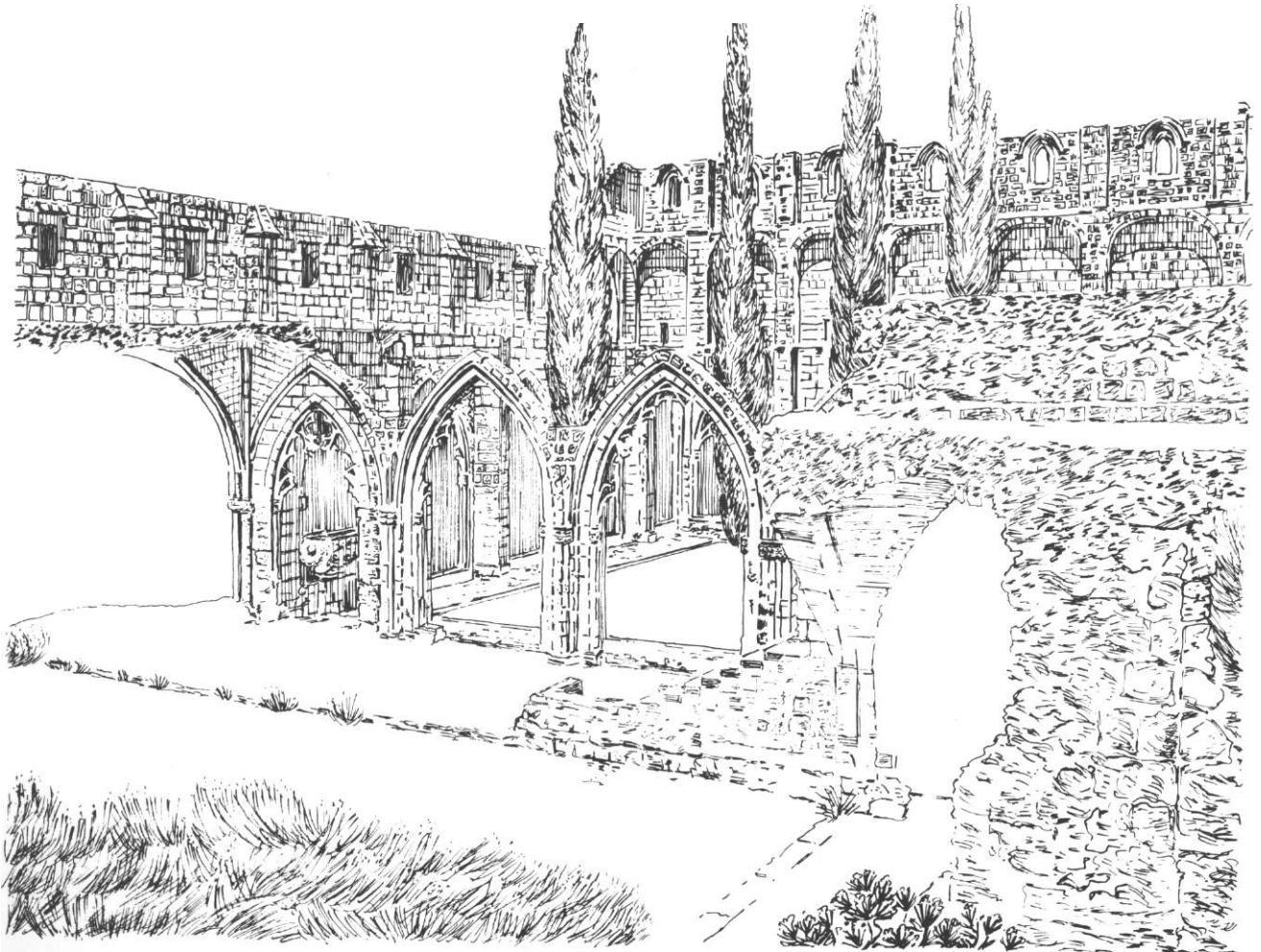
Fig. 118
Bellapais Abbey; plan.

See his report to the Senate in 1565, copy in *Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. ital. 1230*, fol. 5 v° and Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, pp. 542-3, *Hist. des archev. de Chypre*, p. 123.

Worst of all, in spite of their jealous affection for their own progeny, these pseudo-Premonstratensians were allowing their buildings to decay; it was a great pity, says Sagredo, to see so great an abbey, built with such consummate artistry, falling into ruins. Most unfortunately, however, Sagredo could do nothing about it; the abbey did not come under the *provveditore* but directly under the Republic. It would be an act of piety and most pleasing to God if the Signoria would substitute some monks of an orderly way of life for the present ones who followed neither the Greek nor the Latin observance but behaved like Arian heretics or Turks.¹⁸

I do not know whether the Most Serene Republic did take pains to reform these abuses and replace the French monks with Venetians. It had even more serious pre-occupations at the time in Cyprus itself and when, five years later, the armies of Sultan Selim snatched Cyprus from it, whatever the Koranic propensities of the monks of Bellapais, the conquerors showed no mercy to the unfortunate monastery. When they captured Kyrenia they sacked it and left it desolate. The fate of the

Fig. 119
Cloisters, from west.



monks and their families is unknown. Lusignan says little of the abbey; perhaps because he likes to boast about the virtues of the Cypriots.

Bellapais owes to the excellence of its construction the fact that it has survived the ravages of the Turks and three centuries of dereliction. The gaps that can be seen in the fabric are mainly due to the local inhabitants who have built a handsome village to a great extent out of the stones of the abbey. The Turks allowed the Greek parish priest to install himself in the church abandoned by the Premonstratensians and this, in consequence, continued to be put to religious use; the other buildings have housed sometimes a school and at other times animals. Today they are used for nothing more than an enclosure for the cloisters, and the cloisters themselves only for grazing and an orchard.

To a traveller sailing past on the Karamanian Sea, or to one who climbs the mountain on which St. Hilarion stands, the imposing mass of the buildings of Bellapais stands out like a cube of stone on a wooded fold of the mountain near its foot. It can also be seen from almost everywhere in the town of Kyrenia. The road leading to it is pleasantly picturesque; there is a marvellous view from the approach, dominated by the abbey's tall and beautiful walls with their powerful buttresses. Rising dramatically on the crest of a small, yellowish cliff and built themselves of a gold-coloured limestone they contrast vividly with the differing greens of great olive-trees, bushy-topped orange-trees and carobs. Between their branches you can catch glimpses of the blue sea at the end of the narrow, sloping plain, broken by picturesque ravines, which stretches from immediately below the abbey. If on the other hand you climb up the lower slopes of the mountain you get a bird's eye view of the buildings of Bellapais with their terraces and cloisters framed in greenery and the sea as a background to the picture.

It is beyond any doubt a beautiful and impressive building, elegant in form and richly and tastefully embellished. It represents a harmoniously graduated range of all the phases of the Gothic style from its beginning up to the eve of its final development.

The buildings, (Figs. 118 and 119) form a square. The church, which has in front of it a small closed court, defended by a machicolated gatehouse with a drawbridge, occupies the southern side of the cloisters. Only one bay remains of the western section which contained the store-rooms and, over them, the lodgings of the lay-brothers; the entry to the monastery opened onto the courtyard at the southern end of the store-rooms. The kitchen, on the other hand, was at the northern end, in the north-west corner of the abbey; it has also been almost entirely destroyed. The refectory is still intact; it runs parallel to the church and occupies the whole of the north side of the cloisters. Beneath it are magnificent cellars. On the east a very handsome building in three vaulted storeys consists of cellars, a ground floor containing a large work-room and a chapterhouse and above them the dormitory. The vaulting of this

17

Sagredo, loc. cit.: "... tutti li frati hanno moglie et agli figli hanno limitate l'entrate.' Sagredo ingeniously describes this state of affairs as 'limitatione fatta senza l'autorita sua (sc. of the Venetian Senate) et del Pontefice.' The worthy provviditore was not so much concerned about a possible decrease in the population of the abbey because according to one of the monks themselves, and he was able to check his evidence, some among their number kept up to three women, *ib.*: 'Essendomini uno di loro affirmato che vi sono di quelli che hanno tre mogli, per il che mi e passo rappresentare ad onor della Maesta di Dio e della Serenità Vostra quel che mi e stato detto et ho veduto.'

18

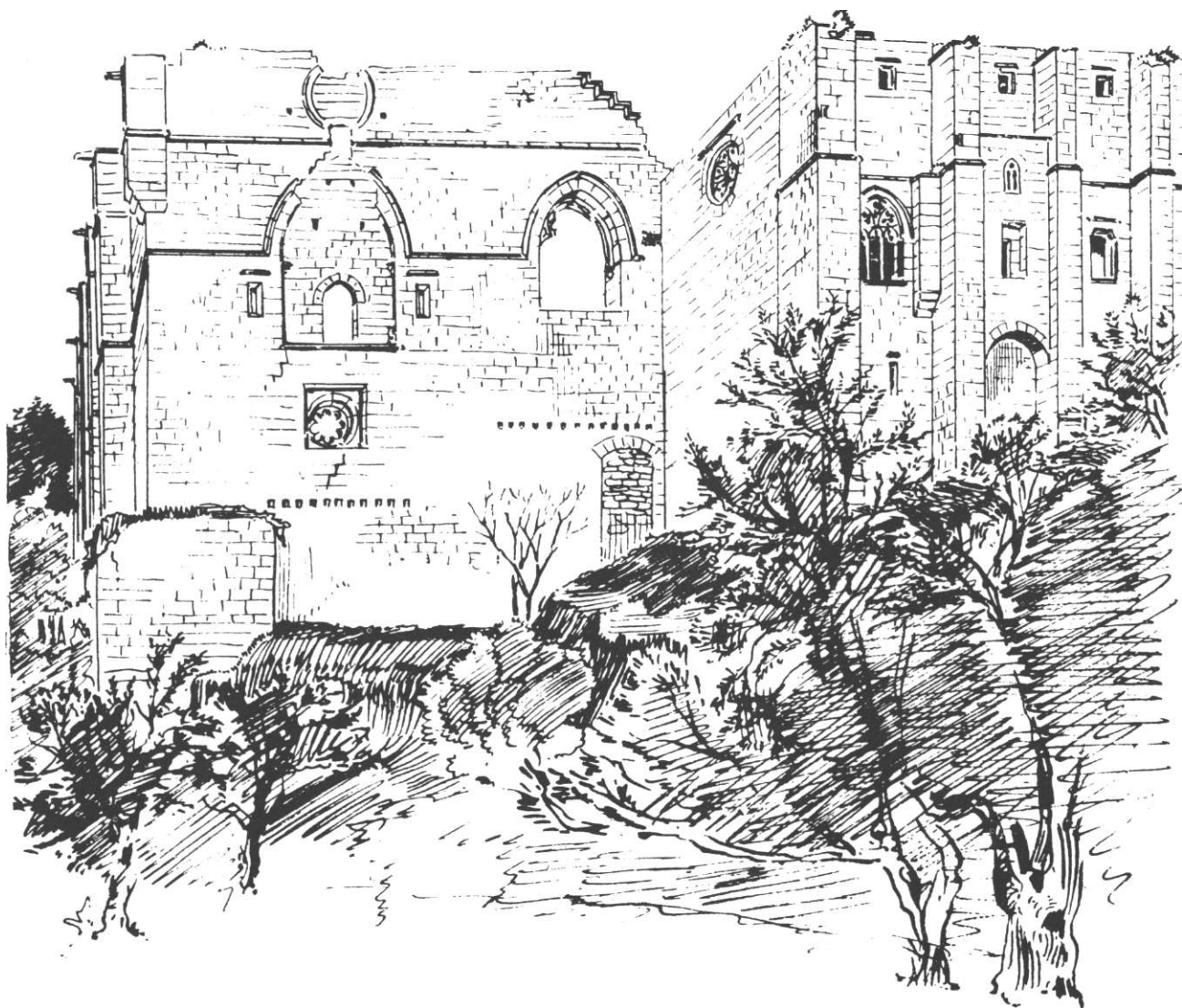
ib.: 'Anderia del tutto in rovina, et e un gran peccato a vedere si grande abbatia, de tanto mirabile artificio costrutta, rovinare, et il jus dell'abbatia non si puo da nessuno impedire, essendo juspatronato della Serenità Vostra, et saria opera pia et grata alla Maesta di Dio che la facesse officiare da religiosi di buona vita et non lassarla con tanto vituperio et cattivo essemplio et scandalo nelle mani di persone che non officiano alla greca ne alla latina, ma si puo dir alla Ariana, ovvero alla Turchesca.'

THE ABBEY OF BELLAPAIS

building has collapsed but the walls and the carvings on them remain intact. Between the last-mentioned building, the cloisters and the choir of the church is located the sacristy, built like a chapel with all the apertures walled up. Above the north aisle is the treasury. All these buildings have flat roofs.

All the travellers who have visited Cyprus have been impressed by the appearance of the abbey and many have published drawings of it.¹⁹ In 1865 the late E. Duthoit made a complete survey of Bellapais Abbey which is in the possession of the Marquis Melchior de Vogüé, member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*. I am indebted to the generosity and great courtesy of Monsieur de Vogüé for allowing me the good fortune of offering here reduced reproductions of two of the four water-colours by that distinguished artist²⁰ (the other two would only duplicate my

Fig. 120
Northern façade.



THE CHURCH

photographic illustrations). Although, to my regret, these copies are far from perfect since the colours do not lend themselves to photographic reproduction the reader will share my profound gratitude to the Marquis de Vogiié.

A number of stone staircases gave access from the dorter to the doorway between the church and the cloisters; from the south-west corner of the cloisters to the treasury and to the roof of the church; from the roof of the cloisters to the roof of the refectory, and, finally, from the roof of the refectory to the roof of the dorter, from which culminating point there must have been an outstandingly fine view.

Although the buildings are very homogeneous their construction took a long time. The church dates from the thirteenth century. The doors and windows are in an early style, the pillars on the other hand would appear to be, stylistically, much later and the transept is distinctly old-fashioned; all this without, in all probability, there having been any interruption in the process of construction. The treasury, the springers of the cloister vaulting on the walls of the church and of the eastern building are definitely thirteenth-century in style; the springers on the refectory wall, the main doorway of the refectory and the chapter-house appear to be some years later; the great ground-floor room in the eastern building, the sacristy, the arcades of the cloisters, the refectory and the dorter can also be ascribed to the fourteenth century, the dorter belonging rather to the end of that period. The lavabo in the cloisters is put together out of antique pieces. So much for the chronology of the different parts of the building whose detailed descriptions follow.

A number of well-executed masons' marks can be seen (Fig. 122); they occur only in the ground-floor room of the eastern building i.e. in a part which is probably to be ascribed to the fourteenth century.

THE CHURCH

The church (Figs. 124 and 125) has a certain similarity with Cistercian buildings. It is known that the Augustinians and Premonstratensians were happy to imitate the designs borrowed by the Cistercians from the Burgundian school, as shown by the churches of St. Martin at Laon and Dommartin in Ponthieu. The choir is square; the chevet is pierced by three identical windows; at the west end there is a beautiful porch of three bays; the nave has only two bays; the barrel-vaulted transept does not project. The compact plan may be inspired by Byzantine practice although there is nothing Oriental about the style apart from the flat roofs which are usual in all Gothic architecture in the East.

The church of Bellapais resembles some Gothic churches in central and southern France. It recalls Saint Pierre du Queyroix at Limoges, for



Fig. 121
Profiles: A. west doorway; B. abacuses of its capitals; C. ribs of the porch; D. ribs of the refectory; E. transverse ribs of the refectory; F, G. columns of the refectory; H. abacuses of the undercroft; I. ribs of the cloisters.



" f P ^ ' - p X

Fig. 122
Masons' marks.

19

The following is a list of these drawings; generally speaking they are anything but accurate and their captions are incorrect: Cassas, *Voyage en Syrie*, 1785, *Atlas*, vol. III, p. civ; caption *Cazzafani*; Lacroix, *Les "des de la Grèce*, ed. Didot; caption *Casa Fumien*; Drummond, *Description of the East*, p. 272; caption *Grande Commanderie de Chypre*; De Bruyn, *Voyage du Levant* (Delft, 1700),



Fig. 123
Detail of an upper
window.

instance, by its piers in the form of squat columns or the abbey church at La Chaise-Dieu by its broad proportions, the profiles of its arcades, the massive and simple construction of its piers and the manner in which the ribs and arches of the vaulting are supported by and blend into them at different heights (Figs. 124 and 125). The springers on these piers rest on brackets of a very unusual shape, the abacus is rectangular and the bell enormously hollowed out, elegantly elongated into a very slender cylindrical tail and ending in a reversed finial. These brackets are attached to thick cylindrical pillars to receive the arcades. The pillars themselves become half-columns in the upper part of the nave and are crowned by thick capitals of a French thirteenth-century type; their abacuses are joined together by a string-course running beneath the sills of the nave windows. Their bells, circular in the lower part, split and divide into two branches at the top to fit with the tracery of the cruciform abacuses which correspond to the section of the vaulting springers. Their Attic bases rest on broadly chamfered plinths; at the corner of the nave and the transept (Fig. 124) the plinths are taller and the thick columns are three-quarters disengaged from the walls, producing a fine and powerful effect. In the corners of the choir and transept, on the other hand, the piers are cruciform and grouped round them are tall, thin columns, giving an elegant and graceful effect. In the choir the ribs of the vaulting show, in profile, a torus edged with two cavettos with a bird's beak edging. In the nave the torus has a small fillet moulding indicating a later date: the arches of the aisle vaulting (Fig. 125) are merely bevelled.

The windows in the aisles and the transept are plain lancets, framed in pairs with an embrasure; on the interior as well as the exterior the window arches in the aisles are framed by a protruding moulding whose profile, a drip-course with a ribbon moulding above, belongs to an earlier period of Gothic architecture and would seem more appropriate to abacuses.²¹ These hood-moulds terminate in short horizontal returns.

The windows at the west and in the sides of the nave and also the three windows in the chevet are more ornate and have a double frame, the first chamfered and the second decorated with colonnettes with separate shafts. On the semi-circular arch there is a torus moulding between two grooves with bird's beaks, and this matches the colonnettes. There is no string-course except on the exterior. These window openings are within a few centimetres of the roofs of the aisles and the porch. The bases are Attic, the lower torus being slightly flattened; the capitals are carved with ribbed leaves joined to small recurved crockets; the abacuses are square and their profile well defined (Fig. 123).

The second bay of the nave on the north side has no windows except for a small rectangular opening which gives on the treasury; as at Gonesse the treasury is built above the corresponding bay of the aisle. It is a small room, narrower than the aisle, with two vaulted bays supported on very

plate 198, No. 2, 198, 299, 380; caption *Le pays*. One of Cassas's plates was reproduced in 1847 by Mas Latrie in the *Magasin pittoresque*.

20

They were exhibited in 1875 at the Geographical Exhibition.

21

This remains a peculiarity common in Cyprus right up to the end of the Gothic period. It is unusual in the island to find drip-courses on the hood-moulds.

THE CHURCH

simple brackets, either single or grouped, with hollowed-out bells. The ribs and arches have the same profile as in the nave. Small rectangular aumbries have been cut into the walls, confirming the use to which the room was put; their frames still show signs of splintering from the levers used by pillagers, Genoese perhaps or Turks, to prise them open. The exterior windows were walled up against thieves.²² Staircases leading to the nave and to the south-west corner of the cloisters open onto the roof opposite the door of the treasury. It can also be reached from the dorter along the roof of the cloisters.

The transept is extremely simple; on the east two shallow pointed niches rectangular in plan, might once have housed altars. The windows are at the same level as the nave windows; the pointed barrel vault rests on an impost which continues the line of the nave string-course.

There are three pointed doorways in the church with the same ornament as the upper windows. One of the two lateral doorways opened onto the cloisters from the north wall of the transept, the other was in the second bay of the south aisle. They are decorated only with a moulded arch and two colonnettes. The doorway in the west end (Fig. 123) has a double arch and four colonnettes; the carving of their capitals extends onto the jambs which bear the lintel; the bases have claw-mouldings.

The vaulting and springers of the porch are similar to those of the treasury. The porch (Fig. 131) opens to the west through three broad, absolutely plain pointed arches; on the sides it has two arcades, the northern one blind, the southern surmounted by a small, splayed lancet

22

There must have been a strong door, and it is likely that a monk slept in the room. It would have been easy for a thief to gain access to the treasury by putting a ladder against the outside southern wall of the church and crossing the roofs of the south aisle and the porch.

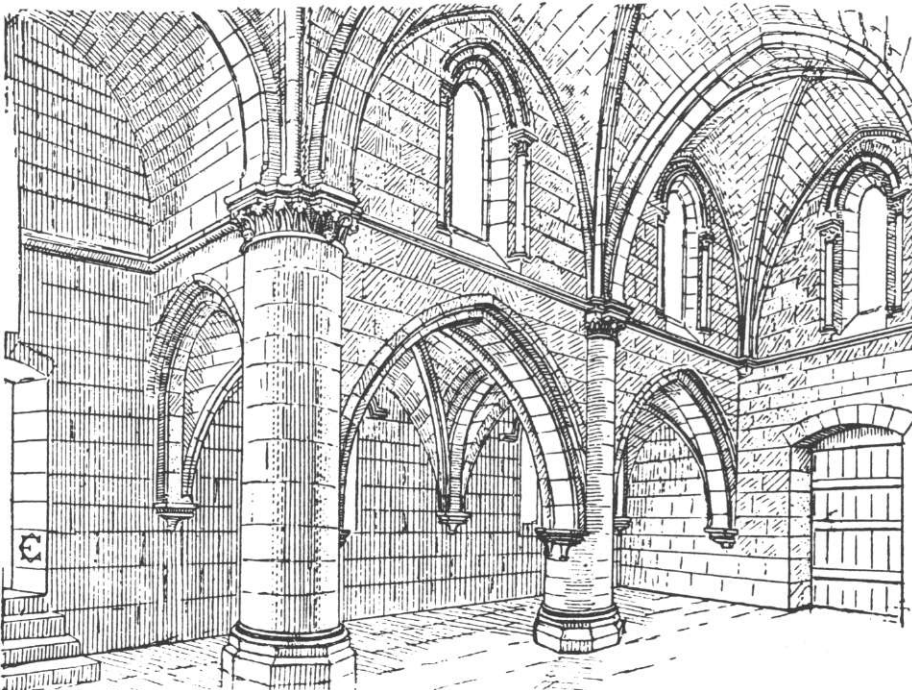
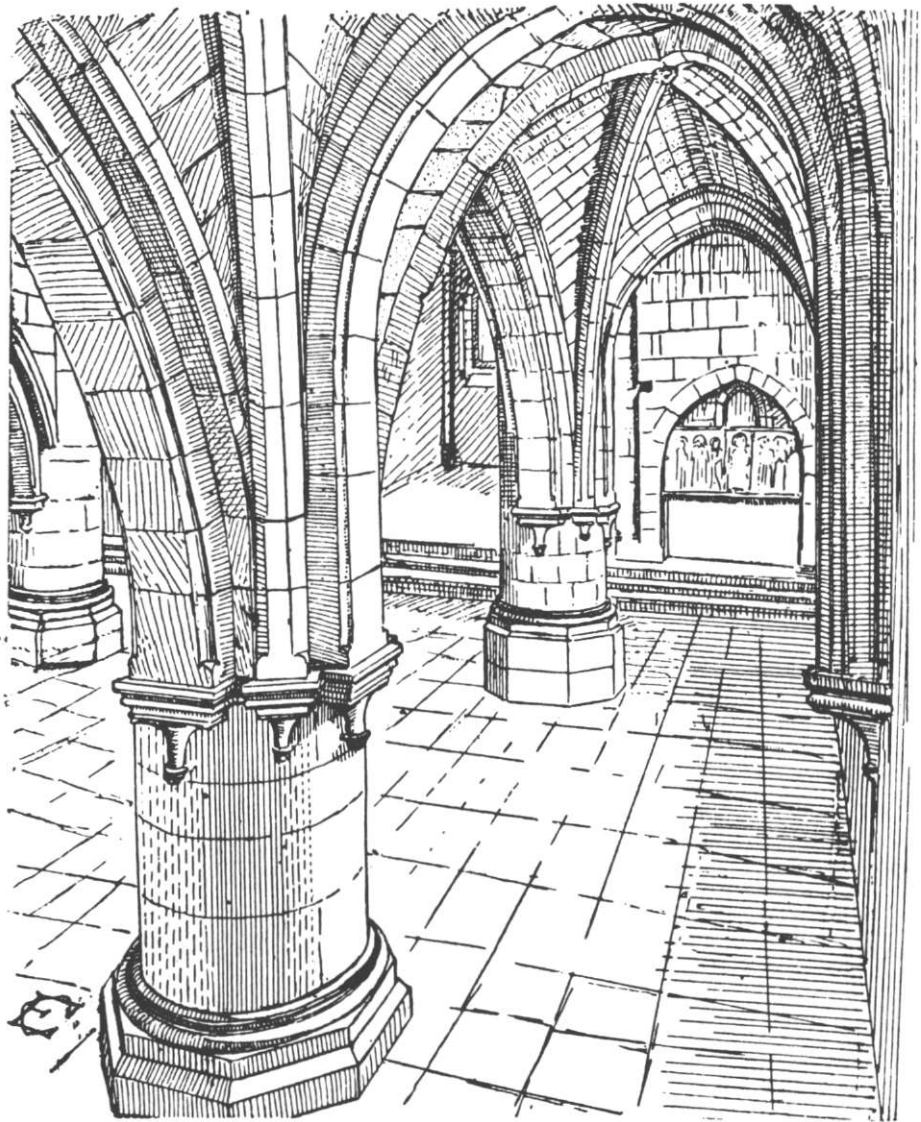


Fig. 124
Nave of abbey church.

Fig. 125
South aisle.



window.

The buttresses of the church and the porch are square in plan, completely plain on the surface and vertical with small, unornamented gargoyles at the summit.

Above the west end is a very plain but very elegant belfry (Fig. 129). It consists of a wall pierced by four elongated lancets, without any ornament. The centre is crowned by a sharply pointed gable in which there is a fifth very much smaller opening; a coping of two broad, sloping planes extends over the gable and continues to both ends of the structure. The gable was crowned by a pinnacle, probably in the form of a knotted stalk, a four-petalled fleuron and a decorated cross, and there were also fleurons at the ends of the coping; of these three acroteria all

that now remains is the lower part of their rhomboidal stalks.

It is not at all easy to establish the dating of the various parts of the church. It can be assumed, however, that the choir, including its vaulting, was built first. The walls of the west end and the aisles were finished at the same time and the frames of the nave windows were cut. This stage of the work dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but it was not until the middle of that century that it was possible to construct the piers and the vaults of the nave and of the aisles, and also the porch. As for the transept, the difference in the system of construction does not admit comparison with the other parts of the church and the use of this system provides no evidence of date in Cyprus. The eastern walls of the transept appear to have been reinforced, which might suggest either that the architect had not dared to erect high vaults over such an extended oblong or that they collapsed after being put up and were replaced by the present vaulting.

The choir and the porch were embellished with paintings of which some traces survive. In the choir some parts of the window colonnettes are still coloured red and simulated joins between blocks of masonry on the walls are painted in the same colour. On the south wall, 1.5 metres above the ground, is a small medallion (Fig. 127) which was part of a strip painted with busts of the twelve apostles, presumably six on either side of the sanctuary. This one has a half-life-size bust in a circle inscribed in a square. The background of the circular medallion is purple, patterned with black scrolls of foliage, and in it is written in white, in Gothic letters, S. IACOBUS MAIOR. The head has been destroyed. The apostle was wearing a blue-grey robe and a yellow mantle; he held a purple book with a dark grey edge with a diamond-shaped medallion on the cover. The circular medallion is framed by a ring in a rich braided pattern of narrow ellipses in a zigzag with four-petalled flowerets in the triangular intervals between them. This decoration is painted in white on a slate-blue background; the flowerets have a yellow spot in the middle, the ellipses are partly edged with red, the white having been applied over a red ochre which shows through to some extent. Four spandrels with scrolls, also painted white, on an ash-blue background provide a square frame for the medallion and the whole harmonious composition is surrounded by a purple border.

The painting is strongly reminiscent both in colour and design of various Italian works of the fourteenth century; it is likely that that is the date and that the school of paintings to which it should be ascribed. The same can be said of the paintings in the porch; certainly there is nothing in them to be dated earlier than the fourteenth century, indeed some elements must belong to the fifteenth, and they are by Italian artists.

The badly-damaged paintings surviving on the wall at the west end, south of the main doorway, are in a style which it is certainly hard to place (Fig. 130). They consisted of a large square picture with a small



Fig. 126
Painting from the porch.



Fig. 127
Painting in the choir.

triangular panel above and flanked by two pictures in the quarter-circle formed by the lunette of the vault. These depicted two standing life-size figures of which only one is more or less preserved, a heavily bearded prophet in a long brown robe in a green landscape. He is haloed and bare-footed and displays in one hand a scroll inscribed with a long Latin text which has become indecipherable. There is a striking resemblance to the prophets depicted in the Palace of the Popes at Avignon. The square picture might represent the Adoration of the Magi. On one side can be seen a standing man, bare-headed, bearded and long-haired, dressed in a green tunic, purple breeches and black shoes. He is holding a sheathed sword with short, straight quillons and would appear to be in attendance on some personage in the foreground who wore a long robe and mantle, probably purple in colour. In the opposite upper corner of the picture was a small flying angel dressed in blue or green.

Beneath the head of one of the arches on the south side of the porch are the best preserved and the most easily attributable of the paintings at Bellapais (Fig. 126). They are very closely reminiscent of numerous fifteenth-century works in Umbrian and Tuscan churches, especially in the province of Siena. A band of simulated mouldings, shaded in perspective, encloses a series of quatrefoils with right-angled points between the lobes in the Italian style. In the quatrefoils are half-length figures of

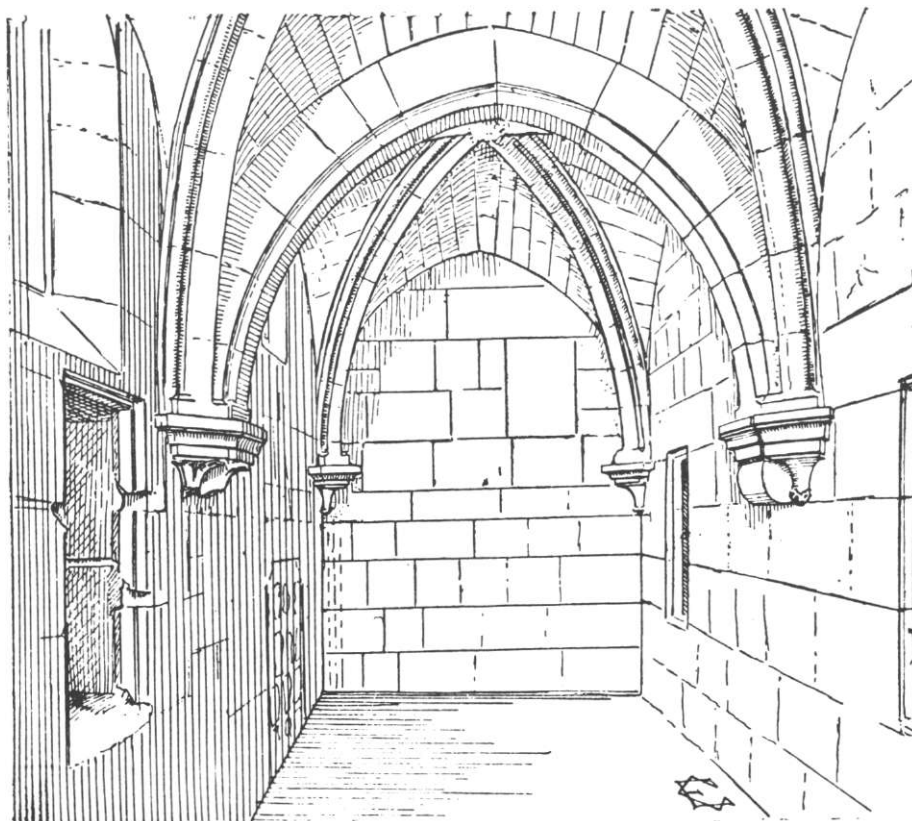


Fig. 128
Treasury.

the four major prophets alternating with the four evangelists, a very popular theme throughout the Middle Ages. A ninth, smaller medallion at the apex of the arch contained a figure of which only the outline remains; it possibly represented either the Flagellation of Christ or the Virgin of the Assumption. Between the medallions were coats of arms of Italian shape on a red ochre background surmounted by jagged, curling leaves, confusedly intertwined, some green and others burnt-sienna; half stars formed from interlacing triangles project from the perpendicular bands on either side, painted in yellow ochre, umber and white; the backgrounds of the medallions are dark greyish-blue. The arms are unfortunately all unrecognisable. A series of three figures is fairly well preserved. The first, starting from the bottom, is St. John seen frontally in an ample tunic with a wide semi-circular neck and braided collar, a costume reminiscent of those found in pictures by Perugino, Raphael and Pinturicchio. Above is a figure with a long beard recalling the types of the Sienese school; he wears a yellow robe and displays a scroll on which can be read IEREMIE PRO[P]HET[E]. Above this is a figure striking an elegant pose, wearing a pinkish-violet doublet and a green mantle, colours found very frequently on Tuscan translucent enamels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this last figure the *bouffant* hair with two lateral tufts held on top of the head by a circular diadem, the beardless face, simply treated with a charm both frigid and conventional, and the shape of the collar, all recall Italian art of the fifteenth century.

The flesh tones of these figures are achieved by brown strokes on a flat background of very light burnt-sienna. The painting is executed with some skill and taste, not rising, however, above the level of mediocrity,



Fig. 130
Detail of painting in porch.



Fig. 129
West end and belfry.

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and also with very great facility. It must have been dashed off in an hour or two by the very experienced hand of one of those good journeyman-artists of whom there have always been plenty in Italy. The merchant ships of Genoa, Pisa and Venice must have taken painters of this sort around all the trading-posts of the Levant.

Also preserved in Bellapais church are two large and handsome brass plates of the so-called Dinant ware (Fig. 132), both dating from the fifteenth century and probably made in Flanders or perhaps in North Italy. One has a running stag in the centre surrounded by a ring of small bosses and floral scrolls. The other, of a rarer and more interesting type, is unfortunately badly worn. It represents a woman seated, frontal, with a hawk on her wrist; above is a scroll with a text in Gothic characters of the fifteenth century, arranged in the form of a three-lobed arch. The inscription is unfortunately illegible. The woman's hair is entirely enveloped in a wimple tied under the chin, a style of head-dress preserved to this day by women in Cyprus. She wears a girdle under her breasts, which are small and round in the style of the fifteenth century, especially

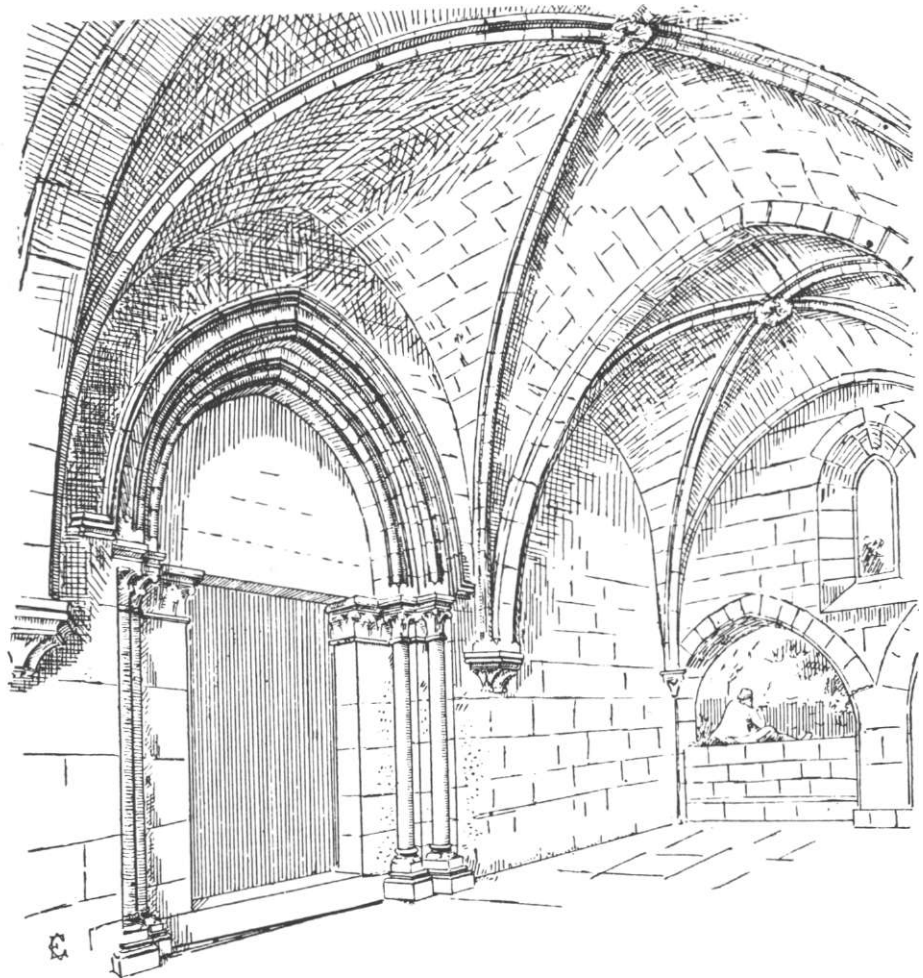


Fig. 131
Porch.

THE CLOISTERS



Fig. 132
Brass plates from abbey
church.

in northern Europe; her robe falls at first in vertical folds and then spreads out on the ground. This figure is like those on the capitals of the portico of the Doge's Palace in Venice.

In the seventeenth century there were to be seen, built into the wall inside the porch on the south side of the doorway, two marble sarcophagi with the arms of Lusignan. The one nearer the doorway was thought to be the sepulchre of Hugh III.²³ According to Cornelis de Bruyn²⁴ there were also mosaics inside the porch; this was perhaps a mistake for wall-paintings but in any case the work was by then 'so damaged that nothing can be made out.'

De Bruyn copied out an epitaph in Gothic capitals from inside the porch, but he did not understand a word of it. The drawing which he published exposes his lack of understanding, nevertheless one can make out this much: '*i. très passa a xxix jorde [décembre?] l'an de M. CCC. XL. Dieu ait_____*' Clearly therefore there is no question of Hugh III (d. 1284) or of Balian of Ibelin (d. 1309). The beginning of the inscription as drawn by de Bruyn could be read as Y (or V) DOVQ (or M) AB (or Z) IN. One might, at a pinch, restore the name of Babin, a Cypriot noble family; it could also read *douquel* (of whom) or even *abés* (abbot or abbey) with an —s— written backwards. On the other hand the inscription, given as being in four lines, is very like a fragment of an inscription in a single line running round a tombstone now totally worn away and lying in the cloisters. I can with great difficulty make out: '*... bin qi trespassa]. . . Ian d o u (?)*.'²⁵

THE CLOISTERS

It was not until after the completion of the church that work was begun on the cloisters (Fig. 133) on ground at a slightly lower level ending in a steep cliff on its north side. To link them with the church two pointed arcades were stretched between the buttresses of the church's north wall,

23

Mariti, *Viaggi*, vol. I, p. 125: 'Avanti de entrare in essa (chiesa) a mano ritta, sotto il loggiato, che e sostenuto da quattro colonne, vi sono nel muro due arche di marmo, con sopra le armi depinte della famiglia Lusignani. In una di queste, che e quella accanto alia porta della chiesa, vi era sepulto Ugo III.'

24

Op. cit., pp. 378-80.

25

(Ed. note.) Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918, republished Zeno, London, 1978), p. 326, gives the following transcription taken from Drummond, *Travels* (London, 1754): DOUMA IN. QVI TRESPASSA. A. XXIX. JORS. DE. DECEMBRE. A. LAN. DE. MCCCXVIII. DE. CHRIST.

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forming large niches, and in front of the doorway a kind of porch, barrel-vaulted, was erected off which there opens the staircase leading to the dormer. Simultaneously the east wall was built; both these walls bear brackets, or groups of brackets, (Fig. 134) whose clusters of twisted foliage, and abacuses, suggest the end of the thirteenth century. There are some figurines also among the carvings: on the south a human head wearing a hat surrounded by thin jagged leaves and on the east three human and three animal heads form two corresponding groups of grotesques. A fox and a donkey can be made out in one group; of the human heads one is an elegant layman, clean-shaven and long-haired, the other two are tonsured.

The western wall of the cloisters is in ruins. At the north end the brackets are in a later style, probably of the late fourteenth century. In the northern corner there is a beardless head wearing an antique form of radiate diadem; a little further on is a figure struggling with two monsters; the other brackets are carved with foliage.

The vaulting and the arcades of the cloister are manifestly rather late fourteenth century. The profile of the vaulting arches (Fig. 121) is an angular torus with a flattened apex between two deep cavettos with bird's beak edges. At the intersections of the arches are keystone bosses carved with circular bunches of jagged foliage. The boss in the westernmost bay of the northern arm of the cloisters is decorated with a shield with the arms of Lusignan. On the outside the arches are supported on

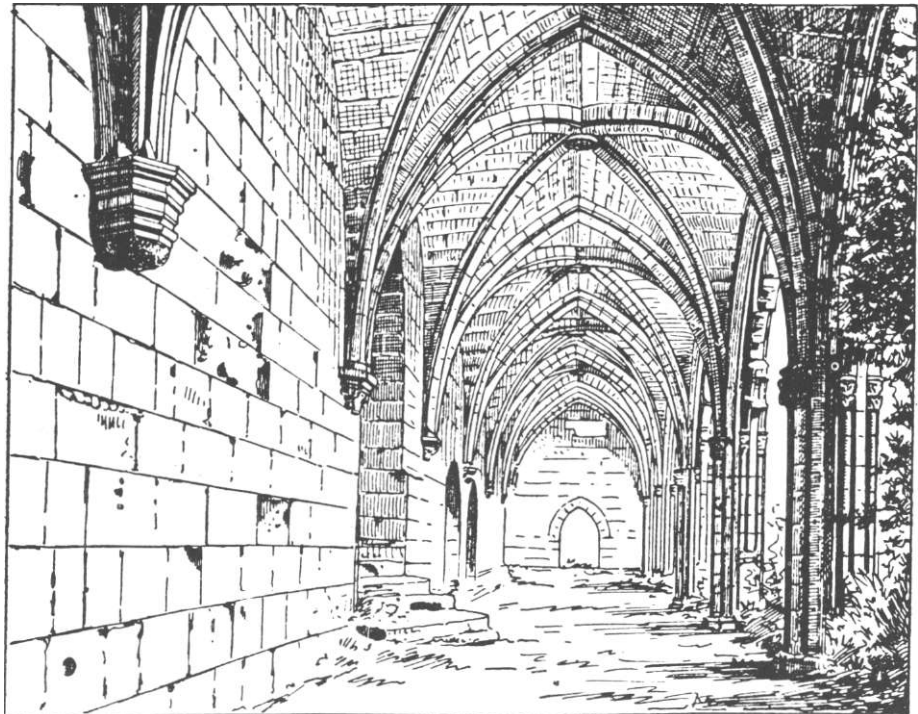


Fig. 133
South walk of the
cloisters.

THE CLOISTERS

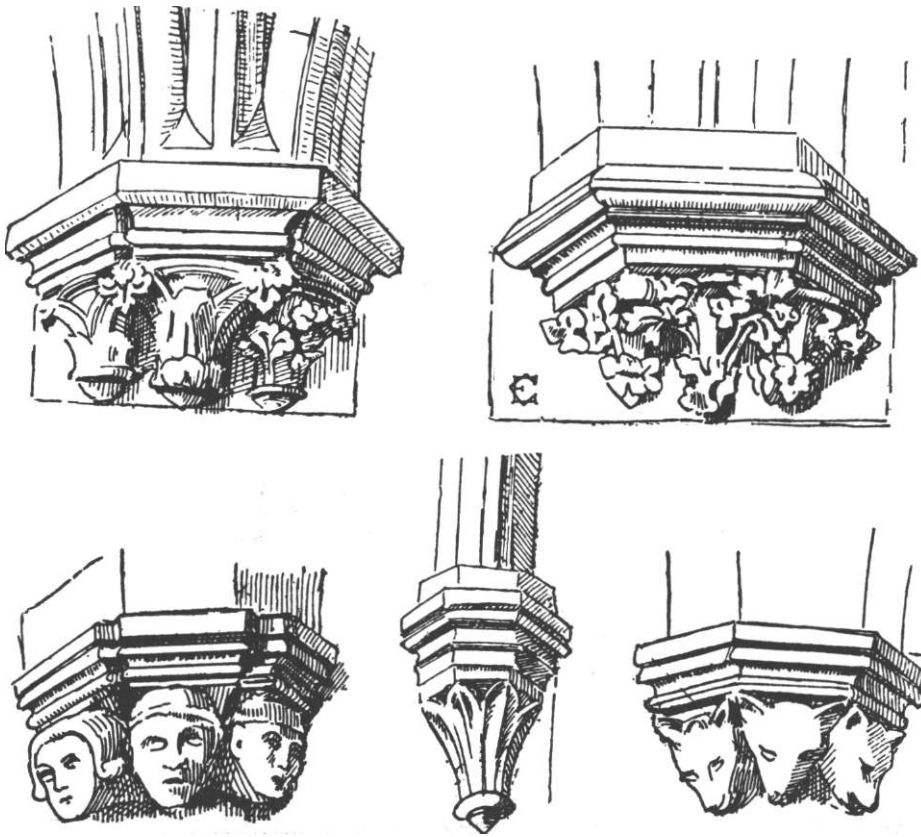


Fig. 134
Brackets in the cloisters.

bundles of slender colonnettes whose shafts are partly curved and partly flattened.²⁶ These are grouped with the colonnettes from which spring the mouldings of the broad and tall arcades and which are backed by completely plain buttresses.

The arcades were filled with stone fretwork above a low wall from which rose a main mullion; the two lights of each opening were subdivided by a smaller mullion except in the narrower arcades at each corner. The tympanum was carved with a tracery of trefoils and quatrefoils in circles. Some considerable fragments of this tracery still remain although the mullions have all gone. The profile mouldings are all in a fairly late style. So are the small capitals (Fig. 136) which are really nothing more than vertical portions of the shafts carved with bunches of small leaves in a complicated unnaturalistic design. Normally they show two superimposed rows of leaves, in the fourteenth-century fashion. Their execution, and their sinuous disposition, has already a touch of decadence, whereas the outline of the tracery is still in the plain style of the early fourteenth century. The bases, which take the form of a fillet linked to a flattened torus, also follow a fairly early fourteenth-century mode. They are unimpressive in their general effect.

In the end bay at the north-west corner the fretwork of tracery is

26
Cornelis de Bruyn is in error in calling these columns Corinthian (op. cit., pp. 378-80).

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displaced onto the exterior side of the buttresses in order to make room for a lavabo on the interior side which thus does not encroach on the width of the covered passage (Fig. 135). This lavabo is put together out of antique fragments, employed with much skill and taste. A very large and handsome white marble sarcophagus of Roman date, carved with genii holding festoons, forms the upper cistern. At the bottom of it a

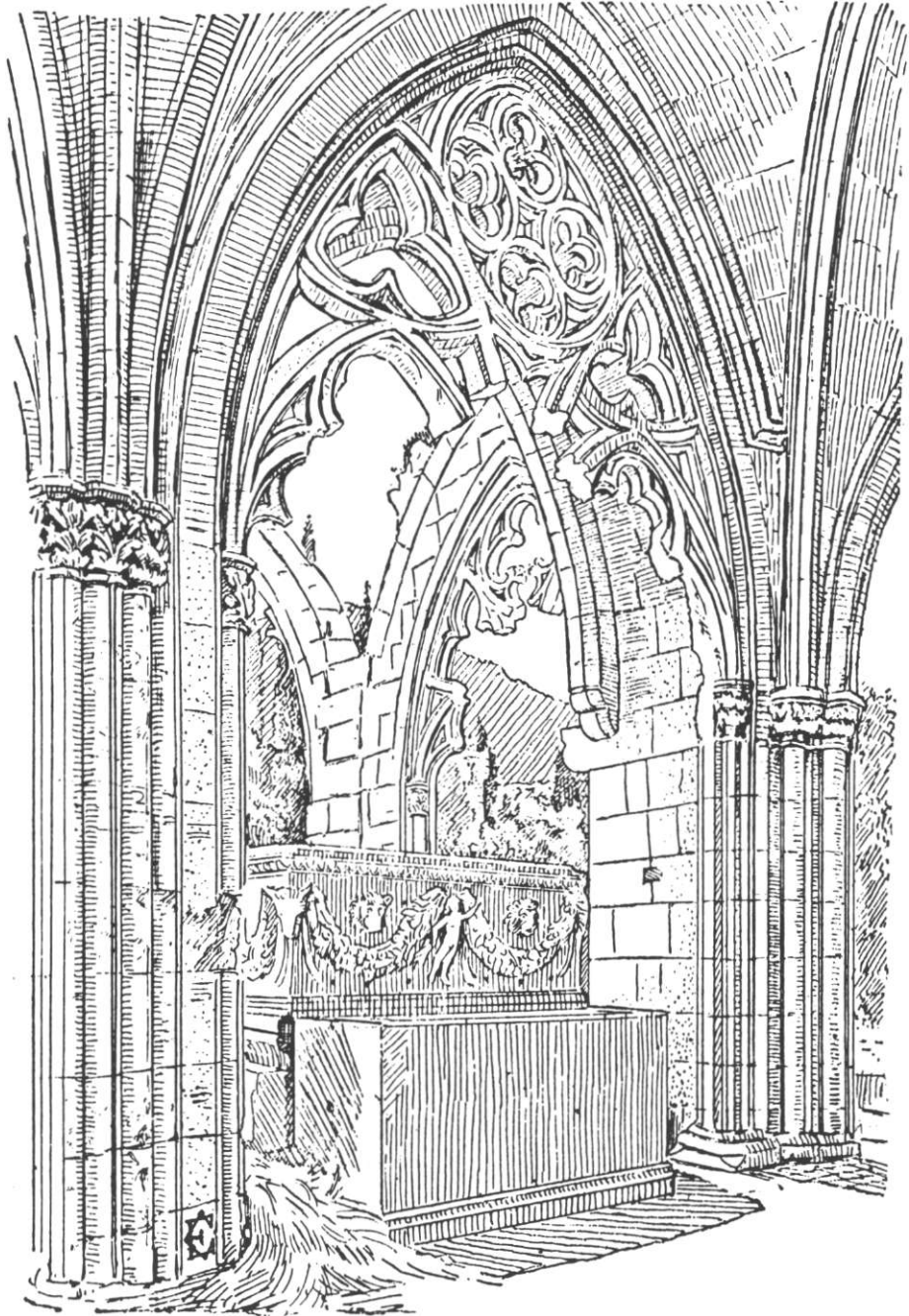


Fig. 135
Lavabo.

SERVICE ROOMS

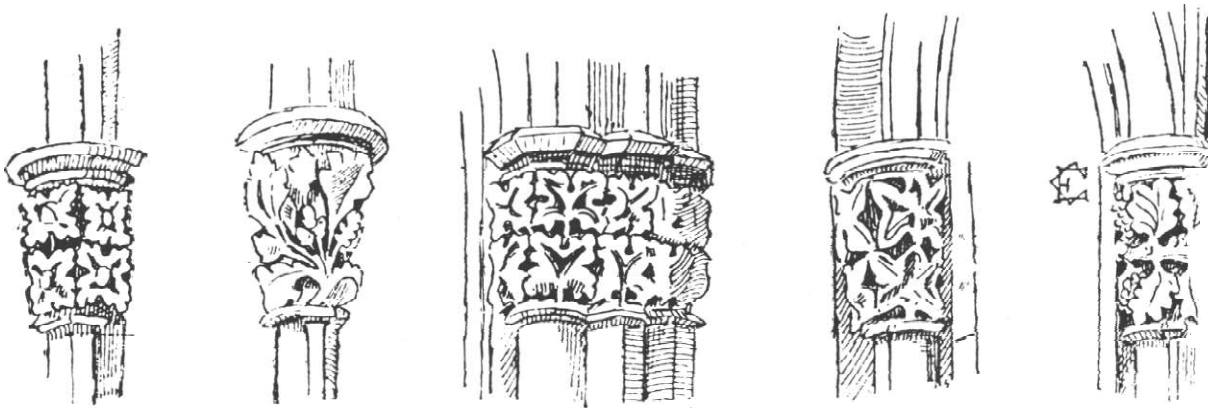


Fig. 136
Capitals in the cloisters,

row of six small holes has been bored, with great care to avoid damaging the ancient sculptures, to which taps were fitted. These discharged water into a second receptacle of the same dimensions in polished cipollino marble, which must also have been a sarcophagus. This antique piece has been raised on a low marble plinth with a handsome, Gothic, stylobate moulding.

The upper cistern could have been fed by rain water from the roof of the cloisters, but since it only rains at certain times of the year, and since the cistern is small, it is more likely that a siphoned conduit kept it permanently supplied with water from springs in the nearby mountain. Even today there is water flowing along channels in the cloisters which passes below the refectory and runs out at the foot of the rock on which the abbey stands. This conduit very probably was also used in the kitchens.

SERVICE ROOMS

All that survives of the kitchens is an outside wall pierced by four small rectangular windows between which can still be seen the springers of the arches which supported the ceiling. They rest on quadrant corbels. Of the cellars there remains only the last bay to the south, roofed with a plain groined vault which has collapsed. The form of this vault gives no indication of its date since both the Cistercians and, after them, the Premonstratensians freely borrowed from the architecture of Burgundy and Champagne which persisted with groined vaults into the thirteenth century.²⁷ The same persistence was also normal in domestic architecture²⁸ in all countries.

Two doors, one large one small, gave access from the cellars into the enclosed court in front of the church. Perhaps the large door was used as a means of access for carts and animals bringing provisions, but both doors also gave access to the cloisters and the remaining vaulted bay

²⁷ See the churches at Champeaux and Voulton (Seine-et-Marne), late twelfth century, and the Cistercian church at Les Vaux de Cernay, thirteenth century.

²⁸ There are numerous examples in houses at Provins, even in the late thirteenth century.

must have been a sort of vestibule. According to de Bruyn this entrance doorway was decorated with carved armorials; he even gives a sketch;²⁹ but it seems likely that he made a mistake and the door he sketched was the one into the refectory.

5

THE REFECTORY

The refectory at Bellapais (Fig. 137) is one of the largest and handsomest that is anywhere preserved. It is no less than 30.40 metres long by 10.04 metres wide and 11.50 metres high. It is divided into six vaulted bays. The piers are clusters of columns (Figs. 121 F.G. and 137) like those of the cloisters. The buttresses are strictly vertical with severely plain gargoyles at the top.

This beautiful hall is lit at the east end by a small rose window with trefoil and quatrefoil tracery. On the west side, above the kitchens, there is a pointed window whose mullion and tracery have been cut out; a similar window can be found in the easternmost bay of the northern façade. The bay next to it is occupied by the wall-pulpit for the reader. The other bays have a second row of small upper windows rectangular in shape. On the southern side there is a row of high similar windows; two

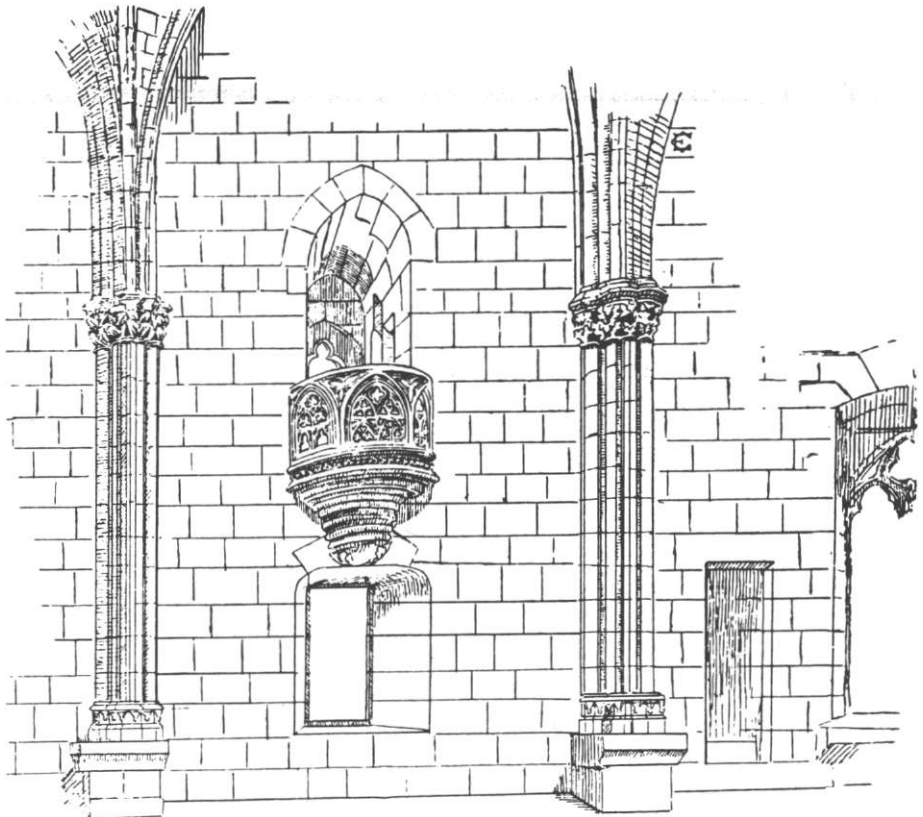


Fig. 137
Pulpit in the refectory.

THE REFECTORY

lower windows and two doors open onto the cloisters. On the outside the windows are protected by a short horizontal drip-course.

The pulpit of hard stone (Fig. 137) is in a perfect state of preservation and is a very elegant example of a type of structure which has become rare in all countries. It is at a good height above floor level and reached by a straight staircase in the thickness of the wall which in this bay has been made thicker by a protruding section on the exterior. The landing of the pulpit is lit by a small window with a trefoil head; there is another window immediately below the encorbelment. This is semi-circular in plan, formed from a disproportionately tall series of poorly-executed superimposed mouldings. Their monotony is only relieved at the top by a groove filled with angular flowerets with four petals and at the bottom by a piece of carving comprising two leaves and a figurine, now mutilated.

Round the semi-circular platform of the pulpit runs a balustrade decorated with three depressed arches filled with a rich and elaborate pierced tracery of trefoils and quatrefoils.²⁹ Each of the intermediate spandrels is carved with a reversed, pointed trefoil, not pierced; the three openings are framed with strong mouldings. There was probably a hand rail on top of the balustrade, perhaps in wood; but no trace of one remains.

On one of the stones in the west wall of the refectory is an inscription painted in black, now almost illegible. It is in fine Latin capitals and is probably no earlier than 1409. Possibly it is an epitaph. I read it as follows:

MOESTiSSIM
COSQiS Di COEV
ICI F MO S EVERA
ACERBISSIME PL[0]RAV....
[A] NNOS MCCCCIX

This transcription is not completely certain; some of the letters are very defaced. It appears to be identical with one that the Marquis de Vogûé told me he had read in 1860 with the moving phrase '*viginti annos conjugem acerbissime ploravi*'.

The refectory communicates with the kitchens by a door in the south-west corner; its pointed tympanum is surrounded by deep grooves which must have been put in either for some woodwork or for a marble inlay. Two other doors at each end of the hall gave access to the cloisters. The one to the east has a simple corbelled lintel; no doubt it was designed for the Abbot whose table must have been set in the end bay lit by a specially richly-carved window next to the pulpit. From his seat at the end he presided at and supervised the communal meal. The monks would have entered by a handsome door at the other end, facing the lavabo. It has a pointed arch on colonnettes the capitals of which can be dated on

29
Voyage du Levant,
figure 299.

30
They are closely similar to those on the surviving balustrade of an opening in one of the towers of Famagusta Cathedral.

grounds of style to the middle or end of the thirteenth century and whose zigzag mouldings would not occur in France, except occasionally in Normandy, after the Romanesque period. The hood-mould with horizontal returns ending in volutes resembles those over some of the windows in Nicosia Cathedral. The tympanum, like those of the west doorways in the same building, is carved with arcades. A white marble lintel bears three shields blazoned with the arms of Lusignan, Jerusalem and Cyprus — Jerusalem. Its two supporting corbels have symbols of two of the evangelists in a bunch of foliage viz. the lion holding a book for St. Mark and an angel for St. Matthew.³¹

The refectory is stylistically very reminiscent of fourteenth-century buildings in southern France and Catalonia, for instance the cathedrals at Aix, Narbonne, Gerona and other places.

6

THE UNDERCROFT

An undercroft runs underneath the refectory, divided into two separate rooms, each in turn divided by a line of octagonal columns into two naves of three bays. On their north sides they are not underground; in fact their outer wall, placed on the summit of the cliff, commands the plain below of which a fine view can be obtained through the arrow-slits. The cellars were approached from the kitchen by a straight staircase. The vaults are very flat; the ribs and arches have the same plan and a prismatic profile and are in the form of a flattened arch. Their springers on the walls are supported on short octagonal columns forming an encorbelment with shafts in the form of reversed pyramids. The capitals, like those of the central arcades, have a completely smooth bell and for their bases a flattened torus. The door which connects the two rooms has a lintel supported on well-executed corbels arranged as a reversed Attic base.

EASTERN BUILDING - SACRISTY

The building complex at the east end of the Abbey is very impressive. It could be compared, not only for its construction and purpose but also for its beauty, to *La Merveille* at Mont-Saint-Michel. Work on it began in 1325, at the same epoch as the cloisters and the sacristy, the walls of the latter being bonded in with it. The sacristy, which is between the eastern building and the choir of the church, is a kind of Gothic chapel in the form of an elongated rectangle with two bays. It communicated with the cloisters and with the choir of the church and was lit on the south and east by two pointed windows with plain embrasures. All these openings

31
The eagle and the ox can be found on two other corbels, on the entrance gateway to the abbey.

are now walled up and cannot be used. There was never any connection between the sacristy and the adjoining chapterhouse which occupies the southern end of the eastern building.

32

Voyage du Levant,
p. 1378 "80 -

8

THE CHAPTERHOUSE

The chapterhouse had a plain doorway opening onto the cloisters, flanked by a single window with a four-centred arch. This is an exception to the general rule; in most chapterhouses the doorways are flanked by a window on either side and architects normally took pleasure in decorating all three openings. At Bellapais the chapterhouse is square with a single column in the middle supporting the springs of four ribbed-vaulted bays. The vaults are now in ruins but two hundred years ago when de Bruyn saw the chapterhouse it was still intact.³² The central column has disappeared.

However seven of the eight richly-carved brackets which supported the *tas-de-charge* in the corners and at the centres of the walls have been

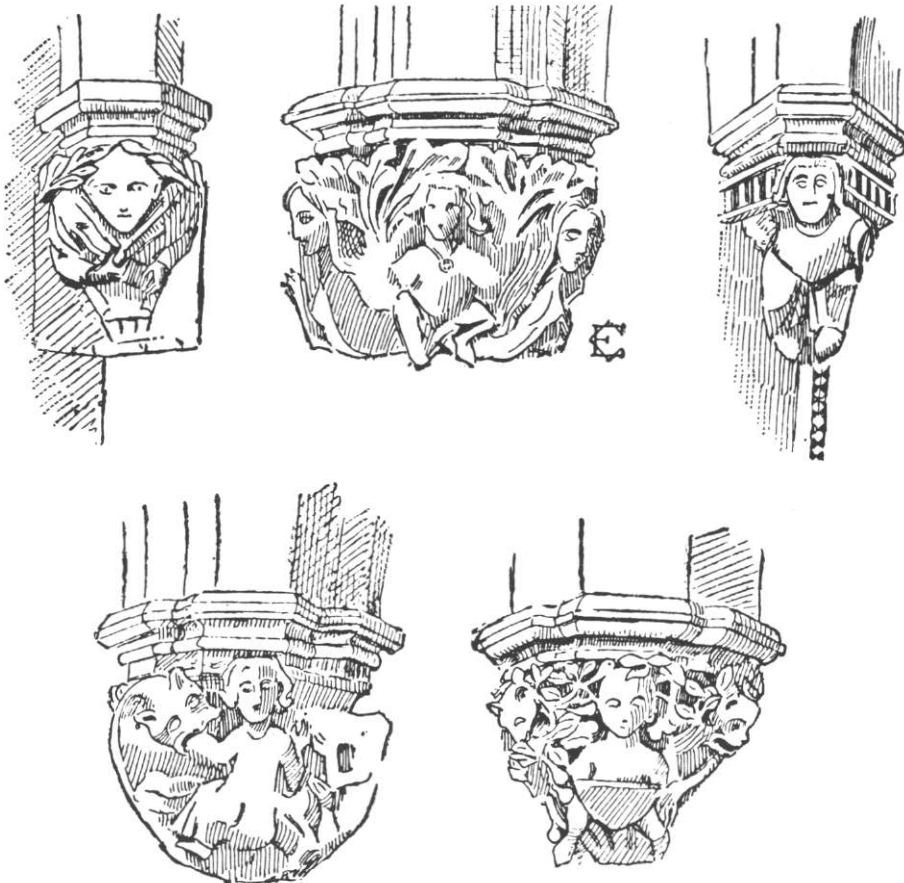


Fig. 138
Brackets in the chapter-
house.

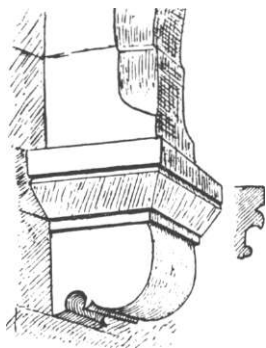


Fig. 139
Brackets in the warming-house.

preserved, as have the formerets, and the beginnings of the other arches. All have more or less the same profile as those in the cloisters. The brackets are carved with figurines (Fig. 138); starting in the north-east corner the subjects are:

- 1 A man carrying a double ladder on his shoulders.
- 2 A man (probably Ulysses) between two sirens whom he grasps with both hands; in the background luxuriant foliage.
- 3 A Cypriot woman reading.
- 4 A young man struggling with two wild beasts of which one is devouring one of his arms (possibly Daniel).
- 5 A Cypriot woman with one hand on the medallion hanging from her necklace.
- 6 A monkey and a cat climbing a pear tree; in front a man holding a shield, now blank.
- 7 A monk wearing a scapular.

These figurines, whose merit varies greatly but never rises above the second-rate, are certainly to be ascribed to the fourteenth century on stylistic grounds.

The large bracket now missing, the capital of the central column and the keystone bosses must have offered other peculiar motifs. The surviving examples are precious because very few specimens of sculpture in Cyprus have escaped the ravages of Turkish iconoclasts. I should add that all the figurines mentioned have been mutilated to some extent.

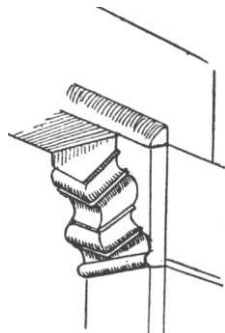


Fig. 140
Doorway of the warming-house.

GROUND-FLOOR ROOM OR WARMING-HOUSE

En suite with the chapterhouse was a large room which must have been the warming-house or work-room for the monks. It was reported to include a large fireplace, but I looked for it without success. Like those on the ground floor of Kyrenia and St. Hilarion Castles it had a barrel vault with the ribs supported on brackets surmounted by an abacus. The profile of the brackets is not an exact quadrant (Fig. 139) as are most examples in Cyprus but has a groove cut at the bottom, a very unusual design. Only one of the abacuses has mouldings, the others have remained merely blocked out and bevelled.

This five-bayed room had a door and small rectangular windows opening on the cloisters and the exterior. The doorway onto the cloisters has corbels of the Burgundian type (Fig. 140).

There was a door at the north end and above it a very pretty round window framed in toruses and grooves and divided by tracery into eight lobes. This northern door might have given access to a staircase or, more probably, to a wooden balcony because it opened straight onto a precipitous cliff. This side of the building is very difficult of access but the view

THE DORTER

is delightful, taking in the sea, Kyrenia Castle and town, the picturesque coastline and the mountains of Kantara.

10 THE DORTER

The first storey of the eastern building is entirely occupied by a single large room, the dorter (Fig. 141), which has seven vaulted bays. The

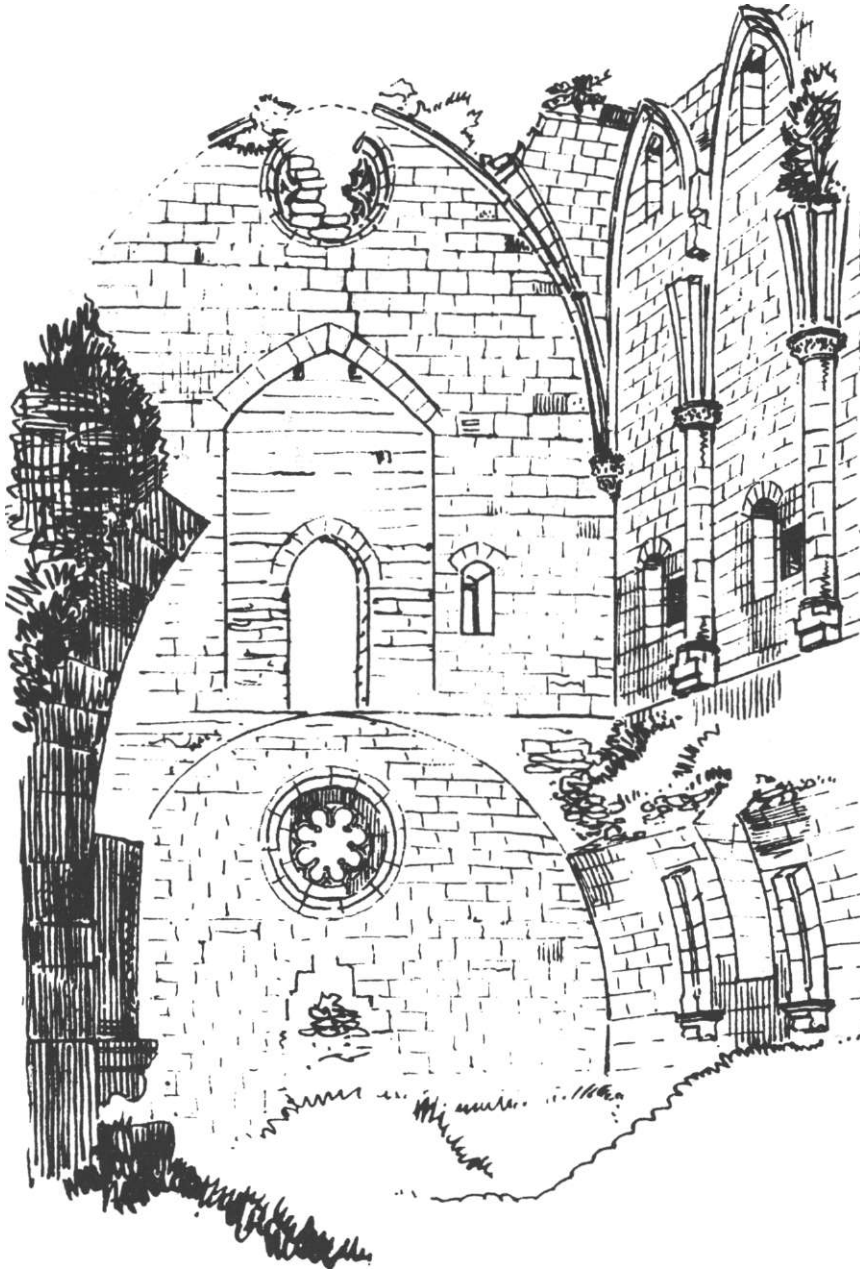


Fig. 141
Sketch of the north end
of the dorter.

33 vaulting is now in ruins but it appears that de Bruyn found it still intact
 op. cit., pp. 378-80. of seventeenth century.³³ The arches spring from demi-
 columns and, in the corners, from brackets in the shape of massive
 capitals resembling those of the columns. All these capitals are squat,
 octagonal and carved with bunches of leaves, perfectly regular, perhaps
 a little formalised, as in the cloisters and the refectory, but more ef-
 fective and of excellent workmanship. They are distinctly original and in
 this respect the bracket in the north-east corner, decorated with poppies



Fig. 142
 South gable of the
 dorter.

(Fig. 143) deserves special mention.

As elsewhere in the abbey the bases are composed of a single torus outlined with cavettos but the polygonal plinths beneath this elegant moulding give it an appropriate setting. The buttresses on the outside resemble those of the refectory.

In each bay at about breast height there is a window and a small wall-cupboard; each monk had at his bedhead somewhere to put his personal belongings and a fine outlook over the smiling countryside. Much higher up, in the lunettes of the vaults, other windows are pierced with pointed arches surrounded on the outside with a hood-mould. They gave sufficient light and so long as there was some kind of casement opening ventilation should have been adequate for comfort and health. The scheme is very similar to that at the infirmary at Ourscamps, called the *salle des morts*.

At the northern end the dorter was lit by a very large pointed window with mullions and tracery. Above it the wall was pierced by a small *oeil-de-boeuf* with an elegant fretwork tracery. A similar opening, but with no provision for glazing, formed a kind of strut across the space between the north-west corner of the dorter and the south-east corner of the refectory on the roof of the cloisters; this arch, resembling those in the cloisters, was designed as a sort of bridge to carry the staircase linking the roof of the refectory to the roof of the dorter. Outlined against the sky, it also had a fine decorative effect. The tracery was supported on brackets (Fig. 144). A railing formed a balustrade. The monks could rest their elbows on it and admire a splendid view from this corner of the roof of their monastery. It is likely that benches were provided at this spot.

In the south gable of the dorter a loggia or brattice and a small vaulted corridor built in the thickness of the wall (Fig. 142) gave access to the roof of the cloisters, to the staircase leading down into them and to the church. The ribs were supported on sculptured brackets of which only one remains, representing a naked woman struggling with a monster. The execution is feeble; the style is clearly of the fourteenth century. The vaulting ribs springing from this bracket were decorated with pierced cusps. Above the loggia there was a circular window opening at the top of the southern wall of the dorter.

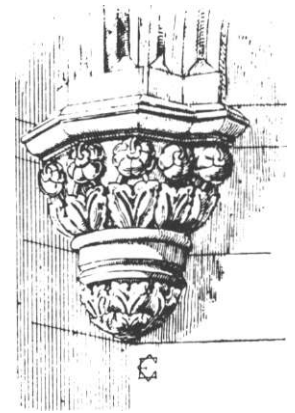


Fig. 143
Bracket in dorter.



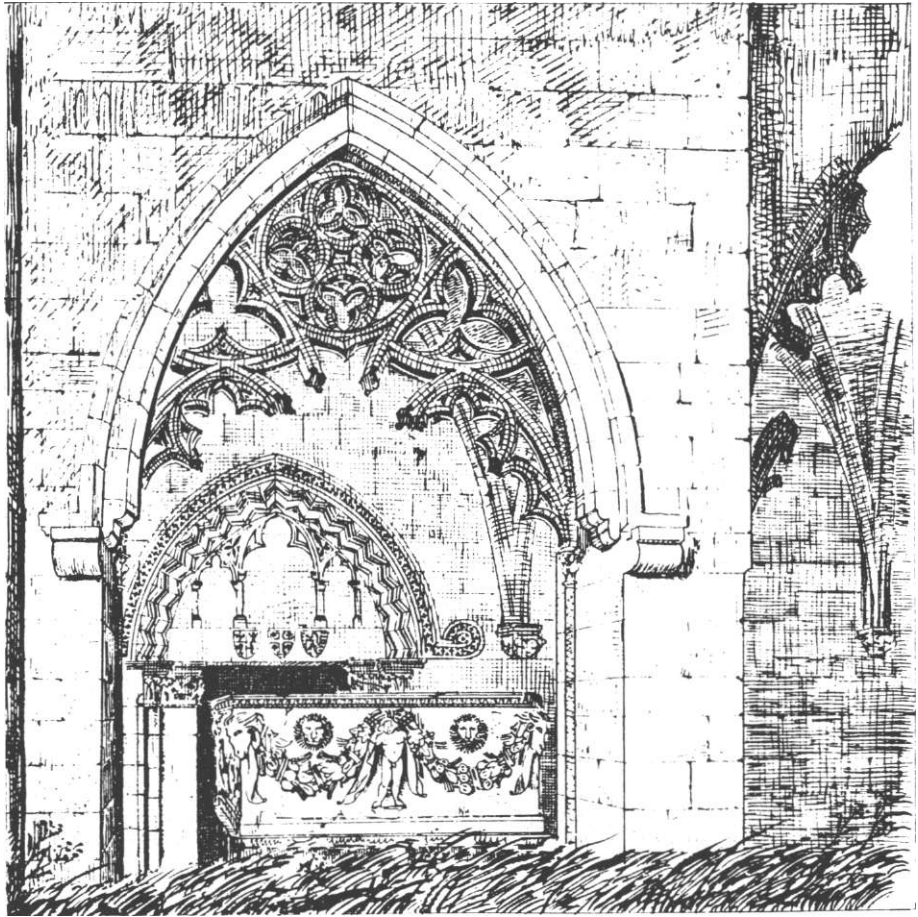
Fig. 144
Bracket from dorter window.

11

SURROUNDING WALLS AND ENTRANCE GATE

On the south, on the side where the mountain rises, there was a strongly-built enclosing wall; on the northern side the natural escarpment of the cliff on which the abbey is built was sufficient defence. On the west the entrance gateway was exactly opposite the doorway of the church. In

Fig. 145
Cloisters and doorway
to refectory.



the middle was a carriage entrance surmounted by a pointed arch and on either side two pedestrian entrances with lintels supported on sculptured corbels. On one of the gateways the corbels are carved with an eagle and an ox; the other is blocked but probably the corbels were carved with the symbols of the other two beasts in the Apocalypse, as on the refectory doorway. Above the main gate there are two slots which carried the beams of a lever-drawbridge; higher up is a machicoulis with corbels three courses deep cut in a quadrant shape. Access to the machicoulis was by two large straight staircases carried on flying buttresses supporting the wall which are braced with a semi-circular arch across the rear of the gateway on which is a small platform for the defenders. The gate-opening is framed with a pedimental-shaped moulding which is reminiscent of the St. John Gate at Rhodes.

Between this gateway and the kitchen at the north-west corner of the abbey were buildings, probably stables, abutting against the surrounding wall; an oblong courtyard separated them from the store-rooms built up against the cloisters.

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR CHURCHES OF KYRENIA DISTRICT

1

THE CHURCHES OF CHRYSOPOLITISSA AND ST. ELOI

Chrysopolitissa is a small Greek church of uncertain date and undistinguished architecture. It is T-shaped and unvaulted with a courtyard in front of the present entrance. Another doorway (Fig. 146), now walled-up, leading onto a narrow lane to the north of the church, is the only ancient and interesting feature. The entrance is small with a semi-circular arch surmounted by a projecting hood-mould whose profile is an adaptation of a Late Gothic one. There is a very clumsy floral finial at the apex and the hood-mould rests on two thick engaged columns which are also degenerate versions of Gothic types. Their capitals are octagonal, carved with two rows of foliage. Only one of the two bases is preserved; it is in appearance a very low octagonal capital, upside down, with a convex bell closely set with jagged leaves. The ornamentation of the upper capitals consists of an unusual but rather heavy design of bunches of berries or flower buds. The abacuses are low and consist of a single torus whose bulky profile is reduced by a fillet.

Though clearly inspired by French fourteenth-century models this is equally clearly a decadent work by some local artist of a later date, probably the fifteenth century.

A church with the good French dedication of St. Eloi is said to have existed in Kyrenia in 1374;¹ I have been unable to find any trace of it. There was also in Kyrenia in 1406 a chapel dedicated to Corpus Christi and a chapel of St. George-in-the-Castle. There was also a 'Prior of Kyrenia'.² In 1470 there was a church of St. Mark which had two belfries and another of St. Anthony.³

2

THE CHURCH OF ST. GLISTRA, TRIMITHI

The village of Trimithi is about two miles south-west of Kyrenia on the northern slope of the range which dominates the town and the Karmanian sea.

Fig. 146
Chrysopolitissa, Kyrenia.





Fig. 147
Capital from church at
Trimithi.

We know from history that Theobald Belfarage, the favourite of King Peter II, who was executed in 1376 in expiation of his crimes and his insatiable ambition, had shortly beforehand been presented by the King with a seigneurial fief known as Trimithissa.⁴ This name is borne by at least two villages in Cyprus, and might well have been given to other places also planted with terebinth-trees (Trimithos), but Theobald's fief might well have been not Trimithissa, as Count de Mas Latrie thought, but Trimithi. Here, above the old Byzantine village church, there is another, dedicated to St. Glistra, of more careful construction and dating apparently from the end of the Gothic period. It has been long abandoned and seems never to have been finished. Could this have been founded by Peter II's wealthy and powerful favourite and could it have been his untimely death that halted the construction? The hypothesis is not very probable: the church looks later in date and it is more likely that it was the invasion of 1426 that interrupted the work. Be that as it may, the building is not lacking in interest because it is to be ascribed to that local school of architecture which tried to blend the Byzantine and Gothic styles and whose masterpiece is the church at Morphou.

The church at Trimithi is small. Externally it takes the form of a cubic block in fine ashlar masonry with an apse and two absidioles at the east end, two doorways to west and north and a solitary window in the south side opposite the north doorway. Internally it is divided into three naves by two rows of three columns. It is not possible to determine how it was vaulted, though a barrel vault seems most likely.

Each of the three apses has a small window with a simulated semi-circular arch; the doorways have the same shape; the window is pointed and is framed with a set of slender mouldings in the Italian Renaissance style.

The columns stand on plinths with rounded corners, for capitals they have only heavy and thick square abacuses (Fig. 147), with a profile that could be taken for Gothic, but nothing to link them with the cylindrical shaft. The corbels of the doorways also have what could be a Gothic profile.

This small church resembles the churches at Morphou and St. Sozomenos; it might perhaps be a little later in date.

1
Bustron, p. 331 ;
Machaeras, p. 293, calls it
'St. Eunomène.'

3

THE AKHIROIPTOS MONASTERY

Mas Latrie, *Nouv. preuves*.
No. xxiii.

Bustron, pp. 244, 317.

Amadi, p. 482 ; Strambaldi,
p. 259.

The Greek monastery of the Virgin 'made without human hand' was built in honour of one of the numerous Byzantine icons supposed to be of miraculous origin. It lies right on the seashore on a small promontory below Lapithos, a large village not far from Kyrenia. A fair is held there each year on the 15th August. It was already popular in 1473 when supporters of Queen Charlotte attempted to take advantage of the fact that

THE AKHIROPIITOS MONASTERY

the people of Kyrenia had gone to Akhiropiitos for the fair to seize Kyrenia Castle. The authorities arrested the conspirators and interrogated them under torture, in which the Bishop of Limassol played a particularly odious part; they were later taken from Kyrenia to Famagusta and quartered.⁵

That is all that is related about the history of Akhiropiitos, which must nevertheless have been full of interest. On the site now occupied by the monastery there were ancient buildings whose remains include a rock-hewn chamber, several fine column-shafts in cipollino marble, a small Corinthian capital in white marble and other fragments. They come from an outlying part of the ancient city of Larnaca tis Lapithou, the situation of which has been established from an inscription and from numerous finds in the neighbourhood.

On the edge of the sea to the east of the monastery and only a short distance away is a broken stretch of wall, eroded by spray and still further dilapidated by the hand of man, called *franko iklichia*, i.e. 'Frankish church'. Though unknown to history this was probably the parish church of the French residents of Lapithos; no doubt mass was celebrated there for Latin pilgrims on the day of the festival. When the Latins had all gone the Greek monks demolished the poor church to repair and enlarge their monastery. They were so thorough that only a small bit of wall with a window in it is left and all that can be said, since both the wall and the window-frame have been robbed of all their ornamentation, is that the building was in fine ashlar masonry. It is likely, also, that it was not without influence on the builders of the adjoining monastery which is partly Gothic.

Between the Frankish church and the monastery is a second church, practically abandoned; services are only held there on the 15th August. This was the one used by the Greek pilgrims, corresponding to the one used by the Latin pilgrims. It is a handsome Byzantine building with a dome on a drum; its barrel vault is supported on big lateral arches whose columns are made of marble with antique shafts carved with Greek crosses in relief.

The monastery itself forms an extensive rectangle containing a large central courtyard surrounded by a rather handsome two-storeyed cloister. In the centre is the Byzantine church with augmentations in the Gothic style. The main buildings are also to some extent inspired by the same style. The long external frontage on the north side, facing the sea, has buttresses, a pointed doorway with a hood-mould and, on the ground floor, a set of small windows with lintels supported on moulded corbels which would be quite in place on a French building of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. In fact it dates without doubt from the fifteenth. The second storey is modern. The north-west corner of this side rests on a rock hollowed out into a cave containing a beautiful spring of fresh water; here the final ripples of the surf die out beneath the vaulted roof

⁵ Bustron, p. 437.

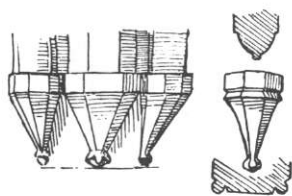


Fig. 148
Details from the narthex,
Akhiropiitos.

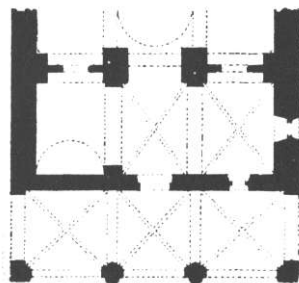


Fig. 149
Porch and the narthex.

of the cave, hung with maidenhair fern.

The monastery church is a Byzantine building resembling the churches at Yialousa, Yeroskipos and St. Lazarus at Larnaca. Its original plan was a Greek cross with a dome on a cylindrical drum covering the intersection and similar domes over the choir and the western arm. The most interesting feature is the pavement in the sanctuary made out of small inlaid triangular pieces of black and yellow marble, it is closely comparable with inlaid pavements of the fourteenth century made in Italy of pieces of marble and glass paste and in France of small square tiles coloured black, yellow, green and red.

The narthex and porch are both in the Gothic style (Fig. 149). They take the shape of two galleries of equal height and width at right angles to the axis of the building. Each is divided into three bays all with ribbed vaults except for the southern bay of the narthex, which is still Byzantine. The ribs and transverse arches of the narthex are carried on brackets (Fig. 148) of the inverted pyramid type which originated in Burgundy and was popularised by the Cistercians. The profile of the ribbing is a slender torus with a fillet running down the spine and continued on a dossier (ib.). The keystone bosses are circular medallions surrounded by a fillet moulding. The transverse arches, slightly thicker, have a bead moulding on the corners (ib.).

In the porch the arches, which are rather more substantial, have two beads added to the main torus; the ribs have a square ribbon moulding at the base and another above decorated with beads on the corners, the three obtuse pointed arches at the west end have the same profile, as do the two side arches at either end. The springs of the vaults on the walls of the narthex are supported on groups of large consoles with a talon profile. On the exterior groups of three colonnettes are attached to square piers which are supported on the outside by two semi-cylindrical buttresses like those of St. Cecilia at Albi and two square angle-buttresses with colonnettes carved on the corners. The round buttresses have a setback halfway up. The cornice, with a talon profile, forms abacuses on the tops of the buttresses. The colonnettes on the inside of the porch have polygonal capitals carved with leaves rather like vine leaves, the point downwards. The bases take the form of a simple torus, clumsily executed.

The porch leads into the narthex through a pointed doorway with a Renaissance style frame, apparently reworked. A toric string-course decorated with vine-leaf scrolls runs round it and undoubtedly belongs to the original construction. It rests on brackets shaped like half a pear inverted, carved with spiral gadroons. This moulding is like those on the doorway of St. George of the Latins at Nicosia and the tomb of St. Mammas at Morphou.

Inside the porch, in the middle of the pavement of the central bay, there is a fine tombstone in the Italian style of the fifteenth and six-

Emile Deschamps, *Quinze mois à l'île de Chypre*, in *Tour du monde*, 1897, p. 474.

L'île de Chypre, p. 393.

PANAYIA ABSINTHIOTISSA

teenth centuries. The design on it is better executed than might be thought from the published sketch.⁶ Although it is made from a hard, black, fine-grained stone it has been so worn by the footsteps of the congregation that it is impossible to read the inscription; but it is likely that it was the tomb of Alexander Flatros who died in 1563 and whose epitaph has been published by Count de Mas Latrie.⁷ If so he was no doubt the benefactor who paid for the building of the porch and the narthex; this is confirmed by the place of honour that his tomb has been given and on stylistic grounds the date fits, because porch and narthex certainly appear to be of the sixteenth century. On this assumption they would then belong to the period of Venetian rule, and this is precisely the epoch which saw the thorough blending of Greek, Latin, French and Italian elements.

4

PANAYIA ABSINTHIOTISSA

Absinthiotissa is a ruined church hidden away on the mountain between Bellapais and St. Chrysostom, at about the same distance from these two monasteries. It belongs to the latter, which has entirely neglected to maintain it but enjoys the revenues that have belonged to this small Greek foundation since an earlier period. Its history is almost unknown but it can probably be identified with the abbey mentioned by Le Quien

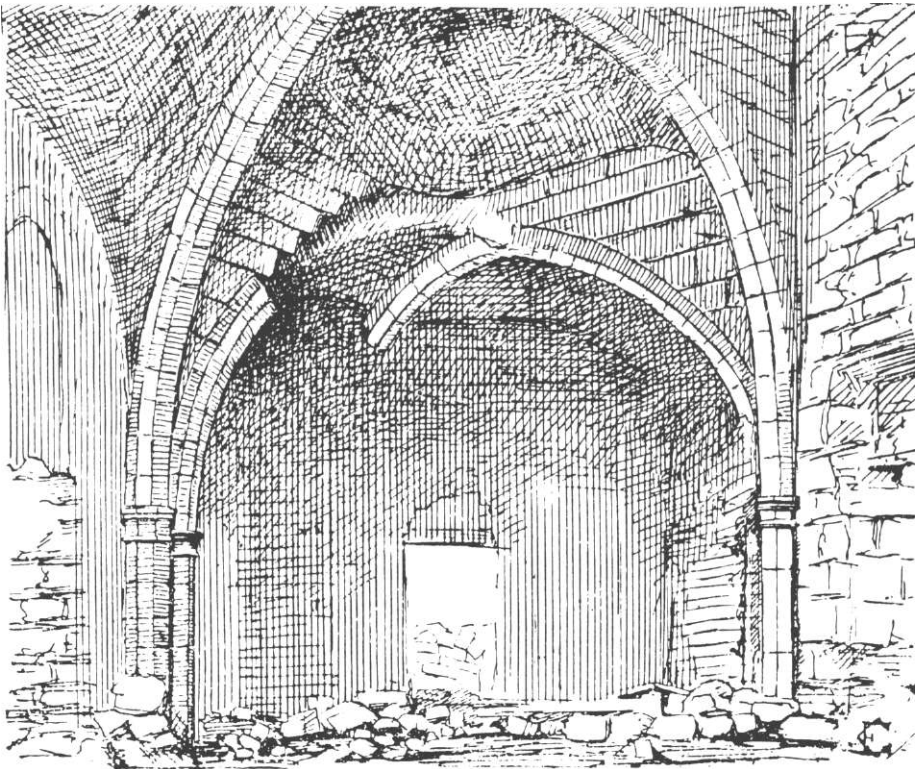


Fig. 150
Narthex, Absinthio-
tissa.

under the name of Abscithia.*

It used to be rather a pretty monastery. In the centre of the enclosure was a Byzantine church with an apse flanked by two apsidal chapels built into the thickness of the masonry walls, a big central dome and an extensive narthex with apses at the north and south ends. A sixteenth-century tombstone with a carved relief of a Greek lady of distinction is still to be seen.

An accident caused either by lack of maintenance or possibly by an earthquake has brought down the central dome and shattered the vaulting of the narthex. Afterwards the church was shored up and repaired in a rather strange fashion which suggests that the architect whom the Greek monks called in was a Frenchman. Piers and revetments were added at various points both inside and out. The domes of the nave appear to have been replaced by two ribbed vaults which have now disappeared. In the narthex (Fig. 150) the barrel vault was held up by two ribbed vaults which still survive and to support them small polygonal pillars or columns of different heights were erected against the walls. The profiles of the ribs are simply cut straight, with chamfered edges, and their supports are of the same size and the same profile. Their capitals, slightly convex, are similar; the tall uncarved bells are crowned by very shallow abacuses. The style of construction is typically south French of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, very like that of Montpellier Cathedral, for example; but an even more striking parallel to these vaults and their supports is to be found in the ground floor chamber, called the Black Prince's chamber, in the former castle, now the Town Hall, at Montauban, which dates from 1369.⁹ Consequently the most likely date for this restoration is the end of the fourteenth century which was precisely the time at which the two styles, Byzantine and Gothic, began to blend in Cyprus following a tendency which had begun among the two populations. At Absinthiotissa, however, we have juxtaposition rather than fusion.

Oriens Christianus, vol. II, p. 1074. It was also known as Psinthia.

9

See Devais senior, *Notice sur l'hôtel de ville de Montauban* in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 1869.

In the ruins of the sanctuary can be seen a curious grave slab with a carved representation of a lady of the Venetian period. Unfortunately the Greek inscription which runs round it has been so badly defaced that neither the name nor the date can be read.

10

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 84 v°. (Ed. note.) The text reads 'la mère de mon père'.

5

MONASTERY OF THE ANNUNCIATION ANTIPHONITIS

11

Chorographia, fol. 79.

Not far from Kantara Castle and Bellapais Abbey, south-east of the large village of Ayios Amvrosios, the church of the Annunciation, Antiphonitis, occupies a picturesque sheltered site below a fold of the mountain.

12

L'île de Chypre (Didot, Paris, 1879), p. 404.

The church has been almost abandoned and is visited only by pilgrims.

Its history would be wholly obscure, like that of the neighbouring Karpas, a district forsaken by any form of civilisation since ancient times, had it not revived some family memories in the mind of Father Stephen Lusignan. *Antifoniti* was a fief that had belonged to his family; his maternal grandmother, Isabella Perez Fabricius, founded the monastery of *Antifonite*¹⁰ and his brother John, whose name in religion was Brother Hilarion, had died there.¹¹ Count de Mas Latrie,¹² after having quoted the text of his remarks, correctly adds: 'This in my opinion is the abbey of Antiphonitis, which lies on the slopes of the Cythera mountains (sic: the Kyrenia range is presumably intended), in sight of the sea, between Akanthou and Kyrenia; but there is no longer a village of that name.'

In spite of there being no village I think Antiphonitis church can be taken to be the abbey church. It is a Byzantine building enlarged and embellished in a later Gothic style which suits well with the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Father Stephen Lusignan's grandmother was alive. It consists of an apse, a large dome supported on four round pillars resembling those in St. Philibert at Tournus, a narthex which has only side entrances because the ground falls away steeply to the west, and a porch which stretches along the whole of the south side.

The porch is Gothic and the narthex is under Gothic influence; the rest of the church, and its many mural paintings, are in the Byzantine style. Particularly noteworthy among the paintings is a handsome, over-life-size St. Catherine with evident traces of Renaissance influence. The gilded wooden iconostasis is a superb example of the style which was common to Venice and the Christian Levant during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

I shall restrict myself to the Gothic architectural features of this building, beginning with the narthex, which is barrel-vaulted and communicates with the church through three pointed arches supported on square pillars with impostes. The corners of the pillars are carved with bead mouldings which end in semi-circular *congés*.

The south porch is a later addition, of the fifteenth century; it is also later than the narthex as is proved by the masonry not being bonded in. The only purely Gothic part of the building, it is constructed in a medium-grained limestone of a warm yellowish-grey tone. The masonry is remarkably fine. Instead of a vault it has a flat roof of wood and clay like those in use today in Cyprus. It is amply lit by seven pointed arches, five on the south side and one at each end. The corners are in solid masonry with engaged columns but on the south front, in contrast, the arches are separated by free-standing columns (Fig. 151). Originally there was a stone balustrade between the column-bases and traces of its beginnings survive. On the west side, where the ground falls away, this balustrade rested on a low wall with openwork masonry topped by a coping with a talon moulding. A delicate moulding interrupted by *congés*

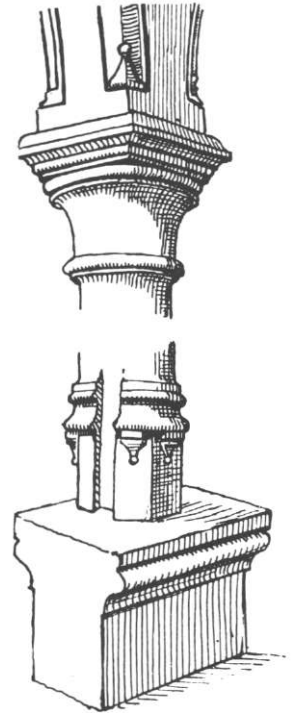


Fig. 151
Detail from the
Antiphonitis.



Fig. 152
Painting from Ayios
Chrysostomos.

forms the angle profile of each of the arches. The latter rest on square abacuses of a late Gothic type on top of the round, slightly concave bells of the capitals. The bells are plain, as in the churches of Famagusta, and their profile is pure and delicate. The astragal has a narrow angular moulding above a fillet and a cavetto. The bases are in a very fine style. Their upper set of mouldings is angular and joined by a broad, shallow and shapely curve to a lower torus moulding which is flattened and projecting, the projections being supported on small pyramidal brackets with a ball at the apex. Taken as a whole, the proportions are well-conceived and the execution delicate.

A small colonnette on a bracket supports the spring of the outside arches at each corner of the church. Another slender colonnette is carved on each of the two outside corners of the porch.

This porch is perhaps the most elegant production of the fifteenth century in Cyprus. Its architecture is notably more refined and better proportioned than anything that can be shown by either the buildings of Rhodes or those of Nicosia and Famagusta during the last century of Frankish domination.

6

THE MONASTERY OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM

This Greek monastery, built at the foot of the mountain on which stands Buffavento Castle, has nothing Gothic about it. I must however take some notice of an unusual painting of historical interest in a ruined Byzantine church there. It represents St. George on horseback and the donor has had himself added to the picture, seated behind the Saint and much reduced in size (Fig. 152). He holds in his hand a ewer in painted earthenware and carries over his arm an embroidered napkin or towel. These insignia, so proudly displayed, are those of a chamberlain. The costume, a pink doublet, white breeches intricately embroidered in purple and pointed shoes, would seem to indicate the fifteenth century. The head has been defaced.¹³

13

(Ed. note.) Enlart is in error in supposing that the small figure sitting behind St. George represents the donor. A servant with a jug (or coffee-pot) and a napkin is frequent in icons of St. George; this is the earliest example in Cyprus.

For an account of the legend which purports to account for the pillion-rider, and a photograph, see

Andreas and Judith Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Tri-graph, London, 1985), p. 467. The authors there date the painting to 'the late twelfth or early thirteenth century', adding that it is in bad condition.

THE MONASTERY OF MELANDRYNA

The Greek monastery of Melandryna in the eastern part of Kyrenia District has preserved a medieval church standing by itself in the middle of a courtyard surrounded by buildings. It has a nave roofed with a pointed barrel vault, a small arcaded belfry whose pointed opening is crowned by a pediment and on the interior walls some remains of paint-

THE MONASTERY OF MELANDRYNA

ings in the Italian Gothic style. Ponderous flying buttresses have been added to the building after its construction, which could hardly have been earlier than the fourteenth century and more probably was in the fifteenth. It resembles the chapel at Pyrga in Larnaca District which is dated 1421.

I

I

CHAPTER IX

TOPOGRAPHY OF FAMAGUSTA

Vanished Churches

Genoese notarial records of the year 1300 show a terrifying mortality rate among Europeans; in 1360 there was a dreadful plague; later Nicholas of Martoni expresses horror at having to live in so unhealthy a place; later still Don Peter Tafur, Catherine Cornaro, all the Venetian *proweditori*, Pierre Mésenge and several other pilgrims complain about the climate and hardly any of the accounts of pilgrimage fail to record someone who fell victim to the unhealthiness of the city. St. Peter Thomas and the infant King James III died of it and so perhaps did James the Bastard.

The city of Famagusta is situated at the east end of the Mesaoria, the great central plain of Cyprus, and at the head of a semi-circular bay between the Karpas peninsula and Cape Greco which give some shelter to the roadstead, the only good anchorage in the island. It took the place of Salamis, the ruins of which are a short distance away to the north; to the south lies the suburb of Varosha which has grown in size in proportion to the progressive depopulation of Famagusta itself.

From the fourteenth century right down to the present day all the evidence is unanimous in condemning Famagusta as unhealthy.¹ The surrounding countryside has a barren soil, good only for wild-fowl, the collection of salt and the manufacture of earthenware water-coolers. Nevertheless the city has long been prosperous because it has an excellent harbour, in fact the only real harbour in Cyprus. Richard the Lionheart disembarked there in 1191 when he took the offensive against Isaac Comnenos² and so did Henry I in 1232, when he reconquered his kingdom from Frederick II.³ In 1373 the Genoese fleet, in 1478 the Venetian fleet and in 1570, alas for Cyprus, the Turkish fleet found good anchorage there.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Famagusta was of little importance. It could boast a fortified tower,⁴ a Latin bishop's seat, a Greek place of pilgrimage in honour of St. Epiphanius, a former bishop of Salamis,⁵ and, not far away, the famous tomb of St. Barnabas the Apostle. The church of St. Barnabas is a Byzantine domed building so closely similar to St. Front at Périgueux that if it could be proved to be earlier there would be a high probability that the introduction of Byzantine art into Périgord was due to some pilgrim who had taken notes at St. Barnabas.⁶

It was after the loss of Acre in 1291 that the city of Famagusta rose to great importance because it was the obligatory *entrepot* for all com-

2 Amadi, p. 80.

3 *Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 105; Amadi, p. 163; Bustron, p. 93.

4 *Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 105.

5 Willibrand of Oldenburg, pp. 143-4.

VANISHED CHURCHES

mercial transactions between west and east. In 1300 almost all the churches, and the fortifications as well, were still in process of construction. They show the influence of Provence and Champagne and thus corroborate the documentary evidence for close connections between Cyprus and the fairs of Champagne⁹ and of southern France.⁸

The wealth of Famagusta was proverbial between 1300 and 1370. John of Verona⁹ speaks of it in 1335 and describes the lavish pomp of local ceremonies, such as a funeral with mourners and a wedding procession in which the bride rode on horseback surrounded by forty candles. In 1350 Ludolf of Sudheim¹⁰ was astonished by another bride whose ornaments were richer than those of all the brides of France put together. Both these pilgrims comment on, and are scandalised by, the wealth and display of the courtesans of Famagusta. But the outstanding example of riches ostentatiously flaunted was afforded by the Lachas brothers, Nestorian merchants from Syria. When they entertained King Peter I in their palace the two brothers went to ridiculous lengths to display that parvenu splendour with which the rich merchants of Famagusta used to dazzle all the travellers who came there. Precious stones were laid out on plates, the gentlemen of the royal court showing no scruples about picking up a few keepsakes; huge armfuls of aloe-wood blazed in all the fireplaces; even the kitchen stove was filled with the same aromatic firewood, which must have given a wonderful taste to the food. On another occasion one of the Lachas paid a huge sum for a carbuncle which he proceeded to grind down in a mortar; once he presented the King with 30,000 ducats. In the end they were ruined when the Genoese sacked Famagusta in 1373 and took from them everything they had, amounting to two million ducats.¹¹

Among the merchants of Famagusta at that time there were Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Italians, Provençals and Armenians. The Syrians were predominant,¹² and after them the Genoese. 'But since the death of King Peter (1369)' says Machaeras 'a malignant devil has become jealous of Famagusta.'¹³ In 1372 this devil chose as his instrument St. Bridget of Sweden who decided that it was her duty to come to Cyprus to give good advice to the royal family and to preach to the people of Famagusta in the main square.¹⁴

In 1373 the Genoese took the city by surprise and by treachery and sacked it thoroughly, committing the most abominable cruelties. The children of the Lachas brothers were reduced to poverty.¹⁵ Famagusta remained in Genoese hands until 1464, in spite of numerous attempts to recapture it by the kings of Cyprus. Under Genoa the city declined. Nicholas of Martoni¹⁶ in 1395 and Don Peter Tafur¹⁷ in 1435-1439 speak of the depths to which it had fallen.

James the Bastard, who had reconquered it, liked to live there and was able to restore its prosperity to some extent. Catherine Cornaro was forced to live in Famagusta by the Venetians but after her son James III

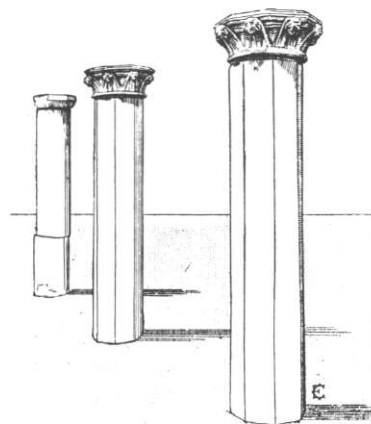


Fig. 153
Marble columns, late thirteenth century, now in Famagusta prison.

St. Barnabas has only two central domes but the pillars, arches, pendentives, drums and domes are exactly similar to those at St. Front. The church at Yeroskipos, near Paphos, where pilgrims also landed, has fine domes on drums, just like St. Front.

See F. Bourquelot, *Les foires de Champagne*, p. 204.

Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, II, 24, 208, 219, 233, 250, 268; III, 728.

Liber peregrinationis Fr. Joannis de Verona, publ. by Reinhold Röhrich in *Rev. del'Or. lat.*, 1895, pp. 177-8.

10
De itinere Terre Sancte, publ. by Dr. G.A. Naumann in *Arch. de l'Or. lat.*, vol II, part II, p. 336.

died there she left it for Nicosia.¹⁸ The Venetians made great efforts to restore it and to put it in a state of defence. In 1507 the pilgrim Pierre Mésenge, a canon of Rouen,¹⁹ says that Famagusta 'has a fine harbour, but for as much as the said harbour has long been in ruins, and is still not well restored, ships cannot use it.' He adds that this 'beautiful city' is 'very poor, and but few merchants live there; it is almost all inhabited by poor farm-labourers whom the above-mentioned soldiers (a thousand men in garrison) hold in great subjection'; the churches are 'very poor and ill-appointed'; pilgrims seem to have found no hostelry there but lodged with 'one of the soldiers of the city, a native of Orleans.' Mésenge refers to the massive rebuilding carried out by the Venetians but, apart from the unhealthiness of the place, the works were hindered by storms and earthquakes in 1546²⁰ and 1568.²¹ After the Venetian occupation the monasteries were converted into barracks. In 1490, in response to a petition by the inhabitants,²² the Doge Barbarigo ordered these buildings to be repaired and the churches evacuated.

In 1570-1571 Famagusta was the last stronghold in Cyprus that held out against the Turks. It resisted a siege of thirteen months, and a terrible bombardment, until at last the commander, Marco Bragadin, obtained an honourable capitulation from Mustafa Pasha, who immediately violated it. After tortures of every kind Bragadin was flayed alive, his lieutenant, Tiepolo, was hanged and the inhabitants either massacred or reduced to slavery. In the seventeenth century Famagusta was practically deserted. The Turks used to sell the materials of the houses; when one of the Pashas forbade them to sell the stones they satisfied themselves with carrying off the timbers²³ until the time when the construction of Port Said, Larnaca and the Suez canal brought a new demand for materials from the quarry that Famagusta had become.

Under the Turkish régime Christians were not permitted to live in Famagusta; they were only allowed to enter it on foot, and even so it was difficult to get permission. The British régime has cancelled this prohibition; I owe a personal debt of gratitude for the valuable and effective protection of the British authorities.

From whichever direction one approaches it Famagusta can be seen from a long way off. The graceful outlines of its towers, either silhouetted against the sea or reflected in it as they rise from behind the still intact circuit of the walls, give the impression of a completely European city, still flourishing; but once inside there is nothing to be seen but a mass of ruins. In the middle of them is the cathedral, now used as a mosque; other churches, the citadel and the ruins of the palace are also still in use. I have counted thirty churches or chapels, in which number I include some whose remains are scarcely recognisable. Apart from the palace and the French and Greek cathedrals the names of the ancient buildings have been forgotten. I have been successful in restoring their proper identity to some of them, basing myself on various pieces of

11
Machaeras, pp. 48-52;
Bustron, p. 258; Strambaldi,
p. 187. The inventories of
property, and the legacies of
Famagustans recorded in
1300-1301 bear witness to
their wealth; see Desimoni,
*Actes génois de Fama-
gouste. Rev. de l'Or, lat.,*
1896.

12
Machaeras, p. 84.

13
ib., p. 48. Philip of
Mézières enumerates Latins,
Greeks, Armenians,
Nestorians, Jacobites,
Georgians, Indians, Ethio-
pians, Turks and Jews
(*Vita B. Petri Thomasii.*
Acta Sancto. Jan. II,
1006-1007).

14
Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*,
fol. 147 v° and 148; cf. his
Révélations at the beginning
of the story of Calepio, at
the end of the same work.
See also F.J.M.A. Partridge,
The Life of St. Bridget
(Burns, London, 1888),
p. 252 and Mariti, vol. I,
ch. XII, p. 149. On the vices
of the Famagustans see
Machaeras, p. 231 and p. 267.

15
Machaeras, p. 52.

16
p. 628.

17
p. 66.

18
Mas Latrie, *Documents*
nouveaux, pp. 461, 464
et sq.

evidence and in particular on the precious and extremely rare engraving of the siege of Famagusta (see plan No. 3) published at Venice in 1571 by Stefano Gibellino which is plainly derived from a drawing by one of the survivors of the siege.²⁴

The immediately following plan (see plan No. 4) has been based on one which the British administration very kindly made available to me,²⁵ supplemented by some personal observations. I shall describe, briefly, the topography of the city, following this plan and the engraving of 1571, before giving a summary account of the buildings which I have been unable to identify.

The city of Famagusta stretches from north to south with the sea on its east side. The harbour extends along most of its length. It is formed by a ring of reefs connected by dikes; on the rocky islets which act as a natural breakwater for the harbour there used to be a spring of fresh water (31), the gallows (30) and, at the end of the dike, opposite the citadel, a tower which was linked to the citadel by a chain and which, in conjunction with it, defended the very narrow entrance to the harbour. In the outer roadstead there are good anchorages to north and east.

The city has only two gates, the Limassol gate (28) on the south and the sea gate on the east. There used to be one called *porta di Cava*, mentioned in 1373,²⁶ which may have been either the Seagate or agate on the north side looking towards the Karpas which was also called Capo or Cavo.

Entering by the Limassol gate (*Porta di Limisso*) one had on one's right the quarter of the mint (29), called *la zeccha* in Genoese records of 1300-1301 and *zueccha* on Gibellino's engraving and, at a lower level, the arsenal (27 on the plan, 12 on the engraving).

The Greek quarter is between the arsenal and the mint. The churches there are Byzantine, for instance a chapel called *Ayia Zone* (the Holy Cincture) decorated with a large painting of St. Michael (20) and a pair of twin chapels under the legend *Haia Nichola* (21). The Greek quarter extended to the Greek cathedral of St. George (2 on both plan and engraving). Churches 14 and 15 are small buildings in an excellent Gothic style which I have been unable to identify. The one numbered 19 is called, in the Turkish legend to the plan, *Mustafa Pasha Tamissi* which merely means that it was once used as a coffee-roasting establishment (*tamiss* = a coffee roaster). It is in a debased style and is no doubt the one of the three churches that Gibellino marks with the name *S.Bar....*

In a street leading from the quarter of the mint to the centre of the town there are the frontages of two churches, one (18) more or less Byzantine with a Gothic doorway, the other (17) in a rather mongrelised Gothic. I have been unable to identify them and they are not marked on Gibellino's engraving; he concentrates on the churches in the northern part of the city for two reasons: because they are more conspicuous in the engraving and because they were Latin churches.



Fig. 154
Famagusta, marble capital, thirteenth or fourteenth century, formerly a Roman base (provenance unknown).

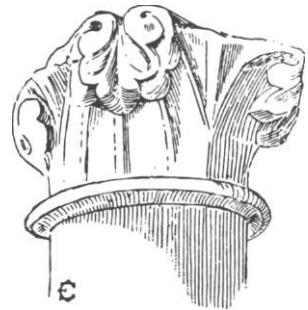


Fig. 155
Famagusta, marble capital, thirteenth or fourteenth century (provenance unknown).

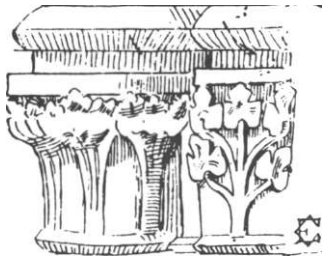


Fig. 156
Famagusta, fourteenth
century (provenance
unknown).

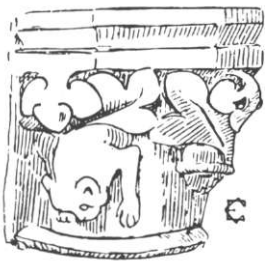


Fig. 157
Famagusta, fourteenth or
fifteenth century
(provenance unknown).

In the centre of the city is the royal palace²⁷ (22) with on one side the great church of SS. Peter and Paul (*Haia Nicholas* in the Turkish legend) (3) and on the other the church and monastery of the Friars Minor (4). In Gibellino's engraving the former (8 *S. Pietro e Paulo*) is quite in the wrong place and the latter omitted. In front of the palace was the great square market place that Nicholas of Martoni admired. The west end of the Latin cathedral (1 in the plan and the engraving) was on one side facing the façade of the palace on the other. Three main streets debouch from the square. One runs along the side of the palace as far as SS. Peter and Paul; this must be the covered way (the *ruga coberta* of the Genoese records) in which were the principal shops;²⁸ it still forms a small porticoed bazaar. The second, wider and straighter, led to the sea gate and the wharves (*molo*), running alongside the bishop's palace (Ibis) with its shops. Gibellino marks this street as a *piazza*, from which I deduce that it was used as a market. In it, near the sea gate, were water cisterns like those in Candia (Heraklion) on the left of the street and on the right an unidentified Gothic building (24), with next to it St. Anthony (16; Gibellino's 3) which was a hospital often mentioned in official documents.

Going from the sea gate to the citadel one arrives at the church of St. George of the Latins (5) called *Mekhti Klissa* in the Turkish text which I identify on the sole basis of Gibellino's designation: (4) *S. Giorg. Lat.* It is perhaps the finest and oldest Gothic building in the city but there is no information about it. Further on one comes to the shooting range (54) which is Gibellino's 13: *loco di trar al palio*.

The citadel quarter contains several ruined churches, late Byzantine with a mixture of Gothic forms; only one of them (13), badly ruined, looks as though it might have been of French construction but if so it was a poor specimen. The Turkish legend calls it *Haia Fotu-*, it is almost on the spot where Gibellino marks his number 5, St. Dominic. *Haia Fotu* would suggest St. Clare and as matter of fact there was a convent of Poor Clares in Famagusta in 1340; moreover the simplicity of the order would fit well with the simplicity of the church, and both with the lack of evidence, whereas to identify this church with St. Dominic's would not fit the texts which show that, as at Nicosia, it was an important church. No doubt it has completely vanished.

If, starting from the square one takes the third main street which runs, beneath the chevet of St. Francis, in a north-westerly direction, one comes across a strange pair of twin chapels (12). Since one of them bears the arms of the Hospital on the lintel over its doorway, I infer that it belonged to the Knights of Rhodes. Arguing further from the fact that in 1308 the Hospital took over the possessions of the Templars, and that the chapel with their arms is of the fourteenth century whereas the other is older, I think I can suggest that these churches and some of the ruins around them can be identified with the house of the Templars and their

VANISHED CHURCHES

Voûte, which are often mentioned in the public records of 1300.

To the west of this chapel is a church of some importance (8) called in the Turkish legend *Haia Yorgis Yorinos* and by the Greeks *Ayios Georgios Xorinos*; it is certainly the Syrian church since all the inscriptions on the wall-paintings are in the Syriac script. We know that the Nestorian church in Famagusta was an important one, built about 1360 at the expense of the Lachas brothers. The date and the importance of the church are confirmed by the appearance of the building which is in the Provençal Gothic style; the paintings are Byzantine and Italian.

A little to the north-west of this church is another, a much more elegant one, of about the same date and in a similar style (7). Gibellino gives the name of *S. Anna* (7) to one of these churches and there can hardly be any doubt that it is the second, not only because he devoted little attention to non-Latin churches but also because there is a wall-painting in it with the inscription '*in honorem Sancte An_____*' Near it and to the north-west is a well and a charming small chapel, no doubt a dependency of the same convent. We have no historical information at all about the church of St. Anne but from the Turkish text (*maronit klisse*) it appears to have been the Maronite church.

Further down the street to the north-west there is, first, a medium-sized church (11) which is unidentified. The Turkish legend calls it *Tabak Khaneh*, which means tannery. It is in a degenerate style, dating from the fourteenth or, more probably, the fifteenth century. Next is a large church, called in the same text *Haia Yorgi Kondo* which is certainly the Carmelite church (6). Gibellino calls it *II Carmine* (also n. 6). Moreover the records in which it is mentioned say that it was the furthest from the palace and also a good long way from the cathedral.

The neighbouring church (10), also called *Tabak Khaneh* in the Turkish text, is the Armenian church, recognisable as such from the inscriptions on its paintings. It is a very small building of the fourteenth century to which another chapel has been added in the fifteenth century.

Together with buildings with no history and sometimes no name there can be found the names, and occasionally the history, of buildings whose ruins it is impossible to identify. The most important of these is the church of the Dominicans. It is frequently referred to in the historical texts but no identifiable traces remain, so far as I could discover, at the spot where Gibellino (5) marks it i.e. east of the Carmelite church at the north end of the main street leading out of the square. There is nothing there now which would indicate the existence of important Gothic buildings.

Gibellino's engraving shows the church of St. Dominic with aisles and with a tower on one side. The accuracy of his drawing cannot, however, be guaranteed since the only vestige of St. Dominic's that might remain could perhaps be an enclosure wall with a gateway whose jambs are carved with fine mouldings of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. There

19

Amiens Library, Fonds Lescalopier, MS. No. 5215. *Pèlerinage à Jerusalem*, fol. 88 v° and 89; cf. *Petition of 1492* publ. by Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, III, p. 485.

20

On 9th January. I give a shortened version, by a half, of the title of a pamphlet intended to stimulate, if not satisfy, public curiosity in 1546; the title is so long that it almost spares the reader the trouble of consulting the four-page text. 'A wondrous great earthquake and marvellous portents and damages that took place but recently in the city and the whole province of Jerusalem ... in addition thereto unspeakable and horrible winds in the island of Cyprus in the city called Famagusta and other places with insupportable damages. Translated out of Italian into French, this same Italian copy having been sent to Antwerp by the Venice mail. Printed at Antwerp by me, Jehan de Ghele. Anno MD et XLVI.'

21

Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*, p. 212: 'thereupon (i.e. after the earthquake) arose whirlwinds which carried away a great palace and divers houses, together with men passing in the streets'. Some sailors, by tracing the sign of the cross in the air with a black-handled knife and reciting the opening words of St. John's gospel, 'parted and divided these whirlwinds' and in this manner saved the city.

22

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. ital. 895.

TOPOGRAPHY OF FAMAGUSTA

was a square in front of the monastery; in 1311 the usurper Amalric of Tyre had the market transferred there, no doubt for military reasons, to leave a broad, unobstructed street running from the palace to the harbour.

In 1373, according to Machaeras,²⁹ when the Genoese who had seized Famagusta were detaining the unfortunate Peter II in his own palace under close guard, his servant Dimitri Daniel, under the pretext of going to St. Dominic's, stopped at the foot of the palace wall where the latrines were situated to receive a message that the King threw out to him. If he was going from the main square towards St. Dominic's he would have had to pass the north-east corner of the palace and the place where he waited was near the east end of St. Francis's. If it was not for a memorandum dictated by the Infant Ferdinand of Majorca,³⁰ who had actually lived in the palace, which indicates very clearly that the church next to the palace was St. Francis's, and if Gibellino had not marked on his engraving the site of St. Dominic's, it would be an irresistible conclusion from Machaeras's narrative that St. Dominic's was located at the spot where in fact St. Francis's was.³¹

According to Father Stephen Lusignan,³² one of the most eminent members of the Order, the Dominicans were brought to Cyprus by Alice of Champagne, widow of King Hugh I. Their arrival must consequently be dated between 1218 and 1256.

The oldest documents that refer to the Dominican monastery in Famagusta go back to the year 1300 and are included in the Genoese records published by Cavaliere Desimoni. The church was then in process of construction: on 19th September Giannino Ralla, a Genoese, left a legacy of five white bezants 'dicte ecclesie Fratrum Predicatorum pro opere dicte ecclesie.'³³ On 5th December a merchant from Narbonne, Bernardus Faxie, showed greater generosity: 'Item pro anima mea operi diet ecclesie Fratrum Predicatorum bissantios quinquaginta.'³⁴ He added a further twenty-five bezants for his tomb, which he wished to be in St. Dominic's; he endowed a great mass and an honorarium for the friars and left separate legacies to two of them, Bernard Grillo and John Cotton; finally he provided, in accordance with a widespread custom, for a distribution to the poor of hot bread to the value of twenty-five bezants in the cemetery of the monastery.

Another European merchant Sergio of Fabro in the same year desired to be buried in St. Dominic's and left a legacy to the Preaching Friars.³⁵ In a single register, that of Lambert of Sambuceto, there are references to four legacies to the monastery in the same year.³⁶

In 1310, possibly because the building works had been completed, it was decided to remove the market from in front of St. Dominic's and perhaps to enlarge the square. In 1335 Brother John of Verona stayed in the monastery and has left a detailed account of it.³⁷ In 1361 one of the friars, Emmanuel of Famagusta, was consecrated Archbishop of Rhodes by Innocent VI.³⁸ In 1373 the monastery lost the bulk of its resources

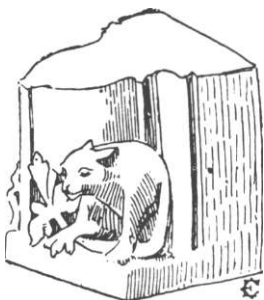


Fig. 158
Famagusta, fourteenth
or fifteenth century
(provenance unknown).

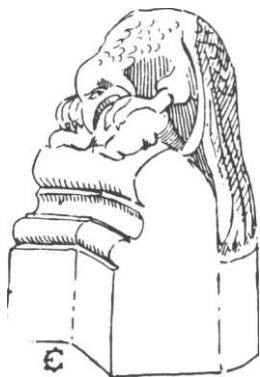


Fig. 159
Famagusta, possibly
fourteenth century
(provenance unknown).

when the monarchy was forced to abandon the city to the Genoese. In 1395 the pilgrim Nicholas of Martoni³⁹ found the monastery reduced to penury, he admired the beautiful vaulted church, the fine cloisters, the gardens, the dorter and other buildings many of which were already in ruins.⁴⁰ During the siege of 1571 a Dominican of Famagusta, Seraphim Fortebrassa, Bishop of Limassol, played a distinguished part in the defence of the city.

A women's convent called *Mulieres de Carpiciis Famaguste* was in existence in Famagusta in 1300.⁴¹ Amadi's Chronicle⁴² tells us about the characters of these nuns.

One of the most famous churches of Famagusta bore the name of St. Mary-Hydria, or the Cana, or *Cava* or *de Cena*. It appears as early as 1300⁴³ under the name of Cava, which should be correct. In 1366 Peter Thomas went there to officiate a few days before his death. The account given by Philip of Mézières makes it clear that it was outside the city;⁴⁴ it was probably near the Cava gate, whose location I have been unable to determine and it appears also that it was a long way from the Carmelite church.

Christopher Furer in 1566 and Dapper in 1700 say that the small church of St. Mary-Hydria possessed one of the seven waterpots of the marriage of Cana: it was a most beautiful earthenware pot with two handles, about two feet high, wide-bellied with a narrow bottom, enamelled in white and adorned with figures, holding about twenty pots.⁴⁵ These details suggest that it was a piece of faience, no doubt an exceptional specimen of a type of ware in which Cypriot potters from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries showed great skill.

Also outside the walls of Famagusta was a church of St. Michael surrounded by a cemetery. It is mentioned in 1300 in three Genoese documents: Obert of Ventimiglia gave orders for a stone monument for himself there, costing ten bezants⁴⁶ Cesaries of Sagona⁴⁷ and John (Giannino) of Murta⁴⁸ also desired to be buried there and the last-named left a legacy for the work of the church.

A church to the south of the Greek cathedral is marked by Gibellino with the name *S. Bar...*, probably St. Barnabas, whose tomb is near Famagusta. I have not been able to identify this church.

There was also in the city a monastery of the Basilian monks of Mount Sinai, dedicated to St. Simeon. It is mentioned in some Papal briefs of 1335.⁴⁹

A street called after St. Mammias existed in the city in 1373⁵⁰ but it is not certain whether it derived its name from a church there.

It is almost certain that the 'fair and large chapel' of the Flagellation planned by Peter I in 1367⁵¹ was never built because the Holy Column which he intended to place in it was never sent to him by the Sultan of Egypt.

It is much to be regretted that the numerous documents which have



Fig. 160
Famagusta, fourteenth or
fifteenth century
(provenance unknown).



Fig. 161
Famagusta, fifteenth
century (provenance
unknown).



Fig. 162
Famagusta, St. Paul,
marble, fifteenth
century (provenance
unknown).

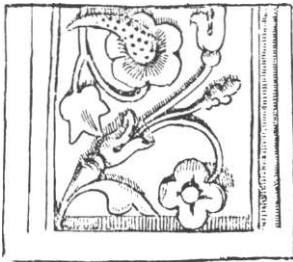


Fig. 163
Famagusta, fragment of
pilaster, Italian Re-
naissance (provenance
unknown).

come down to us dealing with Latin settlers in Famagusta contain no information about who were the architects. It may be that the names of some of them appear in the Genoese records of Famagusta without any means of identifying them but it seems that we have been spared the temptation of searching for them.⁵⁴In the will of Nicholas, son of Rinaldo, made at Famagusta on 27th July 1300,⁵⁵ there is indeed a legacy to 'Iachine sorori mee, uxori Parentis, magistri lapidum' but the testator is a Genoese, like most of the legatees whose domicile, when mentioned, is normally either Constantinople or Genoa-, there is little likelihood that the architect mentioned, probably a Genoese, lived in Famagusta.

There were several other hospitals in the city besides St. Anthony. In 1300 the wills of Obert of Ventimiglia and Bernard Fayssa of Narbonne mention them without indicating either how many there were or what they were called; the latter only makes a particular reference to the leper hospital.⁵⁷ Another Genoese document from Famagusta refers to St. Mary's hospital of the Teutonic Knights and to Brother Henry of Trabal, the Marshal of that hospital.⁵⁸ We are better informed on St. Stephen's hospital, in 1395 Nicholas of Martoni describes the church there, which he finds beautiful but neglected and where he admires a remarkable crucifix framed in fine gold.⁵⁹

An inscription on a marble slab found in Larnaca and published in 1879 by Count de Mas Latrie, from a reading by Mr. Demetrios Pierides, has been brought into relation with this notice, on very good grounds, by Mr Le Grand.⁶⁰ Count de Mas Latrie had said, very reasonably: 'It is impossible that the above inscription can have come from Larnaca, or La Scala, to give it its other name, a thoroughly unimportant place in the Middle Ages. A hospital intended for the use of all travellers, merchants or inhabitants of Cyprus professing the Christian faith, founded in the fourteenth century, could only have been located in a large commercial city such as Nicosia, Limassol or Famagusta. It is likely, therefore, and this is the view of Mr. Pierides who has so kindly written to me on the subject, that the two marble blocks on which the inscription is carved have been brought to Larnaca from the ruins of Famagusta, a city which in the Middle Ages was frequented by merchants of all Christian communions.' The text published by Mr. Le Grand confirms this hypothesis.

St. Stephen's hospital was founded in 1323. The inscription, inscribed in fine Gothic capitals, survives on two slabs of white marble in the Nicosia museum. They had been used, like many other pieces of material removed from the ruins of Famagusta, for the construction of modern buildings in Larnaca. The text, already published by Count de Mas Latrie, is as follows:

En .l'an. de. M. CCC. XXIII. cest. hospital est e
difiés. a la reverense e a l'enor de nos

VANISHED CHURCHES

seignor. Jhsu. Cr'it e de sa benoite mere
 et au non de Saint Estiene primemartir
 a se que tote gene[r] asion de gent que confe
 sent le non Ih'u Crist peuse i trover en ces
 hospital repos a l'enor de dit seint martir
 sans demander nul paiement e qui premier
 venra soit reseus por aver repos et ce
 st l'entencion e la volonte de cellui
 qui ha hedifié cest hospital e la ma
 laiçon de Deu ait qui le contredira ne
 fera

... in the year 1323 this hospital was built to the worship and honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother and in the name of St. Stephen, Protomartyr, to the end that every generation of such men as confess the name of Jesus Christ may find here in this hospital repose in honour of the aforesaid saint and martyr without any requirement of payment and the first to come shall be received to rest here and this is the intention and desire of him who built this hospital and may the curse of God be on any man that shall gainsay this.'

The leper hospital is only known from the will of Bernard Fayssa in 1300, which has already been frequently quoted.

23

Mariti op. cit., vol. I, chapter XII. According to him the Turks had fired 14,000 canon-balls into the fortress.

24

I found the copy reproduced here bound in with a pamphlet belonging to the *Cabinet des Imprimés* of the *Bibl. Nat.*, réserve J 3093. The *Cabinet des Estampes* has no works by Gibellino, an obscure and undoubtedly mediocre artist, but it has nine other views of Famagusta, all more or less derived from his and less informative.

Famagosta, an Italian engraving showing the siege, octavo. A few legends (Fonds Gaignières). A reduction of Gibellino's.

Famagosta, an inaccurate panorama of the siege (Rosaccio, plate 12).

Famagusta civitas Cypri turribus et propugnaculis bene munita quae superioribus annis in truculentissimi regni Turciei potestatem devenit (Fonds Gaignières).

Famagusta civitas Cypri turribus et propugnaculis bene munita. Early seventeenth century, 12mo.

Famagusta, oval cartouche removed from a map, seventeenth century, 12mo.

Famagusta plan, quarto, in decorated frame, Italian engraving, seventeenth century.

Famagosta, Octavo, seventeenth century, in the style of Mérian.

Famagousta, plan, seventeenth century.

Famagusta, taken from the book by Cornelis de Bruyn, plate 172.

Le Voyage du Levant, published in 1624, gives a plan on p. 392, reproduced by Dapper. Cassas gives a view which is a pure fantasy.

TOPOGRAPHY OF FAMAGUSTA

- In 1760 John Kipp Esq., painted two water-colours from outside the walls copies of which are in the Nicosia Museum.
- 25
This modern plan is extremely accurate but the accompanying legends are generally erroneous; they were produced by the former Turkish administration and I have quoted them for what they are worth.
- 26
Machaeras, p. 211.
- 27
Later the palace of the Venetian governors (Palazzo del clar. cap. de Famagosta). Near it (11) was a 'palazzo della regina', no doubt built for herself by Catherine Cornaro though it might previously have been the Genoese loggia.
- 28
cf. Desimoni, *Actes génois*.
- 29
p. 234. The King sends a message to Dimitri 'to come to St. Dominic's because the palace latrines were on that side' (trans. Miller, p. 240).
- 30
Published by Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 182 et sq.
- 31
I originally made this mistake myself. The fact is that Machaeras's story is irreconcilable with the other two documents. Obviously the palace latrines did not open onto such a broad and much-used street as the one leading from the palace to St. Dominic's and it would make still less sense for Dimitri to take up his position there to talk to the King and to receive a letter from him. We must rather assume that he went into an alley or a cul-de-sac between the palace and St. Francis's and then he did not have to pretend to be going to St. Dominic's; presumably it was by a mere slip of the pen that Machaeras wrote St. Dominic instead of St. Francis.
- 32
Descr. de Cypre.
- 33
Actes génois de Famagouste, No. CCCXXI.
- 34
ib., No. CCCLVII.
- 35
ib., No. CCXXIV.
- 36
On 3rd July John Zachariah (No. CCCXXI); on 25th October Obert of Ventimiglia (No. CLXXXIX); on 21st December John of Murta, a Genoese (No. CCCCLXXVII); on 26th December another Genoese, Bernard Zotardo (No. CCCCLXXXIX);
- 37
Liber peregrinationis Fr. Ioannis de Verona, publ. by Röhricht in the *Rev. de l'Or, lat.*, 1895; Description of Cyprus on pp. 176 et sq.
- 38
15th December 1361; see Suarez *Orbis Christianus*, *Bibl. Nat., MS. lat.* No. 8983, vol. XXIII, No. XCLIII.
- 39
Narrative publ. by Le Grand *Rev. de l'Or, lat.*, 1896, pp. 630-31.
- 40
'De Monasterio Sancti Dominici. Habetur in ipsa civitate monasterium Sancti Dominici in quo est pulchra ecclesia ad lamiam. Est pulchrum enclaustrum cum jardenis, dormitorio et aliis domibus pro usu fratrum, licet sunt plures dirutte. Ad presens, omnes fratres pauperculo modo vivunt in dicta civitate Famagoste.'
- 41
Hist. de Cypre, fol. 46 v°.
- 42
ib., fol. 90 v°.
- 43
Will of Bernard Zotardi Genoese resident of Famagusta, in *Actes génois*, CCCXCXVIII, 26th September 1300.
- 44
p. 292.
- 45
Actes génois de Famagouste, Nos CLXXXIX and CCCCLXXVII, bequests by Obert of Ventimiglia and John of Murta, both Genoese.
- 46
'Extra civitatem ad ecclesiam B. Marie de Cena ivit; *Acta Sanctor. Jan. II*, 1017; cf. *Bibl. Nat., MS. lat.* 5615.
- 47
Dapper, *Descr. des isles de l'Archipel*, 1703, p. 311; cf. Furer, p. 106, according to whom the urn is 'ad dextram ... fictilis et magna, cujus manubrium alterum totum avulsum est, alterum vero ex parte fractum.'
- 48
Actes génois, No. CLXXXIX, 25th July.
- 49
ib., CCCXXXV, 1st October.

VANISHED CHURCHES

50
 ib., CCCCLXXVII,
 21st December.

51
 E. G. Rey, *Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient* (Paris, 1877), p. 13.

52
 Machaeras, p. 236.

53
 G. De Machaut, *Prise d'Alexandrie*, 175.

54
 The case is the same with other documents. For instance history records numerous members of the family of de Soissons who lived in Cyprus but not a single Bernard: if there had been one it would have been a great temptation to identify him with the architect who must have worked on the west end of Rheims Cathedral, which has such close similarities with Famagusta Cathedral.

55
 Desimoni, op. cit.,
 No. CLXXXVII.

56
 ib., No. CLXXXIX,
 25th July 1300.

57
 ib., No. CCCCLVII,
 5th December 1300: 'cuilibet hospitali Francorum Famaguste ... item leprosis Famaguste bissantios duo.'

58
 ib., No. CCCCLI, 3rd December 1300.

59
 Le Grand, *Pèlerinage de N. de M.*, p. 630. *'De Ecclesia Sancti Stephani. Habetur in dicta civitate quedam eccle-*

sia vocabuli Sancti Stephani, satis pulcra, in qua est hospitale; sed isto tempore pauperculo modo dictum hospitale manutetur. In qua ecclesia audivi missam sollempnem et vidi de osse sui corporis et multas alia(s) reliquias sanctorum. Est in dicta ecclesia crucifissus pulcrior quam viderim in aliquo loco, ornatus et laboratus in circuitu auro purissimo.'

60
L'île de Chypre, p. 396.

CHAPTER X

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. NICHOLAS

Famagusta

HISTORY

The history of this beautiful building, though it may not cover so long a period as that of Nicosia Cathedral, is equally well documented.

There is very little information available today on the nine Latin bishops of Famagusta, for hardly anything is known about them beyond their names. The first, Caesareus, is attested in 1211 and was translated to Salerno in 1225.¹ At that time the cathedral must have been a building of no particular importance. Willibrand of Oldenburg, who visited the city in that very year, 1211, says nothing at all about its buildings.² The second bishop of whom there is evidence, Valascus, was a Gascon by origin and was translated to Garde in 1267; nothing more is known of him.³

The earliest documents that mention the cathedral of St. Nicholas go back to 1300. Although the chronicles of Amadi and Florio Bustron assert that the reconstruction began in 1308⁴ it is certain that the work was under way from 3rd August 1300, as demonstrated by the Genoese records of Famagusta published by Cavaliere Desimoni.⁵ The will of Isabella of Antioch, proved on that date,⁶ contains the following reference: 'Item laborerio dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai bissantios quinque.' The testatrix expressed a desire to be buried in the church; she left legacies to the chaplain and to his clerk and another for masses. The chaplain is one of the witnesses to the will and one might wonder whether the chief builder is also among them; but there is no indication of this.

Three Genoese who made wills in the same year, drafted by Lambert of Sambuceto, left directions that they were to be buried in St. Nicholas.⁷

The bishop of Famagusta at that time was named Guy. He had been in

i
Le Quien *Oriens Christianus* III; Gams *Series Episcoporum*.

Account in Allatius *Sym-
micta* (Cologne, 1653),
pp. 141-4.

Le Quien and Gams, *opp. cit.*

Bustron, p. 172; Amadi,
p. 291.

Revue de l'Or, latin, 1896.

No. CXCVIII: 'In nomine Domini, amen. Ego Isabella de Antiochia; uxor quondam Salvi de Antiochia

HISTORY

office since at least 1298 and when he died in 1308 he left 70,000 bezants to be spent of the construction of his cathedral.⁸ The work must plainly have been only at a very early stage because both Amadi and Florio Bustron assert, as already mentioned, that it began in that year;⁹ in fact the former goes further and states that work started in April.¹⁰ Bishop Guy's 70,000 bezants were deposited with his bankers and in his will he directed that they were to be used for the construction of the cathedral, stipulating that his successor should not have the disposal of the money except under the control of the Chapter.¹¹

That successor was a certain Anthony Saurona, a friend of the usurper Amalric of Tyre and nominated at his request. Before becoming bishop he had been treasurer of Famagusta. He was plainly a strange choice for that position and the clause in Bishop Guy's will was thoroughly justified; unfortunately it had no effect. Anthony only survived for a year after his elevation to the bishopric but that was long enough for him to squander his cathedral's property; he sold the episcopal plate and embezzled 20,000 out of the 70,000 bezants that his predecessor had left for the building of St. Nicholas.¹² The successor to this bad bishop was successful in making reparation for his sins. His name was Baldwin Lambert and he came from a family of burgesses of Nicosia. The inscription which records his name and achievements only gives his Christian name but the tombstones of his son, William Lambert, and his nephew, John Lambert, are still extant in Nicosia Cathedral; Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, who has published the inscriptions,¹³ makes the probable deduction from the former that Baldwin had been married before he took orders.¹⁴

I might perhaps add a further hypothesis which if true would have interesting consequences from the point of view of the building under consideration. Perhaps Baldwin approached his archbishop not merely for permission to build but also to ask for an architect to be sent to him. The archbishop had then been absent since 1299, having no doubt returned to his native country. The significant point is that he was from Champagne, Gerard of Langres by name, and a former canon of Sens; St. Nicholas, as we shall see, was mainly built in the style of Champagne.

The work proceeded painfully slowly from 1300, or 1308, and it might well be that its budget, already in part misappropriated, was burdened with the travelling expenses of an architect and sculptors brought from France. On 4th August 1311 all that had been completed was the apsidal chapels, with the two bays in front of them, and the funds available were already exhausted. Fortunately Baldwin Lambert was no less rich and no less enthusiastic than 'the good man Guidon' as Amadi calls Bishop Guy. He decided that construction should continue at his own expense and the works restarted on 1st September after standing idle for less than a month.¹⁵ It appears that from then onwards they were pressed ahead with great vigour though I do not know whether it

viz. Johannes de Culcho, 30th August; George Seccamedalia, 30th September; Bernard Zotardi, 26th December. Another Genoese, Giannino Ralla and a Narbonne, Bernard Fayssa, had left legacies to the chaplain on 19th September and 5th December. (Actes génois, Nos CCXLIV, CCCXXIX, CCCCLXXXIX, CCCXXXI and CCCLVII).

8

'... il vescovo Guido de Famagusta lasso a la sua morte lxx mille bisanti', Amadi, p. 291; cf. Florio Bustron, p. 172.

Amadi, Bustron, ib.

10

'il mese de avril, fu cominciato el novo monasterio de Famagosta.'

11

'Lasso LXX mille bisanti in man delli mercadanti della compagnia, et comando che li danari non fussen posti a le man de alcun prelado suo successore, ne de alcun altro, ma che stesseno nelle man di mercadanti, et loro li spendesseno a la fabrica della chiesa come ordinareve el vescovo suo successor et el dapitulo della chiesa.' Amadi and Bustron, ib.

12

'Et da poi la morte di questo Guido vescovo fu eletto, ad instantia et preghi del Signor de Sur, Antonio, thesaurario de Famagosta. U quale ha trovato el vescovado ben in ordine di vaselli de argento et altro ch'el buon homo de Guidon lassö. Et questo Antonio visse circa

was given to Baldwin to see his work accomplished.

un anno et ha spogliato la
 ehiesia di ogni ben, et
 vendete la maggior parte
 delli vaselli, et fece tal-
 mente con li mercadanti per
 amor et per forza che
 tolse da li danari de la
 fabrica della ehiesia vinti-
 millia bisanti, et fece
 cioechè volse. Et si dice che
 se lui vivera più haverave
 anichilato el vescovado et
 tolto etiam li danari tutti
 della fabrica et saria cessata
 la fabrica della ehiesia'
 Amadi; cf. Bustron, ib.

13

Lacrymae Nicossiensis, 1.
 figures 276 A and B.

14

op. cit., p. 149. The author
 also conjectures that John
 Lambert died in the course
 of the terrible epidemic
 of 1348.

15

See inscription on pp. 227
 and 236 below.

16

Bustron, p. 192; vide supra,
 note on St. Dominic's.

17

Le Quien, *Oriens Christi-
 anus III*. On this bishop see
 Amadi, p. 406; Machaeras,
 p. 43, Strambaldi, p. 27;
 Bustron, p. 256.

18

Acta Sanctorum, January,
 vol. II, p. 1006. *Vita Beati
 Petri Thomasi*.

19

p. 48 in the Greek text;
 cf. Jorga, Philippe de
 Mézières, p. 129.

20

Amadi, p. 412; Bustron,
 p. 260; Machaeras, p. 66;
 Jorga, p. 128.

After 1311 the market in the square near the cathedral was transferred on the orders of the Prince of Tyre, Regent of the Kingdom. Possibly this was done as much because of the work in progress on St. Nicholas as for military reasons.¹⁶

It is not known when Baldwin Lambert died. Bishop Mark, who died in 1346, should be his successor.¹⁷ He belonged to the Franciscan order and was in office in 1340, at the time of the discovery of the cross at Tochni.

Famagusta Cathedral was the appointed place for the coronation of the Lusignan kings as Kings of Jerusalem, after they had been crowned in Nicosia as Kings of Cyprus. This may perhaps be the reason why it imitates Rheims Cathedral. The title of King of Jerusalem was assumed by Hugh III on the death of Conradin in 1269 and retained by all his successors down to James the Bastard (1460).

The coronation at Famagusta of Peter I as King of Jerusalem on Easter Sunday (5th April) 1360 by the famous legate Peter Thomas was described at some length by Philip of Mézières,¹⁸ present in his capacity as Chancellor of the Kingdom, and by Leontios Machaeras.¹⁹ Next year the same building witnessed a very different but equally impressive ceremony: the plague was ravaging Famagusta and the saintly legate Peter Thomas organised a procession *en masse* of the entire population still unaffected. Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Indians, Ethiopians, Saracens and Jews marched together barefoot in compliance with his orders and listened to the sermon with which he concluded the ceremony. At its close, according to Philip of Mézières, two hundred sick people were found to have been cured and the city was freed of the scourge which had been claiming thirty or forty lives every day.

After another year had passed Famagusta Cathedral was the scene of a celebration of a different kind. The Cypriot army had captured Myra,²⁰ the city sanctified by the apostolic mission of Famagusta's patron saint, and removed from the cathedral there the icon of the beatified archbishop; it was landed in triumph at Famagusta and installed in the cathedral both as a relic and as a trophy.

It was another happy occasion for the saintly Peter Thomas, who showed a particular predilection for Famagusta. He often used to desert Peter I's court for the Carmelite monastery there, his favourite place of residence.

At the end of the year 1365 when the great Christmas festival arrived he refused to yield to anyone else the exhausting duty of celebrating both the nocturnal and diurnal offices in the beautiful cathedral. During these twenty-four hours the saintly old man tramped many times through the mud and the rain all the way from his monastery to St. Nicholas and back again; for the rest of the time he bore the weight of his heavy

vestments that bowed a frame already weakened by age and by the mortification of the flesh. Not long before he had succeeded for a brief spell in keeping fever at bay by his prayers but the affliction that held Cyprus in its despotic grip was only biding its time to be avenged and this time he had challenged it too boldly: it seized him on the day after Christmas and he died in the first days of 1366.

In the same year Arnold was elevated to the see; he nominated William of *Qumitallo*, rector of St. Stephen's at Toulouse,²¹ to act for him. This was the beginning of a series of South French bishops at Famagusta; the architecture of its churches attests the influence of the artists whom they must have attracted there from the Midi.

In 1369 Peter I was assassinated. From that time onwards both the royal family and the Kingdom knew nothing but misfortunes. They began with the riots in Famagusta on the occasion of the coronation of the young King Peter II, in 1372. In 1373 came the Genoese invasion, Famagusta remained in their hands until 1464. This century of subjection and isolation brought ruin and impoverishment in its train. When the Italian pilgrim Nicholas of Martoni visited the cathedral at Christmas 1395 he was impressed on the one hand by the beauty of the cathedral and on the other by the penury of the Genoese bishop; he was told that his predecessors had drawn an annual revenue of four thousand ducats from the see but that it had been reduced to less than half. One day after mass the pilgrim, who was very short of money, ventured to approach the bishop. 'My Lord and Father', he said, 'I must apply to myself the words of the Gospel "I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed." I beseech your Fatherliness to give some charity to a poor pilgrim.' 'I am poorer than you' replied the bishop and swore that there was not enough money in his bishopric for him to live on.²²

In 1464, when James the Bastard regained the full inheritance of his ancestors, Famagusta enjoyed a few final days of prosperity. In 1472, St. Nicholas, bedecked as in the finest days of old, was the scene of the King's marriage to Catherine Cornaro, the beautiful god-daughter of the Venetian Senate.

In July 1473 James was buried in the cathedral, carried off inside forty-eight hours by a sudden and mysterious illness. A rich tomb was built for him in the choir. Catherine did not mourn him for long. Struggling against the monopolising of her power by the Venetians she removed her small court from Nicosia to Famagusta until 1489 when she yielded to Venice the cares of the government of Cyprus. She accepted in return the offers of the Most Serene Republic: a palace, and an income, in a healthier climate far removed from Turkish threats. It was on the 26th February (according to Mas Latrie) or the 14th March (according to Florio Bustron) that Queen Catherine's solemn abdication took place in St. Nicholas at Famagusta. After the mass a commemorative tablet was placed in the choir and in the parvis a flagstaff was erected, as in Italian

21
See N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 328.

22
Pèlerinage de Nicolas de Martoni, publ. by Le Grand, p. 629.

cities. After the three doorways had opened to allow the procession to emerge and, for the last time, a Queen of Cyprus crossed the threshold of St. Nicholas, the banner of St. Mark was broken out from the top of the flagstaff and all the guns of the Venetian fleet fired a salute. Francesco Prioli took possession of the island in the name of the Republic at the moment of Catherine's embarkation. For all the bitter memories of the fifteen years tutelage that she had suffered she must surely have shed a few tears as she watched the towers of St. Nicholas disappearing for ever over the horizon; but her feminine vanity found it easy to forget them not long after when she saw, across the lagoon, the glint of the gilding on the Bucintoro as the great state galley paid her the unprecedented honour of coming alongside her ship to conduct her in triumph to the landing stage in St. Mark's square.

For the next half century and more there is nothing of importance to record about the history of St. Nicholas. In 1507 Pierre Mésenge, a pilgrim from Rouen, writes:²³ 'The cathedral church is quite a handsome building; the bishop resides in Rome and there are only a few officiating clergy. The canons and priests are Latins and recite the services according to the Roman use although they are Greeks.' (This sentence is rather obscure but presumably means that they were Latins by religion but Greeks, or partly so, by race). In 1546 and 1568 Famagusta suffered from earthquakes and violent storms which threw down stretches of the walls; at St. Nicholas the flying buttresses and pinnacles suffered severely from these repeated disasters. The repairs were tastelessly executed, for the prosperity both of Venice and of Cyprus was in decline and what money there was had to be used on fortifications rendered necessary by the daily increasing menace of the infidel.

In 1570 the Turks took Nicosia by storm. After indulging themselves in all kinds of atrocities they marched on Famagusta, last bulwark of the Venetians. The cathedral had the misfortune to be hit by a hail of massive stone cannon balls in the course of the thirteen months' duration of the epic siege; when, after the capitulation, Mustafa Pasha broke his word and inflicted the same treatment on the Famagustans as he had on the inhabitants of Nicosia it was in front of the main doorway at the west end that Marco Bragadin was flayed alive. Inside the cathedral all the images were smashed and it was transformed into a mosque. Two candelabra and a few small scraps of stained glass are all that survived after the destruction of the internal decorations. Since then there has been no further change; the cathedral that we see today is in exactly the same state as when Villamont, Jean Palerne, de Bruyn and Mariti, the very few Europeans who visited Famagusta from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, admired it from a distance. At that time the Turks hardly ever allowed Christians to enter the town, and they never allowed them to enter the mosque until our own days.²⁴ They have since been obliged, much to their annoyance, to change their ways fundamentally

23

Amiens Library, MS. quoted above, fol. 88 and 89.

24

In about 1860 the Marquis de Vogiié and, later, Baron Rey accompanied by Monsieur Louis de Clercq were able to visit Famagusta; the former recorded a few notes and the latter party took some long-range photographs.

DESCRIPTION

over this matter, especially since they came under the domination of a European power, and evidence of this is the description of the building that follows.

2

DESCRIPTION

Famagusta Cathedral (Fig. 165) has no ambulatory. It consists of a nave of seven bays ending in a polygonal apse flanked by aisles ending in apsidal chapels of similar shape. The inscription (Fig. 173) which gives the date of construction is carved on the west flanking buttress of the south doorway, between the third and fourth bays. The bulk of the text is carved on the south face of the buttress²⁵ and the end of it on the east face; it runs as follows:

Lan. de. M. e. .troi. cens .et. XI
d'Christ, a. IUI. jors. daoust. fu
despendue, lamonee, ordene
e. por. lelabour. d. liglise. d. Fam
ag'.e. comesa. lelabour. levesq'.
Bauduin. le. dit. an. le pre
mier. jor. d'. septembre, do
u. quel, labour. VI. votes, d'.
deus. heles. estoient. faites, e.
.X. votes, des. heles. ave. VIII. vots. d'.
la. nave. d'.
.liglise. e
stoit. a. fa
ire.

(In the year of Christ 1311 on the 4th of August the money provided for the building of the church of Famagusta was paid down and Bishop Baldwin began the work in the same year on the 1st day of September, of which work six vaults of the two aisles had been completed and ten vaults of the aisles and eight vaults of the nave remained to be built).

This method of expressing the progress of the work by the number of vaults constructed is exactly similar to the expressions used in the inscription on the ancient labyrinth at Rheims.²⁶ It emphasises once more the importance that Gothic architects attached to vaults, the element that gave birth to their whole style, a point which has been thoroughly grasped by those who have understood the spirit of that style, above all by Viollet-le-Duc and Quichérat. The word *vault* signified a bay as a unit. The reckoning of the vaults, i.e. bays, built or remaining to be built at Famagusta Cathedral includes the three apses; there were eight vaults

25

Amiens and Paris Cathedrals also have an inscription on the outside giving details of their construction and this too is near the south doorway.

26

See L. Demaison, *Les architectes de la cathédrale de Reims* in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1894.

of the nave still to be built, that is to say the nave, comprising seven rectangular bays and an apse, was so far not vaulted at all. Each of the two aisles had plainly had the vaults of their apsidal chapels and the next two bays constructed because 'six vaults' had been finished 'in the two aisles', leaving ten still to be built, and because it was customary to start work at the sanctuary end.

Famagusta Cathedral, like Nicosia Cathedral, is a model of practical, elegant and robust architecture perfectly suited to the climate into which it has been imported. The general effect it produces is imposing without its having called for the co-operative efforts of a large number of artists as in the Gothic cathedrals of Europe.

Because he was unable to assemble many sculptors the architect found himself obliged to forego some of the details which he would certainly have employed to decorate a French cathedral and to repeat indefinitely some of the others, thus proving that in the fourteenth century, as today, the sculptors who worked on the building must each of them have had in his repertoire certain motifs which he constantly reproduced; the fewer the workers the more monotonous was the decoration of the church. English buildings demonstrate this even better than Cypriot. Monotony is certainly the failing of Famagusta Cathedral, as it is in some English cathedrals, but in the former case it is mitigated by the purity of the style, the exquisite sense of proportion, the freedom and perfection of the construction and the complete appropriateness and excellent workmanship of the decoration. The design of the whole is a most lucid and harmonious expression of the architectural system. Nowhere is there to be seen any hesitation or second thoughts; the proportions are invariably felicitous, the outlines thoroughly refined and chosen with the utmost correctness. The details, in spite of their uniformity and the rather over-elaborate style favoured by the fourteenth century, are in fine taste and always deployed with skill. They show rather more amplitude than was usual at their date and a well-distributed and well-calculated lavishness of decoration which blends with the noble simplicity of the lines of the architecture. The stamp of distinction is the dominating characteristic of the whole building and the artist who conceived it was beyond doubt a man of consummate practical ability and impeccable taste. People who are unaffected by the charm of Gothic art will find this a rather dry and frigid construction resembling one of those persons whom we describe as perfectly turned out — '*tirées à quatre épingles*'. But I myself must confess that I was deeply moved to see the elegant structure of the cathedral towering over a crowd of ramshackle buildings either Byzantine in style or more or less clumsy imitations of French Gothic.

Another great merit of this building is its solid strength. It is constructed in the most daring style of Gothic; it rises close to the seashore in a country where earthquakes, violent winds and torrential rains are

frequent; it was heavily bombarded in 1571; from then on it has been totally neglected and frequently ill-treated; and yet it has remained as sound as ever. It constitutes a crushing refutation both of those who have questioned the stability of Gothic architecture and of those who say that it is not suited to sunny climates.

The stone used is a fine limestone, bright yellow in colour and very well worked. Only a few masons' marks are to be observed (Fi. 164). The building never had a pitched roof (Fig. 168). The ribbed vaults, well built to a very elegant design, are covered by a flat concrete surface; the deep valley-channels formed by the extrados of the vaults end in openings pierced through the bases of a series of pinnacles set on the tops of the buttresses. These pinnacles served also as supports for an open-work balustrade which ran along the top of the walls of the nave and the choir, only a fragment of which still survives. The downward-sloping channel through the pinnacle runs into a gutter supported on a lattice-work on top of the flier identical with the one on the flying buttresses of the nave of Nicosia Cathedral; but the intrados of its supporting arch is carved with mouldings resembling those on the interior arcades i.e. a thick flattened torus between cavettos. The buttresses differ from those at Nicosia in shape, decoration (Figs. 167 and 169) and proportions. A thick pinnacle, square at its base, rests on their outside extremity, beginning at the level of the top of the aisle walls, and above and behind it is a second pinnacle, pentagonal at its base, which rests on the head of the buttress to which it transmits its weight. This pinnacle was shorter than the lower one. Both were ornamented with gables with cusped arcades; there are small leaves on the gables and on the angle-ridges of the *flèches* which crown them. These *flèches* were flanked by four smaller pinnacles and surmounted by a massive finial carved with two rows of foliage (Fig. 170). On the lateral faces of the buttresses were two gargoyles, placed between the two pinnacles that crowned them.

Only fragments of this design survive, but the buttresses at the east corners of the towers at the west end have been preserved and they clearly followed the same plan as the lateral buttresses. Most of the flying buttresses have been clumsily rebuilt because of earthquakes in the sixteenth century.

The buttresses of the choir terminate in square pinnacles resembling those erected on the head of the lateral buttresses and placed at the same height above the ground. The finial reaches as high as the crest of the walls and the gables are level with the imposts of the windows. The buttresses of the apsidal chapels are of the same design on a smaller scale. The main windows, tall and pointed with skilfully moulded frames, take up the whole space between the buttresses.

In the choir there are two superposed rows of windows. The upper windows both of the choir and of the nave are framed by an arch with a groove carved with flowers and are crowned by acutely-angled gables

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 "" "

Fig. 164

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THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, FAMAGUSTA

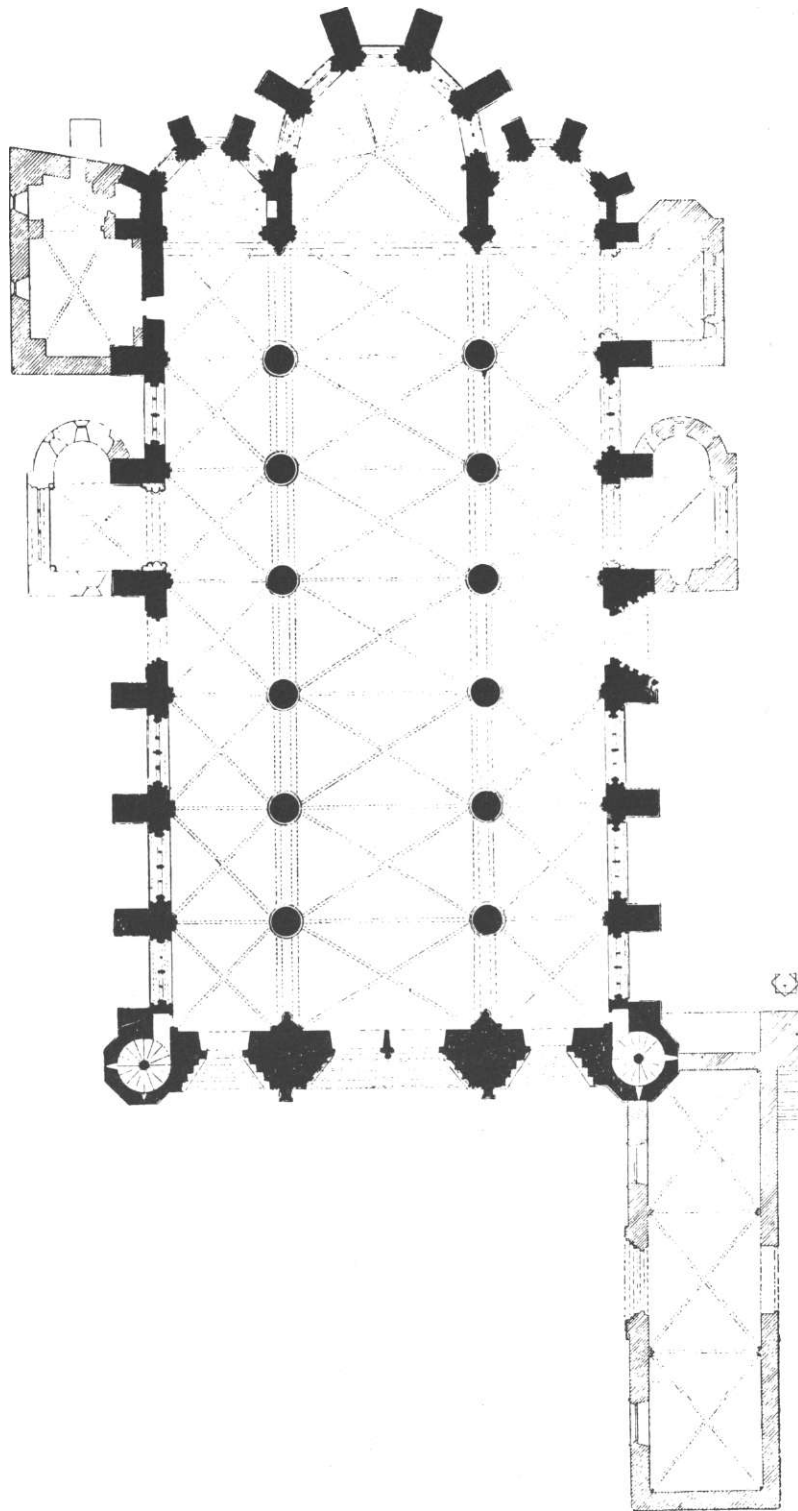


Fig. 165. Plan of the cathedral of St. Nicholas, Famagusta.

DESCRIPTION

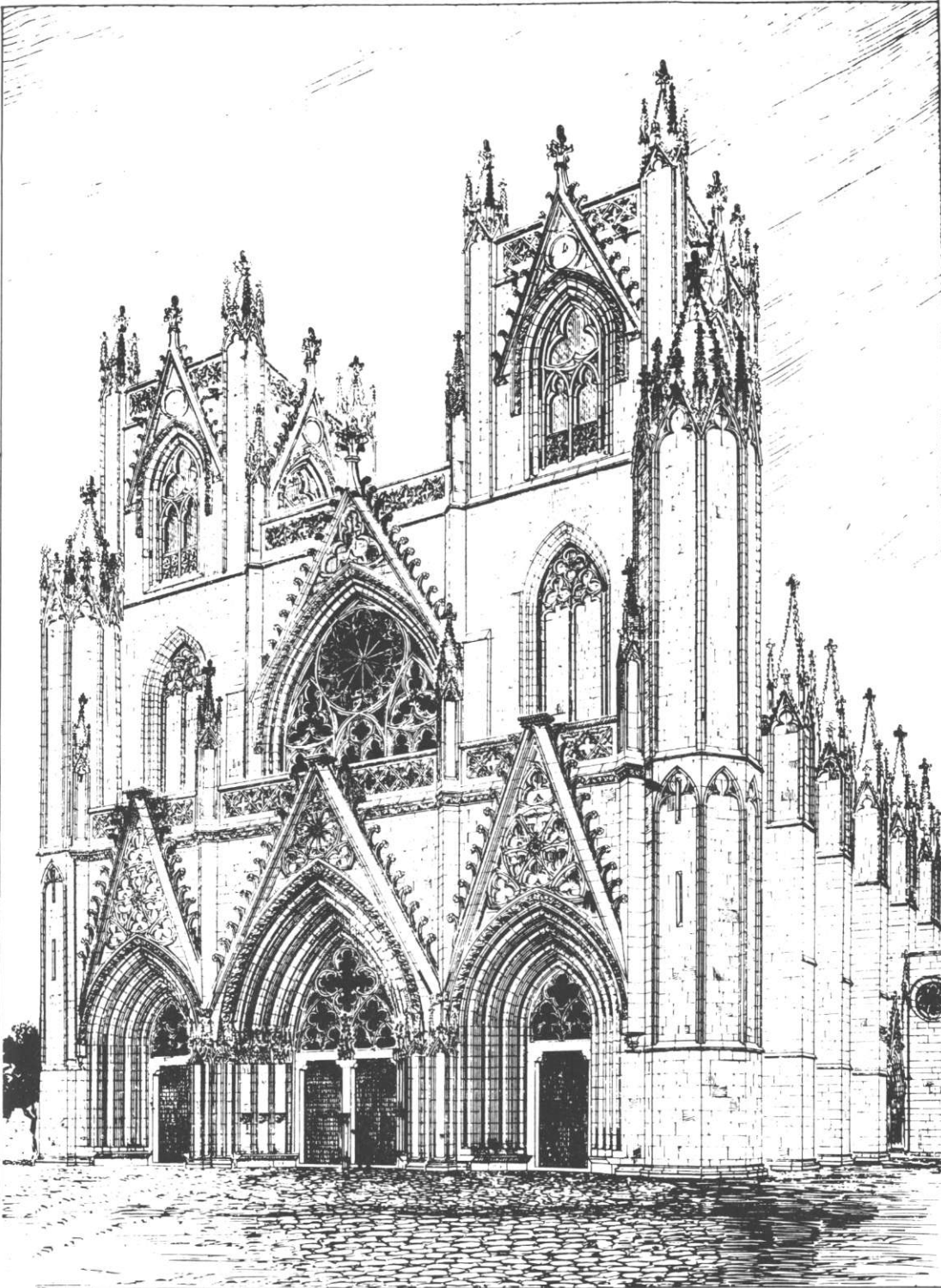


Fig. 166. The cathedral of St. Nicholas, Famagusta.



Fig. 167
Detail of the buttress
gables.

whose apices rise above the crest of the wall. Elegant and deeply-carved crockets decorate the sloping sides of these gables in the centre of which is a circular medallion surrounded by a slender but vigorous moulding. Over the choir windows these medallions are decorated with differing rosettes of foliage (Fig. 171).

The gables were topped with finials and linked by a balustrade to the pinnacles erected at the intersections of the bays. The balustrade consisted of a series of St. Andrew's crosses arranged so as to present alternating panels of lozenges and triangles opposed at their points. Added cusps in the framework turned these into alternating trefoils and quatrefoils with sharp points. There is an external gallery providing a passage, a sort of balcony supported on consoles made up of three quadrant mouldings, running round the choir on the outside between the two rows of windows. This gallery, which links the roofs of the aisles, also had a balustrade, continued along the aisle walls.

The lower windows of the choir, the apsidal chapels and the aisles have neither gables nor even hood-moulds.

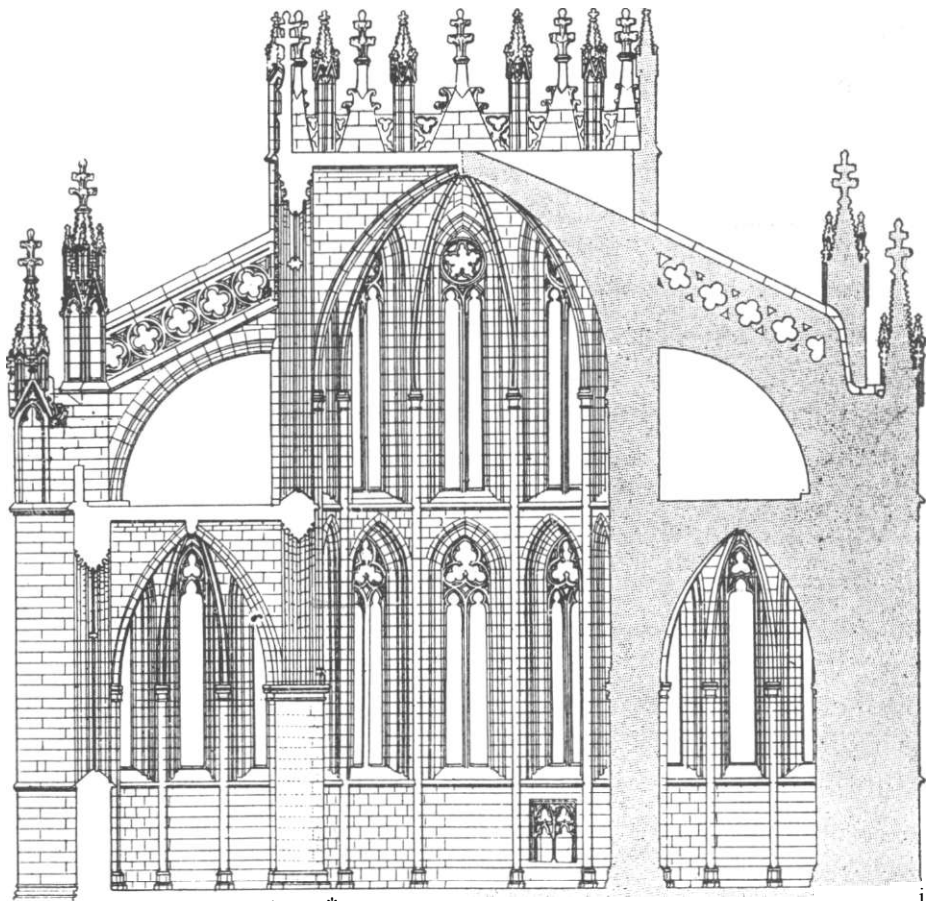


Fig. 168
Section north-south.

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DESCRIPTION

The upper and lower windows of the choir are divided into two lights by a slender central mullion ornamented with mouldings but with neither a capital nor even a base. The windows of the aisles and the nave have two main lights subdivided into two secondary lights by an even slenderer prism-shaped mullion. The windows of the apsidal chapels are single-cusped lights, with a trilobé over. The tracery of the lower windows in the choir is composed of three trefoils inscribed in circles, in the upper windows it takes the form of a circle with, inside it, five lobes in the shape of trefoil arches, resembling the tracery of the choir windows of Amiens Cathedral.

The tracery of the aisle windows consists of a large quatrefoil whose cusps end in fleurs-de-lis and whose lobes are cusped into trefoils with, below this and in the top of the arches of the two principal lights, two other, smaller quatrefoils resting on the tops of the arches of the secondary lights. The traceries of the nave windows are of the same design except for the upper motif which reproduces the rosettes of the choir windows.

Two lateral doorways open out of the fourth bay of the aisles. The northern one (Fig. 172) originally gave access to the courtyard of the bishop's palace. It is very simple but extremely elegant. It has a pointed opening, with no tympanum; the door frame is carved with a strong combination of mouldings which disappear into a base with a reversed talon; beneath the arch two large open-work cusps protrude, giving the upper part a trilobed shape; in each cusp is an open-work trefoil with slightly pointed lobes.

The southern doorway (Fig. 174) is much more imposing. It occupies the whole space between the buttresses, its deep-set arches almost touching their exterior faces. On top of them is a projecting sill, previously edged with a balustrade linked with the large gable with foliar crockets which surmounted the doorway. Two fine tall pinnacles, set at an angle, protrude from the inner faces of two buttresses and frame the gable. The gable, whose centre was originally filled with tracery, has now lost its upper part. Water collecting on the sill was carried away by an angled conduit running through the western buttresses and by an animal-shaped gargoyle of which only the feet now remain. This gargoyle breaks into the last part of Bishop Baldwin's inscription.

The arches of the doorway are pointed and their mouldings are carried on continuously down the jambs. They are made up of torus and bird's-beak mouldings and five deep grooves, the outermost of them filled with a row of large compound leaves carved with a vigorous flexibility which produces a striking effect (Fig. 176).

The west front (Figs. 166 and 178) is perhaps the most impressive and the most elegant part of the entire cathedral. On either side stand two identical towers, rising from the first bays of the aisles. Their first storey attains the same height as the nave, above which is a second

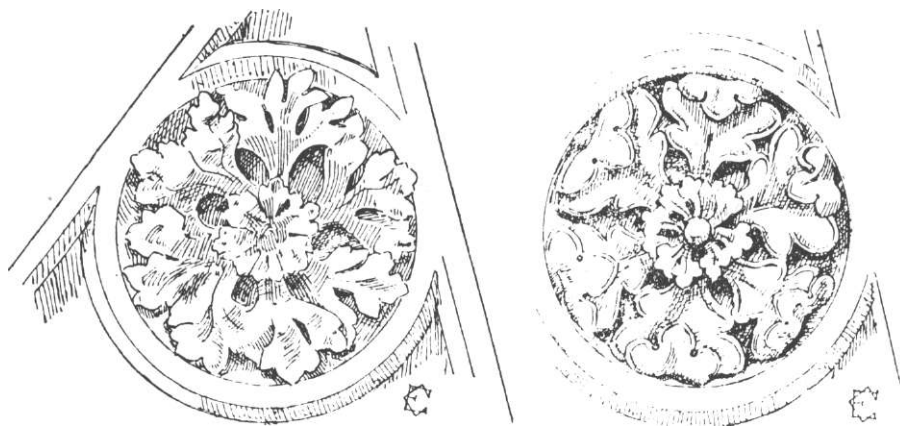


Fig. 169
Finial on the buttresses.



Fig. 170
Finial on the pinnacles.

Fig. 171
Medallions above the
choir windows.



storey for the bells. Two octagonal staircase turrets are built against the corners of the towers at the two extremities of the façade. Each is decorated with two rows of arches whose apices, pointed and divided by cusps into a tri-lobed shape, are level with the tops of the lower part of the structure and of the first storey of the towers; the turrets themselves extend no further up but they were crowned with masonry pyramids almost as high as the last storey of the towers. The ribs of these were carved with crockets and each face of the turrets culminates in a blind arch framed by a gable. This topmost feature is only preserved on the south side; on the north the turret was extended upwards to form a minaret when the cathedral was converted into a mosque.

The upper storey of each tower has four large pointed openings divided by a central mullion. At the top of each was a large pointed trilobé; the lower part was closed by a balustrade of two panels each containing four trefoils in two superposed rows. The eastern opening of the southern tower is the only one that has preserved its original tracery; elsewhere only stumps remain.

Each of the openings is surmounted by a hood-mould which descends to some distance below the imposts. The hollow part is carved with large undulating jagged leaves. Above it is a crocketed gable which rises above the coping of the tower walls. There is a circular medallion in the top of the gable, and the gable is supported on brackets, placed above the spring of the hood-mould, from each of which there emerges a standing human figure, life-size and resembling a gargoyle. The fanatics of 1571 spared one of these figures, on the northern tower (Fig. 177), representing a young man holding a flowering branch. On the southern opening of the other tower two human figures have been mutilated; it looks as though their attitude was obscene.

The four corners of the towers took the form of pinnacles linked to each other by balustrades. They had either a flat roof or perhaps a blunt four-sided spire as on the towers at the west end of the Cistercian abbey church at Stadtilm (Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt) which have identical

DESCRIPTION

gabled openings and identical pinnacles though apparently slightly later in date. It rested on a continuous quadrant encorbelment which can still be seen on the inside and at the top of the towers.

The middle storey of the towers is decorated on three of its faces with a blind window with a pointed arch. The one of the eastern face has no ornamentation and no projection but is a mere blocked aperture serving as a relieving feature but the others have a framing moulding, a central mullion, and a tracery of two trilobés and a quadrilobe.

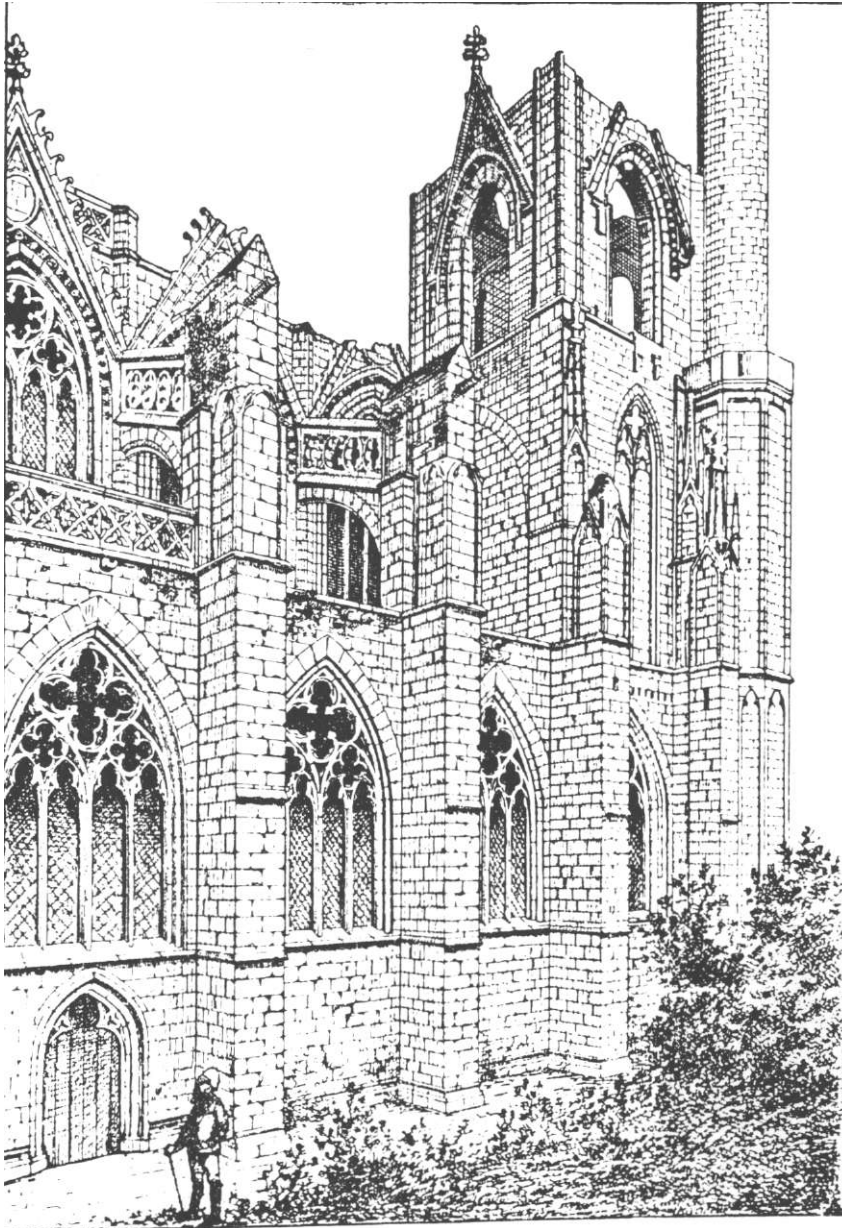


Fig. 172
North side (one span of
the balustrade restored).

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, FAMAGUSTA

The centre of the west front (Fig. 178) is completely filled with a large pointed window surmounted by a gable with foliage cresting, which cuts into the balustrade, now almost destroyed, which ran along the top of the façade, linking the upper storeys of the towers. A finial with two bunches of leaves still survives on the apex and the point of the gable is filled with a cusped trilobé. The window, like the other tall windows, has a crocketed hood-moulding which at the level of the imposts merges into the shafts of the two pinnacles that frame the window and are engaged with the corners of the towers.

This principal window is divided into six lights grouped in three main divisions. The tracery of the central one, lower than the other two, is a small quatrefoil and that of the two side ones a large trefoil. Between these three lights and the apex of the arch is a rose window divided into eight radiating compartments carved into trefoils and trilobés. As with many of the greater French churches it is reminiscent of the older-style rose windows in early Gothic façades.

The towers are flush with the façade whose lower section, pierced by

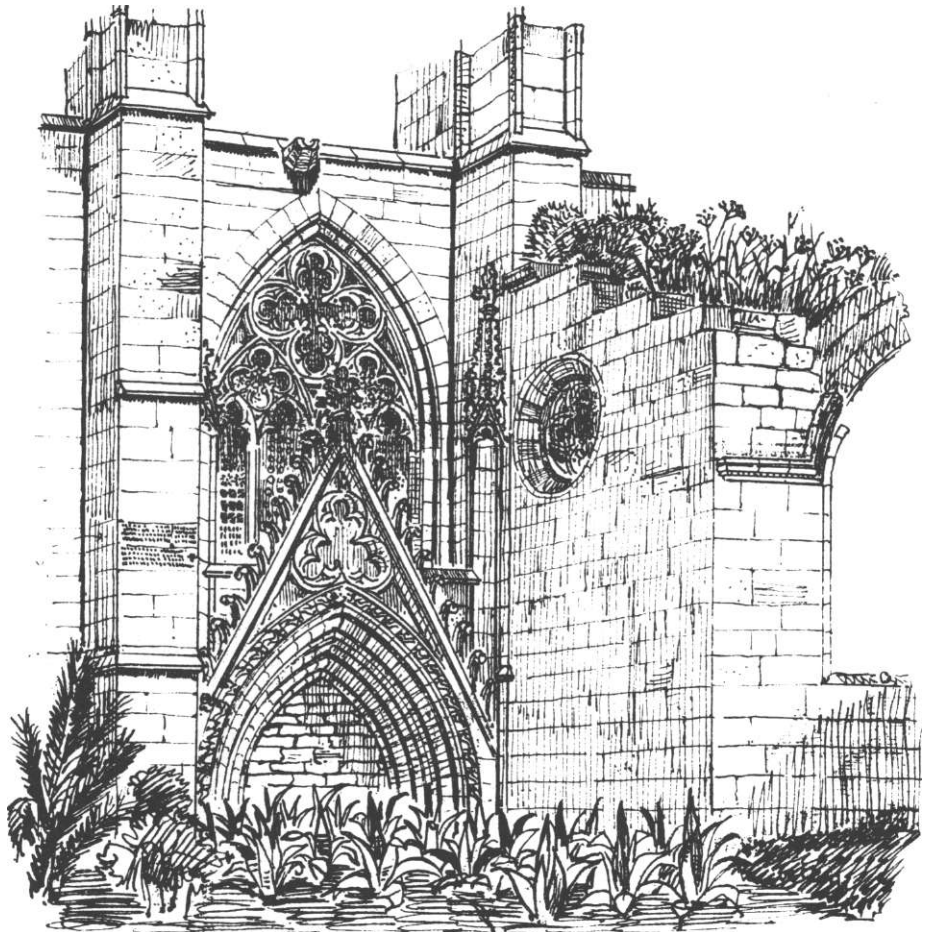


Fig. 174
South doorway in
1883.

Fig. 173
Inscription of Bishop
Baldwin Lambert.

r r

DESCRIPTION

three broad and impressive doorways, projects slightly up to the height of the aisles and supports a communicating gallery linking the two staircase turrets. Thanks to this, and to the one which runs around the choir, it was possible to walk all round the cathedral at the level of the aisle roofs.

The gallery at the west end was protected by a balustrade, now lost.

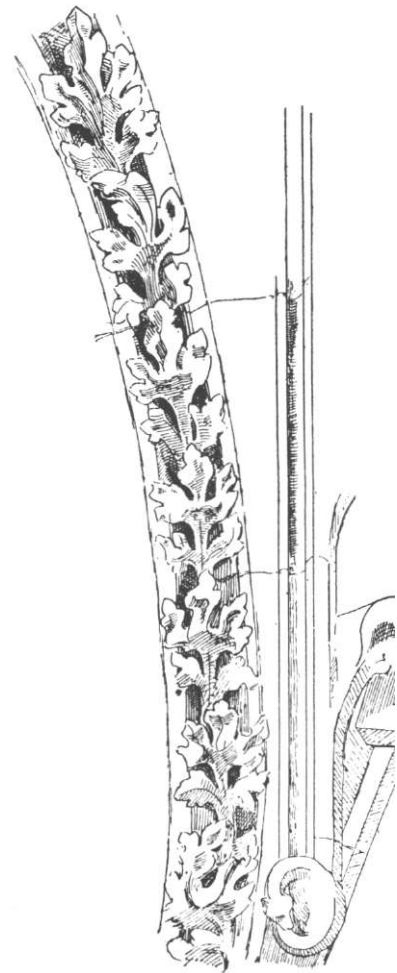
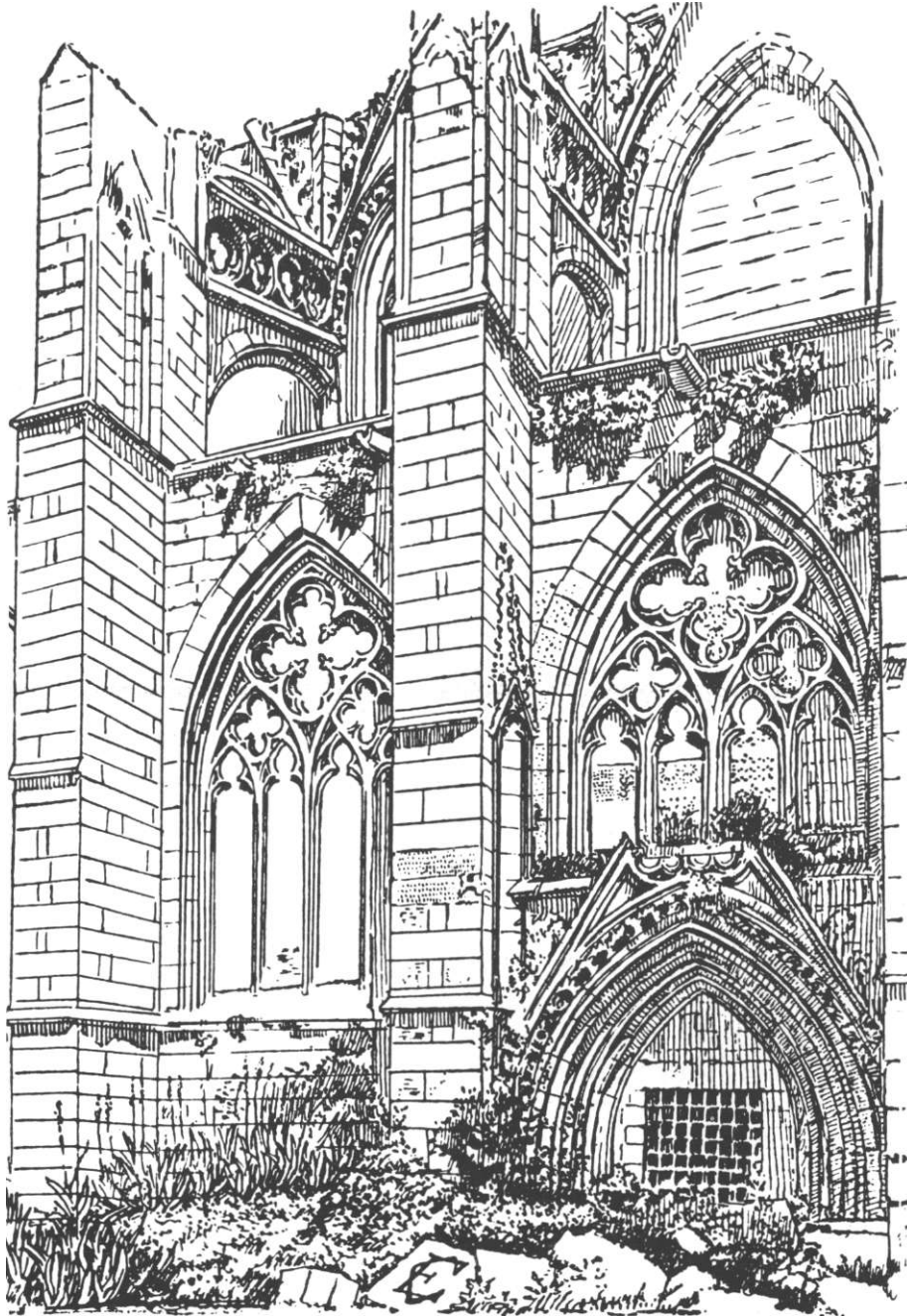


Fig. 176
Detail of arch of south
door.

Fig. 175
South doorway in 1896.

It was interrupted by the points of the three great gables over the doorways and by the pinnacles which frame them.

A handsome frieze runs below the balustrade composed of a series of oak-leaves (Fig. 180) conjoined in pairs to a small piece of stalk framed between an astragal and a drip-moulding. This continues over the shafts of the pinnacles, which project slightly between the doorways, and is interrupted by the three gables. The sloping sides of the latter are decorated with foliar crockets; at the summit are short brackets carved with a small frieze of leaves designed to form bases for statues which might have been of Christ,²⁷ the Virgin and St. John, or perhaps Adam and Eve, as at Notre Dame in Paris, or perhaps the patron saint and two angels or two donors or two other accessory figures.

The three gables are of the same height although the central doorway is wider and taller. In consequence the angles differ, and the pediment over the central doorway is smaller than those of the side doorways. The three pediments are decorated with blind tracery: the central one with a small rosette divided into eight trilobed compartments framed by three acute-angled trefoils, the ones on either side with larger rosettes made up of six trefoils and framed with three other trefoils. A flower is carved in the centre of each rosette.

At the bases of the gables are small gargoyles in the shape of finely carved human beings; their heads have been broken off (Fig. 179).

Each of the doorways has a hood-mould with a groove carved with foliage like those on the apertures of the upper part of the cathedral and four arches decorated with a torus between cavettos. On the side doorways these arches continue right down the jambs and terminate in two stone benches running out at a slanting angle on either side of the door. On the central doorway they are supported on four colonnettes with circular capitals, each framed by two other similar though slenderer colonnettes and by two small capitals lacking their shafts which probably were set on top of marble colonnettes now lost. Between these groups of colonnettes are three canopies (Fig. 181) in the form of three-fronted aedicules decorated with finials, crockets, pinnacles and small ribbed vaults. There must have been statues, which have now disappeared, beneath the canopies; they stood on polygonal brackets decorated with two rows of bunches of various kinds of leaves (Fig. 182). A central mullion divides the doorway into two openings; it was decorated with a seventh statue, placed under a canopy with five pointed pediments and resting on a small column whose capital was presumably also decorated with two rows of foliage.

On the capitals supporting the canopies can be seen leaves of a plant of the convolvulus family and agnus castus,²⁸ the latter being an aromatic shrub which grows all over Cyprus.

The tympana of the three doorways are openwork, with elegant tracery. Over the central one is a large cusped quadrilobe supported on



Fig. 177
Detail of opening of
upper storey of the
towers.

²⁷
Christ in Judgment with the
Virgin and St. John is
carved in high relief at the
summit of the gable of the
main doorway of Rheims
Cathedral, which is closely
akin to Famagusta. The same
scene was in the same place
on Thérouanne Cathedral,
on which see the fragments
preserved in Notre Dame at
St. Omer and old drawings
published by J.M. Richard:
Deux plans de Thérouanne;
*Bulletin de la commission
des atitiquités du Pas de
Calais*, 1879, p. 103.

²⁸
Vitex agnus castus.

DESCRIPTION

two pointed arches, in the centre of which the same pattern is repeated on a smaller scale. The tympana of the lateral doorways have two cusped lights with trilobés, and a quadrilobe over.

The interior of the cathedral is distinguished by the beauty of its proportions and the purity and refined simplicity of its lines.

The great pointed arcades are supported on round pillars with rather



Fig. 178
Centre of west front.

squat circular capitals elegantly designed with no carved work.³⁹ The bases (Fig. 183) are very low and rest on octagonal plinths with a talon at their upper edge. The arcades have a double arch of which the upper register is carved with a broad chamfer between a bird's beak moulding and a cavetto, rather recalling the arcades of St. Maximin, and the lower with a thick flattened torus.

A string-course runs below the sills of the upper and lower series of windows, interrupted by the groups of three colonnettes which support the vaulting. In the nave these rest on the abacuses of the massive pillars. At the entrance to the choir and the apsidal chapels and also on the interior of the west end there are octagonal half-shafts between colonnettes one of which imitates the flattened torus of the main arcades. In the apses single colonnettes support the plain ribs of the vaulting. Formerets are not used. The main and transverse ribs are of the same dimensions and profile (Fig. 183).

The vault bosses differ from the capitals in being carved with foliage (Fig. 184) as in the ambulatory of Rodez Cathedral, which was built, as was part of Famagusta Cathedral, during the time of Peter of Pleine Cassagne who was simultaneously Legate in Cyprus and Bishop of Rodez.

The piscinas are interesting because of their closeness to the one in St. Urbain at Troyes. The one in the choir (Fig. 187) is a rectangular recess, the front plane of which is filled with tracery, prismatic in section, with two trilobés over cusped lights. The piscina in the northern apsidal chapel has a pointed arch with tracery in the form of a trefoil above a trilobé, as in the windows of the apsidal chapels. The piscina on the south side has been destroyed.

After the end of the fourteenth century the plan of Famagusta Cathedral was altered, and brought closer to that of Nicosia Cathedral, by the addition of two chapels with small semi-circular apses built onto the fifth bay of the aisles. The northern one has been demolished; the southern one survives but in a poor state of preservation; they no longer communicate with the body of the church. The two chapels appear to have been of similar shape, consisting of a square bay with ribbed vaults

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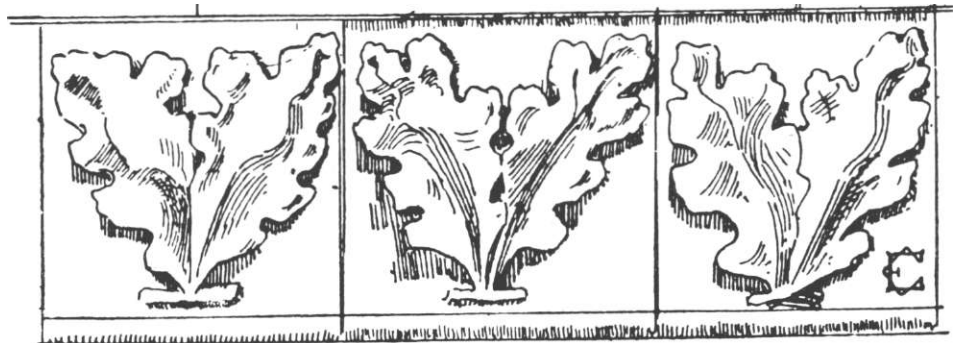


Fig. 180
Frieze above the west
doorways.

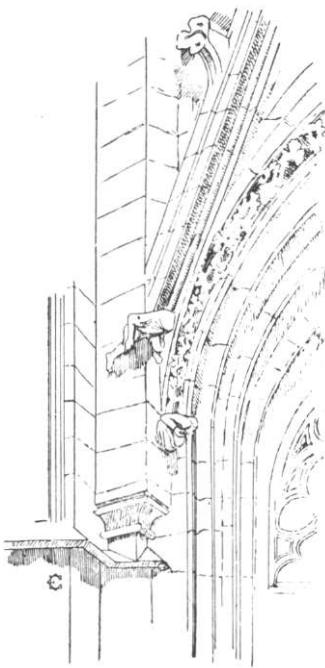


Fig. 179
Detail of lateral door-
ways.

DESCRIPTION



Fig. 181
Statue-canopies on the
main doorway.

carried on corbelled colonnettes whose capitals and supporting brackets were carved (Fig. 185) and a semi-domed apse. They were linked to the aisles by arches decorated like those of the nave. In the surviving chapel the apse has three small pointed windows; the ribbed vault has a flattened torus between cavettos and an armorial boss. The southern face is pierced by a large window formerly divided into three lights surmounted by a hood-mould carved with a diaper pattern of four-petalled flowers. A few paintings have survived in the interior; on the east side is one of Christ on the cross with the Virgin and St. John and on the south an inscription belonging to a tomb now destroyed. What remains of it reads as follows:

hi[c requiescit]
Arzaficus filius quondam D. Ricardi
Que ad h [honorem] . . . c . . . ar
Anno [Dni] M. CCC LXXXIII^o . die...
[cuj] us [anima]
[requiescat in] pace. Amen.

At the same date or a little later a chapel was built onto the seventh and last bay of the southern aisle which is roughly similar except that its apse is three-sided on the exterior and there is no window in it, the chapel being lit by two small pointed windows in the south wall. Between them is a richly carved niche crowned with a gable covered with small undulating leaves and bearing a shield on its pediment; the sepulchral monument which it once enclosed has disappeared.

29
cf. the clumsy capitals of the Dominican church at Agen, p. 48, figure 9. The piers and the Order as a whole are reminiscent of the church at Ambronnay (Ain), south side of the nave, fourteenth century, and the nave in the abbey church of Essen, dating from between 1292 and 1317.



Fig. 182
Statue-bracket on main
doorway.

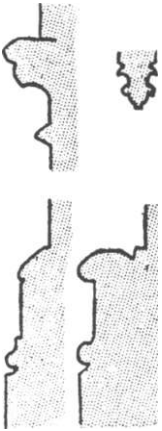


Fig. 183
Profiles of nave arcades.

The last bay of the north aisle communicates with a sacristy or treasury composed of two roughly rectangular rib-vaulted bays built without either skill or regularity. From this sacristy one could go down into a cistern situated a little to the east which was no doubt the source used for holy water.

The coat of arms proves that it is not possible to identify the south-eastern funerary chapel with the tomb of James the Bastard although the Cypriot style of the fifteenth century is very old-fashioned and the tomb of James was magnificently constructed; it lay on the right of the choir according to Dapper, on the left according to Christopher Furer von Haimendorf. The marble sarcophagus bore the following inscription:

'JACOBO DE LUSIGNANO, HIEROSOL. CYPRI, ARME. REGI, CUI DIVINAE LAUDES OB PRAECLARA FACINORA ET OB TENTOS DE HOSTE TRIUMPHOS. HIC OB DENEGATOS HONORES MONARCHIAM CYPRI UT CAESAR INVADENS OBTINUIT, AMEGUSTUM SUBEGIT, VENETORUM DOMINIO PRAEPOTENTISSIMO ADHAESIT, ILLIUS FILLIAM KTHELINAM, VENUSTISSIMAM ET CERTO DEAM SIBI COPULANS CONNUBIO, PIUS, PRUDENS, CLEMENS, MUNIFICUS, MAGNANIMUS PRINCEPS, QUO NEMO BELLO MAJOR NEC ARMIS. HUNC MORS EFFERA ANNO IMPERII XIII, AETATIS VERO XXXIII PEREMIT, ATQUE EJUS POSTHUMUM VAGIENTEM NECAVIT, 1473, D. 6 JULII.'

K. VERE conj. F. V. CHF. EPL. Famagus. dictante.

This epitaph, first transcribed in 1566 by Furer von Haimendorf,³⁰ was published in 1702³¹ as being still in existence.

Another inscription set up behind the altar by the Venetian government was stated by Dapper to have been still *in situ* at the end of the seventeenth century, but it is obvious that he is drawing on Furer's account. It commemorated the abdication of Catherine Cornaro.³² Possibly it was only removed quite recently when a low window was opened at the back of the chevet. It was rediscovered in 1873 or 1874 'in a church in Famagusta now used by the Turks as a stable', i.e. probably the Nestorian church. Mr. Octave Homburg sent the text at the time to the late Count de Mas Latrie who published³³ a more accurate version than Furer's, as follows:

FRAN. DE PRIULIS VENETAE CLASS.
IMPER. DIVI MARCI VESS.
CYPRI FELICITER ERECTUM EST
[AN] NO. MCCCCLXXXVIII. 28 FEBRU.

This inscription, according to Count de Mas Latrie, is carved 'on a fine piece of marble decorated with winged lions'. He adds 'Unless there is an

³⁰

Chr. Furer von Haimendorf, *Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabiae etc.* (Nuremberg, 1621), p. 105.

It is open to question whether the courtly composer of the epitaph was being ironical or ingenuous.

DESCRIPTION

error in the transcription of these few lines the date is given in the Venetian style, in which the year began on 1st March. The best documents make it certain that the abdication of Catherine Cornaro and the Venetian annexation did not take place until 1489 on Thursday 26th February, in the middle of Carnival.³⁴

Some scraps of epitaphs have survived in the pavement of the mosque; I shall pass over them since Major Tankerville Chamberlayne has collected them with a view to publication.

Uniquely for Cyprus Famagusta Cathedral has preserved some remains of stained glass in the south aisle; they are however of no interest, consisting of some bits of light purple and emerald green with some plain lozenge-shaped panes or pieces of bottle-glass all evidently Italian work dating from the end of the Latin domination.

The furnishings of the cathedral have vanished except for two large and beautiful wrought-iron candelabra dating from the fourteenth century (Fig. 188). They measure 165 by 53 centimetres. Each carried five candles, i.e. one on the central stalk and four on four arms, two of which have been broken off. They stand on three arched feet with an angular bead in the middle and a cylindrical stalk with three similar annulets. The arms branched off at the same point, above which the central stalk is decorated with fig leaves and fruit and ends in a finial formed by four small pears alternating with four lance-shaped leaves bent backwards; they are exactly like those on the great bronze candelabrum in Milan Cathedral and another in Brunswick. The arms, bent through a quarter circle, have no foliage but their finials are similar to the central one, which rises a little above them. In the centre of the finials are spikes, to which circular pieces have been subsequently added to hold lamps.

These two candelabra resemble the one in the treasury of Noyon Cathedral and are perhaps more important. They are as much noteworthy for the beauty of their design and execution as for their rarity.³⁵ A wrought-iron candelabrum, French work of the thirteenth century and even more beautiful, can be seen in Jerusalem in the rotunda of the Dome of the Rock; it is in the form of a lily.³⁶

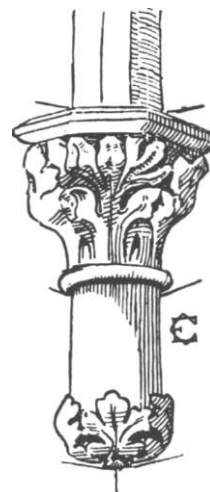


Fig. 185
Detail from south-eastern chapel.

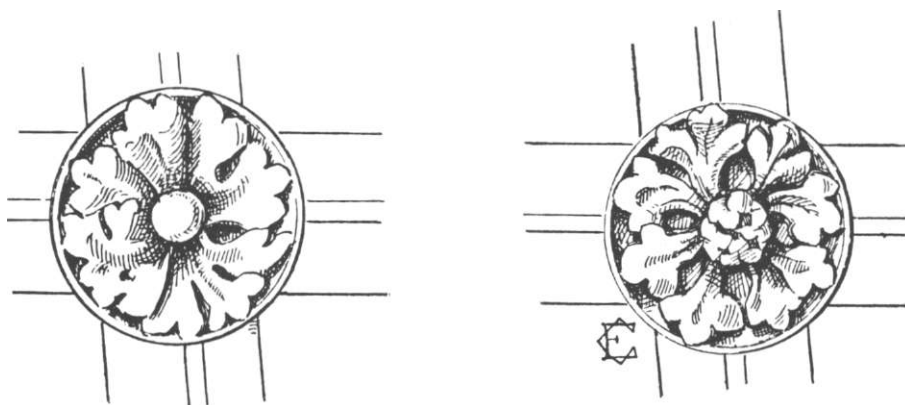


Fig. 184
Vault bosses.

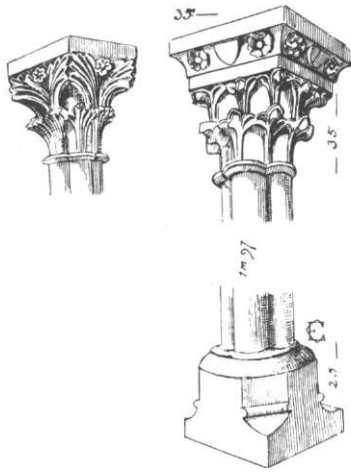


Fig. 186
Marble colonnettes from
modern pulpit.

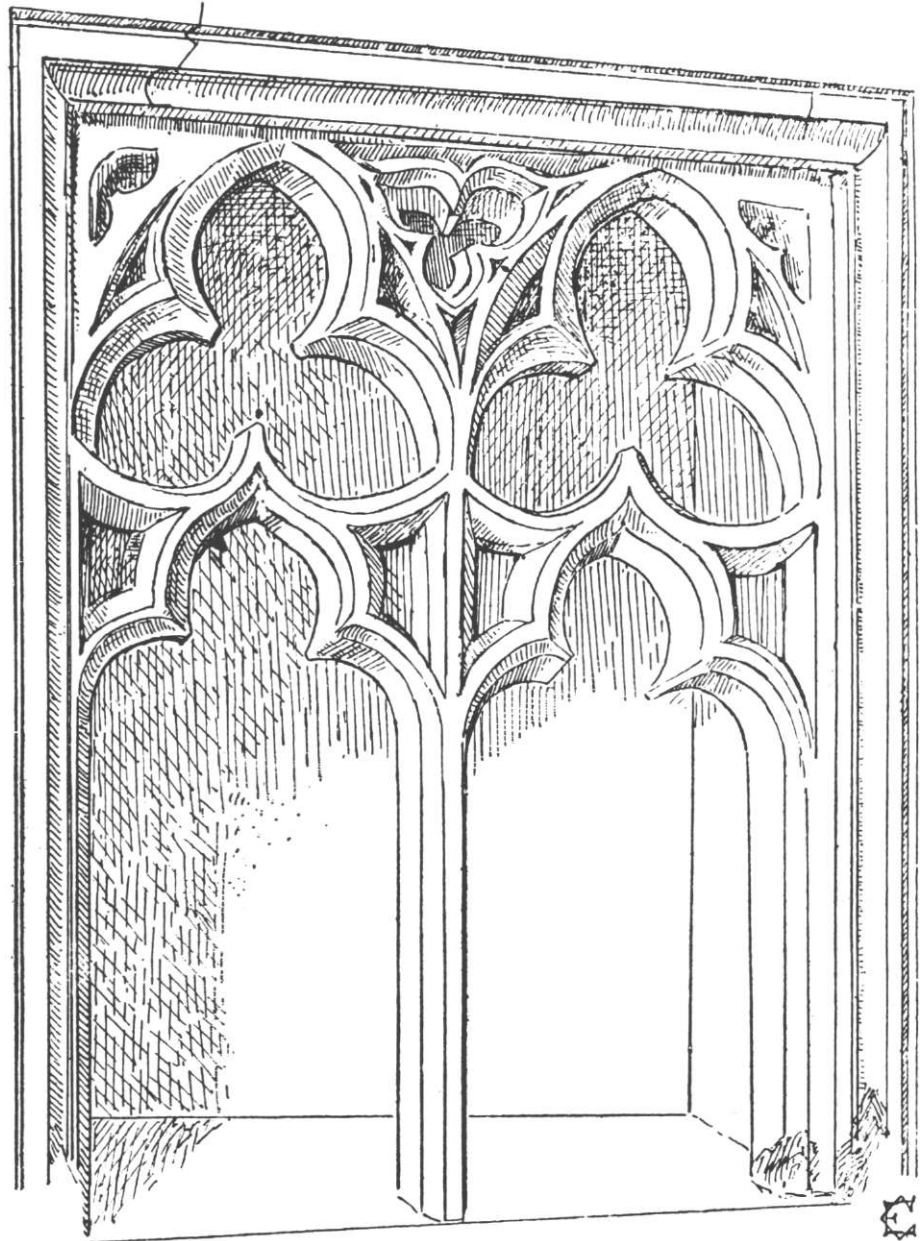


Fig. 187
Piscina in the choir.

31
O. Dapper, *Description des
isles de l'Archipel*, p. 31.

32
ib.

33
L'île de Chypre (Didot,
Paris, 1879), p. 400,
inscription No. 103.

A modern pulpit in the mosque is supported on three marble colonnettes (Fig. 186) which might have come from a rood-screen but are more probably from the fifteenth-century building on the north side of the parvis. The colonnettes have been removed from the jambs of the doorway but the ones in question are more likely to have belonged to an upper loggia which it must have had, because they have always been free-standing. Be that as it may, a capital and an abacus now lying in the courtyard of the palace must have formed part of the same structure.

DESCRIPTION

The fragments, like the building itself, are Catalan work of the fifteenth century;³⁷ they are completely identical with the colonnettes in the cloisters of St. Anne at Barcelona and with the ones in the Barcelona Archaeological Museum, numbers 983 and 990.³⁸ The shafts of the colonnettes are composed of four engaged three-quarter cylinders; the capitals are elongated and carved with either one or two rows of rather conventionalised foliage; the abacus has a broad chamfer decorated with wild roses and escutcheons.

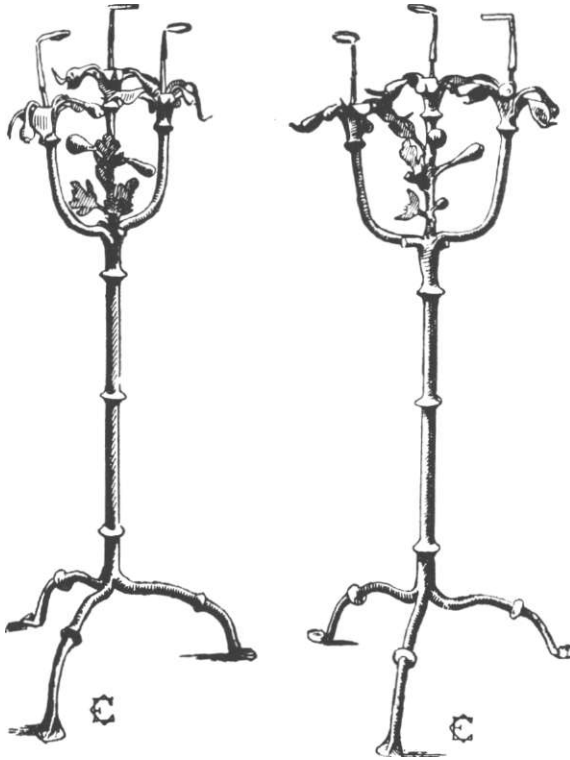


Fig. 188
Candelabra.

34

See also Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 394.

35

See the Noyon candelabrum in Gailhabaud *L'architecture et les arts que en dépendent* (Paris, 1856), vol. IV; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier*, vol. II. There are a certain number of these large candelabra with stems decorated with annulets in France, e.g. one of those in the church at Abondance in Savoy (thirteenth or fourteenth century) and No. 6058 in the Cluny Museum, but they are usually of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries (No. 6059 in the same museum), Carpentras Cathedral, Abondance, the Hotel-Dieu in Salins, Grez sur Loing; some lecterns have similar feet e.g. St. Sulpice at Favières. A very small iron candelabrum of this type perhaps going back to the fourteenth century, can be seen in the church at Belloy-en-Santerre, near Péronne.

36

This candelabrum was reported to me by my learned colleague and valued friend Monsieur Henry d'Allemagne, author of *L'histoire du luminaire*.

37

See above, p. 69, figure 25.

38

See *Catalogo del Museo provincial de Antiguedades de Barcelona* by Don Antonio Elias de Molins (Barcelona, 1888), pp. 126-7.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCHES OF FAMAGUSTA

I

THE CHURCH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL

This church (Figs. 189 and 190), one of the largest in Famagusta, is a short way to the west of the cathedral and to the south of the palace, from which it is separated only by a street.

The date of its foundation is known: Stephen Lusignan reports that it was erected during the reign of Peter I (1358-1369) entirely at the expense of a merchant of Famagusta called Simon Nostrano, allegedly costing him only a third of the profit he had made on a single trading venture to Syria.¹ Loredano² and Mariti³ give the same account.

The appearance of the church corroborates this story well enough, except perhaps for the doorways. On one of them the sculptures at least are in the style of the thirteenth century — possibly they have been re-used — and the other two are somewhat old-fashioned. The rest of the church is plainly later than the cathedral, and is modelled on it. It looks as though the greater part of the construction was done at one time, and fairly rapidly, and that, to speak frankly, the architect tried to produce a good effect without spending too much.

In spite of Gibellino's deliberate mistake — he puts it to the west of the palace so that he can show both buildings — it can be identified with the large building, still almost intact, on the south side of the palace. The street between them was no doubt bridged by a covered passage. The identification is confirmed by the fact that this was the second church, after the cathedral, to be converted to a mosque by the Turks. Jean Palerne bears witness to this conversion in about 1600;⁴ he found it a beautiful building, as did Stephen Lusignan⁵ and Loredano.⁶ It is now used as a store-house but has preserved its *mihrab* and *mimbar*.

SS. Peter and Paul is closely similar to St. George of the Greeks though the latter appears slightly later. It is a current and serious error to attribute it to Richard the Lionheart because of some details which re-

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 147 v .

Historie de' Re Lusignani,
p. 307.

Book I, ch. XII, p. 152.

Pérégrinations, p. 333.

He calls it 'most beautiful
and seemly in its size and
very stately in construction'
(*Description de Cypre*, fol.
147, v°).

6

Loredano goes even further
and calls it 'superbissimo
edificio': admittedly he had
not seen it.

call the transitional style, such as the semi-domed apses, or Norman architecture, as for instance a window with a sharply-pointed arch and round capitals decorated with plain mouldings. Such characteristics as could plausibly be attributed to Norman influence can be equally well explained by the influence of Champagne or Provence. As for the date of construction any attribution to the period of Richard the Lionheart can be confidently rejected: the only things earlier than the fourteenth century are the capitals of the doorways (Figs. 192, 195 and 196) which could not be earlier than 1240 and the old-fashioned features in SS. Peter and Paul can be duplicated in St. George of the Greeks as well as in many other buildings in Cyprus of the fourteenth or even fifteenth centuries.

It is a very large church (Fig. 189) with tall proportions. It consists of a nave and aisles of five bays ending in an apse and two apsidal chapels. The walls of the aisles are thick and, as at St. George of the Greeks, have no external buttresses.

Following a scheme often found in the earliest Christian basilicas the three apses are enclosed in a square construction forming a prolongation of the walls of the aisles, which must have been used as a treasury. The corners of this building are rounded off with a thick torus moulding (Fig. 191) surmounted by a *congé* carved with a spray of foliage. This ornamentation is identical with that of the corners of the buttresses of Nicosia Cathedral porch and that, as has been seen, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the same place the arms of Cyprus and Jerusalem (?) are carved.

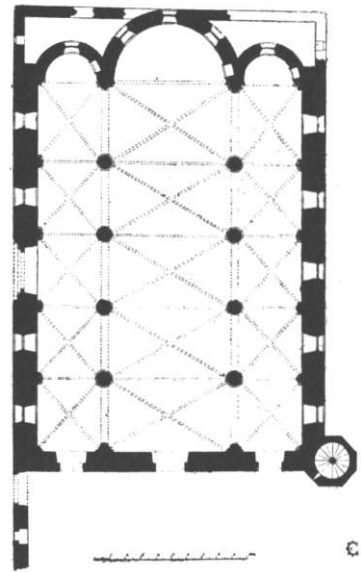


Fig. 190
Plan of the church of
SS. Peter and Paul.



Fig. 189
The church of SS. Peter
and Paul.

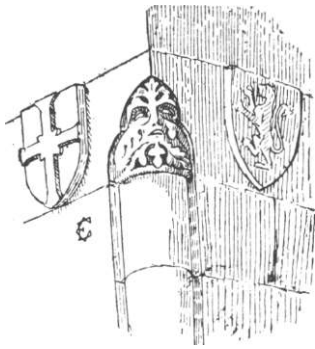


Fig. 191
Corner of sanctuary,
SS. Peter and Paul.

At the south-west corner of the west end is an octagonal turret containing a spiral staircase; the upper part has been modified for use as a minaret.

In the central bay of each aisle there were two doorways of which only the northern one has survived; it is more richly decorated than those of the west end. The latter were covered by a large low porch, unvaulted, of which all that survives is a scrap of wall at the north end pierced by a door and a window. The west end, like the aisles, has no buttresses.

The vaults of the nave are supported by very plain flying buttresses. Their piers are tall oblong structures reaching up about as high as the roof-terrace of the nave, topped with small masonry copings consisting of a roof-ridge and two sloping sides. The arches springing from the piers have no ornamentation except for low ribs framed by small concave mouldings of a conventional Gothic type.

Stone gutters are set into the upper surfaces of these arches; they are undecorated as are the gargoyles which carry off the water from them through the piers. There are stone flagstaff-holders on the tops of the piers and above the nave windows. The upper and lower windows are quite large, tall and elongated with pointed tops; their splays, both external and internal, are very slight, no doubt to conceal from the eye the great thickness of the walls. The corners of these windows are carved with a continuous bead moulding; their apices are framed by a hood-mould profiled not with a drip-course but with a bead moulding, a cavetto with a bird's beak and a string-course. This singular arrangement, rare in Late-Gothic times, can also be observed at Bellapais and on other buildings in Cyprus.

There is an *oeil-de-boeuf* between the apse and the vault of the nave as in churches in the south of France. The main apse has three windows, the two small apses one each.

In the centre of the west end is a large window divided into two lights by colonnettes which support a tracery of trefoils and quatrefoils set in circles, a design reminiscent of the thirteenth century. To left and right of it are two subsequently added sections of wall which mask the aisle roofs. At first sight they call to mind a ridiculous arrangement much loved by Lombard architects but it appears that they used to carry arcaded belfries like those on the west end of Puy Cathedral. They also formed the western faces of two loggias built above the first bay of the aisles; in fact on their east side are stumps showing that a return wall had been planned. The pier of the neighbouring flying buttress has similar stumps on its west side though the flier which springs from this pier does not itself differ from the others. It may be that it was originally meant to be closed by a stone bulk-head since there are on its extrados some courses levelled off horizontally which go to prove that it supported a flat roof. Holes for beams also show that there was to have been a plank

flooring over these spaces and yet, oddly enough, the first bay of the nave has windows identical with those of the other bays. Presumably therefore these spaces were meant to form loggias which were practically all open on their two long sides, providing a sort of bracing structure like that on the west end of Nicosia Cathedral. The western side-wall of the northern loggia is pierced by a medium-sized window with an acutely pointed apex of a design peculiar to the architectural schools of Champagne and Normandy.

On the south side, by contrast, there is only a corbelled door which must have given access to the lower roof of the porch by means of a wooden staircase or ladder. At the end of this wall is the staircase-turret converted into a minaret, now ruined. This staircase communicated with the roof of the south aisle and led to a gallery running along the whole length of the crest of the great square wall which forms the western façade of the church. At the north end of this gallery the section of wall which prolongs the façade has on top of it, at both its east and west ends, consoles of three quadrant courses. They used to support a sort of communicating balcony at the base of an arcaded belfry like the one in the Nestorian church.

Access to the roof of the north aisle was by means of a corbelled wooden gallery like a gangway clinging to the inner side of this façade wall. Built of sycamore wood, (Fig. 193) it rests on wooden consoles which in turn rest on stone corbels, of two quadrant courses. The gallery, together with its wooden balustrade, has been preserved intact; it is closely similar to the one in the lower chapel of Castelnau-de-Bretenoux.

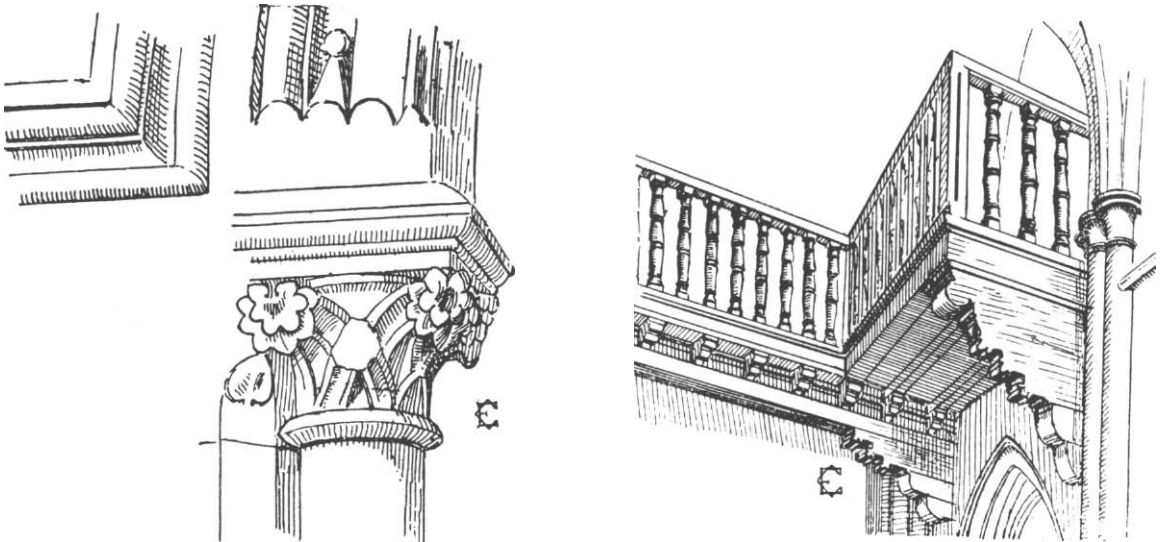
It is highly probable that the roof of the north aisle was also connected to the palace by a bridge thrown over the street. This would have meant that there was direct communication between the first storey of the palace and the gallery on the west side of the nave and explains the



Fig. 194
Roof boss.

Fig. 192
Details from one of
west doorways.

Fig. 193
Gallery.



principal *raison d'être* of the gallery.

The lower part of the west end has three pointed doorways with perfectly plain tympana. Their arches, and the arch of the porch door which is also pointed, are carved with grooves, toruses and slender ovolos with fillet. Each of the doors has two colonnettes with rather heavy

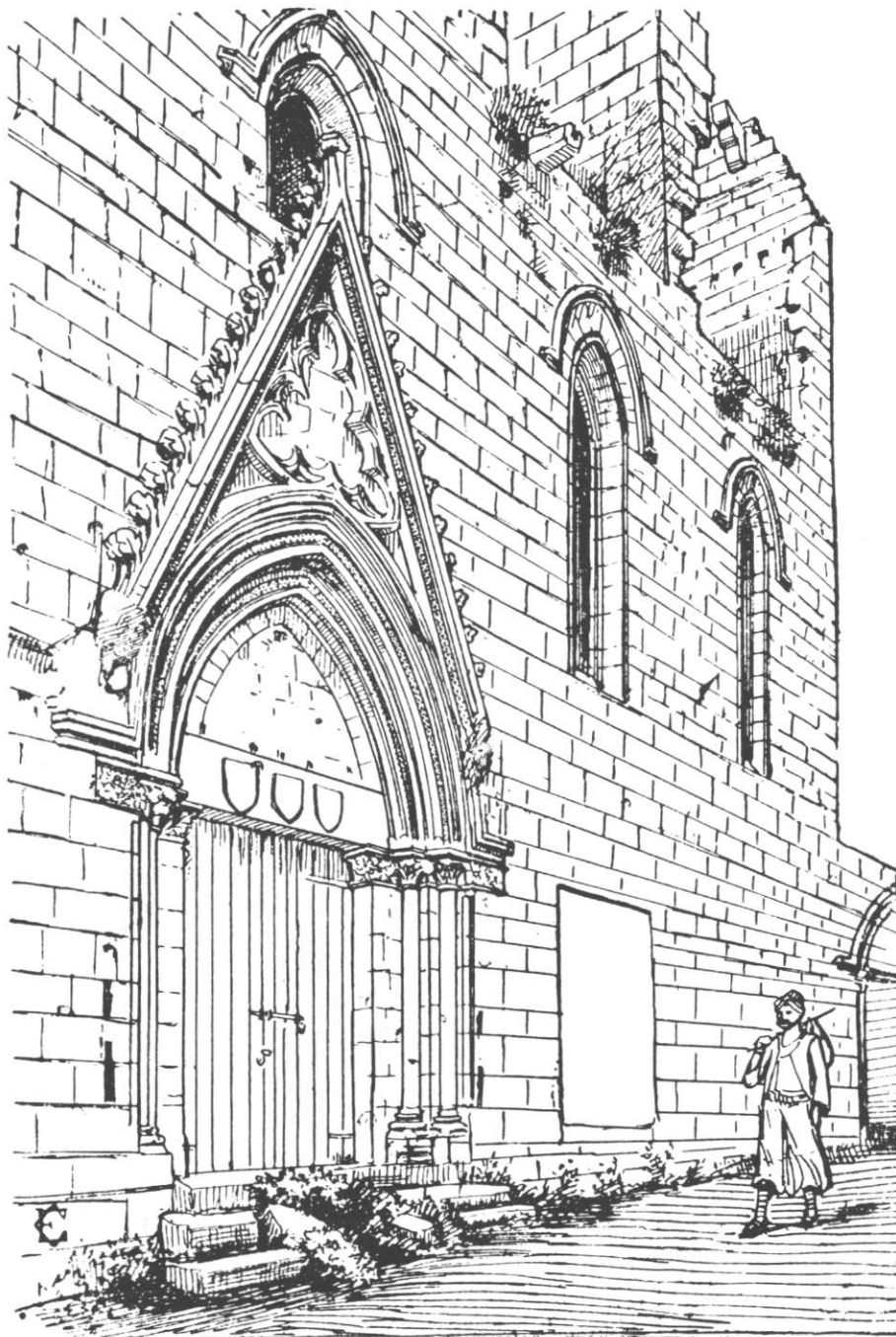


Fig. 195
North doorway.

capitals in an earlier style than the arch mouldings, in fact in French thirteenth-century style (Fig. 192).

The northern doorway (Fig. 195) in the side facing the palace is bigger and of much greater importance. Its two pointed arches frame a tympanum which, either because it has been re-worked or because it was intended to be covered with painted plaster, is of very indifferent workmanship.

The tall jambs are adorned with four tall marble columns with free-standing shafts. Their capitals, strongly convex, are carved with crockets ending in wide-spreading bunches of different kinds of leaves. The tops of the jambs are carved with two sections of a frieze which blends into the carvings of the capitals. The hand of a skilled artist has elicited from the white marble sprays of different leaves and fruit, a dragon couched beside a vine-stock, a plant with globular fruit, a big thistle-leaf, an oak-twig (Fig. 196) and finally a sycamore branch. A similar succession of trees and plants can be found on the north-west doorway of Notre Dame in Paris.

The corbels supporting the lintels of the door are also richly carved. On one side is St. Michael represented as a seated angel holding souls in a fold of his vestment, gripping the two ends with his hands-, on the other side an angel holding a censer, with one knee on the ground.

On the lintel are three escutcheons whose charges have been defaced.

Above the doorway is a sharply-pointed gable, the sides carved with crockets of dense foliage with an upward curling clover-leaf protruding from the spiral. The clover-leaf indicates a date close to 1300, which is confirmed by the general design of the acute-angled pediment. The internal tracery of the pediment is a trefoil with pointed, cusped lobes. The springer-blocks were sculptured in high relief, probably with figures which have been destroyed. There was another side-doorway on the south which has disappeared; the remains may possibly be among the collection of carved stones now on display in the courtyard of the palace.

The interior of the church is simple and elegant in style. The piers, like those in the cathedral, have smooth circular capitals carrying pointed arches with mouldings. The arches of the central vault rest on groups of three colonnettes above these piers and the aisle vaults are carried on groups of three slender columns of the same type. The bosses, unlike the capitals, are decorated with rosettes of leaves (Fig. 194) similar to those in the cathedral. The arches of the vaults all have the same profile (Fig. 197). The profiles of the main arcades resemble those in the cathedral. A string-course in the form of a drip-moulding runs all round the nave at the level of the aisle roofs, rising as a hood-mould over the top of the great pointed arch that frames the conical semi-dome of the apse. The imposts of the apse and the apsidal chapels are identical in profile with the abacuses of the capitals to which they are linked and this profile is itself identical with that of the string-course.

Remains of a similar pavement can be seen in the church of Akhiropiitos and there is another, almost complete, in the Byzantine chapel in Kyrenia Castle. This kind of work is as likely to be Byzantine as French; in the fourteenth century the French copied in terra-cotta the inlay work for which the Byzantines used marble.

THE CHURCHES OF FAMAGUSTA

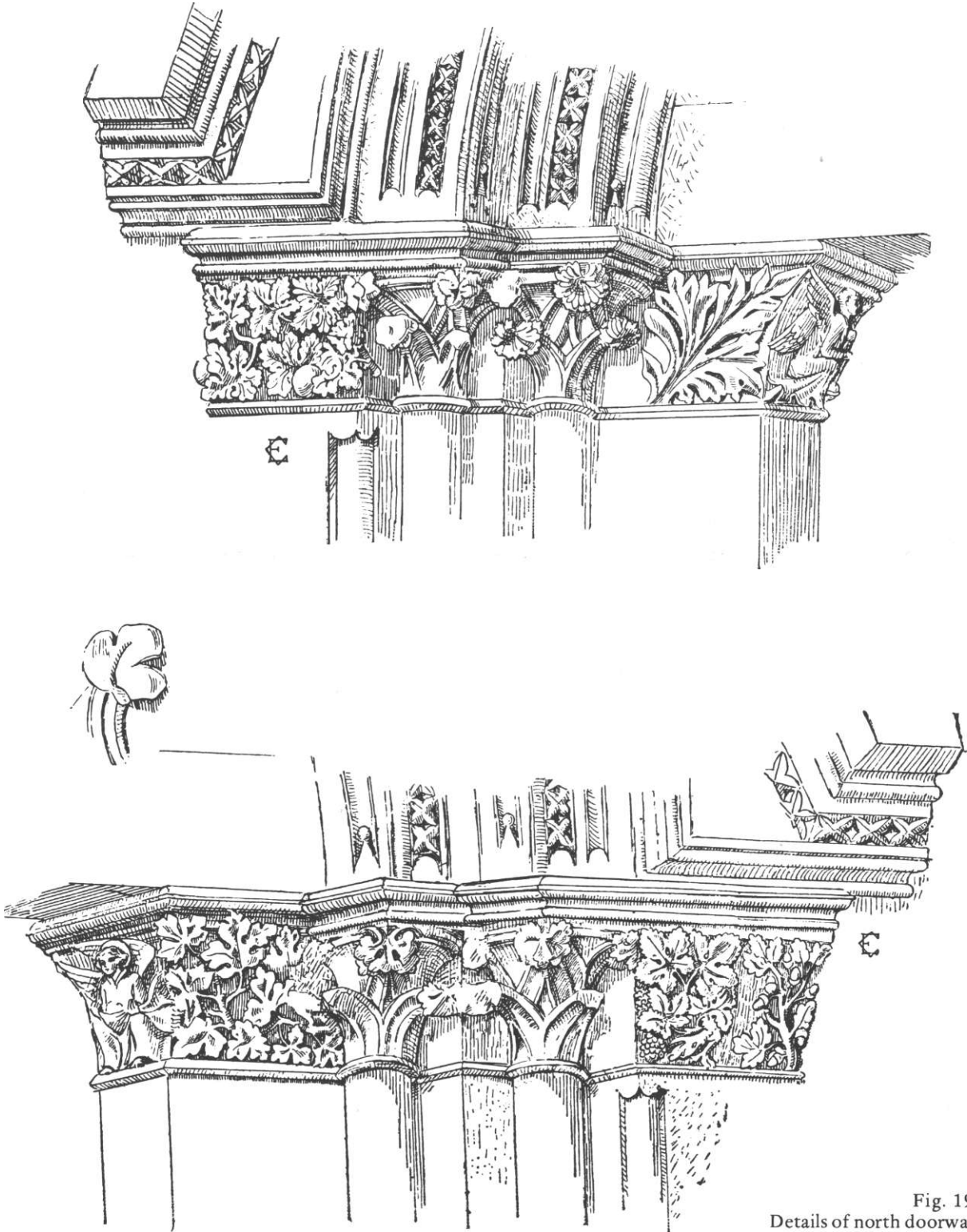


Fig. 196
Details of north doorway.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE OF THE GREEKS

The bases are very low (Fig. 197). Their outlines vary but are all fourteenth-century; they rest on an octagonal plinth raised on a stylobate of the same outline surmounted by a talon. These all correspond to typical southern French types. Some remains of an inlaid pavement of small triangles of black and yellow marble are also reminiscent of French fourteenth-century practice (Fig. 197).

In spite of its robust construction and fine masonry the church of SS. Peter and Paul must have been shaken by the earthquakes of 1546 and 1568. It was at one of those dates that some of the flying buttresses were rebuilt and an extra row of new ones was added to support the wall of the south aisle.

This beautiful building now belongs to a private individual who has leased it for several years to the British Government as a tithe-barn. It is to be hoped that the government, though giving up the lease, will retain an interest in the conservation of so precious a monument.

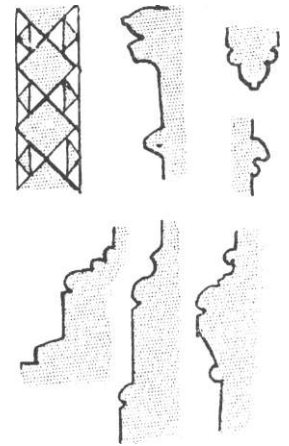


Fig. 197
Profiles, and pattern
of pavement.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE OF THE GREEKS

The Greek quarter, as already indicated, occupied almost the whole of the southern end of the city of Famagusta where there are numerous small Byzantine churches. When, in the fourteenth century, the Latin civil and religious authorities adopted a less rigorous attitude towards the Greeks, and after the Greek merchants of Famagusta had become prosperous, a Greek Orthodox cathedral in the Gothic style was built on the edge of the Greek quarter. It faces the Latin cathedral of which it is a plainer and slightly shorter copy. It was dedicated to St. George and took the place of an earlier and much smaller Byzantine one. Veneration for this ancient sanctuary prevented its demolition; all that was done was to restore it and to incorporate its north wall in the wall of the southern aisle of the new cathedral, turning it into a chapel. This low-built chapel was perhaps the scene of the cult of the body of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, a famous relic all trace of which is lost after the sixteenth century. Certainly it was in the church of St. George, according to Furer von Haimendorf and Dapper, that there was to be seen 'the marble tomb of St. Epiphanius with a Greek inscription whose letters were so worn by the passage of many years that it was impossible to make them out.'¹⁰ Von Haimendorf saw the tomb in 1564.

There is no documentary evidence for the foundation date of St. George. The church recorded under that name, in which were buried the Genoese victims of the riots that broke out at Peter II's coronation,¹¹ was outside the city¹² on the side towards the ruins of Salamis. On the other hand Mariti,¹³ who visited Famagusta in 1760, said the Greek

Furer von Haimendorf
Itinerarium Aegypti
(Nuremberg, 1621), p. 105;
Dapper, *Description exacte
des isles de l'Archipel*
(Amsterdam, 1703), p. 31.
Dapper seems to have copied
von Haimendorf.

10

Strambaldi, p. 135.

11

Machaeras, p. 183.

12

Mariti, *Viaggi...*, vol. I,
p. 152



Fig. 198
Profile of vaulting
arches.

cathedral was dedicated to the Holy Cross; but he is in error because Gibellino's engraving of 1571, thanks to which this building can be identified with confidence, bears the legend '*S. Giorgio, duomo dei Greci.*' After 1571 the Greek rite was reported as being celebrated in a church with the same dedication¹³ but this might not have been the same building because Mariti reports that their former cathedral had been converted into a mosque.¹⁴ Perhaps he is in error again; he might have confused it with SS. Peter and Paul. De Bruyn¹⁵ does not give the name St. George; he says the building in question had become a mosque but he only saw it, and drew it, from a distance, having been refused admittance to the city. It may well be, therefore, that this building was abandoned after 1571; it had suffered severely from the fire of the battery established by the Turks on the rock to the south-east of the harbour and the marks of cannon-balls can be seen on the walls of the apse. The Greeks of today give the name of St. George to the former Nestorian church and the cathedral I am describing has certainly been ruined and disused for a long time.

St. George of the Greeks can be dated with a high degree of probability

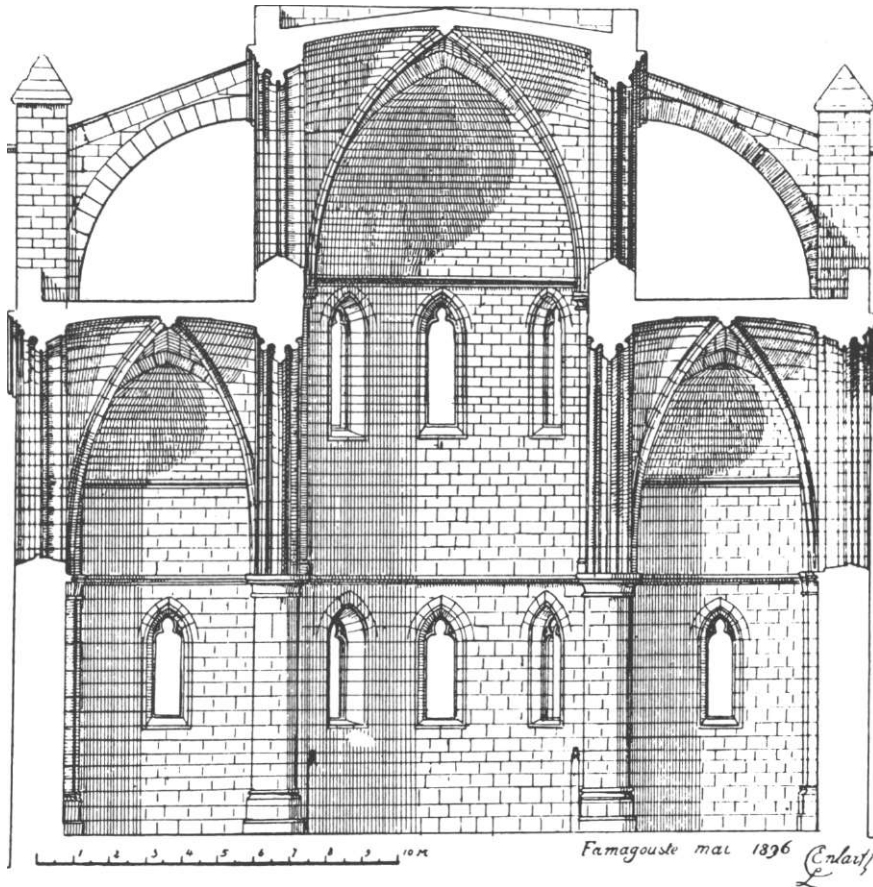


Fig. 199
Transverse section.

to the same period as SS. Peter and Paul. The two buildings are almost identical, though St. George appears to be a little later. Given that we know SS. Peter and Paul to date from 1360 to 1370 St. George probably belongs to the end of the same decade since the misfortunes that followed the death of Peter I make it impossible to believe that so important a building could have been erected any later than that.

Today it is more than half ruined. It consisted of a nave of five bays, ending in an apse almost as wide and of the same height, and two aisles, without buttresses, ending in apsidal chapels. The three apses, the wall of the south aisle, the lower part of the west end and two stumps of pillars are the only parts still standing.

The architecture is very plain. The apse and the two apsidioles are semi-circular, roofed with conical semi-domes. Each side-apse has a pointed window between which and the impost of the vault there is a pretty wide stretch of wall, marked off by mouldings, to receive a painted frieze. The main apse, which is very high-built, has two rows of three windows each, also pointed. All these windows are small, the apices given a trilobed shape by cusps ending in a fleur-de-lis as in the Latin cathedral, in the cloisters at Bellapais, on the north doorway of St. Catherine's church in Nicosia and in the round windows of St. Francis's church in Famagusta.

The angles of the splays are ornamented with a bead-moulding. On the outside there is a hood-mould over the top of the windows. Between the main apses and the side-apses there are two small rectangular recesses, accessible from the inside; they were possibly used as sacristies or perhaps confessionals. They are lit by an arrow-slit pierced low down in a niche whose top is carved with an imitation of ribbed vaulting.

The nave and the aisles had ribbed vaults (for profile of the ribs see Fig. 198) and undoubtedly pointed arcades decorated with mouldings. They were carried on massive circular piers in the shape of columns, like those of St. Nicholas and SS. Peter and Paul but distinctly coarser; the capitals are circular and uncarved but the bell is only very slightly convex or rather is merely a section of a cone, a degenerate form which can be seen in Cypriot buildings of the fourteenth century and in Provence.¹⁴ The vaults of the nave must have been supported, as in the churches already mentioned, on triple groups of colonnettes rising from the abacuses of the main piers. In the aisles, again as in those other churches, there is a series of triple groups of slender columns. The capitals of these columns are of the same type as those already described. The pointed windows of the aisles and the nave were quite large. The thrust of the nave vaults was taken by very plain flying buttresses exactly like those in SS. Peter and Paul, apart from the coping of the piers which is a plain, square pyramid with a forty-five degree angle. Only one of the flying buttresses survives, at the north corner of the nave; its collapse is imminent.¹⁷

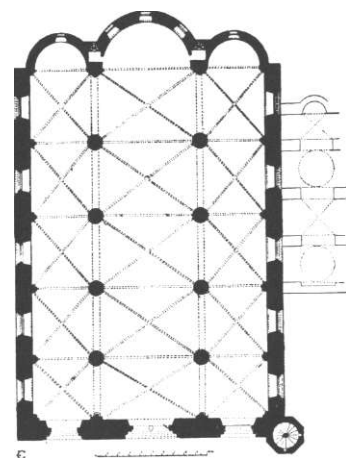


Fig. 199 B
St. George of the
Greeks.

13
Probably the church of the Syrians or Nestorians, which the Greeks call St. George the Exiler (Xorinos) and which functions alternately as a camel stable and a place of pilgrimage.

14
op. cit., vol. I, p. 152.

15
Voyage en Levant (Paris, 1725, and The Hague, 1732). De Bruyn visited Cyprus in the last years of the seventeenth century.

16
In Apt Cathedral in a chapel founded in 1340 by the Bessan family, some branches of which were domiciled in Cyprus.

17
In fact the arch proper has already collapsed leaving only the courses of masonry and the gutter which crowned the extrados of the arch remaining in place, held together by the mortar.

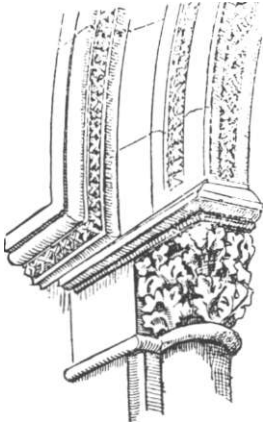


Fig. 200
Detail from lateral
doorways at west end.



Fig. 201
Profile from central
doorway.

Only one vaulted bay is preserved, viz. the easternmost in the north aisle. It is noteworthy for the acute angles of the ribs and formerets, strongly reminiscent of the style of Champagne. Between the vaulting and the flat roof that covers it some huge jars are embedded in the masonry; they make a light filling and must also have been intended to improve the acoustics, like those which are inserted in the thickness of the vaulting in many French buildings of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries¹³ and are found in Cyprus in the vaulting of Stazousa (Beaulieu) and of the church just south of the Carmelite church in Famagusta.

The west end, (Fig. 202) according to the possibly dubious information provided by Gibellino's engraving, had a false gable. The upper part has been destroyed; the remaining portion makes a distinctly bare impression, surmounted by a corbelled gallery at the height of the aisle roofs supported on two quadrant courses. It is reached by a staircase built into an octagonal turret in the south-west corner. Above this gallery there was a window opening into the nave; the side-pieces are decorated with grooves and two colonnettes. Under it are three pointed doorways with no buttresses to separate them. The middle one is larger than the other two; above it is an *oeuil-de-boeuf* with a wide splay. The tympana are missing. The two lateral doorways have two arches with mouldings that rest on colonnettes whose capitals are carved with clusters of leaves (Fig. 200). There are no colonnettes on the central doorway but three arches, whose mouldings (Fig. 201) continue down onto the jambs; there is also a hood-mould carved with a thick torus moulding decorated on both sides with two rows of large leaves, all of

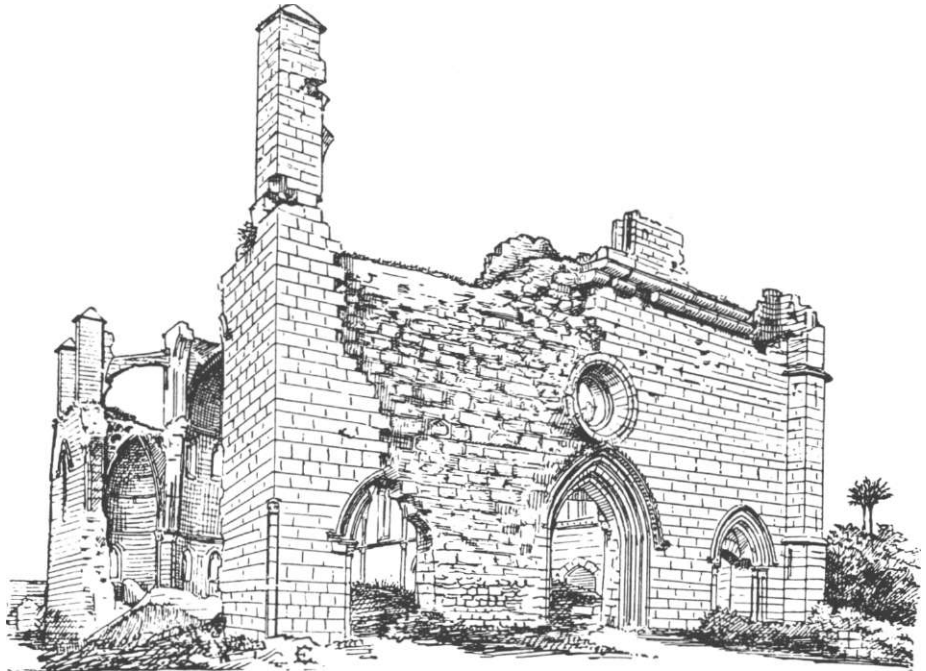


Fig. 202
West end.

identical design." These leaves, like those on the capitals, are deeply cut and strongly folded. They are clearly inspired by the carvings on the cathedral but are rather more methodical and elaborate. The capitals make a confused effect, all the more inelegant because the abacus is a plain flattened torus (Fig. 200).

There was another doorway in the south side of the nave and there would undoubtedly have been a corresponding one in the north side since this was the usual practice for architects in Cyprus.

The church contained many tombs, for which the builder made provision in advance. In most of the bays the walls of the aisles have had wide and deep recesses made in them, framed by pointed arches, quite clearly intended to house sepulchral monuments. Their arches are carved with elegant mouldings.

The small Byzantine church which has been preserved and joined onto St. George's on the north-east side has twin apses, possibly dedicated to St. George and St. Epiphanius. Its central dome, carried on an octagonal drum with mitred windows, was rebuilt at the time of the construction of the main church. It recalls some of the lanterns built at about the same date in the Toulouse region, especially the one in the church at Simorre. Simultaneously with this rebuilding Gothic doorways were opened on the south and north sides of the old church to link it with the Gothic church for which it served as a kind of narthex. On its west the fourteenth century church extends beyond it for two bays. In the last bay a set of fine marble brackets in Italian Renaissance style has been preserved; they were plainly intended as supports for a sarcophagus.

The interior of the church of St. George is entirely covered with well-drawn paintings in the style of Giotto accompanied by numerous inscriptions in Greek. One of the latter runs around the chamfered edge of the impost of the apsidal semi-dome; but this chamfer is in plaster laid over a groove moulding carved with a diaper of small flowers. This detail proves that the painted decoration is later than the construction work; it was probably done in the sixteenth century.

The character of the paintings is unmistakably Italian, especially in the figures in the southern lateral apse and the aisles, and on the window-surrounds.

I give an abridged description of the areas covered by paintings and the scenes represented:

Lower part of the three apses. **Row of Fathers of the Greek Church.**

Main apse, between the upper windows. **Raising of Lazarus (?); Entry of Christ into Jerusalem; Last Supper.**

Second Register. **Washing of the Apostles' Feet; Garden of Olives; Seizure of Jesus; Buffeting of Jesus; St. Peter's Betrayal (?); Flagellation; Pilate washing his hands; Bearing of the Cross.**

Register at level of heads of lower windows. **Row of Saints (presumably the Apostles); a Cherubim above each window.**

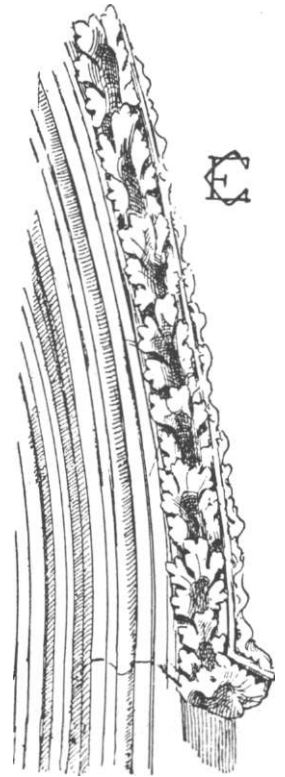


Fig. 203
Detail from central doorway.

18

See above, p. 36, and L. Cloquet, *Les Vases acoustiques*, *Rev. de l'art chrétien*, 1897, p. 519.

19

A voussoir from this hood-mould can be seen at the foot of the door where it fell when the facing of the west end of St. George's and much other material besides was removed and shipped off to be used in the buildings of Port Said; this barbarous trade is still continuing (see *Athenaeum*, 9th July 1895).

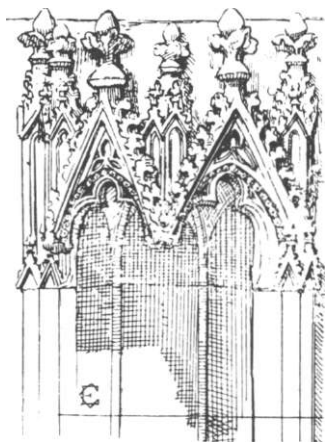


Fig. 204
Niche above the altar,
St. George of the Latins.

Southern lateral apse, upper register. Jesus despoiled of his vestments; Jesus on the Cross-, a mutilated picture with a row of seated men in the foreground.

Four pictures framing the window. Descent from the Cross; Entombment; Resurrection of Jesus and the Just; Holy Women at the Sepulchre (guarded by three angels).

South aisle. First and second bays, vacant; third bay: group of three saints, life-size; a bust above an arch with mouldings decorated with Italian banderoles; St. George (?); Christ blessing the three holy children kneeling in the furnace; fourth bay, vacant; fifth bay: two registers of saints, life-size. In the first can be made out a saint holding a bird, possibly' St. John or perhaps the Purification; in the second St. Michael, St. Helena and three other saints.

Above the south-west doorway. Crucifixion.

On either side of the principal doorway. Below, two overlife-size angels, above, a row of ten saints, three of them soldier-saints one holding a palm branch; saint holding a cross etc. On the southern column, a large figure; on the northern column, an aureole in the form of a narrow ellipse held by four angels, no doubt the Ascension.

Above the north-west doorway. A row of figurai medallions grouped in pairs surrounded by foliated scrolls, resembling a tree of Jesse.

Western bay of north aisle, west end, upper register. Christ seated between two cherubim; on his right the Virgin, standing.

Lower register. Arcades containing figures.

East end. Fragment of a large scene: two Greek bishops dominating five small saints; behind them two veiled women; in background, a building.

On inside of arch. Two saints of uncertain identification.

THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE OF THE LATINS

No. 5 on the plan

This charming church, perhaps the most perfect in the whole island, has no past, and no future. Its history is unknown and its ruins are under imminent threat of total collapse. Sea spray has corroded the stone, and date palms growing among the ruins have disturbed the foundations of the half of the nave that is still standing; the rest of it was knocked down by artillery fire from the batteries that the Turks in 1570 set up on the harbour breakwater.

Its name is known only from the engraving by Stephen Gibellino though on that its location and appearance are no more than approximately indicated. As for its name the artist, who originally wrote only 'S. Giorgio,' later added the abbreviation 'lat. ' and at first sight it is dif-

20
There was a canopy of the same kind in 1468 over the altar of the now vanished church of the Misericordia in Nicosia, containing a small statue of the Virgin: 'There is a tabernacle over the aforementioned altar in which there is a small Our Lady', *Etat des lieux*, publ. by Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 268.

ficult to know what exactly he intended.

All that remains (Fig. 205) is the northern half with the base of the apse and one of the *tas-de-charge* from the vaulting of the south side which collapsed all in one piece. The other stones were removed some time ago to be used as building materials in new constructions at Larnaca and Port Said.

The church of St. George of the Latins is the oldest piece of Gothic architecture in Famagusta after the doorways of SS. Peter and Paul; its construction can be dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth or possibly the first years of the fourteenth century. It may have served as a model for another church in the city as well as for the churches in Nicosia now known as the Yeni Djami and St. Catherine's, and even for the doorways of Famagusta Cathedral.

The fine ashlar masonry is carefully worked but the stone, which is more porous than in the other churches and is exposed to the winds off the sea, is severely corroded. Finer-grained stones have been reserved for the capitals; the heads of the buttresses, and their accompanying gargoyles, are of marble.

The plan could scarcely be simpler: a single nave of four bays ending in a three-sided apse; ribbed vaults supported in the nave by groups of three slender columns and in the east and west corners by single columns. There must have been three doorways, one of which was at the west end and the other two on the north and south sides of the second bay of the nave. The other bays each had on the inside an arcade or a niche framed by pointed arches with keystones and imposts. Above the altar there was a small niche (Fig. 204) covered by an elegant canopy with gables and pinnacles carved with floral motifs and internally made to look like a miniature ribbed vault supported on slender columns without capitals,

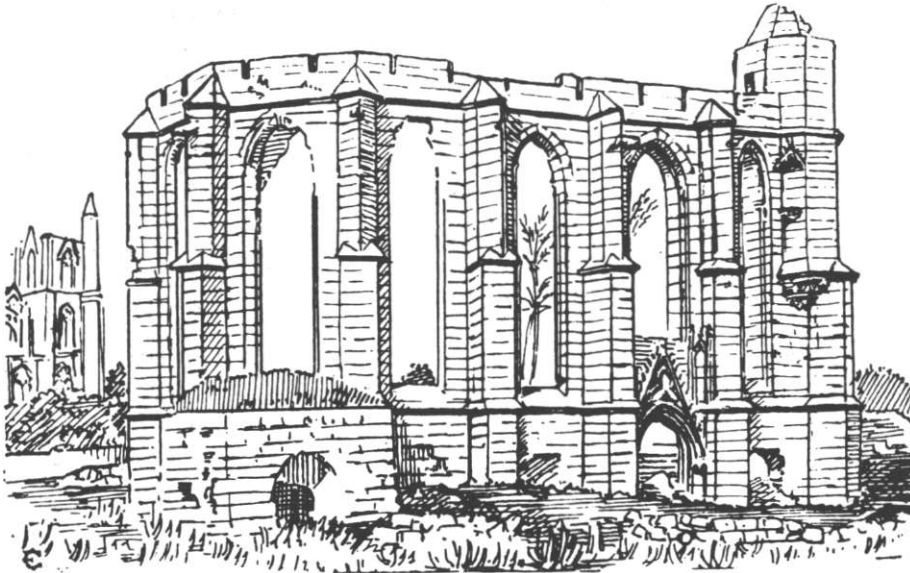


Fig. 206
Capital from the piscina.



Fig. 207
Capital of a mullion.

Fig. 205
St. George of the Latins.

as on the piscina at St. Urbain in Troyes. This aedicule must have contained the statue of St. George. The use of a niche of this kind as a retable recalls the later example at Varangeville near Nancy.²⁰ In the south face of the apse the jamb of a piscina is preserved with a particularly handsome colonnette whose capital is carved with oak leaves (Fig. 206). A drip-course runs beneath the window-ledges both on the outside and the inside; in the latter case it is interrupted by the columns. The capitals of these columns are carved with two rows of luxuriant, deeply-cut foliage (Fig. 209) beneath a very thin octagonal abacus, simply blocked-out, which projects less than the carvings.

On one group of capitals instead of foliage there is a symmetrically arranged swarm of winged dragons, some of which have two bodies conjoined in head in the Romanesque manner (Fig. 209). This thoroughly original motif is surprising for an age nourished in traditions which had already become classical, with little taste for free experiment. Perhaps the artist was inspired by the huge dog-headed bats common in Cyprus which can be seen hanging in groups from the summits of vaults in some places. The profile of the arches of the vaults is a flattened oval torus between two cavettos with bird's-beak moulding.

The pointed windows are tall and narrow, framed by wide splays both on inside and outside. They were divided by a central mullion. The tracery was no doubt restricted to a single motif such as a rosette, quatrefoil or trefoil supported on a pair of arches rising from three colonnettes, one on the mullion and the others on the jambs. Their capitals (Fig. 207) are similar to those of the piers of the vault; like those, they are admirable examples of foliar decoration treated with meticulous realism.

The north doorway, the only one surviving, has a pointed arch whose principal order is broad and carved with vigorous mouldings that continue on down the jambs. Outside this main arch is a second carved



Fig. 208
Frieze at north-west

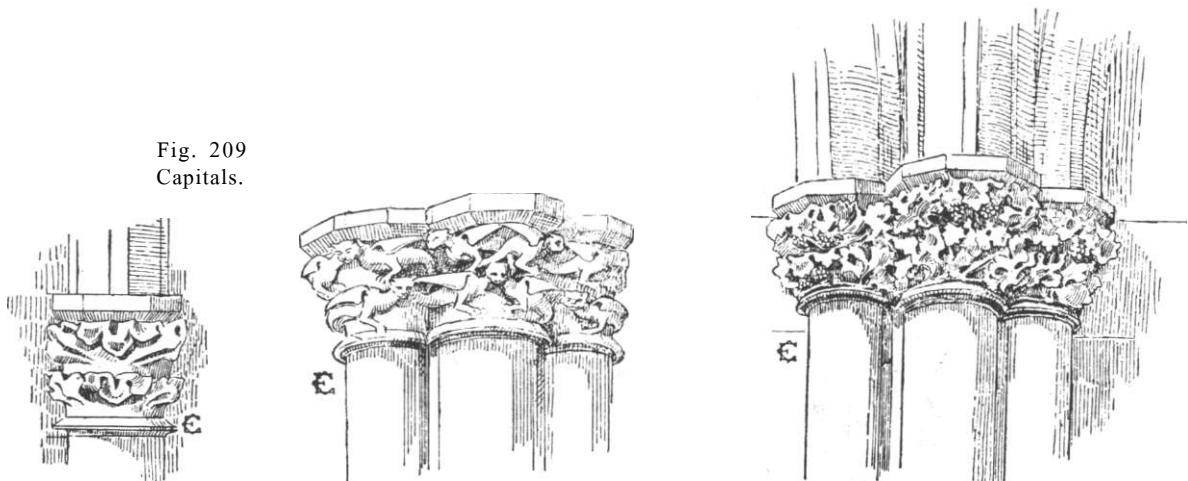


Fig. 209
Capitals.

with a row of jagged leaves deeply hollowed out in the middle, a favourite motif in Cyprus. The imposts of this latter arch rest on two canopies above statue-niches cut into the jambs. Above the doorway is an acutely-pointed pediment formed by a powerful hood-mould, the centre is occupied by a trefoil with pointed lobes and the sloping sides carved with crockets of foliage (Fig. 210) terminating in a twisted cloverleaf. The apex of the gable rises above the sill of the window opening above the doorway; it is not now possible to say whether it was crowned by a floral finial or a base for a statue.

The pediment is framed by two elongated pinnacles ending in gables with foliar ornaments which are ensconced in the corner of the buttresses and are themselves flanked by two very small pinnacles, a scheme resembling that on the flying buttresses of Famagusta Cathedral and the west doorway of St. Catherine's in Nicosia.

All that remains of the west front is the northern corner with a corbelled staircase turret and one jamb of the great window. So far as one can make out Gibellino's intention in his engraving it seems likely that there was another tower, more important and used as a belfry, at the southern end. It apparently was taller by a whole storey than the body of the church whereas on the north turret only the plain stone octagonal pyramid at its summit rises above the height of the walls. Gibellino also adds a false gable on the west end but this is only an Italian convention which makes him bestow false gables even on churches which never had one. It is nevertheless probable that, as on the cathedral, the great window at the west end was crowned by a gable rising above the level of the roofs.

It appears that a gallery had been constructed in the thickness of the west wall at the level of the sill of the great window in order to link the turrets; the one at the north end must have started from ground level. The surviving turret was also reached through a door with a lintel that opened in the façade; it is now about two metres above the ground which has here been banked up. There must have been a wooden bridge thrown across from this door to some neighbouring clergy residence. There is a similar arrangement at St. Anne's.

The corbelling of the turret is handsomely and richly carved, with a drip-course above the sculpture. On the west is a row of very large and beautiful composite leaves (Fig. 208); on the north a group of animals among foliage (Fig. 212), executed in a skilful but rather overmeticulous manner, as indeed are the purely foliar motifs. The group illustrated depicts a lion throttling a donkey. Perhaps the sculptor was inspired by some ancient relief of a lion and a bull, examples of which have turned up at the very gates of Famagusta in the ruins of Salamis; but I do not think it is necessary to have recourse to local archaeology for this motif because variants similar to the one in question are quite common in French art between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.²¹

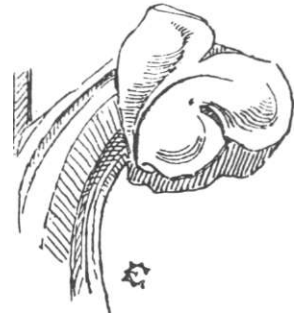


Fig. 210
Crocket from doorway.



Fig. 211
Bracket.

21
Compare the lion on the main doorway of the cathedral and fourteenth-century lions at Loches, the royal apartments, at Montmajour, the cloisters, and on St. Urbain at Troyes, a gargoye.

22
See Desimoni, *Actes génois de Famagouste*, *Rev. de l'Or, lat.*, 1896-1897, No. CCCXXXI.

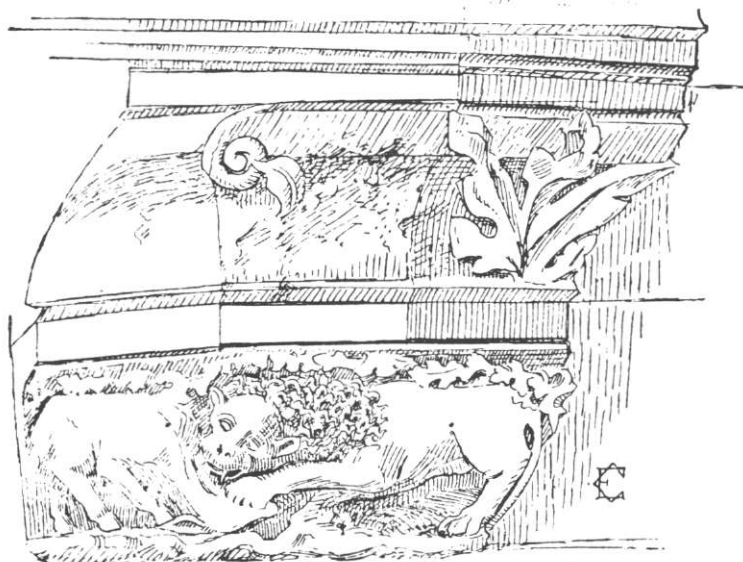
23
ib., No. CLXXXIX.

24
ib., No. CLXXXVII.

25
ib., No. CCLII1.

26
ib., no. CCCXXXII.

Fig. 212
Corbelling of the turret.



In the angle formed by the north wall and the turret a statue was placed which has unfortunately disappeared; it was surmounted by a canopy with a pinnacle and three-lobed arcading and stood on a bracket which is apparently being supported with much effort by a bearded man with long hair and voluminous robes (Fig. 211). The carving is not particularly correct but the figure makes an engagingly dramatic effect.

The gargoyles (Fig. 213) which emerge from the angled copings of the buttresses are not only much superior but artistically in the highest class. Two of them represent nude men partially draped in vestments of many folds thrown backward, one is a nude woman in a strikingly elegant pose, two are winged dragons, one of which has fallen to the ground and been set up on a Turkish tomb among the aloes in the vicinity. All of them, beasts as well as men, have been decapitated by the stupid fanaticism of the conquerors. Even so they are works of extraordinary interest, bearing a striking similarity to the gargoyles on St. Urbain at Troyes.

The upper part of the buttresses takes the shape of a small triangular pier. The roof has a parapet round it pierced with arrow slits.

A low square sacristy, with a plain groined vault and a flat roof, is attached to the oblique northern face of the choir and is reminiscent of the tower of the treasury of St. Catherine's in Nicosia. The inside walls of this small chamber were recessed with broad pointed arcades.

THE CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF THE FRANCISCANS

The church and monastery of the Franciscans formed one of the most important and oldest religious establishments in Famagusta, recorded as flourishing as early as 1300. It inspired great devotion among the numer-

27
ib., No. CCCCLVII.

28
ib., No. CCCCLXXVII.

29
ib., No. CCCCLXXXIX.

30
Chronique de Chypre, p. 181.

31
Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre, Preuves*, vol. I p. 187.

32
Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. I, p. 187.

33
ib., VI, VIII, XLII, LVII, LVIII, LIX.

ous foreign inhabitants of the city, many of whom were rich and a considerable number of whom succumbed to the effects of the climate. In that one year of 1300, which was not an epidemic year, a single Genoese notary registered eight legacies to St. Francis. On 3rd July John Zacharias elected to be buried at the Friars Minor;²² on the 25th Obert of Ventimiglia, a Genoese, left a legacy to the Franciscans,²³ on the 27th another Genoese, Nicholas son of Rinaldo, entrusted them with the provision for his burial and endowed the celebration of masses for his soul²⁴ On 9th September another Genoese, Gabriel of Albara, left twenty-five Genoese pounds for his funeral monument at St. Francis,²⁵ on the 22nd Peter of Marffi also chose to be buried there.²⁶ On 5th December a merchant of Narbonne, Bernard Fayssa, left twenty bezants to the monastery²⁷ and on the 21st and 26th two more Genoese, Gianino of Murta²⁸ and Bernard Zotardi²⁹ bequeath legacies to the same establishment. St. Francis must have been to some extent the Genoese church since the Minorites' monastery was near their factory. Machaeras reports that when this factory was attacked by the Venetians and the Cypriots the Genoese escaped by jumping from the roof into the lower part of the monastery enclosure.³⁰

Another part of this enclosure adjoined the royal palace, being separated from it only by a party wall,³¹ and from one reign to another the Franciscans had cause alternately to congratulate themselves on and to deplore this proximity. King Henry II favoured them. It is probably he who built the church of which the ruins remain; he had had a secret passage made leading direct from the palace to St. Francis and often went there both by day and night.

Under his successor Hugh IV this relationship changed completely; he was the proclaimed champion of their Dominican rivals. He had installed them next to his palace in Nicosia and appointed them his almoners; at Famagusta, on the other hand, he converted the passage which led from the palace to St. Francis into a shooting gallery for crossbow practice. On Holy Thursday in 1340 the Infant of Majorca, Hugh IV's son-in-law, used this passage to go to the Franciscan church to attend the Maundy ceremony,³² which provoked a terrible family quarrel. Such quarrels were in any case frequent; Hugh IV was notorious for his maltreatment of his son-in-law, making his life a misery and shortening it. The Franciscans, for whom the young prince had a liking, were made the pretext for many insults heaped on him and had a lot to do with King Hugh's scandalous behaviour.³³

Later they shared the distresses of the city and the rest of the Kingdom when the Genoese captured Famagusta, for the Franciscans did not prosper under the rule of their former protectors. The city was under military occupation, isolated and constantly threatened, and no longer enriched either its merchants or its monks. In 1395 Nicholas of Martoni visited St. Francis and found the monks in a wretched condition though

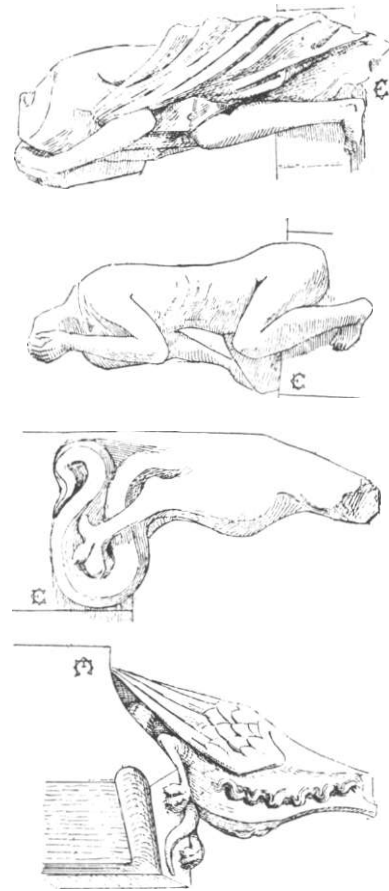


Fig. 213
Gargoyles.

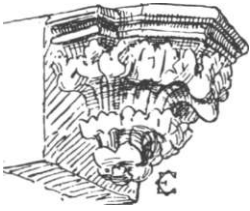


Fig. 214
Bracket.

the beauty of the monastery bore witness to their previous prosperity. He describes it in the following terms: *'De loco Sancti Francisci. Est in dicta civitate locus Sancti Francisci satis pulcher cum pulcro enclaustro, dormitorio, multis cameris et aliis mansionibus, ac jardeno pulcherimo et multitudine aquarum, puteorum et cisternarum. Dixit michi guardianus quia male vivunt et modicas habent elemosinas.'*³⁴

In April 1473 the Venetian ambassador Josaphat Barbaro was attending mass at the Franciscan church when James II sent for him to come to the neighbouring palace. They had a contentious interview,³⁵ not long after which the King died in mysterious circumstances.

In 1507 Pierre Mésènge³⁶ makes no reference at all to the Franciscans in his description of Famagusta.

The royal palace at Famagusta was always isolated on three of its sides. On the east was the square, on the south a broad street partly occupied by a bazaar with SS. Peter and Paul on the other side and on the west a narrower street over which a bridge had been thrown. On the north, however, there is only a small lane (a stream now runs down it) which separates the palace from the ruins of a large church, obviously St. Francis. The lane is modern; perhaps originally there was just a cul-de-sac leading to the church. The church closely resembles that of the Carmelites, and its known from the life of St. Peter Thomas that there were close relations between the two monasteries at about the time when the two churches must have been built. The funeral eulogy of the saint,³⁷ who was a distinguished member of the Carmelite order, and his biography³⁸ were composed by Carmesson, a Franciscan, who also was present at his exhumation,³⁹ and the first miracle of the new saint was performed in honour of the Warden of the Friars Minor at Paphos.⁴⁰

The greater part of the church (Fig. 215) still survives. It is most carefully built in beautiful ashlar masonry. The nave is quite plain, with an east end in the form of a three-sided apse. There are four bays, one for the choir and three for the nave; subsequently two arches were opened in the middle bay of the nave to add two wings or chapels forming a kind

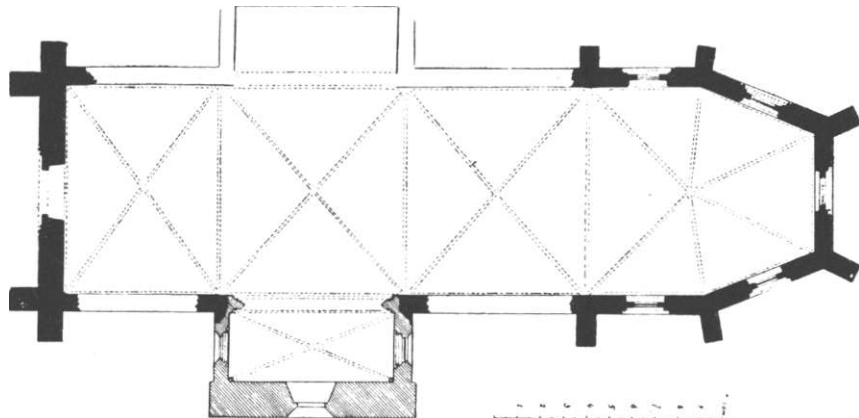


Fig. 215
Plan of St. Francis,
Famagusta.

of transept, each of them wider than their depth and lower than the nave. The design is identical with that of the Carmelite church, but the latter is much simpler in style. In both of them the chapels were a later addition.

There was clearly no tower over the south chapel; the state of the buttresses is evidence that there never was an upper storey but perhaps the outer wall, thicker than the others, carried a belfry-arcade. It is also possible that there never was a north chapel, that being the side where the cloisters were. This side of the church has entirely disappeared except for the oblique faces of the choir and the foundations of the north-west corner of the façade.

The ribbed vaults rested on brackets (Figs. 214 and 216) in the form of small, inverted polygonal pyramids carved with jagged leaves and surmounted by a low abacus with a drip-moulding. The vaults were carried on formerets and ribs whose profiles are composed of a group of three toruses with a cavetto and bird's beak on either side (Fig. 218). Below the brackets is a string-course, part torus and part drip-moulding, which runs along the bottom of the interior slope of the window-ledges. The windows are fairly large, pointed, with slender colonnettes on either side crowned by circular capitals with one row of carved foliage; on the outside there is a drip-stone hood-mould over the apex of the windows, ending in short horizontal returns.

The buttresses go straight up without any set-back from soil level as far as the coping, which has three slightly inclined faces. Immediately below this is a drip-stone and there is another running across the buttresses at about half the height of the windows. Beneath the upper drip-stone are elongated gargoyles at the end of the channels running through the heads of the buttresses; they are prismatic in shape and unsculptured.

Only one block survives from the cornice, on the wall of the chevet. Its profile is a bead-moulding, a cavetto and a bird's beak and might have been either a small section of coping-stone or a modillion, of the sort of which there are many examples in the south of France, for instance at Montpazier.

All that remains of the doorway at the west end is one jamb carved with a talon-like moulding.

The south chapel has a ribbed vault carried on four colonnettes with circular capitals carved with intricate foliage. The principal arch is carved with vigorous mouldings that continue down the jambs. The flattened torus which is the main element in the group of mouldings is transformed into the shaft of a column, the capital of which is circular with a plain bell of the type very frequent in Cyprus. The profile of the ribs in the chapel is different from those in the church, being a flattened torus outlined by cavettos between bead mouldings.

The chapel is lit by a lancet window in the south wall with a double

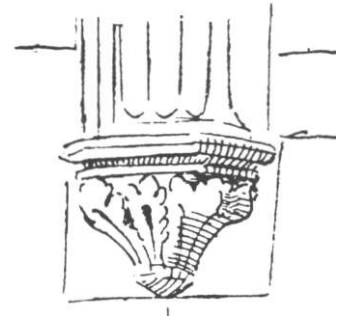


Fig. 216
Bracket.

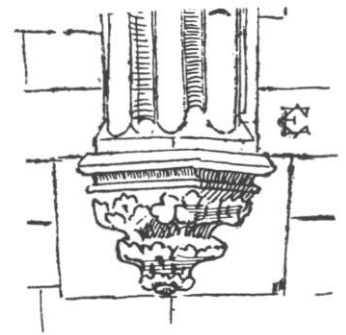


Fig. 217
Bracket.

34
Voyage de N. de Martoni,
publ. Le Grand, *Rev. de*
l'Or, lat., 1896, p. 630.

35
Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*,
vol. III, pp. 336-42.

36
Amiens Library, MS. cit.

37
Philip of Mézières, *Acta*
Sanctorum, January, vol. II,
p. 1021.

38
Carmesson, *Vita B. Petri*
Thomasii, Bibl. Nat. MS.
lat.

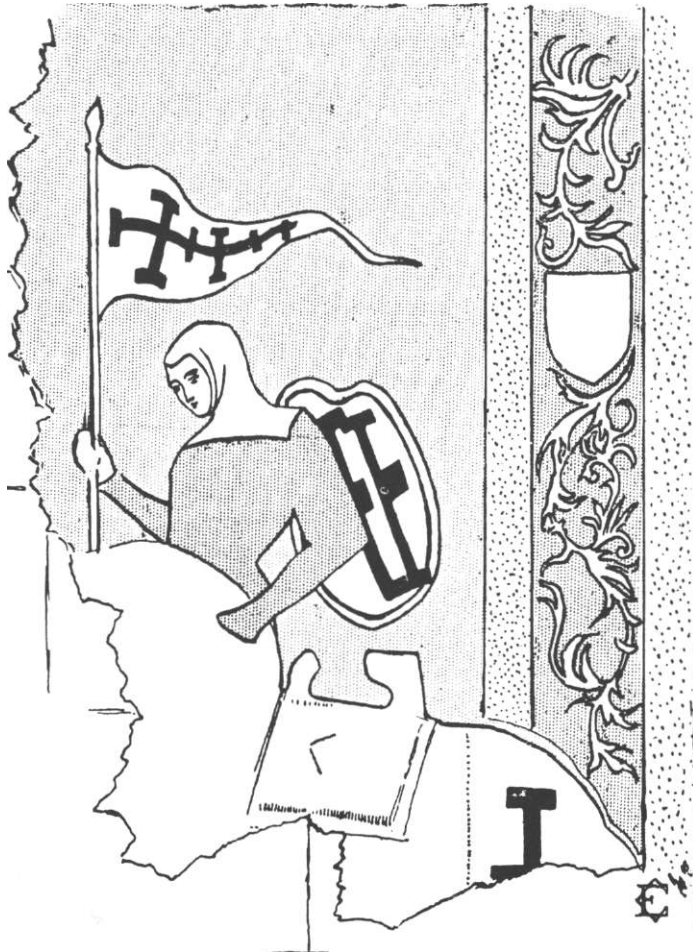
f

Fig. 218
Profiles of vaulting ribs.

frame on the inside and treble on the outside; the third frame has a bead moulding between two grooves, the others have merely a chamfer. In the east and west walls are *oeils-de-boeuf* with a four-lobed tracery whose cusps end in *fleurs-de-lis* as on the doorways of St. Urbain in Troyes.

Between the eastern round window and the place where the altar should have been are the remains of a fine fresco in the Italian style of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, though the architecture is wholly French. This painting (Fig. 219) has an indigo background framed by a scrolled frieze *en grisaille* on a red background between two bands of yellow ochre. At intervals among the scrolls are inserted coats of arms whose tinctures and bearings have disappeared. The picture has also disappeared except for the figure of a knight, no doubt a donor, since he has no halo.⁴¹ He is clean shaven and wears a grey hood; his square-necked doublet with sleeves close-fitting at the wrists is in red ochre; he leans on the staff of his banner and his notched oval shield is slung behind him on a shoulder strap. He stands beside his horse caparisoned with a horse-

Fig. 219
Wall-painting.



39
Official record by the notary
John of Cosenza, same MS.
5615.

40
The miracles are a later
insertion at the end of the
Life by Carmesson.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY OF CARMEL

cloth bearing the same device as his banner and shield. The coat of arms, overlooking some vagaries in the drawing, seems to be blazoned: argent, a cross potencé sable. This figure recalls the painted funerary effigy of Count Simon of Saarbrücken, buried in St. Francis at Nicosia in 1395.⁴¹

The donor is perhaps the man who had the chapel built. It dates from the fourteenth century, perhaps towards the end, given the resemblance between its capitals and those in the chapel added to the south-east of the cathedral (Fig. 185)⁴²

As for the church itself, the choir windows appear to date from the last years of the thirteenth century. The profiles of the vaults are in a rather earlier style but the brackets (Figs. 214, 216 and 217) prove that its construction must be placed in about 1300. It is reminiscent in particular of the art of the south of France but it is in the very best southern French Gothic style.

The monastery covered a large area to the north and west of the church and must have had a monumental eastern façade of which some foundations are still extant, unless they belong to the Genoese factory. On the west the present prison might have been a Franciscan building. The fine columns in it (Fig. 153) might come from the monastery; but it would be impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the lay-out of the monastic buildings whose place was taken first by some Turkish hovels and later by a ploughed field.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY OF CARMEL

No. 6 on the plan

Father Stephen Lusignan⁴³ restricts himself to a mere mention of the existence of the Carmelites of Famagusta.

The name of the church is marked near the Martinengo bastion on the engraving made by Stephen Gibellino in 1571.⁴⁴ Admittedly there are in this location a group of four churches of which Gibellino marks only one but as one of them is much the most important there need be no hesitation in identifying it. It is also true that in appearance it corresponds only vaguely to the drawing and Nicholas of Martoni has left a scarcely more precise description of the Carmelite church at Famagusta; but one should not look for precision in these old documents.

To go into detail, here is Nicholas of Martoni's description:⁴⁵ *'De monasterio S. Marie de Carmine. Est in dicta civitate monasterium Sancte Marie de Carmine. Ecclesia est multum pulcra et devota, ad lamian cum cappellis in circuytu ipsius ecclesie, cum pulcerimis istoriis et picturis, in qua est enclaustrum pulcerimum cum arangiis et aliis fructibus et sunt dormitorium et alie plures mansiones pro usu fratrum. In qua ecclesia vidi subscriptas sanctas reliquias, videlicet: capud beate Ursuline pulcerime inclusum in argento. Os tibie Sancti Leonis pape.*

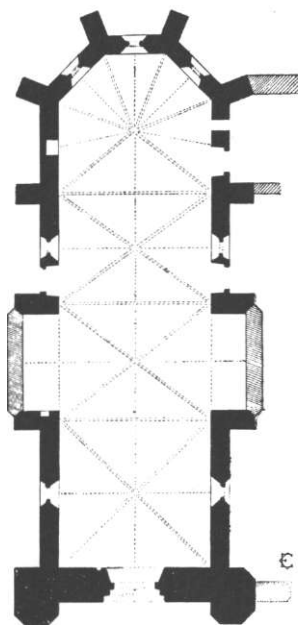


Fig. 220
Church of St. Mary of Carmel.

41
Very possibly, however, the figure carrying the banner and holding the horse is only the donor's squire; cf. the squire holding the horse and the sword of Herbert, the donor, on the tympanum at Mervillers (Eure-et-Loire, twelfth century), on which see the note by Quicherat and the (unsatisfactory) reproduction of the monument in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. XI, 1854, p. 171, and also the one holding the bridle of Charles VI on the well-known piece of French jewellery called the Altöttinger Rössel.

42
Le saint voyage de Jérusalem du seigneur d'Anglure, p. 87; see below, the chapter on tombs.

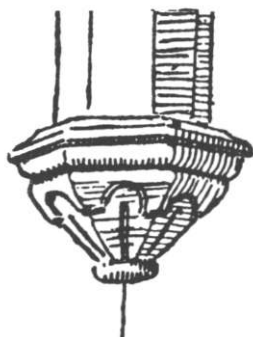


Fig. 221
Brackets in choir.

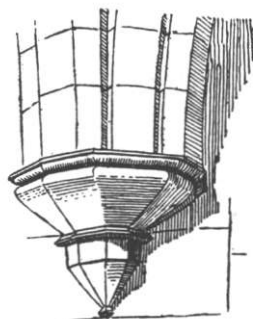


Fig. 222
Brackets in nave.

Capud Sancti Sosi, et de ligno Sancte crucis Domini.'

The large church beside the Martinengo bastion has indeed two chapels whereas the others in the vicinity have none; it also has some noteworthy paintings representing various legends but the mention of the relic *capud beate Ursuline* perhaps refers instead to another church further to the south in the same row in which there is a painted bust of a female saint with a scrap of inscription of which four letters *URSU ...* can be plainly made out. However this painting is not a proof and it is certainly not impossible that Nicholas of Martoni made a mistake about the church in which he had seen that beautiful silver reliquary in the shape of a head; what is more surprising is that a pilgrim with such a devotion to relics, who made such a thorough tour of Famagusta, makes no mention of the miracle-working tomb of St. Peter Thomas, Carmelite, Papal Legate and Patriarch of Constantinople,⁴⁷ who died at Famagusta in 1366 and was honoured as a saint from the day of his death. The evidence of contemporary witnesses records that Peter Thomas was first buried, at his own desire, under a marble slab at the entry to the choir and that after a few months, during which he performed miracles, his body was removed into the choir and re-interred under a more sumptuous monument on which was inscribed the absurd epitaph, composed by a German monk, John of Hildesheim:

*Virgo, virum rege virgineum, qui virginis alme
conspicuum titulum gerit, huic sibi da loca palme.*

The life of St. Peter Thomas was actually written in the years just after his death by the famous Philip of Mézières, Chancellor of Cyprus,

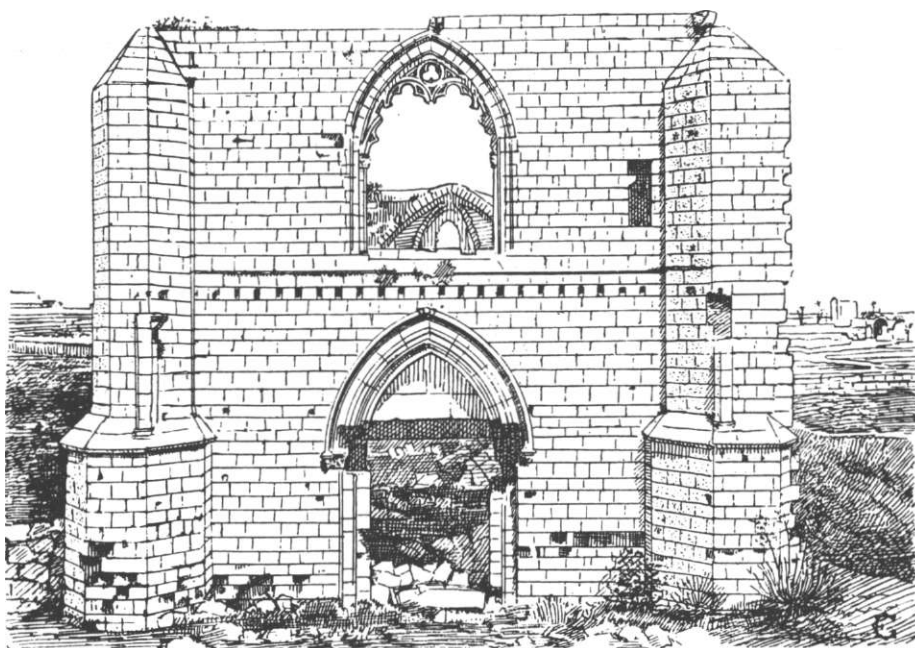


Fig. 223
West end.

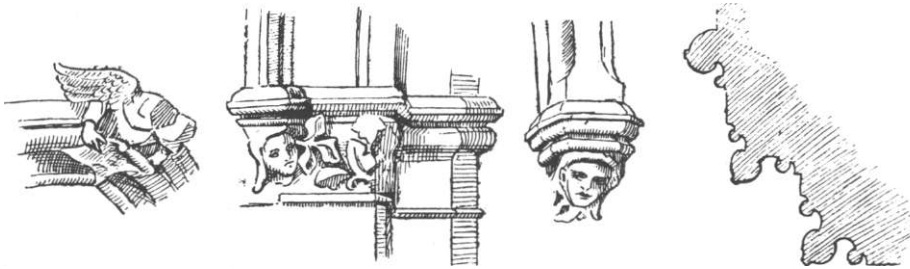


Fig. 224
Details from west doorway.

and by John Carmesson, an Aragonese Franciscan,⁴³ who had both been his friends. The account of the death of Peter Thomas confirms the fact that the Carmelite church was at some distance from the cathedral because the Legate died in January 1366 of an illness brought on by his continual refusal to pay regard to his health during the Christmas week of 1365 and the first instance of this neglect was that he went on foot, at night, in the mud and inadequately clothed from the Carmelite church where he was living to St. Nicholas where he officiated at the Christmas services.⁴⁴ The church under consideration is by a long way the most distant from the cathedral of all the important churches in Nicosia.

It is also to be noted that in 1473 the widowed Queen Catherine Cornaro, who was living in the palace at Famagusta, decided to ride on horseback in procession to hear mass at the Carmelite church because in that way she would pass through almost the whole of the city to show herself to the people. 'Almost the whole of the city' is the exaggerated expression used by the Venetian Proweditore, Victor Soranzo, in his report to his government,⁴⁵ but it makes it clear that the Carmelite church was the farthest one from the palace, which is certainly the case with the one I am describing.

The church is one of the most beautiful in the island of Cyprus. It belongs to a style of Gothic which recalls the south of France, with a purity of form and a beauty of construction and proportion not always found in the buildings of that region. It appears to have been built at the time St. Peter Thomas was living there, probably just after he returned from the travels on which he accompanied Peter I to the courts of Europe and with the help of the alms he received on those journeys.⁴⁶

As a building (Fig. 220) it is extremely simple with a single nave of four bays and a three-sided apse. The fourth bay, narrower and without windows, as in St. Anne, formed part of the choir-, the first and third bays counting from the choir had pointed-arched niches containing tombs; the fourth, as at St. Francis, has a kind of transept formed by two large niches or shallow chapels fitted in between the buttresses and only protruding a few centimetres beyond them. These subsequently added chapels had pointed barrel vaults which could perhaps be described as very broad arches-, the rest of the church has ribbed vaults.

The lancet windows have a plain splay on both the interior and ex-

43
(Ed. note.) See Enlart, *Fouilles dans les églises de Famagouste*, *Arch. Journal*, vol. LXII, p. 195, for an account of the series of tombstones from the floor of this chapel, dating from 1370 to 1473, discovered by Enlart in 1901; also Jeffery, 'the Franciscan church at Famagusta', *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIV (London, 1912), pp. 301-11.

44
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 73 and 90.

45
No. 6, *II Carmine*.

46
op. cit., p. 630.

47
See Philip of Mézières, *Vita S. Petri Thomasii*, loc. cit., p. 1005 and Meursius (Antwerp, 1659); Carmesonius, Joannes, *Vita S. Petri T.*, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS lat. 5615, ed. Daniel de Sainte-Marthe (Antwerp). Marcel Pariys, (1666), reproduced in A. Bostius, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), 2 vols; Pedro de la Epifania, *Vida y milagros de S. Pedro Thomas* (Seville, n.d.); Waddington, *Annales Mi-*

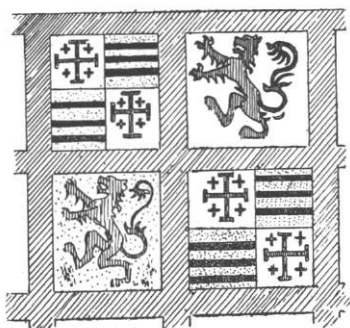


Fig. 225
Painting on stylobate of
chevet.

norm; anon., *Vie admirable de S. Pierre Thomas* (Paris, 1652); Abbé Christophe, *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1845), vol. II; Abbé L. Perraud, *Vie de saint Pierre Thomas* (Avignon, 1895); N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1896).

48

The official record of the translation was written by John of Cosenza, a notary of Famagusta and will be found at the end of the life of the saint and the account of his miracles in the Latin MS. 5615 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. This MS., which appears to date from the end of the fourteenth century, must have been composed in and for the use of the Carmelite house at Famagusta. After a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury it contains a collection of brief notes on the history of the Carmelite Order and the saints belonging to it. Among these is the life of St. Peter Thomas, recounted in great detail.

terior. There is a broader window over the doorway (Fig. 223); it was divided into three lights of which the upper tracery is still partly preserved consisting of a trefoil and two quatrefoils inscribed in circles. The mullions have colonnettes with capitals sculptured in the same style as those at Bellapais.

The pointed doorway (Figs. 223 and 224) is surmounted by an arch with mouldings and a hood-mould supported on two brackets carved with human heads and bunches of foliage, at the apex is an angel holding a scroll which protrudes like a small gargoyle. The head has unfortunately been broken off. These three sculptural motifs are carefully worked and correct in design. The jambs were surmounted by capitals with a plain bell like those at Bellapais.

The supports of the vaults are also without sculpture and their arches are merely blocked-out in a plain prismatic form. In the choir these supports are brackets in the shape of a prismatic reversed pyramid with some kind of foliage added in red paint (Fig. 221). In the nave the brackets are of two superimposed courses of similar design rather like corbelled colonnettes with a very short shaft (Fig. 222). In both cases the point of the pyramid terminates in a roundel.

The buttresses project strongly; they have no set-backs and no string-courses. The two at the extremities of the west end are in the form of octagonal turrets terminating in obtuse pyramids⁵³ with no cornice; the south-west turret, which is thicker, holds the remains of a staircase which continues within the wall of the façade, giving access to the flat roof on top of the vaults. Water collected on the roof descends along an earthenware conduit, parts of which are preserved. On top of the buttresses are stone rings to hold flagstaves.

The buttress on the south side between the choir and the nave has two side-posts at the top between which a bell was hung; doors have been pierced in the right and left sides of this buttress for the use of the ringers. A very plain side doorway must have given access from the cloisters to the choir. In the southern oblique face of the apse a niche with a lintel supported on quadrant corbels contained a stone bench which must have been where the Superior of the monastery sat. At the back of the choir two square niches presumably were used as aumbries. In the northern oblique face is a square recess in which there was a long rectangular slab which has now disappeared; it was perhaps the marble gravestone of St. Peter Thomas.

The church is decorated throughout with Italian paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of which many traces remain. They are perhaps the most interesting of all those found among the ruins of Famagusta. Their description follows:

Wall of the chevet. A former raised stylobate (Fig. 225) painted with squares outlined in black containing, quarterly, a lion rampant, for Cyprus or Armenia, and Jerusalem quartering Lusignan.⁵⁴ Above it was

a simple pattern representing masonry courses outlined in red but in the fifteenth century a large picture of the Crucifixion in a good Italian style was painted over it. On the spectator's right are rumps of harnessed horses and soldiers squatting, and the flowing red vestments of a St. John. On the left a symmetrical group of three holy women, one kneeling and two standing, holding and looking at the kerchief of St. Veronica; behind them heads of old men and soldiers in pointed helmets.

Southern oblique face. Two standing saints, life-size, in late Byzantine style; on their left and right a series of small pictures of legendary scenes. Between them and at their feet five kneeling donors (Fig. 226); on the right a negress, on the left a white woman, just as ugly, apparently wearing a steeple head-dress (hennin); in the centre three corpulent men, clean-shaven, wearing long garments, the middle one in red and the others in dark purplish-blue. They wear tippetts and on their heads strange fifteenth-century hoods designed to shade the face like the linen flaps worn for that purpose by peasants in present-day Italy.

South bay of the choir. At one end a Byzantine St. Helena, standing, holding a crystal ball in her left hand; the right, raised, must have held the cross.

Northern oblique face. Annunciation, Italian, fifteenth century, much defaced.

North bay of the choir. Two sainted Latin archbishops and two Byzantine patriarchs, alternating; St. Nicholas standing, life-size; in the two top corners of the panel two very small pictures of legendary scenes; (a) the saint arresting the sword of the executioner poised over the heads of three young men, kneeling, blindfolded. (No doubt illustrating the original version of the story of the three boys put in the salting-tub which comes in the Golden Legend;) (b) the saint handing a purse through a window to a father who is looking at his two daughters sleeping in the same bed and contemplating the profit he could make out of their immoral earnings. The father in (b) is bald, bearded and robed in brown and looks like a Carmelite or a Franciscan. One of the girls has a delightful face. The succeeding pair of a patriarch and an archbishop are also flanked by legendary scenes; the second patriarch has -four such on



Fig. 227
Carrying of the Cross.



Fig. 226
Five kneeling donors.

one side alone. Beneath, a stylobate painted to resemble a Gothic tapestry (Fig. 229) with the arms, among others, of France and England.

Nicholas Le Huen in 1467 observed some heraldic paintings in the Carmelite church at Nicosia which must have been the twin sisters of these.⁵⁵ Their decorative motifs are closely similar to the fourteenth century mural paintings in the Castle of Chillon discovered and described by Mr. P. Naef.⁵⁶

Next bay. St. George, a large Italian painting of the fourteenth century (Fig. 230). The horse is out of drawing and the green dragon lifeless but otherwise it is a charming picture. In the background a red-brick Italian castle makes a contrast with Cypriot architecture which is always in stone or sun-dried bricks. In the foreground to one side the maiden with curling blonde hair who is turning towards the saint with a frightened gesture is engagingly graceful and natural; she wears a long greyish-purple dress without a girdle. The horse is a dappled grey.

Next bay. Above the chapel a Byzantine Annunciation; on the chapel vault more Byzantine paintings, unrecognizable. To the north, reasonably good Italian paintings on the vault; to the east a donor kneeling before a crucifix; below two sainted prelates, remains of a series of three or four persons; to the west traces of a Carrying of the Cross (Fig. 227).

Last bay on west side. On the south a Byzantine Annunciation. Below, on the curve of an arch, Byzantine medallions of the twelve Apostles. A very graceful figure of a female saint holding a book (Fig. 228) — probably St. Catherine, who is associated with Famagusta — standing in a pretty Gothic arcade flanked on either side by five small paintings of legendary



Fig. 228
St. Catherine (?).

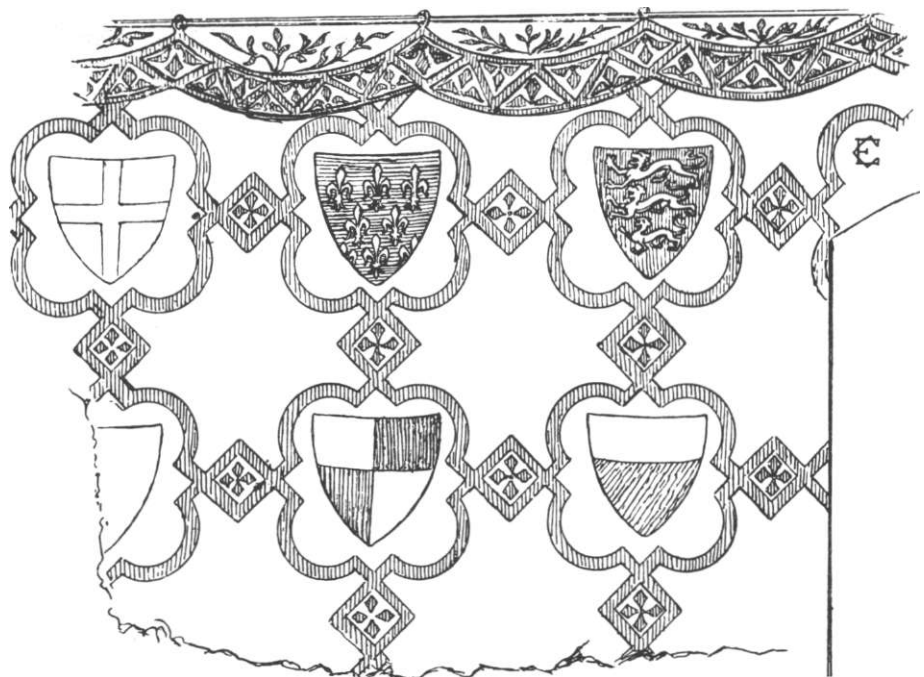
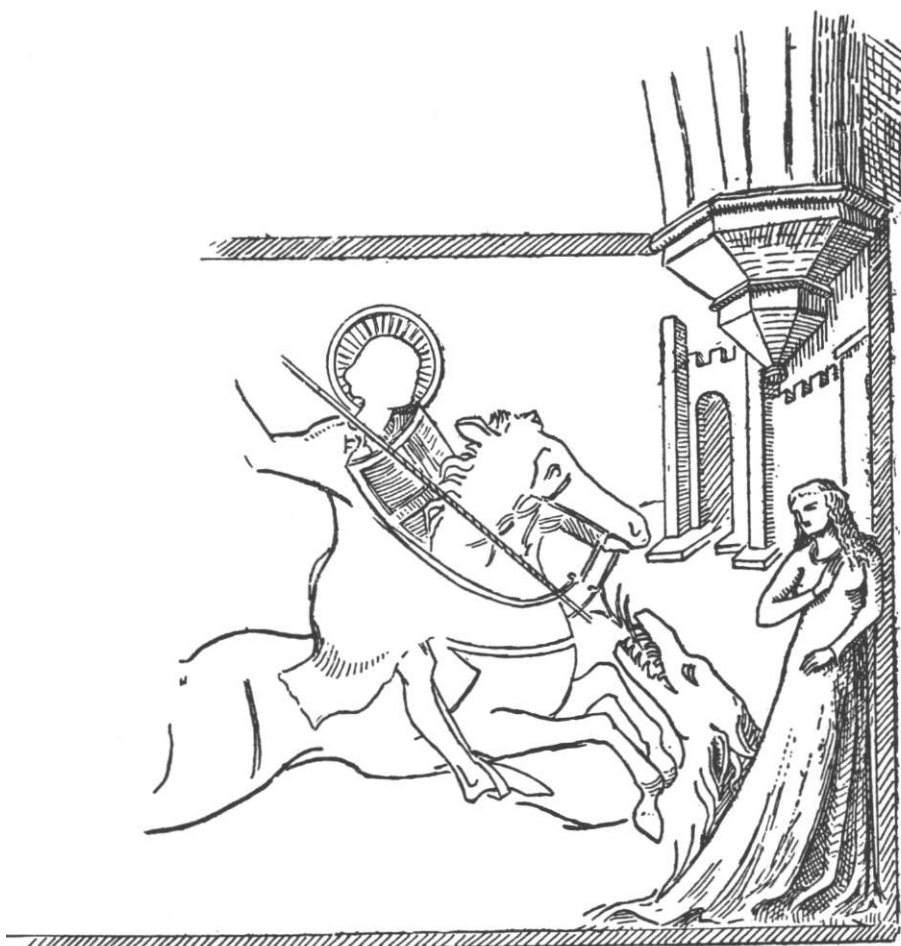


Fig. 229
Mural painting imitating
tapestry from stylobate
in choir.

Brucourtahoufam

Fig. 230
Wall-painting of
St. George.

Fig. 231
Graffito.



scenes. Only those on one side are preserved: (a) the saint kneeling before a person seated (no doubt St. Catherine before her father) (b) entering a small building (c) in prison, guarded by a sleeping soldier (d) two persons in conversation (e) uncertain.

Next comes the first of four life-size figures of saints, the other three of which are on the west wall south of the main doorway. Inscriptions in Gothic capitals (a) missing (b) CATERI ... (c) SAC DOMINICA (d) SCA MARG ... ETA. The style is rather Byzantine.

North side of the doorway. St. George, or St. Demetrius or St. Theodore, a late Byzantine painting.

North side of the bay. Female saint in same style; medallions on the curve of an arch; inscribed sketch of the lapel of a furred mantle. Another graffito, in a beautiful French Gothic hand, gives the name Brucourt (?)⁵⁷ Alioveain (Fig. 231). Finally a group painted in Italian Renaissance style shows three figures in Carmelite robes; one, larger than the other two, with two angels behind him holding a piece of drapery, the two smaller figures kneeling before him (Fig. 232). All have white



Fig. 232
Elisha (?) with Jonah
and Obadiah (?).

beards. This might be interpreted as the prophet Elisha^{ss} with the prophets Jonah and Obadiah who are designated in the manuscript referred to, which was written in Famagusta and follows a well-known tradition, as the three founders of the Carmelite Order. The three prophets wear fluted haloes in relief.

There was a painted frieze on the outside running beneath a penthouse roof covering the doorway.

6

THE CHURCH OF ST. ANNE

No. 7 on the plan

Gibellino's engraving of the siege of Famagusta marks a church of St. Anne. His imaginative drawing does not correspond to the design of any of the recognisable churches in Famagusta but the location fits well with the church I am about to describe. Moreover among the Italian painted decorations with which the interior is covered are some Latin inscriptions the most important of which runs:

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI CORANDS TARIGOS
AD HONOREM [SANC] TE ANN [E]

This inscription, which has a date at the end, unfortunately not now legible, can be restored with certainty in the manner proposed.

On the modern plan the church is called *Maronit Klisse*; I have not been able to find in the historical documents any mention either of St. Anne's or of the Maronite church at Famagusta. Built probably in the early fourteenth century it is likely to have formed part of a monastery. It adjoins the Nestorian church and was therefore in the Syrian quarter.

It is closely similar to the Carmelite church but is taller (Figs. 23 3, 236 and 240); it deserves mention as a model of graceful simplicity and fine workmanship. The style is southern French Gothic. Construction is throughout in finely-cut ashlar masonry. It consists of a single nave of two bays with groined vaults and a rib-vaulted choir which begins with a straight-sided bay, shorter but the same width as the other, and ends in a three-sided apse. The vaults are strutted by comparatively slender but sharply projecting buttresses which have no set-backs and no mouldings between the ground and the coping. The church is the same height throughout. It is lit by windows in the three faces of the apse, on both sides of the nave and in the west end; the tops of the three windows in the apse are at the same level as the others but their sills are 1.7 metres lower.

At the east end of the choir a rectangular door gave access to a sacristy, an arrangement found also in several churches in Famagusta. On either side of the door are two small aumbries built into the wall; there are two slightly larger ones in the polygonal apse. There are no windows

49

See preceding note.

50

'In vigilia Nativitatis Domini
Famaguste de ecclesia
Carmelitarum, ubi hospita-
batur, ad ecclesiam majorem
pedes in magno luto pro
matutinis solemniter
celebrandis ivit. Et indutus
pontificalibus, mitra semper
in capite, matutinas celebra-
vit, ac très missas solemnnes
cum nota festive, et eundo,
celebrando, redeundo,
frigore percussus fuit';
Philip of Mézières, op. cit.,
p. 1017 and cf. Carmesson
MS., fol. 137.

51

Letter of 9 December 1473,
written from the roadstead
of Famagusta; publ. by Mas
Latrie, *Docutn. nouv.*, p. 428.

52

(Ed. note.) Jeffery, 'On the
Carmelite church at Fama-
gusta', *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1916,
pp. 106-12, argues that
Enlart is in error in dating
this church to the time
of St. Peter Thomas and
that it dates from at
least twenty years after his
death in 1366.

in the straight-sided bay, as in the Carmelite church and SS. Peter and Paul. The second bay of the nave has facing doors on either side, a constant practice in Cyprus. They are both extremely plain: the opening, in the form of a flattened arch, is framed by a pointed arch on the exterior whose ribs are moulded (Fig. 235) on the curved part but die out on the jambs. The doorway at the west end is similar, with a moulded arch (Fig. 234). Huge stone hinge-pins project from the impost of the inner arch to receive the iron pivot on which the two leaves of the door turned.

The two bays roofed with groined vaults are separated by a transverse rib with the same profile as on the ribs in the choir viz. a slender torus between two cavettos beneath bead mouldings. The six ribs of the choir vaulting meet at a boss (Fig. 237) carved with undulating leaves; they spring from prismatic brackets with concave bells ending in a point with a knob. The two transverse ribs, on the other hand, spring from short, corbelled colonnettes; the capitals of these are of a rounded oblong shape with completely plain bells and the short shafts end in jagged leaves emerging from the wall which successfully give the impression of supporting hands.

The keystones of the groined vaults are not shaped as a single cruciform block but divided into four separate L-shaped pieces. A little in



Fig. 234
Profiles from (above)
main doorway (below)
cornice of belfry.

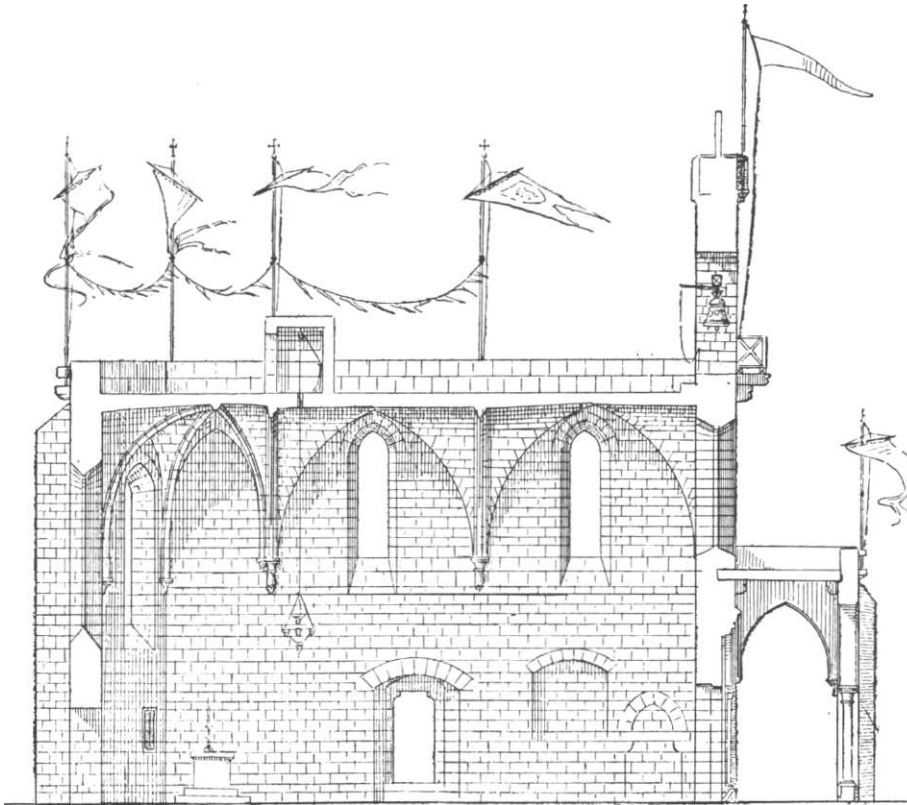


Fig. 233
St. Anne, transverse
section, porch restored.

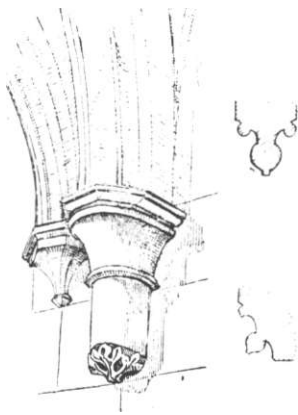


Fig. 235
Brackets and vaulting at
entrance to choir; rib
profile; profile of arches
of lateral doorways.

front of the transverse rib of the choir the vault is pierced to allow the passage of the cord for the sanctuary lamp; to protect the aperture from rain a small stone chamber like a sentry box has been erected on the flat roof. It houses a windlass for raising and lowering the lamp; the sacristan charged with this duty was able to cross from the upper storey of the monastery to the roof of the church by means of a staircase constructed partly in a side wall of the choir and partly in a buttress, where there is a stair-head very high up to receive a bridge from the monastery buildings, now disappeared.

There was a porch in front of the west end. It had at its northern and southern ends an arch springing from an elegantly curved octagonal bracket (Fig. 238). The bonding courses of these arches and the holes in the west end for the principal rafters of the timber framing are all that now remain of the porch except for a low base and two fine octagonal capitals with plain bells (Fig. 241) which are lying close at hand and may possibly come from some of the porch columns; they are reminiscent in style of Bellapais.

Quadrant corbels project along the whole length of the north and south sides showing that, like the church at Pyrga, this church was surrounded by porticos on three sides. They must have been very light structures, probably a sloping roof of timber supported on a few stone pillars or columns.

At the top of each buttress are flagstaff-holders. The first buttress to the north-west has a strange cross patte in relief on the north face (Fig. 242); it is in Gothic style but accompanied by an inscription in incorrect Greek: *Xp. Irjoov (?) Qu. iv.*

The arcaded belfry on the west end is a fine, simple construction of two tall openings surmounted by pointed arches without decoration.

There was a balcony supported on large stone brackets along the whole of the west end; this recalls a design much in favour in southern France. The voussoirs of the two arched openings are alternately in stones of slightly different colours, resembling in this the southern belfry at Vézelay and the ones of the Dominican church at Sisteron and Embrun Cathedral; but the most striking peculiarity of this belfry is that it has acroteria in the form of half-gables. Acroteria of the same design are found on the corners of some belfries dating from the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from Guebwiller⁵³ (Alsace) and Isômes⁵⁴ (Haute-Marne) to Embrun Cathedral and the numerous buildings influenced by it (St. Chaffrey, St. Crépin, Le Monestier at Briançon, Névache) and including the belfry of Ainay, at Lyons. A small Limoges enamel reliquary of the thirteenth century, in the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre at Barletta in Apulia,⁵⁵ shows the same peculiar feature.⁵²

The church was decorated with paintings; a description follows:

On the tympanum over the west doorway a head and shoulders painting of the Virgin can still be seen. She wears a purple mantle, the back-

53
This scheme is reminiscent
of the façade of Lucera
Cathedral (see my *Architec-
ture gothique en Italie*,
plate XXXIV) and the poly-
gonal buttresses may be
compared with those on
St. Catherine at Nicosia and
with the cylindrical
buttresses of Saint Cecilia
at Albi and St. Francis
at Assisi.

54
It must therefore be later
than 1393 when the three
kingdoms whose arms are
blazoned were united. I owe
this observation to Mas
Latrie, commenting on other
instances of this
combination.

55
See above, p. 165; the arms
of the King of France and
the Duke of Normandy were
to be seen there.

THE CHURCH OF ST. ANNE

ground is blue with some Greek letters. Her head is bent sharply to the left towards the Infant Jesus; two angels on either side.

The interior is painted white with double red lines following carefully every joint of the masonry; traces of red in the corners of the brackets. A large frieze decorated with a row of painted figures ran right round the church, ending at the level of the choir window-sills. In the choir there was a second register of pictures above the first and, finally, on the right side of the choir, where there were no windows, there was a third register. Between the second and third registers, on the south, can be read the remains of the inscription in Gothic capitals quoted above recording the name of the donor at whose expense the paintings were executed. As unfortunately often happens, the portion of the inscription which gave the date has been destroyed and the part giving the name of the saint to whom it was dedicated is mutilated; however one can be practically certain that it was St. Anne. Tarigos must have been a Famagustan Greek; his first name, written Corands, was presumably Conradus, or perhaps a version of G  r  on, similar to the Swedish form G  ran.

What can be made of the pictures in their present state is as follows:

Upper Register. Southern face of the choir; a large Italo-Byzantine composition, clumsily drawn and drably coloured, in which architecture and furniture are prominent. A purple drapery is all the indication of

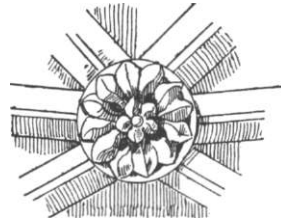


Fig. 237
Roof boss in choir.

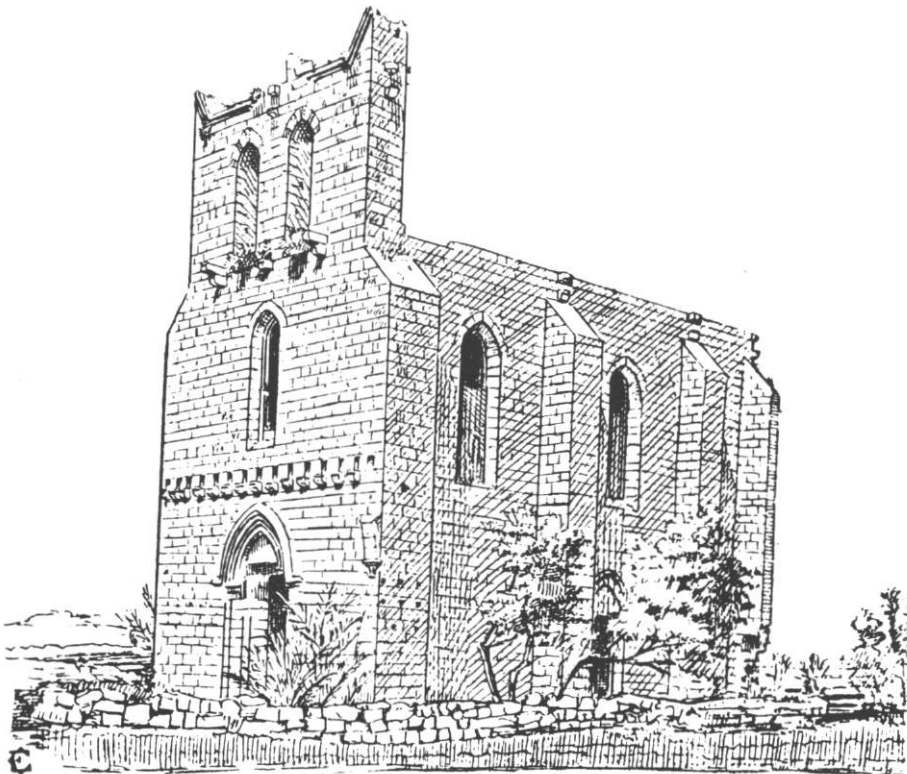


Fig. 236
South-west elevation.

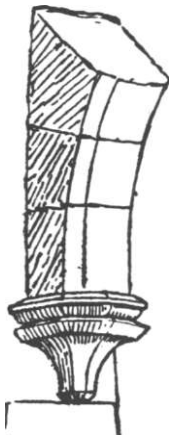


Fig. 238
Bracket from porch.

ΙÖTCOTO
GPAOOC
ÖPINON
KGFNGT
pecoce'

Fig. 239
Greek inscription from
church of St. Anne.

figures that remains ; the style is of the sixteenth century.

Lower Register. East corner, south-east of the apse, a Crucifixion in the same style. The figure of Christ on the cross is violently bent; his head falls towards the Virgin who is sinking backwards and must have been supported by another figure. Facing is a squat and obese St. John; behind him probably Longinus. The ground is a very unsightly yellow. Christ wears a *perizonion* falling to the knees and rests His feet on a broad square shelf; the figure of Christ is western in inspiration whereas the others are Byzantine. This picture resembles the one in the royal chapel at Pyrga (1421). The descent from the cross and the entombment are both dominated by a very long-armed cross; both are very fragmentary. The death of the Virgin is similar to the same scene in the chapel at Pyrga.

Lower Register. South oblique face of the choir. S. PAULUS, an obese figure, life size, Byzantine in style, under an arcade. S.MA..., an Evangelist in a red robe and a blue mantle, leafing through his book; no attribute to show whether it is St. Matthew or St. Mark.

Next comes a series of subjects preserved from the south corner of the apse to the north doorway in the nave: . . . NIUS, Byzantine bishop under an arcade. [PRESENT] ACIO DI (DNI). Presentation of Jesus in the Temple; Byzantine style, in spite of the inscription; however one figure unrolls a scroll on which can be read: (See Fig. 239.)

[BAPTIS] TERIUM. Baptism of Christ. Style Italo-Byzantine. St. John the Baptist, very emaciated, wearing a grey goat-skin and a green mantle,

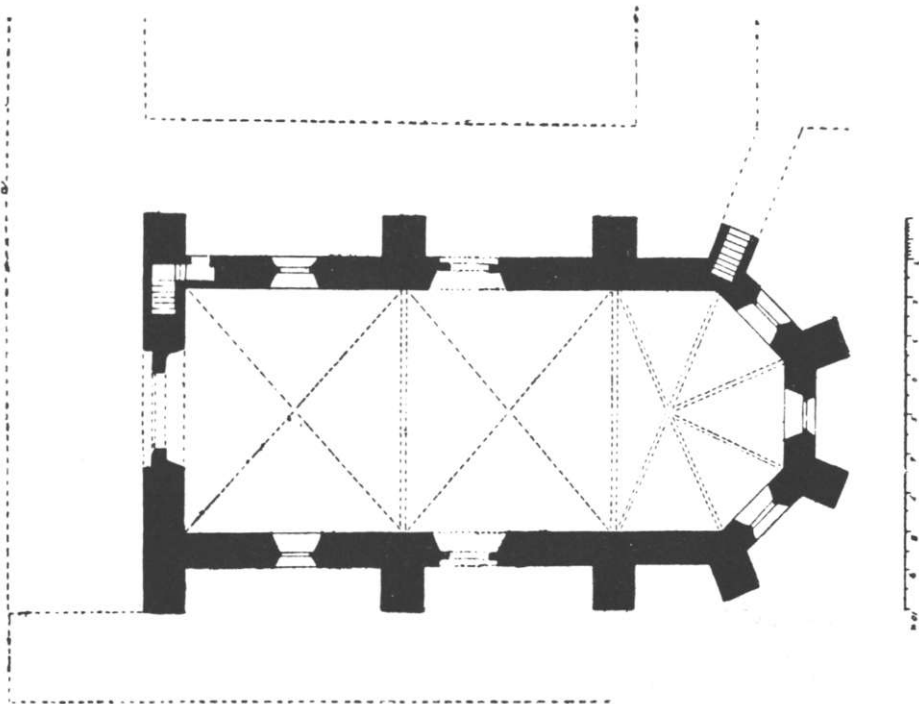


Fig. 240
Church of St. Anne.

CHAPEL ATTACHED TO THE CHURCH OF ST. ANNE

bending down and taking a long step forward. He has hairy legs like a fifteenth-century 'wild man'. Three saints in a thoroughly Byzantine style on the far side of the river. The water of the Jordan is slate-grey and full of small red fish resembling gurnets, who all have open mouths with pointed teeth, appearing to menace Christ; they are clearly intended to typify demons.

PENTECOSTE. An absurd picture looking like some scientific diagram. A central motif now completely mutilated is shaped like a trilobed panel coloured orange. It represents the aureole of the Holy Ghost. Yellow lines extend from it to reach twelve seated persons.

Above the door. Two similar shields of Italian shape: on a chief argent three roses or, hearts gules; in base on a field three roses argent, two and one, hearts gules.⁶³

Row of three standing figures, facing, life-size. **SANCTA** . . . no doubt St. Helena, in a purple mantle decorated with double-headed eagles on roundels. Byzantine Virgin. [**SANCTA**] **MARGARITA**. Shield argent, three fesses gules. Two life-size female saints standing under arcades: [**S**] **CATARI** [**NA**]; [**S**] **URSU** [**LA**]. Two similar, but better: [**C**] **ATE**-**RINA** holds a globe, [**URSU**] **LA** holds a palm; trefoil crowns, fluted haloes; Italo-Byzantine style, badly drawn, especially the first two.

Above the doorway. Two Italian shields, azure, a six-petalled rose gules, heart or, surmounted by a Maltese cross of the same, and bordered or. Two life-size male saints, bearded, haloes in relief and fluted.

North side. Unrecognizable female saint; coronation of a child. The Assumption: the Virgin in an elliptical aureole held by two angels. On the extrados of the pointed arch busts of twelve apostles. **MA** **MAGDALE**. Another large figure slackly and carelessly drawn but the face had some charm.

S. STEFANO, standing, white dalmatic with rich gold embroidery, holding book in a piece of purple cloth. **S. AN**____**US**, old man, not recognizable, possibly St. Anthony Abbot or St. Ambrose.

Above the door. In the centre, mantlings, a yellow lozenge pattern outlined in black; above, cccc in black; to the right an Italian shield, on a chief gules a Gothic C, or; in base three fesses or. Lacuna. [**S**] **NICO**-**[LAUS]**, standing figure in pallium, low mitre. Lacuna.

CHAPEL ATTACHED TO ST. ANNE

A few metres from the west end of St. Anne in a north-westerly direction there can be seen a very small polygonal apse incorporated in a rectangular east end formed by three straight walls.⁶⁴ It has an elegant ribbed vault supported on four columns whose sculptured capitals are fine examples of French work of the fourteenth century. The plinths of

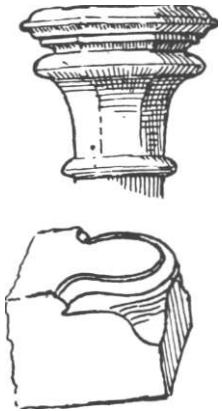


Fig. 241
Fragments possibly from porch.

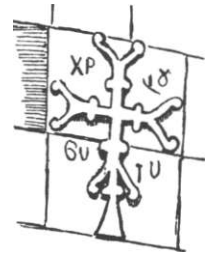


Fig. 242
Cross on buttress.

the two easternmost colonnettes rested not on the ground but on an altar which has disappeared; between them is a pointed window with open-work cusps; on the north side is a connecting course containing half a window in which two blocks give the effect of a trilobed tracery.

Behind this small apse is a circular well.

In this chapel, as in the church, the skill of the construction is most noteworthy. The vault is largely built up of *tas-de-charge* formed of horizontal corbelled courses. This method of construction is one favoured by the best French architectural schools: it reduces the thrust and makes for a greater stability which is all the more valuable in a country so liable to earthquakes.

The chapel has not fallen into ruins; it is vandalism that is to blame for the destruction of the main body and the upper structure.

56

See P. Naef, *Guide au Château de Chilton* (Le Havre, 1894); notes presented to the members of the Fourteenth Congress of the Learned Societies of Savoy, 1896, (volume of drawings).

57

The surname Brucourt is attested; Bonacourt (Bonacursus) was a common Christian name in Italy and Cyprus.

8

THE NESTORIAN CHURCH

No. 8 on the plan

The Nestorian faith admits the existence of two persons in Christ; in the time of James of Vitry it had numerous adherents in the East.⁶⁵

The Nestorians ranked high and were extremely influential in Syrian society at the time of the Latin domination.⁶⁶

In 1222 a bull of Honorius III subjected the Nestorians of Cyprus to the Latin archbishop.⁶⁷

The Syrian church also embraced the Melchites and the Jacobites, the latter being monophysites who practised circumcision and used trumpets instead of bells at the mass. They ranked as suffragans to the Latin bishops.

The German Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion, who wrote a *Description Terre Sancte* in about 1283, mixes together in the same eulogy the Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians and Maronites.⁶⁸ In 1445 Elias, the Nestorian archbishop of Cyprus, made a formal abjuration of his faith before Andrew, Latin archbishop of Rhodes.⁶⁹ Machaeras records that in about 1360 the Nestorians were the aristocrats of the financiers of Famagusta. He has an inexhaustible supply of anecdotes on the riches and the munificence of the Lachas brothers, called Lachanopoulos by Strambaldi, Lacha or Lachan by Bustron and Amadi.

The point of particular interest for our present purposes is that, according to Machaeras, they contributed generously towards building the Nestorian church in Famagusta;⁷⁰ Strambaldi actually says of one of the brothers: 'Fece fabricar la chiesa di Nestorini dalli fundamenti.'⁷¹

It is highly probable that this church is the large one with paintings accompanied by Syriac inscriptions now known to the Greeks as St. George the Exiler. They use it for a strange liturgy, which does not prevent the

58

(Ed. note.) Possibly an error for Elijah who was specially honoured by the Carmelites, see 1 Kings XVIII, 20 and 42.

59

See Viollet-le-Duc, *Diet, d'archit.*, vol. III, p. 317, figure 25.

60

ib., p. 315, figure 24.

61

See Enlart, *Monum. d'art français dans l'Italie du sud*, article in *L'Art*, 1896, pp. 664 et sq., figures 6 and 7 on pp. 674-5.

62

These acroteria are a direct copy from ancient models, especially sarcophagi.

63

These bearings are not unlike those of the Doge Loredan in the *Camera degli Scarlatti* in the Doge's Palace at Venice.

Turks from using it simultaneously as a stable for camels. Only once a year the animals are excluded; the Greeks then sweep the floor and celebrate mass on stone altars which for the rest of the year are covered with dung.⁷³

The church is built in a style which can be attributed to the precise period mentioned by Machaeras and, not long after it was built, it was considerably enlarged. It is most likely that it was indeed erected in about 1360, at the expense of the Lachas brothers, and that these munificent patrons soon afterwards felt the need to complete their work.

This style was particularly widespread in Cyprus during the reign of Peter I as a result of the journey which he made to Avignon⁷⁴ and of the

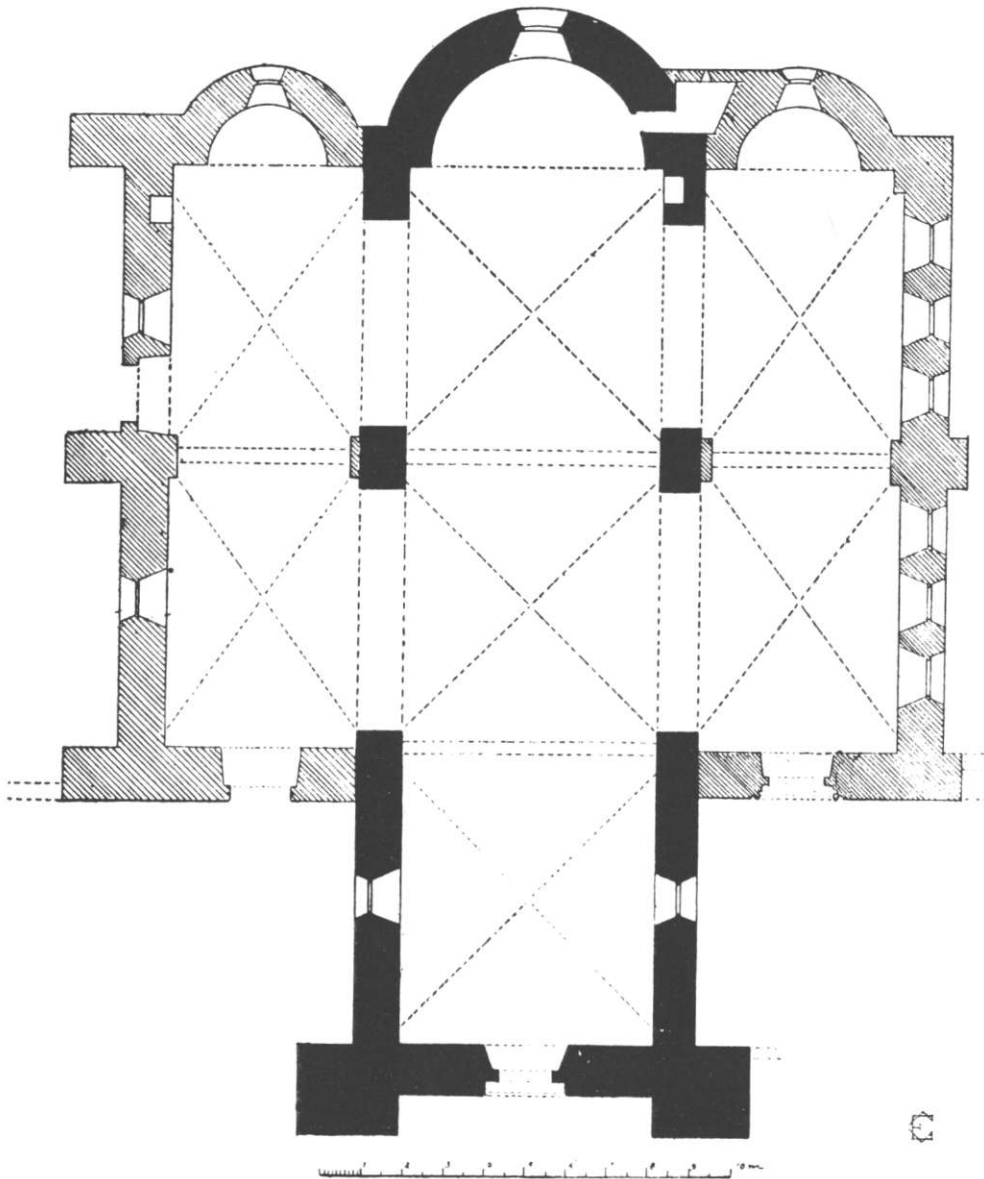


Fig. 243
Plan of the Nestorian church.

64

The scheme is reminiscent of the absidioles of Gothic churches in Poitou, e.g. at Saint-Maixent and La Puy Notre-Dame.

65

According to Baron Rey 'the Nestorians of Syria appear to have lived mainly in Tripoli, Byblos, Beirut and Acre. In

Tripoli they had some famous schools, among whose pupils was George Abulfaraj, known as Bar-Hebraeus. From the tenth century onwards, as Masudi observed, they stopped using the name of the heresiarch Nestorius, claiming that they had never shared his errors, and called themselves Syrians. They and the Jacobites were the best educated of the Latin colonies. It was the Syrians who introduced the Franks to the learning of the East. The Nestorians of Syria had kept Chaldaean as their liturgical language; their liturgy followed the Greek rite

The archdiocese of Jerusalem included the dioceses of Damascus, Aleppo, Tarsus, Misis, Melitene and, later, Cyprus. Those episcopal sees depended on the Catholicos or Patriarch of the Nestorian church, who lived in Baghdad. The Catholicos Sebarjesus V wrote to Pope Gregory IX in about 1233 and his successor, Makika II, asked Pope Innocent IV to be admitted to communion with Rome.'

residence in Cyprus, mainly in Famagusta, of Peter Thomas.

The church (Figs. 243 and 244) is extremely well built in fine ashlar masonry and originally consisted of a single nave of three bays and an apse, the whole being covered with a semi-dome and ribbed vaults. As was usual in Cyprus the springs of the ribbed vaults are very broad and a narrow transverse rib supports the centre of the segments of barrel vaulting that separate the bays. On the north and south sides and at the back of the apse there were lancet windows with internal and external splays, undecorated; at the west end is a medium-sized rose-window of which the traceried filling has almost disappeared. Beneath the rose-window is a broad but very plain doorway with a lintel supported on corbels. Above the side walls rise three obtuse gables, conforming to the water-channels over the vaults; the gables and the apse are edged at the top with simple mouldings: torus, cavetto, string-course. There are flagstaff-holders on the top of the gables. Plain gargoyles on top of the buttresses correspond with the valley-channels.

The interior decoration is very plain. The impost of the apse is moulded with a torus, a groove between bird's beaks and a string-course, the ribs of the vaults have plain chamfered edges and rest on short corbelled colonnettes (Fig. 245), the bottoms of the shafts appearing to penetrate into the walls, forming a right-angled elbow. The capitals and their narrow abacuses have oblique-cut corners; the bells are carved with sparse foliage, turning through an angle with the tops pointing upwards giving the impression of pressing up against the upper part of the bell, a movement suggesting their supporting function. This is a type of capital of which there are numerous examples from the last quarter of the thirteenth century onwards; their restrained and economical treat-

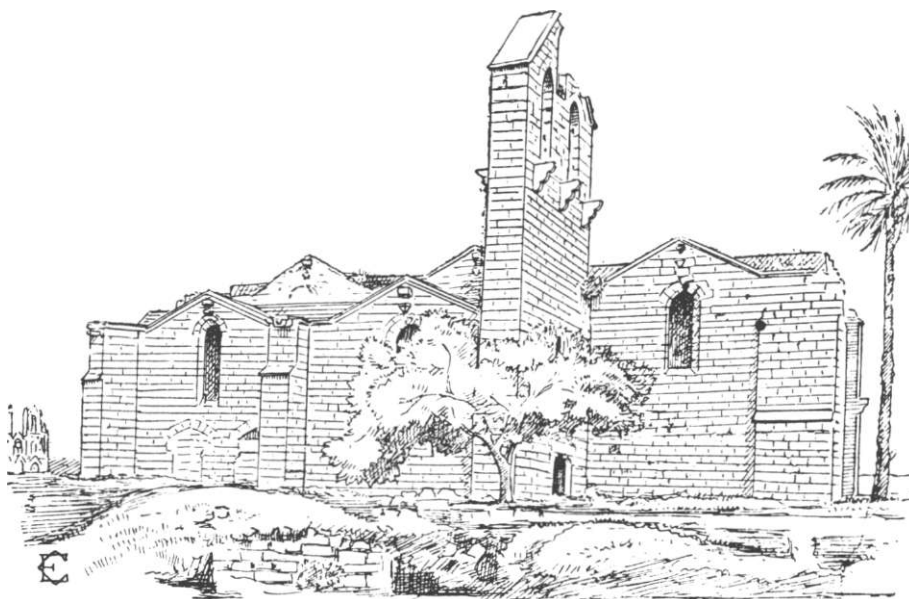


Fig. 244
The Nestorian church.

ment, like the plan of the church with its single low nave, is characteristic of the style of the south of France. The apse and the groined vaults reflect Cypriot influence. Notice one decorative scheme which is reminiscent of Italy: the voussoirs of the sanctuary arch are alternately in red and white limestone and in the vaults, of excellently dressed white limestone, the key-stones, shaped like a Greek cross, are made of a reddish stone.

Probably not long after it was first built this church was enlarged by the addition of lateral naves and apsidal chapels, the first, western, bay remaining as it was to form a kind of narthex. In the side walls of the other two the windows were removed and replaced by two large pointed arcades. The exteriors of the lateral naves are identical in design with the central one except that the southern one is lit by a group of three windows in each bay, the central window being taller than the other two as in certain churches in the Veneto: SS. John and Paul at Venice ('S. Zanipolo'), Vicenza Cathedral, St. Lawrence at Vicenza and St. Anthony at Padua.

The groined vaults are a poor copy of those in the central nave: plain narrow ridges carved out of the masonry are used to imitate the ribs. The imposts of the apsidal chapels consist of a simple chamfer below a bird's beak, a moulding derived from Byzantine art.

Between the apse and the south apsidal chapel a small recess or treasury has been inserted, as at St. George of the Greeks, lit from the outside by a narrow pointed arrow-slit.

There are doorways on the north and west sides of the side naves. The northern and north-western ones are similar to the main doorway; the south-western is the only elegant one. The extended jambs are carved into the shafts of two slender colonnettes divided by deep grooves; their flattened bases rise from an octagonal plinth; their capitals are octagonal, unusually tall and carved with two rows of angled leaves with rising tips and their abacuses are low, all indications of fourteenth-century date (Fig. 246). The marble lintel was carved in relief with a cross whose arms terminate in spear points.

The pointed arch, decorated with grooves and a flattened torus, is framed by a hood-mould whose apex is surmounted by a small finial with an octagonal knot and upward-pointed leaves. It springs from brackets resembling those in the nave at Êcrouves near Toul (thirteenth century). The doorway appears to be a work of the fourteenth century and must have belonged to a building which was better built, older and more French in style than the two flanking doorways. Probably it was moved here from one of the former side walls when that was demolished. Above it is a small *oeil-de-boeuf*.

On the north-west of the church there is a belfry arcade with an agreeable silhouette, like the one at Bellapais and on some buildings in Languedoc. It has two lancets and is crowned by a gable pierced by a third

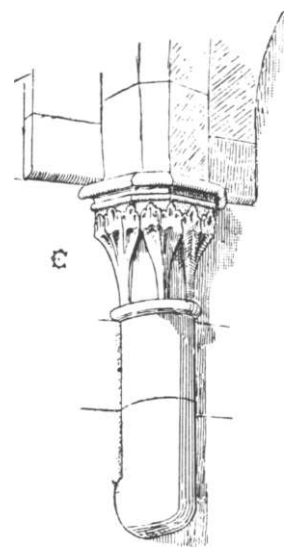


Fig. 245
Colonnette supporting
vaulting of central nave.

66
E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie* (Picard, Paris, 1883), pp. 82-3; id., *Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des latins en Orient* (Paris, 1877); Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis* (Douai, 1597), p. 149; Father Louis Dousin, *Hist. du Nestorianisme* (Rotterdam, 1698).

67
Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, p. 45.

68
First published in 1519 and again in 1587 by Ambrose Kirchner, together with the travels of Bartholomew of Salignac (Paul Dotot, Magdeburg).

69
op. cit., section 6.



Fig. 246
Impost of south doorway.

opening. A gallery ran beneath the main openings, probably in wood, supported at the northern and southern ends on large consoles of two quadrant courses. This is like the design of the belfries of Notre Dame du Taur at Toulouse, Villefranche-de-Tolosan, Pierrefitte (Hautes Pyrénées) and others.

On the north side of the first bay is a pointed niche which must have housed a tomb; the arch is decorated with a torus, grooves and bird's beak mouldings and framed by a drip-stone hood-mould with a torus moulding embellished with a small rib; this drip-stone ends at the two springs in spiral *congés*, under which the architect committed the blunder of putting brackets.

The church was linked to other buildings which have disappeared but the southern face has preserved the remains of a doorway thrown across a road which then as now ran along this side. The arch of this fourteenth-century doorway is richly carved with Romanesque zigzags like another in Famagusta and the doorway of the refectory at Bellapais which date from the same period.

The whole church was decorated with figure paintings, a few of which are still recognisable. The ones that can be made out are the following:

Apse-, On the south side Christ, sitting under a palm tree, delivers the keys to St. Peter who is moving forward, followed by the other apostles. Behind Christ an angel, standing, dressed in white, holding an attribute. On the north side a seated figure in a green robe and in front of him six standing figures wearing long vestments of red, green and purple. In a lower register a saint with a curly beard holds an open scroll inscribed in Syriac characters. This figure seems to have been part of a procession of saints.

First pillar to the south-east. East side. A Byzantine prelate in a chequered mantle ornamented with a cross.

North side. St. John the Baptist preaching; single figure. *West Side.* Byzantine Virgin; above, St. Luke painting, below another scene probably from the same legend; higher, two other pictures, defaced. *South side.* Virgin or St. Helena.

Vault of the central bay of the southern nave. Three figures draped in violet.

Narthex. North-west corner. Two female saints, standing; Syriac inscription. *West side.* In a medallion two sainted Patriarchs meeting St. Helena who holds a crucifix; Syriac inscriptions. *North side.* Virgin crowned by angels; Annunciation (spandrels of the tomb-niche), graceful style, Italian or under Italian influence. Above, St. Anne, the Virgin and the infant Jesus; to left and right six small paintings of legendary scenes.

Northern pillar of the nave. Large figure of standing saint (male). *Same pillar, west side.* Another large figure covered with Syriac graffiti; above, Last Supper. *South side.* Virgin, bad Italian style. *East side.*

70
Bull referring to the conversion of the Nestorians in
Acts of the Council of Florence, part III, No. 20;
Lc Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. III, p. 84.

71
Machaeras, op. cit.

72
Strambaldi, p. 37.

THE NESTORIAN CHURCH



Fig. 247
Angel holding saint's
mantle.

Annunciation (?), graffiti. North side. Large figure of a saint with a black beard, very badly drawn.

North aisle. Female saint, standing, long yellow mantle, indigo veil, fairly well executed; figure in long purple mantle; another figure; an Italian nimbus with spirally incised rays; remains of a large picture.

South aisle. Unrecognisable scene; scene showing two sacred personages with bare legs, of whom one might be John the Baptist — probably Baptism of Christ; Italian triptych of the fourteenth century, a work of some merit: in the centre a female saint whose mantle is held by angels; fine head of an angel wearing a small blue diadem (Fig. 247); in the side panels two standing figures; only the one on the left is, barely, preserved, a female saint whose face, hands and attributes have been obliterated; fluted haloes. Frame of quatrefoils surrounding shields, with field gules, a besant sable with a rose argent. Over-life-size St. Michael, Byzantine; two old men, one apparently St. Peter, orans, a disc on his stomach with a bust of Christ blessing; a graffito of a seventeenth-century ship showing some sense of drawing and perspective.

The paintings, like the fabric of the church, belong to two different periods. Some Italian paintings are mingled with Syrian works in a me-

diocre Byzantine style. The oldest of these paintings go back, like the church, to the fourteenth century but others are of the fifteenth or even sixteenth centuries.

9

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

No. 9 on the plan

Fig. 248
Profile of arch of
piscina.

The origin of the Armenian community in Famagusta appears to go back to the middle of the fourteenth century. The Dominican John of Verona⁷⁵ in 1335 and the pilgrim James of Berne⁷⁶ in 1346 record having seen a whole population of Armenian refugees arriving in Famagusta from Lajazzo, driven out by the Moslem invaders. John of Verona describes the miserable poverty of these unfortunate people camping out on the market square: the groans of the old, the women and the children and the melancholy howling of their dogs, as hungry as their masters. James of Berne calculates that the contingent he saw disembarking numbered over 1,500 souls. It was probably shortly after their arrival that they built this modest and very unusual church; the style suggests a fairly late date in the fourteenth century. The identification is con-

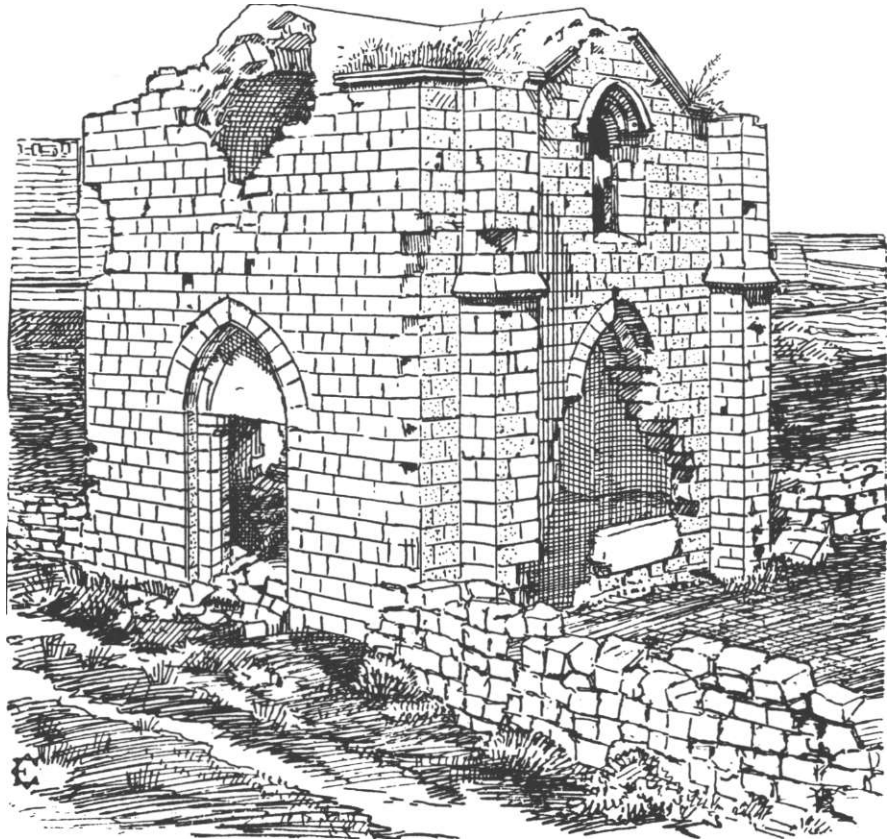


Fig. 249
The Armenian church.

firmed by the Armenian inscriptions appended to all the paintings in it.⁷⁷

The church (Fig. 249), which is the last in the north-west sector of the city, is very small, being composed of a nave, of only one bay, and an apse. The nave is a slightly oblong rectangle, rather tall in proportion to its restricted ground area, covered by a square groined vault with short barrel vaults to east and west; the key-stone is sculptured and in the vault are buried four acoustic vases (Fig. 250). Above it is a cruciform masonry roof terminating in four right-angled pediments crowned with Gothic mouldings.

Built up against the eastern gable is an apse roofed with a conical semi-dome; the other three are each pierced by a completely plain doorway under a pointed arch above which is a pointed window with drip-course hood-mould.

Inside the church a hood-mould of the same kind runs above the pointed arch of the piscina (Fig. 248) which has Gothic cusps but in plan is a semi-circular niche.

There is another niche in the apse, this time rectangular; the apse window is rectangular on the outside but on the inside the lintel has been cut away to imitate a semi-circular arch. At each of the corners of the building are two square buttresses; they have no set-back but, half-way up, a drip-course with a broad flange.

The corbels of the west doorway are shaped as inverted Attic bases; on the north doorway they are quadrants; the south doorway is missing. The tympana are plain.

The impost of the apse and sanctuary arch are cavettos beneath bird's-beak mouldings.

Later, when the Armenian colony in Famagusta had become more prosperous a second chapel was added to the north-east of this small church of which all that remains is an insignificant apse with Gothic mouldings on the cornice.

There are important remains of the poor-quality Byzantine painted decorations which covered the whole interior of this church. A list follows:

Semi-dome. Remains of a large-scale composition; what can be made out is a nimbus, a kneeling figure clothed in white and a few traces of other objects.

Apsé. Above, row of seated Apostles with Armenian inscriptions; below Patriarchs of the eastern church under an arcade. On the north side-post a larger, similar figure. Above the piscina Resurrection, Italian fifteenth-century style; inscription IC...; at side, Baptism of Christ in presence of two angels. Only the St. John the Baptist has artistic pretensions; he has a fine, freely drawn head in typically fifteenth-century style.

North doorway. Tympanum. Bust of Christ, arms extended. *Side panels and arch of north doorway.* Saints half-length; only three remaining. *Spandrels. Annunciation.* Between the doorway and the west end.

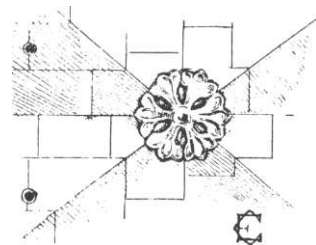


Fig. 250
Sculptured keystone and apertures for acoustic vases.

73

St. George the Exiler (*Ai Yorghî Xorinos*) has the peculiar virtue of procuring the exiling from the country of all those against whom his name is invoked. Anyone wishing to get rid of an enemy has only to take some earth from the saint's church and sprinkle it in the enemy's house. On the other hand if anyone carrying this earth passes through the gate of Famagusta he will himself be forced to quit Cyprus before a year is up. The method adopted to avoid the danger of handling is therefore the following: you put the earth in a small parcel and throw it over the wall near the gate and pick it up after leaving the town.

74

Peter I's first voyage to Europe lasted from 1362 to 1365. In 1363, when he was at Avignon, he granted commercial privileges in Cyprus to Montpellier; see Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, p. 250.

Nativity. In the foreground two midwives washing the Infant; the Virgin reclining, her name written in Armenian on her purple robe; cradle resembling a sarcophagus in which the Infant is represented for a second time, with ox and ass on either side and surrounded by thirteen worshipping angels. This picture is identical with one of the fifteenth century at Mistra, copied in 1896 by Monsieur Ypermann and studied by Monsieur Millet. *Upper Register.* Flagellation, Carrying of the Cross, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, Entombment.

75

Liber peregrinationis fratris Joannis de Verona, publ. by R. Röhricht, *Rev. de l'Or*, lat., 1895, p. 177.

76

Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen* (Berlin, 1880), p. 51; on the same subject see also N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1896), in *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études*, P. 3.

77

According to Lusignan the Armenians of Famagusta had a bishop. He describes a curious Easter ceremony in the cathedral: a lamb was roasted inside the building and the bishop, in his pontifical vestments, would come in solemn procession to eat the first mouthful. The last of these bishops was Brother Julian, a Dominican, who brought over his church to the Roman obedience and became a bishop in Calabria after the fall of Cyprus (*Hist. de Cypre*, fol. 82 and v°).

78

Engraving of the siege of Famagusta, No. 5.

79

Actes génois de Famagouste, *Archives and Rev. de l'Or*, lat., 1896 and 1897.

80

No. XCI.

81

No. CLXXXVII.

82

No. CCXXXI.

Western Wall, North Side. Virgin and St. Helena under an arcade, Armenian inscriptions. *South Side.* St. George, Armenian inscription.

South Wall. St. John the Baptist, standing, life-size, flanked by sixteen small pictures of legendary scenes. Dormition of the Virgin.

A lot of foolish people have insisted on writing their names on the walls and on the pictures. Regrettably, there are some Frenchmen among them. The oldest of these inscriptions is of 1547, many belong to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

10

THE CHURCH OF ST. ANTHONY

No. 16 on the plan

On Gibellino's engraving of 1571⁷⁸ he shows a church abutting against the curtain wall of the defences of Famagusta, east of the cathedral and just south of the Sea Gate, to which he attaches the name of St. Anthony. Being restricted between the wall on one side and the street running parallel to it on the other the church had no room for expansion either to east or west but extended north and south with other buildings at those two ends. Some thoroughly confused remains of all these buildings have been preserved and their history is equally confused.

It is evident, to begin with, that in 1300 there was in existence in Famagusta a hospital dedicated to St. Anthony. It is attested in the Genoese notarial documents published by Cavaliere Desimoni⁷⁹ where there are references to this hospital under the dates 21st March,⁸⁰ 27th July, when a legacy was left it by the Genoese citizen Nicholas di Raynaldo,⁸¹ 19th September in connection with a legacy by another Genoese, Gianino Ralla⁸² and, finally, 24th October. This last deed shows that the church and hospital in question belonged to the order of hospitallers of St. Anthony of the Viennois because it mentions a priest called Simon, chaplain of Notre-Dame at Tortosa, who was relieved of an excommunication imposed on him for having resided and officiated in Syria⁸³ by Brother Theobald of Vienne, a member of the Anthonine Order, and who, as a result of this absolution, entered the Order in Famagusta.⁸⁴

The building marked by Gibellino simply as *S. Antonio* is probably the Anthonine hospital and if so this hospital should very likely be

identified with the one referred to in another Genoese notarial document of the same year⁸⁸ as *'hospitale circa littus maris.'*

The church whose ruins can be seen near the earthworks of the eastern wall, at the point where the foot of the wall is washed by the sea, looks as though it was Gothic with a strong Byzantine influence (Fig. 251). It was built of poor-quality stone of a dark red colour, very well dressed. The long axis of the building ran north and south because of the narrowness of the site, between a street on one side and the shore and the wall on the other.

The buildings of the hospital were to the south of the church; they were probably built around a courtyard which would have been situated in front of the façade. All that remains is a single wing on the east. It is slightly at an angle with the axis of the church and its ruins extend for about six metres. Traces of some cross-walls can be seen, and some small rectangular windows.

The symmetrical plan of the church itself is completely Byzantine. In front, on the south side, was a three-bayed porch with ribbed vaulting. The central body of the church, in the shape of a Greek cross, had apparently four square arms covered with pointed barrel vaults around a central dome, although the central bay might have had a ribbed vault, as at Tochni. Four lower rib-vaulted sections between the arms of the cross completed the rectangular design. The sanctuary was in three rectangular sections of the same depth as the nave and the aisles. Each had an arcade, or a broad, shallow niche, in their end wall, a scheme which occurs in the ends of the aisles at Bellapais and in Digne Cathedral; they were roofed with ribbed vaults and corresponded to the porch in the symmetrical design of the building. On the other hand the porch would appear to have been an addition and it is likely that originally the basis of the plan was not a Greek cross but a Latin cross reversed, in other words there was one more bay above the transept than there was below.

The dome was supported on columns with magnificent monolithic

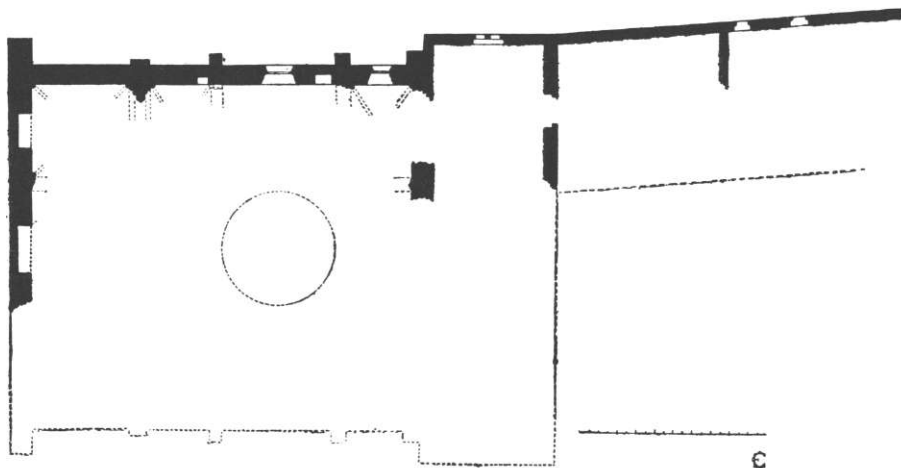


Fig. 251
Ruins of St. Anthony,
Famagusta.

shafts of grey granite taken from the ruins of Salamis. Two are still to be found among the ruins; they are identical with the ones that the Venetians used in the sixteenth century when they rebuilt the palace and erected two columns in the main square.

The engaged supports were, in the transept, groups of three small columns, as in the three great churches of the city, and, at the entrance to the chapels, demi-columns on moulded dossierets, as at St. Sozomenos and the Franciscan church at Paphos. The capitals appear to have been all circular, with entirely smooth bells. Three examples exist: one is in the style of the early fourteenth century, the second is slightly curved as at St. George of the Greeks and the third, later in style, has an abacus formed by a flattened torus, rather like those in the choir of St. Nicholas at Nicosia. This type can be seen in the arcade of the only chapel that survives and might suggest that this part of the church was a later addition. A glance at the plan provides *prima facie* evidence for this hypothesis though an inspection of the masonry does not confirm it.

The ribs are plain and prismatic in profile.

The façade had three doorways but I could not attempt to reconstruct the design. The narthex, which extends about 90 cm. beyond the side-walls, had an unglazed double window at its outer end, with a mitred splay on the inside. The two openings of this window are lancet-shaped with a small pilaster as central support.

The ends of the narthex, or at least one of them, were possibly used as bases for one or perhaps two belfries.

It is not possible to reconstruct the interior of this curious church but even in its ruined state it illustrates in a most interesting way that fusion of French and Byzantine art which was prevalent in Cyprus from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. The church of St. Anthony at Famagusta was an example of this hybrid style in its most monumental and most harmoniously assimilated aspects, and no doubt also one of the oldest. For its date of construction we should look somewhere between 1360 to 1370 and the middle of the fifteenth century.

11

TWIN CHURCHES

Presumably of the Templars and Hospitallers

No. 12 on the plan

These two small churches (Fig. 252), of roughly similar dimensions, are parallel to each other and separated by a lane 3.10 metres across at its widest point.

Their history is unknown. However the northern one, whose floor is lower and whose style of construction is not so tall and slender, and more manifestly Gothic, must be the earlier; its neighbour appears to date from the fourteenth century. The latter has on its south side a

83
 Either because he abandoned his place of residence without permission or because he officiated among the non-conformist Christians of Syria or, more probably, because he had infringed the Papal bull which prohibited Christians from any dealings with Moslem ports.

84
 op. cit. No. CCCCLXXIV.

85
 ib., No. CXXXVMI.

86
 1299, Nos. XVII-XXII;
 1300, Nos. XLI, XLII, LV,
 LX, LXXIV.

87
 ib., 3 Jan. 1301, No.
 CCCCLXXVIII.

88
 No. CXVIII.

89
 p. 170.

TWIN CHURCHES

shield with a cross resembling the device of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem carved on Kolossi Castle. It seems therefore that we have here the Hospitallers' church and the older church would be the Templars'; if so it may be conjectured that when the latter was presented to the Hospitallers in 1308 they found it inadequate but did not wish to demolish it and that it is to this that we owe the strange phenomenon of two small churches side by side.

The origins of the Templars' establishment in Famagusta are not exactly known. History records that in 1191 Richard the Lionheart handed over the whole island to them but that they were unable to administer it, or to pay for it, and it came into the hands of Guy of Lusignan in 1192. After that date, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of cession, the Templars retained in their possession during the thirteenth century a considerable proportion of their properties in Cyprus; when the Order was suppressed in the fourteenth century an inventory was drawn up and the list of properties has survived. In 1299 and 1300 the Templars of Famagusta were rich; they owned some large merchant ships which are frequently mentioned in the Genoese registers of those dates.⁸⁶ Their house in Famagusta is often referred to in the same documents,⁸⁷ which speak of its vault (*volta Tempil*) signifying either a vaulted hall or a covered bridge; but there are no indications of its location. Nor are there any of the whereabouts of the establishment of the Order of the Hospital, which is known to have had one in Famagusta since it is referred to in one of the same notarial documents.⁸⁸

In 1308, according to Florio Bustron,⁸⁹ the house of the Templars and their church dedicated to St. Anthony were confiscated and given to the Hospitallers. On my theory the earlier of these twin churches would be this church of St. Anthony, built shortly before 1308, and the other would have been built some years after the Hospitallers took over the Templars' property and abandoned their own former house and church.

Both buildings consist of a single nave with an apse at the east end. The northern one, which I take to have been the Templars', has three bays in the nave, with ribbed vaults. All the arches of these vaults have the same section and the same simple prismatic profile, they spring from grouped brackets (Fig. 25 3) in the shape of pyramids with chamfered angles ending in a knob. Some circular roof-bosses remain. The apse is a plain semi-dome with a single window; above the semi-dome the nave is lit by three small windows, long, narrow and rectangular, disposed in a triangle.

The two end bays of the nave are pierced on their north side by a fairly large window and a small doorway, both with pointed arches, and the westernmost has another pointed window on the south side. The central bay has a rectangular window on the south side and on the north a third doorway with a pointed arch, distinctly larger than those in the other bays, decorated with mouldings in a Late Gothic style and with a

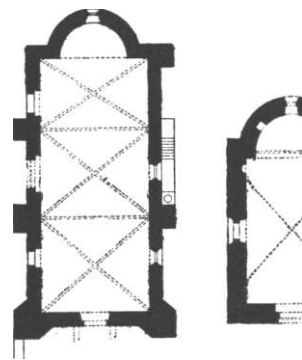


Fig. 252
The twin churches.

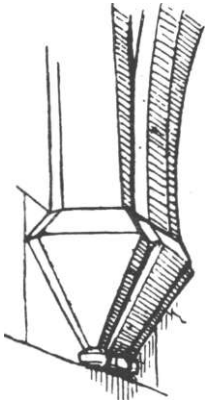


Fig. 253
Bracket supporting
vaulting ribs in northern
church.

projecting string-course on the extrados.

The west end had a round window at the top, above which was a stone flagstaff-holder; below it there are fragmentary indications of a brattice or a small outside platform supported by the arches of a small square porch. The latter covered a completely plain doorway whose lintel is carried on slightly projecting corbels with a mitred relieving-arch. This porch appears to have already disappeared before the fall of Famagusta.

The buttresses at either corner of the west end are of the type known as 'clasping' and resemble the cutwaters used as piers on bridges. They are similar to those on the west end of the Carmelite church. The other buttresses are rectangular, ending in an absolutely plain batter and cut half-way up by a drip-stone.

Stone staircases giving access to the roof are built against the southern wall of the central and western bays. Under the staircase a well was dug in the angle formed by the central bay and its western buttress.

A heavy and ungainly belfry, not earlier than the late sixteenth century, was erected on the north side of the western bay. The opening for the bell has a semi-circular arch at the top, once presumably surmounted by a pediment which must have fallen to the ground.

Some remains of connecting courses on the corner of the northern buttress show that it was connected to a wall running east-west. This presumably formed the perimeter of the monastic buildings which have now completely disappeared; the three northern doorways must have opened onto this enclosure.

The northern church probably dates from the end of the thirteenth century or possibly the beginning of the fourteenth, like the similar one at Stazousa. In any case it is earlier than its neighbour which, as I shall show, is probably fourteenth-century. The central doorway on the north side of the earlier one was a later addition; it resembles those on the later one and was probably added at the same time as that church was under construction.

The southern church, on my theory that of the Hospitallers, is taller than its neighbour, but not so long, built on the lines of a tower, without buttresses. Its nave consists of a single oblong bay, with a groined vault; in accordance with local practice the vault, at right angles to the main axis, is extended for a short distance at both the east and west ends.

The apse has a single pointed window, two small credences and an impost carved with several Gothic mouldings joining up with the low crocketed capitals which crown two slender colonnettes standing in the corners of the jambs (Fig. 254). The colonnettes stand on two low superimposed bases. The upper base rests on three small prismatic consoles with a little ball at the point. The exterior cornice of the apse is ornamented only with a chamfer and a bird's beak. Throughout this small church there is a strange mixture of Romanesque motifs with others belonging to the fourteenth century or at earliest the end of the thirteenth.

90

The causes that led local architects to retrace their steps in this way was first that they had forgotten their French traditions and secondly the desire for simplification to be expected in a period of decadence. I have in other works drawn attention to the same phenomenon in Italy.

91

Amadi, pp. 420, 421, 423; Strambaldi, pp. 94, 97, 105; Bustron, pp. 268, 270, 272. The church of the convent, built on the site of a castle, was known as *Castigliotissa*.

ST. CLARE

The nave was lit on the north, south and west sides by pointed windows standing above three doorways of the same design, as in the Armenian church. Above the southern doorway is a protruding string-course with Gothic mouldings; other mouldings in the same style decorate the arch and continue down the jambs (Fig. 254); the marble lintel has in the centre a shield in relief with a Maltese cross.

The west doorway, badly damaged, has a similar design. The hood mould over the arch was supported on two brackets with deeply cut bells, carved with crocketed foliage with a flower at the tips, a motif found in the same position at St. Nicholas at Akrotiri, near Limassol. Above this doorway was a sloping roof which ran along the whole of the west front resting at the south end on a lightly constructed arcade.

At the apex of the façade there can still be seen the remains of what looks like a sentry-box, probably a belfry, and a stone flagstaff-holder, two others of which are in place at each end. There were two more at the highest point of the two sides.

The interior of the church was painted. Two layers can be distinguished, the earlier Byzantine, the later in the style of Giotto. To the south-east there can still be made out a haloed head and an angel, next to which a Byzantine saint and a Virgin with above her a scroll bearing traces of a Greek inscription. In the apse can be seen a row of monks in white kneeling before a St. Sebastian, and above them a Carrying of the Cross.

This church dates from the fourteenth century as witnessed by the ornamentation of the doorways and the colonnettes in the apse, particularly by the bases and the disposition of the mouldings. Ornamentation which in France would indicate the thirteenth century may here be later; as we have seen, in Cyprus groined vaults are as a general rule later than ribbed vaults.⁹⁰ The Byzantine paintings should be of the same date, the Giottesque decoration will have been painted over them in the fifteenth century.

12

(?) ST. CLARE

No. 13 on the plan

A pile of ruins known locally as Haia Fotou is probably a former convent of St. Clare. Its history is almost unknown; the convent of St. Clare at Nicosia, by contrast, of which even the ruins have disappeared, is mentioned in the chronicles of Amadi, Strambaldi and Bustron who have some interesting stories to tell about what was happening there in 1368 and 1369.⁹¹ In Strambaldi's manuscript the name is glossed *Fotini*, which shows that St. Clare had been given its etymological translation by the Greek Cypriots, and confirms the identification that I am proposing. Admittedly the present-day legend of St. Fotou of Famagusta is a local invention,⁹² and Gibellino's engraving not merely does not mark St. Clare

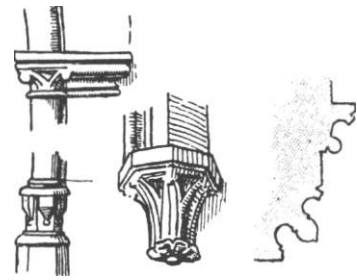


Fig. 254
Colonnette from
southern church; bracket
from west door; profile
of south doorway.

92

She is credited with having driven off the plague, which she changed into a rock, still pointed out on the shore. The Greeks celebrate a mass in her honour once a year in the cellar which is part of the ruins of the convent.

but inserts St. Dominic more or less at the place occupied by the ruins in question. They are, however, much too insignificant to have been St. Dominic.

The only information we have about the convent of St. Clare in Famagusta dates from 1340. In that year King Hugh IV, whose hatred of St. Francis extended also to St. Clare, so far forgot good manners in his rage with his daughter for proposing to visit the nuns there as to describe them in terms which the secretary to Ferdinand of Majorca translates as 'meretrices et male mulieres et paterine.'⁹³ No doubt the King exaggerated;⁹⁴ he was so furious that he bit his tongue and the blood ran down to the ground,⁹⁵ manifestly a heaven-sent punishment.

The ruins called Haia Fotou include a chapel (Fig. 255), inside measurements 12.5 by 7.5 metres, with a sanctuary pointing north-east and a small rectangular cellar a short distance from the sanctuary and at right angles to it.

The chapel seems to have had no buttresses except at the angles of the west end. The chevet was three-sided, with pointed windows 70 cm. broad, splayed only on the inside. A broken piece of a prismatic-shaped mullion with cusped tracery, found among the debris, probably comes from one of these windows. There are in addition some voussoirs in two different sizes and differing also in profile. Some come from vaulting arches and are decorated with a thin flattened torus and two bead mouldings between grooves; the others are wider and no doubt come from transverse ribs, the angles being carved with cavettos beneath fillets. Finally there are also among the debris some pieces of a drip-course with a rectilinear flange which in combination with the other fragments appear to date the building to the fourteenth century.

The cellar is possibly of about the same date or more probably of the fifteenth century. It has a well in its south-western corner. It is roofed with a low-pitched barrel vault reinforced down the middle by a rib supported by two snub-nosed brackets in the form of inverted pyramids. The style — if I may use such a flattering expression — is the one which has been prevalent in the island from the end of the fourteenth century to the present day.

13

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

No. 14 on the plan

This is a small church (Figs. 256 and 257) quite close to the Greek cathedral; its west end faced the apse of St. George of the Greeks.

I must regret that I have been unable to identify this building because it must have been the most beautiful in the city, after St. Nicholas and St. George of the Latins. It is to be dated a little before the former and a little after the latter. The three churches are disposed in a regular triangle,

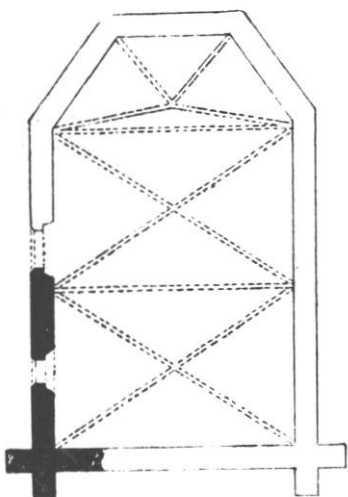


Fig. 255
Ruined church known
as Haia Fotou.

93

Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*,
Preuves, vol. 1, p. 187.

94

I must point out, however,
that certain methods of
recruitment common in
Cypriot convents at least
provided partial grounds for
accusations of this kind. The
Assizes (ed. Beugnot, vol. II,
p. 92) lay down that girls
who have been seduced
must, on demand by their
family, be sent to the con-
vent and maintained there at
the expense of their seducer.

In the reign of Peter I his
Queen shut up one of his
mistresses in the convent of
St. Clare without any dif-
ficulty and the King, just as
easily, got her out again
after visiting her there, a
visit which was certainly in
violation of the Rule.

95

Mas Latrie, *loc. cit.*

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCHES

a striking combination illustrating the finest architecture created between the end of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries.

A little lower and a little broader than St. George of the Latins it was closer to the church of Our Lady of Tyre in Nicosia. It consisted of a single nave of three bays, 7.9 metres wide, with a three-sided apse. The total length (inside measurement) is 19.5 metres. The ribbed vaults were supported in the corners of the apse and the west end on single colonnettes, and elsewhere on groups of colonnettes divided by grooves. Only one of the capitals (Fig. 258) has been preserved, in the north-west corner, its decoration of two rows of sycamore leaves is effective but lacking in finesse; above it is a very small polygonal abacus. The bases are carved with a fillet and a broad, much flattened torus supported by small brackets and projecting beyond an octagonal plinth. The windows took up the whole width of the bays. Those in the nave were divided into three lights; their splays were decorated with a slender colonnette with a flattened shaft between two grooves which are themselves framed by, on the one side, a chamfer and a bird's beak and, on the other, a bead moulding. The frame on the outside begins plain, without moulding, and then terminates in a chamfer, a groove and a bead.

On the inside a strong drip-moulding runs below the window-sills. The upper part is a flattened torus, interrupted by the springs of the vaults. Beneath each window there are pointed niches, or blind arcades, without carving.

The west end has been destroyed, also the apse and the south wall of the nave. It is possible to make out that a staircase turret supported on corbels was constructed on top of the buttresses at the north corner of the façade, as at St. George of the Latins.

The only remaining ornament on the exterior is a fine moulding which

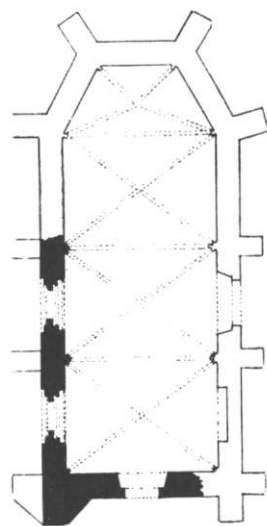


Fig. 257
Unidentified church;
No. 14 on the plan.

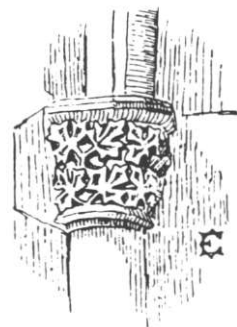


Fig. 258
Capital.

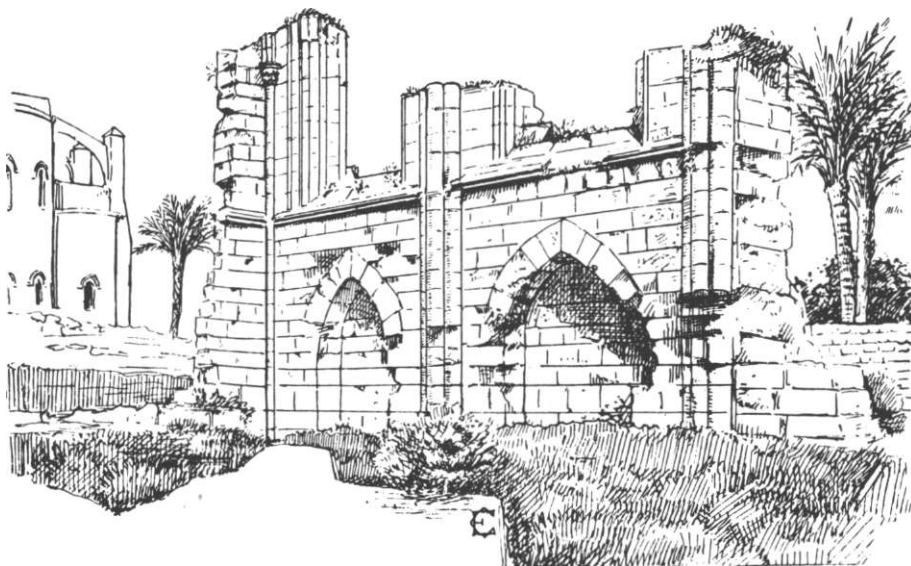


Fig. 256
Unidentified church;
No. 14 on the plan.

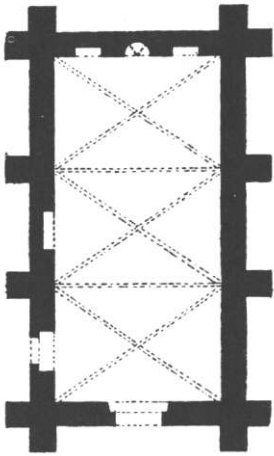


Fig. 259
Unidentified church;
No. 15 on the plan.

formed the stylobate of the building, continuing around the buttresses. Traces of a building against the north side can be made out. There was indeed no buttress between the second and third bays on that side, and between the first and second a wall instead of a buttress.

It is highly likely that this chapel belonged to a monastery or a hospital. Its general outline, the structure and the only surviving piece of sculpture are consistent with a date very close to 1300.

In spite of a certain ponderousness it was one of the best specimens of Gothic art in the Levant.

14

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

No. 15 on the plan

This small Gothic church (Figs. 259 and 260) is right at the south end of the city, between the quarters of the arsenal and the mint. It may be the one marked S.BAR., by Gibellino, which might stand for St. Barbara but more probably for St. Barnabas because the tomb of that saint is not far away in the outskirts of Famagusta.

However that may be the building is small and plain but rather elegant. The construction is in fine ashlar masonry. Only the northern half has survived but it was originally an oblong rectangle, inside measurement 11.9 by 5.9 metres, divided into three rib-vaulted bays. The springs of the vaults rested on simple polygonal brackets in the form of short inverted pyramids decorated with foliage, varied and elaborately carved but distinctly heavy and clumsy; for abacus they have no more than a skimpy bead-moulding. The *tas-de-charge* are carefully dressed in hori-



Fig. 260
Unidentified church;
No. 15 on the plan.

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCHES

zontal courses and the arches of the vaults are carved with a slender torus between drip-mouldings. The side windows are simple lancets with open-work cusps below the apex; there are splays both on the exterior and on the interior and the glass was set in a groove cut in a broad torus and framed by two pear-shaped bead mouldings and two grooves. There were doorways on the west and north-west, a niche on the north side of the central bay beneath a low pointed arch, a sacristy door and a credence on the north side of the eastern bay, a large window in the wall of the chevet and beneath that two credences on either side of a niche made to look like two sections of a ribbed vault in which stood the statue of the saint to whom the church was dedicated.⁹⁶ The buttresses on the sides are ornamented with a drip-moulding at the level of the window-sills; they are massive and without set-back, terminating in a coping inclined at a slight angle. The buttresses at the north-west corner rose above the parapet of the roof and possibly were surmounted by a very simple belfry.

The rather heavy construction of this chapel indicates the transition from the style of the cathedral to that of the lesser buildings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its place is at the beginning of the decadence of Gothic in Cyprus, at the end of the fourteenth century or possibly even in the first years of the fifteenth.

15

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

No. 17 on the plan

This church (Fig. 261) has been deliberately demolished down to the level of the window sills and the imposts of the vaults. It has been used for a long time as a rubbish dump and the inside is filled up to the same level. The outside has no buttresses and no ornamentation except for the doorway in the west end which is its only significant feature.

The plan is a single nave of three rib-vaulted bays and a three-sided chevet with a similar vault. All the springs were supported by carved brackets. The windows had apparently no mullions and had simple splays on both interior and exterior. The doorway (Fig. 262) is reasonably monumental; unfortunately, it is also severely damaged. It has three pointed arches rising from three bulky colonnettes on the jambs; two of them had independent shafts, the outer pair are incorporated in the masonry of the jambs. There are mouldings on the arches but the tympanum, the lintel and the capitals are missing. Over the doorway is an acutely pointed gable whose sloping sides are decorated with numerous crockets rather clumsily imitating those on St. George of the Latins, St. Nicholas and SS. Peter and Paul. The groove of the hood-mould forming this gable is decorated with a diaper pattern of small flowers with four pointed petals.

The sculpture of the brackets is rather coarse; it is reminiscent of



Fig. 261
Church near SS. Peter
and Paul.

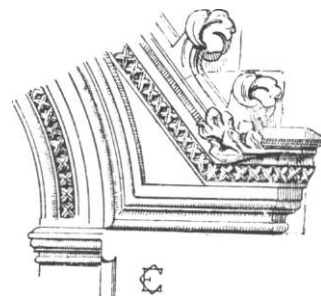
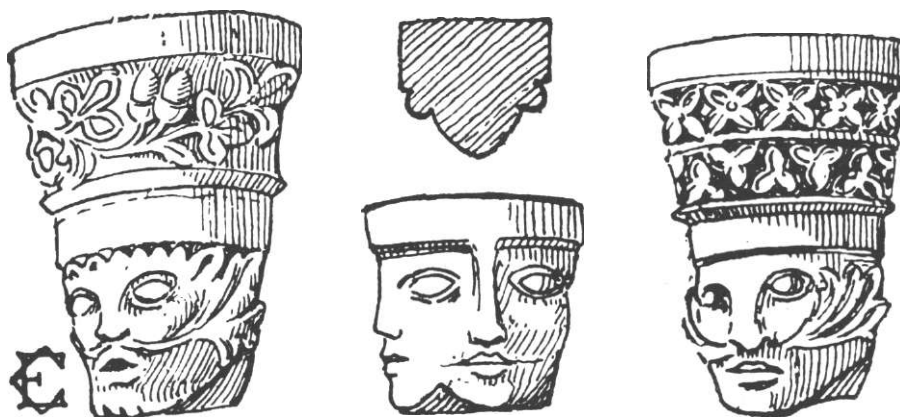


Fig. 262
Details of doorway.

Fig. 263
Profile of vaulting
ribs; brackets.



Romanesque art both in its low relief and in its choice of motifs. These are fantastic human heads crowned by round, concave abacuses carved in low relief with a chamfer on which are foliated scrolls or small flowers. One head with a square beard, some acorns alternating with three-petalled flowers, which are close to the motifs on a fourteenth-century capital in St. Paul at Besançon, are significant evidence to show that these archaïsing heads are in reality very late. The same can be said of the profiles of the vaulting ribs, a thick torus squeezed between two bead mouldings. The fact is that this doorway is a clumsy copy of neighbouring buildings which could not be earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, and the church exhibits a style inferior to those built in Famagusta in about 1360, like the church of the Carmelites. It can be dated to the end of the fourteenth or perhaps to the fifteenth century.

16

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

No. 18 on the plan

The adjacent church presents a singular mixture of Byzantine and Gothic styles. Like the previous one it is in ruins; it also serves as the courtyard of a Turkish house, which makes its exploration difficult. It consists of a nave with an apse covered by a semi-dome and two aisles which at the east end are a little shorter than the nave and end in straight walls at right angles to their axes. The aisles have two bays covered by oblong groined vaults with no intermediate transverse rib; the nave is covered by three spans of vaulting of different sizes, with a dome in the centre and on each side of it two short pointed barrel vaults. Two transverse arches support the dome and spring from brackets of two quadrant courses of masonry; these brackets in turn rest on the keystones of two large pointed arches which link the aisles to the nave. An oblong pier supports the combined springs of the vaulting. It has no impost, but the barrel vaults

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCHES

and the semi-dome do have imposts, with a profile resembling a Gothic talon.

The west end of this Byzantine edifice is Western in inspiration. Powerful buttresses divide it into three, with the principal doorway in the middle. The whole of its frame has been torn away and only the gable above it survives (Fig. 265); the hood-mould has no crockets but the finial is carved with foliage recalling French sculpture of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Above the bunch of leaves is a small abacus forming the base for a niche with Gothic cusps at the top in which the remains of an unrecognizable statuette are crumbling away. Above the niche is a small *oeil-de-boeuf* with a wide splay and with quatrefoil tracery. Finally, above the round window, there is a flagstaff-holder clinging to the topmost courses of the ruined façade. There used to be an arcaded belfry above it, as can be seen on a photograph taken by Monsieur L. de Clercq in about 1860.⁹⁷

The ends of the façade and the side walls of the church are now missing. The window in the apse is small and squat, with a pointed arch and splays. The building dates from the decadent period of Latin domination, probably the fifteenth century.

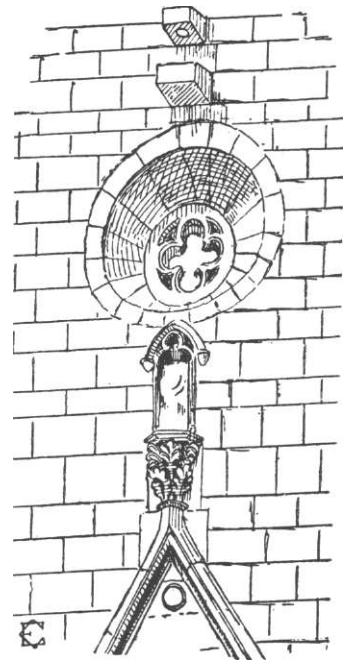


Fig. 265
Detail of west end.

17

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

No. 11 on the plan

This small church (Figs. 264 and 267) lies between the Carmelite church and the church believed to be St. Anne. It has two low bays roofed with groined vaults and an apse with a semi-dome. There are no buttresses.

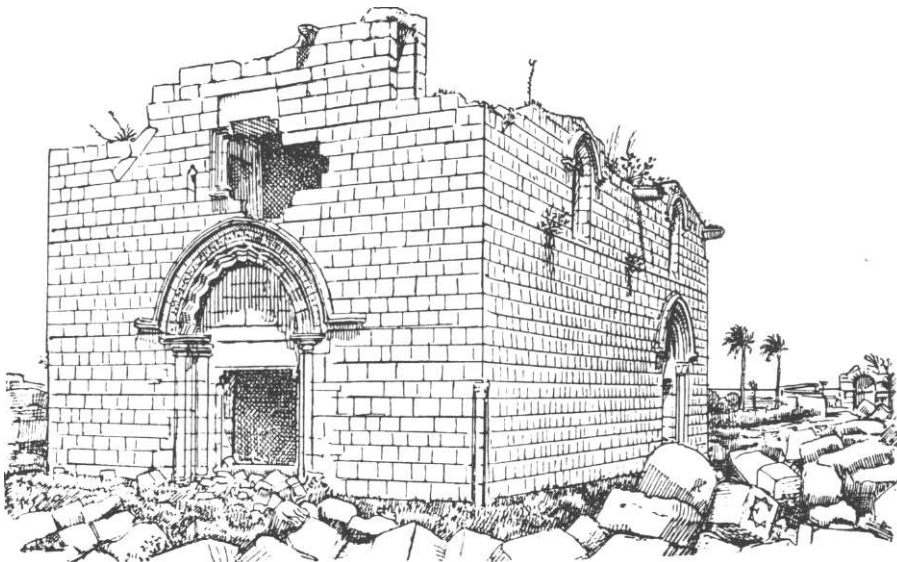


Fig. 264
Unidentified church;
No. 11 on the plan.

THE CHURCHES OF FAMAGUSTA

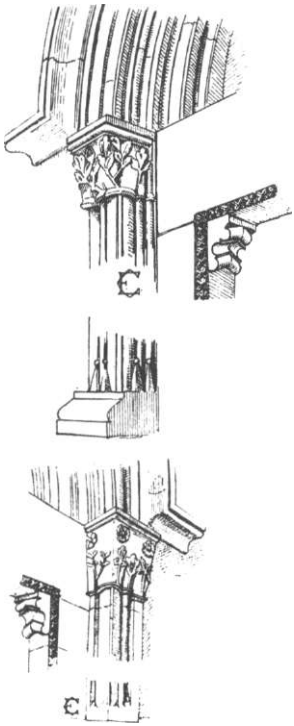


Fig. 266
Details from lateral
doorways.

The bay next to the apse has two broad doorways on north and south with a window over each. On the west side of the two doorways are shallow niches under pointed arches whose sills and surrounds are carved with Gothic mouldings. The western bay, like the eastern, has two side-windows very high up; in the eastern corner is the first flight of a straight staircase which turns back in the thickness of the western wall above the doorway to lead to the roof. This passage traverses a rectangular opening which must have been filled in with openwork tracery or was perhaps the frame for a carved slab or inscription. The opening, broader than it is tall, is framed by a hood-mould on the outside and is like the piscinas at SS. Peter and Paul. On either side are two arrow-slits with small tri-lobed tympana; possibly their presence would be better accounted for if the rectangular panel was blind. The apse window is pointed, those in the nave have a more obtuse pointed arch with Gothic cusps.

The two bays are separated by a transverse rib whose profile is a wide torus with two smaller ones on either side which instead of *congés* have small and rather clumsy bases. The spring of the transverse rib is a square abacus, heavily moulded; beneath it is a stone cube which can scarcely be honoured with the name of capital resting on an elbowed shaft very like those in the rotunda at Simiane and also in some churches in Armenia.⁹⁸ This shaft has on either side two smaller shafts on which rest the springs of the vaulting ribs. In the four corners of the nave these ribs are supported on brackets roughly blocked out in the shape of an inverted triangle. These would be better suited to form the supports of ribs rather than groins, whose lower angles, in order to fit onto them, have had to be cut back to form a flat triangle.

The impost of the apse is a talon under a fillet; the same arrangement is used for a hood-mould over the three doorways and the windows and also on the sills of the two small credences under semi-circular arches on either side of the apse and those of the two niches which are built into the walls next to the north and south doorways.

The corbels of these doorways (Fig. 266) have a moulding in the shape of an inverted Attic base, forming an ascending angle. Their rectangular frame is decorated with small flowers with four angular petals.

On the inside of the doorway is a low, pointed relieving arch. The pointed arch on the outside is carved with grooves, bead-mouldings and a thick flattened torus; the same mouldings continue down the jambs. The capitals at the imposts consist of a clumsy cubic block of stone carved in very low relief with a few sparse bunches of leaves in the naturalistic style of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. They resemble the capitals on the doorway at Brantôme, reworked in the fifteenth century.⁹⁹

The west doorway (Fig. 268) appears to be stylistically rather later in spite of its almost semi-circular arch carved with zigzag torus and grooves. In France that would indicate the Romanesque period but not

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCHES

so in Cyprus, as shown by the refectory doorway at Bellapais and the doorway built onto the south side of the Nestorian church. The arch I am now concerned with has in the lower triangles of the zigzags small crumpled flowers and on the surface above scrolls of foliage and a row of rosettes in very low relief which are reminiscent of Aragonese art of the fifteenth century. There are other rosettes on the cavetto of the hood-mould where it meets the imposts. The arch rests on a crude abacus very clumsily adapted to the capitals of two thick colonnettes on the jambs. These capitals are circular, composed of grooves separated by projecting mouldings and are similar to those surviving among the ruins of the church of St. John at Rhodes.

In the exterior angles of the church are inserted torus mouldings. Prismatic-shaped gargoyles correspond to the roof channels; they end in flat, crudely carved heads.

The church is a peculiar example of a mixture of French and Aragonese Gothic art with Byzantine and with some elements reminiscent of buildings in Armenia. Above all it shows how seriously retrograde was the effect on the architecture of Cyprus from the fourteenth century onwards of Greek and Italian influences.

Acoustic vases are carefully and regularly inserted in the *tas-de-charge* of the vaults, as at St. George of the Greeks and Stazousa (Beaulieu).

There are some remains of Byzantine painted decoration, of poor quality: on the north side of the western bay, an over-lifesize St. Michael; on the south a St. George and, higher up, a large number of rectangular

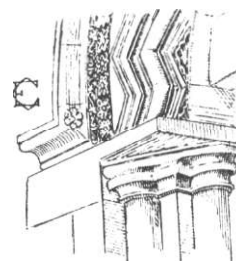


Fig. 268
West doorway.

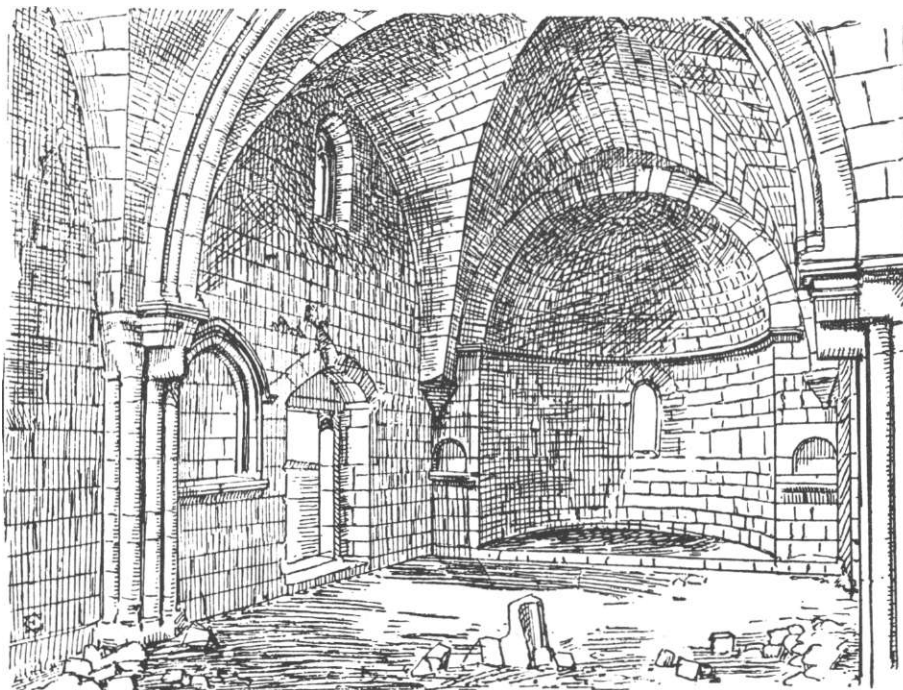


Fig. 267
Unidentified church,
No. 11 on the plan.

compartments, four of them still containing small scenes and figures viz. the Raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet.

The date of this church is undoubtedly in the fifteenth century. Its clumsy architecture is in many points similar to the church of Our Lady at Philereмо on Rhodes. The archaising features to be observed recall some Spanish doorways e.g. in the cloister chapel of Barcelona Cathedral and in Lerida Cathedral or even the south of France, which is where the lateral pediments come from.¹⁰⁰ It is impossible to say whether it was built by Latins, Greeks or Armenians.

18

UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

Mustafa Pasha Tamisi

No. 19 on the plan

This is another small half-Gothic church, disused since the fall of Famagusta in 1571 and now almost abandoned. It is in the southern part of the city between the Arsenal and Mint quarters and only accessible from the north, the other sides being incorporated in the yards of Turkish houses.

At first sight (Fig. 269) the general design would seem to argue for its being a transitional building; but many details of the decoration prove that it comes from a very late period when art was lapsing into its second childhood though not without a few memories of its maturity.

The construction is good, in fine ashlar masonry, the proportions

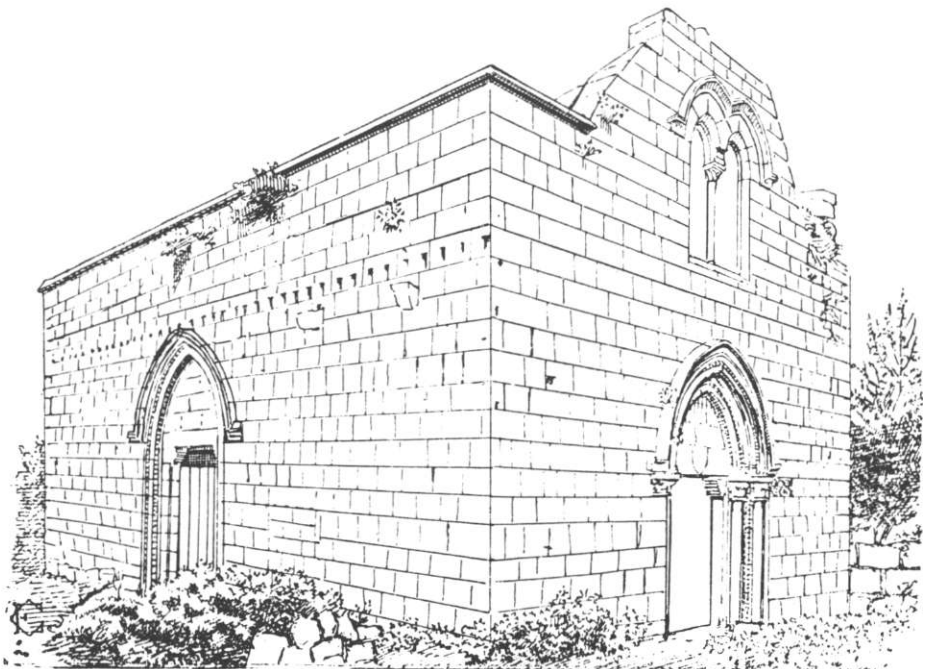


Fig. 269
Unidentified church,
No. 19 on the plan.

broad, short and low. The nave is a slightly oblong square, the sanctuary an apse, five-sided on the outside. There are three windows in the apse with rather obtuse pointed tops and plain splays. The nave is covered with a pointed barrel vault reinforced by two moulded ribs springing from brackets. There are three doorways, on the west north and south, all the same height, under pointed arches with plain tympana. The lateral doorways are carved with a range of Gothic mouldings which extend down the jambs and above them is a hood-mould with horizontal returns at the impost. The west doorway is rather more richly decorated: on the jambs there are two squat colonnettes with heavy crocketed capitals, in the grooves of the arches rows of small flowers with four sharply-pointed petals; in the centre of the marble lintel an escutcheon which is now perfectly plain but may have been painted with armorial bearings.

Above this doorway was a thin pointed window, the only one in the nave. The central spring rests on a slender colonnette and above the broad flat facing of the arches is a projecting string-course which follows the line of the double extrados.

Above this window there was an arcaded belfry crowning the façade; it also probably had two pointed openings. Only the two lower courses survive. The upper, central part of the west end is gable-shaped, the two ends horizontal. A drip-course runs along these straight parts of the façade and continues along the top of the side walls. There was a sloping roof of timber protecting the whole length of the north side, not merely over the doorway, a feature to be seen on many churches in Cyprus, Spain and Champagne.

The late date of the building is proved by the flattened *cyma reversa* of the convex mouldings of the cornice and the arches of the doorways; the clusters of well-executed mouldings can be seen from their profiles to belong to the latest period of Gothic art; finally, the sculpture, though heavy and lacking in relief, copies models of the same style whereas other details such as the abacuses of the capitals are wholly barbarous, exhibiting an art not merely late but decadent. It must be later than the beautiful buildings erected in this same city around the year 1360; it has no longer any of their merits and the reversion to the old-fashioned which they already exhibit is here exaggerated. It can be dated to the fifteenth century because there is nothing in it which is more old-fashioned than what can be found in some fifteenth and sixteenth-century buildings in the more backward regions of France, in the Hautes-Alpes in particular, for instance the Franciscan church at Embrun, the choir at Le Monestier, and the churches at Vallouise, Les Vignaux and elsewhere.

96

See above, p. 260 and note.

97

I am grateful to Baron Rey for bringing this photograph to my attention.

98

See J. Mourier, *L'art religieuse au Caucase*, 1887.

99

See above, p. 64, figure 18. The arches of the doorway at Brantôme date from the twelfth century, it is only the colonnettes that have been subsequently reworked. The figure referred to is in error in representing the zigzag on this arch by a double line; it is a simple saw-tooth motif, not angled bars.

100

cf. the choir of Forcalquier church and the examples quoted on p. 61 above.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF FAMAGUSTA AND THE KARPAS

ROMANESQUE CHURCHES OF THE KARPAS

The Karpas is the very long and narrow promontory of rocky hills which is the easternmost extremity of Cyprus, stretching out to within a short distance of the Syrian coast. It is now almost deserted though it contains many ruins which show that it was once prosperous, in Greek and Byzantine times. This prosperity is difficult to account for since the soil is nothing but rocks, the vegetation stunted bushes and the coast line is fringed with bristling reefs which allow boat landings only at a few points.

Since the conquest of 1191 the successive masters of the island, French, Venetian and Turkish, did no more than plant what should be called outposts rather than colonies there. Under Lusignan rule a Greek bishop was banished to Rizokarpaso, the chief town of the district. James the Bastard created a County of Karpas.¹

At some date in the twelfth century, before the conquest, some Frenchmen, or at least one French architect, visited the peninsula. He or they could easily get there from the neighbouring coast of Syria where there were French colonies and where, as is well known,² Romanesque churches were being built at the time.³

The four Romanesque churches in the Karpas are not exactly in the same style as those on the Asian coast. They differ in the character of their architecture and also in the absence of sculpture; clearly the architect could not call on the services of a sculptor and the few scanty mouldings which constitute their sole decoration must have been done under his direction by a simple stone-cutter or by local masons brought up in the Byzantine tradition.⁴

See the article by Mas Latrie *Les Comtes de Carpas* in *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, 1880, p. 375-92.

See de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Didron, Paris, 1860).

In Jerusalem St. Mary the Latin, St. Mary the Great, the Holy Sepulchre, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Peter, St. James the Great; in Beirut the old mosque, the former cathedral, which is perhaps closer to the Karpas churches; at Abou Gôch St. Jeremiah; at Lydda St. George; at Byblos the cathedral; various other churches at Tortosa, Tyre and Sebaste.

(Ed. note.) On the Byzantine churches of the

The churches in question are all composed of three barrel-vaulted naves, a common form of construction in central France.⁵

(i) APHENDRIKA

Among the ruins of an important small town situated on the seashore east of Rizokarpaso, the chief town of the Karpas, are two Romanesque and two Byzantine churches close together. The place is called Aphendrika but I have been unable to find that name in the histories of Cyprus. Its downfall began presumably in 1363 when the Turks, taking advantage of the absence of King Peter I, descended on the Karpas and ravaged it thoroughly.⁶

The main Romanesque church of Aphendrika was indeed rebuilt on a different and much smaller plan in a style which in Cyprus can be dated to the end of the fourteenth century. The other churches, except perhaps for a small Byzantine building of unusual appearance with two naves, were abandoned after 1363 and the town, reduced to the dimensions of a small village, succumbed to the effects of further invasions and of malaria. There is nothing on the spot now except a chapel (the key is kept in Rizokarpaso) and two huts for temporary occupation, one by the keeper of the chapel on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage and the other by shepherds during the summer season.

(ii) CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN

The church of the Holy Virgin (Panayia) is the main church of Aphendrika (Fig. 270). Its original internal measurements were 25 x 15 metres. It had a very broad apse linked to two apsidal chapels and three naves roofed by barrel vaults reinforced by transverse ribs and supported on cruciform pillars. Half-columns of the same section, engaged with the interior walls of the lateral naves, supported the ribs and a series of large semi-circular arcades which line the side walls and carry the vault.

The thrust of the vault over the principal nave was taken by side vaults. Round-headed windows were pierced in each bay of the side-naves and at the back of the apsidal chapels. There were three windows in the main apse.

The only mouldings to be found in the church were on the imposts of the pillars and pilasters where there are simple chamfers. There may have been some decoration of the missing west end. All that is left of the church is half the apse, the lower part of one apsidal chapel and the south nave with part of the vaulting, shored up on one side by debris and on the other by a chapel built between the western pillars of the principal nave. This chapel has an apse and a nave with a pointed barrel vault with

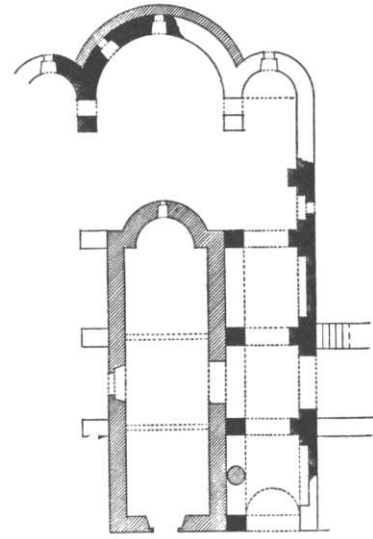


Fig. 270
Church of the Virgin,
Aphendrika.

Karpas erroneously believed by Enlart to be Romanesque see note 3 to chapter I and references there listed.

For instance: Colombier (Allier), La Canourgue and Le Monastier (Lozère), Pommiers (Loire), Polignac (Haute-Loire), Châteauneuf and Bois-Sainte-Marie in the Brionnais, La Celle-Bruère (Cher), Sisteron Cathedral (Basses Alpes) and Saint-Martin-du-Canigou (Pyrénées-Orientales).

Machaeras, p. 72.

a rib supported on quadrant brackets. The only openings in its walls are the north, south and west doors. It is built in fine ashlar masonry but the masonry of the old church is still more noteworthy. There is nothing Byzantine about it.

(iii) ASOMATOS

The other Romanesque church at Aphenfrika is called Asomatos, 'incorporeal' (Figs. 273 to 271). It is 15.35 metres long internally. It has been completely abandoned but is in a rather better state of preservation than the preceding one. The plan is the same (Fig. 271); the only missing parts are the north nave, together with the apsidal chapel and the west corner of the same side, and the central vault. Each of the apses has a single window. There is a moulded impost below their semi-domes, and semi-circular arched passages connect the three. Each nave is of four bays with arcades of round arches resting on cruciform pillars with chamfered imposts. In the end bay to the west the extrados of the arcade is, uniquely, in pointed form, as in some Italian buildings. The three vaults were of semi-circular barrel form with transverse ribs. The lateral naves had cruciform half-columns from which spring both the transverse ribs and the main arcades which transmit to them the weight of the vault. The west end had three doorways, or rather arched openings, since they can never have had doors and must therefore have communicated with a narthex, not with the open air. No traces of this narthex remain. Some

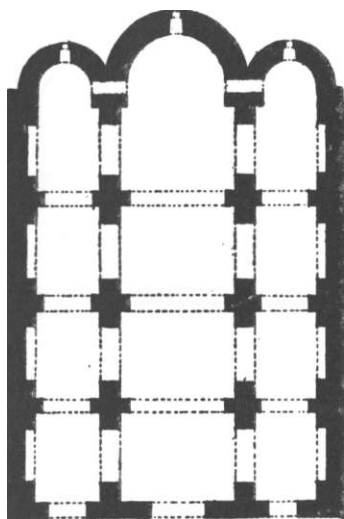


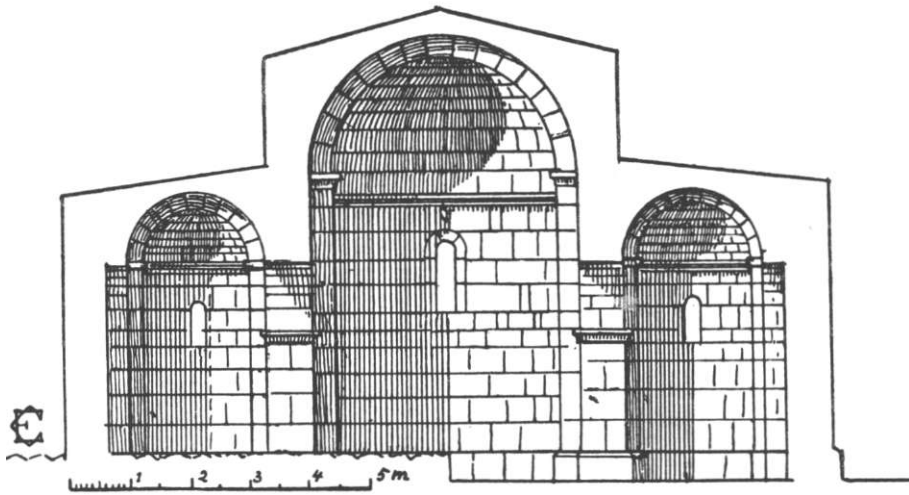
Fig. 271
Asomatos church at
Aphenfrika.



Fig. 272
Asomatos church, details
impost from apse
impost of a pillar
mason's mark



Fig. 273
Asomatos church,
interior.



of the stones have masons' marks (Fig. 272).

(iv) CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN (PANAYIA), SYKHA

On the southern side of the Karpas, towards Famagusta Bay and also not far from Rizokarpaso, is a place marked on the maps as Sykha. Here there are the ruins of a church to which the shepherds give the name of the Panayia (Figs. 276 and 275). There are no other ruins and no other house in the neighbourhood. Presumably the church was, like Aphen-drika, demolished in 1363, but I have been unable to find any circumstantial historical reference to it.

This is another Romanesque church, 15.25 metres long internally. The vaults have gone, except for short stretches in the two lateral naves, but the footings of the walls can be traced all round. Like the ones mentioned earlier, it had three naves, the central one being a little wider and higher than the other two, three apses and a narthex: but there are no passages linking the apses. The vaults are semi-circular barrel vaults with transverse ribs; the cruciform pillars and the plain pilasters of the lateral naves have moulded or chamfered imposts only under the springs of the arcades, which is sometimes an indication of an early date. The narthex has three bays. In the middle one the barrel vault is in line with the axis of the central nave but the other two have vaults at right-angles to the axis of the lateral naves and do not have external doorways though they communicate with the interior of the church. Their western wall has large arcades on the interior like those in the walls of the lateral naves of the church at Aphen-drika. On the south side of the narthex is a small window the lintel of which has been cut out in the shape of a semi-circular arch and there is a doorway also on the south side opening into

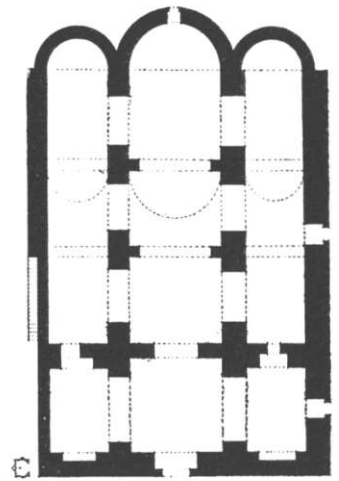
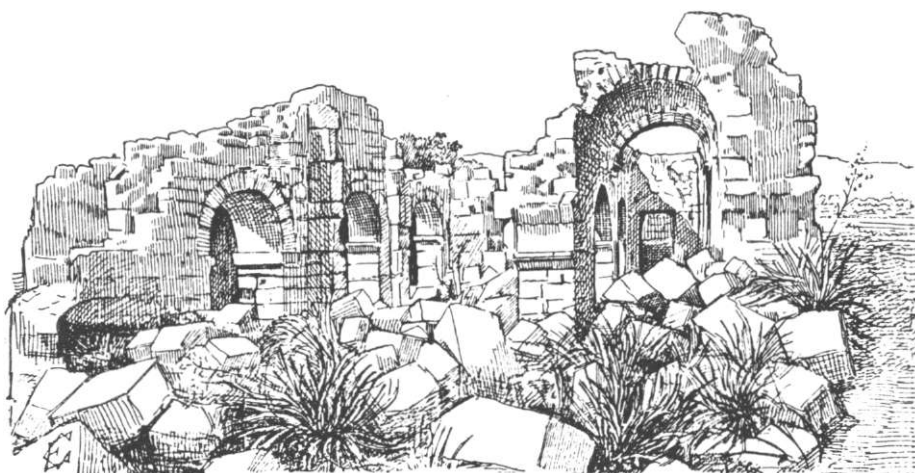


Fig. 274
Asomatos church, transverse section.

Fig. 275
Church of the Virgin, Sykha.

Fig. 116-
Church of the Virgin,
Sykha.



the middle bay of the nave.

Built into the external wall of the northern nave is a straight staircase leading to the flat roof of the church.

(v) PANAYIA KANAKARIA, NEAR LEONARISSO

A little to the east of the large village of Leonarisso in the south-western part of the Karpas, is an important pilgrimage church dedicated to the Virgin under the appellation of Panayia Kanakaria, the epithet signifying 'bleeding'.⁷ The church (Fig. 277) has three domes and at first sight looks Byzantine but even a cursory examination shows at once that it has been extensively rebuilt and that the domes over the middle of the narthex, the central part of the church itself and the bay in front of the principal apse, not to mention the domed porch on the south-east, are obvious additions. The construction of the central and eastern domes made it necessary for their architect to reinforce the original piers and to insert new arches on supplementary piers. The result has been to make the plan of the interior look both ponderous and confused.

There are three naves, the lateral ones ending in apsidal chapels and the central one in a spacious apse with three windows. The semi-dome of this apse is decorated with a most noteworthy Byzantine mosaic of the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁸ It represents a seated Virgin, in a blue robe, holding the Christ Child on her knees; the Child is in white and holds a closed scroll with a ribbon round it. The heads are strikingly beautiful. The group is surrounded by medallions on which are busts of the Greek Fathers of the Church against a gold background, with inscriptions. Most of these medallions are however concealed by a transverse rib added at the time of the reconstruction to support the dome. At the back of the apse can be seen a stone Patriarchal throne.

(Ed. note.) On this church see A.H.S. Megaw and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The Church of the Panayia Kanakaria at Lythrangomi in 'Cyprus', *Dumbarton Oaks Studies Fourteen* (Washington D.C., 1977). Enlart's derivation is from Turkish *kan* (blood) and *akar* (flowing), which was probably an invention of the local priest at the time. The correct derivation is from Byz. *Γραικκανακι* (caress), which gives the feminine adjective *kanakarea*, compare *'glykophilousa* !

⁸
(Ed. note.) Marina Sacopoulou, *La Théotokos à la Mandorle de Lythrangomi* (Paris, 1975), agrees with Megaw and Hawkins (see preceding note) in dating the mosaic to the 2nd quarter of the sixth century.

ROMANESQUE CHURCHES IN THE KARPAS

The three naves originally consisted of only three broad bays each. They have semi-circular arcades with a double bandelet supported by tall cruciform pillars whose impostes are chamfered but with no returns on the lateral faces. Transverse ribs erected between each of the bays supported the three barrel vaults. The central one is higher than the other two which made it possible to open a row of small round-headed windows to lighten the nave; the aisles had similar windows but neither arches nor even pilasters. The narthex is divided into three bays, the outer ones, as at Sykha, being roofed with barrel vaults running at right angles to the axes of the aisles. On the west there are two arches, on the east one arch and a door opening into the aisle. A dome has been erected over the central bay. The corbelled doorway with a low arch over it, almost Gothic in style, is also part of the rebuilding.

The southern aisle has a doorway on the south side of no particular merit over which is a dome supported on three arches and two beautiful Byzantine columns with marble shafts and Corinthian capitals. In the forecourt in front of the church there are some broken pieces of other similar columns. It seems therefore that there was originally on the site an old Byzantine basilica which was replaced by a Romanesque church in the twelfth century and that the latter underwent some modifications in the Byzantine style between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

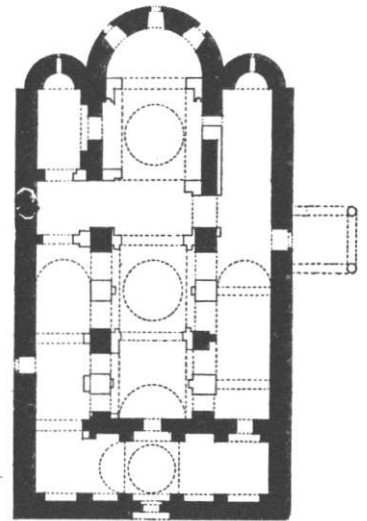


Fig. 277
Panayia Kanakaria.

(vi) THE RIZOKARPASO CHURCH

The principal church in Rizokarpaso, which during the Latin period was the cathedral church of a Greek bishop, is a fairly large Byzantine building,⁹ cruciform in plan with a dome on a drum. However the outside of the apse looks Romanesque because there is a billet moulding outlining the extrados of the windows. I admit that the windows themselves, alternating with niches, are thoroughly Byzantine but I think it is reasonable to regard the continuous moulding running over the top of them as having been inspired by Romanesque art.

THE CHURCH AT APOSTOLOS ANDREAS

At the extreme eastern tip of the Karpas, and of Cyprus, a few metres from the water's edge and as it were nestling among the rocks is a very strange small Gothic building. It used to be a chapel with its back against the cliff, today it is a crypt buried under banked up terraces of fairly recent construction. Inside the small building (Fig. 278) are three fresh water springs with basins around them. According to legend they sprang up when the Holy Apostle St. Andrew first set foot in Cyprus and mark

This building has recently been restored, very tiresomely, the architectural style being a clumsy and anachronistic imitation of Famagusta Cathedral.

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF FAMAGUSTA AND THE KARPAS

the place where he trod.¹⁰ Above the church, on the cliff which overlooks it, is the wealthy Greek monastery of Apostolos Andreas, scene of a very popular annual pilgrimage. The money which pious pilgrims donated to the little chapel was no doubt used to build the monastery and its great church.

The chapel is almost square with a central pillar supporting the springs of four ribbed vaults. Only the northern nave is extended eastwards by a small sanctuary which has a stone iconostasis and terminates in a tiny apse with a very small rectangular window; on the north side is a similar but larger window, closed by a wooden shutter. The doorway is in the south side; it is a small pointed opening with no decoration except for

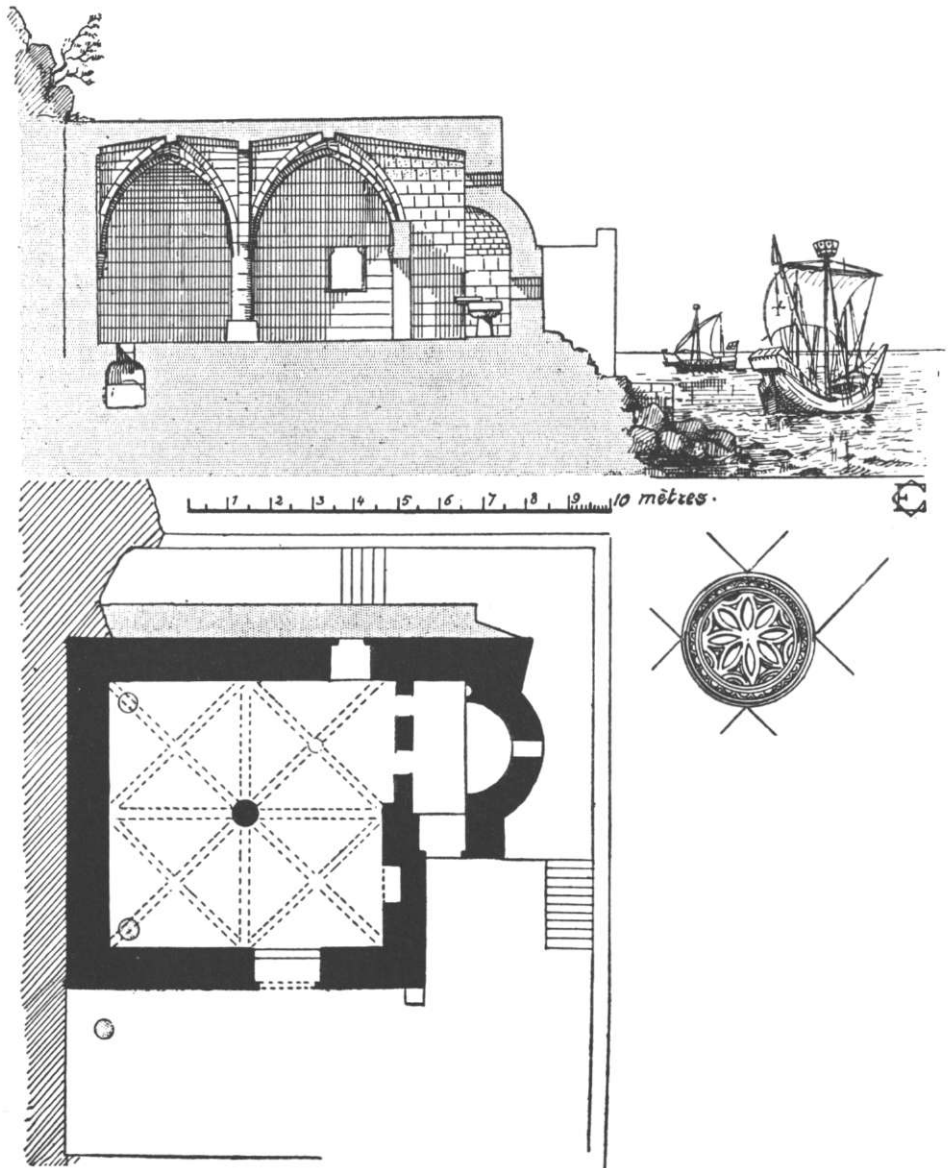


Fig. 278
Church at Apostolos
Andreas.

two massive impostes which were doubtless prepared for carvings that were never carried out. Today they are seriously eroded by spray from the sea.

Internally there is further evidence of an intention to add decorations which was never realised. The vaulting ribs have a plain square profile; they meet on the actual shaft of the central column and their other ends rest on prismatic cones that merge into the walls. The four vaults are of two different types: on the east and west they are normal quarters of Gothic vaults, ending in pointed lunettes, and on the north and south they are sections of barrel vaults. However a similar system can also be found in France.¹¹

This small church appears to belong to a style of French fifteenth-century architecture which is rare in foreign countries except in northern Europe. It is the flamboyant style without capitals, in which the mouldings of the vaulting arches merge into the shafts of the cylindrical columns. In this case the process is not complete because the arches have not received their mouldings. In the fifteenth or sixteenth century this lack of proper connection was masked by thickening the shaft of the column with a coat of plaster to make it octagonal in section. Part of this plaster has now fallen off. It is likely that when it was added the intention was to decorate the chapel with paintings but it seems clear that in the event no painting was done.

The plinth of the central column, in the form of a truncated pyramid, is also plainly meant as a mere preliminary stage. The springs, in the form of truncated prismatic cones, have centres out of line with the arches and are simply blocked out; possibly it was intended to finish them off in the shape of small brackets but it is difficult to judge exactly what final forms the architect meant them to take. One can only point to the resemblance between these provisional forms and those of the *tas-de-charge*, brackets and capital of the central column in the lower chamber of the keep at La Bussière (Pas de Calais), a building of the thirteenth century.

When the chapel at Apostolos Andreas was built the Kingdom of Cyprus had fallen on hard times and French influence was yielding place to Italian. Lack of money may have led to the abandonment of plans for sculpture and then, with Italian art supplanting French, the builders no doubt decided to leave out the mouldings to give a better field for a painted decoration, projected but never executed. There is one ornamental motif in the building and for that we have perhaps to thank a Cypriot hand: it is a vault boss in front of the apse carved with a six-petalled rosette in low relief whose style is barbarous enough to be worthy of Merovingian times.¹² The design is traced with a compass in a manner familiar to all barbarians, ancient and modern, and to all small boys who scribble, have scribbled and will scribble on walls, assuming they are lucky enough to own a compass.

10

This tradition, very popular today, can hardly be ancient since it is quite unknown to Amadi, Strambaldi, Bustron and Lusignan.

11

Choir of St. Génitour at Le Blanc, twelfth century; transept chapels of St. Junien, thirteenth century; side chapels of the nave of Troyes Cathedral, fourteenth century.

12

A similar style of ornamentation can, however, be shown to have existed at this same period in the more backward regions of France; for instance the holy-water stoup at Chorges (Hautes-Alpes) and some buildings in Brittany. In a Gothic house in Bourg-en-Bresse there is a rosette on a roof boss which is almost identical.

There is one problem: was this small chapel built as a self-sufficient building or to serve as crypt to a larger church whose nave would be up on the cliff? What makes the second hypothesis likely is that it would account for the scanty size and irregularity of the plan, because it was meant to extend only under the sanctuary of the main church. It is also possible that there was originally a gap along part of the north wall; there is indeed a window in it but the kind of tunnel that now brings light from outside to this window appears to be ancient and may be original. On the other hand the cramped proportions of the design is a peculiarity that most Gothic churches in Cyprus have borrowed from Byzantine art

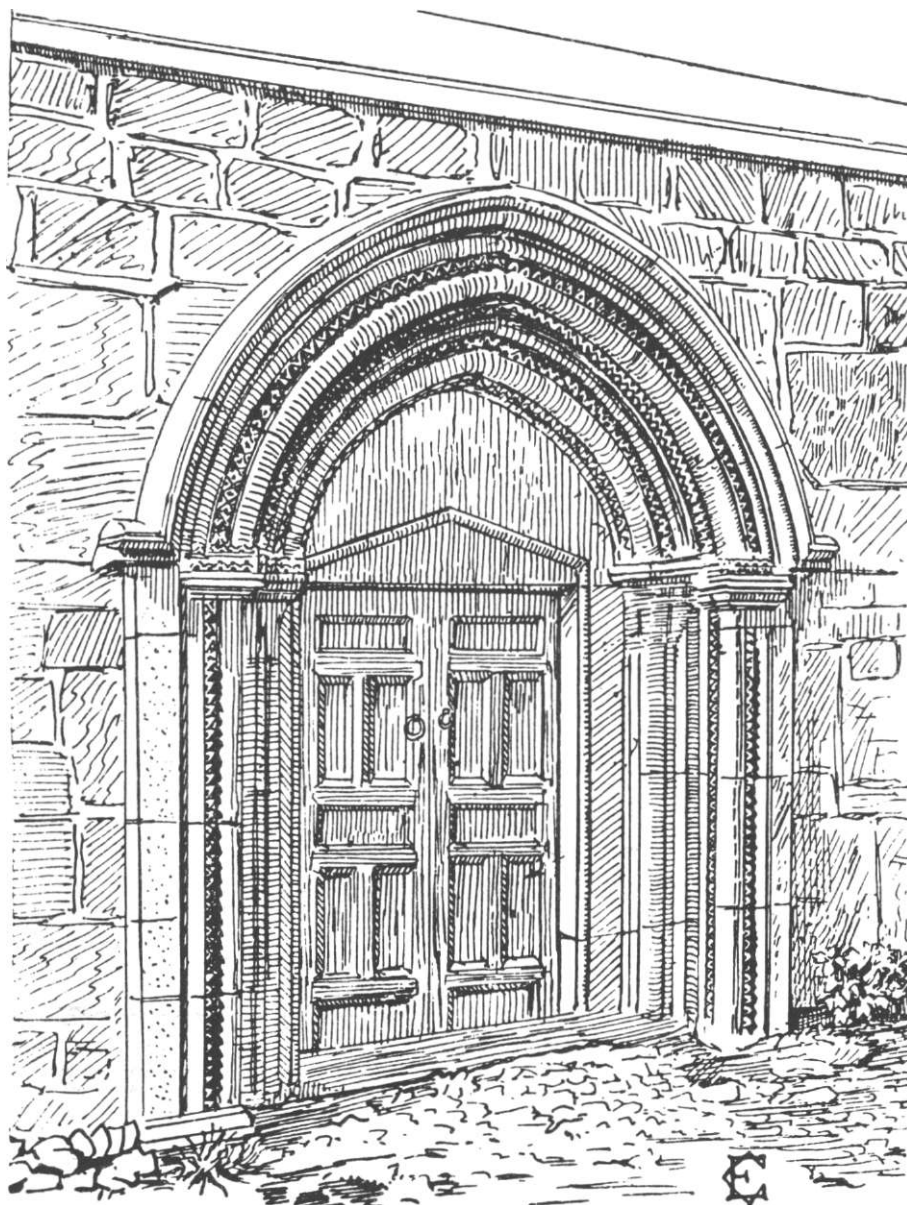


Fig. 279
Church of Eleousa.

THE CHURCH OF ELEOUSA, KARPAS

and the arrangement in two naves has also local precedents. For example, in the ruined village of Ayios Photios in the Karpas there is a small Byzantine church with two naves which appear to have been built at the same time, in the ruins of Apendrika there is another small Byzantine church with twin apses and the Gothic church at Avgasida also has two naves. The flat roof proves nothing, because all Gothic churches in Cyprus have flat roofs. It seems therefore that the problem is almost insoluble.

3

THE CHURCH OF ELEOUSA, KARPAS

The small Greek monastery of Our Lady of Pity, *Eleousa*, lies on the road between Yialousa and Rizokarpaso, nearer to the latter. It consists of a poor and insignificant main building and a small church of two naves of two bays with pointed barrel vaults ending in apses with semi-domes. So far the design is a usual Byzantine one but the pointed arcades, carved with handsome mouldings, which separate the two naves are Gothic. The design and the mouldings of the doorway (Fig. 279) in the middle of the south side are in the same style, a rather decadent Gothic. The colonnettes of the jambs end in *congés* rather than bases and capitals; the moulding of the impost is embellished with a little running motif which has nothing Gothic about it; on the other hand the grooves of the jambs and the arches are carved with a French type of rosette diaper; and the mitred false arch over the lintel is like the entrance gate at Bellapais. This small hybrid building looks as though it dates from the fifteenth century, on the evidence of some of the profiles and also of the very fact of such a mixture of styles and the degeneration of its component elements. I refer to it here merely as an example of a large number of comparable buildings in Cyprus.

4

GALI NOPORNI

Galinoporni is a Turkish village in the south-western Karpas in which there are two small churches that have been deconsecrated for a long time. They are specimens of a mixed and bastard style. One of them has a pointed doorway on its north side carved with a bead mould and a thick torus with, on either side, grooves filled with a diaper of small flowers. Over it is a cavetto hood-mould with horizontal returns charged with two discs or besants. This doorway appears to have been brought here from somewhere else. Architecturally it is reminiscent of French art; in France it would be a specimen of rural architecture of the



Fig. 280
Capital made into basin,
Ayios Theodoros.

thirteenth or fourteenth century but here in Cyprus it could date either from then or from either of the two following centuries. However it is probably fairly old since it makes no use of the flattened variety of torus which marks the late Gothic style and which enjoyed a powerful vogue when adopted in Cyprus.

AYIOS THEODOROS

There are no longer any Gothic buildings in the village of Ayios Theodoros near Gastria but in the courtyard of a house there I found a round capital of white marble (Fig. 280) which had been hollowed out into a small basin and which was decorated with mouldings and carvings in a style inspired by French medieval art. This may have been used as a mortar or perhaps more likely as a holy-water stoup.

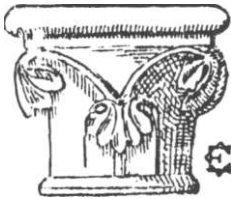


Fig. 281
Capital from Avgasida
Monastery.

AVGASIDA MONASTERY

near Famagusta

Avgasida is an old Greek monastery situated in the plain north-west of Famagusta. Its history is not known. The church is still used for services but the surrounding cloister is practically abandoned and serves as an annexe to a tchiflik.

The cloister extends to the north of the church whose wall abuts on an enclosure wall. This is a disposition more Western than Greek. The cloister was rebuilt at some date after the fifteenth century and a number of fragments from an earlier building were used in its construction. The most interesting piece is a marble crocketed capital (Fig. 281) in the French style of the very end of the thirteenth century; but the motif is reproduced rather ponderously and the capital could easily be much later

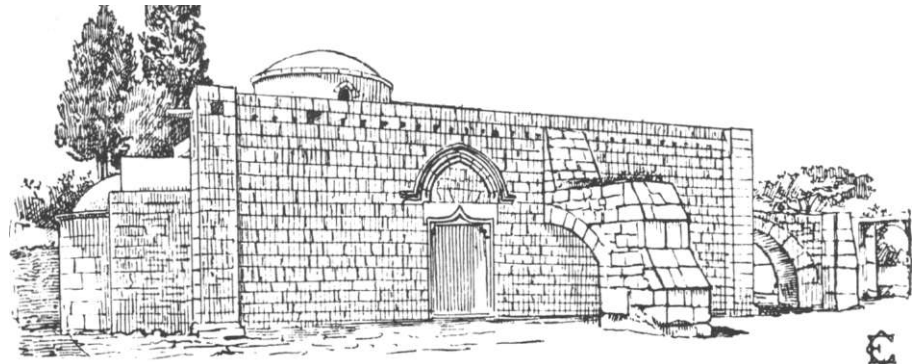


Fig. 282
Avgasida Monastery,
exterior.

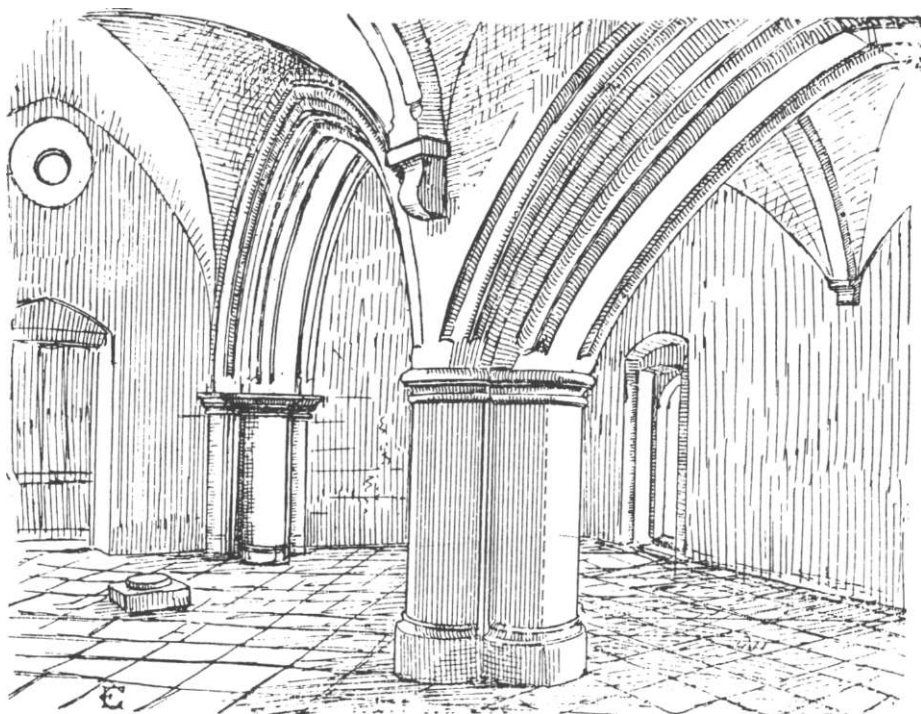


Fig. 283
Avgasida Monastery,
interior.

than its model.

The church (Figs. 282 and 283) is extremely small, consisting of two naves of two bays ending in twin apses. The north-eastern apse is now disused, which leads one to think it likely that half of this twin church was used for the Roman rite before the extermination of the Latin population in 1571.

The apses are roofed with semi-domes and present no features of special interest. The vaults are pointed barrel vaults with ribs supported by brackets, one of which is carved with a bust of a woman with a cross at her neck. The arches are low and pointed with Gothic mouldings. They are supported on a squat group of four addorsed columns with circular capitals resembling inverted bases (Fig. 283). The springers are, as normally, embellished with *congés*.

The doors and windows are undistinguished, except for the north doorway which has a handsome ogee carved on its lintel, the upper curve being decorated with a bead moulding which continues down the jambs.

Four squat flying buttresses have been added on the north and west, no doubt after one of the earthquakes in the sixteenth century. They are in good masonry and the sloping parts of the piers are Gothic in character. These supports are only a little later than the main building. The hybrid and decadent character of the building, and the use of an ogee, are grounds for regarding it as a work of the fifteenth century.

It contains an interesting tombstone of that period in an Italian Renaissance style. On it is an effigy of a gentleman in western dress,

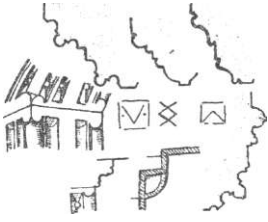


Fig. 284
Church at Trapeza: profiles of arches; imposts; masons' marks; capitals from north and south doorways; profile of arch of south doorway.

executed in very low relief, within a projecting border of foliar scrolls. There are the remains of a very defaced Greek inscription on a scroll; the name of the person commemorated is missing but the date is fully legible: 'the month of September of the year 6990 (anno mundi), in the 15th Indiction'. This is equivalent to 1482 A.D. Quite possibly the whole church may go back to that date and may have owed its construction to the posthumous generosity of the person buried here.

The church of Avgasida owns a rather handsome gadrooned brass dish, a western piece of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

7

DISUSED CHURCH AT TRAPEZA *near Famagusta*

To the north-west of Famagusta, between it and the village of Prastio, extends a wide plain of clayey soil which in winter becomes an impassable sea of mud, in summer is a desert of white dust sprinkled over with a black cloud of mosquitos and in spring is covered with wild carrots grazed by large herds of sheep belonging to Prastio.

In this plain, near the locality called Trapeza, there is a fairly large abandoned church. The doorways have been walled up but one can get in through a breach in the walls. It is a Byzantine building but with strong French influences. It consists of three naves of three bays; the central nave ends in an apse, polygonal externally and semi-circular internally, with in front of it a barrel-vaulted choir communicating with the square chapels at the ends of the lateral naves.

The western bay of each of the naves has a barrel vault, as have also the two other bays of the northern nave. In the central nave these two bays are roofed with domes and in the southern nave with groined vaults. Although Byzantine the church contains many Gothic details (Fig. 284); the arches of the bay preceding the choir are low and pointed and covered with Gothic mouldings as are the supporting pillars. In the northern nave the imposts have Gothic *congés*, the arcade and the pillars have toruses and grooves which, in France, would indicate a fourteenth-century date. In the southern nave the Gothic architectural features are later; there are no imposts and the mouldings are talons.

The arcades of the western bay spring from cruciform pillars and their mouldings merge into them, as was common in late Gothic. The mouldings are three quadrants on either side of a thick torus with a fillet.

The north doorway has quadrant corbels. The south doorway has corbels in the form of an inverted Attic base, jambs with mouldings terminating in Gothic *congés*, an arch decorated with a thin torus between grooves and a hood-mould whose upper torus has a central fillet.

There are some masons' marks on the stone work.

This church, which bears evidence of several stages of building, would

AYIOS SERGIOS

seem to be a Byzantine building, partially rebuilt on successive occasions sometime in the fifteenth century by masons who had been trained in Famagusta in the practices of French Gothic art.

8

AYIOS SERGIOS

near Famagusta

The Greek church of St. Sergius, close to the ruins of Famagusta, has been venerated for centuries in spite of the rivalry of two neighbouring and more renowned sites of pilgrimage: the megalithic monument known as the prison of St. Catherine and the church of St. Barnabas, built over the actual tomb of the apostle. I omit St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, since his sarcophagus was transferred to Famagusta contemporaneously with the foundation of that city and the abandonment of Constantia, the ancient Salamis. The church in question, known in the Middle Ages as 'St. Sergui', acquired its fairly numerous pieces of carved marble from the ruins of Salamis. Its structure is Byzantine but it has had three very large and heavy flying buttresses built against the wall of the narthex at the west end to shore up the barrel vault there, no doubt displaced by the earthquakes of 1546 and 1568. This wretchedly clumsy addition could not, I think be dated earlier than that.

9

AYIA NAPA MONASTERY

at Cape Greco

The Greek monastery of Ayia Napa is situated near Cape Greco and not far from Cape Pyla, within easy distance of the low and rocky seashore. It knew some celebrity towards the end of the Frankish period; one of the bastions of Famagusta next to the road leading to it was called the '*tourion de Sainte-Nape.*'

The first reference to this monastery in the history of Cyprus comes during the unhappy reign of Peter II, when it was occupied by women. In 1373 eight Genoese galleys laden with the spoils of Nicosia and Famagusta were caught in a storm and six of them went down in sight of Ayia Napa.¹³ In 1376 it is recorded that the priest Philip, the King's confessor, who was murdered by Theobald Belfaragge, was the son of a Greek woman who had taken the veil at Ayia Napa.¹⁴

In 1570 it was near Ayia Napa that part of the Turkish army landed for the conquest of Cyprus.¹⁵

Today Ayia Napa monastery is only inhabited by a Greek priest and his family; he lives precariously from the pilgrims who come to venerate



Fig. 285
Fragment of wall-painting.

13
Strambaldi, p. 232.

14
Strambaldi, p. 239;
Machaeras, p. 349.

15
Calepio's account of the
siege of Nicosia.

16
The girdle measures 24 cm.
round the waist. It is made
of bronze, chiselled and
perforated, with a little
oval, silver medallion in
the middle of each of the small
plates of which it is made
up. It is rather a handsome
piece of work, either
oriental or Venetian in the
oriental style; it could not
be earlier than the fifteenth
century.

17
A sketch of the façade has
been published by
l'Anson and Vacher in their
article, *Mediaeval and other
Buildings in the Island of
Cyprus.* (See figure 285 B.)

a girdle said to have belonged to the Virgin Mary and to have the property of making women fertile.¹⁶

The monastery consists of a small, low church whose sanctuary is a grotto hollowed out of the rock, a large courtyard, the remains of a cloister garth in the middle of which is an aedicule sheltering a dried-up fountain and a main building forming a façade with a monumental gateway opening onto the garth.

The main architectural interest of the monastery lies in this gatehouse and in the fountain in the garth. I shall deal with them under the heading of domestic architecture; they date from the early Renaissance i.e. from the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.

That is also the date of the church. Small, low and irregular it is picturesque rather than beautiful. The sanctuary and part of the surrounding wall are hewn out of the rock of a cliff; the windows of the north wall are merely two rectangular apertures with no pretensions to style. Only the west end can aspire to architecture: at the top a vigorous moulding with a groove filled with a diaper of flowers describes a very wide and depressed arch above a pointed hood-mould which projects even further. It is supported on brackets and under it is a small rose-window in the form of a six-spoke wheel. The quadrant brackets imitate those of the basement rooms in Kyrenia castle or Bellapais. The pointed doorway, possibly restored, is of no interest.¹⁷

The interior, with a barrel-vault roof, contains nothing note-worthy apart from some very worn remains of mural paintings. Among them can be seen some crowned heads (Fig. 285) which might be of the Three Wise Men and which are strongly reminiscent of the French style of the fourteenth century.

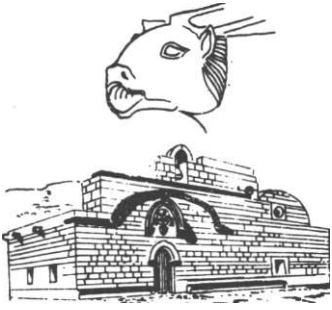


Fig. 285 B
Monastery of Ayia Napa;
gargoyle from monastery.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LARNACA

Larnaca is not an ancient city. In the Middle Ages the site was called Salines, because the royal salt-works were there, or Saint Ladre because of the ancient and notable Byzantine church built over one of the numerous tombs alleged to be that of St. Lazarus. In 1487 Nicholas Le Huen writes: 'Further on is Salins ... today there are no buildings there apart from the church of St. Ladre, in a very dilapidated state, and a solitary hut.'¹

Eventually, at the end of the Middle Ages, what had consisted merely of a pilgrimage church and a salt-works acquired a population, and a small fort was built on the seashore.² At this point on the coast there is now the suburb of Scala which is separate from Larnaca itself and growing in importance every day.³

From 1491 onwards trade began to shift from Famagusta to Larnaca, seriously damaging the former's prosperity. The Famagustans obtained a decree from the Venetian senate forbidding the erection of warehouses at Salines⁴ but this had little effect in slowing down the ruin of Famagusta and the rise of Larnaca.

Some buildings in Larnaca are more or less Gothic, such as the porticos around the cloisters of St. Lazarus, the church of Chrysopolitissa, some carvings on the Scala Mosque and the doors of one or two houses; but with the possible exception of part of the porticos of St. Lazarus, on which is carved the lion emblem of Cyprus, all these buildings are later than the Turkish conquest. On the other hand there have been plenty of medieval remains found at Larnaca and no doubt more will be found, such as a stone tympanum published by Mr. Edward I'Anson and Mr. Sydney Vacher, and an inscription published by Monsieur de Mas Latrie,⁵ and also some Renaissance fragments such as a marble dolphin, an Italian work perhaps originally part of a fountain, which was dug up in a garden in my presence. The fact is that the new city was built out of

Des Saintes peregrinations de Jerusalem (Lyons, 1488), fol. 16.

In 1518 Jacques Le Saige, writing of Larnaca, says: 'Everything has been levelled to the ground except for part of the church where at one end the service is like ours, sung in Latin, but in the middle, what one might call the choir, it is sung in Greek ... there is no other church.' (p. 142.)

The reasons for this prosperity are that there is a road running from Larnaca to Nicosia and that the mail steamers call there though the roadstead is a very bad one. Both are purely accidental causes, as were those of the former prosperity of Famagusta.

See *Bibl. Nat., MS. ital.* No. 895: *Risposte del Doge Barbarigo a diecinove domande della comunità di Famagusta.*

debris from the ruins of the cities of Paphos and Famagusta because it was so easy and cheap to transport well-dressed stone by sea from one point on the coast to another.

I mentioned earlier the inscription concerning St. Stephen's hospital which can be proved to come from Famagusta. The bas-relief, which might be a tympanum or a retable, could have the same provenance but there is nothing to prove that it did not come from Paphos. My description will have to be based on the sketch published by Mr. I'Anson and Mr. Vacher;⁶ neither they nor I have been able to study the original which was discovered some time ago in the foundations of a house and exported, no doubt to America, by Mr. Palma di Cesnola.

Presumably this bas-relief, whose design is thoroughly barbarous, decorated either a doorway or an altar of a late Gothic church. The upper part is an arc of a circle resting on a much wider rectangular base, or it could be called a semi-circular tympanum between two lower rectangular panels. The semi-circle is divided into three by two vertical lines: in the middle is Christ in Majesty within an elliptical mandorla supported by four angels; on His right the Crucifixion; on His left the panel is divided horizontally into two with the Visitation in the lower register and the Baptism in the upper. Beyond are two panels representing, on the right, the Carrying of the Cross and on the left an angel on a throne with, at his feet, two kneeling donors and two foot soldiers fighting. The soldiers wear hooded coats of mail and carry small triangular shields. Below these scenes is a bottom register with further panels, thirteen in number: in the centre the Annunciation — in which for the sake of symmetry the angel Gabriel appears twice — and the twelve apostles in the other panels.

The composition of this piece of sculpture is clumsy, heavy and incorrect; the style, so far as it is possible to judge from a line drawing, is that mixture of Gothic and Byzantine which apparently came into fashion in the fourteenth century and disappeared in the fifteenth. As support for this view let me recall the fact that at the end of the Gothic period art in Cyprus fell prey to many archaising mannerisms and went on copying some old-fashioned models for a very long time. With this in mind I should not think it rash to ascribe this fragment to the fifteenth century.⁷

See above, p. 218.

See Vacher and Edward I'Anson, *Mediaeval and other Buildings in the Island of Cyprus*.

(Ed. note.) On this tympanum, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, see p. 42, n. 15.

STAVROVOUNI MONASTERY

This famous monastery is built at the top of an almost isolated mountain which rises behind Larnaca and dominates the landscape over a large area of the central plain and the south coast.

Its foundation, according to the chroniclers of Cyprus, goes back to St. Helena, for it was she who ordered the building of a church on this

STAZOUSA CHURCH, KALOKHORIO

mountain in which she deposited the cross of the Penitent Thief. It is probable but not certain that the Benedictine monks of St. Paul of Antioch moved here in the thirteenth century, after the fall of the Principality of Antioch. William of Machaut records that it was in their monastery of the True Cross of Cyprus that King Peter I was supposed to have had a vision. The relic itself, richly enshrined, was looted by the Egyptians in 1426; after being devastated in the raid, the monastery was rebuilt, as it was several times subsequently after being shaken by earthquakes. Monsieur de Mas Latrie has given a *résumé* of its history⁸ and I have described the buildings,⁹ which are Byzantine, so I shall restrict myself here to mentioning the three massive flying buttresses which shore up the western façade of the monastery. These ponderous specimens of Gothic architecture must have been added after the disasters of the fourteenth century or perhaps in the fifteenth. They are like the ones on St. Sergius near Famagusta.

The small monastery of St. Barbara at the foot of the mountain, a daughter foundation belonging to Stavrovouni, owns a fine brass-ware plate of the fifteenth century with a stag motif; it is close to the one at Bellapais (Fig. 132).

STAZOUSA CHURCH, KALOKHORIO possibly the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu

The Cistercians had in Cyprus an abbey called Beaulieu,¹⁰ famous in history, which is known to have belonged to the diocese of Nicosia. It has been customary hitherto to locate it in Nicosia itself but that would be contrary both to the Rule and to the invariable practice of the Cistercians and in fact the texts referring to Beaulieu are not incompatible with its being outside the city.

In the former diocese of Nicosia, between there and Larnaca, there is a village called Kalokhorio, a name which might well be a translation of Beaulieu. In the territory belonging to this village there are ruins which are very like those of a Cistercian abbey and their situation, on the edge of a stream in a wild and barren ravine, and some architectural features, would strongly support such a hypothesis.

On the other hand Florio Bustron,¹¹ writing of the saints whose relics are to be found in Cyprus, expressly mentions: 'San Gioan de Monforte in Nicosia, al Bel Loco.' There was therefore a church called Beaulieu in Nicosia and it was identical with the church of St. John of Montfort which later came into the hands of the Franciscans (Cordeliers) and was destroyed by the Venetians in 1567 in order to build the new defences of Nicosia. It was also called Our Lady of the Field. According to Stephen Lusignan:¹² 'The monks of the Order of St. Bernard were at the monastery of Our Lady of the Field which was later occupied by

8
Documents nouveaux,
p. 588 and note, and *Hist.*,
vol. II, 35, note 312, 430,
512, 541; vol. III, p. 520.

*Le Voyage en Chypre de
Nicolas de Martoni in Rev.
de l'Or, latin, 1897.*

10
Jongelinus, *Notitiae Abbatiarum cisterciensium*, fol. 94.

11
p. 38.

Observant Franciscans; it was then called the church of St. John of Montfort, formerly Count of Rochas, because his body was kept there.'

A comparison of the texts does nothing to render the history of Beaulieu less confusing. Jongelinus¹³ places it in the diocese of Famagusta and dates its foundation to 1137. Another confusion that must be avoided is with a Bernardine house which existed in Nicosia: in 1222 the Cistercians owned a house there but it belonged to St. Mary Magdalene at Acre and later became a women's abbey.¹⁴ Then again, one hears of Alice of Montbéliard, widow of Philip of Ibelin, founding a house for Cistercian nuns in Nicosia in 1242;¹⁵ this foundation was confirmed in 1244 by the Abbot of Citeaux.¹⁶

This women's convent has no connection with Beaulieu whose name is first mentioned on 29th January 1254 when Innocent IV instructed the Bishop of Tripoli and the Archdeacon of Acre to give judgment in the suit of Hugh of Fagianio, Archbishop of Cyprus, concerning the sale of the monastery of Beaulieu (locum de Bello Loco) by the Friars Minor of Nicosia to the Cistercians, in violation of the rights of the archbishopric.¹⁷ Here we have the Cistercians succeeding to the Franciscans; but there is no mention in the documents of the location of Beaulieu.

There is a further reference to Beaulieu Abbey in the accounts of the troubles in 1309 and 1310 connected with the usurpation of the Prince of Tyre and the exile, and subsequent restoration, of Henry II. In 1309 Henry Chape, Abbot of Beaulieu, was sent on an embassy to Armenia and died there at Sis.¹⁸ After the murder of the usurper and the return of Henry II the Constable, seriously compromised, disappeared and it was a long time before the King succeeded in arresting him, though it was said that he was able to enter and leave Nicosia without difficulty disguised as a peasant. One day he was given refuge in Beaulieu Abbey and the King, hearing of it, sent troops to seize him and bring him to the palace.¹⁹ Amadi's chronicle, which tells this story, gives no indication whether the abbey of which it speaks was in Nicosia or the country.²⁰

It is not as difficult as it might seem to reconcile these apparently contradictory testimonies. I agree that there can be no question of accepting Jongelinus' foundation date of 1137; this was before the Latin occupation of Cyprus and must refer to some other Beaulieu. Nor should any weight be given to his placing it in the diocese of Famagusta; he makes the same mistake about Belmont, which was in Syria, near Tripoli. Jongelinus admits in any case that he had been unable to have access to the archives of the abbeys in Cyprus which had been destroyed by the Moslems.

It is hard to say what the Cistercian house in Nicosia, called Our Lady of the Field, might have been. Perhaps it was just the women's convent founded in 1222 by the Abbess of St. Mary Magdalene at Acre and the Abbot of Belmont, later no doubt transferred and, in 1242, enlarged at the expense of Alice of Montbéliard. If the Cistercian monks owned a town

12
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 89.

13
loc. cit.

14
Cartulary of St. Sophia,
No. LXIV.

15
ib.; cf. Mas Latrie, *Hist. des arcbev.*, p. 15; *Revue de l'Or*, lat., p. 219.

16
ib.

17
ib., No LXVIII; cf. Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III, p. 651 and *Hist. des arcbev.*, pp. 30-1.

18
Amadi, p. 299.

19
Amadi, pp. 387-8; Bustron, pp. 240-1.

20
'Et dicesi que intrava et usciva in Nicosia ... ma questa volta e venuto alia abbatia de Bel Loco;' Amadi loc. cit. There is, however, a text which apparently gives a formal confirmation of my theory: among the signatories of a note addressed to King Henry II on 24th April 1306 there is 'religiosus frater Henricus Chappe, abbas monasterii Belli-loci prope Nicossiam, prefati domini archidiaconi vicarius.' (*Rev. des Quest. bist.*, 1888, p. 541; communication from Abbé Giraudin to Count Mas Latrie).

STAZOUSA CHURCH, KALOKHORIO

house it must have been only a hostel, unless they were in serious breach of their Rule. It would be natural to suppose that the Beaulieu that they bought in 1254 was in the country; the Franciscans from whom they acquired it live on alms and have always found it best to establish themselves in towns; it was probably this consideration that decided them to make a straight exchange by selling their property to the Cistercians and moving into Nicosia.

The occurrence of the name Beaulieu in Nicosia can be explained by the fact that it does not appear there before 1254. It is reasonable to suppose that if the Friars Minor moved from a place of that name to live in Nicosia they would still go on being called monks of Beaulieu because it was an almost invariable practice that when a religious institution was transferred it brought with it the name under which it was known in its previous location; for example, we have at Clamecy the bishopric of Bethlehem, at St. Quentin the abbey of Fervagues, at Douai the house of the Ladies of Flines and in Paris the Hôtel de Cluny. In all these cases the names of other places, near or far, have been brought into the different towns from outside, and there are very large numbers of other instances that could be quoted.

There is no means of knowing what happened to the property which the Cistercians bought in 1254 nor even whether they retained possession. It might also be conjectured that the ruins I am concerned with are those of the Benedictine abbey of the Holy Cross, unless indeed it should appear preferable to identify that Latin abbey with the present Greek monastery which has occupied from time immemorial the peak of Stavrovouni.

The ruins at Kalokhorio, of which no historical record exists, are now popularly known as *Stazousa*, which means trickling or oozing, used as an epithet of the Panayia with allusion to some miracle. Whatever may be the identity of the original establishment we can be sure that it was the invasion of 1426 that caused its ruin and that it probably never recovered from it.

The ruins of the monastery are on a low plateau in the bend of a stream, overlooked by hills on all sides. Not far from the main ruins is a small ruined chapel without any special merit. It was roofed with a pointed barrel vault.

The monastery (Fig. 286) was on the plan normal in the Levant: the church isolated in the centre of a rectangular enclosure surrounded by buildings. On the east and south sides there may well have been merely enclosing walls. The south-east corner occupied the crest of a rocky escarpment. The northern side was built on the edge of the stream-bed; here remains of several chambers are preserved, lit on the outside by small rectangular windows framed by flattened ridges. The north-west corner is the least damaged.

On the west, facing the west end of the church, there can be seen the

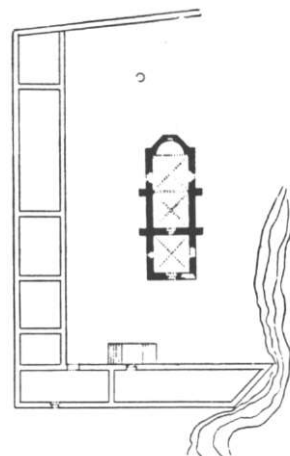


Fig. 286
Stazousa.

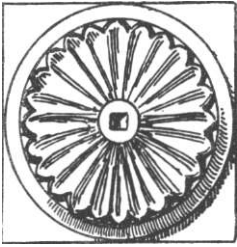


Fig. 287
Sundial.

ruins of an open-air stairway with two ramps and on the outside a fine entrance gateway with a pointed arch surrounded by a hood-mould and another set of mouldings resting on imposts carved with a scroll of vine-leaves. These scrolls, and especially the accompanying dog-tooth mouldings, show the influence of Italian Gothic art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, very rare in Cyprus; but the stone-work and the profile of the mouldings are purely French.

To the east of the church a fine well has been bored out in the rock, within the monastic enclosure.

All the buildings are well constructed of rubble masonry with cut stone for the corners and frames. The stone is a good fine-grained limestone, light yellow in colour.

The church (Fig. 288) consists of an apse, three-sided on the exterior, a nave of two bays and a small square narthex. The apse and the porch are distinctly lower than the nave. Above both of them *oeils-de-boeuf* have been opened in the end walls of the latter. The apse is a pointed conical semi-dome; the profile of the impost is a well carved Gothic talon; the only window is pointed, framed on the outside by a moulding which describes an imperceptible ogee dying into imposts with horizontal returns. The window opening was unglazed and closed by a simple wooden shutter like those to be seen in both ancient and modern houses in Cyprus.

The narthex is roofed with a groined vault. There was a doorway at the west end and pointed windows with mullions on the north and south. It communicates with the nave by a doorway with a corbelled lintel. The nave has a ribbed vault in fine masonry, still intact. Buttresses intersected at mid-height by a drip-stone take the thrust of the vaults. Near the top of the south-eastern one is a disc carved with a sort of fluted rosette having a square hole in the middle. This must have been meant for an iron spike and the feature must have been used as a sundial (Fig. 287);²¹ it is very like the sundial in the form of a half-rosette

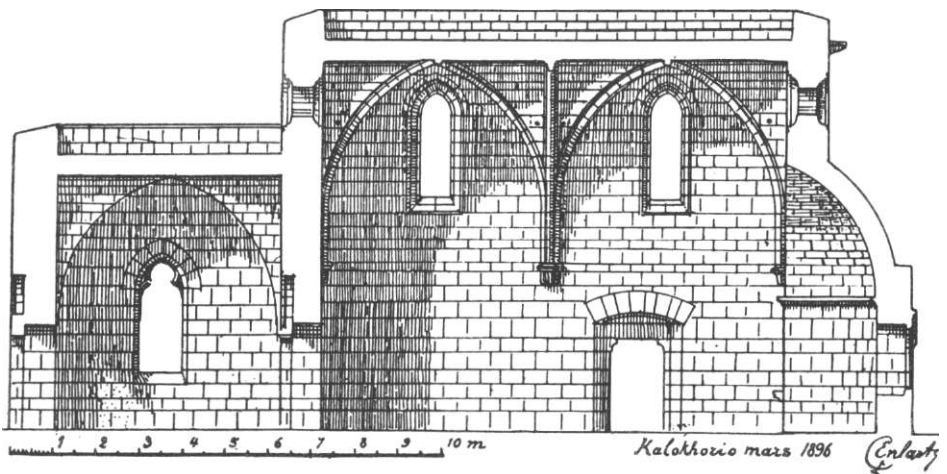


Fig. 288
Stazousa church, east-
west transverse section.

which can be seen in the same location on the church at Uzeste.²²

Each bay is lit by plain pointed windows with splays on the interior and exterior. In the eastern bay two doorways with lintels supported on corbels faced each other as is normal in Cyprus. To left and right of the apse were small semi-domed niches with moulded sills, serving as piscina and credence.

The arches of the vaulting are all slender, their profiles being a thin torus with a fillet along the crest and bead-mouldings on the sides. The springs rest on groups of three prismatic conical engaged brackets. The arrangements of these grouped brackets is essentially Burgundian (Fig. 289)²³ but their heavy and inelegant profile comes rather from Provence, where it can be found in the church of St. Pargoire near Montpellier (Fig. 11).

In each of the *tas-de-charge* of the vault can be seen two circular holes pierced at regular intervals at the same level to accommodate acoustic jars.

The roof was formed of a paving of flat stone slabs laid directly on the backs of the vaults. The short gargoyles are finely and gracefully modelled; a rib runs down the underside (Fig. 290) and the sides describe re-entrant curves like those of the modillions on Burgundian cornices and of some gargoyles on water tanks in Burgundy and southern France.

The church of Stazousa is a small building, soundly built, soberly decorated, well proportioned, elegant and distinguished. The character of its profiles indicates the fourteenth century; the Italian imposts of the entrance gateway and the small ogee on the sanctuary window would point rather to the end of the century; the entrance gateway could even be of the fifteenth since, as already remarked, it reveals a certain influence of Italian sculpture. The mixture of groined and ribbed vaults, as well as the treatment of the springers, seems to belong to that common body of Burgundian traditions which combines with a decided preference for simplicity to characterise Cistercian buildings.

The domestic buildings are too ruined to warrant a serious attempt at reconstruction, nor can they be dated with precision. All that can be said is that they belong to the Gothic period.

The general plan of the monastery and the abbreviated proportions of the church are borrowed from the usual practice in the East; the apse is an archaic feature; in all other respects these ruins are purely western in style.

THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF THE PASSION, KNOWN AS ST. CATHERINE'S, PYRGA

Apparently there is only one historical reference to the village of Pyrga which lies between Larnaca, Nicosia and Limassol, and that depends on accepting the highly probable identification proposed by Count de Mas

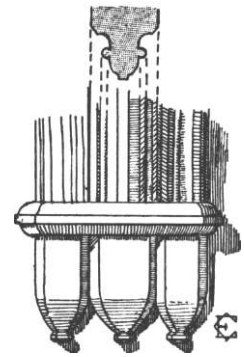


Fig. 289
Brackets.

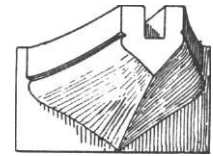


Fig. 290
Gargoyle.

21

It could however have been simply an ornament, like the rosettes which are found in a similar position on St. Front at Périgueux; they too have a small cavity at their centre which might have been intended for the plug for a piece of metal.

22

See *Uzeste*, by Abbé Brun (Brutails and Berchon, Bordeaux, 1894), p. 159.

23

See my *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie*, p. 271. Similar groups of brackets can be found as late as the fifteenth century in St. Maurice at Annecy.

THE CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LARNACA

Latrie in his edition of Strambaldi's chronicle. In this we read²⁴ that on 4th July 1426 King Janus, marching to encounter the Mamelukes who had landed at Limassol, ordered his army to advance from Potamia to spend the night at Piria from where it moved out next day to Chiochitia. All proper names are misspelt in this Venetian text; Chiochitia is Kheroidia or Khirokitia, which is where Janus fought and was taken prisoner on 7th July, and Piria can surely only be Pyrga, a village large enough to provide accommodation for a formed body of troops and at exactly one stage distance from Potamia and Khirokitia.

It is certain that the Egyptian army, when it advanced from Khirokitia on Nicosia and Larnaca, plundering everything in its path, destroyed Potamia and passed through Pyrga only a few days after Janus's army had been there.

Pyrga is a pretty village, relatively fertile, well watered and woody'

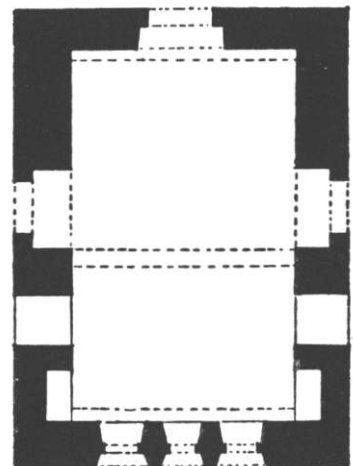
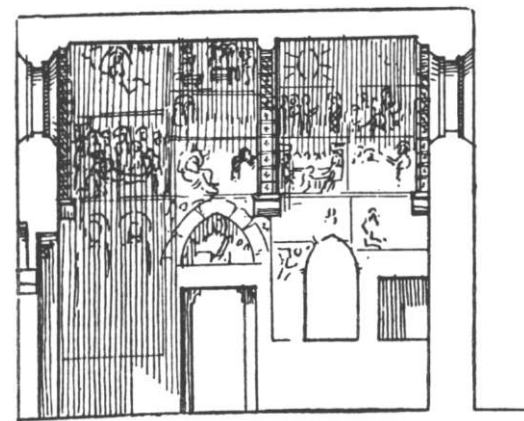
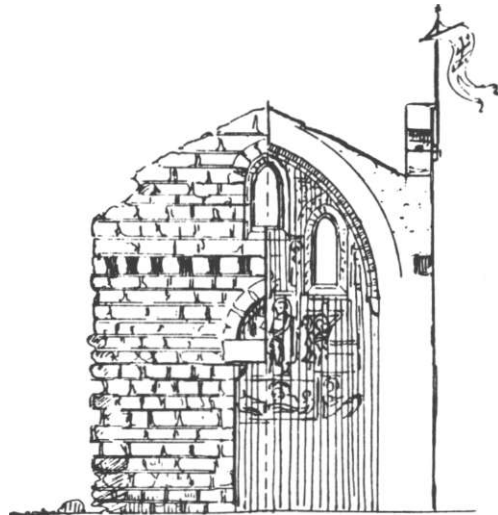


Fig. 291
Chapel Royal, Pyrga:
plan and transverse
sections east-west and
north-south.

THE CHAPEL ROYAL KNOWN AS ST. CATHERINE'S, PYRGA

In it there is a mosque and a medieval Byzantine church decorated with paintings, some of which are in a Giottesque style, and outside it, on the top of an escarpment overlooking a stream, a small abandoned chapel surrounded by the foundations of other buildings under which are basements now completely blocked up. This chapel is a specimen of that imperfectly Gothic architectural style which was predominant in Cyprus after the decline which began in the fourteenth century; another good example is the Carmelite church at Polemidhia near Limassol. The name given to it now is St. Catherine's but an inscription and the wall-painting over the altar show that the original dedication was the Passion.

The shape of the chapel (Fig. 291) is oblong, roofed with a pointed barrel vault strengthened by transverse ribs with flattened ridges and springing from quadrant brackets. It was isolated from the surrounding buildings but surrounded by a timbered portico except at the east end. The straight wall of the chevet at this end is pierced by three pointed windows with splays; they are of the same size but the middle one is set higher. In the north and south sides are two doorways with lintels above which are pointed relieving arches, and two low windows of the same shape close to the jambs of both doorways, on their east side. It looks as though these windows had embrasures fitted with stone benches like those in the archbishop's chapel in Nicosia. In any case these windows must have been closed with plain wooden planks as in the local houses and in many churches. At the west end is a third pointed doorway with a lintel supported on quadrant corbels; above it is a window like the upper window in the choir.

On the south (Fig. 292), above the doorway and the window, there is an arcaded belfry; the pointed opening is crowned by a steeply-pointed pediment with a chamfered moulding; on either side are two stone flag-staff-holders.

The stonework is more Byzantine than Gothic. The hard, dark-brown stone is coarsely cut into large cubes which are separated by courses of stone chips; the frames of the openings are in limestone, coarse-grained for the windows and doors and the belfry but on the gables dead white in colour and crumbling into sand at the slightest touch.

The roof was composed of flanged tiles with covering tiles over the joints; they were laid directly on the extrados of the vaults.

The special interest of the building resides in its paintings and inscriptions.

On the outside the only remaining fragment of the lintels of the doorways, viz. half the lintel of the southern one, is inscribed with the French name *Bazoges* in large and quite handsome fifteenth-century Gothic minuscules. It is the beginning of an inscription which I am unable to restore: *Bazoges*, which comes from the Latin *basilica*, is fairly common as a place name and is sometimes used for a surname. Above it is what looks like a fragment of a foliar scroll, also incised.



Fig. 292
South façade.

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LIMASSOL

All the inside walls were covered with painted decorations but unfortunately scarcely half of them have survived. In what follows I give a description, with a note of their inscriptions and their locations.

On the interior wall of the west end, on either side of the window, are two large figures, one unidentifiable, the other bearing the name of St. Margaret. Under the window is a valuable inscription, painted in white on green, giving the date of the decoration. On either side of it are two paintings now entirely obliterated with merely an architectural background remaining. Rain trickling onto the window-sill has caused serious damage to the commemorative inscription, written in fine Gothic majuscules. However so far as it can be made out it reads:

... ai
 l'an de Nostre-Sei-
 gneur M. CCCC et XXI
 s. [a] III. [jour] s de
 s [e] ncoumésée
 ceste chappele
 [en] l'onor de Dieu et de
 l[a P]a[-ssi]on de nostre [Seigneur]
 ...Mar. en sui
 e
 ere

Between this inscription and the door is a panel containing busts of St. Catherine and St. Helena with a third heavily damaged bust between them. To the right and left of the door are over-life-size figures showing the Visitation and a seated Virgin, holding the Infant Jesus. These were part of a series, but the others are now unrecognisable; all the figures in the lower register had haloes in relief, as often found in Italian paintings. The style of these different figures is essentially Byzantine though those of the vault and the east end are Giottesque. All the inscriptions, however, are in French.²⁵

The vault is divided into two bays by a transverse rib; other arches at the ends are used as formerets. All the arches are divided into compartments by broad bands of grey paint edged in black, imitating masonry joins, with the arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the spaces between them on each face of the arch.

In the first bay to the west the northern half of the vault is painted with an Assumption. At the top of the picture there remains a fine head of the Virgin, Byzantine in style, in an aureole; she is ascending towards a sky spangled with large stars. Below is a Dormition of the Virgin with a background of architecture in a landscape.

On the south side the vault is divided into three registers, each with three scenes. The upper register is destroyed. The middle one, represent-

²⁵ Most of these inscriptions are illegible. Apart from the two mentioned later, and the word 'Abbas' all I have been able to make out is

No ...
 P(?) net nostre ...a
 en

co ... le ... sa ... os ... re



Fig. 293
Paintings in the vault.

ing the Adoration of the Shepherds, is severely damaged; next comes the Circumcision or the Presentation (?) above which I think I can make out the word ABBAS, a fragment of an inscription; next is the Adoration of the Magi. The painting in the centre is fairly well preserved: behind an altar covered with a long embroidered cloth three old men, haloed, standing; in one corner the Virgin holding the Infant Jesus moves forward, accompanied by St. Joseph who is partly concealed behind her.

The three scenes in the lower register are destroyed apart from a few letters surviving from inscriptions that cannot now be restored and a fragment of the last panel in which can be seen a dome of red tiles supported on arches and slender colonnettes. Below, in a spandrel over the doorway, can be seen a kneeling saint being blessed by a divine hand emerging from a red cloud.

The second bay to the east had, to the north, three registers of two superposed scenes, like the one to the south, but in both cases the upper registers have been destroyed.

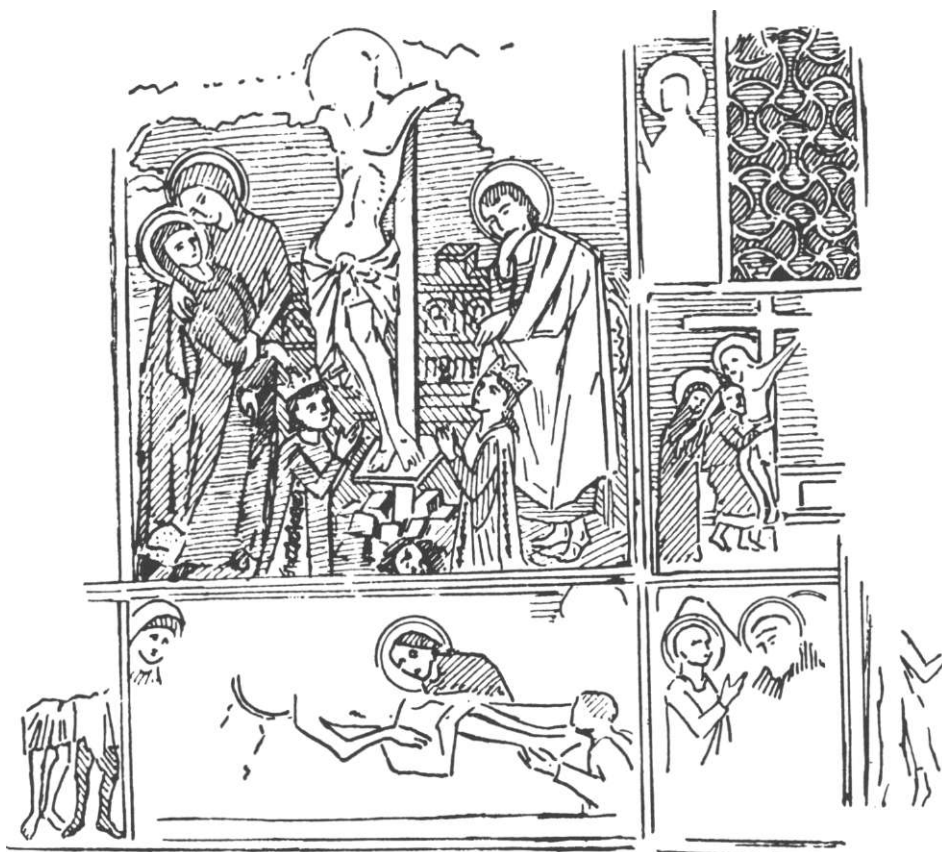
On the north side (Fig. 293) the central register shows the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem. The lower register shows LA CENE DOU JEUSDI SAINT, as confirmed by the inscription, and St. John the Baptist preaching,²⁶ with a long inscription not now readable.

On the south side the central register represented Christ in the Garden on the Mount of Olives and another scene which I have not been able to interpret; it is completely defaced, whereas the other still shows quite well the sleeping Apostles.

Above this there is a surviving inscription, LA PENTE COUSTE for a painting whose figures have been destroyed, followed by another damaged painting representing the Ascension in which, in the sky above a group of spectators, can be seen a Christ in Majesty in a circular aureole supported

26
(Ed. note.) A recent study of the Pyrga paintings by Mr. D.C. Winfield interprets this scene as a Washing of the Apostles' Feet and 'Christ in the Garden of Olives' (next sentence) as a Transfiguration; see also T.S.R. Boase in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, vol. IV, p. 190.

Fig. 294
Paintings above the
altar.



by angels.

The style of all these thoroughly mediocre paintings takes after the manner of Giotto. The Raising of Lazarus and the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, in particular, are distinctly reminiscent of the Arena chapel at Padua. The St. John the Baptist makes an entirely Italian impression. The Last Supper is rather strange: Christ and St. Peter sit facing each other on two high-backed chairs with canopies, painted green; no doubt the Latins liked the idea of using this painting to affirm the superior rank of St. Peter.

The wall at the east end has the most interesting paintings. Low down and in the northern corner is a Flagellation; in the southern corner two badly damaged pictures in which nothing can be made out except for a corpse lying in a coffin. Between the two is a rather dramatically conceived Deposition.

Above these is a large central picture of the Crucifixion (Fig. 294) flanked by a Descent from the Cross and a picture now destroyed, and also by two saints. The window splays are decorated with geometrical patterns in purple, blue and white which in France would be taken as Romanesque. The Descent from the Cross is interesting: the face of the St. Joseph of Arimathaea has a lively expression which conforms with a

27

La Descente de croix, groupe en ivoire du XIIIe siècle conservé au Musée du Louvre, in Monuments et Mémoires, published by the Académie des Inscriptions, Fondation Eugène Piot, 1896.

standard pattern not just of Western art but specifically of northern; the same is true of the head of the Christ with its exaggerated expression of death. The Virgin, or perhaps rather St. Mary Magdalene, holds the arm of the dead Christ in a fold of her Byzantine purple mantle. The composition is of a familiar type to which Emile Molinier has dedicated a study.²⁷

The Crucifixion is much the most interesting of these paintings because it shows a king and queen of Cyprus kneeling at the foot of the Cross. Going by the date given in the inscription on the opposite wall, 1421, it must be Janus of Lusignan and Charlotte of Bourbon (Fig. 295), whom he had married ten years earlier. The figure of Christ on the cross, whose head has unfortunately been lost, has one hip displaced sideways in a very exaggerated way. Behind the Cross the background of the picture is formed by a long, low architectural feature painted green and resembling the base wall of a cloister, crenellated and decorated with niches; it is in Italian Renaissance style.

The heads of the King and Queen are fairly well preserved. Janus's hair is brown, Charlotte's blond. He wears a massive crown decorated with fleurs-de-lis and a grey or light blue surcoat whose open, falling sleeves are lined with a pattern *vairy*, green and white. The queen has a mantle lined in the same way; her hair is long and she wears a pink tunic under a grey or white surcoat which has wide openings at the sides. This is the French costume of the period and only Queen Charlotte's crown appears



Fig. 295
King Janus and Queen
Charlotte of Bourbon.

to owe something to Byzantine art. There are no coats of arms surviving near the two figures but the arches of the vaulting have a continuous pattern of Jerusalem crosses, the heraldic significance of which is unmistakable.²⁸

The graffiti which cover the interior walls, dating from the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, are not the least interesting feature of the chapel. The oldest can be seen on the west wall, where the handwriting in some instances is even similar to thirteenth-century examples. Some of them are scratched almost at the height of the vault and must have needed ladders to execute them. The lettering is, unfortunately, often obliterated and always very difficult to read. Lower down, on St. Helena's vestments, the following can be deciphered (Fig. 298):

'... contra hereticos, Con
secrantur Sanctorum signa infibulata
... grime (perhaps crimen) aequum
ejus (?) licet...'

This fragment of an invective against heretics is interesting because in modern times Orthodox Christians, when there is fever raging in Pyrga, encircle the belfry of the chapel with skeins of cotton in supplication to St. Catherine to free them from the scourge. I have seen the whole chapel wound round with tangled skeins in this way. It seems that in the Middle Ages the ancestors of those who practise this rite today used to come and wind skeins (infibulare) round the bells (signa), making vows (consecrationes) at the same time. Perhaps, as is also possible, sanctorum signa means the statues of the saints; in any case the rites and their intentions are identical.

On the opposite wall, higher up (Fig. 296) the following can just be made out:

De Sanctis
de Deo lux
de redem
sunt aupt
forme infer
ne ..., etc.²⁹

and, following on, to the right:

Spiritus sancti de ejus (?)
pars fatimur
facta c

then, on the right of the commemorative inscription:

... ou regne
nostre sire
fet

On the east wall I deciphered some remains of inscriptions in the same hand:

Crucem jam (?) sub r.

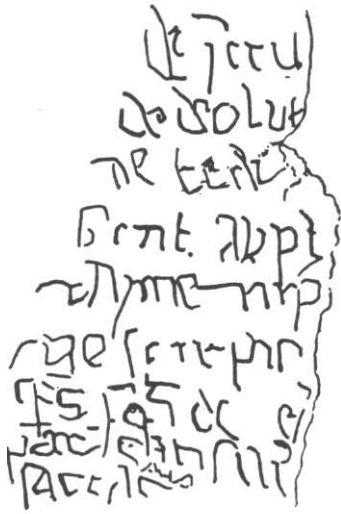


Fig. 296
Graffiti.

1546
FR. MOSERT
AÑO
1546

Griffay
Keruset. a

Fig. 297
Graffiti.

CHAPEL ROYAL KNOWN AS ST. CATHERINE'S, PYRGA



Fig. 298
Graffiti.

arie

... Noster sancte cruci...

There are also, over these inscriptions, some more modern souvenirs:

Dinori Anno 1681, die 19 septembris

marzo.

On the north wall can be seen some names in Gothic cursive of the fifteenth or sixteenth century: Grassay (Fig. 297); Kausset. A (Fig. 297); Bertran Ramon. Then, in Roman capitals of the Renaissance

1546
FRMOSER TR.
ANO
1546

The question arises: what was this chapel, founded by King Janus and surrounded by buildings which have since disappeared? It is highly probable that there was here a royal manor, built on a site very like the one at Potamia, which is not far away. In 1421 Janus, later so famous for his misfortunes, had hitherto known nothing but prosperity. He even presumed on his good luck because he challenged the Sultan of Egypt, an imprudent action which turned out disastrously for him. This is exactly the period in which he erected those buildings, only to have them destroyed by the Egyptian army five years later. Admittedly the chroniclers make no mention of this villa — perhaps it was never finished — but then they scarcely say anything about the more important Potamia, except to record its destruction by fire, and are equally brief on the whole subject of the building works of King James, who established or restored other manors also. This one remained in ruins, which is why the chapel has remained in its original condition, not much vandalised by the Turks, who did not bother themselves over an abandoned building, and at the same time protected against complete demolition by the superstitious practices of the Greeks against which the author of the graffiti quoted above raised his complaint.

I conclude that it was the neglect into which these ruins fell that was the cause of their preservation. They are valuable by reason of the portraits they have preserved for us and because of the exactly dated evidence which they provide on the state of architecture in Cyprus in the

28

The decorative motif painted in the embrasures of the windows is in a western Romanesque style; examples can be seen in the paintings of the abbey church of Knechsteden near Neuss (see Dr. P. Kiemen, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, vol. III, p. 40) and on the carved shafts of the main doorway of Chartres Cathedral.

29

Towards the end there can be made out '... de eius par(te) casti sumus....'

early fifteenth century. Its progress thereafter was strictly downhill as Byzantine and Italian influences eliminated the French.

5

KITI (LE QUID)
A Seigneurial Chapel

The church at Kiti, called Le Quid by French speakers, is one of the most interesting Byzantine buildings in Cyprus. In the apse is a magnificent mosaic of the eleventh or twelfth century³⁰ figuring an over-life-size Virgin and roundels with representations of the twelve apostles.

Onto this building, at the end of the thirteenth century or in the fourteenth, the French Lords of Le Quid, of the Gibelet family, grafted a small Gothic church intended for their personal devotions and for use by other Christians of the Latin rite. It is attached to the south side of the main church.

This Gothic church (Fig. 299) consists of an apse covered by a semi-

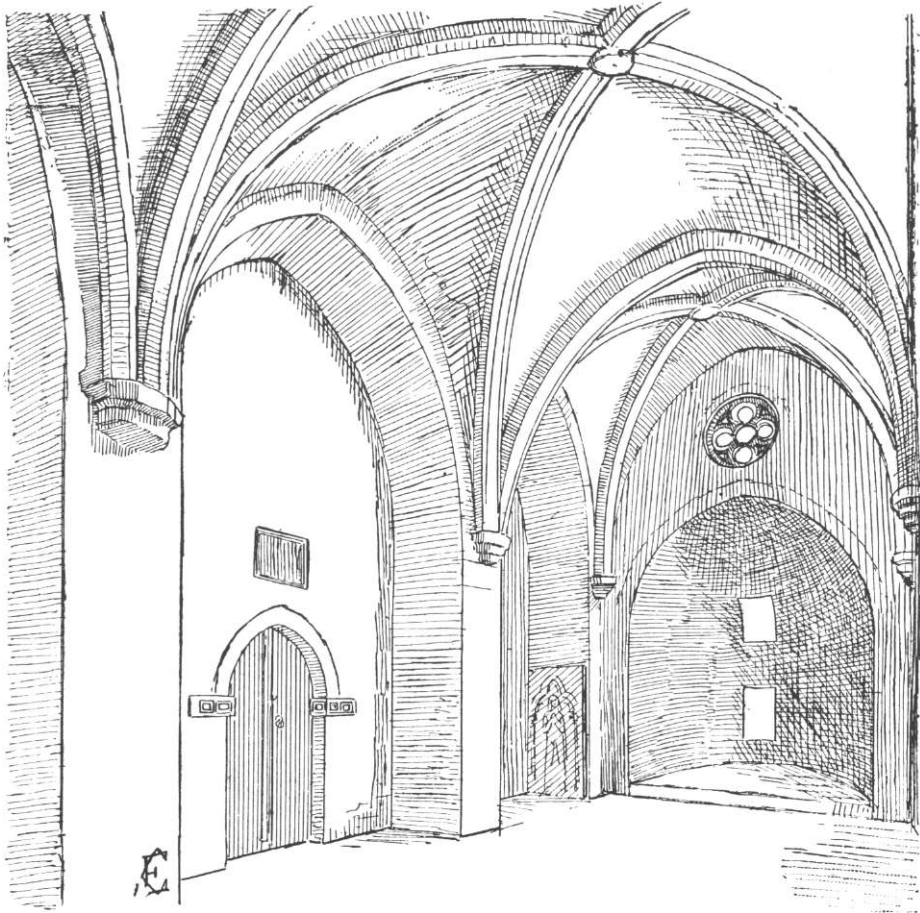


Fig. 299
Chapel at Kiti.

KITI

dome and four rib-vaulted bays. The buttresses are on the inside, a practice borrowed from the South of France; they are tied to each other by pointed arches forming shallow side-chapels. Also as in Provence there is a round window above the apse; the quatrefoil tracery of this has been preserved.

The whole of the rest of the church has been stripped bare and plastered. In their present state the brackets from which the vaulting ribs spring have clearly been altered in profile; the arches of the vaulting are simply prismatic and must always have been so.

The exterior is undistinguished but a feature of interest is provided by three shields with armorial achievements which survive at the summit of the south wall. The centre one bears, quarterly, Jerusalem and Cyprus, on its left is a shield with a cross, probably for the Hospitallers, and on its right one with three lions' heads (Fig. 300) the two above affrontée and the lower regardant sinister.

The chapel is now used as a school. It contains a tombstone carved with an effigy of Simone Guers, wife of Renier of Gibelet; she died in 1302.³¹ Probably the whole building was erected at that date, or close to it, as a funerary chapel when Simone of Gibelet died.



Fig. 300
Coat of arms on south wall.

VAVLA

Father Stephen Lusignan speaks of a Dominican monastery at Vavle in Cyprus³² and it is natural to suppose that it was at Vavla, a village situated in a valley in the north-western corner of Larnaca district, near the Makheras mountains. The parish church stands in an enclosure which forms a terrace above the bank of the stream. It consists of an apse, polygonal on the outside, and a barrel-vaulted nave of no particular interest. It is now being rebuilt, badly enough to be sure but that is no reason for regretting the old church. It may be that it is built on the site of the abbey but I should for my part prefer to look for that at a spot half a mile east of the village, at the bottom of the valley, in the fifteenth-century Greek monastery now called Ayios Minas. It has a fairly large church with an apse, externally polygonal, and a long nave under a pointed barrel vault with transverse ribs. Two side porticos are roofed with short stretches of barrel vault at right angles to the nave. Their arches are pointed, as are those of the doorway. The west doorway, unornamented, opens onto a passage without arcades, a sort of dark corridor whose opposite wall is the west end of the abbey. The side-doorways are carved with dog-tooth mouldings and *congés* in the shape of pyramids with a small ball on top. On the inside there are two alcoves in the same pattern and with identical decorations in the side walls forward of the apse. They are used as frames for paintings. Niches of this type

30
(Ed. note.) Now believed to be of the sixth century.

31
'Ici gist dame Simone fille de sire Guiliame Guers, feme de sire Renier de Gibelet qui trespasa l'an de MCCCII à V. jors de Novembre.' The inscription was reported by Mas Latrie in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1893. E. Deschamps published a not very accurate drawing of it in his *Quinze mois à l'île de Chypre*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1897.

32
Descr. de Cypre, fo1. 89.

derive from the side chapels of the Carmelite and Franciscan churches in Famagusta.

The monastic buildings form a square surrounding the church on north, south and east, linking up on the west with the porticos. On the north side are the living quarters, including a cloister with two levels of pointed openings; the south side of the enclosure is taken up with farm buildings. I record this church here as a specimen of a type very common in Cyprus after the end of the fourteenth century, one which scarcely still deserves the name of Gothic.

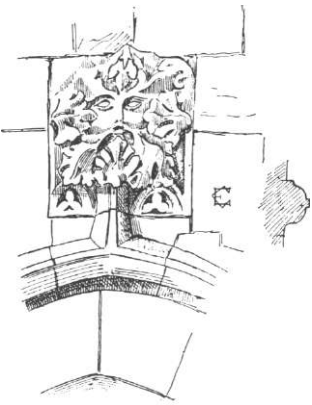


Fig. 301
Finial over west doorway.

7

CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF THE FIELD (PANAYIA TOU KAMPOU) KHIROKITIA

Just south of the ruins of the Commandery of Khirokitia is a deserted chapel called Panayia tou Kampou, Our Lady of the Field. Probably it had no connection with the Cistercian abbey of that name which is known to have existed in Cyprus and which appears to have been in the outskirts of Nicosia.

The chapel of Our Lady of the Field occupies the same position in relation to the Commandery as the one at Kolossi and probably belonged to the knights. It might also be, perhaps, a memorial chapel for the disastrous battle of Khirokitia in 1426 although it appears to be earlier; it gives clear evidence, however, of having been built in two stages. A more likely theory would be that it was a Templar chapel restored by the Hospitallers when they took over from them in 1318; after 1426 the castle remained abandoned but the chapel must have been restored since it was in use up to a few years ago.

It consists of an apse and a dome, both Byzantine, connected on the west side with a bay of later date under a pointed barrel vault. At the west end is a small pointed doorway surmounted by a projecting hood-mould. At the apex of this is a very unusual finial (Fig. 301) in the form of a mascarón of the type called by Villard de Honnecourt *tête de feuilles* and which, in France, was principally used in the fourteenth century to decorate rose-windows, spandrels and, in particular, vaulting bosses. There is a striking resemblance between this one and a fourteenth-century vaulting boss at Montiérender. The eyes with their sidelong glance are also of a type distinctly peculiar to western art in the fourteenth century. In spite of this similarity the specimen at Khirokitia might not be earlier than the fifteenth century; it is of a slightly degenerate type and one knows how much Cypriot art was given to archaism after the middle of the fifteenth century. I must also point out that the impostes of the doorway are simple stone cubes, as on the outer door of Morphou Abbey and the chapel on Cape Andreas, the latter of which is at least not earlier

CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS, TOCHNI

than the fifteenth century.

To the north of the chapel at Khirokitia are some ruins which possibly come from an associated building such as a cloister. Among them is a scrap of Gothic tracery with jagged cusps, the profile being attributable to any date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The window from which it came must have been elegant in a good French style but it is impossible to determine its origin, whether from another chapel in a better style, a cloister, a porch or the neighbouring Commandery.

"•ft^X'f!-^

Fig. 302
Inscription on rock.

8

CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS, TOCHNI

When St. Helena was returning from Jerusalem with the relics of the True Cross and of the cross of the Penitent Thief she landed in Cyprus which had been laid waste for thirty-six years by terrible droughts.

During the night the cross of the Penitent Thief was miraculously transported to the top of a mountain. St. Helena correctly interpreted this as meaning that a church must be built to house the relic, and this became the monastery of Stavrovouni; then, as she was on her way to take ship again at Limassol and was just crossing the Vassilopotamos stream, a pillar of fire appeared to her, reaching from earth to heaven. The spot at which she witnessed this miraculous event — or else this meteorological phenomenon — was the manor of Tochni. She ordered the construction of a church, or perhaps two churches, there and before re-embarking she left there a relic of the True Cross.³³

In our time the villagers of Tochni point out a church and the ruins of another which they say were built by St. Helena and an inscription on a rock which they believe to have been traced by her own hand. The inscription (Fig. 302), in Greek but unintelligible, is in red paint, many times restored, with in front of it a cross flory, apparently medieval and resembling a Gothic consecration cross, probably fifteenth-century in date. It is supposed to mark the place where the pillar of fire appeared though I must observe that if St. Helena was coming from Stavrovouni and was fording the stream at the time she could only see it by turning round.

The parish church is said to be built at the actual point where the saint crossed the stream, indeed it is built on top of a large bridge formed by a handsome pointed arch boldly thrown across from one rocky ledge to another. Unfortunately this unusual church³⁴ has been many times restored and no longer has anything ancient about it. In fact so tasteless has been the rebuilding that, in spite of its position, it even fails to look picturesque.

A few steps from the bridge and the parish church, on the slope of a rocky hill overlooking the village, is the church of the Holy Cross which

33
Amadi, p. 79; Bustron, p. 43 ;
Strambaldi, p. 3.

34
Chenonceaux Castle is also,
of course, built on a bridge.
At Annecy the seventeenth-
century church of Our Lady
is partly built on a bridge;
at Dannes (Pas de Calais) the
fifteenth-century church has
its sanctuary raised on arches
on the edge of the river;
at Culan (Cher) and Triel
(Seine et Oise) there is a
road running beneath the
sanctuaries of the churches
which are of the twelfth
and sixteenth centuries
respectively.

has been in ruins for a long time. It was made up of two churches, one Byzantine (or Romanesque) of which only half the apse remains, and the other Gothic (Fig. 303), a later addition built up against the north side of the earlier building. Presumably the former was used for the Greek and the latter for the Latin rite.

The two churches appear each to have had a single nave, joined by one or more arcades now destroyed, and their length was more or less the same. Of the Gothic church there survive the doorway at the west end, the north wall, the apse and part of the vaulting, all bearing the marks of a violent fire. It was the Egyptian Mamelukes in 1426³⁵ who were responsible for setting fire to it when they were marching on Nicosia after having landed at Larnaca and sacking the city. King Janus tried next day to block their advance at Khirokitia; how he was defeated and captured has already been related.

As for the relic of the Holy Cross it had gone long before that. In about 1318 it was working miracles, or so the Greeks said though the Latins, not concealing their envy, denied all credence to those miracles. It must have been at that period that, in their capacity as Lords of the island, they insisted on the Greeks sharing the church of the Holy Cross with them and attached to it a Latin chapel. Be that as it may, in the year 1318 a Latin priest whose name was John of St. Mary (*Zoan de Santa Maria* in the Venetian texts to which we owe the story)³⁶ but whose nationality is unknown stole the cross of Tochni. First he tried to smuggle it out to Europe and then when that failed he hid it in a carob tree. In 1340 it was found there by a shepherd boy³⁷ who took it

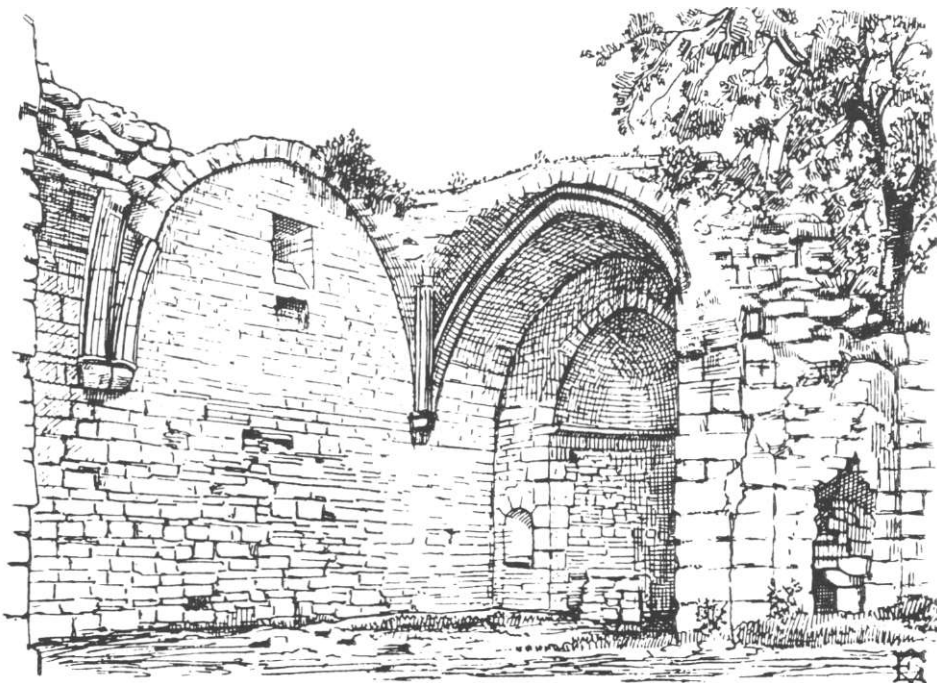


Fig. 303
Church of the Holy
Cross.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS, TOCHNI

around Cyprus, having entered religion under the name of Brother Gabriel. His cross and he had many adventures; the King seized the relic and then gave it back; on another occasion the wicked bishop of Famagusta, Brother Mark, persuaded the King to test the authenticity of the unfortunate relic by subjecting it to the ordeal by fire. The relic triumphantly withstood the ordeal and after so many vicissitudes good Brother Gabriel obtained, from the generosity of the King and of a Latin lady, permission to build a church for his relic and a monastery for himself there in Nicosia.³⁸ Many were the pilgrims who flocked to this church of the Cross Refound and Tochni was quite forgotten, for most of the participants in the pilgrimage had had to unlearn the way to Tochni since 1318. Perhaps it was with some thought of replacing the relic that the priests of Tochni painted on the rock that apparently Gothic red cross which marks the location of St. Helena's vision.

The Gothic church at Tochni (Fig. 303) consists of an apse covered with a conical semi-dome, a short choir bay slightly wider and higher than the apse covered with a pointed barrel vault, a square central bay covered with a ribbed vault and a short western bay on the same lines as the choir. The central bay is thus framed on either side by a barrel vault from which it is separated by transverse ribs whose profiles, like those of the vaulting ribs, are a narrow torus between two cavettos. Low oblong brackets support the springs of the arches; their decoration has been destroyed by the fire, which has had the same destructive effect on the impostes of the barrel vaults and the apse and has disfigured the corbels of the lintel of the doorway. There is no arch over the doorway.

There was a very small window in the apse and another small, rectangular one below the central vault. This vault was rounded and higher than the two barrel vaults. When he came to the outside the architect emphasised this difference in height and in design by adding a low pediment in the centre of the side façade, a sort of non-projecting transept which gave to the extrados of the vaults the form of a Greek cross. The same concept was adopted with a groined vault in the Armenian church at Famagusta; it is a form of compromise between Byzantine and Gothic architecture. This mixture of styles to be found in Tochni church and the heavy way in which it is constructed favour ascribing it to a period not earlier than the fourteenth century. It would be very implausible to date its building to the time when the cross was missing i.e. between 1318 and 1360; a more probable theory would be that it was built in about 1340 after the cross had been rediscovered; but then it would be difficult to explain how the cross went on its travels all over Cyprus, without any settled abode until a church was built for it in Nicosia.

Possibly the people of Tochni thought that if they built this new church for it it would be given back to them. On the other hand there is nothing against dating the church to the last years of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth, before the cross was stolen. It might

35
Machaeras, p. 38. See below
for a description of
Khirokhitia Castle.

36
Amadi, p. 406; Strambaldi,
p. 28.

37
Amadi, p. 406; Bustron,
p. 256.

38
Machaeras, p. 43; Strambaldi,
p. 27.

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LIMASSOL

even be possible to argue that the theft had been made easier by the construction work going on or that it arose from the disputes that must have raged when a Latin church was attached to a Greek one. It is very likely that this was in fact the determining cause of the conflicts leading to the theft, since the ancient chronicles merely report the theft without going into details. It may be objected that there is an enormous difference between this ponderous, degenerate architecture and buildings in Nicosia and Famagusta dating from about 1300; to which the answer could be that Tochni is in the middle of nowhere, wild and poverty-stricken, so that it is remarkable that Gothic art ever managed to penetrate so far even to this extent and that that could only happen at a time when a flourishing pilgrim traffic was attracting strangers to the spot and arousing the covetousness of the Latins.

CHAPTER XIV

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LIMASSOL

i

LIMASSOL MEDIÆVAL CHURCHES

According to Father Stephen Lusignan there were in Limassol in the sixteenth century two cathedrals (one Latin, the other Greek), and four mendicant orders 'monks, knights, Templars and Hospitallers.' But not a stone remains of the former Latin churches of Limassol. In the present Greek cathedral, the *Katholiki*, there are numerous tombstones with French inscriptions, the oldest dating from 1260 to 1269. They have been published by Count de Mas Latrie,² together with another from which we learn that the church was rebuilt in 1579 by an architect called John Thomas. According to Mas Latrie what stood previously on this site was the Franciscan church; the existing building which has replaced it is in a heavy, bastard style with a mixture of features reminiscent of Gothic art.

The Great Mosque used to contain another French tombstone, seen by Mas Latrie.³ Unfortunately the building was swept away by the great floods of 1894. To judge from what little remains its architecture would be the same as that of the cathedral. This is moreover confirmed by what it said about it by the Lord of Villamont⁴ who visited Limassol in about 1590: 'It is twice as big as the Christian church and built in the same style.'

As at Nicosia and Famagusta the Great Mosque was undoubtedly the former Latin cathedral. It must have been extensively restored only a few years before the Turkish conquest because the Venetian Provveditore, Bernardo Sagredo, had reported in 1565⁵ that it was necessary to rebuild it. The cathedral was in a deplorable state. The bishop was non-resident. On these grounds the citizens of Famagusta had been trying ever since 1491 to persuade the Venetian Senate to unite the two dioceses, declaring that Limassol had been reduced to a mere village where there was no need for a Latin bishop.⁶ Indeed the bishop had in 1465

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 19 v.
The monks referred to are no doubt the Augustinians.

L'île de Chypre (Didot, Paris, 1879), pp. 390-2.

ib., p. 392.

Voyage du Seigneur de Villamont, fol. 124 v°.

Bibl. Nat., MS. ital. 1250, fol. 5.

Bibl. Nat., MS. ital. 895.
Risposte del Doge Barbarigo a diecinove domande della comunità di Famagosta.

handed over his cathedral to a vicar-general, a Dominican monk, and it had fallen into complete desuetude. Casual visitors had covered the inside with scribbles like those chalked up on the walls of inns or eating houses.⁷

Sagredo's Report: 'Sopra le mura della chiesa sono serine molte cose, si come fanno nelle hosterie.' It is a passion as deeply rooted in human nature as idling, or as childish vanity; it is particularly highly developed in contemporary Cyprus.

Probably it will never be known what this cathedral was like in the Middle Ages. Travellers and chroniclers say nothing about its architecture. Nicholas Le Huen⁸ tells us that in 1487 the cathedral clergy had been reduced to the bishop and two canons. According to Jacques Le Saige⁹ there were five in 1518. The records of the twenty-one known bishops from Fulk (1211) to Andrew Cornaro (1546) are almost equally obscure and throw no light on the question. However according to Le Quien¹⁰ Fulk was supposed to be a brother of Archbishop Eustorgius of Montaignu to whom we owe the best features of Nicosia Cathedral. This fact, and the long stay which St. Louis's expedition made in Limassol, make it reasonable to suppose that the cathedral there might have benefited from French help, both financially and artistically, in the same way as St. Sophia. If so its destruction is very much to be regretted.¹¹

Des Saintes pègrinations, fol. 16.

9

p. 93.

10

Oriens Christianus, vol. 111, pp. 1223-4.

11

The cathedral was the only building spared by the Turks in 1537, cf. Lusignan, *Hist. de Cypre*, fol. 20. In 1491 the Famagustans demanded the union of their See with that of Limassol on the grounds of the latter being almost entirely ruined.

12

op. cit., fol. 124 and v°.

13

It is a very brief account, to be found in the following summary note on p. 26 of his report. 'A few days before our arrival a Turkish peasant ploughing his field uncovered several grave stones with French inscriptions, all of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see appendix at the end of this report.'

14

E. Magen, *Le vase d'Athonte, relation de son transport en France* (Agen), *Ree. des trav. de la Soc. d'Agriculture*, 1867.

Two tombstones, now disappeared, were seen by the Lord of Villamont in 1590 in the garden of a Greek priest; but I do not know from which Latin church they came. I give this description of them, which is both very valuable and also in all probability fairly accurate because he took trouble over it and was more intelligent than almost all his contemporaries:¹²

'A Cypriot priest ... took us into his garden and showed me two large stones of the kind used for the tombs of prominent people on one of which were the following words in French: 'Here lies John Carcar, knight, who departed this life on the fifteenth day of October in the year of Our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighteen. May God have mercy on his soul' On this tombstone there were neither effigy nor armorial bearings. On the other stone was the effigy of a lady and her arms, a cross denticulated at the four ends, and with the following inscription around the stone: 'Here lies Dame Florida of Anzerel, sometime wife of Messer John of La Mola, knight, who died on the twenty-first January in the year of Our Lord 1301. May God receive her soul. Amen.' He told me that there were many more in the city of Famagusta.'

I think the reader may find it moving to discover, three centuries earlier, a precursor of the author of *Lacrymae Nicossiensis*.

'FRANKO -IKLISHIA'

near Limassol

If you ask a Cypriot peasant whether there are any old churches in his neighbourhood he never fails to answer in the affirmative and to take you either to a ruin or, more often, to a pile of debris where people con-

tinue to come and pray. His pious feelings are satisfied if there is a single stone remaining from the consecrated building; that will be scrupulously protected; but for the rest, and for all but a tiny portion of the site, anyone can put them to whatever use he likes.

Among those churches whose ruins have been reduced to the absolute minimum is a small pile of rubble between Limassol and Polemidhia called 'the Frankish church.' Such a name, on the very spot where St. Louis's army was encamped, arouses great historical interest. I eagerly turned over and over the broken stones which formed a heap of less than a metre high on the site of this sanctuary. The result of my investigations was that I was able to ascertain that the church, a very small one, had a polygonal chevet and a ribbed vault. I even had the good fortune to recover a vaulting boss (Fig. 304) which indicated the profile of the ribs of the vault, viz. a torus, with a fillet superimposed, between two talons. At the point of intersection of the ribs was a rosette of leaves. The church must have existed at the time of St. Louis because it contained a thirteenth-century burial but the style of the single surviving fragment of carving apparently indicates a later date. The carved design is awkward and heavy and the rather weak profile is too late for the middle of the thirteenth century. It is likely therefore that the church was rebuilt in the following century. The character of the carving is too undefined to permit a precise dating; it might even be later than the fourteenth century.

The paving slabs of this small church have been taken away. Some of the villagers of Polemidhia assured me that a Frenchman had bought them some time ago for the sake of the epitaphs on them. If so these must be the slabs which were acquired by the Louvre, having allegedly been discovered in 1865 by a Turkish ploughman. In his account of the removal of the Amathus Vase Eugène Magen included a report on this discovery also¹³ and published nine inscriptions.¹⁴ There are two others among the slabs brought to France of which five only are now in the Versailles Museum. They are of great historical interest and apart from the material which they provided for Baron Rey's *Families d'Outre-mer* one of them which is inscribed with the epitaph of a member of the Order of St. Francis would seem to indicate that this was a Franciscan church. If so the assumption that the Greek cathedral in Limassol was on the site of the church of St. Francis would be wrong and it would have to be assumed that other tombstones had been taken there from this church to be used as paving slabs.¹⁵

There follows a description of these tombstones, omitting the one of John of Cafran which has already been twice published, by Monsieur Magen and Count de Mas Latrie.¹⁶

A In Versailles Museum.

1 Stone incised with a plain shield. Above, an elongated rectangular

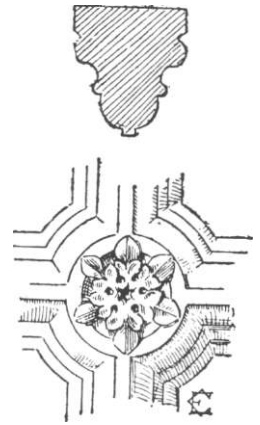


Fig. 304
Franko-Iklishia.

15

Since the Turkish conquest paving stones from ruined Christian churches have often been used in Greek churches, mosques, baths and other places, in many cases it is hazardous to draw conclusions about the identity of a building from the paving materials found in it.

16

L'île de Chypre, p. 390, note.

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LIMASSOL

cartouche with the following inscription in Gothic majuscules:

✦< Ici : gist : Mesire : Jaque : de Sur.

2 Shield in relief with three fesses:

: Ici : gist : mon : sire :
: Ourri : de : Brie

3 Large shield lozengy, in relief; no inscription.

4 Plain epitaph in Gothic majuscules:

^ Ici gist dame Ro
line q^l fu feme d S. Bel
Caire Davie

5 Plain epitaph in Gothic majuscules:

^ Ici : gist : Sire : Robert :
Jaqu : qui fu qunners : eire.
de Fres : menours : q De : ai
t : larme : Amen :

B Tombstones published by Monsieur Magen which are not at Versailles:¹⁷

6 John of Cafran (see Mas Latrie, op. cit.).

7 Shield with cross lozengy:

Ici : gist : mesire
Gautier : Ardi : av'
Qui : trepasa : en : l'an
del : lincarna
sion : M : CC : LXXXXIIII.

8 Shield ensigned with a Maltese cross hastate, in the chief a label with four pendants lozengy, in the field a bend sinister:

Ici : gist. mesir
Tiéri de
Lingne

9 Ici gist : G
V ede I
Ian ta.

10 ^ Ici : gist : dame : Joanne
Masque : feme : iadis : de : s
ire Guck : da Camp : qui : tr
espassa : lundi : a le
XXXI : jour : d' : mars : 1 : an : d'
M : CCC : XV : d' : Crist : seig
nors : pries : or : elle.

THE CARMELITE MONASTERY

11 * Ici gist : sire : lave
 Dapel qui : tre : pasa :
 I : an : del : lincarnasio
 I du Crist : M : CC : IXXXXIII
 ans pries : porli.

Below what appears to be a monogram I-A accompanied by a cross.

3

THE CARMELITE MONASTERY

near Limassol

The name Karmi which is still in use to describe a large collection of ruins west of Limassol and south of Polemidhia leaves no room for doubt about the identity of the former Latin monastery which it designates. In addition there is to be found there a small effigy of a monk wearing a scapular (Fig. 305). It can be assumed therefore that these are significant remains of the Carmelite monastery of Polemidhia mentioned in Father Stephen Lusignan's *Description de Cypre*.¹⁸

Unfortunately he does not give the date of its foundation but it is likely that it was built in the reign of Peter I (1352- 1359) and at the time when Peter Thomas was in Cyprus since the powerful influence of the Papal Legate, who had risen from the ranks of that Order, ensured the predominance and prosperity of the Carmelites in Cyprus.

The ruins to which the name of Karmi is given are in a small re-entrant of the last foothills of the Makheras mountains. The large cloister on the north side of the church is in the rounded end of the little valley and from the hillside which closes it a spring takes its rise at the north-east corner of the cloister. The Carmelites canalised the stream for their domestic purposes and today, because it runs by a ruined church, it is held to be miracle-working. In reality the only thing remarkable about its water is that it is turbid and unpleasant to the taste, being full of a whitish clay.

To the south of the church is an entrance court or small cloister, surrounded with buildings and containing an oil press. The entrance to this courtyard was on the east.

The church which lies between it and the main cloister is still nearly intact but the other buildings have been almost destroyed. The church forms an elongated rectangle with porches to the west, south and north. It is well built in roughly cut blocks of varying sizes, finely dressed masonry being reserved for the arches, corners, frames and buttresses.

The single nave (Fig. 306) is roofed with a pointed barrel vault with chamfered imposts. The straight wall of the chevet, which has perhaps been restored, is pierced by two small rectangular windows, one a little above the altar table and the other immediately below the vault. The



Fig. 305
Church at Karmi;
figurine on west porch.

17

I have taken the texts of the following epitaphs from a publication in which the readings of the Versailles tombstones are not absolutely correct; in consequence I cannot vouch for their accuracy.

18

fol. 37 and 90.

THE CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LARNACA

choir is lit on both sides by two lancet windows with plain splays, set very low; two similar windows are pierced symmetrically at the north-west and south-west ends of the nave. In the middle of the church a transverse arch rests on short corbelled pilasters and two plain doorways opposite each other open onto the garth to the south and the cloisters to the north; they are sheltered by porches. The one on the south, almost completely preserved, is covered by a pointed barrel vault and ends in an arch of the same shape.

Buttresses only slightly projecting support the ends of the side walls of the nave and of the wall of the chevet; those of the nave have sloping tops with drip-courses. At the south-west corner of the nave is a long, angularly-shaped gargoyle, tapering towards the end and terminating in an animal head now defaced.

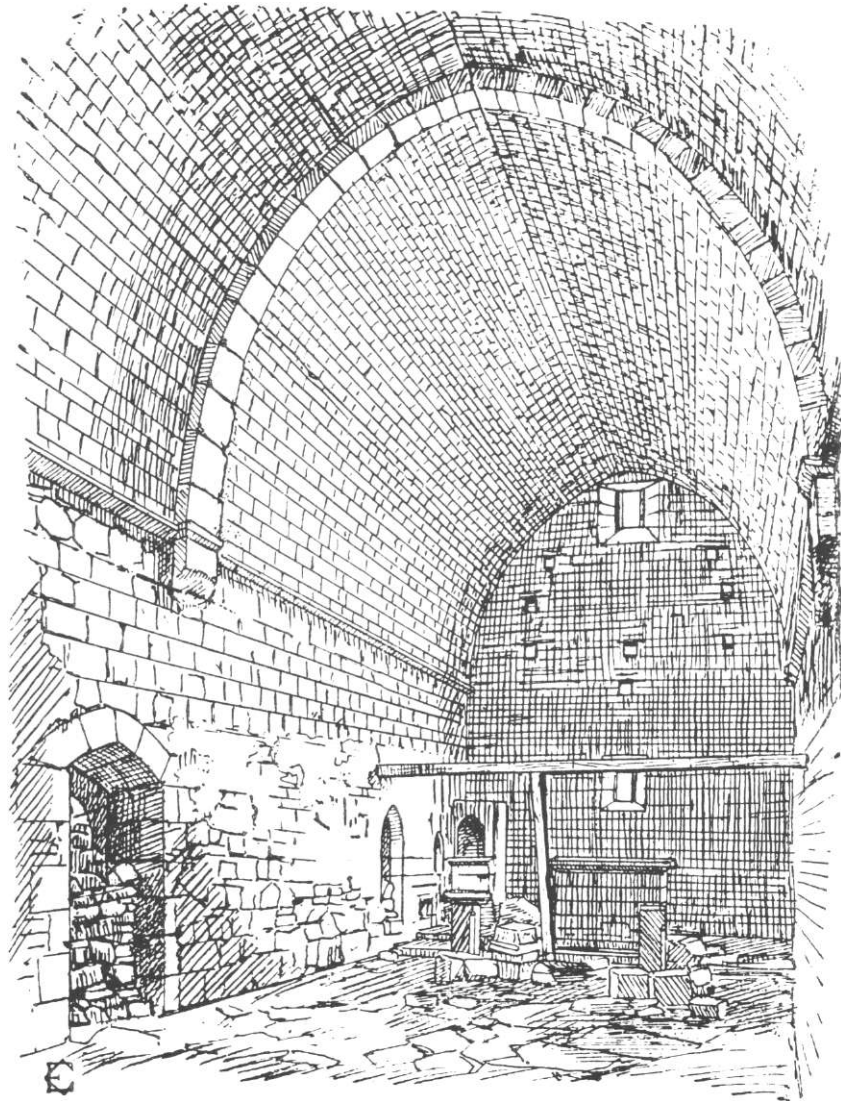


Fig. 306
Church at Karmi.

THE CARMELITE MONASTERY

The façade is extremely plain. At the top is a small rectangular opening like those in the choir, below is a doorway under a flattened arch like those at the sides. This doorway was covered by a broad porch extending the full width of the west end which served as a passage between the cloister and the entrance courtyard; apparently it was never vaulted. On its west side it had either arches or supports to hold up the wooden lean-to roof. At the north and south ends are large pointed arches springing on the one side from a rectangular pillar with bevelled corners and on the other from a large square engaged capital at the corner of the church. These two capitals together with a springer and the gargoyle are the only carved pieces in evidence at Karmi and there cannot have been many others. The bells of the capitals (Fig. 307) are sparsely decorated with degenerate crockets and a central motif; on the north side a small, wispy plant, treated in that rather agreeable naturalist style common in the fourteenth century; on the south a little monk, most barbarously carved but easily recognisable from his broad tonsure and large Carmelite scapular (Fig. 305). I found among the debris a springer common to two arches carved on the outer angle with a row of small flowers with four pointed leaves. This will have come from either the cloisters or the west porch.

The altar and two piscinas survive. The altar, free-standing, is on an oblong cube composed of five courses of cut masonry surmounted by a table with chamfered edge; its stones are dressed and laid with absolute accuracy.

Some fragments of the stone floor remain on which can be read some epitaphs in good Gothic majuscules; unfortunately they are worn and mutilated. This is as much as I was able to read:

...eli	^ Ici gist
se Cris	re Rohart la n (ou d)
is : le : me	
[sm] e : jor : de	
nt Deu	
e ame	
	[Ici gist] FrereAd(?)
... is d	[qui trespa] ssa en l [an]
...sa l	[de l'Incar] nacion [M] II [I.C.
[Dieu] aitm[erci]	et LXVIII
	decembre
	Cecile de
	[Dieu ait m] erci de l'arme.

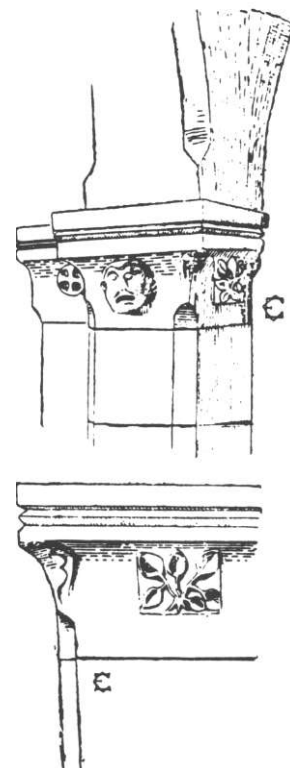


Fig. 307
Capitals of west porch.

Two adjoining chapels of unequal size, roofed with semi-circular barrel vaults, were subsequently added on the north side of the choir.

All that remains of the cloister is the foundation of the outer wall; on the east a fragment of a conduit ending in a small rectangular basin; and

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF LIMASSOL

a well to the south, near the north-west corner of the church.

These ruins afford evidence of a strange reversion to barbarism and archaism in Cyprus in the second half of the fourteenth century, but also bear witness to the persistence of certain good traditions which the masons and stone-dressers had preserved while the architects and sculptors were rapidly plunging into the last stages of decadence. On the other hand the archaising features in Karmi church are not much more marked than in some buildings in south-eastern France.

ST. NICHOLAS OF THE CATS

at Akrotiri (Cape Gata) near Limassol

St. Nicholas is one of the most famous monasteries in Cyprus. It is located on the site of ancient Curium and its foundation, ascribed to the Duke Calocer, is actually said to go back to the time of Constantine the Great. It was inhabited by Basilian monks up to the time of the Moslem conquest and they may even have remained there after that. Father Stephen Lusignan speaks of the monastery as follows:

19
Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*,
1580, fol. 19. (Ed. note.)
Enlart is wrong about
Curium which was further
north-west, at the base of
the Akrotiri Peninsula.

'After the return of St. Helena, mother of Constantine, when Calocer was sent to Cyprus from Constantinople as its first Duke, he ordered a monastery of Basilian monks to be built in honour of St. Nicholas and presented to it the whole of this promontory on one condition, namely that they should be under obligation to maintain always at least a hundred cats and to provide some food for them every day in the morning and evening at the ringing of a small bell, to the intent that they should not eat nothing but venom and that for the rest of the day and night they should go a-hunting for those serpents. Even in my time this monastery still maintained more than forty cats. And hence it is called to this day the Cape of the Cats.'¹⁹

20
'We spent the morning off
the Cape of the Cats, which
is so called because there is
an abbey there in which
they keep great numbers of
cats to kill the snakes.'
Carlier, *Voyage du Levant*,
Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 6092,
p. 163

At about the same date, viz. eight years after the conquest, the traveller Carlier reported that the monks and their cats were still living at Akrotiri.²⁰ In 1608, according to Beauvau,²¹ the cats had vanished but the 'calogers' were still there. These references should be treated with caution because from Calepio's²² account it would appear that the invaders had sacked St. Nicholas. Villamont, who visited Limassol and its neighbourhood in about 1590 confirms Calepio; he says²³ 'the abbey has remained almost intact, without being damaged by the Turks 'but he adds 'very true it is that they killed and expelled the monks of the Order of St. Basil'. As for the cats, they had gone too, having died for lack of food; and the traveller of today who explores the ruins of Akrotiri, where poisonous serpents have once more taken advantage of their freedom from enemies to propagate their species widely, should give a pious thought to the memory of the cats whom Bartholomew of Salignac does

21
*Voyage de Henri de
Beauvau* (Toul), p. 117-18.

22
Prise de Nicosie, apud
Lusignan, fol. 248.

23
Villamont, fol. 121 v°.

24
Bartholomew of Salignac,
Itinerarium Hierosolymita-
num, vol. IV, ch. I.

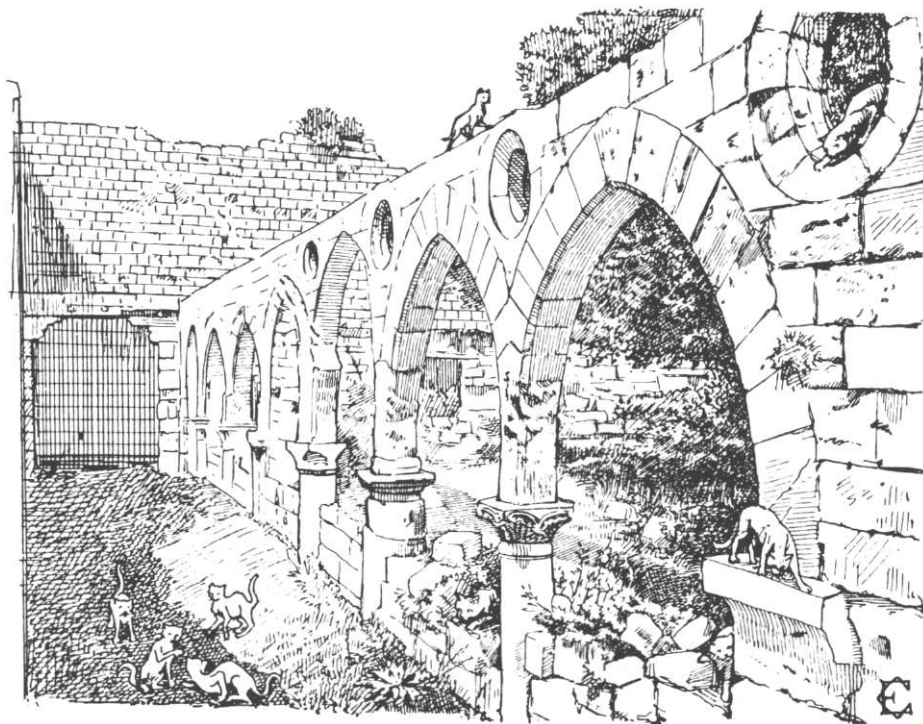


Fig. 308
Cloisters at Akrotiri.

not hesitate to call the saviours of their fatherland. These are indeed the terms in which he writes of them in about 1518: *Accepi autern relatione fide digna nutriri in Cypro murilegos quos catos dicimus, qui continuo venationi viperarum, camelionum et aliorum reptilium (quibus terra abundat) insistentes, levant patriam magnis periculis.*²⁴

Today the ruins are as deserted as they were when Villamont passed that way²⁵ but their state of preservation is such that they look as though they had been abandoned only recently. I should even think it likely that they have been inhabited, and restored, at some time after 1570. In any case up to a few years ago the neighbouring salt lakes were being exploited. However that may be it is certain from the evidence of the buildings themselves that the monastery had been laid in ruins, and rebuilt, before 1570. The archaeological evidence is confirmed, here as elsewhere, by the historical record. It is known that Limassol was sacked by the Genoese in 1373 and 1402, by the Mameluke troops of the Sultan of Egypt in 1413, 1425 and 1426 and by the Turks in 1538. The Monastery of St. Nicholas, only a short distance from the town, visible from the sea and from the whole of the roadstead, and close to the coast, was a target for the first efforts of the invaders. Besides this, it must have suffered from the earthquakes of 1567 and 1568 which caused so much damage in Limassol.

The extant buildings of St. Nicholas comprise on the north, i.e. the Limassol side, an almost intact church with which are incorporated

25
When the Muslims added the poor cats of Akrotiri to the roll of martyrdoms of the invasion of 1570, a roll already long enough in all conscience, they could not even claim religious fanaticism as pretext. The pigs which they disemboweled, just as they disemboweled Christians with a like indifference, were unclean and accursed animals, but what justification could they plead for forgetting that the Prophet himself once cut off the sleeve of his richly-embroidered garment rather than disturb his beloved cat which was sleeping on it? How could the Egyptians, who made up a high proportion of the invading army, fall so greatly below the merits of their ancestors in this respect? I have failed to come across any trace of the cats of Akrotiri. It would be interesting to know whether they were of the same species as the sacred cats of Egypt (*felis maniculata*), which have now reverted to a wild state, or whether they were the Persian type, known as Angora cats, which are today great favourites in Cyprus; I have seen these spirited creatures chasing and strangling huge chameleons. Perhaps they were a special breed. It is said that

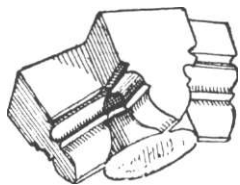


Fig. 309
Vaulting boss.



Fig. 310
Bracket from main doorway.

living quarters extending out from the west end; on the south the ruins of a cloister join on to the church. The west walk has been preserved, apart from the roof. All around these buildings, scattered over a fairly large distance, are piles of stones deriving either from the monastery or from the ancient edifices which preceded it.

The surviving walk of the cloister was never vaulted. It consists of seven pointed arches supported on marble pillars taken from Roman sites and ingeniously adapted to the architectural scheme.

Three of the arches are higher than the others and distinguished from them by the slenderness of their design and the high quality of their masonry. In the four spandrels of their springs are round, splayed windows. This is an unusual plan but it is found in the cloisters at Moissac though there the openings are not round but lozenge-shaped. Openings of the same shape and design are to be found in the spandrels of double windows on many Gothic houses of the thirteenth century in Cordes, Figeac and Saint Antonin. In Rhodes the arcades of the great church of St. John, which was not vaulted, had round openings in the spandrels with a filling of small pieces of stone. This church appears to be not earlier than the late fourteenth century.²⁶

To the same period can be ascribed a vaulting boss (Fig. 309) which I found among the debris a short distance north-west of the church. The profile is fine and pure, carved with perfect assurance. This boss is from a building which disappeared a long time ago; there are no other traces of ribbed vaulting among the ruins.

The church is a simple elongated rectangle roofed with a pointed barrel vault; it resembles the one at Karmi but has even less style. Its only interesting feature is the main doorway (Fig. 311) on the north side, also plainly coming from an earlier building. Over it is a pointed hood-mould with a finial at the apex; the lower ends rest on carved brackets (Fig. 310). They are shaped like crocketed capitals on which are worked two small figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, coarsely and clumsily carved. Exactly similar brackets carry the springers of the hood-mould of a small thirteenth-century doorway in the south side of the nave of St. Radegonde at Poitiers. Figures of St. Peter and St. Paul are common at the sides of doorways, for instance, from the twelfth century at Honnecourt (Nord), Saint Etienne de Corbie (Somme) and Maguelonne (Hérault); from the fifteenth century, a doorway in St. Nicholas at Nicosia.

The doorway of St. Nicholas at Akrotiri is also noteworthy for its white marble lintel which is carved with a cross between four shields. The outer pair bear, one a ciborium, the other a cross with four keys in the angles. These might be the arms of the church and its abbot. The two central ones should be those of distinguished benefactors; one bears a lion rampant, evidently for Cyprus, and the other a cross *potencé*, presumably for Jerusalem although in that case the sculptor has left out

the knights of Rhodes also trained cats to destroy snakes there, and that these cats were of the so-called Spanish breed. I should like to see some evidence for this statement: the Spanish cat, a charming breed which seems to be dying out, is rare in Rhodes as it is, for that matter, in Spain itself.

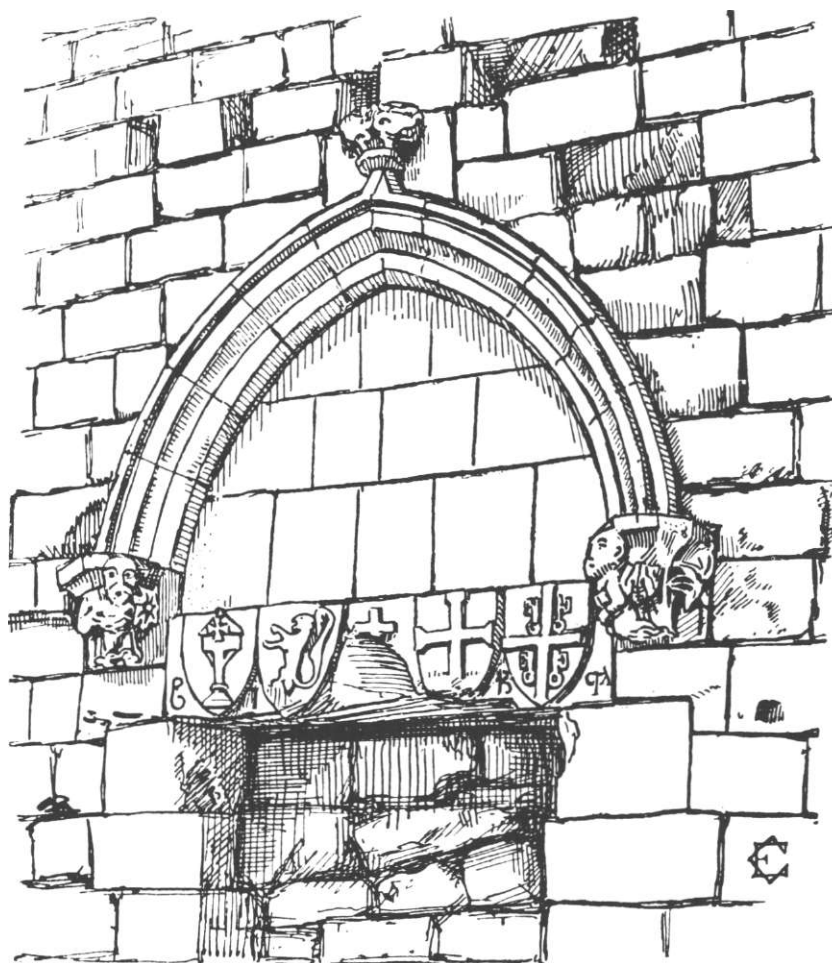


Fig. 311
Main doorway,
St. Nicholas of the Cats.

the crosslets. Alternatively it could be the Hospitallers' cross, in which case he was in error in making it *potencé*, though only slightly. The Grand Commandery of Cyprus at Kolossi is in fact quite close and can be seen from St. Nicholas.

Between the points of the shields are incised the Greek letters B.I.K.PX. The cross carved in relief in the centre is broken away at the bottom, where it perhaps rested on a motif such as the globe or the head of Christ. There was a wooden roof over the doorway which has been demolished. Among the ruins can still be seen two doors with Gothic corbels and some stumps of engaged colonnettes (Fig. 312).

An examination of the ruins of St. Nicholas shows that several antique fragments from the ruins of Akrotiri were re-used. However none of the buildings is earlier than the thirteenth century which is the date I would ascribe to the vaulting boss, probably from part of the cloister. The doorway is more likely from the fourteenth century, the church and the neglected part of the cloister from some period between the fourteenth

26

See Rottiers, *Atlas de Rhodes*, with illustrations by Witdoeck (Brussels, 1828). The church of St. John was blown up in 1856. There is scarcely a vestige of it left today and it is only from Witdoeck's lithography that any idea of its architecture can be derived.

.la.«;

Fig. 312
Details from ruins of
Akrotiri.

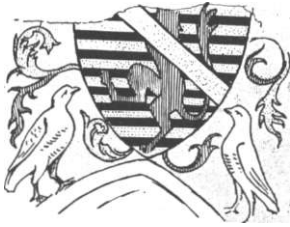


Fig. 313
Pelendria; arms of the
Prince of Antioch.

and sixteenth centuries; but the degeneracy of their style precludes accurate dating. The vestiges of thirteenth-century work might have been executed at the time when St. Louis was residing at Limassol. It was in the plain of Akrotiri, right at the doors of the monastery, that he set up his encampment and his supply depots. It is very likely that the monks took advantage of his presence to enter into relations with him and rebuild their monastery, which they had to reconstruct in the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries every time that the neighbourhood of Limassol suffered from a fresh invasion or another earthquake.

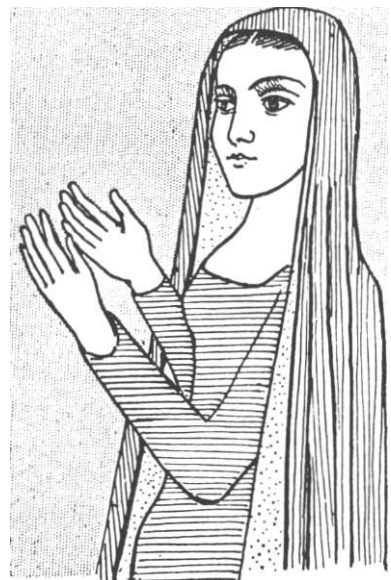
PELENDRIA
in the Makheras Mountains

The small town of Pelendria, high up in the Makheras Mountains about ten miles north of Limassol, was in 1353 a fief of John of Lusignan, Prince of Antioch and brother of Peter I.²⁷

This interesting locality lies in a bowl-shaped valley at the summit of the mountains. Picturesque streams wind through it, the vegetation is that of a northern climate and the buildings have all been given steep roofs of tiles or shingles to keep off the snow. You could imagine yourself a long way from Cyprus. Of the three churches two are covered with a conspicuous roofing framework like those of country parish churches in the north of France. The main church is Byzantine, but with its central dome covered by a steep pitched roof and with the rest of the roofing, equally steep pitched, spreading out to form broad eaves projecting over



Fig. 314
John of Lusignan, Prince
of Antioch (d. 1374) and
his wife.



the walls, it calls to mind Norwegian wooden churches such as Borgund, Eidsborg, Hitterdal and Fantoft. The comparison is thoroughly justified because those I have mentioned are nothing but Byzantine churches modified to suit timber construction and a snowy climate. The church at Pelendria is content to be a Byzantine church dressed in timber and adapted to snow. There is another point of resemblance with Scandinavian churches: hanging in the interior is a brass candelabrum of the fifteenth or sixteenth century which must have been made not only in the west but in a northern region since it belongs to a very well-known type found in Norway at Kinservik (Hardengen),²⁸ in Holland in the cathedral of S'Hertogenbosch,²⁹ in Germany in Augsburg Cathedral,³⁰ at Dortmund and other places. An arm of one almost identical with the Pelendria example has been published by Gay.³¹

This candelabrum has five branches (Fig. 315) formed of scrolls of vine or maple leaves ending in candle holders which appear to be stylistically later, in fact of Renaissance date. The branches fit into slots on a central piece which terminates at the bottom in a head of a lion with a ring in the mouth.

This is not, however the feature of greatest interest in the church at Pelendria. Like many others in Cyprus it has a second, smaller, nave, now disused, beside the main nave, which must have been used before 1570 for the Latin rite.³² This theory is strongly reinforced by the fact that it is richly decorated with frescoes among which are to be noted some coats of arms and two figures of donors. The persons represented (Fig. 314) are a woman in a blue robe wearing a red head-dress lined with yellow, which is just like the Bearnese *mante* and the style of head-dress still worn in Chrysokhou, facing a man with a bonnet on his head resembling the *cale* or *calette* worn in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with a short two-pointed beard in the fourteenth-century fashion and dressed in a fourteenth-century surcoat with a sort of cape sleeve at the shoulders. On the blue surcoat can be seen a black fleur-de-lis; the bonnet is white. Both the man and the woman have brown hair.

Who are these personages of the fourteenth century? The escutcheon tells us: it bears the arms of Lusignan with the lion of Cyprus with a brisure which I have been unable to identify. I feel however, that these indications, taken together with the text of the Cartulary of St. Sophia, make it practically certain that we are here standing before portraits of John of Lusignan, Prince of Antioch, and of his wife. The Prince of Antioch was, as is known, regent of Cyprus during the minority of his nephew Peter II; his treacherous murder by the Queen Mother, in 1374, is also notorious. His coat of arms is flanked by two partridges, as if they were heraldic supporters; they are painted in a most accurate and realistic style and are meant no doubt as evidence of the Lord of Pelendria's taste for hunting partridges. Clearly hunting was his principal distraction when he was in residence in this wild and remote spot.



Fig. 315
Brass candelabrum.

27
Cartulary of St. Sophia,
No. CXXX.

28
See B.E. Bendixen, *Bergens Museum Aarbog*, 1896,
p. 19. *Der Muttergottes-
läuchter aus der kirche von
Kinservik*.

29
See *Bulletin Monumental*,
1874, p. 254, *Un lampier
du XI^e siècle à la
cathédrale de Bois-le-Duc*, by
Monsieur Hezenmans.

30
See R. Kempf, *Alt Augsburg*
(Berlin, 1898).

31
Glossaire archéologique, s.v.
botequin, p. 179; cf. also
the candelabra at Sekkau
and Kempen, published by
Otte, op. cit., vol. I,
pp. 160-2 and an article
by Brüning in the *Zeit-
schrift für Bildende Kunst*,
Jan. 1897.

32
An arrangement of this sort
is reported at St. Lazarus
in Larnaca in 1518 by
Jacques Le Saige, p. 142.

CHAPTER XV

CHURCHES OF THE DISTRICT OF PAPHOS AND CHRYSOKHOU

THE TOWN OF PAPHOS

In the Middle Ages the town of Paphos occupied exactly the same site as its Roman predecessor, four miles north-west of the Greek city and right on the sea. It is built mainly on rock and has a small fortified harbour, dangerous and inconvenient.

(Ed. note.) The ruins known locally as Saranda Kolonnes are not, as Enlart thought, from the temple of Aphrodite (which was at Koukklia, near Palea Paphos) but from a Byzantine castle, probably of the seventh century, later adapted and used by the Lusignans and destroyed by the earthquake of 1222; see A.H.S. Megaw 'Excavations at Saranta Kolonnes ... Paphos', *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1971, pp. 117-46; 1982, pp. 210-16) *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26, 1972, 322-43; *BCH* 106, 1982, 737-40; 107, 1983, 947 f. and F.G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos, History and Archaeology* (Nicosia, 1984), pp. 309-10.

The town is a vast accumulation of ruins among which can be seen some marble column-shafts still standing with the ground piled up high around them, which belonged to the Roman temple of Venus.¹ Close to these columns is a Byzantine church consecrated to the memory of St. Paul. Further away there is another Byzantine church picturesquely perched on the summit of a rock surrounded by clumps of carob trees. There are also some more or less ruined Byzantine chapels, some traces of ancient underground chambers now filled in, and finally the Gothic ruins which I am about to describe.

Paphos today is unhealthy, unsafe and practically uninhabited. The modern town, Ktima, is situated on a ridge looking down on the ruins about two or three kilometres from the sea. It appears to be of Turkish origin. There is nothing noteworthy to be found there, the buildings being poor and undistinguished.

In the thirteenth century Paphos, though the seat of a bishop,² was a wretched small town. It could be said that Famagusta was then in no better state but for two reasons it rose to much greater prosperity. First, Famagusta has the best harbour in Cyprus whereas Paphos had the worst and, secondly, Paphos suffered more frequent and more savage invasions. The Genoese sacked it in 1316³ and again in 1373;⁴ in 1426 it was exposed to the first inroads of the Egyptians; in 1461 it was fought over by the adherents of Queen Charlotte and of King James.⁵ Nicholas Le Huen noted some beautiful ruins there in 1487; he sums up his impressions in the words 'There were very noble churches there in times gone by, as

Willibrand of Oldenburg,
p. 143.

Amadi, p. 398.

Machaeras, pp. 205, 207,
208; Bustron, p. 301.

PAPHOS CATHEDRAL

can be seen even though the place now lies deserted.⁶ Florio Bustron also refers to 'le chiese antique'⁷ of Paphos. Finally Bartholomew of Salignac, in about 1565, talks about numerous churches emerging from the heaps of ruins that mark the site of Paphos, the most striking among them being of the Latin rite. Services were still held there at this period and the way of life was French.⁸ Such was the state of the town when Sultan Selim's army landed there on 1st July 1570.⁹ The soldiers destroyed whatever they could find to destroy in a place already largely ruined. Nine years later the French traveller Carlier passed through Paphos and declared 'moreover there is nothing to be seen there now except some towers built beside the sea.'¹⁰ In 1608 Beauvau repeats that Paphos is 'at present thoroughly in ruins.'¹¹ In 1621 a brief description included in *Le voyage du Levant*¹² confirms the same state of affairs. It is indeed unchanged to this day except that the ruins have undergone an even more thorough process of demolition, with masonry blocks being continually removed.

PAPHOS CATHEDRAL

The history of Paphos Cathedral is much more obscure than that of either Nicosia or Famagusta Cathedrals. In 1298 the bishop was called Nicholas. On the epitaph now in the Cluny Museum of Brochard of Charpignie, a knight who died at some date in the thirteenth century which cannot now be ascertained because of lacunae in the inscription, it is stated that he was the father of Peter, Bishop of Paphos. In 1304 Peter had been succeeded by Robert, a Dominican.¹³ In 1308, according to Florio Bustron, John of Ampierre was buried there; he had been a supporter of the unfortunate King Henry II and died of mortification after being exiled in harsh conditions by the usurper.¹⁴

In 1422 Bishop Amalric died. He was a Franciscan, probably from Provence. In the list of sixteen known bishops there are two other Franciscans, both Italian: Angelo of Narni (1428) and Anthony Mazoni (1473), another Dominican, Simon of Balanola, probably a Spaniard (1485), and an Augustinian, William, who died in 1473.

The best known of the bishops was Bertrand of Cadouin, from Périgord, who held the see in 1411¹⁵ and in 1415 was translated from Paphos to the bishopric of Saint-Flour.¹⁶ In the Venetian period there were two bishops in succession from the Contarini family: in 1557 Peter and in 1560 Francis,¹⁷ who ten years later was killed by the Turks.¹⁸ When he took possession of his see he found his cathedral in a seriously delapidated state, and there were practically no services held. He undertook to pay for its restoration, an enterprise which he carried through at enormous expense¹⁹

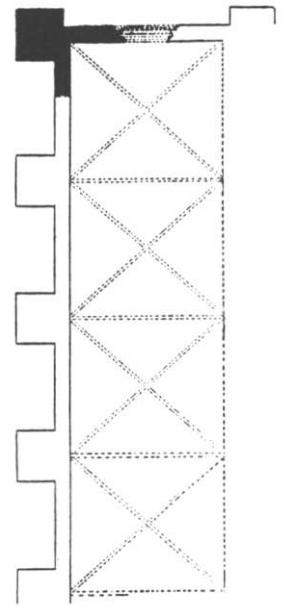


Fig. 316
Paphos Cathedral.

Bustron, pp. 401, 409.

Des Saintes Pègrinations
(Lyons, 1488), fol. 16 v°.

7
p. 15.

8
Bartholomew of Salignac,
vol. IV, ch. VI, 'Paphos ruinis
plena videtur, templis tamen
frequens, inter quae latina
sunt praestantiora, in quibus
ritu romano divina peragunt
et Gallorum legibus vivitur.

*Relation de la prise de
Nicosie*, Angelo Calepio,
appendix to Lusignan *De-
scription de Cypre*, fol. 248.

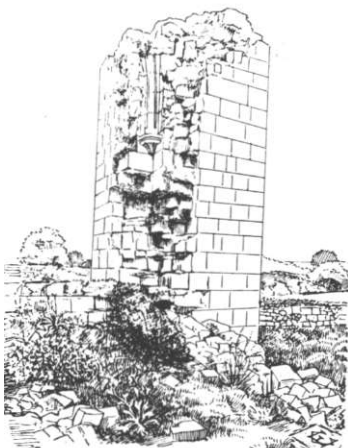


Fig. 317
Ruins of Paphos
Cathedral.

Among the ruins of Paphos one is shown the remains of a large building (Fig. 316) which seems to have been the principal church and which is said to be the former cathedral. Its proportions must have been impressive and unusually tall; its ashlar masonry and such few details of its ornamentation as one can pick out are evidence of the care and skill of its builders. All that remains is a fragment of one of the angles of a lateral nave or an aisle; it might, though less probably, have come from a single nave. The building had a ribbed vault. At the east end a path traverses the site of the sanctuary. In the south-west corner a very massive square pier (Fig. 317) dominates the ruins; it is no doubt one of the large straight-sided buttresses which reinforced the angles at the two extremities of the west end. In the inner corner of this buttress there is still preserved a bracket in the shape of an octagonal inverted pyramid and the beginnings of a vaulting rib the profile of which is a fillet between two tori. Some rib voussoirs of a more advanced profile can also be found among the debris (Fig. 318); they are carved with a torus surmounted by a fillet between two grooves framed by bead mouldings. The *tas-de-charge*, fragments of which can be recovered, are all of the former of the above types. They were dressed horizontally and rested on groups of three brackets carved with simple mouldings (Fig. 318), all similar to each other and to the isolated bracket still in place at the south-west corner (Fig. 317).

Some of the broken pieces seem to have belonged to window jambs with a double frame, one chamfered, the other a colonnette between chamfers (Fig. 318). A curved piece of a pointed arch, which should come from the doorway, was ornamented with Gothic mouldings. To conclude, I found two masons' marks on dressed stones (Fig. 318).

The above is all the evidence that has come down to us on a building which was clearly an important one, elegantly and competently constructed, and which appears to belong to two separate periods: the middle of the thirteenth century and the fourteenth or, perhaps equally likely, the fifteenth.

THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH *at Paphos*

The other Latin church at Paphos must have been the Franciscans'. No doubt it was this monastery that produced three bishops of the diocese. Its history is extremely obscure: all that is known is that in 1348 Hugh IV, in the course of his campaign of persecution against his son-in-law, Ferdinand of Majorca, ordered six Franciscans who were the latter's chaplains or friends to be detained in the monastery at Paphos;²⁰ it was a sort of place of exile. We also know that in 1366 the Superior of

10

Carlier, *Voyage dans le Levant*, 1579. *Bibl. Nat.*, MS.fr. No. 6092, fol. 163.

11

Beauvau, p. 115 in the Tout edition.

12

Voyage du Levant, p. 331.

13

Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. III, 1216-20. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 438.

14

Bustron, p. 158.

15

Mas Latrie, *Nouv. preuves de l'hist. de Chypre*, No. XXIV.

16

Gams, *Series Episcoporum*.

17

Le Quien and Gams, loc. cit.

THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH, PAPHOS

this monastery, who was afflicted by a very distressing disease caused no doubt by lack of cleanliness, was instantly and miraculously cured in the Carmelite church at Famagusta by putting his hand on the tomb of St. Peter Thomas and then applying his hand to the seat of the disease.²¹

The church of St. Francis was in existence before 1360. Its ruins are probably to be identified with those next to the Byzantine sanctuary erected on the spot where St. Paul was said to have been scourged. Nicholas Le Huen says in fact: 'Below the former Franciscan church there is a prison where St. Paul was for some time in bonds with St. Barnabas, preaching the Gospel.'²² It is evident from this reference that in 1487 the Franciscans had already lost their church.

Beside the columns still left standing from the Roman temple of Venus, where one is told to this day St. Paul was tied and scourged, and a few paces from the Byzantine church which stands between them, it is possible to recognise among the ruins of Paphos the foundations and the debris of a Gothic church (Fig. 319). It consisted of a nave of four bays terminating in an apse, two aisles with apsidal chapels, and two square chapels opening out from the last bay but one of the aisles before the west end. The building might have been entirely roofed with ribbed vaulting, except for the semi-domes at the east end. The profile of the vaulting arcades was a torus surmounted by a fillet between two talons. The arcades were supported on groups of two thick demi-columns engaged with a narrow rectangular pier and joined to the wall at the edges by two talons, as at St. Sozomenos.

In the north wall of the northern chapel there were two niches under pointed arches which might have housed tombs.

These are the only details that I was able to make out, because the ruins are in a very poor state. The three apses and part of the chapel on the north side are preserved up to the height of about a metre; the lower course of the south wall is still in place; and the debris heaped up in the centre of the buildings contains fragments of the columns, piers, arches and door jambs (Fig. 320). I also noticed a plain, round capital.

The plan, though similar to that of the Franciscan church in Fama-

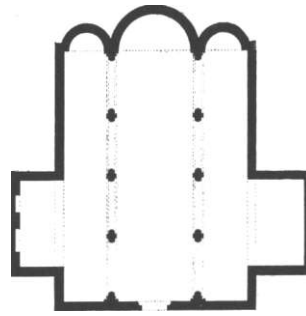


Fig. 319
Church of St. Francis,
Paphos.

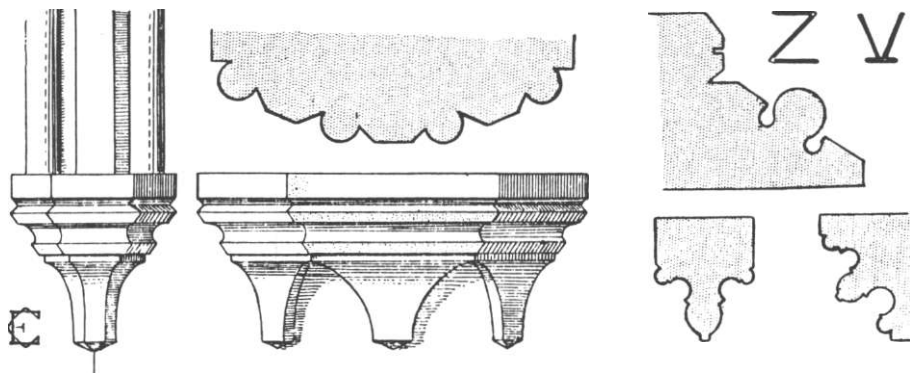


Fig. 318
Details from Paphos
Cathedral.



Fig. 320
Profiles.

gusta, resembles even more closely, as do the details, the churches of St. George of the Greeks, SS. Peter and Paul and St. Anthony in Famagusta and the ruins of St. Sozomenos. The building must therefore have been erected somewhere between the middle of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth. As we have seen, this was a period when there was a strongly characteristic school of architecture in Cyprus.

RUINS OF THE MOSQUE AT PAPHOS

Also among the ruins at Paphos are some fairly substantial remains of a mosque constructed from the fragments of, and perhaps on the site of, a Gothic building. All that survives is a west wall with a small, vaulted rectangular alcove, a longer south wall with a *mihrab* in the form of an absidiole, an angle of the west walls and on the north side the foundations of a portico. In the debris are seven large capitals of white marble which came from engaged columns-, another similar capital is still *in situ* on the west side but on top of a pilaster which was evidently not originally intended for it. At the rear of these capitals (Fig. 321) are two vertical beads, remains of the moulding of the dosserets to which they were attached in the earlier building. They are certainly not the work of Muslim artists because one of them has a carving of a saddled horse leaping above a hare and next to that a standing figure, whose head has been broken off, presumably a hunter.²³ His costume is of the thirteenth or

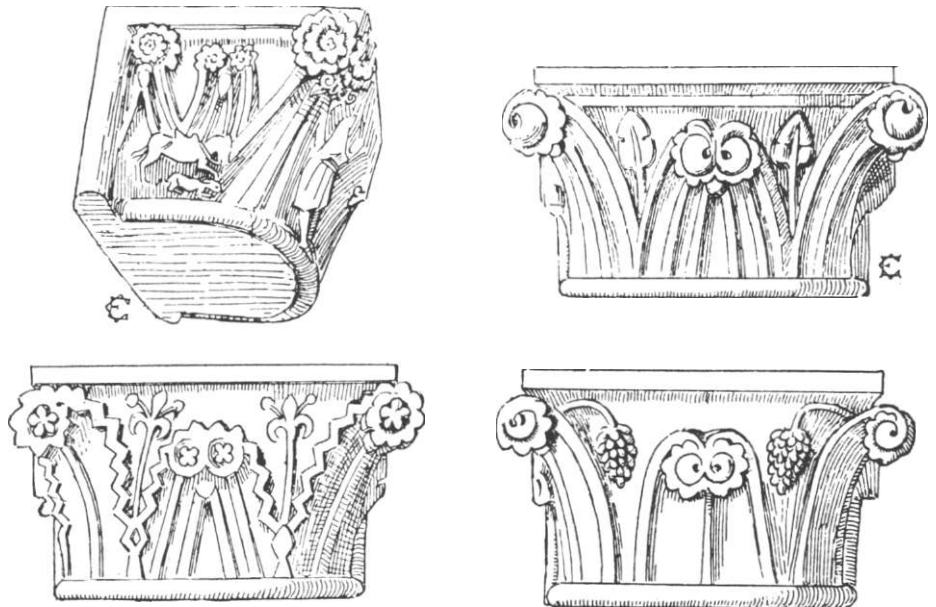


Fig. 321
Capitals from the ruins
of the mosque.

fourteenth century. Both this figure and the animals are carved against a background of large ribbed leaves terminating, on the angles and in the centre of the faces, in volutes. The other capitals have similar leaves and volutes but no figures; two of them have fleurs-de-lis with pistils, in another the edges of the leaves are carved in zigzags and another has bunches of grapes in a heavy and ungraceful style. The type is however noticeably uniform and is an exact copy of a French model of the Early Gothic period i.e. the last years of the twelfth century or the first of the thirteenth; but only one, or at most two, of the capitals could perhaps pass for French work, a little stiff because of the constraint of working in marble; in the others the style is degenerate, and they must be free copies, perhaps made very much later than their model.

If the best of them were contemporary with analogous French pieces it would date from about 1200, which would be an interesting fact though incapable of proof; nor is there any indication of what sort of building these carvings came from. If I were to propose a date I should think the end of the thirteenth century more likely, a period at which some very similar imitations of French capitals were executed in the abbey church of San Galgano, near Siena.

5

THE CRYPT OF THE SEVEN MARTYRS (OR
THE MACCABEES) AND THE AUGUSTINIAN CHURCH
at Paphos

The crypt of the Seven Sleepers at Paphos was a construction of indeterminate style, possibly an ancient cistern adapted by the Christians. All we know about it comes from Nicholas Le Huen and Bartholomew of Salignac, apart from Meursius, who derives his information from Bartholomew. Le Huen, writing in 1480, mentions 'seven graves close to (the Franciscans) in another church in which were the Seven Sleepers, and a health-giving spring which is carried for long distances to cure fevers.' Bartholomew says: 'Nos autem hoc fanum subterraneum, in honore martyrum Septem sacellis distinctum, multa devotione ingressi sumus, singuli septena luminaria accensa gestantes. In hujus loci medio fons scaturit largissimis aquis, quae potae a febribus curare creduntur.'²⁴

The place to look for this crypt might be in the ruins of a building which form a kind of hillock near the harbour and the castle at the north-west corner of the town in which can in fact be seen a collapsed subterranean entry.

According to Jacques Le Saige the church was dedicated to St. Nicholas.²⁵

I found it impossible to identify the site of the Augustinian church

18

ib. and Angelo Calepio, *Relation de la prise de Nicosie*, apud Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*. Contarini met a hero's death in the breach.

19

Report by the Venetian proweditore Bernardo Sagredo; copy in *Bibl. Nat.*, *MS. ital.* 1230, fol. 5.

20

Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, pp. 199, 200.

21

App. to the life of St. Peter Thomas by Philip of Mézières. *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. II, p. 1002. His name was John of Favancia.

22

Des Saintes Peregrinations (Lyons, 1488).

23

This motif is western in style but eastern in origin. A Coptic tapestry belonging to Monsieur Eugène Müntz shows a mounted hunter with a hare running between the legs of his horse, an ingenuous formula for reducing hare-coursing to manageable dimensions.

24

Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, vol. IV, ch. V; cf. Meursius, *Opera*, vol. III, col. 591; *Cyprus*, ch. XX.

25 mentioned by Father Lusignan ²⁶

p. 149: 'a church where the services are sung in Latin. Right close at hand is the spot where the Seven Sleepers were for such a long time ... in the church of St. Nicholas, which is there, and is the place where the Seven Sleepers slept for so long.'

26

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 89 v°.

27

Bustron, p. 401.

CHRYSOKHOU AND THE ABBEY OF YIALIA

The district of Paphos, with Chrysokhou to the north, is the most desolate and inhospitable part of Cyprus. It is almost uninhabited and its few buildings are more often Byzantine than Gothic. Nevertheless Gothic art penetrated everywhere in the island and one can say that the scanty mouldings on church doorways are often Gothic, especially at Polis tis Chrysokhou, chief town of the area and once the see of one of the Greek bishops whom the Lusignans exiled to the most distant parts of the Kingdom.

The abbey of Yialia, believed by Mas Latrie to be Latin, is in the mountains a few miles south-east of Polis. Its history is practically unknown apart from the fact that in 1461 it was sacked by the officers of James the Bastard²⁷ who were persecuting the partisans of Queen Charlotte.

I discovered its ruins. What can be seen is the remains of a strange Byzantine church on a trefoil plan, the three apses still exhibiting fifteenth-century paintings in a style both primitive and infantile but undoubtedly inspired by western art. The buildings, on the other hand, are purely Byzantine. I have grave doubts whether the abbey was really a Latin one, as alleged. A fragment of an inscription on one of the buttresses of the porch looks Greek to me; I can make out an eta, but the rest is illegible.

The paintings in the church are the following:

South apse. Five medallions with busts of saints wearing crosses; there must have been at least eight.

Lower down, towards the west. Baptism. Jesus is entirely naked; behind Him an angel carries a towel; behind St. John the Baptist several haloed figures, perhaps other angels; beside Jesus two haloed figures in addition to the ministering angel.

Towards the east. Presentation or Circumcision; a baldachin and a child's leg can be made out.

Below. The Greek Church Fathers.

North apse. Descent from the Cross, so stiff and so meagre as to seem like a caricature. The cross and the figures of Christ, the Virgin and Joseph of Arimathaea are almost intact.

CHAPTER XVI

TOMBS

Medieval tombs in Cyprus can be divided into three categories: carved slabs, sarcophagi and painted tombs.

There are three varieties of carved slabs: funerary inscriptions either plain or with coats of arms, very common in Syria up to the end of the Frankish domination and thereafter in Cyprus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; slabs with incised effigies, common in the thirteenth century and increasingly so in the fourteenth and later; and finally slabs carved in low relief either with a simple coat of arms accompanied by ornaments or with effigies, a type introduced into Cyprus in the late fifteenth century and remaining in use until the conquest of 1570.

Plain inscribed tombstones are found at Nicosia,¹ Limassol² and Karmi near Limassol,³ occasionally accompanied by a coat of arms. Normally they are small and very thick, like blocks of masonry rather than slabs; some of them may well have been built into walls as was, apparently, the marble tombstone of Peter Thomas in 1367 in the Carmelite church at Famagusta.

The tombstones with effigies reproduce a classical French type with a few idiosyncratic variations; they are generally rather simplified and the drawing is less correct. The deceased is shown standing under an arch. The head is often covered. Knights wear a helmet, whose visor, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, completely obscures the face; married women and nuns wear a veil kept in place by a head-band; unmarried girls have flowing hair. The feet are rarely placed on a symbolic animal as was the custom in France — a lion for a knight, a dog for a woman, a dragon for a clergyman. The few animals that do occur are at variance with French usage: for instance in the thirteenth century the knight Brochard of Charpignie, whose son was bishop of Paphos (Fig. 322), rests his feet on two fish, with a dog close at hand,⁴ and in 1347 the knight Philip Visconte treads on two dragons.⁵

A cushion beneath the head is very exceptional and censer-bearing angels very rare. The arch is sometimes a plain semi-circle, frequently, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a trilobé; in the fourteenth

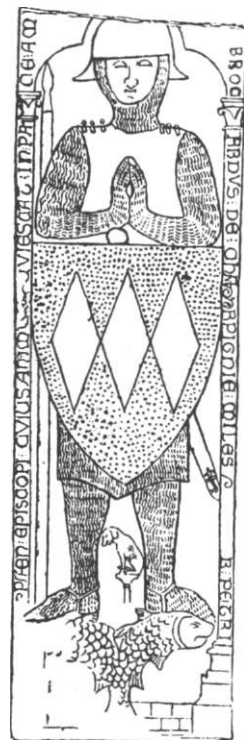


Fig. 322
Tombstone of Brochard
of Charpignie.



Fig. 323
Tomb at Absinthiotissa.



Fig. 324
Tomb in the church of
SS. Peter and Paul.

and fifteenth centuries it is normally replaced by a pediment or, more often, a mitred arch and there are also examples of a mitred arch with two projections forming a frame for the shoulders and head of the effigy.⁶ Arches or pediments from the beginning of the fourteenth century have crockets in the style of the thirteenth; between 1340 and 1350 these are replaced by fleurs-de-lis and acanthus scrolls which are more reminiscent of Italian picture frames and gables than of French crockets. Many of the arches rest on brackets, very few on colonnettes. One tomb, dating from after 1312, exhibits colonnettes with a cable pattern suggesting an origin in Italian Gothic art.⁷

Tombstones carved in low relief are all Italian both in style and technique. Some are decorated with a shield in a laurel wreath in the antique manner, for instance in the Arab Achmet mosque in Nicosia, figures 260 and 261 of the *Lacrymae*, and other slabs now in Kyrenia Castle. Others have standing effigies as at Avgasida, Absinthiotissa (Fig. 323) and Akhiropiitos. The inscriptions are in Greek in these last-named examples and Latin in the others whereas the engraved tombstones all have French or Latin inscriptions.

The tombstones are sometimes ordinary blocks of limestone but more often large pieces of Cypriot schist. According to Mr. Gaudry there was even an export trade in these to Syria. Sometimes the monumental masons reworked pieces of antique marble, such as, for instance, the half-shaft of a Roman column which was transformed in the thirteenth century at Paphos into a tombstone for Brochard of Charpignie (Fig. 322) or the small plaque of white marble used for Pertin (surname missing) at Famagusta (Fig. 324).

Marble sarcophagi with sculptured figures, as used by the Romans in their rich burials, were imitated in the Middle Ages everywhere that Roman antiquity had left models, in Italy, in the south of France,⁸ in Spain and in Greece. There had been beautiful sarcophagi in Cyprus in antiquity; one of them, recovered by the monks at Bellapais, was set up in the cloisters there in the fourteenth century as a lavabo. St. Epiphanius of Salamis in the fourth century and St. Mammias of Morphou in the fifth were buried in marble sarcophagi and the Middle Ages not merely preserved these monuments but copied them.

The tomb of the marshal Adam of Antioch (Fig. 325) dating from the early thirteenth century discovered in 1889 at Pallouriotissa near Nicosia and published by Mas Latrie,⁹ is an example of the oldest type of this category of funerary monuments. It is a sarcophagus lid in marble which must have been raised on colonnettes as were the tombs, since destroyed, of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹⁰ On one of the ends (Fig. 326) there is a twig with three leaves resembling vineleaves. Each of the two main faces is divided into seven panels, one larger than the others carved with a plain escutcheon. In the other panels there are on each side a cross, four rosettes and a

tree. The tree is identical on both sides. It is a stylised vegetable shape resembling a heraldic crequer plant, bearing oak-leaves and bunches of grapes. The other panels show slight variations. The rosettes all consist of two circlets of concentric leaves with a central knob in the form of either a flower or a bunch of grapes surrounded with leaves. The shape of the leaves is modelled on the acanthus or the vine and in one of the rosettes they alternate with bunches of grapes. Two of the rosettes are unfinished. The cross on one side is patte with, in the four angles, five-lobed leaves; on the other side it is voided lozengy, the arms end in leaves and a shaft and there are four small rosettes in the angles. The carving on this sarcophagus is very close to that of some fonts in the north of France, dating from the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth, at Carly near Boulogne (Fig. 326) Vetheuil and Limay near Mantes (Fig. 327). The last two in particular have rosettes exactly comparable with those on this Cypriot sarcophagus and it is also noteworthy that the running pattern on their edges is almost identical with the one on a fine French marble capital of the early thirteenth century on the north doorway of the transept of St. Sophia in Nicosia (Fig. 328). The Ile de France influence on Cypriot sculpture at that period is clearly incontestable.

That two of the rosettes on Adam of Antioch's sarcophagus are unfinished, and especially the fact that neither of the two escutcheons has been carved with a coat of arms, go to prove that it had been made in advance and without a definite person in view. The same thing happened with many ancient sarcophagi and tombs, and in the Middle Ages with fonts; these things were made in what may be called factories and the only reason why there are not more medieval works in marble in Cyprus is that the Turks have used them to make lime.

Another very noteworthy thirteenth-century monument is the beautiful white marble sarcophagus (Fig. 329) found at Nicosia in the great Turkish bath which was formerly the church of St. George of the Latins. It is not certain that it originally belonged to that church itself because



Fig. 326
Detail from font at Carly;
and of cover of sarco-
phagus of Adam of
Antioch.

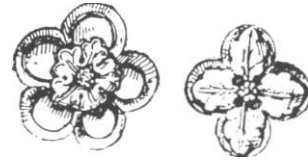


Fig. 327
Rosettes from the font
at Limay.

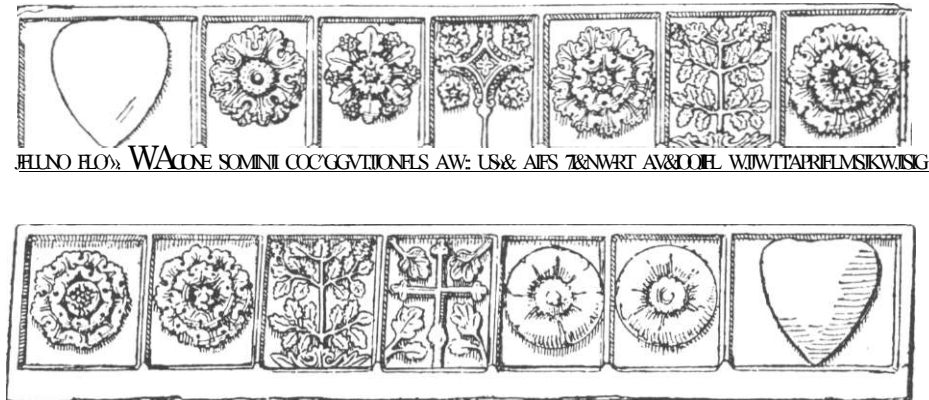


Fig. 325
Cover of the sarcophagus
of Adam of Antioch.

Fig. 328
Edges of the font at
Vetheuil and Limay
with, for comparison,
a capital from St. Sophia,
Nicosia.



it could have been brought from somewhere else to be used as a bath-tub or water tank.

It is decorated only on the front side, with four pointed arches,¹¹ each with a quatrefoil over two cusped sub-arches. In the arcading are two escutcheons each with the same bearing of two fishes addorsed, which could be for either Bar or Dampierre,¹² and which also resembles the emblem on the tomb of Brochard of Charpignie.

The spandrels, which are like those of the cloister at Mont-Saint-Michel, are very richly ornamented with bushy branches of a plant or shrub with five-lobed leaves. The graceful freedom of the decoration is very attractive. The arcades rest on nine colonnettes whose capitals are decorated with two-lobed leaves, without crockets.

Another sarcophagus, also decorated with arcades, coats of arms and foliated spandrels, a fragment of which is built into the present altar of Our Lady of Tyre at Nicosia, belongs to a much later period. The three remaining arcades are pointed and cusped; on the cusps and the spandrels are groups or bunches of three jagged leaves radiating from a knop; the colonnettes have capitals carved with leaves and shafts alternately smooth and in cable pattern; the arches are carved with a line of lobed and bent leaves; in the middle of each panel is an escutcheon hanging from a strap, bearing a cross charged with five small escutcheons whose charges are missing, perhaps destroyed. The epitaph is inscribed on the upper and lower ribbon mouldings. The name *Mirabiau* can be read, possibly indicating a member of the family to which belonged William of Mirabel who in 1310 negotiated the release of King Henry II. This inscription and a drawing of the sarcophagus fragment have been published

by Major Tankerville Chamberlayne.¹³ The date appears to be in the fourteenth century; the style is as much Italian as French.

A sarcophagus fragment which I found in the bazaar at Nicosia appeared to me at first to have come from the tomb of Henry II himself. It represents a crowned personage with in front of him a shield bearing the arms of Cyprus kneeling beneath an arcade decorated with the same foliar motifs as those on the sarcophagus in Our Lady of Tyre. The arcade has no colonnettes, instead the groove-mouldings of the arches, carved with leaves, continue down the jambs. The shield with the lion rampant, and the crown on his head, leave no doubt about the high rank of the person represented. The style of decoration and of the costume, which consists of a tunic and a sleeveless surcoat with a straight-hilted sword, and the fact that he is clean-shaven and wears his hair in the style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, all agree in indicating a date which would correspond to that of Henry II's death, in 1324. Admittedly his apparent youthfulness might make one think rather of John I, who died in 1285, but the style is too late to suit that date; on the other hand it is not late enough for Hugh IV, who died in 1361. The carved motifs are furthermore reminiscent of those on the doorways of Nicosia Cathedral, which are from the first half of the fourteenth century, although they might be a little later.

It should also be borne in mind that not only kings wear crowns but also their children¹⁴ and that the person portrayed has a child's face whereas the coin portraits of Henry II as a very young man at the beginning of his reign show him wearing a beard and those struck after his exile show him with the tired features of an old man.¹⁵ Weighing all these considerations I wonder whether the effigy is not meant for Thomas of Lusignan, son of Hugh IV who died very young in 1340.¹⁶ I doubt if a definite answer to the question is possible.

The front of a very similar sarcophagus can be seen in Nicosia inserted

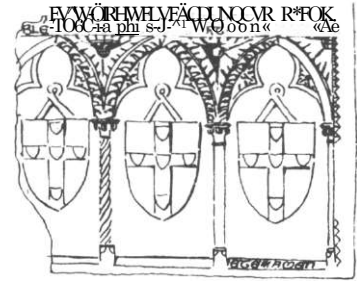
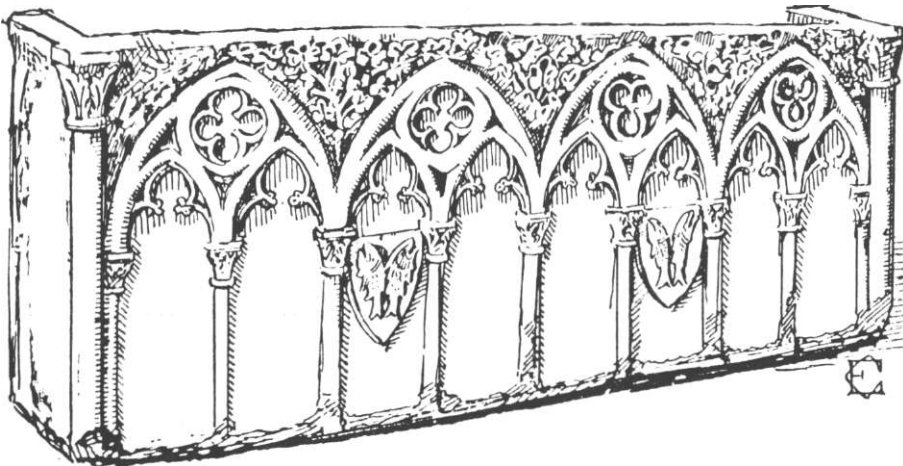
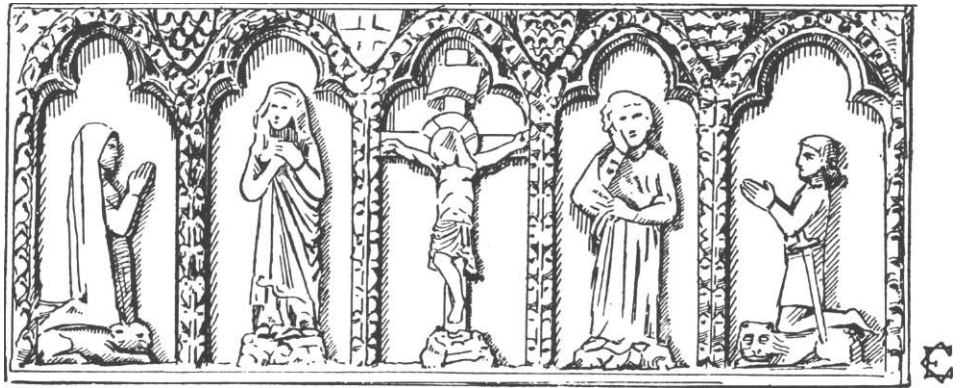


Fig. 330
Fragment of sarcophagus
from the church of the
Armenians, Nicosia.

Fig. 329
Sarcophagus from
St. George of the Latins,
Nicosia.

Fig. 331
Sarcophagus built into
façade of church of
St. John of Bibi.



into the masonry high up on the west end of the church of St. John, formerly the abbey church of the Greek abbey of Bibi and now the chapel of the Greek archbishop's residence. The pattern is the same as on the preceding one but more coarsely handled and later in style. In the spandrels is a row of four escutcheons of which one is charged with a cross and the others undy.

In the three central arcades are bas-reliefs of Christ on the cross, on a small scale, with on either side the Virgin and St. John standing, frontal. In the two outside arcades are kneeling figures: a man, clean-shaven and bareheaded, on a lion couchant and a woman on a lioness couchant. The woman's head is covered with a veil falling onto her shoulders. The date is probably late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

As in France sarcophagi were generally placed in an arcaded niche more or less richly ornamented and surmounted by a pediment. This disposition was not however invariable, for instance the sarcophagus of Marshal Adam of Antioch was meant to be seen from three sides at least.

The oldest specimen of these tomb-aedicules is probably the one in Our Lady of Tyre, a blind arch with an acutely-pointed pediment over the tomb of Abbess Eschive of Dampierre, who died in 1340 (Fig. 332). It is unlikely that it was made to receive the tombstone which is placed below and in front of the aedicule like a marble threshold. The front face is incised with an effigy and an epitaph and the two ends with a coat of arms. There is in fact nothing at all now housed by the monument itself, which has undoubtedly been modified. In its present state it is under a modern porch which has replaced the former cloister. Two small niches with ogee arches sunk into the wall have been added on either side, dating at earliest to the Venetian period, and scattered crosses have been carved in the Gothic blind arches of the jambs. Their barbarous execution makes a sharp contrast to the fine Gothic architecture of the monument.

It can certainly be dated to the fourteenth century. Its pointed arch is carved with a beautiful Gothic moulding of that period. The jambs

1

See Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, *Lacrymae Nicossiensis*, (Quantin, Paris, 1894), plates III, V, VIII, XI-XVI, XX, XXIII-XXIX.

Versailles Museum, stones brought from Cyprus by M. Magen, see above, p. 343.

See description of this church, pp. 345-8.

Cluny Museum, No. 421. Mas Latrie, *Chypre*, pp. 394-5.

Chamberlayne, op. cit., plate LXXVIII, No. 381.

6

ib., plates XVIII, No. 224; XX, No. 227; XXII, No. 224; XXVIII, No. 282.

ib., plate XXVII, No. 279.

See Viollet-le-Duc, *Diet, d'archit.*, s.v. Tombeau, and J. A. Brutails, *Notes sur l'art*

have the same profile but on them the angular torus between beads changes into a group of colonnettes ending in tall capitals with two rows of bunches of crisp leaves. The bases are low with two superimposed mouldings and a very tall prismatic plinth ending in another moulding.

The groove running up the jambs and on the anterior face of the arch contains a series of leaves with seven trefoil lobes whose central ribs are deeply sunk into the hollow of the groove while their ends are flush with the face. These foliated grooves are identical with those on the doorway of the Augustinians' church in Nicosia.

The jambs support two superposed pointed arches with engrailed borders. At the apex of the pediment there is a trefoil with a central rosette and two spandrels carved with jagged leaves disposed around a knop. The gable is surmounted by a drip-moulding with a groove containing a diaper of florets and has a finial at the top. The tympanum was originally used either to accommodate a sarcophagus or a group of statuary or at least a painting but is now blank. The lower part, between the jambs, has a masonry filling forming a kind of plinth; on top of it is a wide Gothic moulding shaped like an inverted Attic base which runs level with the bells of the capitals on the jambs.

The much more sumptuous aedicule which houses the sarcophagus of St. Mammas at Morphou shows features closer to the art of the thirteenth century but it has an air of incipient degeneration which suggests that it is not so early but should rather be dated from possibly quite late in the fourteenth century. In this it would resemble Morphou church itself which exhibits a degenerate and probably very late French fourteenth-century style.

The tomb of St. Mammas at Morphou (Fig. 3 33) consists of two completely separate elements: the marble sarcophagus of the sixth century and the niche in which it rests, which is of the fourteenth century.

The sole ornament of the sarcophagus, which is broken, is a heavy moulding. Its lid, almost intact, is shaped like a roof with acroteria on the corners, clumsily carved with debased palmettes.

The Gothic arcade in which it is framed is distinctly wider than the length of the tomb and shallow. It consists of two round engaged arches springing from jambs decorated with mouldings and colonnettes.

The outer arch is decorated in a very simple manner with two registers of jagged, undulating foliage resembling vine leaves. The inner arch has a torus covered with vine-leaf scrolls framed by groove and bead mouldings; the upper groove is full of small leaves, the lower bead-moulding has a cable pattern and between the two is a row of small dog-tooth ornament.

The springers of these arches are carved with very full *congés* of foliage similar to that on the upper arch. The crocketed capitals bear the same leaves; their abacuses take the form of a narrow drip-course whose upper member is a torus with a fillet and the astragals are a slightly

religieux du Roussillon, Bull. Archéol. 1893, p. 389. The author records nine Gothic marble sarcophagi in the province.

Mas Latrie, *Découverte des tombeaux d'un prince de Lusignan et du maréchal Adam d'Antioche* (Paris), *Revue illustrée de la Terre-Sainte*, 1889.

10

This type is common in France in the twelfth century e.g. at Airvault, Le Dorat and elsewhere.

11

Compare the simpler design on a sarcophagus at Oms (Pyrénées-Orientales) published by Brutails, *op. cit.*, p. 389, figure 7.

12

Compare the arms of Sister Eschive de Dampierre, Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, plate XIX.

13

op. cit., p. 109 and plate XIX.

14

Compare the funerary effigy of Perrot, son of Hugh IV, who died in 1353; it was published by Mas Latrie in 1879 (see note 9 above). See also the record of the proceedings of the Venetian Council of Ten which ordered that the royal crown painted over the head of the funerary effigy of Charlotte, daughter of James the Bastard (who died in Venice in 1480) should be obliterated, as reported in Mas Latrie, *Nouv. preuves de l'hist. de Chypre*, No. 11.

hollowed drip-course. The depressed bases are typically French of the fourteenth century. The octagonal plinths, carved with a talon at the bottom, have a fluted panel on each face partly filled with a cable pattern (Fig. 334). The groove between the two colonnettes is carved with wild-rose flowers.

The design of the monument is well proportioned, the execution is correct and competent if not polished and the general effect very rich. Compared with fourteenth-century works in France it is heavier but

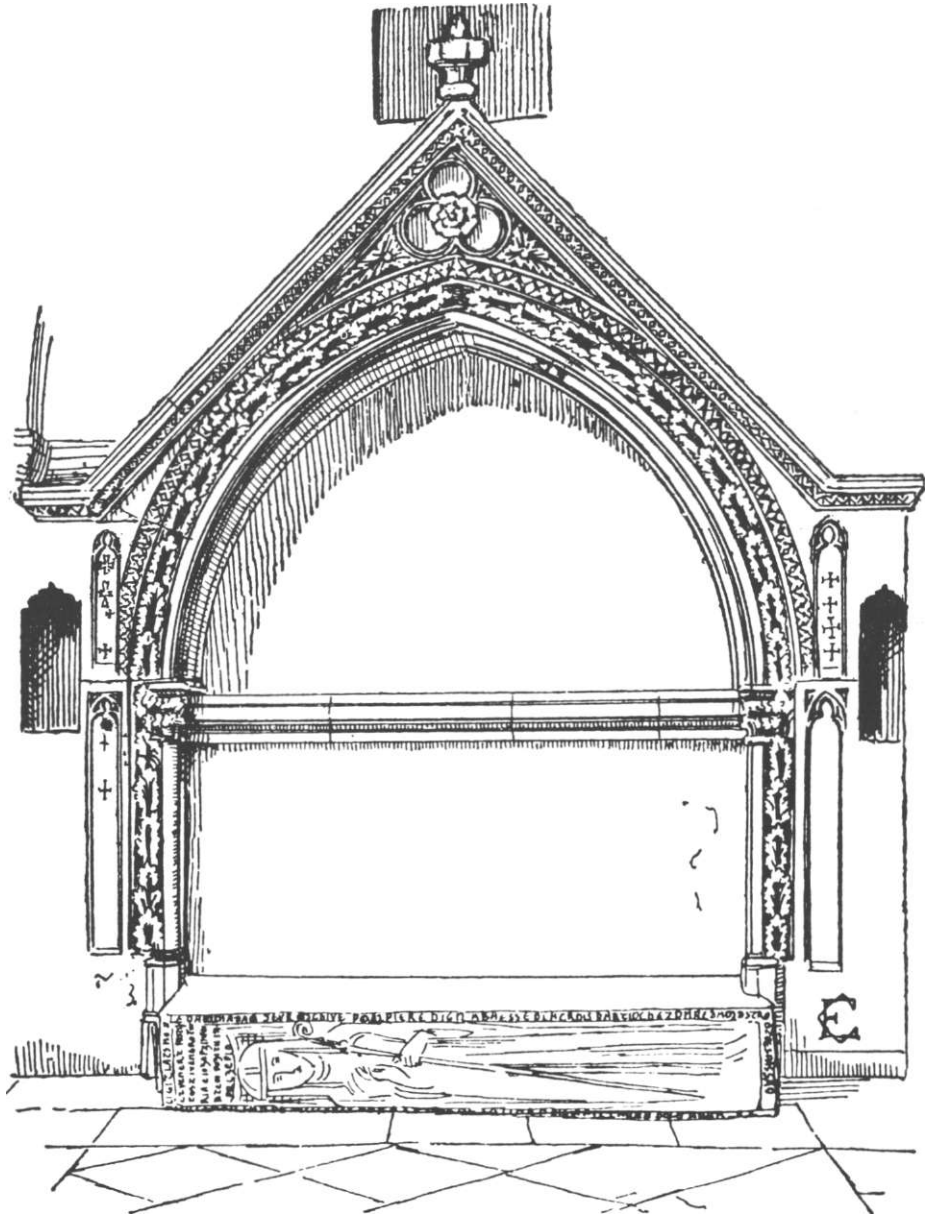


Fig. 332
Tomb of Eschive of
Dampierre.

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strangely more spacious.

At the back of the niche is a triptych of three painted panels dedicated to the legend of St. Mammas. Above it runs a frieze of carved and gilded wood resting on colonnettes of the same material and style separating the three panels; all the woodwork is in the Venetian Renaissance manner. The tympanum is covered by a lattice of gilded wood in which are thirty-eight small painted panels representing the saint's miracles. They are so blackened by the smoke from lamps and candles as

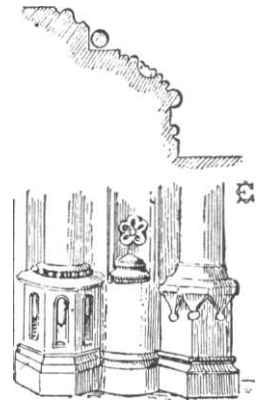
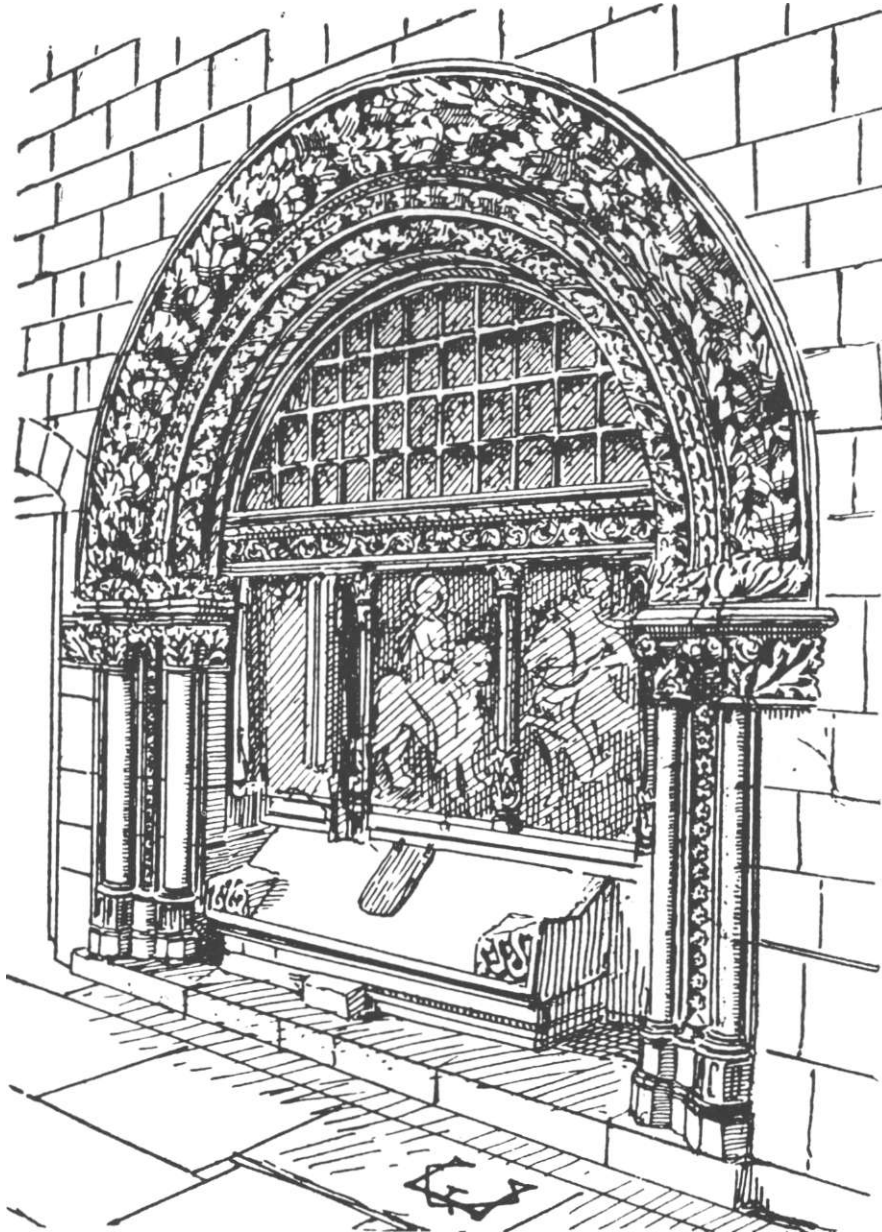


Fig. 334
Tomb of St. Mammas;
details of plinth.

Fig. 333
Tomb of St. Mammas at
Morphou.

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to preclude any assessment of their artistic merit. The triptych is tolerable; the woodwork rather well executed.

In Famagusta Cathedral there is another tomb niche still surviving in a funerary chapel added on to the south-east of the building; it is now empty. It is an aedicule (Fig. 335) in the form of a pointed niche under a gable carved with leaves and surmounted by a finial. In the apex of the gable is carved an escutcheon bearing a single fesse, a motif repeated on the keystone of the vault of the chapel. The jambs are decorated with bulky colonnettes. The arch-stones and the drip-course of the gable have grooves filled with a diaper pattern of small flowers. On either side of the gable are two Gothic pinnacles, heavy and badly-proportioned, which pass through the sloping sides on the vertical line of the jambs. This awkward plan is reminiscent of the south doorway of Visby Cathedral on the island of Gotland but in Famagusta the penetration of the pinnacles is dictated by two windows pierced above the aedicule.

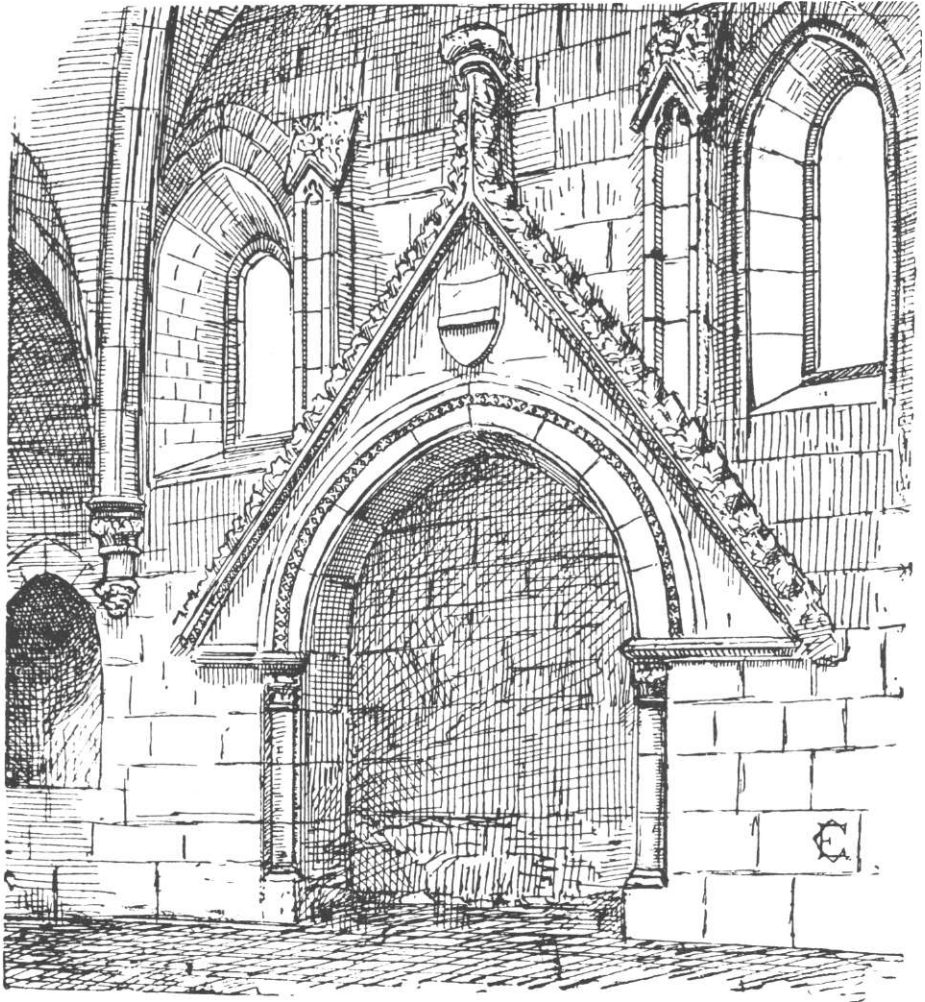
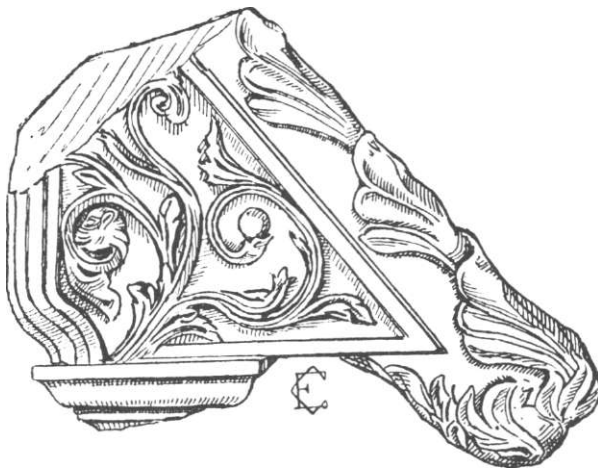


Fig. 335
Funerary chapel in
Famagusta Cathedral.

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This tomb dates undoubtedly from the fifteenth century, a period which in Cyprus as in Italy is characterised more often by a gradual process of debasement of the style of the fourteenth century than by the adoption of the Flamboyant style.

Fig. 336
Fragments in the Nicosia
Museum.

When at the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth Renaissance architecture took over from this degenerate Gothic style it remained the practice to house tombs in aedicules in the form of niches. The church of St. Sozomenos has four of the same type symmetrically disposed whose jambs with pilasters and only slightly pointed arches are examples of the art of the early Renaissance.

Two white marble fragments in the Italian style of the fourteenth-fifteenth century (Fig. 336), now in the Nicosia Museum, probably come from two aedicules housing tombs. One is a piece of a cusped Gothic arcade beneath a gable carved with a row of composite leaves, in the spandrel between the sloping side of the gable and the cusp of the arcade is an angel bearing a censer. The other scrap is a spandrel from the base of an obtuse gable supported on colonnettes and framing an unusual and barbarous form of arch. The spandrel is carved with attenuated foliar scrolls and the gable with a series of leaves or palmettes very drily handled and arranged in scroll form. The style of this fragment is already under Renaissance influence.

The type of monumental sepulchre in which a sarcophagus is supported on brackets, often at quite a distance above the ground, was favoured in Cyprus, as in Italy and Spain, at the time of the Renaissance. Brackets in good Italian fifteenth-century style which once carried sarcophagi can be seen in Nicosia, in the north aisle of St. Nicholas and at Famagusta on the exterior of the south wall of St. George of the Greeks, in the place once occupied by the cloisters.

It is more difficult to give an account of painted funerary monuments because so very little is preserved. Italy, which is fortunate and privileged

15
E. de Rozières, *Numismatique des rois latins de Chypre*, p. 33.

16
Mas Latrie, *Découverte des tombeaux etc.*, pp. 11, 12.

17

Mas Latrie, *Nouv. preuves etc.*, No. 11.

18

A study of this strange painting is about to be published by Favereq and Vachez; a report by F. and N. Thiollier has already appeared in *Art et archéologie dans le département de la Loire* (Montbrison, 1898), p. 101.

19

See above, p. 295.

20

Le saint voyage de Jérusalem du seigneur d'Anglure, Soc. des Ane. Textes, 1878, ed. Bonnardot and Longnon, p. 87.

21

p. 266, figure 219.

to have preserved so many medieval paintings, can show painted tombs from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Sometimes they are merely epitaphs painted with a brush, as in St. Catherine at Galatina or on the sepulchres of the des Baux family, at other times they are architectural monuments heightened and completed with colour, like the tomb of Abbot Thomas of Paris, otherwise known as Tomaso Gallo, who died in 1246 and is buried in the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli. The tomb of Charlotte of Lusignan in St. Augustine at Venice, erected in 1480, was also painted.¹⁷

In France there is in the Charterhouse of Sainte-Croix-en-Fôret a painting measuring about twenty square metres which depicts the complete funeral procession of Theobald of Vassalieu, archdeacon of Lyons, who died on 4th July 1327. It resembles closely the treatment of similar subjects on sculptured stone tombs of the same period.¹⁸

In Cyprus there used to be similar monuments. At Famagusta, for instance, there is a painted tomb inscription of 1383¹⁹ and the following describes the tomb erected in 1395 or 1396 to Count Simon of Saarbrücken who died of a fever on his way home from a pilgrimage: 'He was laid in earth in the church of St. Francis in the Franciscan monastery at Nicosia, right worshipfully, and there is a tomb over him well made and well inscribed, and his arms and his effigy are painted on the wall above him and his banner on a frame with his armorial surcoat.'²⁰

To me this reads more like a description of the painted figure of the same date which still decorates a chapel of the church of St. Francis, not at Nicosia but at Famagusta, on which see my description and drawing on an earlier page.²¹

PART II

MILITARY AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

CHAPTER I

CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN CYPRUS

I

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

The distinguishing characteristic of military architecture in the Kingdom of Cyprus is that the fortresses, few in number and generally more like strong points and barracks than fortified palaces, form a complete system of co-ordinated defence. This is due to the fact that only the king had the right to build castles and that he had in addition to them a number of palaces and manors, the latter known as royal *villas*. The nobility were restricted to palaces and manors.¹

To guard against invasions across the Karamanian sea three castles were built on the summits of the Kyrenia range which overlooks it: Kantara, which watches over the Karpas, the almost inaccessible Buffavento and St. Hilarion, which dominates Kyrenia and controls the pass leading to it. St. Hilarion is the only one of the three which contains a real palace, its situation making it a delightful summer residence.

These castles could exchange signals, by day or night, with those on the plains or on the coast; they also communicated with one another and with the beacon at Pyrgos which itself could signal to the fort on Cape Akamas.

Every harbour had a castle to defend it. Kyrenia Castle, the most important, and impregnable before the invention of gun-powder, commanded the entry to the pass which is the key of the Kingdom; Famagusta, Limassol and Paphos also had castles on the seashore; at Pyla, Kiti and Alaminos there are still extant, from a later period, small and unimportant keeps. These last perhaps belonged to barons given licenses to castellate, in spite of the laws of the Kingdom, because of the invasions.

I

(Ed. note.) On the military architecture of Cyprus see now A.H.S. Megaw in K.M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), vol. IV, pp. 196-207. This demonstrates that the Lusignan kings made greater use of earlier Byzantine fortifications than Enlart believed. There were Byzantine castles at Nicosia, Paphos and Limassol which have now disappeared. Kyrenia Castle was a Byzantine foundation and still contains remains of the work of that period. The castles of St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were first built by the Byzantines, possibly 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, which is less in evidence at Buffavento and Kantara.

Finally, when there was an internal frontier to protect against the Genoese in Famagusta, the castle of Sigouri was built.

Besides the King the military Orders were, by a special privilege, allowed to maintain castles. The Templars' castle of Gastria was destroyed after a short life. The keeps at Kolossi and Khirokitia belonging to the Hospitallers or Knights of Rhodes were not particularly strong, being intended rather to resist a *coup de main* by pirates or a rising of the serfs than to hold out against either the king or the king's enemies.

Military architecture in Cyprus, like ecclesiastical architecture, is fundamentally French in character. There were three types of castle. The first comprises mountain castles whose lay-out was essentially irregular and governed by the terrain, such as St. Hilarion, Kantara and Buffavento. The second, contrasting type is the lowland castle, built on a regular plan, viz. rectangular with four corner towers; in France this is the commonest of the standard plans for castles and can be seen at Semur-en-Auxois, the Bastille, Dourdan and elsewhere. The design is traditional and ancient, in fact it derives from the Roman or Byzantine *Castrum* and is copied in the castles at Kyrenia, Famagusta and Sigouri. The third type consists of simple towers, either quite isolated or accompanied by only secondary works, as at Kolossi, Pyla, Kiti and Cape Akamas.

The castles at Gastria and Limassol are in too incomplete a state to be included in any definite category but the former seems to have been one of those castles that had no flanking works and was defended only by its ditches, a type which according to Baron Rey was the normal one for the Templars in Syria. Limassol Castle may have consisted originally of a single massive tower with some secondary buildings or of a combination of two keeps joined by two curtain walls, as can be seen at Niort and Le Blanc. There are other examples of castles with two keeps at Vernod and Excideuil in the Dordogne, at St. Odile in Alsace and elsewhere. The summit of St. Hilarion is crowned by two massive towers, roughly of the same dimensions, linked to each other and the castle by a plain curtain wall.

These two towers are exactly comparable to the isolated tower in the centre of Kantara Castle, at the highest point in the enceinte, now called 'The Queen's Chamber.' Baron Rey does not agree to these redoubts being called keeps because they are not suitable for living in, having no seigneurial chamber with fire-place; or store-rooms, or a well; all these things are found in keeps in France and make them proper castles, capable of standing a long siege. I must point out however that we have plenty of small keeps such as Vernod or the old tower at Duingt near Lake Annecy or the keep of St. Pierre-d'Allevard (Isère) only two metres in diameter on the inside, which are in no way superior to the redoubts of St. Hilarion and Kantara.

There are no special features in Cypriot military architecture; the Lusignans were content to adopt the fashion evolved in France and Syria

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

without adding anything. If Kyrenia Castle (thirteenth century), St. Hilarion (thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth), Kantara (fourteenth) and Kolossi (fifteenth) have no ribbed vaults there are examples of this in France also: Boulogne Castle (1231) has semi-circular barrel vaults and cupolas, except in the three state rooms; Gréoux Castle near Manosque, which apparently dates from the fourteenth century, has only pointed barrel vaults and its square keep is exactly like the one at Kolossi. There was a change in the twelfth century from square keeps to better designs but there are very many instances of their persistence right to the end of the Middle Ages such as Castelnau de Bretenoux (thirteenth century); Lesparre (fourteenth); Pierrefonds (fifteenth) and many others.

Stone machicolations, of which Syria, at Karak and Krak des Chevaliers, can show examples earlier than any that survive in France, only appear in Cyprus in the fifteenth century, at Bellapais, Kyrenia, Kiti and St. Hilarion.

The most original form of military architecture in Cyprus can be seen in the design of some of the towers at Kantara and Buffavento which are not semi-circular but shaped as two semi-circles conjoined and linked by a tangent. Similar designs existed in France from the twelfth century, for instance the oval keep of St. Sauveur (Yonne).

The art of fortification shows little development in Cyprus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but at the end of the fifteenth, when the Kingdom became a Venetian colony and the danger of Muslim invasion grew more menacing every day, Venice had recourse to the best military engineers and the most advanced techniques. Among her own citizens she employed the two Sanmicheli, who fortified the coasts of Crete and Famagusta. These modern defences are the earliest and most perfect of their species; Cyprus in around 1500 was far in advance of France where the fortifications which were built were increasingly more out of date in their technique or else were the work of second-rate Italian military engineers poorly supported. It would be no exaggeration at all to say that the ramparts of Famagusta were a century ahead of anything in France, which had to wait for Vauban and knew nothing of the Sanmicheli.

2

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Houses, Loggias, Public Measures, Bridges, Aqueducts,
Cisterns and Fountains

Medieval domestic architecture in the Kingdom of Cyprus cannot be strictly distinguished from religious architecture. On the one hand the private chapel built on to Nicosia Cathedral has two windows in the style of a domestic building of the thirteenth century and the same is prob-

ably true of the Chapel of the Passion at Pyrga; on the other hand houses built in Nicosia in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often have doorways and mullioned windows whose carved hood-moulds could well have adorned similar openings in churches. One never finds any of those windows divided by stone crosses which, though still rare in the thirteenth century, are almost invariable in French houses of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and which are standard in Rhodes.

Apart from this Cypriot domestic architecture is French, sometimes also Aragonese or, later, Italian, with very minor modifications to suit the climate of the Levant.

The standard French house of the thirteenth century, as can be seen from some charming specimens still surviving in Provins, Figeac, Cahors, Cordes and elsewhere, had a ground floor with one or more broad arched openings when it was used as a shop, but otherwise was lit by a few small openings. It was usually vaulted. In either case it was only sparsely decorated; all the decorations were reserved for the upper storey which had large windows ornamented with carving. In Italy the first floor is still called the *piano nobile*. In houses of the period with more than two storeys the topmost one is a low garret lit by small windows without ornament, as on the ground floor. All these arrangements can be found also in Cyprus.

In squares and main streets in the south of France it is usual, and in the north common, to have shops opening onto a covered gallery the space for which is subtracted from the ground floor. In this way the shop is protected from the sun and the row of covered galleries running along the house fronts provides shade and convenience for the passers-by. In Cyprus the galleries appear to have been exterior to the houses. Covered balconies or loggias of wood must have been constructed above them, giving shade to the window openings of the upper storey. In Nicosia and Famagusta there were arcaded streets called, as at Provins, 'the covered street' (*ruga coperta*).² Arcades were also frequently thrown across the streets from one house to another as in the south of France and, even more commonly, in Rhodes. Limassol, a town which like Rhodes is much subject to earthquakes, was also like Rhodes in having a large number of these arcades, at least to judge from the only old street there that has survived.

In French domestic architecture both internal and external staircases are used indifferently, and spiral as well as straight; in Cyprus, as in Spain and Italy, straight external staircases are preferred; loggias with wide openings and covered galleries and balconies are more common in Cyprus than in France.

The steep roofs usual on French Gothic buildings occur in St. Hilarion Castle but this mode of construction is rare; houses in Cyprus as in Rhodes almost invariably have flat roofs. On the other hand the traveller Jean Palerne in about 1600 says that in Famagusta 'there are scarcely

On the covered street at Nicosia see Bustron, p. 464; for Famagusta see Desimoni, *Actes génois*, 1300, Nos. CXLVII, CLXII; for Provins see Bourquelot, *Hist. de Provins and Foires de Champagne*.

any flat-roofed houses, as in Syria, most of them being built rather in the Frankish style and roofed with tiles.⁵

For roofing both domestic and military architecture in France in the Gothic period used normally domes for towers and on rectangular buildings barrel vaults or, more frequently, groined vaults. In Cyprus there was an even greater and more constant attachment to these simple or old-fashioned methods; the pointed barrel vault is almost always employed and even the most beautiful rib-vaulted churches, such as St. George of the Latins at Famagusta or Our Lady of Tyre at Nicosia, have treasuries attached which are roofed with a simple groined vault.

The lower chambers in the more important houses were vaulted both in Cyprus and in France; the single word 'vault' (*volta*) was used to designate a room of the sort. It was also used to mean one of those covered bridges or passages, normally vaulted, so common in the Middle Ages which were carried on arches across streets in towns to connect two buildings. Many houses had a passage of this sort, according to Florio Bustron (*passo in volto che passavano le persone*), and it was called a 'vault'. The name was also given to vaulted basement rooms where it was customary to sit in summer for the sake of coolness; it was in a room of this kind that Amalric of Tyre was assassinated in 1310.⁶ Cavaliere Desimoni indicates that the word *volta* was used in the same sense in Italy.⁶

Florio Bustron also refers briefly to the loggias or covered galleries which were erected in front of shops in the main shopping streets.⁷ These were no doubt wooden porticos like those still to be seen in the present-day bazaars.

In French domestic architecture doors with a semi-circular arched top with or without a tympanum were not unknown but it was more usual to have corbelled lintels. They were sparingly ornamented though some had carved tympana, fine examples of which can be seen in Rheims and Toul. In Cyprus most doors have a semi-circular arch without tympanum, as in other Mediterranean islands and in Spain. Their colonnettes and voussoirs are moulded and carved.

Windows of houses in France in the thirteenth century are of many types, arched or rectangular, sometimes with solid and also with openwork tympana and sometimes with cross-bracing; they can be single or double. They have stone benches in their embrasures.

Stone benches in the embrasures of windows also exist in Cyprus, at Kolossi (fifteenth century), the great hall at St. Hilarion and the upper room in the chapel added to St. Sophia at Nicosia (thirteenth century).

In the last case the windows have twin openings, trilobed, cut into a lintel supported by a colonnette. This is one of the commonest types in France. A rich twin-light window can be seen in a house in Nicosia (Fig. 350) but only the jambs date from the thirteenth century. The graceful windows in the upper great hall at St. Hilarion are also copied from a French model; they have round or pointed tympana with thirteenth-

Pèrègrinations, p. 333.

Bustron, p. 464.

See below, p. 391.

Actes génois, glossary s.v. *volta*.

ib., see below, p. 402.

8

See Jadart, *Les vieilles enseignes de Reims* in *Mem. de l'Acad. de Reims*, 1897.

century tracery supported, in the larger windows, by a vertical mullion.

Small rectangular windows with no decoration except for a flattened rib can be seen on the ground floors and top floors of many domestic buildings both in France and in Cyprus e.g. some houses in Nicosia, the palace at Famagusta, Bellapais Abbey and Stazousa. At Bellapais as on the palace at Avignon a piece of straight horizontal drip-moulding runs across the top of these openings. In the keep at Kolossi (fifteenth century) the tops of the windows are flattened arches.

Fairly large windows of thirteenth or fourteenth-century date, with round or, more commonly, pointed arches, resembling those in churches, can be seen in the castles of Kyrenia, St. Hilarion and Famagusta. Many of them may have had mullions and tracery of the sort preserved in a big window of the Serai at Nicosia (Fig. 344) as no doubt was also the case with the windows of two fifteenth-century palaces in Nicosia near the cathedral. Such windows are reminiscent in particular of palaces in Catalonia and Aragon.

In the monastery at Ayia Napa, dating from about 1500, there are large round-arched windows without mullions, framed with pilasters and most of them crowned with entablatures in Renaissance style. In Famagusta and Nicosia the Renaissance windows are rectangular, sometimes surmounted by pediments. The oldest of this type appear to be in the Augustinian monastery in the wing built by William of Gonème between 1467 and 1473.

The upper rooms in palaces and castles often had window openings extending down to the floor and giving access to a balcony, either in stone, as in the Great Hall of Kyrenia Castle, or in wood, as in the hall of St. Hilarion. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries windows might have a sill or window-ledge forming a small encorbelment on the outside as in the Serai at Nicosia, the Augustinians' building and the palace to the south of St. Catherine.

Quite a number of windows in the Middle Ages, as today, must have been closed by nothing more than simple wooden shutters secured by wooden bars and latches on a system more sophisticated than safe and put together without grooves by means of nailed battens. Both at that time and now there are examples of shuttered, unglazed windows being used not only in houses but also in churches, as in the crypt of St. Andrew and the apse at Stazousa.

This method of window construction explains perfectly the story told by the Minstrel of Rheims about the death, at Acre in 1253, of Henry I, King of Cyprus which was due, according to him, to the failure of a French window closed only by shutters.*

The angles of most houses are profiled with colonnettes or a torus dying into a carved *congé*. This scheme of decoration is not uncommon in the south of France, particularly at Figeac; it can be found surviving

*Now it came to pass that the King of Cyprus went to Acre where he hoped to borrow money from one of the burgesses and he took him to one side to speak with him in private to a window opening which was both widow and door, opening outwards and being shut but not bolted. And when he leaned against it the door opened and the King fell and broke his neck. His knights and his attendants ran down and they picked him up and found that his neck was broken and they all were moved to great lamentation. The King's body was taken to Cyprus and buried there.' *Le Menestrel de Reims*, x. 8. ed. N. de Wailly, p. 36.

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into the late Renaissance period at Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois.

The interiors of homes in Nicosia, as at Antioch, were in the thirteenth century adorned with fine paintings. Willibrand of Oldenburg^o draws attention to this style of decoration as a particularly noteworthy feature.

In addition to private houses and palaces towns in the Middle Ages also contained public buildings such as town halls and the halls of the different corporations. In the towns of Cyprus large buildings of this sort were used as their seat of jurisdiction by the foreign states which had been granted privileges in the Kingdom; they were referred to as *loges* because their principal feature was a big loggia.

In spite of the destruction of these loggias, with nothing remaining beyond a few foundations, it is not difficult to reconstruct their appearance. From the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth all houses, both private and public, consisted essentially of a lower chamber, usually vaulted, and an upper chamber. When the house belongs to an individual the lower chamber has only narrow, barred windows to keep out intruders; when it belongs to a merchant it has, on the contrary, a shop on the ground floor with large arcades providing wide access. In public buildings the latter type is the one generally adopted e.g. the twelfth-century town hall at La Réole and the fourteenth-century town hall at Clermont-en-Beauvoisis. The lower chamber, open to the street through a wide arcade, forms the Hall of the commune or the corporation. The upper chamber is used for meetings of the association owning the building; the archives are kept there in strong boxes, or they may be placed in a small room adjacent to the main one. If the association possesses seigneurial rights there will be a tower to the house (a belfry in the case of town halls) with a weather vane or banner bearing its arms.

In the towns of Cyprus loggias of states which had their consulates there must have consisted of a largely open ground floor like the old loggias of the various corporations which can still be seen in Florence, Siena and other places and above it a room where the state representa-

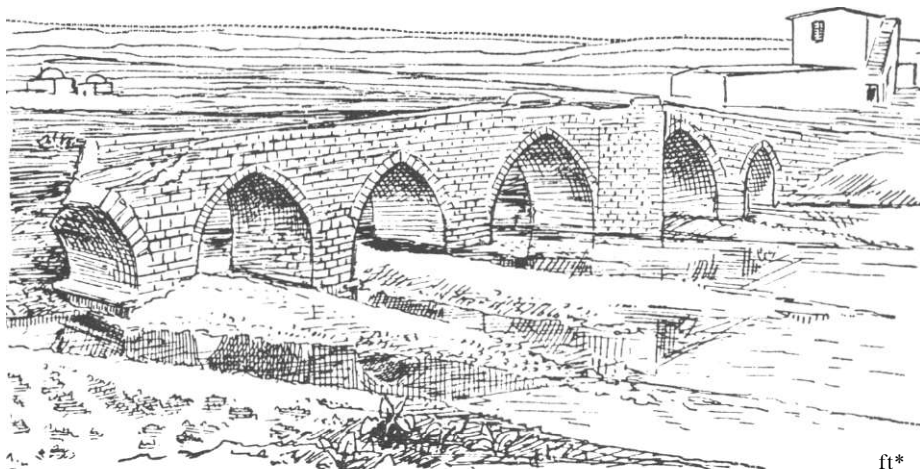
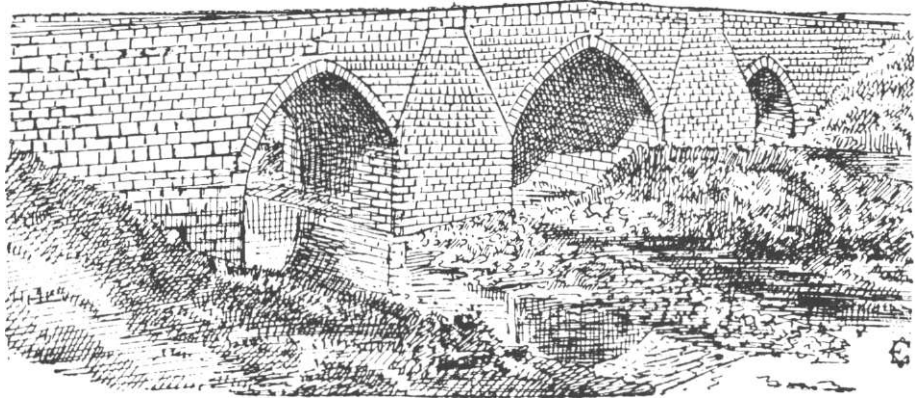


Fig. 337
ft* Bridge at Pyroi.

Fig. 338
Bridge at Miselli, near
Nicosia.



tives held meetings, official sittings, discussions and judicial proceedings, and where they kept their archives. The ground floor loggia was used as a bourse by citizens of the state in question. The notary of the state could exhibit public documents there; we know in fact that to give the fullest possible publicity the notaries of Famagusta¹¹ used to circulate them in the porticos of shops in the bazaar, especially in the luxury shops of the vendors of spices, or in the vaulted mansion of the Templars or in the open loggias of various palaces.

Each loggia undoubtedly bore the arms of the state to which it belonged, either carved or painted, and one or two of those flagstaff-holders so common in Famagusta and Rhodes in which it would erect poles with national banners, as is done today on all Western consulates in the Levant.

In the old-established towns in France, especially in the south, it was a frequent custom to have marble basins built into the pavement in the market place as standard measures of capacity for the locality. At Montpazier there is a sort of counter in stone work under the market hall with these standard measures let into it. In the church at Limay (Seine-et-Oise) a standard bushel, in marble, is preserved; de Caumont has recorded a whole series.¹²

The same custom existed in Cyprus. Machaeras records that in Nicosia in front of St. George of the Latins, at the place where the cloth market was held — it is still held there — there was a marble basin giving the measure of a Nicosia bushel; it was set in stone by the corner of the church.¹³

From the earliest times there must have been numerous bridges, constructed with care, across the many torrents in Cyprus; the local water courses being both violent and capricious and the ground being often clay they have required frequent rebuilding. History has recorded dreadful floods at Nicosia and Limassol. In spite of this, nearly all the bridges in Cyprus today have pointed arches and spur-shaped abutment piers like Gothic bridges in France; some have numerous piers as at Kythrea,

11

In the archives of Genoa there are preserved three series of deeds registered by Genoese notaries of Famagusta: (i) the deeds of Lambert of Sambuceto for the years 1299-1301, about two thirds of which have been published by Cavaliere Cornelio Desimoni in the *Revue de l'Orient latin* of 1896 and the remainder noted at the end of the same volume (ii) the deeds of Francis of Roboreto for 1360 (iii) some scraps from the registers of other notaries dating from the fifteenth century.

12

Abécédairé d'archéologie, Architecture civile, 1869 edn. pp. 365-9.

13

Machaeras, p. 150.

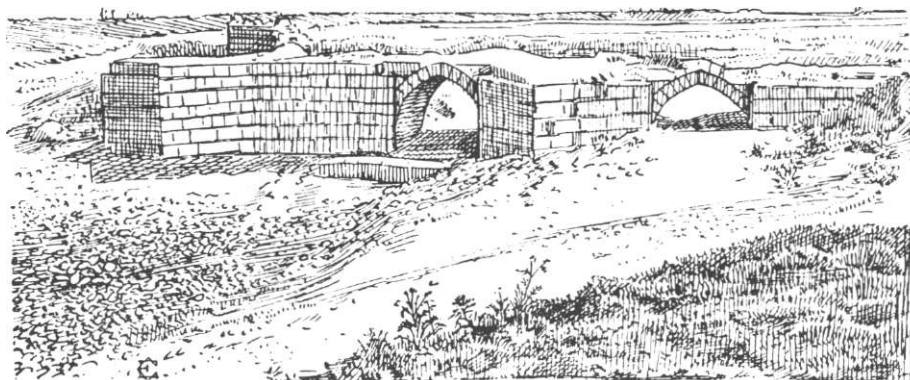


Fig. 339
Bridge at Kiti.

others, the one between Koukليا and Ktima for example, have a single large arch with the roadway sloping up to it on either side. These forms of bridge, which in France are characteristic of the Gothic period, have persisted in Cyprus down to the present day. The ones I have just referred to certainly date from the time of the Turkish rule, others like the bridge at Miselli, near Nicosia (Fig. 338) are of uncertain date. Undoubtedly there are still some which are older. The great ruined bridge at Pyroi (Fig. 337) between Nicosia and Larnaca is one and another is the ruined Gothic bridge at Kiti (Fig. 339). This last was fitted with sluice-gates sliding in finely-worked stone slots; clearly there had been a reservoir at this point either to work a water-mill or to feed irrigation channels.

Aqueducts were numerous in the Middle Ages but most of them were underground; medieval ideas of physics were more advanced than those of antiquity, as the whole history of Gothic architecture goes to prove. Aqueducts carried on arches are, however, to be found from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, at Bonvaux in Burgundy, at Perpignan, and in Italy at Casamari, Sulmona and Salerno. In other places, as at Belleville and in the environs of Rome, ancient aqueducts were kept working. The same is true in the Levant: Smyrna, in particular, has two magnificent aqueducts on pointed arches.

In Cyprus numerous underground aqueducts were constructed in the Middle Ages. Their channels were called 'douzils' (ductilia) in French documents.¹⁴ They were to be found in particular in Nicosia. One of them, running from Nicosia to Trakhonas, had wooden channels like those built in the sixteenth century to feed the fountains at Périgueux.¹⁵ In 1373 Dimitri, a retainer of the royal family, used one to escape from Nicosia when it was occupied by the Genoese.¹⁶ In 1468 there were underground *douzils* in Nicosia taking water from the tower of 'St. Verredi' (*Ayia Paraskevi*) to the royal dye-works, passing by the Misericordia.¹⁷

Stone aqueducts of varying types are also extant. The one which supplied water to the sugar-factory of the Hospitallers at Kolossi is raised on

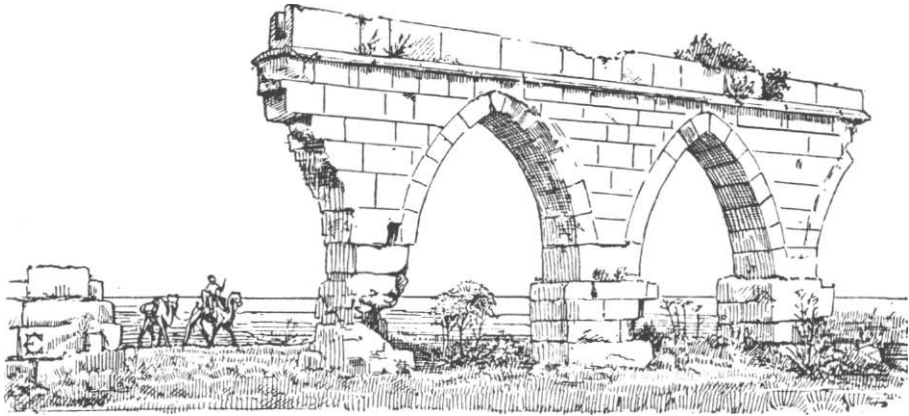
14
Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III,
p. 267.

15
See F. de Verneilh, *Architecture civile du moyen âge. Fontaines publiques* in *Annales archéologiques*, vol. XX, 186, p. 144.

16
Machaeras, p. 285.

17
Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III,
p. 267.

Fig. 340
Ruins of former aqueduct
of Constantia.



an enormous solid wall in which there is only one large opening under a depressed arch to permit the road to pass through it. The excessive elevation of this aqueduct does not seem to be due to lack of sophistication in the engineer; his aim was to have the water fall from a height sufficient to work the driving wheel; as the distance is not great it was not worth inserting a siphon. It is the same with the small aqueducts in the Kouklia plain which were designed either to water the sugar-cane fields of the royal demesne or to drive the wheels of the crushing-mills. These aqueducts are partly underground; one or two arches, depressed or pointed, are sometimes used to cross ravines where it would have been difficult or risky to construct a syphon beneath them.

18

'Ad quam cisternam fluebat a quodam monte et cur-rebat aqua omni tempore per quemdam conductum fabricatum cum pilariis et archis, prout est prope Sculum, de pertinentiis castri Trayecti seu Garillani'; *Pèlerinage*, p. 632. The aqueduct of Casamari, built in the twelfth or thirteenth century, is also on the Garigliano.

19

p. 136: 'It is still possible to see the line of arches bearing conduits along which the water came from the mountains to the city.'

20

Martoni, *Pèlerinage*, p. 632.

21

Gestes des Chiprois, 54.

But the most beautiful aqueduct in Cyprus is the one at Salamis (Fig. 340) some arches of which are still standing near St. Barnabas. It was built by the Romans to take water from the mountains to Constantia, the former Salamis, and was of the greatest value because the water on the coast is bad and unhealthy. The Lusignans restored it in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and this is the date of the fine arches and the small portion of the conduit that still survive. Constantia had by then been abandoned but it only required a small detour to bring the water to the great new town of Famagusta. After the Genoese seized the town in 1373 they were in a constant state of war with the Kingdom; in consequence at about that time the aqueduct, which would have brought them water from Lusignan territory, was certainly cut. However it was still standing in 1393 when it was admired by Nicholas of Martoni, who compared it with the aqueduct at Trajetto, near Gaeta.¹⁸

This must have been an apt comparison. I do not know whether the aqueduct mentioned by the pilgrim is still in existence but the ones at Salerno, with their pointed arches, present a close enough resemblance as do those at Smyrna, which must have been restored during the period of Latin domination from 1344 to 1402. The ruins of the Constantia aqueduct were seen also by Jacques Le Saige in 1518.¹⁹

From this aqueduct the water was led into enormous cisterns, whose

remains can still be seen among the ruins of the ancient city. As late as 1395 their vaults were still in existence, supported on thirty-six columns.²⁰ In the Middle Ages as well numbers of well-built cisterns were constructed in Cyprus where springs were few and poor, especially at Famagusta.

In the thirteenth century Philip of Novara records the trouble he took to install a cistern in the castle at Nicosia²¹ when he was about to stand a siege; it had been found essential to provide large cisterns for the castles in the mountains.

Large numbers of old cisterns are to be found in Famagusta. Their shape is normally a long rectangle, in carefully worked masonry. Water was drawn from a sort of projecting balcony on stone corbels (Fig. 341). The example illustrated in the sketch has another interesting feature: the arch inserted as a strut in the middle of the longer sides to prevent them from collapsing through the effects of damp and the pressure of the earth. Water from flat roofs flowed down into these cisterns through terra-cotta pipes, surviving specimens of which can be seen at the Carmelite church in Famagusta and at Sigouri Castle (Fig. 342).

Fountains were numerous in the towns and in the houses of the well-

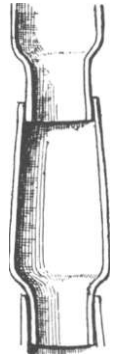


Fig. 342
Terra-Cotta conduit from
Sigouri Castle.

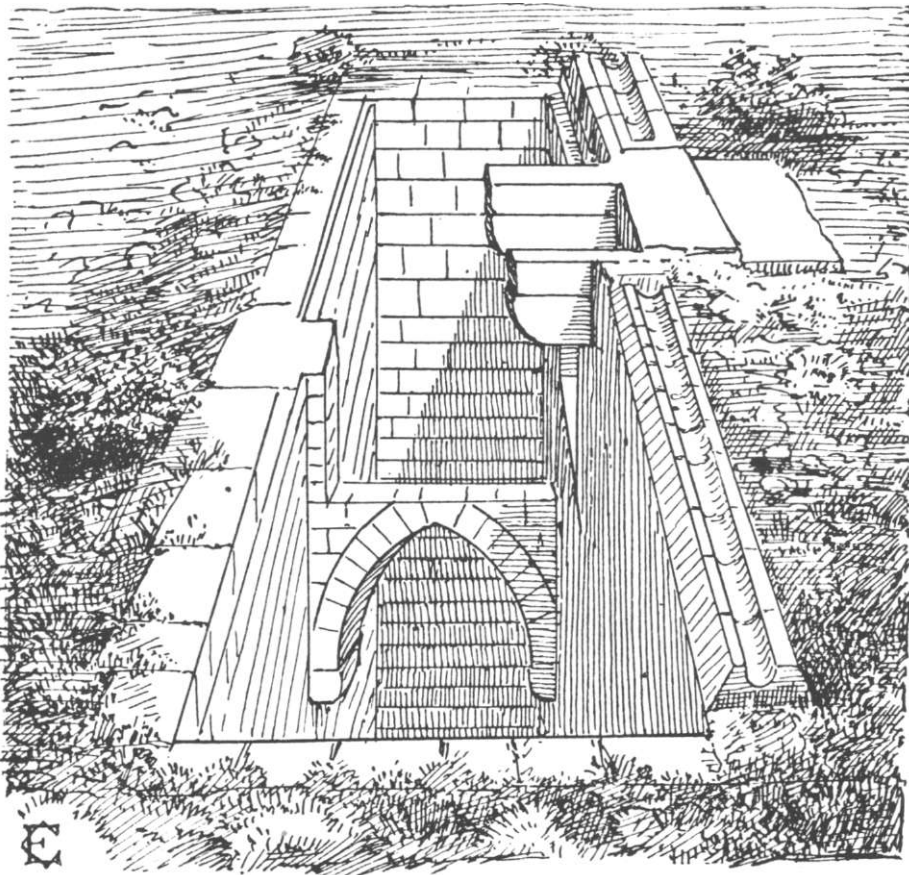


Fig. 341
Cistern at Famagusta.



Fig. 343
Fountain in Famagusta.

to-do. Those surviving are typical of the various sorts common in the Middle Ages. The Gothic fountain in Famagusta (Fig. 343), rebuilt by the Turks, has exactly the same form of arcaded aedicule that can be seen in France at Lectoure, Morlaix, Poitiers (the Pont-Joubert fountain) and elsewhere.

The fountain in the cloisters at Bellapais (Fig. 135) is an antique sarcophagus converted into a trough with gargoyles. From it the water flows into a second long basin. It resembles a whole series of medieval fountains e.g. at Moncel Abbey near Pont Sainte Maxence and in the Troyes museum.

The fountain at Ayia Napa monastery, on the other hand, though its early Renaissance artists have plainly copied the ancient motifs on the Bellapais sarcophagus, belongs to a different type which is found in France from the twelfth century, at Provins, Lagny and Monastier (Haute-Loire) and more often in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries both in France and in Italy, at Perugia, Viberbo, Mende and St. Denis; in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at Villefranche in Rouergue, Puy-en-Velay, Clermont-Ferrand, Forcalquier, Chorges (Hautes-Alpes) and elsewhere. In this type you have a polygonal or circular basin resting on the ground and in the middle of it there rises from the water a shaft pierced by a channel distributing the water to gargoyles above it; the gargoyles form part of a crowning structure of pyramidal shape, sometimes incorporating a second, smaller basin. At Ayia Napa the motif crowning the central shaft is missing.

CHAPTER II

MILITARY AND DOMESTIC BUILDINGS IN NICOSIA DISTRICT

CASTLES, FORTIFICATIONS AND BRIDGES IN NICOSIA

There was originally a Byzantine castle in Nicosia. In 1191 the Templars, to whom Richard the Lionheart had ceded Cyprus, put a garrison of Italian mercenaries in it which was besieged there by the local Greeks. Though it was relieved by a vigorous sortie the Greek rebellion had so much discouraged the Templars that they abandoned the attempt to rule the island.¹

In 1211, according to the evidence of Willibrand of Oldenburg, work was going on to rebuild Nicosia Castle.² The church of St. Clare, known as Castigliotissa³ or Chastillonnette,⁴ was erected on the site of the former castle. In 1217 the counter-seal of the leaden bulls of King Hugh I figures the castle of Nicosia with the legend CASTELLUM NICOSSIE.⁵ It shows three round crenellated towers. The largest, in the middle, has a round-arched door of two leaves over which are five merlons on an encorbelment, probably meant for a machicoulis. The other towers have no doors and only three merlons, with no encorbelment. I shall not go into the details of this representation, which might be purely conventional.

According to Florio Bustron Nicosia was not walled at that time but was defended only by a very strong castle in the centre facing, and to the east of, the site later occupied by the town house of the Count of Rochas.⁶

In 1376 or 1380 the young king Peter II, being at war with the Genoese, ordered the construction of a new citadel. He expropriated private property, increased taxes and imposed forced labour and by employing prisoners of war on the works he succeeded in completing this great

i

Bustron, p. 51.

See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. I, p. 187; *Correspondant*, vol. XVII, p. 531; *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, vol. I, p. 521.

See Mas Latrie, *Nicosie*, in *Correspondant*, 1847, vol. II, p. 525.

4

The form used in the French edition of Lusignan.

Paoli, *Codex diplomaticus Hierosolymitanus*, vol. I, plate V, No. 47; G. Schlumberger, *Quelques sceaux de l'Orient latin* in *Rev. de l'Or. lat.*, vol. II, p. 177, plate I, figure 4, from the original matrix bought in Venice.

'Non haveva muraglia, ma solamente un castello in mezzo la città; il quale era all incontro la casa c'hora e del Signor conte de Rochas, per levante; et era per battaglia de man fortissimo, ne per altra via che di longo assedio se poteva mai prender;' Bustron, p. 26.

'Dal 1380, re Petrino cominciò a fondare et a far la cittadella in Nicosia, nel qual loco erano le case del conte de Zaffo, et alcune altre che lui ruinarono et per la spesa di detta fabrica messeno una tassa volontaria tutti li cavalieri, borghesi altri, di dar, chi huomini a servir dalli soi casali, chi pietre e calcina, et alcuni argento, et facevano servir li genovesi che erano priggioni, et servivano con li ferri, e fu si grande la diligentia usata che in un anno fu conspita la cittadella, eccetto le case real di dentro che poi re Giacomo et re Giano fecero, peroche re Petrino del 1382 d'octobre, aggripato di malattia mori;' Bustron, p. 349; Strambaldi gives the date as 1376.

Machaeras, p. 336; Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III, p. 766.

Machaeras, p. 381; Bustron, p. 349.

10

Bustron, p. 379.

11

Margaret was a favourite name with Peter I: he not only gave it to his tower but also to what Machaeras calls 'his famous mule' (p. 256) and to one of his daughters, cf. Amadi pp. 487, 493.

enterprise in a single year. To build it involved demolishing the palace of the Count of Jaffa and some other dwellings and a 'voluntary' tax was imposed not only on the burgesses and other inhabitants but also on knights. Some provided money, others labourers, stone and lime while the Genoese prisoners, in chains, did the hardest part of the work. When King Peter died in 1382 all that remained for his successors to complete the work was the provision of living accommodation for the King to use in time of war.⁷ When the construction was considered complete Archbishop Palounger came to give it a solemn benediction.⁸

James I brought his nephew's work to completion and in 1426, after new misfortunes had struck the Kingdom, King Janus added the final touches. The Mamelukes had burned down his palace at Nicosia and the court could no longer live there; accordingly it was within the walls of the citadel that James had new royal apartments built.⁹

In 1458 King John II, his wife Helena Palaeologos and Princess Charlotte took refuge there¹⁰ in fear of James the Bastard who while waiting to seize the Kingdom on the death of his father was already gathering strength and preparing for his usurpation.

Peter I in 1368 had had a large tower built not far from the citadel which he never finished; it was called the Misericordia or the Margaret tower;¹¹ its walls were thick and the King intended to raise them to a height sufficient to give a good command over the surrounding terrain. A deep ditch was dug around it. Inside there was a basement for use as a prison and a chamber on the first floor, probably vaulted, in which by a macabre irony was a painting of the Virgin of the Misericordia.¹²

According to Bustron there were flights of steps running around the building¹³ which presumably means a staircase or several staircases winding up and down either in the thickness of the walls or against their inner side, as in Kyrenia Castle. The upper part was left unfinished when the murder of Peter I halted the work.

The story told about this tower is curious. Peter I had had it built with the intention of using it to incarcerate his enemies, that is to say his brothers and the leaders of the nobility. He is alleged to have planned to inaugurate it with a banquet to which they would all be invited and then arrested *en masse* and flung into the dungeons.¹⁴ While waiting for a suitable opportunity for bringing his desires to fruition he indulged himself with a foretaste of them by setting the children of Henry of Gibelet to work on the ditches, that lord having refused to make him a present of a pair of greyhounds. Henry's young son was the first to be seized and condemned to the task; shortly afterwards he was joined by his sister Mary.¹⁵

Under the reign of Peter II the Margaret tower was demolished in 1376, when work began on the new citadel.¹⁶ James I, desirous both to use its materials and to expiate his brother's crimes, converted it into a beautiful church and planted an orchard about it.¹⁷ He had once been

high on the famous guest-list prepared by his late brother. Since the latter's death he had been for a long time a prisoner in Genoa, exposed to the gravest maltreatment. Having succeeded to the throne after trials and tribulations of every sort, like a hero of old romance, he found an uncompleted and useless building which evoked unpleasant memories: what could be better than to transform it into a place of ease and repose with a sanctuary in which he could render worthy thanks to heaven? But the story is dubious and, taking everything into consideration, it seems more likely that when Peter I, who was after all a clever man, decided to start work on his tower he had other things on his mind besides the mere satisfaction of his arrogance and spite, for when the Turks laid siege to Nicosia in 1570 they found that the piece of rising ground on which the Margaret tower had stood commanded the city, and they hastened to emplace there a battery of artillery which did them most valuable service. It is likely that Peter I had realised the strategic value of the location before them and had planned not merely to deny it to an assailant but to use it for the defence of the city. It very frequently happens that the ideas of a superior intelligence, like Peter I's, are misunderstood and misconstrued while sentimental ideas that strike people as specially happy ones, like James I's, turn out fatal when judged from the most serious and realistic standpoint of plain, positive reason.

The walls of Nicosia, levelled by the Venetians, had been begun in the reign of Peter I¹⁸ and were completed in 1372 at the time when it was necessary to put the city in a state of defence against the Genoese. Earlier it had appeared sufficient to rely on the castle alone to provide internal security, all the more since the Kingdom had never been invaded. Peter II pressed on hastily with the building of the enceinte after it had been interrupted by the death of his father and the troubles that befell the Kingdom. The uncompleted walls were raised, moats were added and also a ring of fausses-braies in earth and dry-stone walling. All this work was accomplished in twenty days.¹⁹ It did not stop the enemy. The Genoese broke through by the Market Gate, near the palace, and by the St. Andrew's tower, gained mastery of the city and in their turn fortified themselves in it. The St. Andrew's tower, whose walls had presumably not stood up to artillery attack, was converted into a bastion by filling it with earth.²⁰ It was in the end King James who gave the defences of his capital the form which they were to retain until the second half of the sixteenth century by repairing, completing or rebuilding them at various points.²¹

By that time the old walls had become too extensive since the population had shrunk. In 1507 Pierre Mésenge said of Nicosia: 'Not the fourth part of it is inhabited, albeit the surrounding walls are still wholly entire as though but newly made-, and I think I never saw so beautiful a wall or in so perfect a state.'²² In 1565 the circuit of the walls was over four miles. They formed a circle, flanked by old-fashioned round towers. This is how they were described at that date by Ascanio Savorgnano, the

12

Perhaps an allegorical painting, executed by one of the Italian artists of whose works numerous specimens survive in Cyprus. Fourteenth century Italians had a taste for allegory and examples can be seen in many Italian cities. It might also be a Pietà (called in French *La Pitié* or *Notre Dame de Pitié*, *Eleousa* in Greek) which represents the Virgin holding the dead body of her son.

13

'... faceva fabricare una torre, poco distante della cittadella, e la chiamo *La Margarita*, et haveva già fornito tondi de quella. La quale e una prigghion sotto terra oscurissima et di muri grossissimi fatta, e profonda, dove pensava far di sopra anchora un'altra torre; et già fece, con scalini intorno et involto sotto, tutto il primo solaro. E voleva far di sopra la torre alta...'; Bustron, p. 271; cf. Machaeras, pp. 141-2.

14

'Et per far un bel tratto a soi fratelli e altri primarii, faceva fabbricare una torre ... dove si lasso intender che volesse far un convito, et retenir et incarcerarli tutti'; ib.

15

Peter had planned to marry her off by force to a servant called Camus, a man of the lowest class who was either a groom or a cobbler. She took refuge in a convent but was dragged out of it and tortured in the presence of the King by having her feet held over a fire. In the end she was condemned to hard labour.

One day while working in the mud with her skirt tucked up she made a point of showing herself like that in front of the nobles and only covered her legs when the King himself came to visit the place where she was working. When one of her relatives expressed surprise she told him that the King was the only man and the rest of them were women because they were too cowardly to avenge her and her family. These words fell on ears only too ready to receive them, as the event showed; Amadi, p. 423.

16

'Ruinaronno anco la Margarita' says Strambaldi, p. 251.

17

'Fece una bella chiesa, la Misericordia, là dove fu la torre de *Margarita*, con un bel vergier intorno;' Amadi, p. 495: cf. Bustron, p. 352. There is a description of the church in a curious inventory of 1468, published by Mas Latrie, *Hist.* vol. III, p. 267. It had decorated arched doorways in its west and south sides, a porch, a door on the east, a belfry with three bells, a marble altar, a chalice silver-gilt and enamelled, a silver drinking-cup, ecclesiastical robes and vestments, a small statue of the Virgin under a canopy on the altar, a wooden cross, a large statue of the Virgin, four chandeliers in wood, carved with human figures ('figurés d'oumes'), and four ewers (*manals*) in gilt wood, a holy-water sprinkler and a pyx in bronze, a small bell, a pulpit (*analogium*) and some staves for torches in painted wood. There was a chapel or tribune which had con-

Venetian proweditore, in a report to his government²³ which concluded with a recommendation to keep the old walls because with the progress of artillery Nicosia was not defensible.

It would be difficult to work out how many gates there were, where they were placed and, most difficult of all, what they were like. However it is known from references in various chronicles that there was a St. Andrew gate and another called after St. Veneranda. Florio Bustron in 1457 mentions the gate of the Armenian quarter²⁴ and in 1461 the Market gate,²⁵ near the main square and the palace. This must be the Paphos gate. As for the St. Veneranda gate, that is probably an Italian corruption of St. Verredi,²⁶ who is Ayia Paraskevi.

Several bridges now no longer extant were built across the torrent-bed of the Pedieos, many of which corresponded with the town gates. It would not be possible to determine exactly where they were nor how many there were because it is not certain that the chroniclers mention them all and the same bridge may be given different names. Those recorded are: the bridge of the Holy Apostles,²⁷ the bridge of the Berline²⁸ which, according to Florio Bustron, was 'nella piazza'²⁹ and hence near the palace, the bridge of St. Dominic³⁰ on which the King's chaplain and the Viscount of Nicosia were assassinated in 1373 by Theobald Belfarage and Alexopoulo; the bridge of the Seneschal³¹ which, in the sixteenth century, changed its name to *ponte del Ladron* or *del Lodron*,³² the bridge of SS. Peter and Paul,³³ the Jews' Bridge by the bread market³⁴ and finally, the bridge by the Exchange.³⁵

As rebuilt by the Venetians in 1564 the fortifications enclosed what was certainly a more restricted area than had the old enceinte. To construct them it was found necessary to demolish many churches and monasteries including St. Dominic's in which were all the royal tombs. Stephen Lusignan claims that eighty churches were demolished at that time. The modern enceinte of Nicosia is circular and has eleven flanking bastions, formerly named *Mula*, *Quirini*, *Barbaro*, *Loredano*, *Flatro*, *Caraffa*, *Podocatara*, *Costanza*, *d'Avila*, *Tripoli* and *Roccas*. There were three gates called the Paphos, Kyrenia and Famagusta gates. The ramparts and bastions, now half collapsed, are unusual in being vertical at their base and steeply sloped back in the upper parts. The whole circumference is about five kilometres.

2

THE ROYAL PALACE AND SERAI

The royal palace at Nicosia was in existence in 1211; it was there that Willibrand of Oldenburg first saw an ostrich.³⁶ Unfortunately that detail is the only thing he saw fit to tell us about the official residence of the kings of Cyprus. According to Machaeras³⁷ it had been built by the

THE ROYAL PALACE AND SERAI

Greek emperors; if so then before 1191 and before the arrival of Gothic art. It is certain, however, that, if the Lusignans did not actually rebuild it, they did at least restore, embellish and enlarge it on a grand scale.

Henry I at the end of his reign had the Dominican monastery built alongside the palace. Hugh IV embellished it and Mas Latrie thinks that the two buildings were contemporary.³⁸

In 1307 the Prince of Tyre besieged his brother Henry II in his palace; in 1309 he went to live there himself;³⁹ on the night of 31 st January 1310 he had his brother taken away and on 5th June he was assassinated in the palace by Simon of Montolif.⁴⁰

King Hugh IV (1324-1359) did a great deal to improve the appearance of the palace and thanks to him, says Florio Bustron, it held the palm, the whole world over, for beauty and perfection of construction.⁴¹

On the night of the 16th or 17th January, 1369, Peter I was assassinated in this palace;⁴² in 1374 his brother the Prince of Antioch was murdered in the same place on the orders of his vindictive widow, Eleanor of Aragon.⁴³ This made the third murder in just over half a century in the palace of Nicosia. After the Genoese invasion in 1373 Peter II restored it. In 1426 when the Egyptian army stormed Nicosia they sacked and burned it.⁴⁴ When King Janus came home after being ransomed he restored it,⁴⁵ at some date between 1428 and 1434.

In 1456 King John II went to live in the town house of one of his knights, Hugh of Baume and the house was from then on referred to as the royal court. Under the Venetians it was the residence of the Lieutenant of the Kingdom, the Proweditore.⁴⁶ In 1565 the Cypriot population, driven to fury by a famine, laid siege to it, breaking the windows and throwing stones into the Great Hall.⁴⁷ In 1567 the royal palace was demolished, at least partially, to build the new fortifications.⁴⁸

In 1571 the Turks converted the palace of the Proweditore into the Serai of the Pasha of Nicosia⁴⁹ it appears, from Father Stephen Lusignan, that it had for a brief period before the fall of Cyprus belonged to the 'Seigneur de Lazes.'⁵⁰ When the Turks captured the city in 1570 the palace witnessed the final desperate defence and the closing scenes of the tragedy.⁵¹

There are still some significant remains of the old Serai of Nicosia and the lion of St. Mark carved above the gate is evidence that it had indeed been the residence of a representative of the Venetian Republic; but to what extent does it occupy the site of the Lusignan palace? The answer is uncertain; as I have explained, the kings since 1456 and after them the proweditori had changed to another residence; but it seems likely that that was a mansion close to the former palace. According to the late Count de Mas Latrie⁵² 'the Serai cannot be made to fit the known facts about the royal residence'. It is undoubtedly an old Frankish palace, and it is certainly near the Paphos gate, as was the former royal palace, but it can only be 'the town house of a Lusignan prince or possibly of the

tained an organ and beneath the church was an open cellar, perhaps a relic of the former tower. The church was used for the Greek rite. It was surrounded by houses and had a garden entered through an arched doorway, a vaulted porch and a gatehouse.

18
Bustron, p. 26.

19
ib., p. 294.

20
ib., p. 312

21
ib., p. 26.

22
Amiens Library, fonds
Lescalopier, MS. 5215, fol.
89 v°.
Bibl. Nat., MS. ital., no. 1500.

24
p. 376.

25
p. 403 'Porta del phoro'.

26
See Mas Latrie, *Hist.*,
vol. III, p. 267.

27
Amadi, p. 180.

28
Machaeras, p. 242; Amadi,
pp. 84, 469; Strambaldi,
pp. 178, 180.

29
p. 402.

30
Amadi, p. 483; Strambaldi,
p. 241; Bustron, p. 343.

Count of Edessa'.

- 31 It is certain that the town houses of the princes adjoined the palace.
Amadi, p. 84. The house of the Infant Ferdinand of Majorca, son-in-law of Hugh IV,
32 was close to the old palace (*Castrum antiquum*) because it was from there
Bustron, p. 50. that his royal father-in-law, whose behaviour was always outrageous,
used to amuse himself by shooting at his son-in-law's house, or having
33 his men shoot at it, sometimes with arrows, sometimes with stones.
ib., p. 314. The Infant's house had loggias (*loyas*) or covered galleries on the side
34 facing the old royal palace.⁵³ Father Lusignan also mentions a town
Machaeras, p. 341. house of the Count of Tripoli 'right adjoining the Hotel of the House of
Lusignan, for the King had his own separate palace'.⁵⁴
- 35 For the sake of convenience I shall first consider what is known about
Bustron, p. 254. the old palace and, secondly, investigate how much there is still re-
36 maining from former times in the ruins of the Nicosia Serai and hope
'Palatium domini regis, in
quo primo vidimus struthi-
onem', p. 142. that a judgment may emerge from comparing the two sets of evidence. I
shall leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions since for my part
37 I can see no certain grounds for deciding one way or the other.
p. 85. The royal palace at Nicosia was situated on a market place known as
38 the lower market, right beside the Paphos gate, at the place where the
Mas Latrie, 'Nicosie', article
published in the *Correspond-*
ant, 1847, pp. 524 et sq;
cf. Lusignan, *Généalogies*,
1st edition, fol. 17, v°. Venetians later planted the standard of St. Mark and therefore, very
probably, close to the still existing column which used to be crowned by
the lion of Venice. At the foot of its walls ran the stream which divided
it from the monastery of St. Dominic, whose church was the royal
chapel.⁵⁵
- 39 In 1309 the palace had an open loggia looking out over the square; it
Bustron, pp. 148-9, 151,
181, 188, 190. was from there that the Queen watched with tears in her eyes as knights
and people assembled before making their way to St. George of the
40 Poulains to swear allegiance to the usurper.⁵⁶
- 41 It was in the same loggia that the notorious Eleanor of Aragon, the
Queen Mother, and her son Peter II took their seats on 10th April 1376
to watch Theobald Belfaragge and Alexopoulo being brought to the
place of execution for the murder of the Viscount of Nicosia and the
royal chaplain. Alexopoulo had turned down a pardon which the King
offered to him but refused to extend to his accomplice. Theobald him-
self had had a gibbet erected for the Queen's friends, the same gibbet to
which he was now being taken-, it was by the Queen's orders that execu-
42 tioners had been placed on the tumbrils of the condemned men to tear
Machaeras, p. 156; Stram-
baldi, pp. 112-13; Bustron,
p. 276. their flesh with red-hot pincers. The procession halted in front of the
palace. The condemned men begged for mercy. The King, who had loved
them, hesitated but his mother dashed from his lips the words of pardon.
43 Then Belfaragge, summoning up all his strength and all the vehemence
Machaeras, p. 319; Bustron,
pp. 338-9. of his hatred, took his last revenge and flung in the face of his royal
enemy a public and scarifying denunciation. He reminded her, in a string
of insults that the death of her husband, which she had so cruelly re-
44 venged by the ruin of the Kingdom, was the fruit of her own loose living.⁵⁷
Amadi, p. 512; Bustron,
p. 27.

THE ROYAL PALACE AND SERAI

In front of all his people Peter II was brought face to face with his mother's shame. The last straw was when that calamitous woman offered some affronts to her daughter-in-law; her son immediately decided to banish her from the Kingdom.

Inside the palace there was a Great Hall, famous for the beauty of its architecture; it was built in the most luxurious style by Hugh IV.⁵⁵ Surrounded by arcades on colonnettes⁵⁶ it was served by an exterior gallery reached by a stone staircase.⁶⁰ Like all baronial Great Halls it had a vaulted basement room beneath it. It was in this basement, where it was the custom to sit in summer for the sake of coolness, that on 5th June 1310, after dinner, Simon of Montolif assassinated the usurper Amalric of Tyre.⁶¹

Beneath the King's room, which communicated with the Great Hall, was a basement containing the parade armour for tournaments. It was accessible from the King's room, or perhaps from a wardrobe adjacent to it, through a trap-door. This emergency exit had its conveniences: the alternation of official and other engagements meant that the King's room was at times used for public ceremonies and at times reserved for the most intimate private occasions. When in the night of the 16th-17th January 1369 the rebellious nobles came to present their remonstrances to Peter I, and murdered him in his bed, Eschive of Scandelion, wife of the complaisant Grenier the Little, was with him; hearing the Prince of Antioch and his companions arriving and demanding entry the noble lady hastily got dressed and left the room, escaping into the basement through the trap-door.⁶²

To reach the King's room it was necessary to ascend to the upper chamber of the palace and then to walk along a loggia or covered balcony. This was in fact the route which the conspirators took on the night of Peter I's assassination.⁶³

There was a room immediately adjoining the King's room and it was in this that Queen Eleanor of Aragon concealed the hired bravos on the day when she lured the Prince of Antioch into a trap to avenge her husband's murder. He had accepted an invitation to dine in the King's room, at the very spot where the assassination had taken place. The bloody shirt that had been on Peter I's body was on the dining table, concealed under a dish-cover; when the Queen lifted the cover it was the signal for the murder of her brother-in-law.⁶⁴

The ornaments in the room were gilded: 'Ornato de oro detta Tassarin' says Strambaldi.⁶⁵ Machaeras calls it the Paris room;⁶⁶ the name might allude to the city from where the tapestries and other ornaments could have come or to the decorative scheme representing the exploits of Paris, son of Priam.⁶⁷ It would add piquancy to the story if it were true that the room in which Peter I entertained, in turn, his queen Eleanor of Aragon and his mistresses, Eschive of Scandelion and Jeanne Laleman, was decorated with the story of Paris and the three goddesses.

45
Strambaldi, p. 287.

46
Bustron, p. 373.

47
Lusignan, *Descr.*, fol. 211 v°.

48
Lusignan, *Hist.*, fol. 180.

49
Voyage du Sieur de Stochove, pp. 249-50.

50
'The old royal palace, which in our time belonged to the Seigneur de Lazes'; *Descr.* fol. 180.

51
Calepio, *relation de la prise de Nicosie*, *ib.*, fol. 260 and v°.

52
Article cited above.

53
Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 96 - *Memoire confidentiel de l'Infant*, paras 47-9.

54
Descr., fol. 90.

55
See above, p. 77. In Famagusta the palace adjoined the Franciscan monastery. It is also recorded of Hugh IV that he much enjoyed the hospitality of the monks of Bellapais. These royal habits are identical with what was customary in Catalonia, where a royal palace was annexed to the Cistercian abbey of Pöblet, and also in the south of France, where the Counts of Armagnac and Rodez lived in the Franciscan monastery in Rodez.

There was an upper chamber built above the stone staircase leading to the Great Hall.

The King's room, which opened out of the Great Hall, was on the side of the palace next to the *Pedieos* and its windows opened onto the river.⁶⁸

The Queen's room, used also by her maids-in-waiting, was according to Strambaldi⁶⁹ 'alia volta de Tiro' i.e. on the side facing Our Lady of Tyre. That convent is some distance to the south-east of the palace on the other side of the square but 'volta di Tiro' as opposed to 'volta del fiume' must mean, respectively, the east or town side and west, or country side. Assuming, as seems certain, that the Great Hall and the public rooms formed the north and south sides of the courtyard the loggia communicating with the queen's room, from which there was a view across the square to the Paphos gate and St. George of the Latins⁷⁰ might have opened onto the south-east or south-west corner. The central courtyard, according to Nicholas of Martoni, was as big as the one in the Castel Nuovo at Naples. When he saw it there was a fountain in it where the citizens were at liberty to draw water.⁷¹ A covered bridge thrown across the river bed connected the King's apartments with the Dominican monastery and both King and Queen also had private and separate apartments in the monastery where they used to live when they made their annual retreat in Lent.⁷² These apartments had tribunes opening onto the chapel in which were most of the royal tombs. When he heard mass from his tribune the pious King Hugh IV used to give a loud knock to impose silence on the chattering knights of his entourage.⁷³

The royal standard was flown from the balcony on the side next to the river, over the King's apartments.⁷⁴

The Great Hall was naturally the most impressive room in the palace. In 1395 Nicholas of Martoni visited it and gave a description.⁷⁵ It was surrounded by a gallery carried on colonnettes of the most elegant workmanship and at one end was a magnificent throne decorated with numerous beautiful colonnettes and varied ornaments. Nicholas exclaims that he holds it impossible that there can be a more beautiful room in the whole world. He had the audacity to try to open the door leading into the King's room but found it tight shut.

In 1426 when the Mamelukes captured Nicosia they found marvellous booty in the palace. 'This palace,' says Khalil Daheri⁷⁶ 'was full of luxurious beds, an enormous amount of costly furniture, superb pictures and gold and silver crosses; but what the General admired above everything else was an organ which when played gave out the most delightful and harmonious sounds'. Among the choice furnishings of the palace was a remarkable clock, commissioned by Hugh IV from the goldsmith Mondino of Cremona.⁷⁷

The subsidiary buildings of the palace must have been extensive. Among them were the baths, entered by a small door through which Henry II had made his furtive re-entry in 1306.⁷⁸ There was of course a

56

Bustron, p. 27; Machaeras, p. 30; cf. Lusignan, *Descr.*

57

Amadi, pp. 484-6; Strambaldi, p. 243; Bustron, p. 344; Machaeras, p. 321. I have taken the account above from Machaeras. At the end of Belfaragge's speech he adds some comments of his own, bitter but justifiably so; his copyists have made them part of the speech which as a result becomes too long and too much of a philosophical dissertation to sound plausible.

58

'Ben composta et ordinata corte reale che in tutto el mondo non haveva pare'; Amadi, p. 512. 'Egli (sc. Hugh IV) orno la Corte reale che portava la palma per il mondo di bellezza e ottima composizione'; Bustron, p. 258.

59

Nicholas Martoni, see below, note 75.

60

Strambaldi, pp. 112-13.

61

Bustron, pp. 196-7.; Machaeras, p. 36. Machaeras gives the date of 25th March and says the murder took place in a rest-room.

62

Machaeras, p. 156.

63

Strambaldi, pp. 112-3.

64

Machaeras, p. 319; Bustron, pp. 338-9.

65

p. 234.

THE ROYAL PALACE AND SERAI

menagerie: Willibrand of Oldenburg admired an ostrich there; the narrative of the voyage of the Lord of Anglure records that the kings of Cyprus used to hunt with leopards; Nicholas of Martoni, who gives a detailed account, reports that James I had twenty-four hunting leopards and three hundred hawks of all species and never went a day without hunting. He lived almost all the time in his Nicosia palace.

The old Serai of the Pasha and the Venetian Governors of Nicosia, today half-ruined and abandoned, is also situated in the lower part of the town, on the square and near the Paphos gate. It also has an entrance gateway on the square, with an open loggia over it (Fig. 344).



Fig. 344
Entrance to the Serai,
Nicosia.

66
loc. cit.

On the square the Venetians erected, in front of the palace, a flagstaff with the banner of St. Mark⁷⁹ and a column of grey granite, still standing. The shaft comes from the ruins of Salamis and it probably carried the lion emblem of their patron the Evangelist. According to the Lord of Stochove the 'beautiful main square' had 'in the centre a pyramid or obelisk like those that one sees in Rome'. He adds: 'Above the entrance' of the palace 'one sees the arms of the house of Lusignan, ensigned with a crown and quartered with the arms of Savoy'.⁸⁰ The pilgrim Nicholas Hurtrel of Arras, who visited Nicosia in 1670⁸¹ gives the same information, which he must have derived from Stochoven. By the obelisk he probably means the column. The description of the arms is plainly in error; admittedly Louis of Savoy had the time to place his arms on the palace but James the Bastard would certainly have had them removed. The arms normally quartered with Lusignan or Cyprus are the cross of Jerusalem, which Stochove must have confused with the cross of Savoy. He is probably referring to the same achievement of arms when he speaks of having seen in Nicosia 'near the Pasha's gate'⁸² an arsenal on the door of which were carved 'the royal arms mixed with those of Jerusalem.'

67

Many instances are known from the Middle Ages of the practice of giving names to rooms, and even to pieces of furniture and books, taken from the motifs with which they were decorated e.g., the House of the Salamander, Arthur's Tower, the Rose Room, the Fleur-de-Lis Room, the Green Book, the Bubble Book, the Nero Wardrobe.

68

Strambaldi, p. 114. Amadi, p. 484, also has a story about Alexopoulo, in 1376, calling to King Peter II whom he saw at a window of his apartments opening onto the river.

69

The *porte du Bassa* referred to must be the Paphos (*Baffo*) gate. Perhaps it is a mere misprint; but in any case the Pasha resided in the old palace, which is the building we are concerned with and to which these different notices refer.

p. 30

The entrance gate of this palace dates from the fourteenth century. It forms a rectangular pavilion, as in the palace of Jacques Coeur at Bourges, placed obliquely across one of the corners of the buildings which extend around a fairly large central courtyard. They consist of a ground floor and one upper storey served by porticos interrupted by the entrance gate pavilion. It is only on the side opposite this that there survives a lower, stone-built portico (Fig. 345) which may go back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The other buildings are in a wretched state of decay or in ruins and the porticos attached to them are of wood. As for the details of their construction and decoration the following are the very scanty facts that can be elicited from the ruins.

70

See Machaeras, p. 30.

71

op. cit., p. 631.

72

Lusignan, *Descr.*, fol. 31, v^o.

73

Philip of Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pèlerin*, quoted by Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 207, note.

74

Machaeras, p. 157.

75

Rev. de l'Or, lat., 1896, p. 631. "... Est una sala magna. In capite ipsius sale est quodam sedile pulcerrimum cum columpnellis multis pulcris, et diversis laboribus ornatum. Credo quod modica seu nullum reperiat pulcris illo sedili.

The outside of the pavilion in which is the main gateway has little of distinction in its style. The entrance passage opens through broad pointed arches and is not vaulted. Above the outer door is a panel of elongated rectangular shape, decorated with carvings now hidden by boards nailed over it. I have been told that on it was represented a lion passant — either the Cyprus lion or more probably the lion of St. Mark — trampling the standard of Islam which allegedly still retained its green colouring. The rest of the façade is of no interest and was probably restored in the sixteenth century.

The upper storey of the pavilion, which was covered with a very flat roof with gutters all round, formed a large loggia with wide openings onto the courtyard and the square; it might have been used as a chapel,

as in Jacques Coeur's palace. On the north-east side it communicated with some living rooms; on the west was a French window with a moulded frame and a lintel supported on very small corbels. This opening gave access to a flat roof above the lowest wing of the buildings which ran along the street leading to the Paphos gate and the river. The roof was covered with a timber roof forming a loggia or gallery.

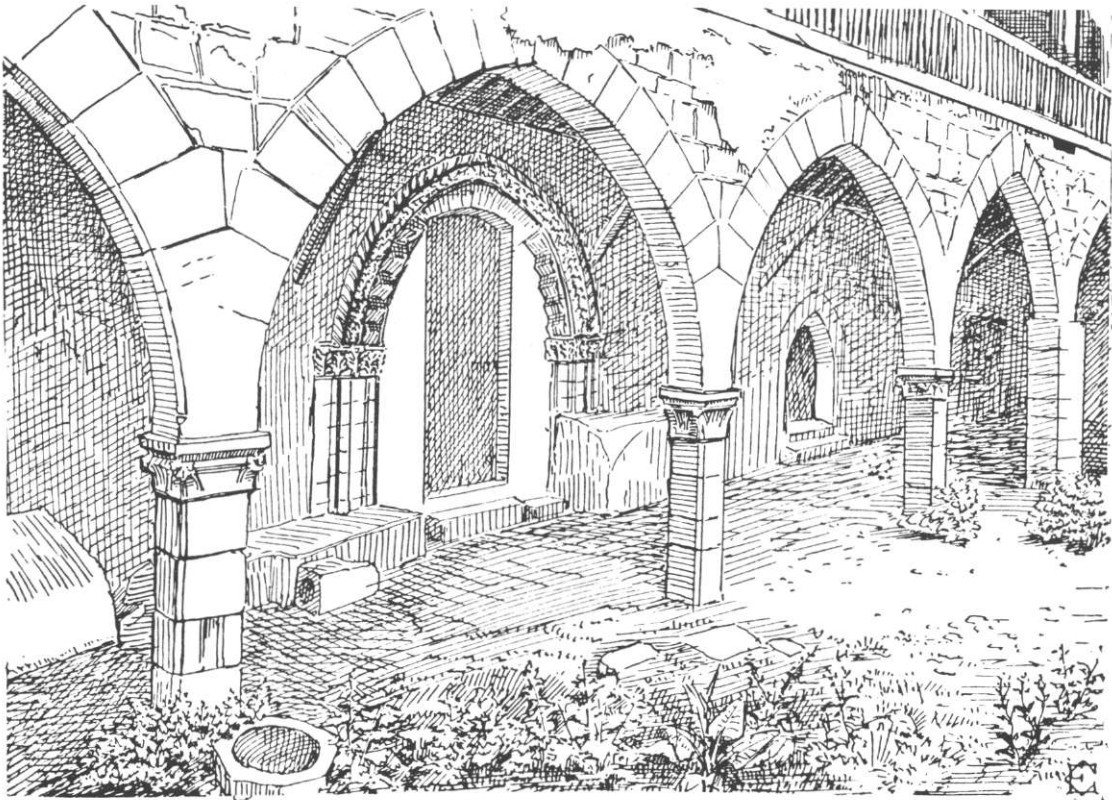
Above the arch of the main gateway on the courtyard side is an inclined escutcheon ensigned with a helm and with two lions as supporters. The surface is badly weathered. It is just beneath an extensive encorbelment like a stone balcony forming the sill of a very large window opening above the gate. It has a pointed arch and the jambs are carved with three slender colonnettes ending in foliated capitals. The moulded arch is framed by a hood-mould resting on brackets carved with human heads; round the outside are thick-set bunches of crockets and a fleuron as finial. The window is divided into four lights, ogee-shaped at the apices and cusped, above which is a tympanum with flamboyant tracery which manages to combine over-exuberance with monotony. Thick mouldings trace out two superimposed rows of *soufflets* which are split into groups of two or three *mouchettes* by secondary mouldings. This tympanum has always been blind, the actual window opening consisting of four tall rectangular lights divided by three slender colonnettes which are now

In circuytu sale currit
quidam gaysus seu ag-
nitus cum columpnellis
pulcerime factus; tantam
habui audaciam quod
accesi usque ad introytum
camere regis, et si erat
apertum hostium, dispossui
intrare intus ad loquendum
cum eo'.

76

Translation by
Venture, publ. by Mas
Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II,
p. 513.

Fig. 345
Courtyard of the
Serai, Nicosia.



missing.

The pavilion cannot be earlier than the fifteenth century and might be as late as the beginning of the sixteenth. Stylistically it is close to the Palace of Justice and the Town Hall at Barcelona and many other fifteenth and early sixteenth-century buildings especially in Catalonia, Aragon and the south of France. I should add also the archbishop's palace at Palermo.⁸³

The building which closes the side of the courtyard opposite the main entrance has a ground floor covered with a pointed barrel vault with a large doorway of the same shape (Fig. 345) whose arch has alternate voussoirs in grey and white stone in the Italian style, carved with various motifs viz. a thick moulding like a twisted cable, a ribbon moulding with foliage and finally a multiple zigzag. The jambs are fluted, with grooves and colonnettes ending in foliated capitals. The whole impression is one of heaviness and clumsiness, more like a fifteenth-century building in Sicily or Catalonia. In front of this doorway runs an unvaulted porch (Fig. 345) supporting a wooden gallery which serves the upper storey. Five pointed arcades of this portico survive supported on square pillars with bevelled edges with wretched crocketed capitals in a very debased style. On the corners they have large smooth leaves which might be thirteenth-century; on one of them the crocket has curled-up leaves which could not be earlier than the last years of that century and might be fourteenth. The astragals are missing and the low abacuses with cavettos are incorporated in the bells. These very inferior arcades must be survivors from the fire of 1426 which destroyed the palace and its dependencies, the oldest remaining elements of the old palace dating no doubt from the reign of Hugh IV (1324-1359). The doorway opening into the portico, on the other hand, appears to be part of the work of reconstruction carried out after the Mameluke sack of 1426. The upper portion, in a poor style, and its wooden balcony, were restored after the later devastation in 1570. In its original state this portion clearly contained the main living room, served by a covered balcony constructed on top of the ground-floor arcade.

In 1847 Mas Latrie took the view that a ruined building, once used by the Turks as a depository for artillery, then converted into a corn mill and subsequently rebuilt, was previously part of the old palace. He writes 'the vault, the doors and windows and the ribs are all in the Gothic style; the extremely thick walls supported one or more storeys of rooms which have been entirely demolished; a narrow staircase is now the sole means of access to this large casemate.'⁸⁴

The buildings that I have been describing have neither the magnificence nor the amplitude that must have characterised the old royal palace of Cyprus but their plan appears to correspond fairly well. The opinion expressed by Mas Latrie seems therefore very plausible: if Florio Bustron chose his words carefully the palace whose site was al-

77

See Mas Latrie, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, vol. XXXIV, p. 64.

78

Bustron, p. 141.

79

Bustron, p. 27 'Nella piazza detta da basso, dove si mette al présente il stendardo in piazza'.

80

Voyages etc., pp. 249-50.

81

Unpublished MS. in the library of Madame Houzel, Château d'Ecquemecourt, Pas de Calais, p. 104.

82

ib., p. 250.

83

The design of the window is not, however, of a kind exclusive to these regions. Rather similar tracery can be seen at St. Antoine in the Viennois and there used to be another specimen in the window at the west end of the church at Mouzon, etc.

84

Le Correspondant, 1847, vol. XVII, *Nicosie*.

85

Mas Latrie, *Hist. des arch. de Chypre*.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE

legedly marked by the Venetian standard must have been built to the south of the present Serai, on the other side of the Paphos Gate.

3

THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE

The palace of the archbishops of Cyprus was built by Eustorgius of Montaigu⁸⁵ (1217-1250). It was much modified under his successors and in 1313, on the 1st of May, the Greeks, enraged by the exactions of the Latin church, sacked it and tried to burn it down.⁸⁶ In 1458, or early in 1459, it was sacked again by the nobles opposed to James the Bastard who was then archbishop.⁸⁷

There is little written evidence about its earlier appearance. In 1292 the cartulary of St. Sophia⁸⁸ mentions a loggia belonging to the archbishop where the cathedral clergy held their sessions.⁸⁹ In 1456-1457 there was in the archbishop's palace in Nicosia, as in the one at Auch or the bishop's palace at Tournai, a watch-tower permanently manned by six watchmen.⁹⁰

Today the palace and its dependencies have been converted into private houses occupied by Turkish families and a school (*medersa*) attached to the Great Mosque. These buildings cover a good portion of the north-east half of the precincts surrounding St. Sophia. The main one, now a rich Turkish house, forms a rectangle at the corner of the square and of the street facing the north doorway of the nave of the cathedral. It has a first floor above a ground floor to which has been added a batter not so much for purposes of support as to cause projectiles to ricochet when dropped from the machicoulis which once existed but have been replaced by a very low top floor. It must have been James the Bastard, archbishop from 1456 to 1459, who felt the need to turn his palace into a fortress; we know that while living there he was overtly preparing for his usurpation.⁹¹

The present building has five to seven windows on each side, all modern. The ground floor has only two ancient windows on the side facing the cathedral, now blocked up; they are very narrow and rectangular, cut very high and looking like short arrow-slits but decorated with a moulded external splay made specially broad to offset the narrowness of the windows.

The carriage gateway which opens under a plain pointed arch at the eastern end of the building, facing the transept of St. Sophia, is also old. Above it a stone carved with two escutcheons side by side has been built into the wall; the right-hand one is charged with a cross hastate and patté and the left-hand one with two fleurs-de-lis separated by a saltire running from the dexter angle to the point. Above and to the left of this the wall has been subsequently repaired by inserting a block carved with an escutcheon of Italian shape, enriened with a mitre and

86
Bustron, p. 247.

87
Mas Latrie, op. cit., p. 88.

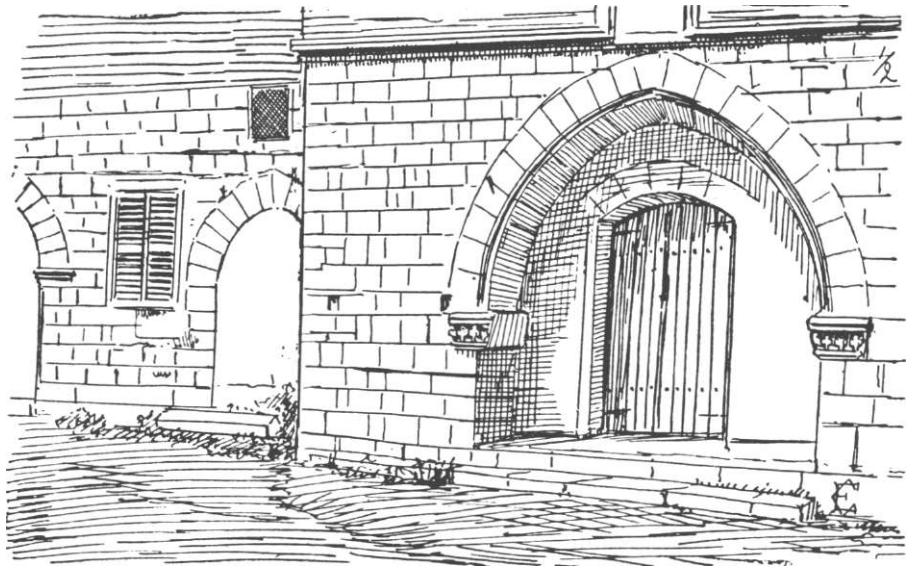
88
No. LXV.

89
'Ubi jus redditur',

90
Bustron, pp. 378-9.

91
It was especially in 1458 that he took these menacing precautions, which provoked his enemies into sacking the archbishop's palace. In 1459 he abandoned the house.

Fig. 346
Doors of the east wing of
the Archbishop's Palace.



bearing a chief charged with three roses above four fesses.

Finally, on the same face of the building at the level of the first storey can be seen a block carved in low relief ensigned with a mitre, the bearings being obliterated.

Next to this first building and close to the gate is a wing at right angles whose gable end faces the cathedral transept. It has two storeys. On one of the corners a broad buttress like a square turret goes up as far as the first storey, the angle of the buttress has a torus moulding as was usual in Cyprus at the end of the Gothic period. The other corner blends with the corner of another main building perpendicular to it and extending even further into the square. This last building is no longer in any particular style and ends at the street which opens into the square at the north-east corner, facing the east end of St. Sophia.

There is a covered bridge over this street consisting of a room carried on two arcades and a groined vault; it connected the archbishop's palace with the building that forms the east side of the square, now a school.

To the north of the buildings just described are extensive gardens.

The single-storeyed building which has taken up the whole of the east side of the square extends around a large cloister whose garth is now an orchard; in the south-west corner is a small mosque. These buildings must have replaced the former archiepiscopal school and the quarters of the cathedral staff. They are completely altered except for three pointed doorways set side by side (Fig. 346). Of these only the main one is important. The opening is in a massive projecting piece of masonry surmounted by a cornice in the form of an inverted Attic base; its arch is pointed, deep-set, wide and low. There are delicate mouldings on the angles and the impost, about a metre above the ground, take the form

HOUSES

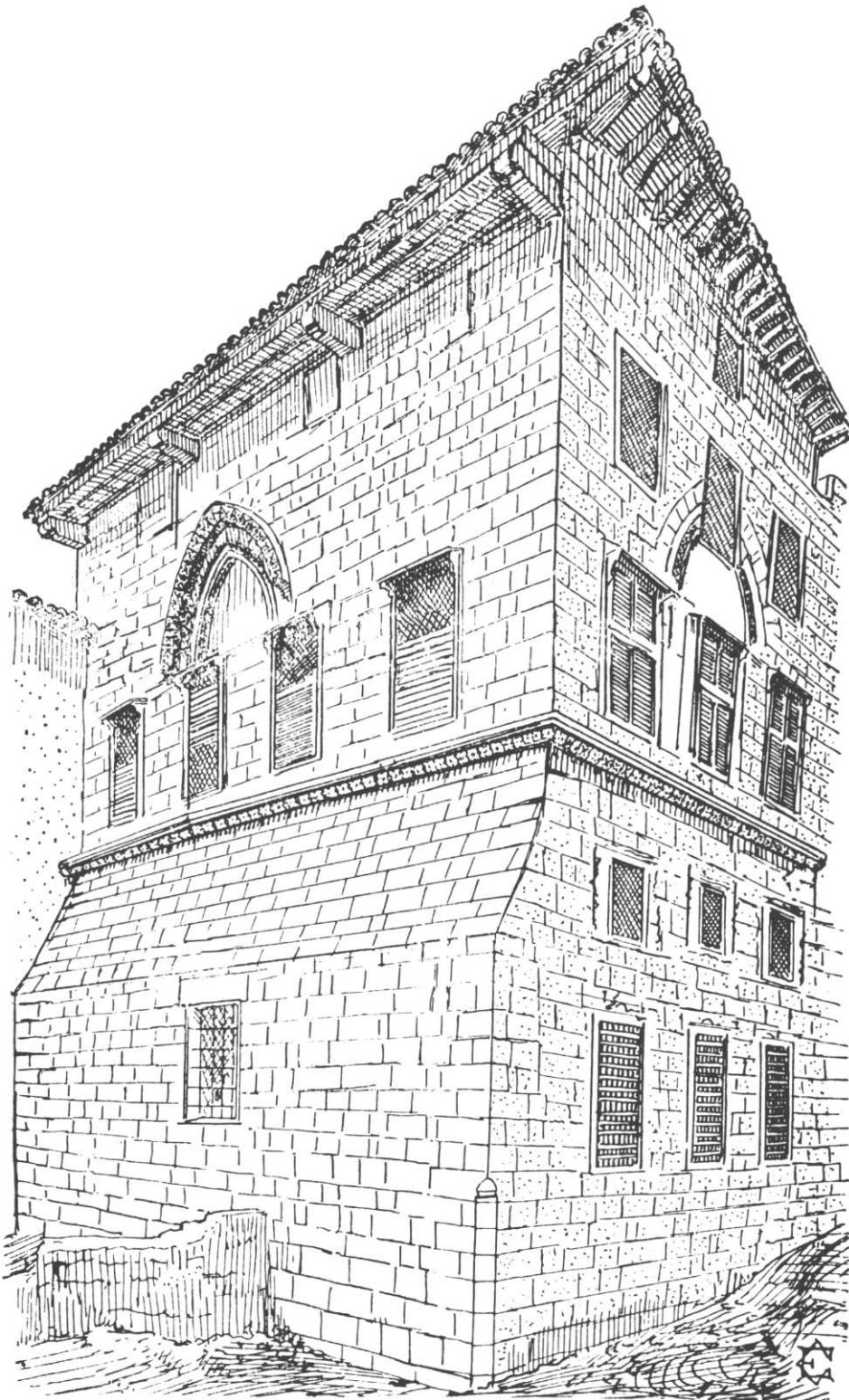


Fig. 347
House east of St. Sophia.

93
 Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. i
 p. 187¹

of fourteenth-century capitals with low abacus and a concave bell carved with a drip-course astragal above which a row of curled-up maple leaves climb up and seem to give support to the impost. A porch of this kind gives useful shelter against the blazing sun and the torrential rains of Cyprus. The door opening out of it is modern and of no interest.

4

HOUSES

There are a few interesting specimens of domestic architecture in Nicosia, dreadfully mutilated though they all are. Dapper, writing in 1702, reports² that 'one of the principal occupations of the Turks since they became masters of the city is to pull all the palaces and beautiful houses to pieces in the hope of finding some hidden treasure or at least of selling the stones and other material for use in some other buildings;' the present state of the towns in Cyprus and the passion for demolition which prevails there completely confirm this remark. I may add, furthermore, that most of the fine doorways still to be seen in houses in Nicosia give the impression of having been taken down and reused.

Willibrand of Oldenburg describing the houses of Nicosia in 1211, says: 'By virtue of the paintings and carvings with which the insides are decorated they closely resemble the houses of Antioch.'³

Florio Bustron picks out as a specially noteworthy feature of the domestic architecture of Nicosia the 'Covered Street,' a great shopping

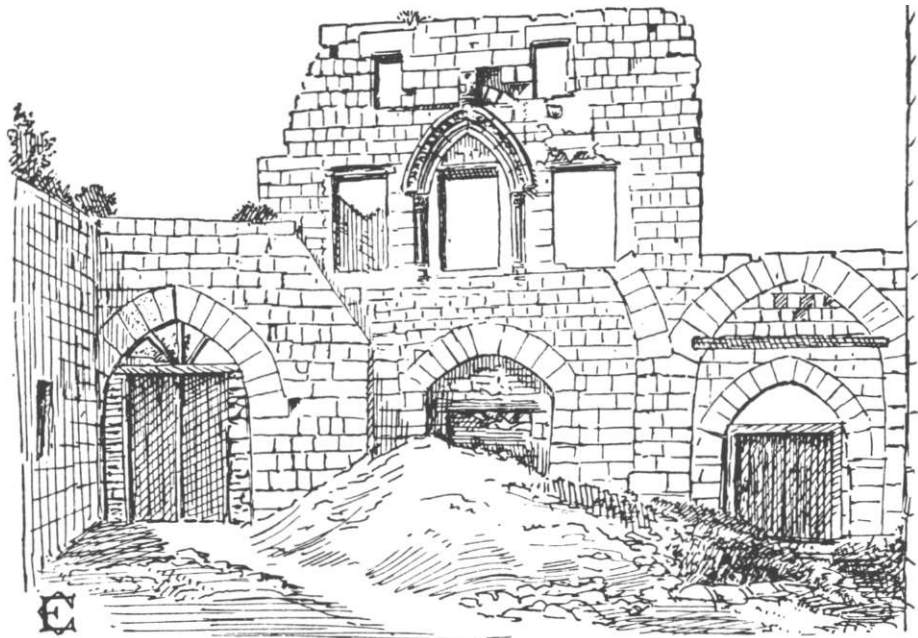


Fig. 348
 House east of St. Sophia.

HOUSES

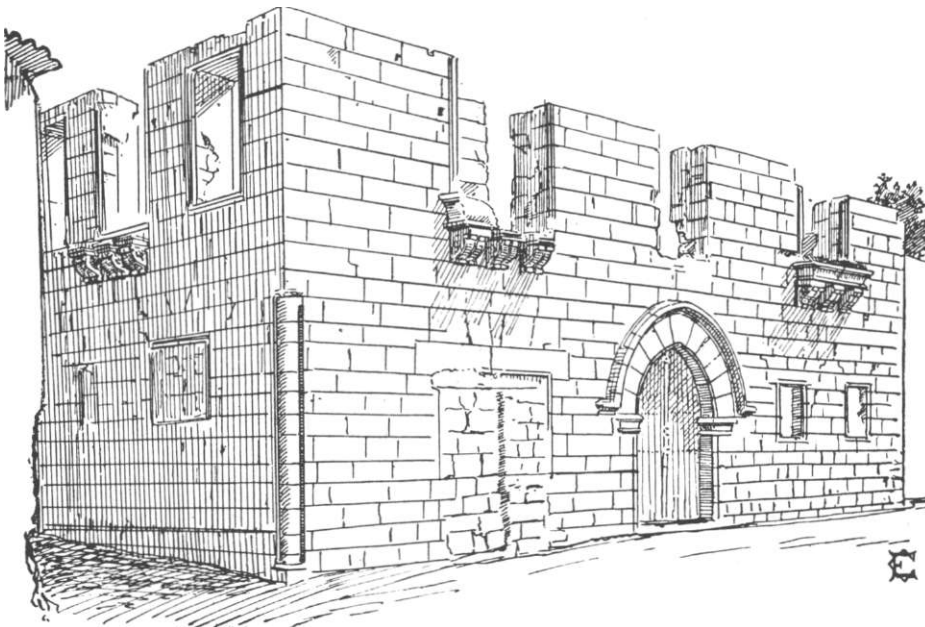
street lined with porticos, like those to be found in Provins and in Famagusta. It began in front of the castle, opposite its north face, and ran from there to the palace and the lower square.⁹⁴

In 1518 Jacques Le Saige, a merchant of Douai, found the city 'ugly, because most of the houses are made with earth and all they have for roof is some thick reeds with earth on top; that is how they are covered⁹⁵ and the streets are crooked, whether high or low.'⁹⁶ On the other hand in 1670, Nicholas Hurtrel, a merchant of Arras, says: 'The rest of the houses in this city ... are for the most part built in fine ashlar masonry ... with most beautiful and broad streets. Attached to the aforesaid houses are many beautiful gardens well planted.'⁹⁷

In 1565 the Proweditore Ascanio Savorgnano⁹⁸ says that the houses of Nicosia are mediocre, low and surrounded by numerous gardens; the streets are choked with dust and the city is badly laid out (*incomposta*).

The city of today still deserves the same adjective. There are scarcely any old houses that are completely preserved and those that do still survive have all more or less deteriorated. Their stonework shows signs of frequent rebuilding; often all that remains is the old doorways, most of them re-erected and inserted into later walls since the masonry courses do not correspond. Given that it is only in the course of this century that people have lost the habit of making Gothic doorways it is often difficult to tell the difference between recent specimens and old ones re-used in new buildings.

Among the old houses of Nicosia the most complete examples, apart from the Serai and the archbishop's palace, are two (Figs. 347 and 349)



94
Bustron, p. 464.

95
Most houses in Cyprus are still roofed in the same way.

96
p. 140.

97
MS. quoted, p. 105. Standards of house-building were lower in the seventeenth century than in the sixteenth.

98
Bibl. Nat., MS. ital. No. 1500.

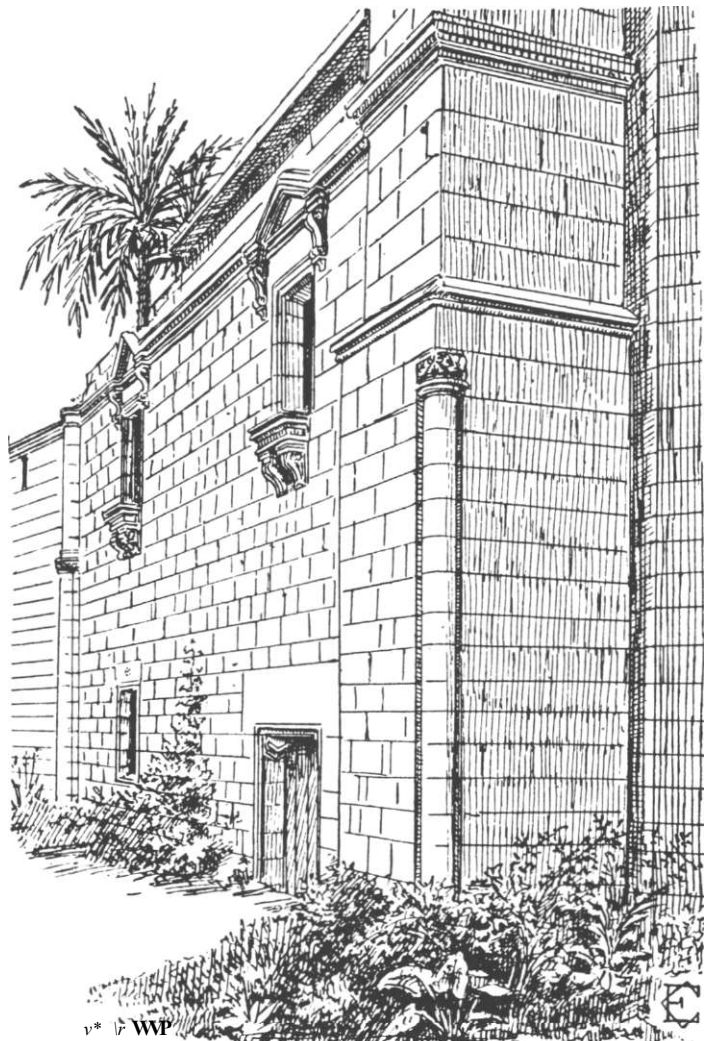
Fig. 349
House south-east of
St. Sophia.

which make up the south-east corner of the square surrounding St. Sophia. The larger (Fig. 347), on the salient angle of the square, consists of a ground floor pierced by some very plain, rectangular window openings, a low upper storey, a kind of attic with similar windows, and between them a *piano nobile* with a large pointed window on each face under a projecting hood-mould carved with a series of square rosettes like those in figure 161. A string-course in the same design runs beneath the windows which used to be filled with flamboyant tracery like that of the great window of the Serai (Fig. 344). At some later date the ground floor has been clumsily enlarged.

Fig. 350
House in Nicosia.

Fig. 351
Augustinian building.

The neighbouring house (Fig. 348), in the re-entrant angle of the square, has an almost identical *piano nobile* with the same large window; the hood-mould has a finial at its apex and the jambs have preserved colonnettes with foliated capitals. The ground floor, which has wide



openings, must have been a shop; within are the remains of an earlier construction, similar but larger.

These two houses must have been rebuilt after the devastation caused by the Egyptian army in 1426. It is known that the Mamelukes, and after them some gangs of pillagers, looted and burned the rich houses of Nicosia.

Not far from these houses, in the street leading from the east end of the cathedral, four walls are still standing, in an almost complete state of preservation, of a small town house rather later in date (Fig. 349). Its pointed doorway under a hood-mould, the arch being entirely plain, resembles houses in Catalonia, Aragon and Sicily. The ground floor and first storey windows, rectangular and of medium size, are decorated with a plain bead moulding round the edges. Those on the first floor have also a deep sill carried on brackets, forming a kind of small, unbalustraded balcony. The brackets have volutes of a Renaissance type, their lateral faces are carved with grotesque figurines in low relief in a rather coarse Italian style. These windows must have had pediments above them like those of a building of the Augustinians (Fig. 351) where the bases are of the same design. These buildings are contemporary and can be attributed to the second half of the fifteenth century in view of the strong Italian influence then prevalent in Cyprus. Note that it was in 1473 that Archbishop Gonème died, in the Augustinian monastery, and it was he who paid for the rebuilding of the strangers' hospice." It is very probable that this is the building which still survives on the north side of the church, in the parvis. The corbelled doorway of its ground floor (Fig. 351) and the angle-colonnette are still Gothic; the windows with their brackets and pediments are pure Italian Renaissance.

A similar mixture of styles, but this time plainly due to reconstruction, can be seen in another, almost complete house in Nicosia (Fig. 350). Like the previous ones it has a ground floor and garret timidly lit by small, very plain rectangular windows; the grand style is reserved for the doorway and the large window over it. The doorway has heavy impostes and the arch is framed by a rectangular panel under a protruding moulding, a type of decoration normal in Aragon, Catalonia and Sicily in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The twin windows above it have a slender central colonnette of white marble of the Doric order, reflecting Renaissance influence. The two round arches which it supports are decorated by a complicated set of mouldings, in this recalling the west-end window of Morphou church, but the jambs are in a distinctly earlier style than the rest of the decorations; they take the shape of a pilaster with a colonnette at the angle, both of which have bases and capitals of a type that, in France, would point to the mid-thirteenth century. Allowing for a certain degree of archaism they are certainly much earlier than any other features of the house; they are in a good style, the bases well profiled and the capitals carved most effectively with exuberant

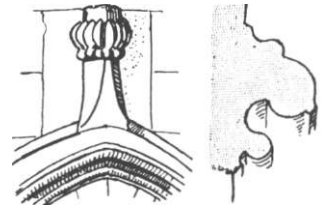
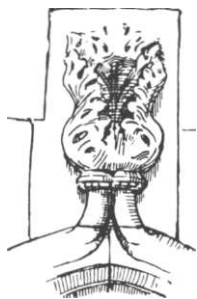


Fig. 352
Details from the doorway of a house north-east of St. Sophia.



353
Finial of doorway in
Nicosia.

foliage, the crockets being spread widely and the abacuses rudimentary as on many Cypriot buildings.

Apart from these houses there are scarcely any other examples of ancient domestic architecture remaining in Nicosia except for some Gothic arched doorways, most of them with pointed arches. Three or four of them have hood-moulds with a finial at the apex (Figs. 352 and 354, near St. Sophia; Fig. 353 near the Augustinian church). They probably date from the fifteenth century. The finest is the large pointed doorway of an important town-house between St. Sophia and Yeni Djami (Fig. 354).

In this example there is a shield surrounded by the collar of an Order immediately above the finial and above that a moulding which forms a sort of small, square hood-mould. The device has been obliterated but it was certainly quartered because two cross lines, barely visible, divide it into four. The collar consists of a string of florets and the shield is suspended by a strap. To right and left of the finial, at a small distance, are two blocks, each carved with two smaller shields, suspended by two straps. Three of them have been mutilated and their devices are unrecognisable but the fourth is intact; it bears two fesses enty and undy, perhaps for Rochechouart.

In another street north-west of St. Sophia a garden gate (Fig. 356) deserves mention. It has a single round arch with a thick torus moulding and a groove and a continuous zigzag whose eleven points protrude over the groove. The edges of the zigzag are ornamented with a bead moulding and in each of the triangular points is an eight-pointed star in a hoi-

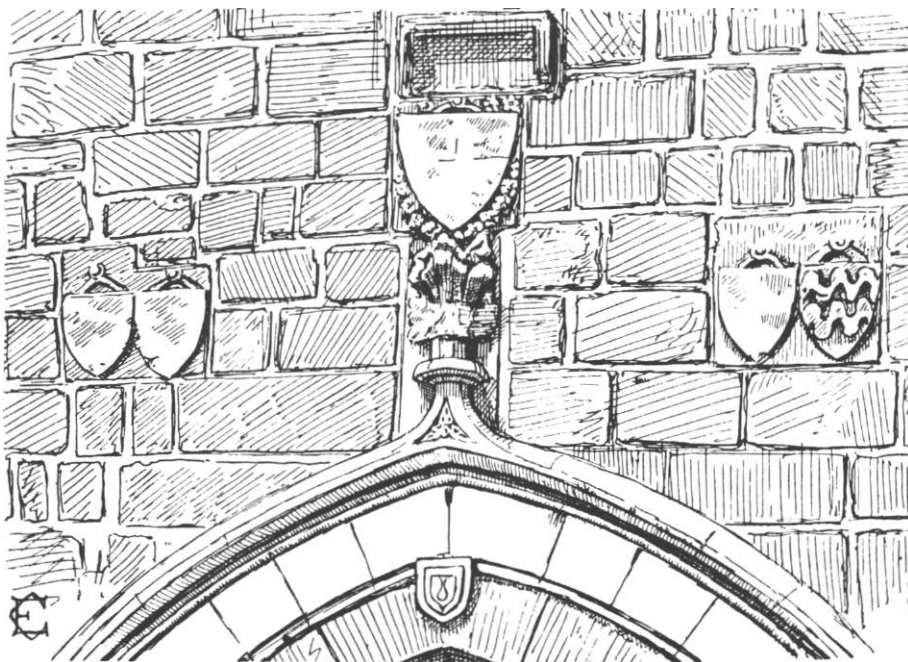


Fig. 354
Details of a doorway
in a town-house.

HOUSES

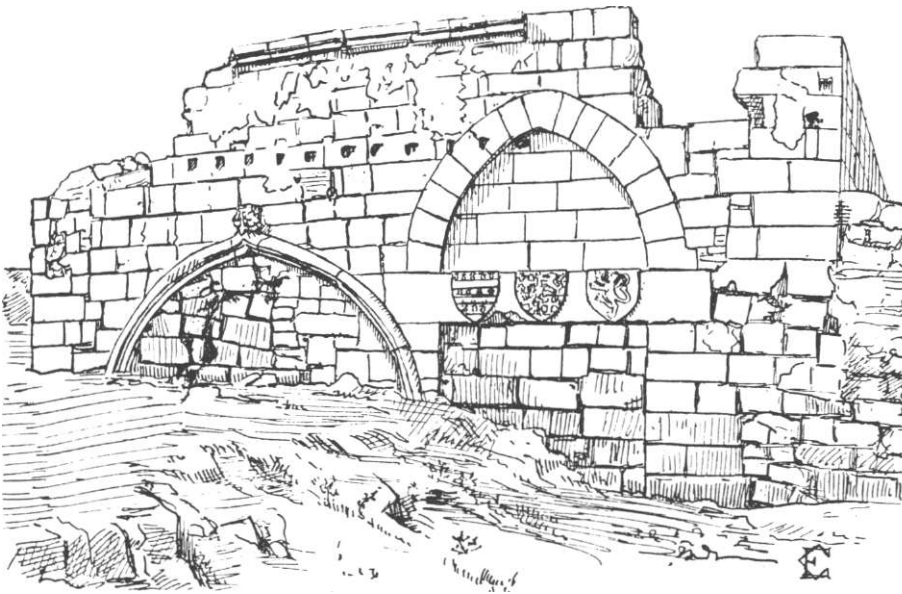


Fig. 355
Ruined house, between
St. Sophia and Augus-
tinians.

lowed-out circle. There must have been a moulding round the outside of the arch but it has disappeared. One would be tempted to call this door Romanesque, were it not for the heavy capitals, or corbels, with two rows of foliage in a good fourteenth-century style which form the imposts. The carving is only on the inner face of these imposts. It is one of the most original pieces of architecture in Nicosia and is reminiscent of some buildings in Sicily.

Between St. Sophia and the Omerye Mosque is a completely ruined domestic building which was the subject of a communication from Major Tankerville Chamberlayne to Mas Latrie who published it, with a commentary, in the *Revue Illustrée de la Terre Sainte*. Neither author was able to identify the date of construction nor one of the three escutcheons on it. It is a rectangular building (Fig. 355) whose upper portion has disappeared down to the string-course which used to run between the ground floor and the first storey. Of the ground floor only two walls remain, one being of no interest. The other faces north onto the street. In it there is a door with a large, monolithic marble lintel carved with three escutcheons under a completely plain tympanum framed by a pointed arch without mouldings. The right-hand escutcheon bears a lion rampant, for Cyprus or Armenia, and the centre one Cyprus, Lusignan and Jerusalem quartered. De Mas Latrie was of the opinion that it must be earlier than 1395 when the Kingdom of Armenia was united with the Kingdom of Cyprus and an extra quarter was added, but in practice the quartered shield remained as before. The left-hand escutcheon bears barry of three charged with besants bearing crosses. These will be the arms of the owner of the house, or of the government official responsible for its construction unless they are those of some pious

institution which occupied the building.

To the left of this door and touching one side of the opening is a hood-mould, much wider and placed lower. It can only have been constructed later, when the door I have been describing was taken out of use. It must have stood above a wider arched door which took the place of the former one in the fifteenth century. The very obtuse apex of the hood-mould is carved with a slight ogee, above which is a heavy bunch of



Fig. 356
Garden gate.

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Fig. 357
Doorway in Omerye
quarter.

foliage. I conclude that the original house dated from the fourteenth century, to judge by the disused door, and was rebuilt in the fifteenth.

In the main street not far away, fringed with many ruins of old buildings, I would draw attention in particular to the lower part of a turret containing a spiral staircase, the last remaining evidence of a Gothic building.

In the same Omerye quarter are several handsome doorways. One of them (Fig. 357) is of imposing size, with a pointed arch and jambs buried up to half their height. These side-pieces are carved with three fillets separated by grooves in one of which is a series of very small canopies in the form of pinnacles, a decoration copied from the jambs of one of the doorways of St. Sophia. Above these jambs extend long carved imposts between an astragal and a low abacus shaped like a drip-course. They were decorated with beautiful friezes of gracefully undulat-



1 lg. JJU

Panel from an official residence,

ingjagged leaves but unfortunately most of the carving has been mutilated.

The broad arch over this doorway is richly ornamented. In the innermost register is a small pearled channel, a bead moulding and a groove filled with wild-rose motifs followed by a large flattened torus with a corner fillet on the angle of the arch, above it a second groove of wild-roses followed by a smaller fillet, a plain groove and, on the outside, between two mouldings, a groove filled with a nail-head motif formed by four-pointed stars. The date might be the fifteenth century. The foliar friezes are more Venetian than French.

On another house-door in a parallel street the jambs, imposts and a pointed arch are richly moulded, the profiles being Renaissance rather than Gothic apart from some small *congés*. The mouldings of the arch and the jambs make right-angled returns above and below the impost. The hood-mould over the arch culminates in a finial of bunched leaves and is supported on brackets. The moulding is a debased drip-course, the Gothic brackets too have lost their elegant curve, the finial (Fig. 353), shows a hybrid amalgamation of French fifteenth-century finials with the heavier and more irregular foliage characteristic of the Venetian flamboyant style. This door is not earlier than the fifteenth century, indeed the sixteenth is a more likely date and it could even be much more recent given the nature of Cypriot art.

A handsome house on the other side of the same street has a doorway which, like many others, is not bonded into the stonework of the rest of the building and must have been re-used. It certainly came from either a public building or the residence of an official of the Venetian Republic because over it is an elegant intaglio panel carved with well-executed sculptural designs consisting of a lion of St. Mark at the top standing on a shield charged with a two-headed eagle (Fig. 358). To right and left of the shield are branches of a pomegranate tree laden with fruit and bananas (?); at the foot of the panel is a small Renaissance-style frieze in a concave cavetto.

The base of this panel touches the apex of the pointed doorway; at the top it joins on to a projecting moulding which forms another, much larger square panel which includes both the hood-mould of the doorway and the sculptured panel, rising at its base to frame the hood-mould. Its profile is a thick torus with a fillet linked to a very narrow groove, forming a kind of drip-course.

The hood-mould itself presents a group of rather flaccid mouldings including a small groove filled with four-pointed stars and a row of dog-tooth ornament. The imposts are in the form of an inverted Attic base with a dotted line on the upper string-course and a dog-tooth row on the lower torus. The jambs are carved with bead mouldings.

Another door in the Omerye quarter (Fig. 359), which has clearly been re-erected in the place it now occupies, has the same pointed arch framed by a label formed by a series of Gothic mouldings. These mould-

ings rise vertically from elegant polygonal brackets composed of an abacus carved with leaves and dog-tooth ornament; the pointed base is decorated with pearled channels on the angles. Capitals decorated with vertical pearled gadroons support the corners of the impost; originally they corresponded to colonnettes between wide grooves which ran up the jambs but these have now been replaced by unornamented side-pieces. Above the impost is a torus with fillet linking with a similar moulding which frames the arch and is composed as follows: torus with fillet, dog-tooth ornament, fillet, talon, row of pearls, fillet, talon and torus.

This doorway, original and rather elegant, belongs to what one might call the Cypriot Renaissance style and dates from the period of Venetian domination.

The same style, and an even better example of it, can be seen not far away, on a house-door with a semi-circular arch (Fig. 360). The jambs are ornamented with a torus between grooves and fillets and the arch with a plain torus. The face of the arch is very broad and undecorated, as in Catalan art. The heavy impost describe a sort of snub-nosed cyma-recta beneath a Gothic torus and fillet and look very ungainly.

On the keystone of the arch is a handsome acanthus leaf, pointed downwards, under a barbarous human head intruding into a broad carved moulding which projects strongly around the extrados of the round arch. This moulding is carved with a row of dog-tooth ornament, a row of

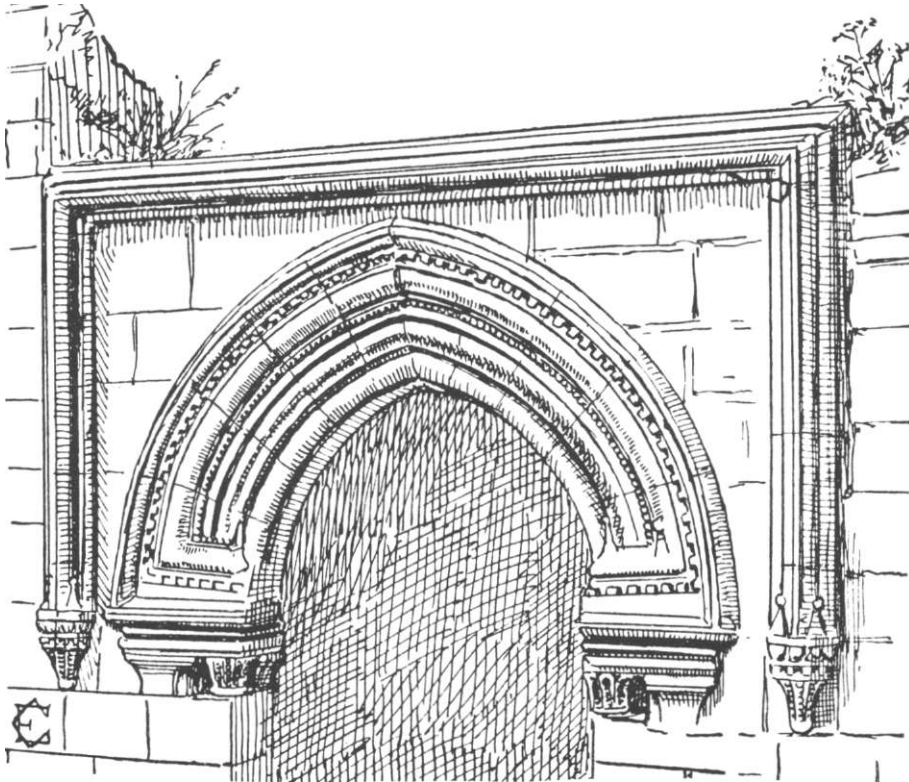


Fig. 359
Arch of doorway in
Omerye quarter.

pearls and a row of water leaves. At its lower ends it is clasped by bunches of five large jagged leaves with pearls down their centre ribs.

Alongside these Renaissance works are often house-doors which provide interesting evidence of the persistence of medieval art. One, for instance, near the Omerye (Fig. 361) has a marble plaque above it bearing a cross and the date 1738; it is not impossible that it is of that date. Nevertheless it presents two pointed arches framed by a hood-mould with torus and fillet supported on well-designed Gothic brackets that one would be tempted to date to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The arches are moulded with a groove between two toruses and

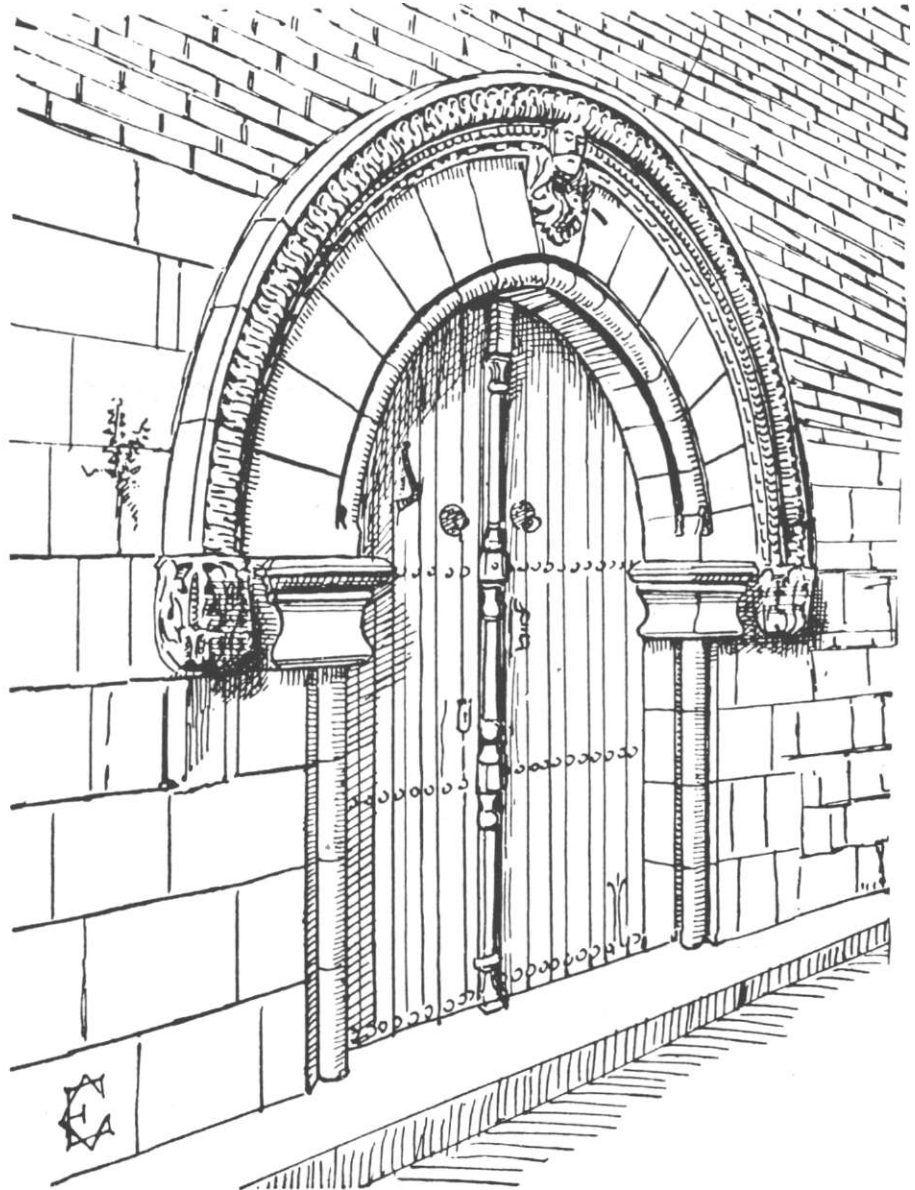


Fig. 360
House doorway, Nicosia.

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on the inner one this moulding describes a series of zigzags just like those on many Romanesque doorways. Each jamb is ornamented with two colonnettes; their capitals are replaced by heavy imposts composed of a plain ribbon moulding between an abacus and astragal moulded with a torus and fillet.

Many' houses in Nicosia have similar doorways, some even better designed, whose date might be anywhere between the end of the fourteenth century and the end of the eighteenth. Let me take as an example one belonging to a house near the Phaneromeni Church. It has a pointed arch; its jambs are ornamented with colonnettes with convex,

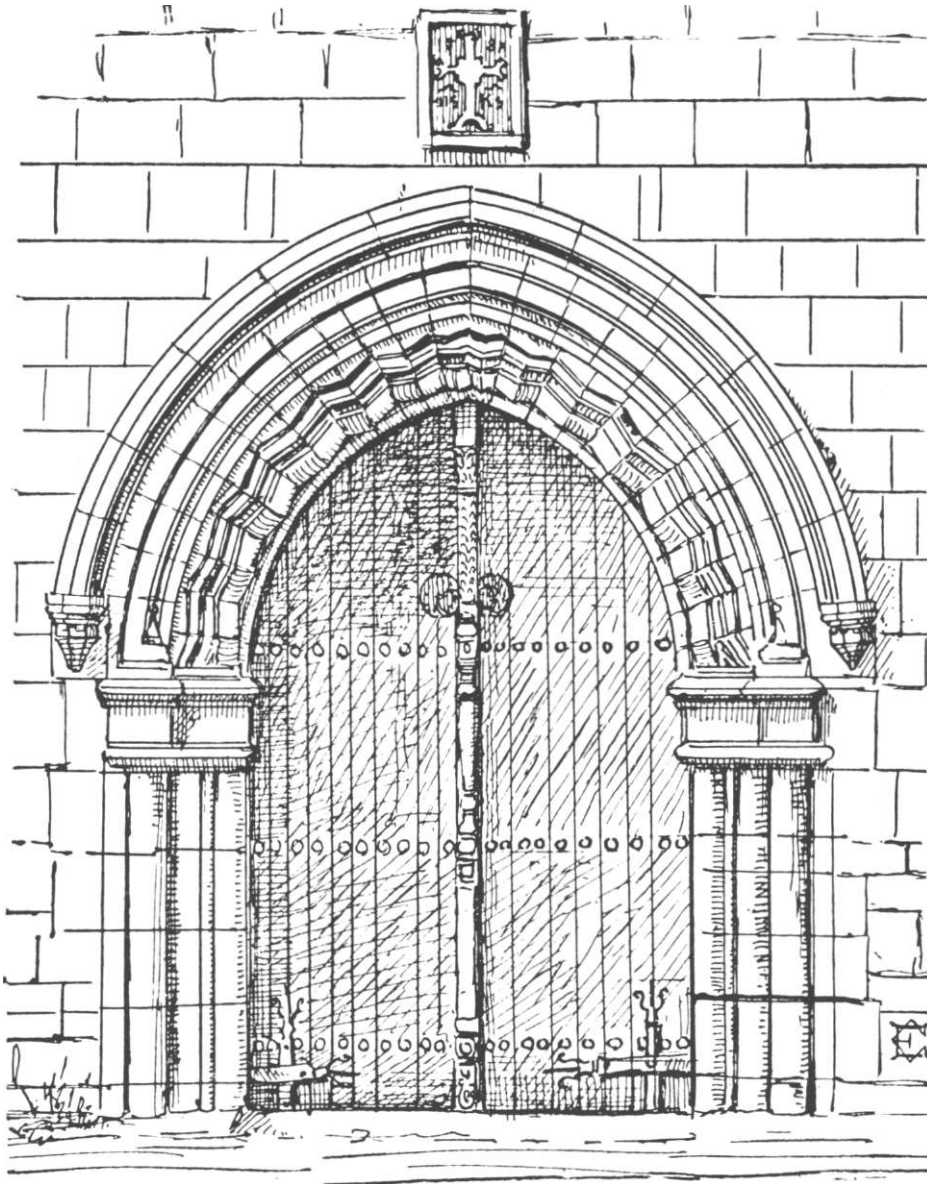


Fig. 361
Doorway of eighteenth-century house, Nicosia.

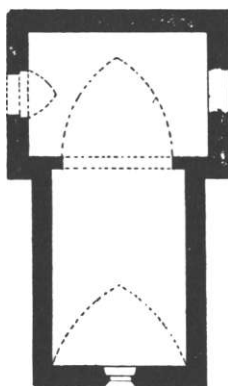


Fig. 362
Manoir of Potamia

moulded capitals linked to imposts of the same profile surmounted by an abacus in the form of a drip-course. The arch has a broad face with a torus at the angle; at the foot of the moulding are small *congés* carved with stylised foliage. The hood-mould is a well-designed drip-course with a torus and fillet. It is supported on pointed Gothic brackets, polygonal in plan, elongated and elegantly curved.

5

THE MANOR OF POTAMIA

Potamia lies on the banks of the Yialia or Idalia¹⁰⁰ river, from which it takes its name, facing St. Sozomenos on the opposite bank and also quite close to Dhali. Today the site is occupied by a beautiful Turkish *tchiflik* surrounded by splendid orchards.

Originally this was a royal manor. Father Stephen Lusignan,¹⁰¹ Amadi's Chronicle¹⁰² and Florio Bustron¹⁰³ all agree in attributing its foundation to King James I (1382-1398). 'The King and his successors often used to go there' says Stephen Lusignan¹⁰⁴ 'for repose and recreation.' The chronicle of Amadi calls Potamia 'bella e gentil casa real; stantia bella e uno delectevole zardin,'¹⁰⁵ a description repeated by Florio Bustron though not in quite such Venetian language.¹⁰⁶ It was from here that King Janus set out in 1426 for the lamentable battle of Khirokitia. A few days later the Mamelukes sacked Potamia and burned it down.¹⁰⁷ Its final destruction is ascribed by Stephen Lusignan to the Venetians.¹⁰⁸

100

Idalia may have been the original name since this stream runs by Dhali. Yialia was spelled *Jaille* by the French, meaning spring.

101

Descr. de Cypre, t. 1. 36.

102

p. 494.

103

p. 352.

104

loc. cit.

105

p. 510.

106

p. 352.

The *tchiflik* of Potamia still contains a building of dressed stone (Fig. 362) which was once part of the royal villa. Its walls are 80 centimetres thick and it consists of two square rooms communicating with each other through a pointed arcade. The first measures internally 6.25 by 4.23 metres; it was never vaulted. The second had a pointed barrel vault and measures 4.63 by 4.44 metres; it is lower than the other and has a pointed window on the axis of the large arcade. Perpendicular to this axis the longer room has two doors facing each other. Originally there was an upper storey.

On the outside can be seen a cornice with a Gothic profile in the form of a low inverted Attic base.

About fifty metres away, outside the *tchiflik* and on the banks of the stream, is a small mound partly consisting of debris. The local Christians venerate it as the site of a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine; it was obviously connected with the royal villa. The chapel at Pyrga is also, wrongly, given the dedication of St. Catherine; it is quite near and was also founded by King Janus. The style of this ruined royal manor is close to that of Kolossi, Khirokitia and Kantara and the sadly incomplete

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fragment appears very likely to be a surviving portion of James I's country estate.

107

Amadi, p. 510.

108

Descr., loc. cit. and fol. 210.

6

THE LIGHTHOUSE AT PYRGOS

109

Hist., vol. III, p. 230.

The name of Pyrgos, a place between Polis and Karavostasi (*Xeros*), is possibly derived from a lighthouse erected on a steep-sided dune above the mouth of a small stream which falls into the Karamanian sea near the ruined Cistercian abbey of St. Theodore. The lighthouse is almost in ruins also and there are no inhabitants on the spot apart from a single family living in a small house at the foot of the dune.

The only document that refers to this lighthouse is a royal writ of 1468 which has been published by Mas Latrie-¹⁰⁹ it is issued in favour of 'sire Antonio de Lorsa, guevernadour de la lumière.' It sets out the perquisites of this official: the bailey of Morphou is to provide him annually with 60 bushels of wheat, 40 measures of wine, 200 bushels of barley, 50 loads of straw; he is also granted the usufruct of the royal manor of Petra, where he will live, its curtilage and a bondswoman of the royal demesne. A stonemason was also attached to the service of the lighthouse; he was to maintain 'les fours de ladite lumière (Mas Latrie suggests '*jours* ') and received daily a flask of wine and three loaves.

The ruins of the Pyrgos lighthouse now only amount to a few courses of ordinary Byzantine masonry. It was a hexagonal tower like the old lighthouse at Trapani in Sicily but it is impossible to establish either its date or the plan of its superstructure. It was about three metres across, built rather carelessly in bluish sandstone quarried from the neighbouring cliffs.

It would be rash to attempt to date this building. De Mas Latrie records that in 1847 the site was known as *To Fanari*. So far as I could ascertain the peasants have no knowledge of this name but it is most interesting to learn that it once existed. Very probably, then, this small tower was a lighthouse erected for the benefit of shipping and also perhaps as a contribution to the defence of the island since it would have been able to signal in the one direction to St. Hilarion and in the other to the tower on Cape Akamas which for its part could pass on signals to Paphos.

CHAPTER III
KYRENIA DISTRICT
THE CASTLES OF
KYRENIA, ST. HILARION AND BUFFAVENTO

i
RAMPARTS AND CASTLE OF KYRENIA

Kyrenia Castle (Fig. 363) is one of the oldest Latin buildings in Cyprus and one of those which have played the most important part in its history

It was briefly described by Father Stephen Lusignan¹ in 1580 and later by Mariti² and Dapper.³ The fact that most impressed all three was that it had never been taken by storm, which, as we shall see, is quite correct.

Its construction must date from the very beginning of Latin rule, simultaneously with the town walls, in other words between 1192, when Cyprus was occupied by the Latins, and 1211 at which date Willibrand of Oldenburg saw the fortifications of Kyrenia, which he calls *Schernis*. His description is as follows:⁴ 'Civitas parva et munita, Castrum habens in se muratum et turritum, atque maxime in suo bono portu gloriatur.' This pride was not well based; there is no port in the island, with the possible exception of Paphos, that could show less justification for the term the German traveller used of it.

Descriptions of Kyrenia Castle are few and quite inadequate since none of the travellers who visited Cyprus were either allowed to study it or had time enough to do so. I am grateful to the British District Commissioner, Mr. Glossop, for his kindness in allowing me to inspect it and to take photographs; he even gave me a copy of the official plan of the fortress. The plan reproduced at figure 363 is based on this, on the personal observations I was allowed to make and also on an excellent report made by Baron Rey in 1860 on the port and the walls of Kyrenia, which were then better preserved than they are today. The plan only gives the ancient parts of the castle.

The first siege of the castle was in 1228 when the partisans of the Emperor Frederick II who were holding it were forced to surrender it to the Lord of Beirut. However in 1232 the imperialists, who had recently sacked Nicosia, returned to Kyrenia.⁵ They shut themselves up in it

Description de Cypre, fol. 27
and v^o.

vol. I, p. 118. He was only
able to inspect it from the
outside and his description
is taken from a MS. of the
sixteenth century.

Descr. des isles de l'Archipel, (1703 edition), p. 40.

Allatius edition (Cologne,
1653), p. 142.

Gestes des Chiprois, pp. 93,
105, 106; Bustron, p. 98.

Gestes, p. 94; Amadi, p. 163;
Bustron, p. 78.

Gestes, pp. 93-106; Bustron,
p. 98.

HISTORY

together with a large number of women of the nobility whom they had snatched from monasteries; among them the young Alice of Montferrat who had been married to King Henry I,⁶ just declared of age. The King put himself at the head of his troops, supported by the Lord of Beirut, Philip of Novara and Anselm of Brie, and laid siege to Kyrenia.⁷ In command of the garrison was Philip Chinard, a skilled military engineer; although still young he already had a high reputation. He had just come from commanding the defence of Kantara. Born in Cyprus as a child of his mother's second marriage he had a brother called Gawain of Chenegey, a name which clearly indicates that he came from Champagne. Philip's ancestors were no doubt from the same region, perhaps from that part of France still included in the Empire; if so this would explain his attachment to Frederic II.⁸

The second siege of Kyrenia in 1232 was longer and more sternly contested than the first; Frederick II's party was playing its last card. In the course of it the young queen died in the fortress.⁹ Shortly afterwards one of the bravest men in the royal army, Anselm of Brie, was killed under the walls.¹⁰ The siege was now being pressed more closely¹¹ and the garrison was forced to surrender for lack of supplies.¹² This siege appears to have lasted about a year.

During the following century history records nothing of particular interest about Kyrenia for the Kingdom of Cyprus was at peace. In 1310 the usurper Amalric of Tyre was assassinated whereupon Ague of Bessan seized Kyrenia in the name of King Henry II who was about to return from his exile in Armenia.¹³ No sooner had he arrived than he threw into prison in Kyrenia Philip of Novara (son of the well-known man of the same name) and others of his brother's supporters,¹⁴ followed shortly afterwards by his brother the Constable.¹⁵ When this did not put a stop to conspiracies the prisoners in Kyrenia were quickly subjected to most rigorous treatment. The ring-leaders were incarcerated in noisome underground dungeons and kept in total darkness where they were not long in dying.¹⁶

In 1343 one of the prisoners, whose dungeon was evidently better lit, copied out on the orders of the fortress commander Amalric of Mimars the precious manuscript which has preserved for us the text of the *Gestes des Chiprois*.¹⁷ His name was John le Miège, and that is all that is known about someone to whom history is greatly indebted.

In 1349 Hugh IV's sons were seized with the idea of paying a visit to Europe. Galleys were sent after them and it was not long before the enterprising young men were brought back to their royal father who put them in prison in Kyrenia. The young princes suffered only a brief spell of detention as a punishment; their tutor, on the other hand, was hanged.¹⁸ Florio Bustron, who was undoubtedly well cut out to be an official panegyrist, takes an early opportunity of pointing out that King Hugh was a good-natured monarch.¹⁹

He paid for his loyalty with exile and the loss of his lands in Cyprus. With his companions he went to follow the fortunes of Frederick II in southern Italy where my friends Join-Lambert and Bertaux have come across traces of his activities as a castle builder, in particular at Trani in Apulia. The castle he built here exhibits several parallels with the ones at Kyrenia and Famagusta. Philip Chinard appears to have ended his career as governor of Corfu.

Gestes, p. 105; Amadi, p. 173; Bustron, p. 99

10
Gestes, p. 110; Bustron, p. 99.

11
Gestes, p. 105; Bustron, p. 99.

12
Gestes, 105; Amadi, pp. 173-182; Bustron, p. 104.

13
Bustron, p. 207.

14
ib., pp. 240, 242, 243.

15
ib., p. 241.

16
'In una grotta molto oscura et orribile', Amadi p. 397; 'Grotte oscurissime et horrende', Bustron, p. 245.

17
Gestes des Chiprois, ed. by Gaston Raynard, pp. 188 and 334.

When Peter I succeeded to the throne he was bent on allowing others a taste of the very same prison with which his father had made him personally acquainted. In 1368, giving full rein to his natural vivacity, he provided accommodation there for the ambassadors of the Sultan of Cairo.²⁰

In the same year King Peter set out on a second voyage to Europe which also led to tragic consequences. He left behind in Cyprus a jealous wife²¹ and two mistresses. One of them was safe under a husband's protection but the other, Jeanne Laleman, Lady of Choulou, had no one to look after her and was eight months pregnant. Queen Eleanor had Jeanne brought before her and tortured her with every refinement of cruelty; the child was murdered as soon as born and the mother thrown into the nethermost dungeon of Kyrenia. Fortunately a new commander of the fortress was appointed shortly afterwards; he was Hugh of Antiaume, a cousin of the wretched Jeanne. He contrived a skilful reconciliation of his conflicting duties to the King, the Queen and a member of his own family by putting a flooring of boards in her oubliette with a thin layer of earth over them to hide them.²²

Meanwhile it had come to the knowledge of Peter I, who was then in France, that his queen had not only avenged her wrongs but was paying him back in his own coin; he wrote her a letter couched in terms which made her think again. Jeanne Laleman was transferred to the convent of the Poor Clares in Nicosia. When the King returned to Cyprus he went to the convent in fulfilment of a vow, made it a lavish donation and took away Jeanne whose misfortunes had not impaired her beauty and whose religious vocation was considered as falling below the acceptable standard. From then on the comedy transformed itself more and more into a blood-stained tragedy. The King decided that he must avenge the injuries done to his honour by putting the Queen on trial before the High Court. The court found in the Queen's favour and John Visconte, the loyal subject who had thought it his duty to inform the King of her infidelities, was held guilty of calumny. Visconte was imprisoned first in Kyrenia in one of those dungeons shaped like a spherical cistern in which the prisoner was unable to stand up; Florio Bustron calls it a 'bowl' (*scutella*).²³ The unfortunate victim was briefly released from it at the request of a French nobleman on pilgrimage but the King, anxious to get rid of him for good, then sent him to Buffavento where he arranged for him to be starved to death.²⁴

Maddened by his misfortunes Peter I had turned into a tyrant. He revenged himself on his barons by seducing their wives in his turn; eventually they assassinated him on 17th January 1369. Next morning the Lord of Arsouf, one of the conspirators, took a similar vengeance on the Admiral, John of Monstry, by imprisoning him in Kyrenia. The lady of Arsouf, Alice of Majorca, found consolation elsewhere and decided to dispose of her husband; but in the meantime John of Monstry, whose

18
Bustron, p. 257.

19
This characterisation of Hugh IV as 'débonnaire' appears even stranger when viewed in relation to the way he treated his son-in-law, on which see Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, pp. 182-200.

20
Machaeras, pp. 115, 122, 123.

21
According to Machaeras, p. 132, he took with him on his travels one of his wife's chemises and had it put in his bed every night. This touching attention did not mollify Eleanor of Aragon's jealousy nor prevent her from being unfaithful to her husband by way of revenge.

22
Strambaldi, p. 93; Bustron, p. 268; Machaeras, pp. 127-31.

23
p. 271.

24
Strambaldi, p. 101.

dungeon overlooked the sea, managed to loosen two bars of his window, slipped out and swam to a fishing boat of the type known as *grippe* which put him ashore on the coast of Karamania. No sooner had he landed than the wretched man died suddenly.²⁵

These individual misfortunes, however, were nothing in comparison with the public disasters which descended on Cyprus. In 1373 the Genoese launched a disgraceful war against Peter I's widow and orphan in which every Genoese victory was won by treachery and followed by devastations equal to the worst excesses of brigands. Having seized first Famagusta and then Nicosia, they laid siege to Kyrenia which was heroically defended by the Constable, James, uncle of Peter II and his eventual successor as James I. For long their efforts were in vain. They first tried the expedient of forcing his nephew to order the castle to surrender. When this was unsuccessful they brought round by sea a stone-thrower of great power and accuracy.²⁶ This too failed and was followed by an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate.²⁷ They brought up more siege engines and were again frustrated when, in one sortie, fifteen determined men²⁸ and in another six Bulgarian mercenaries managed to set them on fire.²⁹ They then attacked unsuccessfully from the sea flank, having constructed a huge siege-tower on two galleys lashed together; the Constable's artillery pounded it to pieces.³⁰ On another occasion they contrived a raised drawbridge with a counter-poised bascule, but when it was lowered the assault party was caught like rats in a trap.³¹ The garrison of Kyrenia and the Bulgars holding St. Hilarion carried out frequent sorties which intercepted Genoese food-convoys and took much booty. However the siege was wearing the garrison down and they finally capitulated on terms which allowed them to leave the Kingdom, James the Constable being granted safe conduct to Europe. The consequence was that the Genoese were enabled to end the war as they had begun it: with a breach of faith. They seized James of Lusignan at Rhodes, carried him off to Genoa and imprisoned him there, avenging themselves for what they had suffered through his courage by ill-treating him disgracefully.

By 1377 the Queen Mother, Eleanor of Aragon, had become an object of detestation to all the Cypriots for her immoralities and crimes and for the miseries she had brought on the country. She was hated just as bitterly by her own family and her son Peter II managed to persuade her parents to invite her to come home. She went to Kyrenia to settle her affairs before embarking there for Aragon.³²

In 1426 the Egyptians invaded Cyprus, took King Janus prisoner and captured Nicosia. Cardinal Lusignan, the Regent of the Kingdom, took refuge in Kyrenia with the King's sons, his sister and the crown jewels. The commander of the garrison was Stephen Pignol; but peace was signed before Kyrenia was besieged.³³

During the troubled reign of the incompetent John II, who was

25
Machaeras, p. 233 et seq.;
Strambaldi, pp. 189-221;
Bustron, pp. 312, 315.

26
Bustron, pp. 318, 319.

27
ib., p. 323.

28
Machaeras, p. 284.

29
ib. and cf. Machaeras, p. 270.

30
ib., p. 324.

31
ib., p. 265.

32
Machaeras, pp. 329-30; cf.
Amadi, p. 487.

33
Bustron, pp. 329, 366.

dominated in turn by his mistress, his two wives and his son James the Bastard, the ghastly prisons of Kyrenia once more housed some distinguished guests. In 1458 Prince James came back from Rhodes, where he had taken himself off in a fit of petulance against his family. Unlike the Prodigal Son he celebrated his return by a night-time escalade of the walls of Nicosia, after which he ravaged a few houses and killed one or two people; but he did then present himself before his father, who gave no sign of harsh feelings towards these spirited manifestations of his son's naturally warm and noble disposition. However Queen Helen Palaeologina, whose domination was such that the King could deny her nothing, did manage to obtain his agreement to send to Kyrenia the prince's two best friends and accomplices. Being Archbishop Elect of Cyprus Prince James had had the good taste to choose his boon-companions from among the best-connected people in holy orders: one was a Brother Salpon, a Hospitaller whom he had brought back with him from Rhodes, and the other was a worthy canon called John Grandhomme who had recently arrived from Rome. Acting on instructions from the Queen the Captain of Kyrenia had them both put to the torture.

In spite of such step-motherly provocation James the Bastard by 1460 had made good progress. He had already dispossessed his legitimate sister Charlotte and added temporal power to his archiepiscopal dignity. The latter did not prevent him from summoning an infidel army to his aid from Egypt. When the enemy approached Charlotte of Lusignan and her husband, Louis of Savoy, threw themselves into Kyrenia, the only place in the Kingdom still to recognise them. They were besieged there by James and his Moslem auxiliaries.³⁴

The fortress was well stocked with supplies, weapons of war and munitions but the siege was pressed hard. To begin with a piece of artillery brought from Sigouri Castle was emplaced in a barbican which formed part of the castle defences and two others were established beside the Katholiki church, the Latin church, to play upon the flank of the castle which Bustron calls 'la volta de Canuso.' On the side of the 'spur', by which is no doubt meant the sea wall of the harbour, a Moslem Emir erected a battery of small-calibre pieces which, as Bustron says, caused more alarm than damage. On the roof of a Greek church, probably the one on the rise which commands an angle of the castle, James mounted a culverin which was very effective and killed many of the garrison. Meanwhile a large bombard was being cast in the Latin church turned into a foundry for the purpose; but the gun-founder had made it too big for the metal at his disposal and the piece was unable to do any service.³⁵

The siege was protracted and painful. It was only in 1463 that the commander of the garrison, Sor de Naves, surrendered the fortress to James the Bastard.³⁶ His legitimate sister and Louis of Savoy had already taken ship and abandoned their kingdom as lost for ever.

34

Bustron, pp. 394 et sq.
Mas Latrie, *Nouv. doc. de
l'h.-st. de Chypre*,
pp. 398-408.

35

Bustron, p. 396 '... et
alla banda dello speron allog-
gio un altro amira, dove
posero due altri pezzi
d'artelleria ma piccole, che
facevano piuttosto pairra che
danno, e sopra una chiesa
greca, pose il re (Giacomo)
una serpentina, la qual fece
gran danno a Cerines e
uccise più persone al
castello. Il re fece far una
gran bombardarda in la
chiesa de Catolichi, ma il
maestro fece la forma
grande, et il métallo che
liqueface, era poco, et venne
falsa si che non valiva
niente. Cerines haveva
artillerie d'ogni sorte et il
castello era fornito a suf-
ficientia.'

KYRENIA CASTLE

James the Bastard wasted no time in putting his new conquest to as much use as his predecessors and perhaps more. In 1470 he uncovered a plot and had those who hatched it condemned to death; however, yielding to his mother's entreaties, he reprieved Balian of Norès, John Sebba and James Salacha whom he imprisoned in Kyrenia.³⁷ They recovered their liberty at his death. A second plot to hand over Kyrenia to Charlotte of Lusignan had in 1473 been repressed with greater severity, as was reasonable: the conspirators were all condemned to be quartered, some at Famagusta, others in Kyrenia Castle.³⁸ At that time the fortress commander was Nicholas Morabit; he came under James's suspicion and was replaced by Louis Almeric. Fearing, with some justice, that his successor might be coming with special instructions concerning him, he preferred to make the hand-over by slipping away through a postern.³⁹

When in 1475 Catherine Cornaro was dispossessed by the Venetian Republic she threatened to go and shut herself up in Kyrenia.⁴⁰

The castle still made an excellent prison, then as now, but although almost impregnable before the invention of gun-powder it had by the sixteenth century become practically impossible to defend. In 1565 the Venetian Proweditore, Ascanio Savorgnano, was concerned about this and arranged for a military engineer, Sebastian Venier, to work out a scheme for improving the defences. In his report to the Senate⁴¹ Savorgnano details the weaknesses of the fortress; it was easy to isolate it from the land side, by which it was in any case overlooked, and nothing was simpler than to batter it with culverins because, as was generally known, good culverins had a range of over three miles and batteries could readily be emplaced only a mile and a half from the defences on a line of twelve hundred paces.

Precisely at that distance of a mile and a half from the castle there will be found to this day two towers of St. Mark's church which stand in a dominating position about sixty paces from the lower town of Kyrenia. They are themselves overlooked from a neighbouring site. A very careful sketch by Giovanni Girolamo [Sanmicheli] made palpably plain the accuracy of the report. Moreover the wooded coastline at Kyrenia offered a suitable camp-site for a hostile army in contrast with all other places on the coasts of Cyprus where an enemy encampment was certain to be wiped out by disease in a very short time. Finally, Kyrenia was an easy objective for an invading force coming from Syria whereas to reach it from Venice involved an awkward sea-passage. Accordingly the conclusion of the report was that Kyrenia Castle should be abandoned and rebuilt at a point dominating the defile which linked Kyrenia to Nicosia and the central plain of Cyprus.

It seems to have escaped the notice of the authors of this report that the castle they were postulating was already there viz. St. Hilarion, which the Venetians had just dismantled, and that their criticisms are based solely on the hypothesis of a land attack whereas the great merit of

36
Bustron, p. 411.

37
ib., p. 432.

38
ib., p. 437.

39
ib., pp. 440-43.

40
Mas Latrie, *Nouv. Doc.*,
p. 458.

41
Bibl. Nat., MS. ital., 1500.

Kyrenia, as shown in the past, was its capacity for defending itself against sea-borne attack and the ease with which it could be revictualled from the sea.

A less drastic plan for improving the defences was worked out by the Proweditore Bernard Sagredo;⁴² it was thoroughly sensible and consisted of dredging the harbour, building a mole and improving the fortifications. The castle was partly rebuilt in 1544, which date is carved on the inside of the western curtain wall. This reconstruction was regrettable because it has deprived us of a large part of a most interesting historical monument without having done any good to the Venetians; the castle surrendered to the first summons of the Turks in 1570.⁴³ It was to stand only one more final siege; early in the seventeenth century some insurgents took refuge there and were bombarded by the Pasha, Kios Mehmet.⁴⁴

Dapper merely mentions the castle.⁴⁵ When Mariti was in Kyrenia in the early eighteenth century he could not get permission to visit it but described it from the outside with the help of a sixteenth-century manuscript,⁴⁶ no doubt antedating the final Venetian reconstruction. According to this description the castle was a long rectangle. At three of the corners were towers of a completely obsolete type, open on the side facing the interior, small in diameter and with feeble walls; at the fourth corner was a weak, badly-designed bastion. The walls were four paces thick at the top and six at the bottom; their height was over sixteen.⁴⁷ The fortress still contained some beautiful culverins bearing the Venetian arms. To the west of the town, in a church dedicated to the Virgin, Mariti saw a tomb with a sculptured effigy which was said to be of the last engineer of the castle.⁴⁸ Was it perhaps the tomb to be seen in the narthex of the church of Akhiropiitos?⁴⁹

DESCRIPTION

The town of Kyrenia (figure 363, in which the Great Hall of the castle is erroneously shown as only half its true length) is L-shaped and extends along two sides of the harbour. On the seaward side it was defended only by two fortified breakwaters; on the south it was enclosed within an almost straight curtain wall which ran as far as the castle moat; the west side and the north-west angle were protected by a rather sinuous line of fortifications running as far as the base of the fortified breakwater. This corner of the defences was built in the Venetian period and had small, square bastions; it has now disappeared. A semi-circular tower of an older date (Fig. 365) has survived roughly in the centre of the west side. Its lower part is massive and projects outward at the base; inside are two rooms one above the other whose domed vaults have collapsed. At the top of the tower are preserved the brackets of the machicolis formed by three quadrant courses.

42
ib., MS. *ital.* 1230, fol. 25.

43
Angelo Calepio, *Prise de Nicosie*, ap. Lusignan *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 261 v°.

44
Mariti, *Viaggi*, vol. I, p. 118.

45
Descr. des isles de l'Archipel, (1703 edition), p. 40.

46
Mariti, loc. cit.

47
Mariti, loc. cit. '... a tre angoli vi sono tre torrioni all'antica, vacui, deboli e piccoli, nel quarto angolo e un baluardo mal inteso e debole. La muraglia, grossa passa quattro, e nelle fondamenta sei, e alta pii di passa sedici.'

48
ib.

49
See above, p. 204.

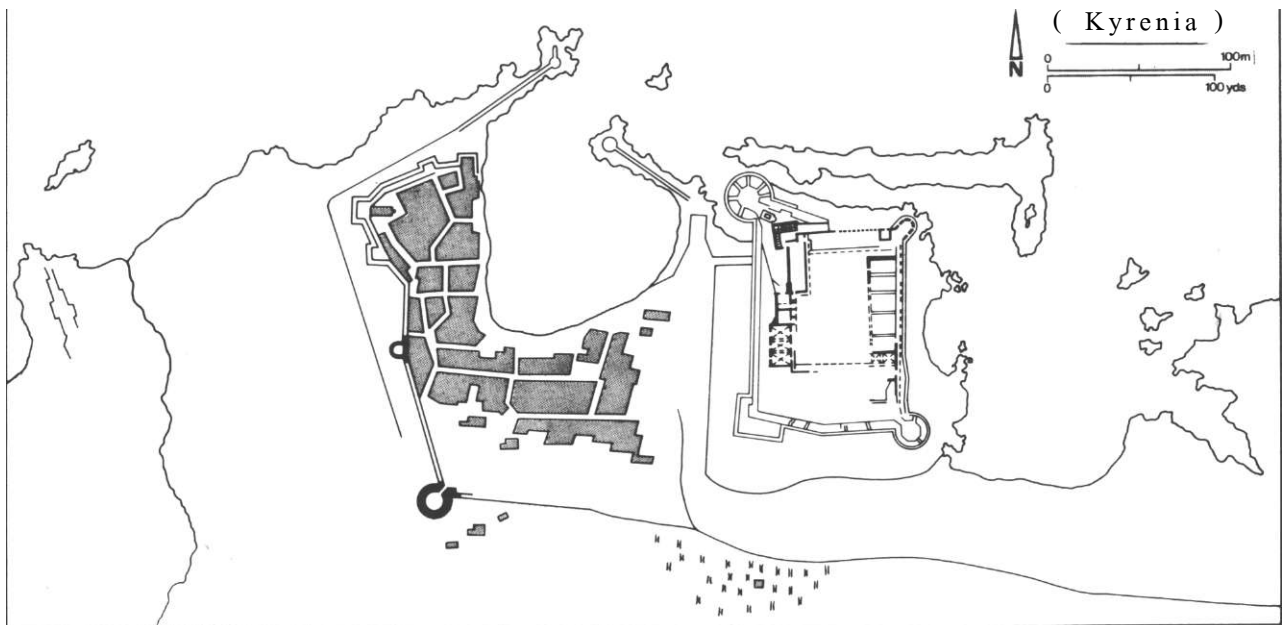
KYRENIA CASTLE

In each of the two storeys there is a narrow rectangular window divided by a slender horizontal lintel. The frames are carved with intertwined meanders. A similar ornamentation can be seen on one of the fireplaces at Kolossi, also on the walls and on some of the town houses at Rhodes and in Lindos Castle which has windows resembling these at Kyrenia. I deduce that the tower is a fifteenth-century work in the style peculiar to the Knights of Rhodes. Apparently it defended one of the town gates.

The south-west angle of the enceinte is defended by another tower in a very different style. It measures 20 metres in circumference and part of it is built of massive masonry blocks with bossages. The door has a deep lintel supported on two corbels whose concave faces are carved with flowers, either wild-rose or cistus, and leaves (Figs. 364 and 366).

In the angle formed by the tower and the southern curtain-wall there is a great square mass of masonry whose upper part was probably hollow and contained a staircase linking the rampart-walk of the curtain to the flat roof of the tower; but this is uncertain since both the curtain and the upper part of the tower have disappeared. The tower must have had its top removed by the Venetians when they transformed it into a kind of bastion and it is likely that the dome with which it is now covered is fairly recent; there are a number of similar vaults to be seen on the Venetian ramparts of Famagusta.

The thirteenth-century enceinte must have been rectangular in form defended at each corner by towers of this type and with a gate in each of the two landward faces. The massive corner tower and the castle may well represent what remains of the *civitas munita* and the *Castrum* Kyrenia.



muratum seen by Willibrand of Oldenburg.

The little harbour of Kyrenia is a circular inlet closed on the west by a short fortified dyke, on the east by the castle and on the north or seaward side by a breakwater which starts from one of the angle towers of the castle and ends in a pier-head from which a chain for blocking the entrance used to run across to the mole opposite. Between the castle and the port that it dominates is a dyke and a broad moat into which seawater flows; another moat isolates the fortress from the mainland, cutting across the small peninsula on which it is built. On the east side of the castle there is another inlet, protected by some reefs off the entrance, which could be used for revictualling the fortress if the harbour was unusable. The castle takes up the whole of the east side of the harbour and of the town. It was joined to the harbour mole by a drawbridge and there was another entrance near the south-east corner. Its weak point is the south and south-west where it is commanded by the cliff and a corner of the town.

The castle's original plan was a rectangle with an extensive parade-ground inside and a tower at all four corners. The north-eastern tower,

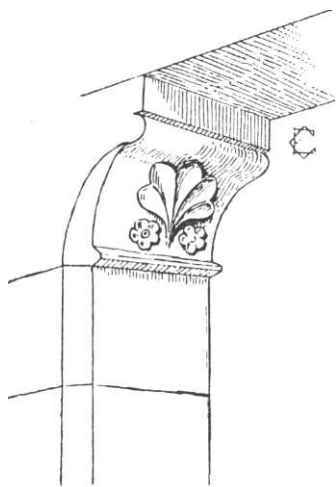


Fig. 364
Corbel on doorway
of angle-tower.

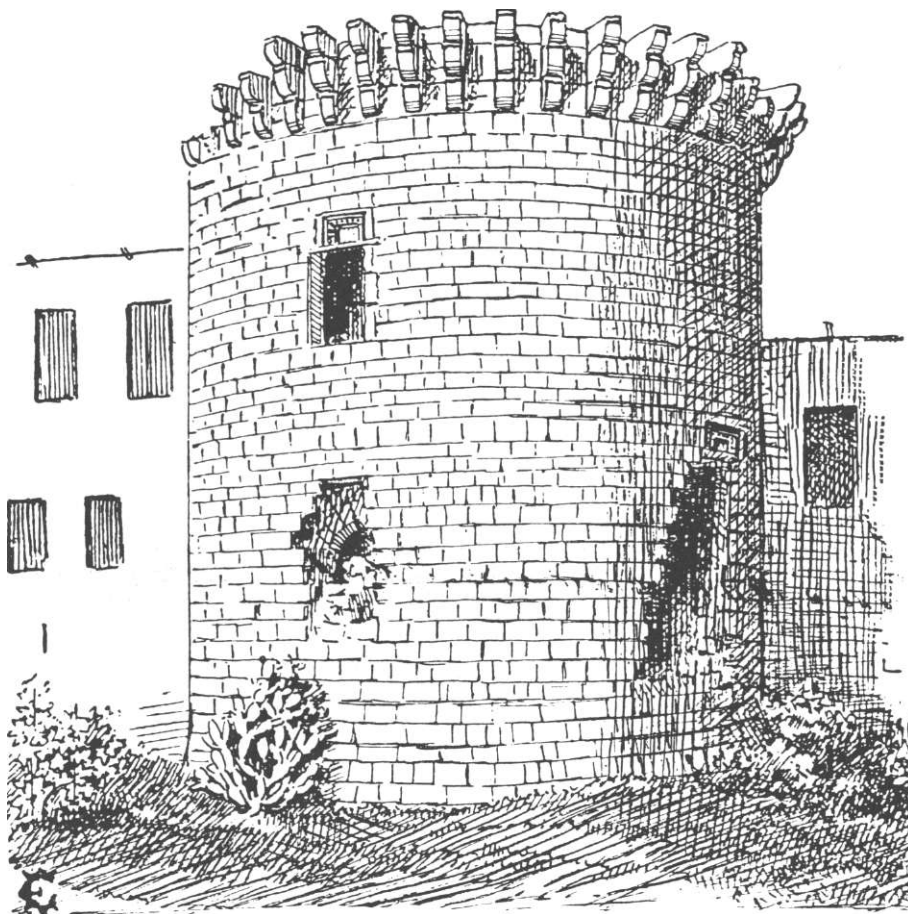


Fig. 365
Tower from
enceinte,
Kyrenia.

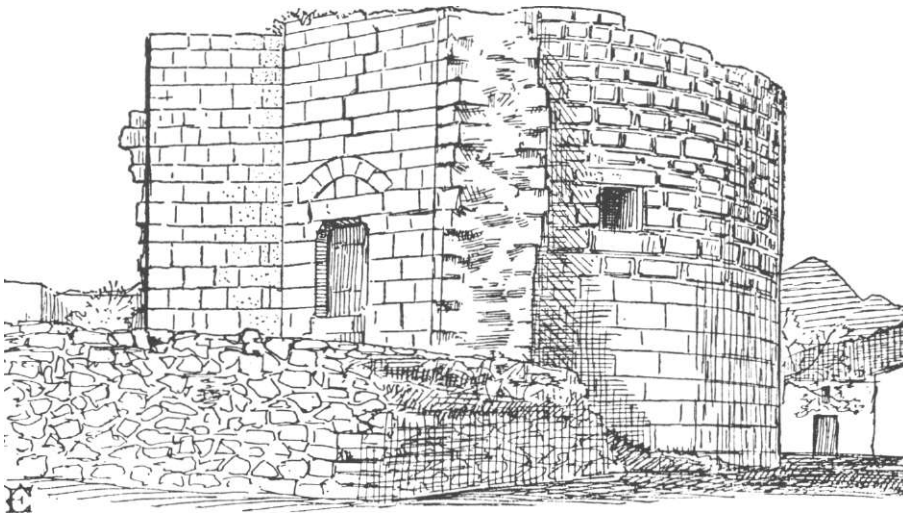


Fig. 366
Angle-tower of enceinte,
Kyrenia:

horseshoe-shaped, goes back to the thirteenth century, as does all the adjacent stretch of curtain. It contains two rooms, one above the other, roofed with semi-domes, with arrow-slits framed on the inside by shallow, pointed embrasures. The northern curtain originally had arrow-slits at the lower level; the two storeys of vaulted cells which are now backed up against it are recent, although they are not unlike part of Kantara Castle. The rampart walk presents a precious example of thirteenth-century crenellation, still intact, with its merlons (Fig. 367) pierced by arrow-slits whose embrasures end in lintels supported on concave corbels.

The north-western tower appears to be more recent. It is square and serves no other purpose than to carry a handsome stone staircase which snakes its way up the interior walls. The Venetians blocked it in and concealed it behind a large circular bastion. There was at the foot of this tower, on the water's edge and outside the walls, a delightful Byzantine chapel, earlier than the castle, with a central dome supported on four Corinthian columns of white marble. The filling of the bastion has covered it up as high as the point where the dome began; this having been demolished it is now a crypt lit from above by a circular opening which originally carried the dome. It was no doubt the church of St. George of the Donjon to which the Lady Pinadeben of Ferrara, widow of Anthony of Bergamo, left a legacy of 5 bezants in 1406.⁵⁰

The square tower on the north-west covered from the seaward side the gate which opens to the north in a re-entrant angle of the original curtain. This entrance, at right angles to the bridge, was protected by a barbican which was connected to one of the corners of this re-entrant and one of the corners of the tower. Inside the tower the entry passage makes a sharp bend in the opposite direction. The entrances in the walled city of Carcassonne are similarly arranged.

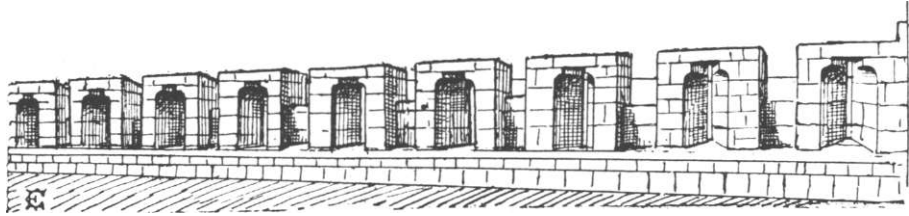
The entrance gate is surmounted by two non-concentric pointed

50

Will published by Mas Latrie, *Notw. preives*, No. XXII.

The name is presumably a shortened version of Piena di bene.

Fig. 367
Kyrenia Castle, inside
view of crenellations.



arches. The building into which it opens has two storeys. The lower is lit from above the door by a round-arched window with a pointed-arched window above it; the upper storey, now ruined, was lit by two further pointed windows on the harbour side. These windows are very large for external openings but they were capable of being walled up and it must be born in mind that there was a barbican in front of the entrance. Nothing much remains of it beyond a masonry wall pierced by three deep, pointed arches which continue under the Venetian fill and which probably carried a rampart walk. The one nearest the gate provides a first entrance corridor joined to the Venetian fausses braies. The second entrance corridor is also barrel-vaulted.

At the end of this passage one turns right, into a large and handsome ground-floor chamber of seven bays which extends to the end of the side of the castle facing the harbour.⁵¹ It is roofed by a groined vault with transverse arches (Fig. 368) and lit by arrow-slits with large embrasures under semi-circular arches. The springs of the vaults are supported on quadrant brackets (Fig. 369) beneath moulded abacuses in a thirteenth-century style.

On the other side of the entrance are the stables and above them there was originally a large hall. On the inner, parade-ground, side there were wide stone balconies which must have formed a loggia continuing round the corner described by the building next to the entrance. Three of the balconies are preserved; their flooring slabs are carried on brackets with five or six projecting quadrant courses; in between there are remains of other brackets. This hall, flanked by a wide corbelled gallery, must have been used either as a reception room, or as a royal apartment. The Great Hall at St. Hilarion also has a timber balcony similarly situated along its whole length.

A second hall in the same style must have been built above the ground-floor room on the other side of the entrance; the two intercommunicated by a small oblong room above the gateway. There is a sort of apse with three straight sides on the east of the gateway and this, together with the size of the arched windows which would have had to be blocked in wartime, might suggest that this was an oratory communicating on the one side with the large hall and on the other with the King's quarters. However this is only a hypothesis and it would be difficult to prove it because these lofty main rooms have had their tops removed by the Venetians.

The southern face of the castle, the spur-bastion enclosing its western

⁵¹
On the plan its southern
end has been omitted in

KYRENIA CASTLE

angle and the circular bastion at the east end are all Venetian work. From the inside a few traces of ancient construction can still be made out but they are quite insignificant. The eastern face has preserved some earlier architectural features, probably late medieval. Near the south-eastern corner there is an old door, blocked up. There is also a ruined suite of rooms, one with two rib-vaulted bays between two others with pointed barrel vaults at right angles to the curtain; the one to the south is lower and has a straight stone staircase over it. After these rooms, close to the north-east corner, are some intact buildings containing four more rooms, also with pointed barrel vaults. The façades of the first three are lit by groups of three narrow rectangular windows disposed in a triangle in the lunettes of the vaults. In the last the two lower windows are replaced by a large pointed window. Some of these eastern rooms intercommunicate through arcades. The roof of the building is a little lower than the roof of the north-eastern tower; the passage from one to the other is by a short flight of steps carved on the face of the risers with a diaper pattern of small flowers.

The basements are barrel-vaulted galleries like those of many thirteenth-century castles. The Venetians did a lot of rebuilding and enlargement, adding galleries in the same style beneath the earthworks they raised to strengthen the curtains and beneath their bastions; these are much bigger and in fine ashlar masonry taken for the most part from the older portions which they had demolished.

These re-used stones, and those of the thirteenth-century walls, carry

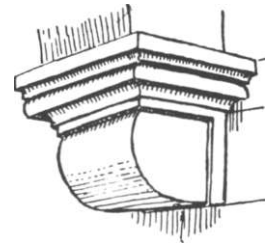


Fig. 369
Bracket from ground-floor chamber.



Fig. 370
Masons' marks, Kyrenia Castle.

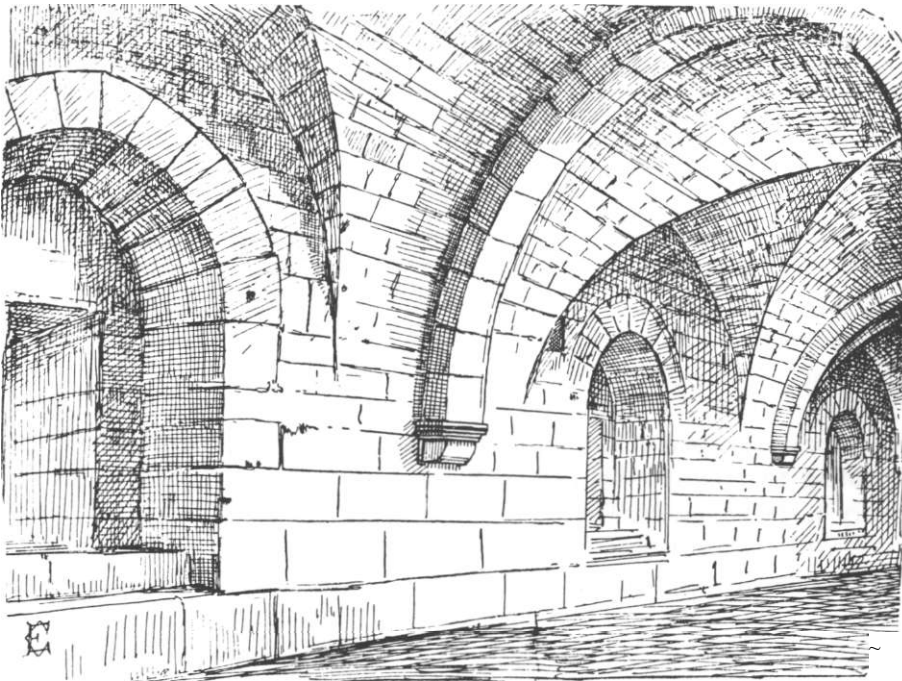


Fig. 368
Kyrenia Castle, ground-floor chamber.

an interesting collection of masons' marks (Fig. 370).

Opposite the castle gate were the offices of the governor of the fortress. This is proved by a phrase in a will of 1406, 'ante portam castri, videlicet in banco domini castellani.'⁵²

THE CASTLE OF ST. HILARION, OR DIEU D'AMOUR

HISTORY

52
Mas Latrie, *Nouv. preuves*,
No. XXIII.

53
*Architecture militaire des
Croisés*, plate XXIII and
p. 239.

54
See the life of St. Hilarion
in the Bollandists under
21st October. His relics,
which were first removed to
Palestine, are supposed to
have been taken in the
ninth century to the priory
of Duravel in Quercy, a
former dependency of
Moissac, where they are said
to be still preserved.

55
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 40.

56
Gestes des Chiprois,
pp. 45-7; Bustron, pp. 69-70.

57
Gestes, pp. 60-68; Bustron,
p. 80.

58
This part of his history is
about to be brought to
light thanks to the researches
of Join-Lambert and
Bertaux, members of the
school at Rome.

59
Novara not Navarre. The
credit for discovering the

A good general plan of the castle of St. Hilarion, also known as Dieu d'Amour, together with an excellent description, has been published by Baron Rey.⁵³ It is the principal fortress of Cyprus, one of the most astonishing monuments of the astonishing architecture of the Middle Ages. Its two names are derived one from a sixth-century hermit who lived on the mountain before it was built⁵⁴ and the second from one of those plays on words so beloved by medieval people. It is a colonial phenomenon too: new-comers love to interpret in their own language words which have the misfortune to lend themselves to such confusion. In antiquity the mountain in question was called Didymos (i.e. twin) because its summit appears to be split, with a narrow plateau constricted between two peaks. A mispronunciation of this name, reinforced by memories of the ancient cult of Venus and Cupid in Cyprus, led to the adoption of the name Dieu d'Amour by the first Latin settlers; they thought, like true precursors of the Renaissance, that there were sound historical and philological grounds for restoring it. Be that as it may, this name in its turn gave birth to a legend and Father Lusignan solemnly relates that Dieu d'Amour was the castle of Prince Cupid, son of Venus who during her lifetime was Queen of Cyprus.⁵⁵

Leaving these fables on one side, was the castle already in existence when Richard the Lionheart conquered Cyprus in 1191? It is highly likely: there are traces of Byzantine buildings which could equally well date from this period or from later. Certainly the hermit's cell antedates the fortress; but a strategic site like this must have been among the first in Cyprus that anyone would think of fortifying.

In any event the castle of St. Hilarion makes its first definite appearance in history in the year 1228. At that time Frederick II was attempting to establish his power in Cyprus and his authority over King Henry I, then a minor. The Old Lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin, Regent of the Kingdom, fought against the Emperor to uphold the independence of Cyprus. He put St. Hilarion in a state of defence, made it available as a refuge for the wives of the Cypriot nobility and withdrew there himself, abandoning Nicosia to the imperialists.

Shortly afterwards he made a treaty with them⁵⁶ but no peace fol-

lowed. Before a year had passed the Lord of Beirut is found besieging the place; it was defended by Amalric Barlais, a Cypriot nobleman and imperial feudatory who eventually capitulated in 1229.⁵⁷ Among his associates was another young Cypriot nobleman, Philip Chinard, who later became Frederick II's engineer-in-chief in Apulia,⁵⁸ after being exiled from Cyprus by a judgment of the High Court. Among the besiegers was the famous Philip of Novara⁵⁹ to whom we are indebted for an account of the siege, enlivened by satiric poems inspired by the vicissitudes of the siege and the intrigues of the imperialists.⁶⁰

One day 'before the castle gates', or the gates of the bailey, which he was attempting to storm, he was seriously wounded. As he fell he heard his own men crying out 'our poet is dead; he is slain' and the rejoicings of the imperialists at the news. When he came to his senses he improvised a satirical ballad and, next day, had himself carried to a neighbouring rock from where, in a loud voice quite different from a ghost's, he sang out his biting stanzas for the besieged to hear.⁶¹

In 1232 there was another and final change of roles. This time it was Philip of Cafran and King Hugh's sisters who were shut up in St. Hilarion. It was the only stronghold still in the King's possession, the imperialists were blockading it and its supplies had run out. At this point King Henry, who had come of age, landed from Syria at the head of an army; supported by the Old Lord of Beirut, and by Philip of Novara, he marched to the relief of his castle, fell on the imperialist forces at the village of Agridi at the mouth of the Kyrenia defile and cut them in pieces. That day of battle, Tuesday the 15th June, 1232, decided the fate of the Kingdom.⁶²

The liberation of Cyprus was followed by a century and a half of prosperity. The castle of St. Hilarion was restored and embellished. It became as big as a town and, unlike the other castles in Cyprus, was used also as a palace where the court used to come during the hot season to enjoy the benefit of the cool air and one of the finest views in the world.

In 1373 disaster overtook the Kingdom of Cyprus, and it never recovered from it. The Genoese ravaged the island. John, Prince of Antioch, the King's uncle, took refuge in St. Hilarion to await the outcome under the protection of his fierce and faithful Bulgarian mercenaries who from time to time carried out successful sorties against the Genoese marauders.⁶³

In 1374 King Peter II and his mother, Eleanor of Aragon, signed a treaty under the terms of which they gave up to the enemy the Kingdom's leading city, Famagusta, and its leading defender, the Constable James of Lusignan; but the Queen Mother was in no mood to abandon her evil ways which had already caused too much bloodshed. She thought herself obliged to avenge the murder of her husband⁶⁴ on her brother-in-law, the Prince of Antioch, who had no hand in it. Realising how dif-

real name and place of origin of this remarkable man, is, as is generally agreed, to be ascribed to Gaston Paris. Philip of Novara was not only an accomplished military commander, as shown by his campaign against the imperialists, but also an eminent jurist (the compiler of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*), a subtle and original moral philosopher (see his *Quatre terms d'age d'ome* in the edition by Beugnot for the *Soc. des Ane. Textes*), a spirited satirical poet and the author of memoirs (*Gestes des Chiprois*) which are both witty and well written.

60

For instance, when, on Easter day, the besieged garrison made a sortie and carried off a skinny donkey which they then served up for dinner he congratulated them on having celebrated the feast with a long-eared lamb (*Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 65).

61

Gestes, p. 64.

62

Gestes, pp. 100-6; Amadi, pp. 162, 172.

63

Amadi, p. 462; Machaeras, p. 285.

64

It was she who had instigated the Genoese invasion on this same pretext. As for the murder of Peter I it was a just reprisal for the atrocities he had committed; moreover if those atrocities could be excused it would be on the grounds of his wife's misconduct and the consequences it provoked.

difficult it would be to get him into her power while he remained in St. Hilarion under the constant guard of his faithful Bulgarians she decided it would be easier to persuade him that his men were plotting to kill him.⁶⁵ The Prince of Antioch, who appears to have shared with his brother and their father a natural inclination both to violence and to suspicion, but not their intelligence, fell an easy victim to his sister-in-law's wiles. He went up to the top of the keep which commands the great precipice of St. Hilarion,⁶⁶ summoned his loyal and unfortunate body-guard one by one and threw them over the edge into the abyss. Only one escaped with his life, by some unexplained miracle, and got away to Nicosia.⁶⁷ Not long afterwards the prince himself set out for Nicosia and never came back to St. Hilarion.⁶⁸

Today this castle, the scene of so many triumphant and tragic events, is no more than an immense and inextricable mass of ruins with contorted juniper-trees growing among scattered fragments of walls embattled against the rocks. In one place a Gothic window opening can be seen and in another a scrap of fresco. A century ago the astonishing sight inspired a drawing by Cassas, not, unfortunately, a very accurate one.⁶⁹

It was the Venetians who dismantled St. Hilarion, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁷⁰ Strangely, they never realised the value of a position which gives observation over practically all the island, the Karamanian Sea and the opposing shores of Karamania and commands the port of Kyrenia and the defile leading to it. At least they should have remembered how the value of Dieu d'Amour was demonstrated in the invasions of 1228, 1232 and 1373 but they gave so little thought to past history that they caused more damage to this unfortunate castle in their fury of demolition than they did to Buffavento or Kantara.⁷¹

DESCRIPTION

'Dieu d'Amour' says Philip of Novara 'stands in a right noble position among right noble mountains.'

Mount St. Hilarion is in fact 700 metres high and about a mile from the coast. It is part of the Kyrenia range but the peak is isolated from the neighbouring heights by deep valleys. One of them, however, to the south-east, forms a fairly gentle ramp leading up to a col of moderate height which divides the peak of St. Hilarion on its northern side from the crest of the mountains which fringe the Kyrenia defile.

The southern flank of this upper valley rises in an easy slope to a first plateau on the east of the mountain, on the side facing Kyrenia. This plateau is accessible on the north-west but elsewhere it is fringed with relatively high and steep escarpments. From it a very stiff ramp leads eventually to the east of the upper plateau which is enclosed to north and south between the two rocky crests that gave the castle its

65

Machaeras, p. 311 ; Amadi,
p. 478; Bustron, p. 338.

66

Bustron, p. 338 and Amadi,
p. 478: 'Sopra el dugon
dov'è il gran deruppo.'
Machaeras says it was from
the window in the upper
part of the castle.

67

ib.

68

See above, p. 343. There is
a portrait of John of Antioch
at figure 314.

69

Voyage de la Syrie, Atlas,
plate 106.

70

Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre,*
fol. 36 and 210.

71

Bustron, p. 24: 'La rocca
seu castello chamato dio
d'Amor, ch'era nel monte
di S. Hilarione, che ancor
quella era et forte et
spaciosa, ma hora redutta
peggio di alcune delle due
prime dette di sopra.'

THE CASTLE OF ST. HILARION

original name of Didymos. On the west this plateau is bounded by a completely unscalable escarpment and on the seaward side, i.e. the north-west, on the north and on the east there are precipices.

It is difficult to say where St. Hilarion lived in the sixth century when he came there in search of solitude but the Byzantine chapel to which pilgrims used to resort is on the first plateau; the other parts of the castle all appear to be later and of French construction.

Taking it as it was at the end of the successive stages of construction under the Lusignans the castle (Fig. 371) consists of three distinct parts one above the other: the bailey, the buildings of the first plateau and those of the upper plateau. The bailey or basecourt, bounded on the north by the steep rock on which the upper defence works are built, is also commanded on the north-east by the buildings which crown the upper plateau; it spreads in the form of an arc of a circle onto the southern slope of the valley dividing St. Hilarion from the neighbouring peaks.

The first construction one comes to, before actually entering the castle, is an outside water cistern excavated at the lower end of the col, not far from the bailey.

The external wall of the bailey is flanked by six semi-cylindrical towers. Of the three faces the eastern is an irregularly-curved curtain linking the rock-face to a corner tower; the southern, more developed, is also rather sinuous in line and has a tower at each corner and two in between them. The entrance gate, with a machicoulis over it and a barbican in front of it, is in the easternmost curtain of this face. In accordance with the system adopted in all French fortifications the way into this advanced work, which faces west, runs parallel to the curtain and close to it. The

s^Hilarion Castle from
the south.

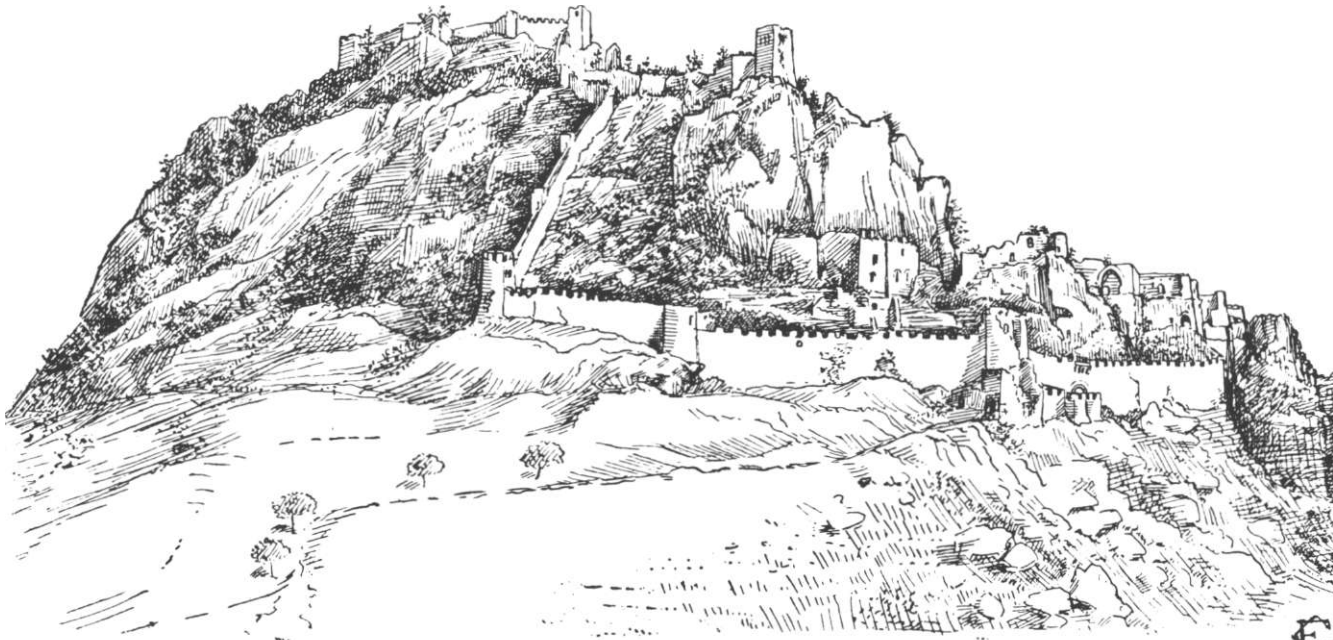
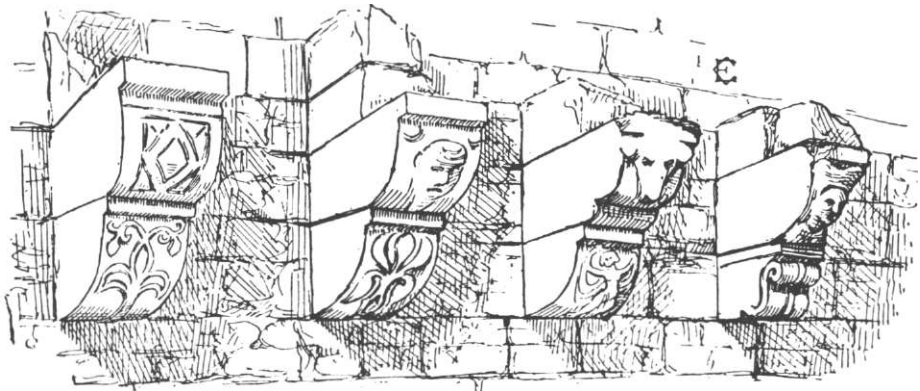


Fig. 372
Machicoulis over entrance.



barbican is a sort of small terrace of irregular trapezoidal shape with turrets at the four angles.

The south-western face of the bailey is formed by a long curtain-wall rising very steeply in a dead straight line with only one bend at the point where it joins the rock under the south-eastern angle of the upper enceinte. This curtain is flanked by two towers in addition to its corner tower.

All the curtains are built of irregular masonry and are not specially thick. A rampart-walk and crenellated parapet run along the top. The semi-cylindrical towers, which are very meanly constructed, interrupt the line of the curtain and rise to one storey above it. The rooms they contained were small either with timber roofs or very roughly vaulted with a dome or a barrel vault. The upper storey of the tower at the south-western corner has two round-arched windows opening on the inner side whose impostes show some character; but only the entrance gate shows any architectural features properly so called.

Over the opening of this gate is a plain semi-circular tympanum under a double blind arch. It must originally have been painted, either with the royal arms or perhaps with a picture of the Saint. The jambs have been destroyed. All that is left of the machicoulis above the gate are the four brackets (Fig. 372) formed of three quadrant courses, the lower part carved in very low relief. These carvings, in a very porous stone resembling tufa or travertine, must have had an unfinished look even when they were new.

On the lower courses of the encorbelment are geometric intaglio designs: palmettes and a Moorish dancing girl with her two hands raised to the level of her head holding the ends of a gauzy veil which falls around her. Above can be seen a ram's head, or perhaps the head of a moufflon, an animal that was common in these mountains in the Middle Ages, a head of a man with a pointed beard and a head of a woman in a horned head-dress. This last carving looks no earlier than the fifteenth century although one of the palmettes on the encorbelment is identical with a thirteenth-century bracket in the church at St. Yrieix and the

ram's head and the geometrical designs look Romanesque. To add to the confusion, the motif beneath the female head is a volute in Renaissance style. It must certainly follow that this machicoulis was constructed shortly before the castle was dismantled, probably in the time of James the Bastard, though it is always possible that the builders re-used some earlier material.

Wandering around the bailey one can see plenty of traces of the foundations of flimsy, makeshift constructions, presumably service quarters of no particular consequence. On the west side there is a more important building, still well preserved, in which there is a fair-sized room with a pointed barrel vault and two transverse arches supported on pilasters. There are holes in the pilasters designed to be used to fasten halters for pack animals; it could be a stable, perhaps a stable for camels. East of this building, roughly in the centre of the basecourt, is a small cistern.

The second enceinte, consisting of a rather confused conglomeration of buildings, occupies the lower plateau to the north-east of the basecourt. They follow the contours of the plateau and abut against the rock which towers above it at the western end. They include a chapel, some buildings containing living rooms and some storehouses, the various premises being linked by a groin-vaulted corridor following the line of a crevasse at the foot of the rocks rising above the plateau. To the south this corridor comes out into the basecourt, the exit being protected by a sort of barbican or rectangular tower which clings to the steep rock and is commanded from above by the upper defences; to the north it ends at the foot of the ramp leading to the upper plateau. At the foot of this ramp there are some store-rooms, partly underground, roofed with pointed barrel vaults and, further to the north, a large open cistern bounded by a thick containing wall supported by massive buttresses.

On entering the corridor one finds, on the right and at right angles to it, first the chapel and next several rooms of differing lengths; these are normally rectangular and unvaulted but some have transverse arches springing from quadrant brackets intended to support floor boards.

The chapel, in the Byzantine style, has a wide apse and narrow built-in apsidal chapels. On the side walls are remains of four semi-columns in very narrow bricks. The central dome was supported on four columns. In the north-east corner, between the chapel and the adjoining rooms, there is a small chamber intended either for a treasury or for an oratory where part of a Byzantine fresco has been preserved, possibly an Annunciation. The floors of the rooms are at differing heights, connected by stone staircases. A straight staircase is concealed in a kind of large vestibule which is almost intact; it is roofed with a pointed barrel vault.

On the south-east side of one of the large rooms a sharp angle of rock ends in a square platform on which has been built a very unusual kind of loggia. Two of its sides lead into the living rooms, the other two are entirely open, framed by tall pointed arches which were originally

perhaps braced by some Gothic tracery. It is covered with a ribbed vault supporting a flat roof. It is a sort of belvedere, covered but open to the air, which must have been very pleasant in summer; it did no harm from the point of view of defence since the rock on which it is perched is almost perpendicular.

No attack was possible from the north and the buildings there are echeloned in steps showing three parallel façades one above the other, lit by large pointed windows which probably were originally divided by mullions. They are of one or two storeys. The most remarkable feature of these buildings is that they have acutely pointed gables to carry pitched roofs like those in northern countries. The fact is that snow is not rare in winter on these heights. These high-pitched roofs are unique in Cypriot Gothic architecture, as Baron Rey has acutely observed, although Byzantine buildings on Mt. Troodos have also gabled roofs of timber for the same reason.

To the north-east of these buildings a small area of flat ground, partly terraced, marks the end of the lower plateau and the starting point of a very steep path which climbs up the eastern flank of the mountain to the final enceinte. No doubt the ascent was easier originally, using either steps or a zigzag track.

The upper enceinte consists of two sets of buildings one above the other, the lower ones mainly for living in and the ones at the very top purely defensive. The upper plateau of St. Hilarion, pinched, if I may use the term, between two rocky crests, has been ingeniously adapted to form a *cour d'honneur*, or great court. To this end all that was needed was to close it at the west and east ends with buildings since the north and south sides are absolutely vertical rock walls.

In the third enceinte, as in the first, the east or entrance side is provided with a defence work; the opposite side, which crowns the summit of a dizzy precipice completely immune to attack, is occupied by a pleasure-house with wide prospects over a magnificent view.

The gateway into the upper enceinte is through a pointed arch. To the right on entering can be seen the ruins of a semi-cylindrical tower to defend it. To the left, within the court, is a lightly constructed building now in ruins which abutted on the inner side of the curtain. A stone staircase leading to the tower and the rampart-walk ascends on the right-hand side, giving access to the summits of the rocks and the remains of a small isolated building. Finally, rather further in at the foot of the rock which closes the court on the north, there are two small cisterns. On the far side, facing the entrance, there rises the façade of the Great Hall with two storeys of pointed windows.

The floor of the court is strewn with enormous blocks of stone. They may have been dislodged from the peaks above by earthquakes at some date after the castle was built or possibly the architects decided against trying to clear them from the plateau because it would have been a long

and costly procedure with the means available to them before the invention of gunpowder.

The western building (Fig. 373) is particularly interesting. It consists of an irregularly-shaped basement with a semi-circular barrel vault, now blocked by cave-ins, a ground floor seven metres high under a pointed barrel vault with transverse arches supported on brackets of two quadrant courses and an upper storey, unvaulted, containing a Great Hall, 24.85 metres wide and two small rooms at the extremities where the building abuts on the rock. One reached the Great Hall from the court by a flight of steps 2.33 metres wide, carried on a flying buttress; it occupies the north-west corner of the court and abuts against the rock face on one side. Its upper landing was connected to a timber balcony, probably covered, which ran along the whole length of the façade, giving access to the Great Hall through three doors under pointed arches. A fourth, similar door opened onto the landing itself.

Doors in the same style but with slightly flattened arches give access from the court to the vaulted lower room. A small door led from the court to a staircase in a narrow corridor which passes under the lower room to open onto the precipitous slope immediately below the building. This opening might just possibly have been used as an exit but certainly was useful for dumping rubbish which would fall to the foot of the mountain at a good distance from the building. If the object to be disposed of was someone regarded as an embarrassment there was every chance that he would have ceased to be one by the time he reached the bottom of the slope.

Only the extremities of the western façade of the Great Hall have been preserved. The whole central portion of the building has collapsed into the abyss perhaps because of earthquake shocks combined with the thrust of the vaults of the lower room; it is also possible that the Venetians caused the ruin by blowing up the lower vault when they dismantled St. Hilarion. Whether it was by earthquake or explosion the building has been violently wrecked; it is a great pity because to judge from the

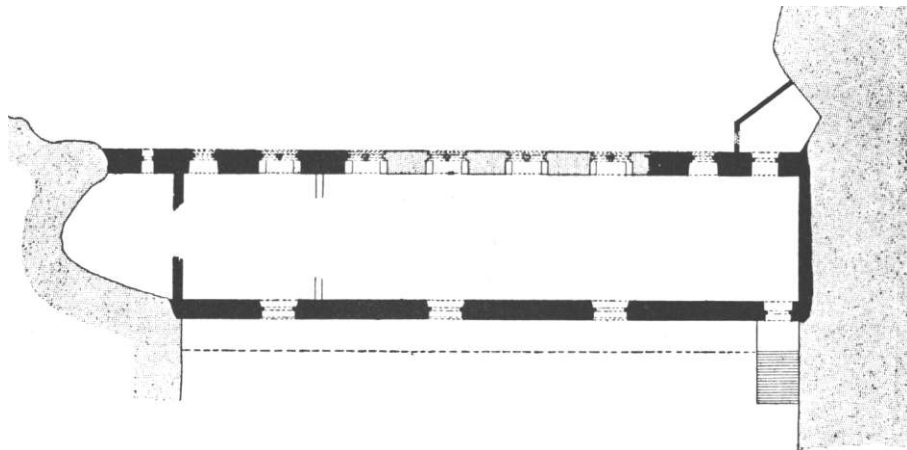
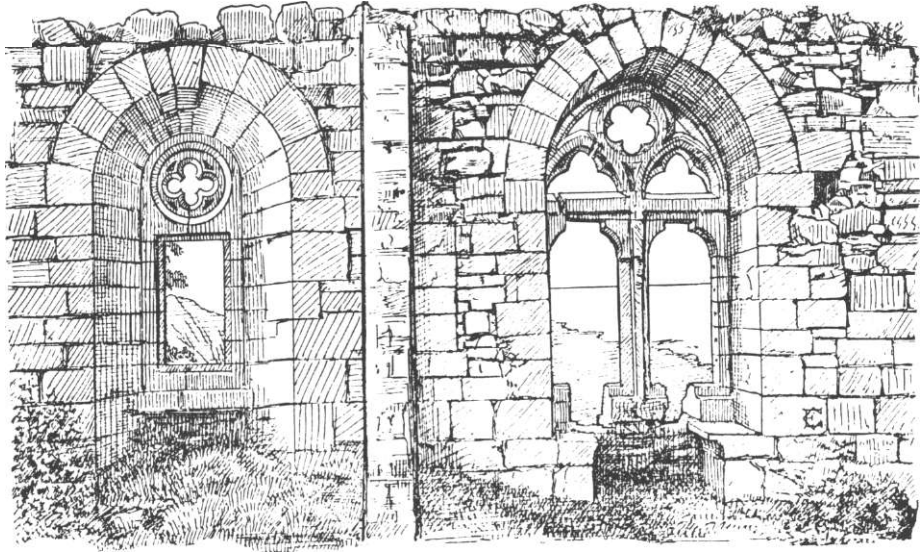


Fig. 373
Great Hall in upper
enceinte.

Fig. 374
Windows on west side of
Great Hall.



remaining extremities of the western façade it was an example of the finest French thirteenth-century architecture. Apparently there were three large windows in the centre with smaller ones at the ends but all that remains is one large and one small window (Fig. 374) with one jamb of a large window-opening. An iron grill, now removed, was clamped on the outside of the uprights no doubt more to stop people falling out than to guard against an escalade, which would have been extremely difficult. There are stone benches in the embrasures, an invariable practice in France. The stonework shows signs of having been re-worked several times.

The large windows (Fig. 374) had pointed arches at the top. A mullion, and a lintel running from one impost to the other and supported on four concave corbels, divided them into two rectangular lights; wooden frames made to open were set in a groove. Above the lintel was a tympanum with open-work tracery holding fixed glazing; it consisted of two pointed arches with two cusps giving them a trefoil shape and a circle above with five cusps making a five-lobed rose window in a heart's-ease shape. On either side of the circle were two triangular fixed lights.

The small windows (Fig. 374) had semi-circular arches over them and a single rectangular light also surmounted by a lintel and an open-work tympanum whose design was a simple circle containing an upright quatrefoil.

The side room opening onto the Great Hall at the north-west corner, facing the entrance steps, is formed on the outside by a transverse wall supported by a flying buttress running between the rock and the wall of the Great Hall. It also had a Gothic window of which there remains only one jamb and a moulded impost. The recess at the south end was a kind of niche hollowed out of the rock, the last bay of the hall having been separated from the main body by a clearly later partition wall.

THE CASTLE OF ST. HILARION

It seems most likely that the great hall had a steeply pitched timber roof, like those of the buildings on the lower level, which would be needed on a summit so much exposed to rain and snow.

From the topmost points of the Great Hall and the curtain wall above the entrance gate of the final enceinte steps carved out of the rock gave access to the last defensive works, two massive square towers, not so much keeps as simple strong-points erected on the southern crest of the mountain and linked by a wavy curtain wall. One of them is just above the south-eastern corner of the upper court, at the point where the outer wall of the bailey clings to the rock. It was a very massive, square tower, now much ruined. The curtain joining it to the point immediately above the south end of the Great Hall forms a right angle to the south-west. In this stretch of the curtain there are two small, trapezoidal flanking works, one right on the corner and facing west, the other in the centre of the south face. Baron Rey was struck by the curious anomaly that to go from the curtain to these works it is necessary to go down some steps whereas normally flanking works are raised above the curtain to command it. The reason is that these were built for the sole purpose of providing for plunging fire at a very steep angle.

A passage engineered along the crest of a precipitous rocky spur leads from the south-east corner tower to the last redoubt, another massive tower set on a steeply-scarped rock which commands the bailey and the buildings on the second level. It forms an oblong rectangle and encloses a groin-vaulted room above which was either a second storey or a flat roof with crenellations. The entrance was on the west in one of the short sides. On the opposite side there were two arrow-slits and three in the two long sides. Since these towers were not designed to be lived in they should be called redoubts rather than keeps. The one dominating the bailey was probably the place from which the Prince of Antioch threw down his unfortunate Bulgarians in 1374, unless it was from the windows of the upper Great Hall. The word 'keep' (*donjon*) used by the chroniclers could be applied equally well to a seigneurial Great Hall as to one of the towers and the second alternative would have had the advantage that the victims ended up in open country rather than in the bailey of the castle. As for convenient precipices, the Prince of Antioch had a positively embarrassing number to choose from.

BUFFAVENTO CASTLE

HISTORY

The name of Buffavento Castle is identical with that of another mountain fortress in Savoy; it was also called *Leonne*, or Lion Castle or the Queen's Castle. It is not known when it was founded but a legend, known as long

72

vol. I, book X, line 135. The monks of Ayios Chrysostomos have a portrait which, according to them, is of this queen; it is in fact a Venetian painting of the wife of Philip Molino and his son Anthony. See Mas Latrie, *Rapport*, p. 10.

73

See *Chronique d'Emoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* publ. by Mas Latrie, p. 352.

74

Amadi, pp. 162-3; Bustron, p. 91.

75

Amadi, p. 393; Bustron, p. 245.

76

Bustron, p. 271.

77

Amadi, p. 494; Bustron, pp. 351-2.

78

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 35 v°.



Fig. 375
Buffavento Castle.

ago as Mariti's time and still in circulation today, says it was founded by a queen⁷² or at least a noblewoman. She was supposed to have been the foundress of the monastery of St. Chrysostom (which is the present proprietor of the ruins of Buffavento) and was alleged to have taken refuge on the peak on which the castle stands in 1190 when persecuted by the Templars. Obviously two separate stories have been confused. It is known that in 1190 Isaac Comnenos was deposed by Richard the Lionheart, and also that his daughter and heiress went through a fairytale-like series of adventures in avain endeavour to recover her inheritance.⁷³ On the other hand the first definite information about Buffavento states that in 1232 Eschive of Montbéliard, the wife of Balian of Ibelin who was campaigning against Frederick II, had to flee from the Imperialists in the disguise of a Minorite friar. She reached Buffavento and took refuge in the fortress which was being held for King Henry I of Lusignan by its veteran commander Gerald of Conches.⁷⁴ Apparently the imperialist forces did not even try to capture Buffavento.

Being almost inaccessible the castle was a safe political prison in times of peace as well as a sure refuge in wartime. So in 1312-1313, for instance, King Henry II on his return from exile imprisoned there his brother, the Constable Henry of Lusignan and Balian of Ibelin, Prince of Galilee, who had both been involved in conspiracies against him.⁷⁵ In 1368 Peter I transferred the unfortunate John Visconte, the man who had provided him with the distressing information about his wife's adulteries, from Kyrenia to Buffavento, and in that safe stronghold the ingenuous victim, whom the baronage of Cyprus had declared guilty of slander in order to save the Count of Rochas from punishment, was starved to death.⁷⁶ In 1383 the High Court imprisoned there some real criminals for a change, namely the two brothers Perrot and Glimot of Montolif who had treacherously betrayed the mission with which they had been entrusted to ransom from the Genoese James of Lusignan, proclaimed King of Cyprus. Perrot got out by climbing through a window of the tower in which he was confined; but he fell heavily onto the rocks beneath and dislocated his leg. He was picked up in great pain and asserted that his only motive in escaping was to beg the King for mercy. When the King heard the story he decided to cut off Perrot's head straight away and, no doubt considering that it was better not to do things by halves, he had Glimot decapitated also. The fate of Perrot's negro slave was decided in accordance with a nice sense of social distinctions; he was merely hanged.⁷⁷

These were not the only uses to which Buffavento was put. 'In this castle' says Father Stephen Lusignan 'a watch was kept every night and as soon as they descried ships at sea they forthwith lit beacon fires or torches to pass the news to the city of Nicosia and to Kyrenia Castle.'⁷⁸ Father Lusignan only knew Buffavento when it was already in ruins.⁷⁹ Florio Bustron deplores the Venetian dismantlement of so valuable a

⁷⁹
ib., p. 210.

⁸⁰
p. 24.

⁸¹
'La rocca di Buffavento', says Bustron, 'nella quale non si puo andare se non con gran pericolo, a piedi, et tenendo ancho con le mani, dove sono mederaamente in cima d'un altissimo monte cisterne, et moite stantie____' Lusignan says 'Buffavento is so placed that it is almost impossible to climb up to it and everyone is amazed at its ever being built there.'

⁸²
Arch. militaire des Croisés, plate XIV, and description, p. 249.

⁸³
op. cit., p. 249.

BUFFAVENTO CASTLE

strong-point and insists that it could, even in his time, have been restored to effectiveness at little cost.⁸⁰ Both of them express their astonishment at the boldness of the military engineers who built it on such a perilous mountain peak.⁸¹

These views on Buffavento are shared by every single traveller who has seen it; those who have actually climbed to the top, and there are few who have, heartily concur. As I fall into the latter category I shall follow Baron Rey in describing the ruins of the castle. I shall however have nothing to add to the admirable survey he has published⁸² which speaks highly for the courage and skill he showed in making it on such dangerous heights among crumbling ruins. Two sketches had already been made, in 1860, by the late Monsieur Duthoit. I am grateful to Baron Rey for allowing me to reproduce them (Figs. 375 and 376) and having been able to make a complete exploration of the ruins myself I add two sketches of my own. As for the plan I can only confirm the absolute accuracy of the one made by Baron Rey.

DESCRIPTION

'At Buffavento nature has done everything needed for defence and the aim of the Lusignans seems to have been to build an inaccessible stronghold here rather than a proper fortress.' Such is the opinion of Baron Rey, with which I fully agree.⁸³

The castle is situated about half way between St. Hilarion and Kantara at the summit of a crest in the Kyrenia range. Apart from being a safe place of refuge it provided an observation post commanding the land and

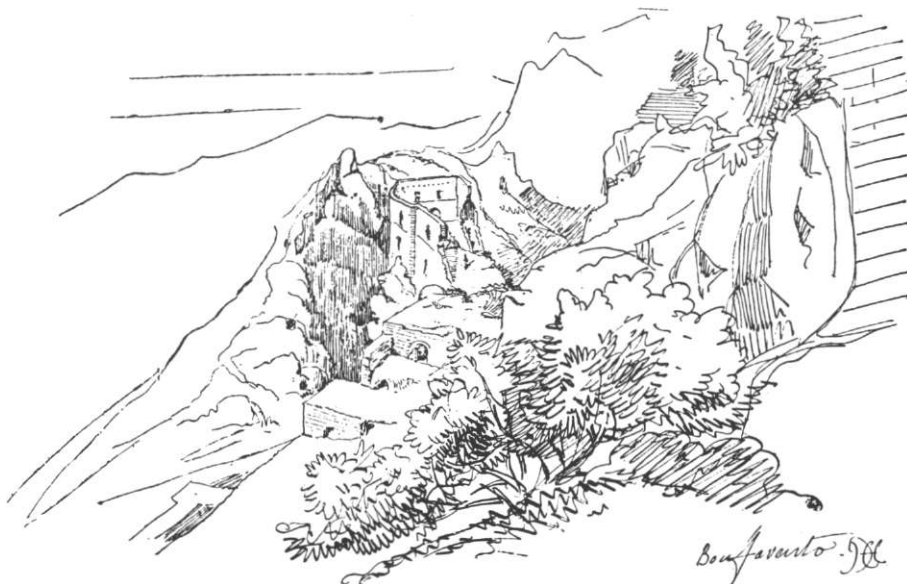


Fig. 376
Buffavento Castle, bird's-eye view of lower enclosure.

THE CASTLES OF KYRENIA, ST. HILARION AND BUFFAVENTO

the sea and able to signal over long distances.

As Monsieur Gaudry points out⁸⁴ the castle is built of coarse limestone from the coast and it must have called for prodigious efforts to raise it to this height. However I must observe that in the upper part of the castle, which he cannot have visited, the core consists of stone taken from the mountain and the masonry casing is in very small blocks.

Buffavento consists of two superposed groups of buildings but differs from St. Hilarion and Kantara in that there is no trace of a common enceinte. The first group is already very high up: it takes you about an hour and a quarter, clambering most painfully over the rocks, to reach the castle gate,' says Baron Rey. 'The castle is divided into two distinct groups of buildings whose plan is determined by the configuration of the rocks on which they are constructed. The lower section, which forms a rough parallelogram, seems to have consisted of barrack-rooms for the garrison and store-rooms. A precipitous escarpment between 20 and 25 metres high separates this basecourt from the upper part of the castle which constitutes the redoubt____The two buildings here are of rubble masonry with no architectural merit; dressed stone is very rare____'

'At the time when the Venetians decided to reduce the number of

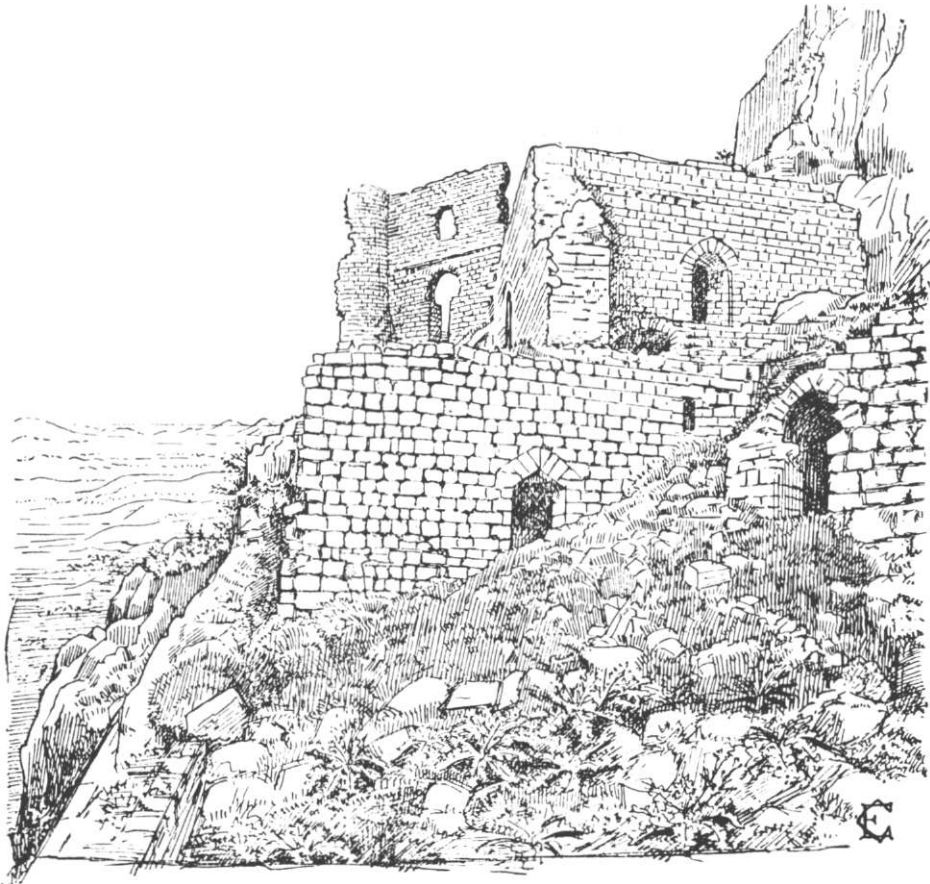


Fig. 377
Esplanade of lower
enceinte.

fortified places in the island in order to concentrate their forces in Nicosia and the sea-port towns they destroyed the staircase which linked the two halves of the castle. As a result, to get to the buildings on the upper plateau calls for a most dangerous escalade up an almost vertical face with no footholds beyond projections in the rock and the junipers which have taken roots in the crevices. It would not do to suffer from vertigo for a single slip would undoubtedly be fatal....'

The lower part of the castle (Figs. 376 and 377) occupies a narrow plateau looking inland; as at St. Hilarion and Kantara the seaward view is blocked by the mountain crest and the entrance gate faces the central plain. The buildings on this lower level are built up against the precipitous rock on which stand the upper buildings.

The entrance to the castle is at the east end of the lower plateau; the pathway leading to the entrance gate passes between two rectangular buildings, the eastern one being a sort of terrace or barbican at the end of the narrow esplanade which stretches in front of the gateway and the other a cistern, built at the foot of the first enceinte.

On reaching the small esplanade the visitor turns sharp left to enter the gateway which is a sort of square tower under a groined vault in excellent masonry with two doorways surmounted by pointed arches. The upper part of the tower has disappeared and the passage is choked with rubble over which you have to climb. Having done so you find yourself in another small courtyard, bounded on the east by the entrance tower, on the south by a plain parapet, formerly crenellated, which starts from the corner of the tower and on the west by a building (Fig. 377) containing two similar sets of rectangular rooms. In each there is a barrel-vaulted basement and above it, accessible through a simple trap-door, an upper room with groined vaulting. On the inner side each of these rooms has a pointed doorway and on the outer side an arrow-slit. On the north the courtyard is bounded by the rock face but at its north-western corner the escarpment has been cut away to make room for a small, square, vaulted building. Its flat roof forms a landing from which rises a rock-hewn staircase that used to lead to the upper part of the castle before the Venetians blew it up.

Behind and to the west of the two square, vaulted chambers at the bottom of the explanade there was quite a large main building of a very irregular shape divided into two storeys, unvaulted: the lower storey stands on a flat surface of rock level with the roof of the vaulted building in front of it. On the south side of this main building is a masonry salient with rounded angles resembling the towers at Kantara. On the north it abuts on the rock and on the north-west there seems to have been a postern opening onto one of the mountain gullies. There is still an arch stretching from the rock wall to one of the corners of this building but it is much more dilapidated now than it was in 1860 when the late Monsieur Duthoit sketched it from one of the highest points of the mountain

84

vile de Chypre in Revue des Deux-Mondes, 1861, p. 257.

Fig. 378
Buffavento Castle,
building on highest
point.



(Fig. 376).

In the upper part of the castle there are three groups of buildings. On the west, on the mountain crest, there is a sequence of five rooms rising above one another and becoming narrower from bottom to top. The first three originally were covered with pointed barrel vaults at right angles to the axis of the building and had fairly broad window openings, with round arches, on each face. Beneath the first and largest of these rooms are two small cellars. After the third comes a kind of narrow corridor with a projection to the south and then a small room.

To the east these buildings open onto a small esplanade delimited by parapets formerly crenellated from which there is a magnificent view: on one side the Karamanian sea, on the other almost the whole island can be seen. On its north side the esplanade forms a kind of spur under which can be seen an outside cistern, smaller than the one to the south.

On the east, facing the buildings just mentioned, is a rock about two metres high whose flat top supports a long rectangular building (Fig. 378); it has two square bays, groin-vaulted, and is pierced on the west side by pointed openings. One of these, on the north-west, was a doorway giving onto the esplanade which must have been reached by a drawbridge or perhaps a wooden staircase. On the inside of the isolated building there are traces of plaster and of paintings; the south wall has collapsed. Possibly that wall was an apse, and the building a chapel; there is indeed a round-arched niche at the south end of the eastern side wall which could have been a piscina. It might also have been a keep similar to but larger than the one at Kantara called 'the Queen's chamber.'

BUFFAVENTO

To the east of this building, quite close but on the other side of a precipitous ravine which must have had a drawbridge over it, there is a final construction of the same type, also perched on a point of rock. It is the most ruined part of the castle; one of its corners points to the south-east corner of the former building.

Most of the structures at Buffavento were, as Baron Rey very rightly remarks, for accommodation, since nature had done all that was necessary to provide for defence.

Only the angles of the buildings, the frames of the openings and the transverse arches are in dressed limestone and none of the blocks are large. The core of the walls is rubble collected from the mountain. The masonry work is good. There is not a scrap of sculpture or even a moulding in the whole of the castle. There cannot have been any decoration there apart from paintings. Buffavento can be described as an irregular agglomeration of small square rooms, normally with groined vaults. It was an observation post and a place of refuge, much more like a fort than a palace, in fact more like a barrack than a fort because the mountainous site provides so well for its own defence that the military engineer can be absolved of any need to exercise his ingenuity. The only real problem he had was to make his buildings stand up on such a difficult terrain and to plan how to transport there his workmen and the materials he needed.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISTRICT OF FAMAGUSTA AND THE KARPAS

I CASTLE AND WALLS OF FAMAGUSTA THE HARBOUR AND ARSENAL

HISTORY

The city of Famagusta dates mainly from the fourteenth century. The first steps in its development came in 1291 with the arrival of immigrants escaping from the fall of Acre. It had had some fortifications since 1211 but Willibrand of Oldenburg, who saw them, thought them inadequate; none of the present ones go back to that period. In 1232 the harbour was defended by a tower, the garrison of which surrendered to Philip of Novara when Henry I returned to his kingdom.¹

According to Father Stephen Lusignan² it was Henry II (1285 - 1324) who fortified Famagusta. To be exact, before 1310 he had begun but not finished the castle, and probably the tower of the arsenal, but it was in that year, during his exile, that his usurping brother Amalric, afraid of what might happen after the arrival of the Apostolic Nuncio, Raymond of Pins, gave orders to bring to completion the defences of Famagusta, greatly increasing the funds available and employing large numbers of workmen. Work was done on the castle (No. 25 on the plan) and it was linked to the arsenal tower by a curtain wall, thus closing off the seaward side of the city. The ditches were hastily improved and attention was even paid to clearing ways through the city for military use by demolishing porticos and the wooden loggias in front of the houses which, though flimsy, might indeed have presented obstacles to the movement of cavalry. Peasants were forcibly conscripted throughout the island to labour on these works.³

Machaeras mentions, under the year 1368, the chain-tower which was erected at the entrance to the harbour opposite the castle.⁴

In 1372, in expectation of a Genoese invasion, Peter II had the arsenal put into a state of defence.⁵ It was indeed not long before the Genoese fleet arrived in the roadstead and came under fire from the garrison in the castle.

i
pp. 143-4 'Civitas sita juxta
mare, portum habens
bonum, non multum
munita_____'

Gestes des Chiprois, pp. 93,
98; Amadi, pp. 165-6;
Bustron, p. 93.

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 143
and v°; cf. Beugnot, *Assises
de Jérusalem*, vol. II, p. 324,
note A.

Bustron, p. 194: 'Dete
ordine de fortificar Fama-
gosta con gran forze di
denari et huomini et si
lavorava al castello principia-
to per avanti presso la
porta della marina, congiun-
to con la torre del
arsenal; fece nettare subito
li fossati et tolse villani
da tutti li casali dell isola
per forza_____'

p. 121.

The fatal year 1373 put an end to the legendary prosperity of Famagusta. It fell into the hands of the Genoese besiegers by treachery and was sacked.⁷ They had pretended to be ready to negotiate and five of their leaders, with a twelve-man bodyguard, were admitted into the castle under this pretext. At an agreed signal they threw themselves on the Cypriot negotiators, put them in irons, and opened the gates to their comrades.⁸ Next, on the strength of a false oath which they swore with great solemnity in the Cathedral, they lured King Peter and his queen into the castle where they shut them up in the Great Hall for a day without food⁹ and forced them to sign a document full of disastrous concessions.

From then on Famagusta was at the mercy of the Genoese. For the miserable story of their continuous plundering expeditions and breaches of faith I refer the reader to the chroniclers, especially Machaeras. Eventually they had enough of this brigandage and evacuated the rest of the island, retaining Famagusta. They were still in occupation when a Cypriot army commanded by two young men, Theobald Belfaragge and Alexopoulo, laid siege to the city.¹⁰ These two were typical *condottieri*, fated to come to a bad end; in 1376 they were hanged for their crimes and their army broke up. In 1380 Peter II himself returned to the siege but with no success.¹¹ When he died in 1382 his uncle, the Constable James, was recognised as heir to the throne. The Genoese, by a dishonourable trick, had captured him in Rhodes in 1374 and carried him off to Genoa where he was very badly treated in prison. As it was essential to ransom him, and his son Janus, a regular treaty was signed in 1383 which transferred sovereignty over Famagusta to the Republic of Genoa.¹² The accounts of the Genoese administration from 1391 to 1443 have been preserved.¹³

The Genoese governor of Famagusta in 1398, Nicholas of Guarco, happened to be the godfather of King Janus, who was born in Genoa during his mother's and father's incarceration.¹⁴ Feeling more kindly towards his godson than towards his government he offered to hand the stronghold over to him; unfortunately the scheme was brought to nothing by rivalries among the Cypriot nobility, something which had already brought many misfortunes on the Kingdom.¹⁵

In 1402 Janus himself laid siege to the city. He had purchased from Venice some artillery pieces with whose help he had already managed to open a wide breach in the walls 'verso Chrusso Prassini', according to Florio Bustron,¹⁶ when a Cypriot captain called John Castegnan was killed by a stone cannon-ball fired by the besieged. The army, demoralised by his loss, retreated.¹⁷ The efforts of Genoese diplomacy were thereafter brought into play to give King Janus something else to worry about. They were so successful that in 1426 his kingdom was invaded by the Egyptians and he himself taken prisoner. Reduced to the state of a tribute-paying vassal he could no longer think of recapturing Famagusta.

Bustron, p. 294.

Machaeras, p. 196.

8
Bustron, p. 309.

9
Bustron, p. 310.

10
ib., pp. 342-5.

11
ib., pp. 347-8.

12
ib., p. 351.

13
See N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XIVe siècle, Comptes de la colonie génoise de Famagouste and Syndicamenta Famaguste, 1448-1449 in Rev. de l'Or, lat., vol. IV, 1896, pp. 99 et sqq.*

14
His unusual name was clearly given him in memory of Genoa.

15
Bustron, p. 354.

16
ib., p. 355.

17
ib.

His son John II did, however, invest the place by land and sea in 1441 but was obliged to raise the siege by the valiant resistance of the Genoese.¹⁸

It is recorded that in 1442 the Genoese administration presented a silver cup to John of Carmandino, the winner of a crossbow competition.¹⁹ The Republic had excellent reasons for encouraging proficiency in that sport. At the same time efforts were made to revive the ruined commerce of the port of Famagusta. There was no hope of this, however much Genoa might insist on the port's monopoly rights,²⁰ because the city was isolated and in a permanent state of war caused by the violence arising from the Genoese occupation. Famagusta, whose trade had been the basis of Cyprus's prosperity, now brought ruin on the Kingdom and, in the hands of its new masters, ruin on itself as well. The Kingdom could not thrive when thus deprived of its only good harbour, now transformed into a den of unprincipled and rapacious enemies, and the kings of Cyprus felt understandably compelled to strive at all costs to put an end to an intolerable situation. When James II, the bastard son of John II, seized the Kingdom he too saw this as his only object. For four years he tried to starve out the garrison. In 1461 he tried a direct assault but once more the defenders were successful.²¹ Finally, in 1463, he returned to the attack and overcame the Genoese resistance. On the 6th January 1464 they capitulated and Famagusta, which had been in their hands for ninety years, was reunited with the Kingdom.²² It was a great relief, but it was too late for Cyprus. The critical struggles had exhausted its strength for ever.

18

ib., p. 371.

19

Jorga, *Comptes*, p. 111.

20

See Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. II, pp. 295, 403, note 2; 476, note 1; 496, note 2; 503, note 1; and vol. II, p. 486.

21

Bustron, pp. 404, 403, 406.

22

Bustron, pp. 411-16.

23

ib., pp. 439-40: 'Non sapendo che fare, il Cornaro andò in un loco del castello ch'era come un rastello, et intro dentro ... uscito fuora da quella scosagna, ... et ucciso lo gettarono alio fosso del castello.'

24

Bustron, p. 443.

James II had taken in hand the task of restoring the former prosperity of his kingdom and reviving Famagusta when he was carried away by an untimely death in 1473 in his recaptured city. His widow, Catherine Cornaro, continued in residence there until the constant encroachments on her authority of her Venetian protectors drove her to take refuge in Nicosia and subsequently to abdicate. During this period from 1473 to 1489 a permanent feature of the Famagustan scene was the presence of the Venetian fleet and Venetian provveditori. The intrigues that went on in the unfortunate city produced a constant state of insecurity which was bound to enfeeble it. The disturbances began as early as 1473, on the night of the 15th November; they were stirred up by the Catalan faction whose chief was the archbishop, Perez Fabricius, against the Venetian faction. On that night the Queen's uncle, Andrew Cornaro and his nephew, Mark Bembo, were assassinated in front of the castle gate. They had made their way there in haste when the conspirators rang the alarm bell but after Andrew Cornaro had passed through the palisades surrounding the tilting-ground, which formed the first defences of the castle, the gate was shut against him. He was dragged outside and struck down; his body was thrown into the ditch.²³

Next year there was an unsuccessful attempt to hand over Famagusta castle to the Venetians.²⁴ In 1475 a number of people were imprisoned

there, suspected of having no love for Queen Catherine, or rather for the Venetian Republic.²⁵

When at last Venice formally annexed Cyprus in 1489 it found Famagusta ruined and the Ottoman threat growing daily greater. It was vital, before even thinking of reviving the trade of Famagusta, to fortify it, since the city's defences had long been both out of date and neglected. The existing fortifications were built between 1492 and 1544, dates which can still be seen on the marble plaques carved with the lion of St. Mark that are to be found in various places in the city. The enceinte of Famagusta is perhaps the most beautiful and the most complete that still survives as testimony to the skill of Renaissance military engineers. It cost the Venetians much trouble and painful sacrifices to bring the work to completion. Imperious necessity drove them on. The glory of a heroic defence in 1571 was all the benefit they gained. Not the least shadow of reproach can fall on Bragadin and his soldiers who perished as martyrs upholding the Christian faith and the banner of St. Mark, washing away with their blood the stain of guilt arising from the origins of the Venetian domination of Cyprus.

From 1491 onwards the Famagustans and the Venetians both made strenuous efforts to revive the prosperity and restore the defences of the city. In a manuscript preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris²⁶ will be found the detailed answers given by the Senate to the various articles in a long petition from the citizens. The octroi on food-stuffs was suspended for twenty-five years and the wine-duty halved. This had a good effect; Pierre Mésenge in 1509 records that although Famagusta was admittedly poverty-stricken the cost of living was remarkably low.

Work had already begun on the new defences but in spite of the pressing need for them it was brought to a standstill by technical difficulties and by constant and disheartening changes of plan. A decision was taken to requisition the services of one man to each thirty families, throughout the island, to labour on the fortifications.

In the eighteen years since the start of the Venetian occupation they had left their troops billeted in private houses and even churches. They had never bothered to alter what was supposed to be a provisional state of affairs or even to pay rent, let alone repair the buildings which were of course in a pitiable state. The Senate regularised the situation by ordering the troops out of the churches and indemnifying the house-owners.

The ruinous state of the city had been made worse because Cyprus had been reduced to such a state that it could not even provide timber and metal fittings for reconstruction work. Venice sent supplies which were sold to the citizens at cost price.

One request above all Venice was only too willing to grant: to send out a good military engineer, and workmen skilled in making lime and cutting ditches in solid rock. The Famagustan petition²⁷ laid stress on

25
ib., pp. 447-8.

26
Fonds ital. No. 895. Mas Latrie has analysed this document in his *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 485.

27
Amiens Library MS., op. cit., fol. 89.

28
The Commune of Famagusta asked the Senate to provide 'Do maestri de far fornaxe et uno maran per il condur de le calcine in Famagosta. Apresso otto over .x. maestri per rompere el tuffo dentro del fosso, et per laborar in la Scarpa, et sopra de tutti questi li piaqui mandar uno ingegnier sopra le fabriche, cum tal mandato che rector alguno no possi contradir a tutto quello sara principito a fabricare, perche molti principii esta dati per i rectori de la Celsitudine Vostra, et nesuno ha protection alguna, che e cosa inconveniente, et per zio non serano presto profecte quelle fabriche non facendo questo tal mandato la Sublimità Vostra.'

the state of disorder into which their repeated efforts to fortify their city had been thrown.

The oldest date for the Venetian fortifications of Famagusta is on the citadel: 1492. In 1518 Jacques Le Saige writes: 'We were greatly astounded to see such a strong city—The walls of the aforementioned Famagusta are all repaired and there is a very fine rampart. To speak briefly, the city is impregnable, so long as the garrison is adequate.'²⁹ Nevertheless as late as 1565 the report submitted by the Proweditore Ascanio Savorgnano³⁰ gives some interesting details about the backwardness of the work on the walls and the harbour and about what there still remained of the former fortifications.

The harbour could take no more than ten galleys. It was considered essential to link the fortress with the line of rocks that formed a natural breakwater. This was actually what the Genoese had done, in a rather provisional way, in 1442-1443 when they closed the St. Catherine channel³¹ (*bucha Sancte Catarine*), St. Catherine's island being the name of the reef which separates the harbour from the sea. The Genoese had thought it sufficient to sink some vessels in the channel but the Venetians built a dyke across it.

A large number of earthworks had also to be constructed around Famagusta and a lot of terracing done. This was difficult because the terrain was marshy and unhealthy, and below sea-level at some points, and the clay soil was not good for field works. Admittedly in the old days the walls had gone down to bedrock and in front of them were ditches with masonry scarps and counterscarps which were kept continuously full of sea water. These defences were in a very ruined state by 1565. In 1395 Nicholas of Martoni had admired them claiming they were unasailable by sap or mine and practically impregnable.³²

On the southern face of the fortress the Venetian ramparts still have a sub-structure and ditches carved out of the rock, like some Gothic fortresses in the South of France. Whatever the Genoese ramparts may have been like they were not good enough in Savorgnano's time. The rampart-walk, though admired by Nicholas of Martoni for its size, was only five paces wide which was quite inadequate for sixteenth-century artillery. The walls could not stand up to contemporary cannon-balls, nor could the towers which Nicholas, writing in the fourteenth century, described as thick. In any case there were only twelve of them, of the old-fashioned round type, about four paces in diameter. There was only one modern bastion and although 50,000 ducats had been spent on it it was still unfinished and suffered from being too small and built too high, with too much dead ground around it and too little provision for enfilading fire. The counterscarps were too high and would give cover to the attackers. Finally, there was no good water in the fortress. Much more reliance would have to be placed, for the defence, on the unhealthiness of the locality than on the garrison, still only 800 men, and

29

'But', he adds, 'there are only eight hundred troops there in Venetian pay'; *op. cit.*, p. 135.

30

Bibl. Nat., MS. ital. 1500.

31

Comptes génois, p. 112.

32

Pèlerinage, ed. Le Grand. He describes the citadel as follows: 'Castrum ipsius civitatis est satis pulcrum et quasi totum est in mari, preter forte quartam partem et in ipsa parte sunt fossi pulcri ab utraque fabricati, qui fossi implentur aqua maris et sic dicti fossi semper manent cum aqua dicti maris, et est dictum Castrum propterea inexpugnabile.' Speaking of the walls he says: 'Dicta civitas habet menia pulciora quam viderim in aliqua terra, alta, cum annitis (anditis) largis in circuytu et turribus spissis et altis in toto circuytu.'

Later (p. 631) he adds that the city is 'circumdata fossis multum pulcris et fabricatis hinc inde; tota ipsa civitas est, seu ejus menia sunt fundata super saxis marmoreis et duris, ita quod nullo modo posset

especially on the strength of the fortifications. They required another six bastions, which would cost at least 600,000 ducats, and sanitation would have to be improved. The work-force employed, all local labour notorious for idleness, would have to be paid piece-work rates, not daily rates.

By 1567 the fortifications had been brought to completion, as one sees them today, and were justly admired by contemporaries. Bartholomew of Salignac³³ calls Famagusta 'omnium urbium fortissima' and he was probably right.

Under the Venetian domination the citadel was used as a state prison. Christopher Furer, who visited it in 1566, relates³⁴ that Peter Paul Scaliger, who had been taken prisoner in Verona when quite a child, was deported to Famagusta and kept there for a long time. When finally given conditional release he was obliged to live there and forbidden to marry, however he was allowed a concubine by whom he had a son and two daughters.³⁵

Another and still more romantic story, treated also with more poetic licence by those who have handed it down to us, is that of Othello. Shakespeare makes him Governor of Cyprus and lays the scene of his tragedy in Famagusta.³⁶

Far more dreadful, and more accurately recorded, is the tragedy which took place in Famagusta in 1571. After a heroic defence lasting seventy-five days the city, devastated and depopulated by a violent bombardment, despairing of the relief that Venice had failed to send, surrendered to Mustafa Pasha, the general of Sultan Selim's forces, under the terms of an honourable capitulation. Mustafa broke his word. He treated the defenders and the citizens of Famagusta with the most atrocious cruelty. The Commandant, Marco Bragadin, was mutilated, tortured and finally flayed alive; his subordinates were hanged and the rest either massacred or reduced to slavery. The port was then partly blocked and in the city itself only the walls were repaired. They enclosed, from then on, nothing but ruins though they retained down to our own times their complement of pieces of artillery from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of them have been removed to the artillery museum in Paris, others are now in the courtyard of the palace in Famagusta; unfortunately the gun-carriages, some of which were still in existence in 1860, have disappeared.

DESCRIPTION

The external aspect of the citadel makes today an exclusively Venetian impression; the walls are low, the towers round, massive and squat, all with a pronounced batter. The entrance gate, under a semi-circular arch, is surmounted by a large marble bas-relief with the lion of St. Mark and

33

Itinerarium Ierosolymitanum, vol. I, ch. V.

34

Itinerarium Aegypti etc., p. 106.

35

The daughters married two Flemings, one a physician of good family and the other a schoolmaster in Famagusta. Peter Paul Scaliger himself a little, good-natured man, lived near St. George of the Greeks in his old age and overwhelmed Furer with his kind attentions (*loc. cit.*).

36

Acts II to V are laid in Famagusta. The scenes are two or three rooms in the citadel, the quay or the esplanade outside the walls which adjoins it, and the main square of Famagusta.

THE DISTRICT OF FAMAGUSTA AND THE KARPAS

the date 1492. On the other hand the Venetians did not go so far as to rebuild the citadel completely; they scarcely did more than demolish the upper part and thicken up the lower part with additional masonry and earthworks like those added to the castles at Kyrenia and Limassol. It is still, in its essential elements, what it was when first built in the reign of Henry II and completed by the Prince of Tyre in 1310. Both from its site and from its design it was very similar to Kyrenia Castle.

The original plan of the fortress was an elongated rectangle with an open space in the middle and square towers at the four corners. The one at the north-eastern corner, now destroyed, will no doubt have been larger and stronger than the others because it overlooked the harbour entrance. It was probably the tower that had been there since the thirteenth century. The citadel is situated in a corner of the city north-west of the inlet forming the harbour.

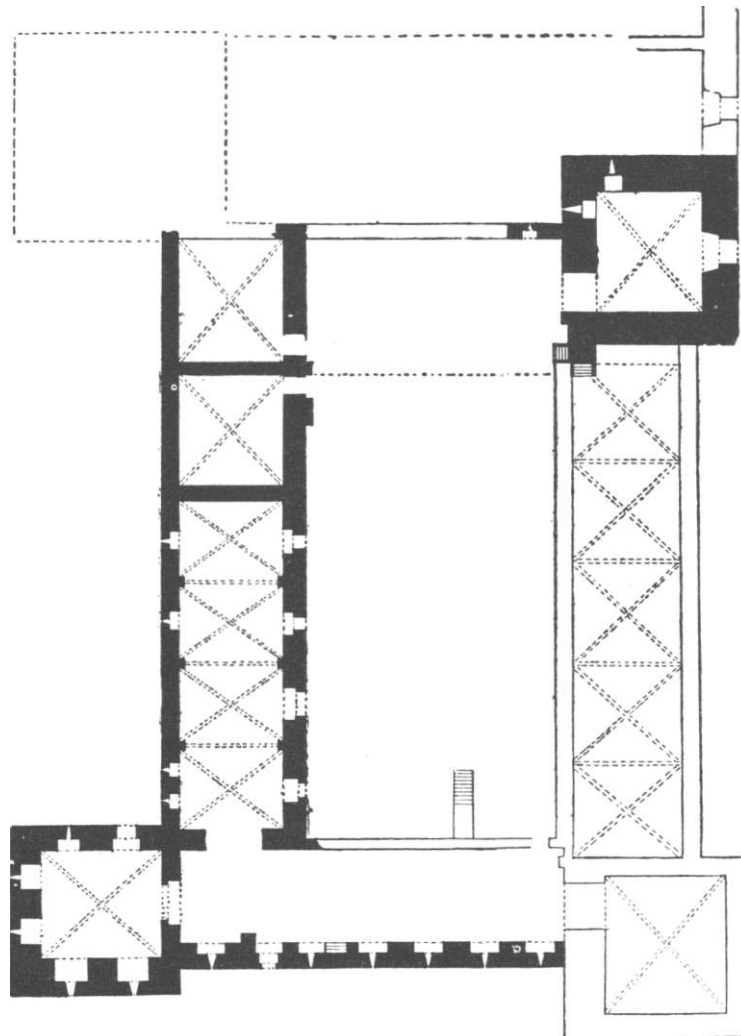


Fig. 379
Citadel, Famagusta.

A fortified pier which appears to date entirely from the Venetian period runs out into the sea from the citadel to link with the breakwater at the end of which was the tower to which the chain was attached (32 on the plan). This was pentagonal in plan with salient angles, as shown on the 1571 engraving (C and H). It is likely that this fortified pier took the place of a short breakwater with a tower on its end designed for defence and as a lighthouse. The windlass for raising the chain which closed the harbour entrance was still in existence in 1860. It was on the end of the fortified pier commanding the narrow channel, facing a cylindrical structure (32) that has replaced the chain-tower on the end of the large curved breakwater bounding the harbour inlet which stretches as far as the southeastern angle of the enceinte.

The present entry into the citadel is at the northern end of the quay in the corner formed between it and the curtain wall separating the city from the harbour.

The square central courtyard of the citadel of 1300-1310 was bounded by buildings with rib-vaults on the south and north, probably on the west and perhaps also on the east (Fig. 379). Of these the northern one is fairly well preserved.

It consists of six bays of which the two easternmost, at least as they are now, are small separate rooms. The four to the west form a Great Hall with four arrow-slits on the side facing the sea and two doors and four fairly large windows, all with pointed arches, on the courtyard side. The arches of the vaulting are simply chamfered and are supported on thick pilasters without capitals. The vaulting of dressed stone is carefully worked and beneath the ribs takes the form of a groined vault; parts of the ribs have fallen without endangering the solidity of the structure. The doors and windows are undecorated but the windows originally contained tracery, fragments of which can be found lying on the ground in the central court.

On the south side is a roughly similar building, once traversed to the south-west by an entry passage. The vaults of this building still survive but it has been completely blocked up with earth to form a flat platform for guns. The debris with which it is filled should contain concealed fragments of some interest.

The north-eastern tower has been destroyed to make room for the pier; the south-eastern has had two doorways opened in it to make an entrance passage; the south-western has been filled up. The north-west, the least tampered with, remains with a gaping hole on the inward side which used to link up with the ruined buildings of the west side. Its other three faces were each pierced by two arrow-slits. This tower, larger than the others and adjoining the Great Hall, might have been a keep though I think it is more likely that the keep was at the other end from the Great Hall, commanding the entrance to the port. It is vaulted, like the south-eastern tower, with chamfered ribs resting on polygonal

37

See above, p. 71.

38

As a help in following the numbers on the plan I give the names of the bastions or *tourions* of Famagusta in 1571, and the modern Turkish names as given in the legend: 25 (14 on Gibellino's engraving) Sea Gate; 32 Chain Tower; 33 *Torion del Diamante*, Tk. *Karpaz Tabir*; 34 *Torion del Mezzo*; 35 *Baloardo Martinengo*, Tk. *Top Khaneh*; 36 *Alti Parmak Masgali*; 37 *Hagi Chelibi Masgali*; 38 *Akim Mehemet Masgal*; 39 *Torion di Limisso*, Tk. *Eyri Kapu*; 28 *Limassol Gate*; 40 *Altoun Borgiu*; 41 *Su Borgiu*; 42 *Halkali Tabir*; 43 *Torion del Arsenale*, Tk.. *Jamboulat*; 44 *Haia Napa*, *Torrione di S. Napa* in Martinengo's narrative; 45 *Haia Az. Ma.*; 46 *Altoun Tabir*; 47 *Cavalier alto di Limisso* (Martinengo) Tk. *Ak. Kalek*; 49 *Hagi Chelebi Tabir*; 50 *Alti Parmak*; 51 *EskiAk. Kouleh*; 53 *Besh Parmak Masgali*; 54 *Shooting Gallery* (13 *loco de trar al palio*). I have not been able to identify the works designed by Martinengo as *Torrione degli Andruzzi*, *Torrione di Campo Santo* and *Cavalier dei Volti* (*Involte* in Lusi-gnan).

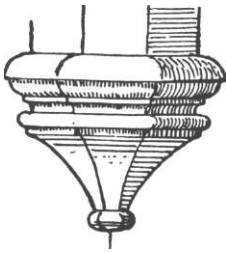


Fig. 380
Famagusta citadel,
bracket.

brackets (Fig. 380) in the form of an inverted pyramid ending in a flattened knob.

The building on the east side of the square has been entirely demolished. The one on the west side is in ruins; it still has six arrow-slits and a disused postern opening to the north next to which are some remains of an interior wall which closed off a small room serving as a vestibule to the tower.

The Venetians removed all the upper parts above the ground floor, blocked up all exterior openings and surrounded the whole citadel with an earthwork rampart with circular bastions on three of the corners and on the fourth the fortified pier which I have already mentioned.

The enceinte of the city was rebuilt more thoroughly between 1496, which is the date inscribed on the pediment of the Sea Gate, and 1544, the date on the inner side of the bastion defending the Limassol Gate. Only one tower is preserved, almost intact, from the fourteenth-century fortifications; it is on the north-east of the enceinte on the beach facing the ruins of Salamis. Externally it is polygonal in shape with salient angles, like the former chain-tower; internally it contains two barrel-vaulted rooms, one above the other, a stone spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall connecting the two. This building is perhaps not earlier than the Genoese period; it is rather like numerous other clumsily-built fortifications which they erected in their harbours in the Levant.

There is a pointed blind arch or shallow niche, a relic of the original

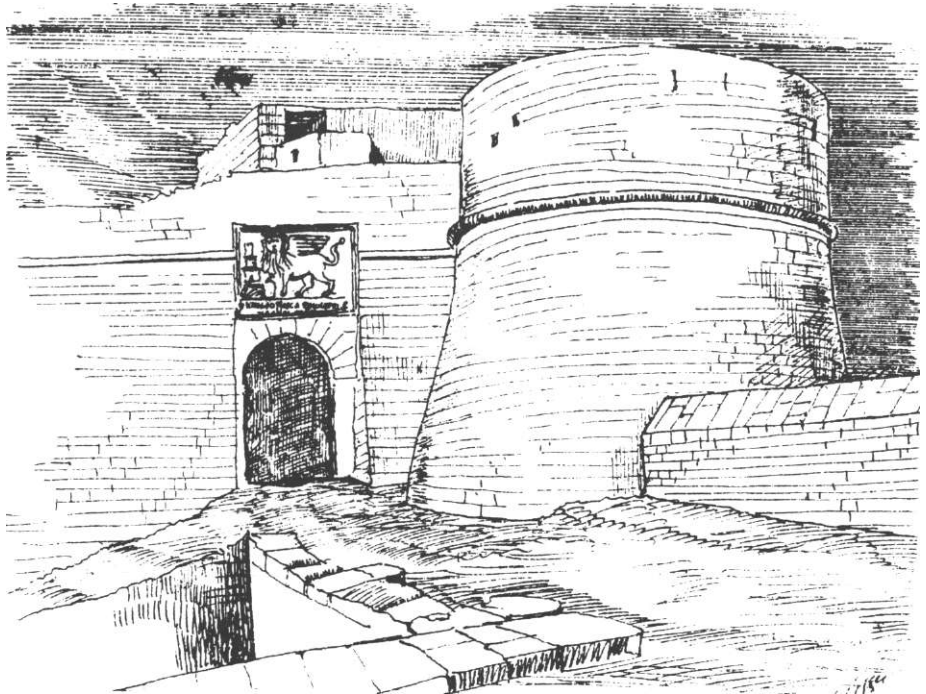


Fig. 381
Famagusta, the Sea
Gate.

Gothic construction, on the inner wall of the south-eastern enceinte alongside the entrance to a bastion above the naval arsenal. Also to be found in a number of different places on the walls of Famagusta are stones with masons' marks that came from the former enceinte. Most of them are shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 382); they resemble those found on fourteenth-century Provençal fortifications.

The Venetian ramparts of Famagusta are partly the work of Giovanni Girolamo Sanmicheli, nephew of Michele, who died there in 1559³⁷. Their state of preservation and dispositions can be seen from the plan of Famagusta;³⁸ the story of the siege of Famagusta in 1571 is evidence of their military value. From the artistic point of view the only attempt at decoration is the Sea Gate (Fig. 381) which was erected in 1496. It is in a very pure Italian Renaissance style, made from pieces of marble removed from Salamis with a white marble slab carved with the lion of St. Mark and the following inscription:

NICOLAO PRIOLO PREFECTO MCCCCLXXXVI

Above the gate of the citadel is another lion and under it:

NICOLAO FOSCARENO CYPRI PRAEFECTO
MCCCCLXXXI

On the Limassol Gate is just the date 1544.

The harbour was since the thirteenth century defended by a tower which was earlier in date than the citadel and later presumably was incorporated into it to form its north-eastern corner. Facing it was the chain tower on the other side of the harbour mouth. The Venetians demolished this corner tower, which was perhaps the keep, and replaced it by the present pier, which forms a kind of bastion built out into the sea.

A handsome quay stretches from the citadel to the Sea Gate. Only small craft can lie alongside it. By 1395 a wooden wharf had been thrown out in front of the Sea Gate to allow large vessels to berth there. The Naval arsenal, separated from the commercial harbour by the Sea Gate and this wharf, was thus in a similar location to that of the naval harbour of Naples, as Nicholas of Martoni correctly observes.³⁹ It was at the south-eastern corner of the enceinte and was like those at Venice and Rhodes. A small basin, now filled up, was connected with the harbour by a water gate passing through the curtain wall. Ships must have been built and launched within the walls, receiving their masts outside. Guns would have been moved from the ships to the arsenal and vice versa by means of lighters passing through the water gate. All that remains of the buildings of the arsenal is an arcade and a straight flight of stone steps. In 1395 Nicholas of Martoni admired it and compared it with the one at Naples.⁴⁰ When Mariti saw it in the eighteenth century it was still

O.O.OTWyA

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•AAV

•l^ifHA-X-XW-HHil

•III •V- * •

Fig. 382

Masons' marks, Famagusta.

39

'Portum satis pulcrum, reparatum a quolibet vento; in quo portu ante portam civitatis est de ligno quidam pons longus per jactum lapidis prope quern pontem veniunt navilia, et per ipsum pontem mercantia portantur ad navilia.'

40

'Et est in ipsacivitate a latere maris tarzenale magnum et pulcrum sicut est illud de Neapoli'; *Pèlerinage*, p. 61. In 1760 Mariti says that galleys used to be built there; vol. I, ch. XII, p. 154. The *Assizes of Jerusalem* refer to a special tax levied for the construction of this arsenal.

41

p. 135.

complete and fully equipped. The same was true at an even later date of a gun-foundry which was located in the large open space behind the north-western corner of the city, but nothing remains of it today.

42
Piloti, *Rapport sur le passage d'Outre-Mer*, 1420; French trans. of 1441 published by Baron de Reiffenberg in *Monuments de l'histoire du Hainaut* (Brussels, 1846), vol. IV, p. 366: 'In Famagusta there is a long public square and a long street running into it in which street there are magnificent loggias of all the Christian nations of the West.'

43
Machaeras, p. 181.

44
I have already mentioned, on pp. 211 and following, the great prosperity of Famagusta, due principally to political causes. Piloti's view of the extent of that prosperity, and of the reasons for it is expressed as follows: 'In the days when Famagusta was a great city for trade a decree was issued by the Pope of Rome excommunicating all Christians who should go to the Promised Land; and if any such did go there, and were taken, then it was decreed that they should be sold as slaves and their ship and their goods should be the property of their captors. To which end, and by command of the Pope of Rome, the King of Cyprus used to keep two armed galleys to go scouting and patrolling up and down throughout all the sea-coast of Syria and when they came upon any such Christians who were transgressing against the afore-mentioned decree they would seize them incontinently and sell them in the market-place of Famagusta—In those days there

were in that city of Famagusta merchants and

2

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN FAMAGUSTA

Loggias and other buildings no longer extant

Private houses

According to Jacques Le Saige in 1518⁴¹ there were still in Famagusta 'the most beautiful loggias imaginable, but they are in ruins.' Before this happened, in the fourteenth century which was the period of the city's greatest splendour, it was certainly rich in handsome domestic buildings and must have made an imposing impression on the traveller landing there. Immediately after passing through the Sea Gate he would see on his left a big Gothic building which was either a bourse, a loggia, a shop or a hospital (No. 24 on the plan) and if he then proceeded up the main shopping street he would have on his left the bishop's palace and at the point where the street debouched into the main square he could see on the far side the front of the royal palace. On the right another important shopping street entered the square in which was a row of loggias belonging to the various states which had consuls in Famagusta. We know that the Genoese loggia had a flat roof and that it adjoined the monastery of the Friars Minor (No 4 on the plan) which was between it and the palace. We also know that all the loggias were in this same long street which ran into the square.⁴² Given that we know the location of the Genoese loggia from another source⁴³ we can deduce that it and the others were on the opposite side from the twin chapels which I have conjecturally ascribed to the Templars and the Hospitallers.

When the kings of Cyprus had received the crown of Jerusalem in Famagusta Cathedral they mounted a horse before the great doorway and went in state to visit the loggias of Venice and Genoa before returning to the palace; the Venetian *podestà* held the horse's right hand rein and the Genoese the left. It was the dispute over precedence at this ceremony which led to the fatal riots of 1371, at the coronation of Peter II.

All that remains of the former loggias are a few foundations in good ashlar masonry and a single Renaissance façade (Fig. 383) consisting of a large doorway in the form of a triumphal arch. This is probably a surviving portion of one of them though, from its appearance, it is probably to be dated not earlier than the reign of James the Bastard. It could have formed part of either the Genoese or the Venetian loggia, both of which must have been rebuilt after James II recaptured Famagusta. Its fine Renaissance style makes it likely that the builders were Italian.

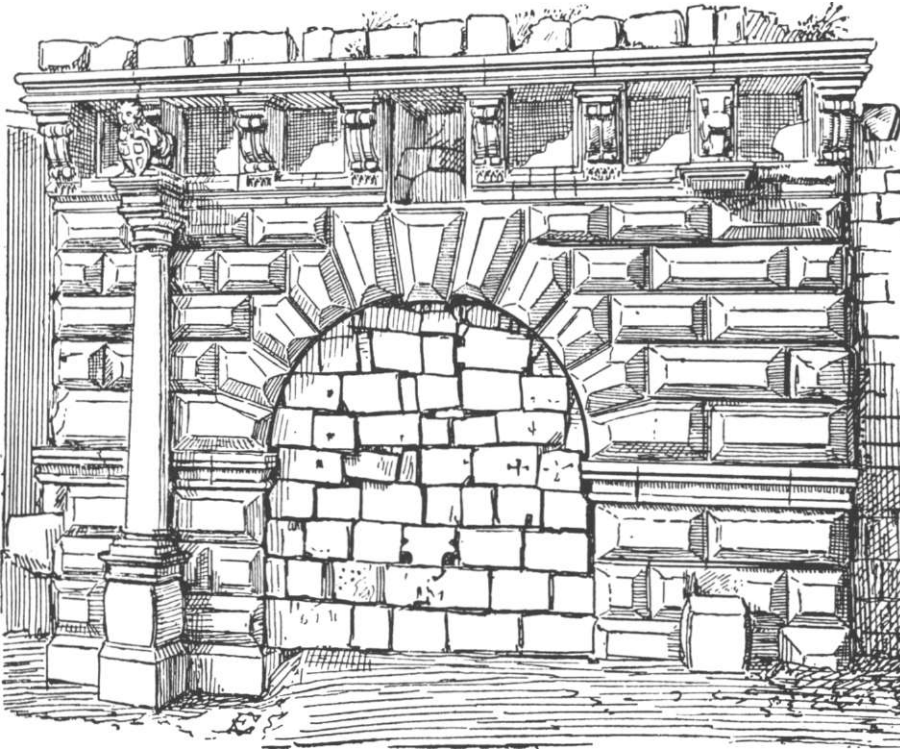


Fig. 383
Building to the north-
east of St. Francis.

The more ancient loggias strove to outdo each other in elegance. Piloti calls them all magnificent; 'and the most beautiful of them all' he says 'is the Pisan; up to the present day (c. 1440) they are all functioning.'

They had been abandoned about 1373, when the city fell into the hands of the Genoese for, as Piloti says, Famagusta ... was still a triumphant city for the space of LX years, being under the domination of the King of Cyprus⁴⁴ until such time as the Genoese seized it; but afterwards its triumph was brought all to naught, as was its traffic in merchandise and for that reason all the trading nations were pleased, but inasmuch as the Genoese were lords of the land, the same being traders and living from the profits of trade, they desired to have all the benefits for themselves alone wherefore all the other Christian nations of merchants began to leave for Damascus and other places throughout Syria ... and thereafter the Christian merchants removed and went to Alexandria.'

Eventually, but too late, the Genoese realised that they were ruining Famagusta. In 1449 the Doge and the Council of Ancients had authorised the Protectors of the Bank of St. George to buy out at once, over the opposition of the tax-farmers, a local tax imposed four years before which was ruining the Famagustans.⁴⁵ But it was a case of too little and too late; the Genoese were forced to maintain the city in a permanent state of defence with the consequence that what had been, when they seized it, a commercial harbour was transformed by the force of necessity into

merchandise from all the Christian nations of the West ... inasmuch as all the spice caravans came to the sea at Beirut or Tripoli of Syria and from there merchants of that country brought them in their ships to Famagusta and likewise they would send across the sea all their cotton and other such goods which have their origin in Syria, taking them in their ships to Famagusta which is a walled city and a port.'

45
Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III,
p. 56

military base. It was, in fact, very much like what Calais was under the English. James the Bastard tried to restore its prosperity but his premature death and all the consequent troubles which accompanied the gradual encroachment of the Venetians rendered his endeavours fruitless. Commercial confidence deserted Famagusta and trade began to move to the roadstead of Salines, later Larnaca. In 1491 the inhabitants petitioned the Venetian Senate for a relief of their grievances; their complaints were met as far as practical but it was a drop in the ocean.⁴⁶ Famagusta's trade had gone. The palaces, monasteries and churches were converted into barracks; the Greek monasteries, sold to private individuals, were already in ruins. For all the Senate's good intentions, the city remained in the pitiable state described by Mésenge and Le Saige in 1507⁴⁷ and 1518 respectively.

The Senate's principal concern was to provide Famagusta with fortifications strong enough to defend it against the Turkish threat. After this laborious task had been more or less completed, in 1556, work was started on improvements to sanitation.⁴⁸ These produced good results but only fifteen years later the city fell into the hands of the Turks and was ruined for ever.

In the street of the loggias, a little beyond St. Francis and opposite the twin chapels, is a Renaissance building which might have been the Genoese loggia, since that was approximately where it was located. It was probably rebuilt after Famagusta was repossessed by James II under a capitulation which guaranteed them their privileges. Another possibility is that it was the Queen's palace, which is marked on Gibellino's engraving as No. 11. Whichever it is this building (Fig. 383) takes the form of a triumphal arch, decorated with deep-cut chamfered bosses corresponding to the rectilinear pattern of the masonry. Architecturally it follows the same lines as the front of the palace though in a rather finer style; it is very probably earlier in date. The impostes of the arch are extended to the edges of the building; in front of them were two columns supporting part of the entablature which crowns this monumental entrance.

The entablature consists of a moulded string-course, eight brackets and a cornice which must have carried a balcony or, more likely, an open loggia. Between the brackets are blank metopes, originally no doubt intended for painted panels. The central metope is replaced by a rectangular window. The brackets are carved with volutes except for those at the top of the columns which were decorated with two lions in high relief. Only their hindquarters now survive; their fore-parts projected in front of the rest of the carved decoration. Very likely they held a shield with a coat of arms in their fore-legs, a fairly common decorative motif. Beneath each of the brackets is a small ornament resembling the guttae beneath classical triglyphs but on closer inspection it appears less classical and more idiosyncratic, being composed of four small, trilobed

46

Bibl. Nat., MS. ital.
No. 895; see above p. 447.

47

Amiens Library, fonds
Lescaopier, MS. No. 5215.

48

Lusignan, *Descr.*, fol. 26.

49

1300, *curia domini castellani*
Famaguste (presumably in
the citadel); *Actes génois*,
No. CXVIII.

50

1300, *in domo Domini*
Senescalcbi; *Actes génois*,
CCIX, CCX.CCLXXVII.

51

1359, Machaeras, p. 48;
1571, Gibellino's engraving:
la zueca.

52

1300, *Actes génois*, CCVI.

53

1300, *ib.*, CXXIV, CCXXII,
CCCLXV.

54

1300, *ante cambia*, Nos.
XLIII, XLVII, XLVIII,
LXIX, XCIII, CVI, CXIII,
CXX, CXXXIII, CXXXIX,
CCLXI, CCCLXVI, CCCXCI,
CCCCXLVI; *ad cambia*,
CCLXIII, *in bancbis cambi-*
orum Famaguste, 1300,
No. LXXXIII.

55

1340, *Logia catalanorum*,
Mémoir confidentiel de
l'infant Ferrand de Majorque;
Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II,
p. 184.

56

Piloti, *loc. cit*; Bustron,
pp. 230-31.

blind arches.

The two columns, free-standing and unconnected with the façade they adorn, have been taken away but their abacuses, joined on to the frieze, and their plinths, incorporated in the stylobate, still survive. The plinths are not plain stone cubes but have convex faces giving the impression of a barrel rectangular in section.

This architectural fragment is really quite tasteful, ingenious and original, considering it is in Italian Renaissance style. Note the excellent stonework of the arch and the emphasis given to the impost.

The following buildings are mentioned in Genoese documents and by the chroniclers in the period 1299-1301: in addition to the King's palace and the bishop's palace there were the fortress-commander's residence,⁴⁹ the house of the Seneschal,⁵⁰ the mint,⁵¹ the bourse,⁵² known also as the *commercium*⁵³ and the money-changers' booths which must have been in the same place;⁵⁴ the loggias of the Catalans,⁵⁵ the Syrians, the Pisans,⁵⁶ the Venetians⁵⁷ (this was near the bourse⁵⁸ and was attacked in 1349 by a gang of Sicilians and Cypriots),⁵⁹ and the Genoese (founded in 1293);⁶⁰ and the fondouk or caravanserai of the Genoese the innkeeper of which is recorded shortly before 1300 as being a certain Peter Rosso.⁶¹

The building which housed the mint (marked as *La zueca* on Gibellino's engraving) does not appear to have been of any architectural significance and is not now recognisable.

Between the seashore and the hospital of St. Anthony there are some traces remaining of a building, probably domestic but not one of the loggias because they were all in the same street. It is part of a Gothic edifice in fine ashlar masonry which might possibly have been part of the hospital complex but could also have been separate. It runs parallel to the shore-line and the near-by walls but it is too ruined and incomplete to allow either identification or even conjectural reconstruction. The remaining portion is part of the east façade, facing the sea; there are two doorways in it and at one end, at a right angle, is a piece of the south side. It could be a church that does not face east, like St. Anthony's, divided into three naves but given the width of the east nave and the nearness of the road on the west side I should think it more likely it had only two. Other possibilities are a hospital ward, a bourse or a warehouse. It was covered with a ribbed vault carried on one or more columns in the centre; on the east side it rested on smaller engaged columns in the corners and one or more brackets and on the south, and probably also the north, on an engaged pilaster with depressed ribs (Fig. 384).

The height of this building to the top of the vaulting was quite considerable. The profile of the ribs and transverse arches was a slender, flattened torus between two cavettos framed with bird's-beak mouldings and finally a bead. A roof-boss lying among the ruins is in the form of a circular medallion set in a projecting frame which bears a Greek cross in

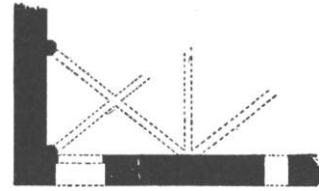


Fig. 384
Ruin near the Sea Gate.

57
ib ; Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant*, 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 21; *La Colonie*, p. 301 and note 5; Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 79; Bustron, pp. 288, 289; *Actes génois*, CXXVII, CXXXVII, CCCLXXXI, CCCLXXXIII, CCCLXXXIX, CCCXC, CCCXCVI, CCCXCVI, CCCXCVII, CCCXCVIII.CCCCI, CCCII.CCCCXXIII, CCCCLIX.

58
op. cit., 1300, No. CXXXIV: *Logia Venetorum juxta commercium Famaguste*.

59
Heyd, loc. cit.

60
1293, *Gestes des Chiprois*, Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre, p. 277; 1300, *Curia Communis Janue*, *Actes génois*, No. CXL; 1362-1363, Bustron, p. 261; 1364, Machaeras, p. 76; 1171, ib., p. 181.

61
Fondicum Januensium quod tenebat quondam Petrus Rubeus, *Actes génois*, No. CCV.

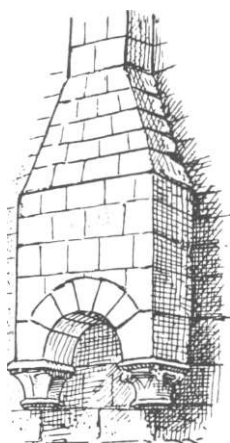


Fig. 385
Chimney stack.

relief, perhaps the cross of the Hospitallers. There are no traces of windows. The walls have no buttresses, as with St. George of the Greeks and SS. Peter and Paul. Like them, the building apparently dates from the fourteenth century, probably towards the end; but there is so little left of it that it would be too rash to form any conclusions on this point.

The houses of Famagusta have almost all disappeared. Their very foundations have been destroyed for the benefit of the unholy trade in building materials.

In about 1600 Jean Palerne observed: 'The city is reasonably well built and there are scarce any houses with flat roofs, as in Syria, but rather the most part are built in the Frankish style, with tiled roofs.'⁶² But Mariti,⁶³ writing a hundred years later, found all these private houses in ruins. The Turks were already engaged on demolishing the city. Admittedly the Pasha had eventually forbidden them to break up stonework so they turned instead to removing timbering and woodwork until, as they confidently and correctly expected, this prohibition should fade into oblivion. In modern times the order has gone out that stones are not to be removed from walls still standing, the natural consequence of which is that the locals have acquired the knack of causing such walls to collapse of their own accord.

Remains of domestic architecture are rare in Famagusta but there are some Gothic door-jambs with good fourteenth and fifteenth-century mouldings and at a main crossroads near St. George of the Greeks there are two wide doorways under pointed arches surmounted by drip-courses. On one of the houses, between the ground floor and the first storey, there is a string-course with a very handsome profile in the form of an inverted Attic base. Between these two houses there was one of those covered bridges so common in medieval town-architecture, especially on Rhodes. Beneath it was a small door. The arches of the covered bridge are pointed, resting on very handsome brackets. These are perhaps the remaining vestiges of the town house occupied in 1556 by the last descendant of the Scaligers of Verona, which is known to have been near St. George of the Greeks.⁶⁴

Nowhere was I able to find any evidence of spiral staircases; on the other hand I found a fair number of old straight staircases, often rather in the way, carried on flying buttresses abutting on the walls. This type of staircase seems to have been predominant in Cyprus, as in Spain and Italy; it often ended in an open loggia.

A sort of square loggia resembling the one at the castle of St. Hilarion can be seen on the ground floor of a house, which was first dismantled and is now in ruins, located to the north of the palace. It is vaulted and open on three sides under large pointed arches. It must have been a convenient and pleasant place to sit because it seems to have been always surrounded by gardens. The covering, like a baldachin, is strengthened at the corners by thick, square piers which carried the supports of

62

Pérégrinations, p. 333;

63

Viaggi, vol. I.

64

Furer von Haimendorf,
see above p. 449.

65

Actes génois, Nos. LXXVI,
CXLVII, CLXII, 2nd March,
15th June, 5th July 1300;
see above p. 378.

66

Bustron, p. 194; 'Fece ruinar
alcuni banchi et altri in-
trichi che avanzavano fuor
de le porte over balconi,
per haver spatio di correre
i cavalli senza impedi-
mento___'

a roof over its flat terrace; in this way there was an upper loggia connected with the first floor. In the upper part of the buttresses a quadrant corbel and two column capitals have been inserted at a later date, they probably came from this storey, now replaced by a modern room. The capitals, carved with ribbed leaves terminating in crockets, are in a French thirteenth-century style.

Places designated to give shelter from the sun are naturally numerous in Famagusta. The shops (*staciones*) were vaulted cellars; some examples remain in the ruins of the bishop's palace. We know from these remains, and from references in the literature, that the openings of these shops were sheltered by wooden penthouses. I have already described the 'covered street' (*ruda* or *ruga coperta*) at Famagusta.⁶⁵

It is known that in 1310 the usurper Amalric, Prince of Tyre, had all these penthouses taken down as a military precaution in order to facilitate the movement of his cavalry in the streets of Famagusta in case of an attack or a popular rising.⁶⁶

There is an interesting chimney-stack on the gable of a house to the north-west of the palace (Fig. 385). The protruding fireback is supported on a round arch resting on two thirteenth-century capitals. Sharply-angled sloping planes taper into the flue from the projecting fireback. The chimney-pot has unfortunately disappeared. Otherwise it is exactly like chimney-stacks still to be seen in France, notably at Figeac.

Two house signs survive in the ruins. Both bear a shield under a round cusped arch (Fig. 386) supported on two Gothic colonnettes. On one the colonnettes have foliar capitals, the spandrels are carved with oak-leaves and the shield, four fesses dancetté, is ensigned with an object which might be a flat-topped helm or another, smaller shield. The shield on the other sign bears a footed candelabrum very similar to, but simpler than, the ones preserved in the cathedral. This is probably a trader's sign rather than a family coat of arms as on the previous example.

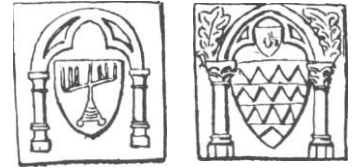


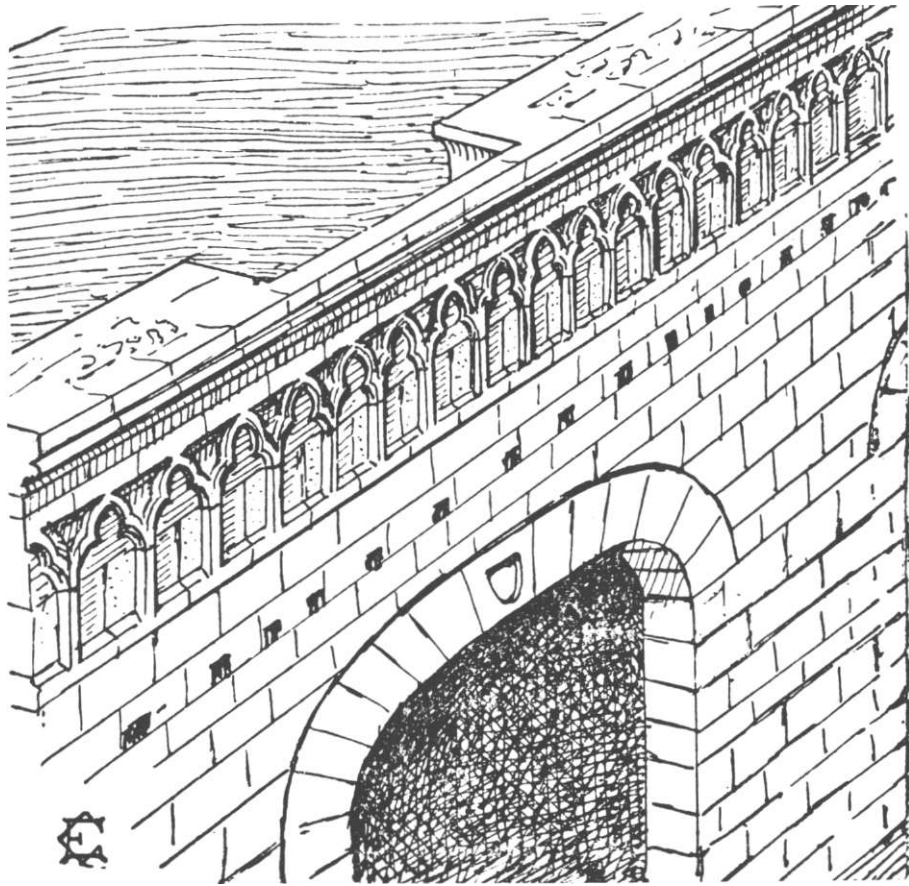
Fig. 386
House signs.

3

THE BISHOP'S PALACE AND OTHER SUBSIDIARY BUILDINGS OF THE CATHEDRAL THE TOMB OF VENUS

The cathedral is enclosed between two streets leading from the palace square to the sea. It was impossible therefore to flank it, as was done with many Western cathedrals, on one side with a cloister for the canons and a chapter-house and on the other with an episcopal palace built round a second open space. On the south the open street runs right along the wall of the building, rendering impossible the construction of a synodal chamber with a façade in line with that of the cathedral, as at Noyon and Sens. Instead it has been built at right angles, parallel to the

Fig. 387
Details of the bishop's
palace.



street and to the axis of the cathedral; it forms the southern boundary of the parvis, dividing it from the street.

The bishop's palace (Fig. 387) was necessarily located in a narrow strip of ground to the north of the cathedral, between it and the main shopping street. The existence of this street meant that the bishop was forced to content himself with a long, narrow courtyard instead of a cloister; on the other hand he gained by having on his ground floor a row of shops in a highly eligible situation and certain to command high rents.

Behind the apse of the cathedral a fairly large rectangular space was occupied by His Grace's gardens and on the west his residence ended in a pavilion protruding beyond the alignment of the cathedral, closing the parvis with a second wing facing the synodal chamber. From this pavilion the bishop could look out on the main square and the front of the royal palace. The sole disadvantage of his palace was therefore that it was narrow and elongated but this will certainly have been mitigated by having loggias or covered balconies on the first floor, as was the custom in Cyprus. The great compensating advantage of its narrowness and closeness to the north side of the cathedral was that from morning to evening it nestled in the shade of the great building, protected from the dreaded

THE BISHOP'S PALACE

sunshine of Famagusta and also from the south wind and the clouds of scorching dust that it bears with it. The location was undoubtedly the deliberate choice of the architect. He could easily have taken advantage of the much more extensive area available to the east of the cathedral for his palace, but this exposed space was less agreeable and better suited for a garden or an orchard.

I found it impossible to reconstruct the lay-out of the palace. On the west the pavilion at the end has been entirely rebuilt by the Turks, who have converted it into a school attached to the mosque. On the east it adjoined the cathedral treasury; a passage must have been constructed through the latter. The bishop's apartments were no doubt on this side, which is much quieter. His private chapel, conventionally situated close to his room, is in fact at the east end of the palace. It is isolated, low, in a degenerate style with a barrel vault carried on transverse arches and brackets of inverted pyramid shape. The polygonal east end is roofed with a conical semi-dome. There are three doorways with corbelled lintels at the other cardinal points. The west end has an *oeil-de-boeuf* with quatrefoil tracery. The style is the hybrid Cypriot style of the fifteenth century.

The east end of the bishop's palace is in ruins with nothing of special interest surviving beyond a large lintel on which two handsome capitals of the fourteenth or fifteenth century have been carved (Fig. 388). Only the centre of the building is therefore recognisable and even that has had its upper part demolished down to the level of the first-floor window-sills.

The lower part is occupied by a row of vaulted shops, the type known as *staciones* which lined the bazaars. Seven of them remain. They are roofed with pointed barrel vaults at right angles to the axis of the building. They open onto the street through an arcade of basket arches which cannot be earlier than the fifteenth century. In front of the arcade there was originally a wooden portico; the holes for the roof beams can be seen beneath a frieze of trilobed blind arches which runs between the level of the floor of the upper storey and the level of the window-sills. The windows were fairly large, with stone benches in the embrasures. Above the frieze of blind arches is a moulding in the form of an inverted Attic base, like the cornice on the country house at Potamia built by King James II. The frieze itself presents a striking resemblance to the one above the main entrance of a house on the small square to the north of Rodez Cathedral, which appears to have been built at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Clearly the likely date for the episcopal palace is about 1400. By 1491 there was no bishop in residence and it was falling into ruin.⁶⁷ The building opposite, south-west of the cathedral, is definitely of this date or perhaps even from the early sixteenth century as it presents motifs of Renaissance origin. It now only has a vaulted ground floor with a wide

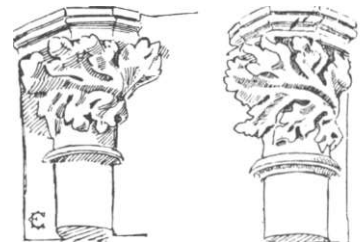


Fig. 388
Capitals from the
bishop's palace.

67

On this point see the list of grievances presented by the Famagustans to Doge Barbarigo in 1491 in *Bibl. Nat., MS. ital.*, 895 para. 4 'Cossa utile a quella chiesa cathedral de Famagosta como al veschovado, li quali ambedui, per la absentia de li suoi veschovi, sono andati in gran parte in ruina et a la jornata vanno.'

stone staircase built onto the façade in the south-east corner leading from the street to the flat roof. This was originally the floor of an upper room. It is on the same level as the external gallery which runs above the doorways at the west end of the cathedral; its cornice, carved with bunches of oak leaves, is a prolongation — and an imitation in a poorer style — of the frieze which runs above the doorways.

68

Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. XI,
pt. II, col. 2400405; Mas
Latrie, *Hist. des Archev.*,
p. 23 (227).

69

*Ante domum senescalchi
episcopi, Actes génois.*
No. CLXIX.

70

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 17.

71

ib., fol. 3, 10, 14, 16, 20 v°,
27, 39. Lusignan is a true
cleric of the Renaissance;
he finds classical re-
miniscences much more
interesting than the Christian
traditions of his country.

72

Actes génois, Nos CXIV,
c xv.

73

Bustron, p. 194.

74

'De hospicio autem regis
itur ad fratres minores per
quoddam hostium secretum,
quare inter hospiciam dicti
domini regis et ipsos fratres
predictos non est nisi paries
in medio, sicut dominus rex
Enricus, bone memorie, pre-
decessor istius, ordinaverat
et transiebat per dictum
locum ad fratres minores
de nocte et de die, sicut
Deus imparabat sibi,
habendo sic consolaciones
suas spirituales'; *Mémoire
confidentiel de l'infant Fer-
nand de Majorque*, *Bibl.
Sainte-Geneviève*, carton IV,
No. 12, publ. Mas Latrie,
Hist. de Chypre, vol. II,
p. 187.

The surviving room consists of three rib-vaulted bays. The central bay has two large doorways, or carriage entrances, under round arches. The two other bays have large *oeils-de-boeuf* on the parvis side. The vaulting arches run right down to ground level, each forming a bundle of colonnettes without capitals of a sort very common in the Flamboyant style. The profile of the arches is a very narrow torus merging into a flat ribbon moulding through counter-curves.

The most striking part of the building is the gateway opening onto the parvis. It opens in the middle of a projecting block and its five arches are ornamented with mouldings and carvings that at first glance could pass for Romanesque work. There are zigzags, angular florets and *congés* with small human and animal figures, but the uppermost of the five arches has foliar carvings inspired by those found on fourteenth-century cathedral doorways. It also resembles the one on the tomb of St. Mammas at Morphou. Admittedly the corners of the projecting block are decorated with small colonnettes with cable-pattern shafts and Romanesque-looking convex capitals, and the jambs seem to have had four similar colonnettes, free-standing and now missing; but the surviving capitals of the colonnettes at the angles are clearly in the Aragonese style of the fifteenth century (Fig. 186). Furthermore the upper arch is supported on pilasters whose shafts are framed by a projecting moulding and have a circular medallion at their centre, a type of pilaster peculiar to Renaissance art.

What we have, then, is a thoroughly archaising, eclectic and cosmopolitan work dating from the end of the fifteenth or perhaps even from the sixteenth century. Though neither pure in style nor delicate in execution it is very effective. The building to which it belongs must have been a synodal chamber with a basement, similar to the one at Sens, or perhaps it was used for some other official purpose, like the one at Meaux or it could have been one of those grammar schools which bishops in Cyprus were obliged to maintain in the precincts of their cathedrals by a decree of the Legate Eudes of Châteauroux, published in 1248.⁶⁸

In 1300 there was also in existence a residence for the bishop's seneschal;⁶⁹ no doubt it was one of the buildings around the cathedral.

In the middle of the square between the bishop's palace and the cathedral, opposite the doorway of the latter, were two columns taken from the ruins of Salamis and between them was to be seen the strangest of antiquities: the tomb of Venus (No. 1 on Gibellino's engraving '*S. Nicolo Domo di Franchi, davanti de quai gli e l'arca de Venere fra due colonne*'). The Venetians, who prided themselves on their classical erudi-

ROYAL PALACE: PALACE OF THE QUEEN

tion, had carried out some archaeological excavations in 1564⁷⁰ at Paphos as well as elsewhere and one day came across what they persuaded themselves was Venus's tomb; in line with the universal opinion of the time they took her, and the other pagan gods, to have been a living person. Father Lusignan gives a thoroughly serious account of her life, assuming her to have been a former Queen of Cyprus, wife of King Adonis and mother of Prince Cupid.⁷¹

It is tempting to speculate whether Venus's supposed sarcophagus now rests in the Tekké on the parvis, an object of Moslem veneration; the columns have been transferred to its vicinity.

ROYAL PALACE: PALACE OF THE QUEEN

The royal palace of Famagusta (No. 22 on the plan), more than half of which was rebuilt by the Venetians, is today almost completely in ruins; it stood opposite the cathedral, on the other side of the main square in the centre of the city.

The foundation date of the palace is not known. It is probably the building referred to in 1300 as *'logia domini regis'*.⁷² In 1310 the usurper Amalric, Prince of Tyre, lived in it; it was he who removed the market which had been set up in the square in front.⁷³ It is probable that the palace as well as the castle and the fortifications of Famagusta were finished at about this time which is also the time when the Cathedral was built and marks the beginning of the great prosperity of the city.

King Henry II (1285-1324) seems to have chosen to live in the palace of Famagusta after his return from exile. He had a secret passage made communicating with the convent of the Minorites whom he patronised; the convent was next to the palace, separated only by a party wall. Often during the day and sometimes in the dead of the night this unhappy prince, a prey to depression and disease, felt called to go and commune with God, using the secret passage to go straight from his bedroom to the church of the Franciscans.⁷⁴

His successors, Hugh IV and Peter I, who also often lived in the palace of Famagusta, were completely different. Instead of a mild-mannered ascetic the palace saw two energetic, active and at times violently quick-tempered men. Peter I gave feasts and received ambassadors at Famagusta and assembled there the Western knights whom he took with him to the capture of Alexandria in 1365. Under his father Hugh IV the palace servants had at times been the terrified witnesses of odious family scenes.⁷⁵ It was this prince who converted the passage which led to the Minorites into a shooting gallery for cross-bow practice.⁷⁶

There was another passage also, but this time elevated across a street where it can still be seen on the west of the palace. It led to the mansion where Hugh IV had installed his daughter Eschive and his son-in-law

75
ib., pp. 182-203.

76
ib., p. 187: 'Et iste dominus rex ludit ibi ad balistam quando contigit ipsum fore ad ipsam civitatem, scilicet Famagostam, quare non est locum ibi ita sibi dispositum ... dum ipse dominus infans revertebat de dictis fratribus minoribus, invenit ipsum dominum regem in loco consueto predicto, ludendo ad balistam cum aliis____'

77
ib., 'Quum esset hospicium ipsius domini infantis juxta hospicium dicti domini regis in tali dispositione quod per unum pontem ipse dominus infans cum uxore et familia veniebant ad hospicium regis et rediebant ad eorum hospicium.'

78
Machaeras, p. 180.

79
ib., p. 180-81.

80 ib., p. 234.

Ferdinand of Majorca, the victim of all his fits of anger.⁷⁷ Loaded with insults, despoiled of all his possessions and separated from his wife, the Infant Ferdinand died in misery. In 1471, we find the house in which he lived inhabited by a certain Demas Pétré.⁷⁸ It was to his house that the young king Peter II fled, over the covered bridge, during the bloody riots provoked by the Genoese in the middle of his coronation celebrations and of which they were about to be, at first, the victims.⁷⁹ It was under this pretext that Genoa sent its army to ravage Cyprus and to seize Famagusta which it had long coveted.

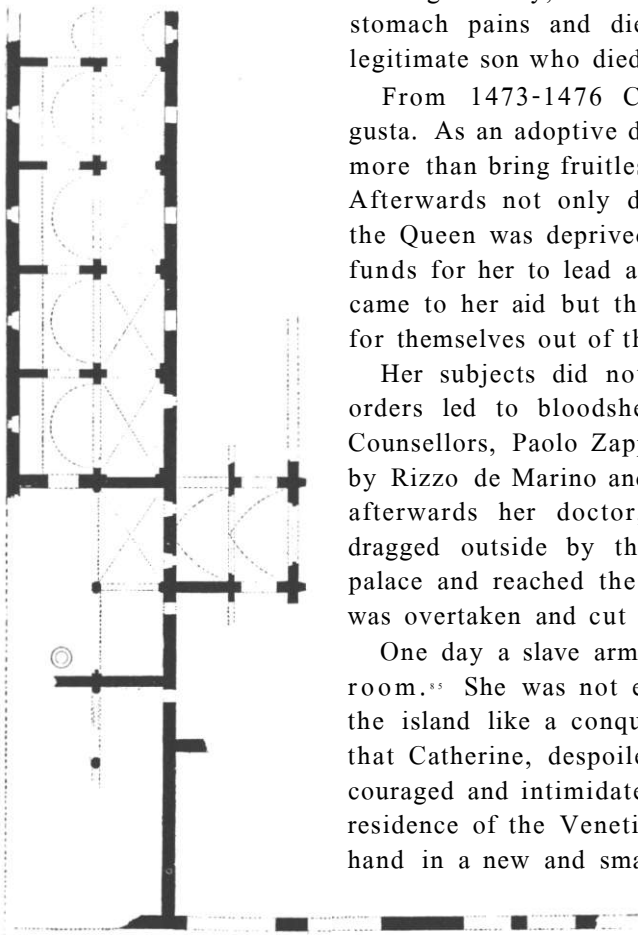
By 1373 the Genoese were masters of the place; the young prince and his mother, who had been shamefully treated by them, were prisoners in their own palace. Before long they took the Queen with them to persuade Kyrenia to surrender to her while the young Peter II was kept closely watched in the royal residence.⁸⁰ He only left it to hand it over to the Genoese captain who from then on commanded in Famagusta. This state of affairs lasted until 1463 when James the Bastard recaptured the city and returned to the palace of his fathers. Ten years later, one evening in July, on his return from hunting he was taken with severe stomach pains and died in forty-eight hours,⁸¹ leaving a posthumous legitimate son who died there at the age of one year.⁸²

From 1473-1476 Catherine Cornaro continued to reside at Famagusta. As an adoptive daughter of the Venetian Republic she could do no more than bring fruitless complaints against the usurpation of her power. Afterwards not only did Cyprus become a Venetian protectorate, but the Queen was deprived of the honours due to her title and of sufficient funds for her to lead a life according to her rank. Her family, it is true, came to her aid but they were mainly concerned with carving good fiefs for themselves out of the Kingdom.

Her subjects did not easily accept these encroachments. Serious disorders led to bloodshed in Famagusta. In 1473, one of the Queen's Counsellors, Paolo Zappo, was assassinated at the very door of the palace by Rizzo de Marino and his body was thrown into a nearby well.⁸³ Soon afterwards her doctor, Gentile, was seized in his own chamber and dragged outside by the insurgents: he escaped to the kitchens of the palace and reached the staircase leading to the upper floor but there he was overtaken and cut down.⁸⁴

One day a slave armed with a dagger broke into the Queen's own bedroom.⁸⁵ She was not even safe in her palace and the Venetians treated the island like a conquered country.⁸⁶ It was probably about this time that Catherine, despoiled of her authority and of her possessions,⁸⁷ discouraged and intimidated, handed over her palace at Famagusta to be the residence of the Venetian Proweditori. She herself went to live close at hand in a new and smaller palace. Shortly afterwards she moved to the

Fig. 389
Remains of Royal Palace.



ROYAL PALACE: PALACE OF THE QUEEN

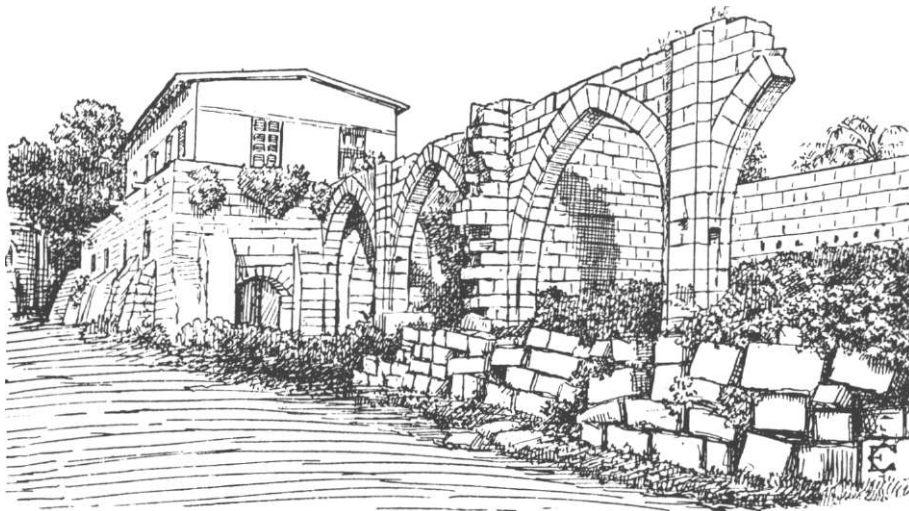
quieter, and healthier, city of Nicosia⁸⁸ during which time the Venetians rendered a great service to her, and to themselves: they put on a ship for Venice her mother-in-law, Marietta of Patras,⁸⁹ and the natural children of the late King, her husband. Care was taken to keep this family in reduced circumstances. For the sake of greater security the chief men of the French party were also removed⁹⁰ and, according to Mas Latrie, a hundred Venetian families were sent to colonise Cyprus.⁹¹

In 1489, when Cyprus became officially a province of Venice, the palace at Famagusta became the residence of the Proweditori. It was practically rebuilt by them in the course of the sixteenth century.

In 1571 the last Governor of Famagusta, Marco Bragadin, held out heroically against a seventy-five day siege before capitulating.⁹² The palace, like all the other buildings, had been greatly damaged by the bombardment when Bragadin made his ceremonial departure to go to Mustafa Pasha's camp to sign the honourable terms of surrender that had just been agreed. He was dragged into the Pasha's tent, seized, disarmed, pinioned and loaded with abuse. Meanwhile Mustafa's subordinate officers went to the palace where they found another valiant captain, Ettore Baglione, Bragadin's second in command. He surrendered himself into their hands, whereupon they hanged him; then the town was sacked. A little later Bragadin was brought back there; after renewed tortures he was flayed alive on the main square, in front of the palace and the cathedral.

The palace had suffered severely from the bombardment but it does not appear that the Turks repaired it. They used it as a *konak*, and it still retains that name, but it was so badly neglected for three centuries that today there are only three fragments left of the old palace: a guard-room at the entrance, part of a basement room used as a stable and a chapel, now a prison cell. Most of the buildings have been destroyed.

The palace was built around an extensive quadrilateral parade ground.



81
Bustron, p. 433; Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 343.

82
ib., p. 454.

83
ib., p. 438. Rizzo de Marino is also known to have ended tragically. He was sent as an ambassador to the King of Naples who was planning to marry Catherine to his natural son Don Alonzo but was captured by the Venetians and secretly strangled on the orders of the Council of Ten; see Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III, pp. 433 and 435.

84
ib., pp. 438-9.

85
ib., p. 453.

86
ib., p. 451.

Fig. 390
Ruins of Royal Palace.

Letters written by the Queen to the Venetian Senate in 1475, publ. Mas Latrie, *Doc. nouv.*, pp. 455-6, 460-63, 463-8. She complains (p. 458) that she has to eat her meals sitting on a stool, alone in her room, attended by only two chambermaids 'come una senpliceta citadina' and that she has to hear mass also by herself and in a room. She demands the right to have her chapel, to be attended by gentlemen esquires and to have meals in public from time to time as befits a queen. She is deeply mortified that her subjects know all about the state to which she has been reduced. Her father adds that her household consists only of a majordomo and three or four servants with one or two chambermaids 'garzone femene, le quai la serve come Dio vol'; in his house his daughters are much more honorably treated.

88

ib., pp. 474-7, 478 et sqq.

89

Mother of James the Bastard, nicknamed *la Camarde* (snub-nosed) because Queen Medea of Montferrat had cut off her nose in a fit of jealousy, though Lusignan insists that she bit it off in the face of the whole court. Marietta of Patras died in Venice in 1480, as did her granddaughter Charlotte; they were buried in St. Andrea's, a church which was demolished some time ago.

The King's two sons endured a long and wretched spell of captivity in Padua; little is known about their deaths, though

On the east, facing the square, an Italian façade of the sixteenth century (Fig. 391) was erected in front of the ancient Gothic façade, part of which survives (Fig. 389). The original broad entrance gate is spanned by a semi-circular arch with a wide, convex hood-mould; at the northern end of the wing forming the façade there are two arcades of wide pointed arches, and another at the opposite end. Originally the façade must have had two of these arcades on either side of the entrance gateway. The upper part has disappeared; it consisted of an open loggia forming a balcony, with marble pilasters to support the roof. Machaeras relates that during the riots of 1371 some Genoese who were clinging to these pilasters had their hands cut off with swords, after which they were thrown down from the loggia.

The façade of the south wing ran along the 'covered-way' (*ruga coperta*) opposite a row of porticoed houses. All that remains is a very dilapidated ground floor (Figs. 389 and 390) divided lengthwise into ten bays; it has small windows in elongated rectangular form with embrasures on the inside and chamfered edges on the outside. Transversally it is divided into two naves by octagonal pillars without capitals and pointed arches slenderer than the pillars. The latter rise above the arcades in the form of polygonal pilasters which must have been surmounted by capitals to carry the beams of the floor above.

The five bays to the west were vaulted, but probably in a subsequent development. There are groined vaults in the nave on the courtyard side and semi-circular barrel vaults on the street side. These five bays seem always to have formed one room; the next two formed another; and at the corner of the covered-way and the square there was another of three bays.

In the courtyard two barrel-vaulted bays project for 6.7 metres and appear to have been added later, in two separate stages of building, to support a staircase. It was perhaps from the top of this staircase that, in 1475, Marco Cornaro, Queen Catherine's father, used to inveigh in public against the two Venetian Provveditori who accompanied him every day, professedly as a mark of honour.⁹³

The only part remaining of the north wing is a stretch of wall pierced with windows like those in the south wing. It runs along an alley on the other side of which was the church of St. Francis. The palace latrines were in this north wing: it was from an opening in them that in 1373 King Peter II, closely guarded by the Genoese in his palace, managed to throw a letter to the young Dimitri Daniel, secretary to the Queen Mother.⁹⁴

At the end of the courtyard is a high and broad building reconstructed by the Venetians in Renaissance style. This is where the Great Hall of the palace must have been, above a basement like that in the south wing. The coronation banquet of Peter II took place in this hall in 1371 at the end of which the Genoese and Venetians came to blows while the

ROYAL PALACE: PALACE OF THE QUEEN

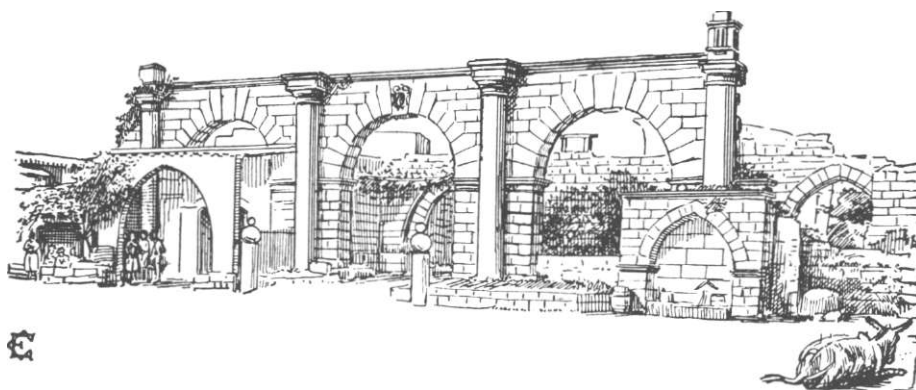


Fig. 391
Façade of palace on
main square.

King had gone to put on his ceremonial robes for the ball that was to follow. In order to change the King had gone to a neighbouring house belonging to Demas Pétré, a citizen of Famagusta. His house, on the other side of a small street, was linked to the palace by a bridge.⁹⁰ It is likely therefore that this was the house where Ferdinand of Majorca used to live and that Demas Pétré was a member of the royal household. On the west of the palace there is still an arcade crossing the main street.

The only original part of the west wing of the palace is the small chapel, measuring externally 16.5 metres by 6 metres, which is preserved at the north end, parallel to the street. It consists of an apse and a nave of two bays, barrel-vaulted. The exterior is plain and so, generally speaking, is the interior apart from four Gothic arcades with pointed arches decorating the lower part of the walls on both sides; they appear to be thirteenth or fourteenth-century work. This lower part could perhaps be the remains of an older construction in finer style, unless the whole chapel is the product of an age when a decadent architecture still retained some worthwhile reminiscences of the Gothic. The small churches numbered 17, 18 and 19 on the plan show examples of the same mixture of styles.

Near the palace to the north-west is a prison, rebuilt by the British, in the courtyard of which there are three handsome columns (Fig. 153) converted into gibbets. These must have come from the palace, perhaps from the Great Hall, unless they came from the church of St. Francis. The angular astragal mouldings are slightly hollowed into drip-courses and the side pieces of the large leaf motifs extend into the upper part. The bases are unfortunately buried.

The proximity of the palace and the similarity of outline of these octagonal shafts with the only pillars remaining in the old royal court suggest that they come from there. It is moreover certain that much material has been removed from the palace, which must have been done for the benefit of the Turkish authorities who occupied it.

Mariti saw near the palace of Famagusta an arsenal full of arms, whose openings had been walled up to prevent the populace from getting at them.

Eugène was still alive in 1525. For the departure of King James's family see Bustron, p. 453 and Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, pp. 408, 410; *Doc. nouv.*, p. 489. For their miserable life after see *Hist.*, p. 412, *Nouv. preuves*, II and *Doc. nouv.*, p. 564.

90
Bustron, pp. 447, 449.

91
Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III, p. 822.

92
See the account of the siege by Nestor Martinengo at the end of Lusignan's *Descr. de Cypre*.

93
See the letter which the two *proweditori*, James Quirini and Peter Diedo, wrote to the Senate in Mas Latrie, *Doc. nouv.*, p. 472
perché la Magnificientia di messer Marco Corner ha preso per usanza, a capo della scalla dil palazzo dove ogni di l'accompagnemo per honorarlo, presente Cvprioti et molti altri, fa(r) con nui gran contese_____'

Shortly before 1571 the Venetians had begun to rebuild the palace. The building at the end of the court was replaced by a structure composed of a ground floor and a first floor, both very simple with very small rectangular windows framed with bossages. Only the walls remain. The new façade facing the square (Fig. 391) was erected a few metres in front of the old one. It consisted of a portico of four semi-circular arches without extrados resting on piers crowned by impostes; against the piers are set columns in the Tuscan Order with grey granite shafts, taken from the ruins of Salamis. Each of the columns carried a section of entablature decorated with a triglyph and no doubt the entablature was continued along the whole façade.

On the keystone of the arch which forms the entry gate there is an escutcheon of white and black marble. Mariti says that the arms of Venice and those of all the commanders was carved on the palace.⁹⁶ I have found no trace of these.

In 1571 there was an upper storey above this façade with its roof terraces crowned by indented crenellations in a style reminiscent of Italy or Rhodes. Above the entrance gate there was an arched opening leading to a balcony carried on two columns forming a porch.

The engraving of the siege of Famagusta in 1571 also shows, to the north of the palace and on the same alignment, a second palace of almost the same size entitled '*palazzo de la regnina*', clearly meant for '*regina*'. This was presumably the private house of Catherine Cornaro.

A sort of triumphal arch, which, as mentioned above, may have been a loggia (Fig. 383), or perhaps the entry gate of this palace, can be found at the place indicated; and further to the east, on a parallel street, there can still be seen a palace façade which it would be more plausible to identify with the building indicated by Gibellino. In any case, whatever that building may be, it seems unlikely that it could be earlier than the last years of Catherine's reign. The monumental gate is plainly the older of the two ruins.

The other palace, in a later style, which is in a parallel street close to the other, is commonplace and uninspired to the last degree. Its solid façade is pierced by a semicircular-arched gateway to the right and left of which are rectangular windows. Their lintels are divided into thick voussoirs. There are bossages in groups of two on the voussoirs and also on the masonry courses of the jambs.

THE CASTLE OF KANTARA OR CANDAIRE

HISTORY

Kantara Castle, in Fench called Le Candaire (probably from the Arabic Kandak, fortress⁹⁷) is, after St. Hilarion and Kyrenia, the main castle

94
Machaeras, p. 234.

95
ib., p. 180.

96
vol. I, ch. XII, p. 152.

97
Kantara means 'bridge' in Arabic. This could never have been the original name of the castle because there is no water-course or gorge anywhere near it which could require bridging; however Candaire, as it is called in the *Gestes des Chiprois*, does seem to be the oldest form of the name.

in Cyprus. Like them it appears for the first time in history in 1228. It was then occupied by the troops of the Emperor and the royal troops commanded by Anselm of Brie laid siege to it.⁹⁸ The besieging forces set up a *trabuc*, or stone-thrower, with the help of which they had beaten down most of the surrounding wall.⁹⁹ One day Philip of Novara, who was taking an active part in the siege, came close enough to one tower to hear distinctly the conversation of the besieged who were bewailing the critical situation to which they had been reduced.¹⁰⁰ The Lord of Caesarea had made their position completely untenable by directing a plunging fire onto the castle from the top of a neighbouring rock.¹⁰¹ Kantara surrendered in 1229. In 1232 the Imperialists returned to it¹⁰² but King Henry captured it from them again in the same year.¹⁰³

When, in 1373, the Kingdom was ravaged by a new invasion and the Genoese, who had got hold of Famagusta, were keeping the King and the Prince of Antioch his uncle in prison there, the latter disguised himself as a servant of his own cook and by this means made his way through the enemy posts and took refuge in Kantara.¹⁰⁴ An attempt by the Genoese to storm the castle was a failure.¹⁰⁵ When they had firmly consolidated their occupation of Famagusta Kantara became an extremely useful position from which to keep them under surveillance and to defend the rest of the Kingdom against their raids. In consequence James I, at the same period as he was building the castle of Sigouri, added to the fortifications of Kantara.¹⁰⁶ The present buildings appear to date from his time.

After the recapture of Famagusta by James the Bastard, and after the Venetian occupation of Cyprus, a company of Italian soldiers drawn from the garrison of Famagusta was detached to guard Kantara. This remained the position until 1525¹⁰⁷ in which year the castle was judged to be of no further use, dismantled and abandoned.¹⁰⁸ Although it was rendered indefensible the fortress was not however thoroughly slighted. Florio Bustron considered that it could have been restored at small expense and even today it is the best preserved of the castles which the Venetians abandoned in Cyprus in the sixteenth century.

DESCRIPTION

Perched on the summit of one of the last high peaks at the eastern end of the Kyrenia range before it sinks to form the long Karpas peninsula, it commands the promontory itself, the sea and the coast of Karamania, the gulf of Famagusta and the central plain of Cyprus. To the west it could exchange signals with Buffavento.

The castle has never been described except for half a page in the report made by Count de Mas Latrie to the Minister of Education.¹⁰⁹ The drawing which I give of its present state (Fig. 392) is to scale throughout the southern part, but the northern part, which is inaccessible at

98
Gestes des Chiprois, p. 63;
cf. Bustron, p. 79.

99
Gestes, p. 65.

100
ib.

101
ib., p. 67.

102
ib., p. 93; cf. Amadi,
p. 162; Bustron, p. 91.

103
ib., p. 98.

104
Bustron, p. 311; cf.
Machaeras, pp. 229-30. The
prince blackened his face
and carried a cauldron on his
head; in his hand he carried
a saucepan which he was
supposed to be taking to
be tinned.

105
Lusignan, *Descr. de Cypre*,
fol. 35, v°.

106
ib.

107
Bustron, pp. 23-4.

108
Lusignan op. cit., fol. 34 v°
and 210.

109
6 May 1846, p. 11.

numerous points and obstructed by trees and rocks, I have only been able to represent as a sketch.

Kantara mountain slopes gently and symmetrically until the summit is almost reached. At that point an abrupt peak rises suddenly, terminating in a plateau tilted to the south-east in the direction of Famagusta. This is the only point at which one can gain access to the site on which the fortress is built. The entry to the castle is therefore on the south (Fig. 393); as at Buffavento and St. Hilarion it faces the direction from which attack is most probable and from which come the most violent winds.

The castle consists of an irregular but roughly quadrilateral enceinte round a plateau over whose surface are scattered large numbers of huge masses of rock, which must have rendered circulation almost impossible throughout the whole of the north-west part. The battlement walks along the curtain walls and the roofs of the buildings were the only really practicable means of communication in this peculiar fortress.

The north side of the enceinte, which faces the sea, is no more than a curtain wall whose alignment is dictated by the twists and turns of the precipitous rock which it crowns. On the west the curtain wall is more or less straight and has the flank protection of a thick cylindrical tower with a pronounced batter at its foot. All the habitable buildings are on the southern side and in the south-eastern corner of the fortress. The southern face is in the form of an obtuse angle; the south-east face, which is pierced in the middle by a large arched gateway, is flanked by two very powerful and strongly projecting works. On the west there is a horse-shoe shaped tower, rectangular on the inside, which consists of a

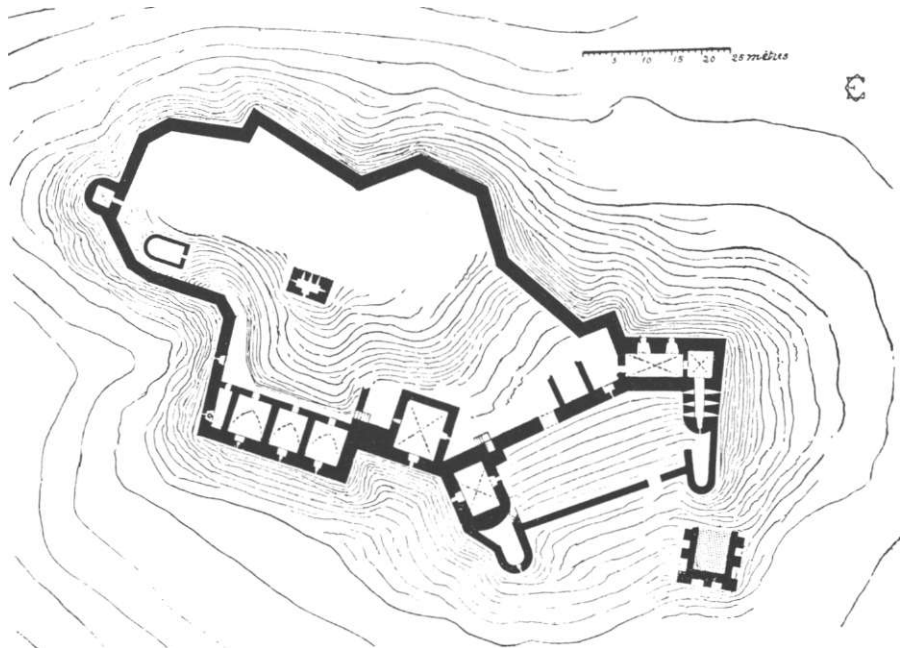


Fig. 392
Ground plan of
Kantara Castle.

THE CASTLE OF KANTARA

barrel-vaulted basement, used either as cells or as a magazine or for a water cistern and accessible through a trap door, a room with rib vaulting above it and finally a flat crenellated roof.

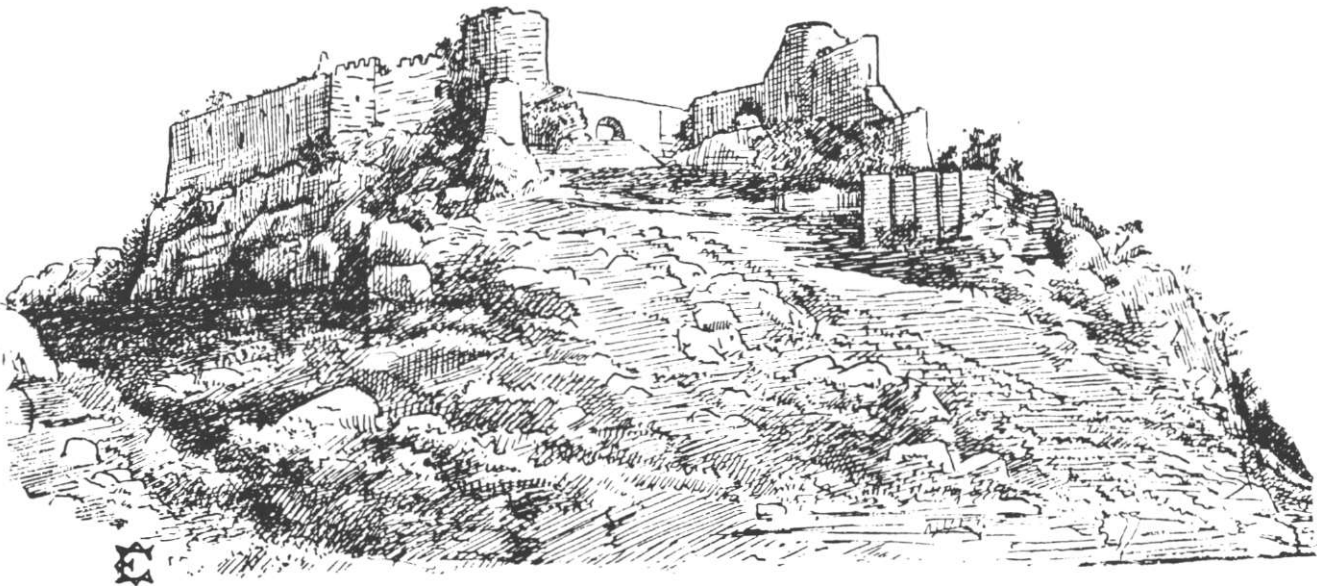
At the eastern end of the same curtain wall there is another two-storeyed oblong fortification, which runs north to south and forms a right angle with a vaulted gallery, once also two-storeyed, joining it to the eastern corner of the castle. Its northern face, pierced by a series of three rectangular openings, flanks the curtain wall of the north-eastern side of the castle.

This advanced work consisted on the inside of a single Great Hall with a groined vault; the external corners were rounded off on the southern side. A very similar arrangement is to be seen also at Buffavento. The plan was modified at the end of the Middle Ages by the addition on the south of a semi-circular extension containing a rectangular chamber. The work thus extended became symmetrical with the tower flanking the other end of the same curtain wall on the far side of the entry gate. Later at the foot of the round part of these massive towers there were added two small crenellated bastions also in an elongated horseshoe shape joined by a straight wall flanked by the demi-lune extremities of the bastions. The result was to have a large barbican, or small bailey, in front of the entry gate.

The gateway into this advanced work was at the east end of the curtain under the protection of the bastion and the great tower at this end. At their foot there was built a large open cistern, partly hollowed out into the rock and elsewhere enclosed by three thick walls with five heavy buttresses to support them like the cisterns at St. Hilarion and Buffavento.

That part of the southern front of the fortress which bends away

Fig. 393
Kantara Castle from
south-east.



towards the west consists first, starting from the corner tower, of a square groin-vaulted building and next of an elongated projecting building, more or less rectangular, presenting to the exterior a longish straight stretch of curtain wall pierced by four arrow-slits running along the top of a rocky cliff. On the inside this work is divided into three square chambers with pointed barrel vaults, to the west of them is a narrower trapezoidal chamber, a sort of corridor with an arrow-slit in its south-west corner, and underneath it a kind of trap door which communicates with a vertical cleft in the rock. This has been taken for a postern which could have been used for a sortie by employing a ladder or a rope, but it was more probably a latrine. The four rooms have no communication between themselves, instead they each have doors with pointed arches on the north side, over which there are narrow rectangular apertures. These doors give access to a tiny oblong courtyard, a sort of ditch cut in the rock behind the building. This courtyard communicates by a ramp with the western part of the enceinte and by steps cut in the rock with the eastern part where is the entry gate. The walls to the left and right of the entry gate, like those of the vaulted chambers which I have just mentioned, are pierced with arrow-slits with arched splays on the inside that open into embrasures forming deep, pointed arcades as in the castles of Kyrenia and Famagusta.

The south-west corner of the enceinte forms a sort of semi-circular re-entrant. At its western end and not far from the curtain wall there are the remains of a building which is rectangular at one end and semi-circular at the other. This may have been an isolated tower or a chapel although the sanctuary in that case would be at the west end. All that is left is a basement with some traces of a barrel vault. Possibly it was merely an ice-house or a food store.

At the very top of the plateau there was a small keep or perhaps rather an isolated redoubt which could serve as a watch-tower. In plan it is a long, thin rectangle, small because of the restricted amount of ground available, and is now known as 'the Queen's chamber'. This redoubt had its entry on the south side, as does the castle, it was composed of a lower chamber with a ribbed vault, measuring 4.5 metres by 1.2 metres and 4.2 metres high to the top of the vault, and of an upper chamber of which there is now practically nothing left. The walls were 1.3 metres thick.

The doorway is a pointed arch decorated with a cavetto moulding. On the jambs there is a groove which, in the case of a window, would have been meant to hold a pane of glass, here its presence is less easily explainable. The slot is too narrow to have been used for a portcullis and no arrangement for raising one can be seen. It is more likely that this slot was used for fixing a woodwork frame for the door.

At the level of the imposts two quadrant corbels probably carried the axles of a small drawbridge connected to a wooden gangway which was

ST. SIMEON, KARPAS

intended to give access, above the small courtyard, to the roofs of the buildings on the south side of the enceinte. At the present moment it is not possible to get near this door except with great difficulty, by pulling oneself up by bushes and cracks in the rock. The stretch of wall on the south side of the redoubt has indentations at the top which could have been either merlons or the jambs of openings belonging to an upper storey. The north wall has fallen down, the scrap that remains is lying practically horizontally. Half the two small walls on the east and west are still in existence with traces of the single arrow-slit which defended these two narrow ends of the redoubt.

ST. SIMEON *Karpas*

In the village of St. Simeon on the southern side of the Karpas peninsula there is a fragment of a Gothic construction inside which a Turkish house has been built. It consists of a row of five pointed arches resting on square pillars. The supports at the two ends have disappeared. The pillars have no impost; the masonry work is careful and good, the edges of the pillars and the arches are very lightly chamfered. These remains are strongly reminiscent of those of the royal palace in Famagusta. Unfortunately neither history nor examination on the spot provided me with any means of identifying this ruin.

THE TEMPLARS' CASTLE *at Gastria*

Gastria Castle, in French *la Castrie*, probably from the Greek *Kastros*, castle, is situated in south-eastern Cyprus on a rocky promontory separating Famagusta Bay from the coast of the Karpas peninsula.

Father Stephen Lusignan¹¹⁰ alleges that this castle was built in 1425 by the Egyptians who then occupied the island and that it was demolished by King Janus when he came back from captivity. It is indeed possible that Gastria was occupied by the Mamelukes and was subsequently demolished by King Janus, or perhaps by the Mamelukes themselves; but to attribute its foundation to the Egyptians and its date to 1425 is a grave error, rather like those traditions in our countryside which allege that the English built some of our village churches during the Hundred Years War.

Gastria was one of the fortresses of the Templars. The date of its foundation is not known but it was certainly one of the oldest castles in Cyprus. In 1232, after the battle of Agridi, in which the royal army had inflicted a most costly defeat on the supporters of the German Emperor Frederick II, some of the leading members of the nobility who had sided

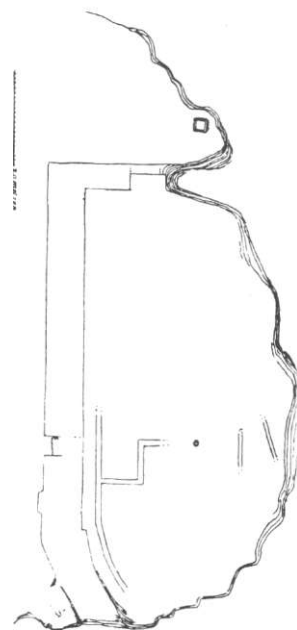


Fig. 394
Gastria Castle.

110

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 36
and 155 v^o.

III

Gestes des Chiprois, p. 107.
Manepeau, the name Philip of Novara uses, is meant for Manopello. Part of Frederick II's army had been recruited in southern Italy and after their defeat they returned there, taking with them their compromised Cypriot supporters. The experiences of these two groups had a certain influence on the introduction of Gothic art into southern Italy as the studies of Bertaux and Join-Lambert will have shown.

with the Emperor fled from the battlefield as far as Gastria. According to Philip of Novara they were 'Walter of Manopello and the son of the Justiciar and their following'.¹¹¹ They knocked on the door of the castle but it remained shut. The Templars remembered how badly Frederick II's supporters had behaved in Nicosia; the very people who were now begging refuge from them had not long before sacked the headquarters of the Temple and carried off by force the women and children who had taken refuge there. Walter and his companions were obliged to hide. While they were encamped at the bottom of the moat, the Templars sent warning of their presence to King Henry and the Lord of Beirut. The latter sent to Gastria the young John of Ibelin, later Count of Jaffa, with a body of cavalry; he took the rebels prisoner and brought them to Nicosia where they were thrown into the same prison as their friends who had been captured on the battlefield of Agridi.¹¹²

In 1308 Gastria was treated the same as the other possessions of the Templars; the castle was confiscated and handed over to the Order of the Hospital.¹¹³

In 1310, when the usurper Amalric of Tyre seized the Kingdom from his brother Henry II, he sent him under guard from Nicosia to Gastria.¹¹⁴ Three ships were brought to anchor just off the castle and the unfortunate dethroned king was taken off to them in a small boat. He was then taken to Armenia where he was to remain in captivity until his brother died. If it is true that a king returning from prison and exile dismantled Gastria and razed it to the ground it was probably not Janus, as related by Father Lusignan, but more likely Henry II, to whom the castle must have recalled painful memories. Perhaps it was meant as a punishment inflicted on the Hospitallers for their complicity and one of the acts of justice which accompanied the return of Henry II.

Whether it was demolished then or only in about 1425 in consequence of the Egyptian invasion Gastria Castle was already completely levelled to the ground in the time of Florio Bustron.¹¹⁵ He is wrong however in stating that no trace of it remained because even today the site of the fortress, and the moat where the fugitives from Agridi were taken prisoner in 1232, can still be easily made out.

Gastria Castle was proudly perched at the northern end of Famagusta Bay, visible from Famagusta itself and from the ruins of Salamis, on a precipitous rock whose foot descends steeply into the sea on the east and on the west into a marsh formed by the mouth of a small river. The rock on which the castle stood is accordingly a peninsula: the river runs round part of it and on the other side of the river mouth there is another smaller and lower rock which forms an island very close to the promontory on which the castle was built. It is possible that a chain was stretched from one rock to the other and there was most likely a small fort on the little island. The river, before entering the bay, forms a small harbour, sheltered by the rock, which seems to have been put into shape

112
Gestes, p. 107; cf. Amadi,
p. 173.

113
Bustron, p. 170.

114
ib., p. 192.

115
ib., p. 25: 'Al casal Gastria,
dove Tolomeo describe esser
l'isole chiamate Clides, vi
era un castello di Templari,
il quai al présente e del
tutto ruinato, ne vi si vede
cosa alcuna.'

116
Amadi, p. 495; Bustron,
p. 352.

SIGOURI CASTLE

and deepened at some time; small rowing boats can still enter. Any shipping lying in this harbour would have been completely protected and hidden from view on the sea side by the promontory on which the castle stood. The latter did not occupy by any means the whole surface of the plateau and in accordance with a general practice in the Middle Ages the area on which it was built was isolated from the rest of the peninsula by a dry moat, hewn out of the rock. On the side of the isthmus it measures an average of 7.9 metres in width. On the seaward side it forms a re-entrant leaving outside the defended area a strip of plateau by which one could reach the entrance gate, placed as usual on the side least exposed to attack. This part of the moat is only 4.5 metres wide. It seems likely that another entrance, with a drawbridge, existed on the isthmus side.

There are no salient angles in the perimeter of the fortress apart from the natural bends in the end of the peninsula. The absence of flanking defences and the deep ditches cut in the rock are two characteristics which, according to Baron Rey, are standard with Templar fortresses in Syria. The same characteristics are found at Gastria. The very little that remains of the walls suggests that they were one metre thick.

Towards the centre of the walled area there is a well or rather a cistern cut in the rock. This is circular, 85 cm. in diameter and entirely full of debris.

8

SIGOURI CASTLE

HISTORY

Sigouri Castle was built on level ground to defend a purely political frontier. King James I constructed it in 1391¹¹⁶ to protect the Nicosia plain against raids by the Genoese who had been in possession of Famagusta since 1373.

It looks as though the name of this castle ought to be the same as the Provençal *Segur* from the Latin *securum*, expressing the idea of security; it was a name given to a large number of castles, as was la Ferté which derives from the Latin *firmitatem* and suggests resistance. The fact is however that the name of Sigouri or Sivouri is a great deal earlier than James I's castle; it occurs already in 1196 in a Bull of Pope Celestine III enumerating the possessions of the Archbishopric of Cyprus.¹¹⁷ Before the castle was built the Archbishop had a 'lodge' at Sivouri, presumably some sort of small manor or country house; it appears in a passage of Machaeras¹¹⁸ in which he refers to an ambush which was laid there by the Constable James of Lusignan for the Genoese in 1374. So when, after he became king, he had the castle of Sigouri built there he already knew from experience the advantages of the position.

117

Cartulary of St. Sophia,
No. VIII.

118

pp. 252-3.

119

Descr. de Cypre, vol. 35, v .

120

Bustron, p. 352. In 1418 Nompars of Caumont (p. 77) describes Sigouri Castle as follows: 'A castle built on level ground, known as *Chateau Franc*, four leagues from Famagusta, which the King of Cyprus had built not long since and it seemed to me to be well constructed and strong, considering that it is situated in a flat plan.'

121

Bustron, p. 396.

122

ib., p. 399.

THE DISTRICT OF FAMAGUSTA AND THE KARPAS

The oldest form of the name appears to be *Casai de Sivorie*; Father Lusignan calls it the castle of *Sigur*; the Genoese called it *Castel Franco*.¹²⁰

In 1461 James the Bastard removed a piece of artillery from Sigouri Castle for the purpose of the siege of Kyrenia.¹²¹ In the same year he brought to Nicosia the prisoners who were being kept at Sigouri.¹²² Finally, when he retook Famagusta from the Genoese in 1464, Sigouri Castle lost its value. In 1491 the Famagustans demanded that they should provide the commander of the castle.¹²³ In 1518 Le Saige who uses the name *Sivore* remarks that there is still 'a large village with a great castle'.¹²⁴ The village disappeared a long time ago. As for the castle Florio Bustron was present when the Venetians began to demolish it,¹²⁵ but although dismantled¹²⁶ there were some fairly important remains which were noted by the late Count de Mas Latrie in 1846.

The present government of Cyprus has been guilty of a gross act of vandalism although with the laudable intention of creating a good road and some bridges; the stones from the ruins of Sigouri have been removed practically to the very last one for these purposes. This is the less excusable since there is plenty of stone in the neighbourhood and since

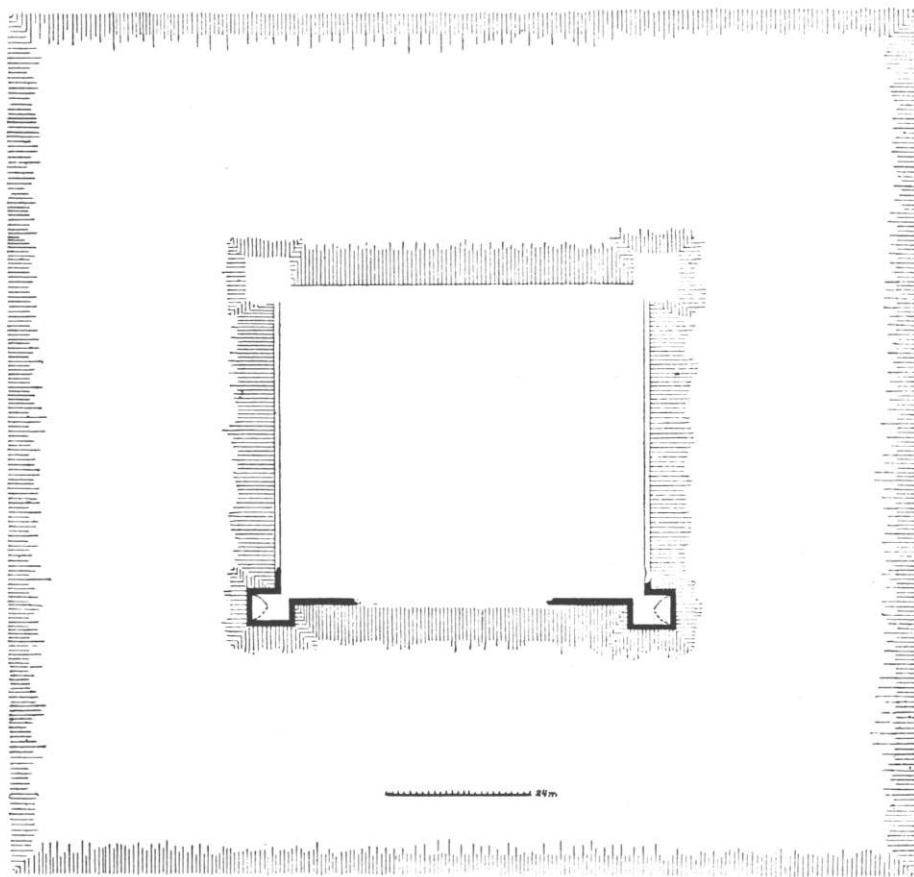


Fig. 395
Sigouri Castle.

labour is cheap, particularly for the government which employs convicts on public works.

DESCRIPTION

Florio Bustron gives the following description of the castle whose demolition he witnessed and which he calls Castel Franco. It was situated at the manor of Syvori on level ground. In shape it was rectangular with four towers at the four corners and a gateway with a drawbridge. It was surrounded by broad and deep ditches which used to be full of water from the river Pedieos. It was built by King James I and the process of dismantling it had recently begun.¹²⁷

This is an accurate description. Sigouri Castle was built a few metres to the south of the Pedieos river and to the east of a road which runs from Larnaca to the Karpas peninsula. It was in the shape of a perfect rectangle (Fig. 395) measuring 60 metres by 50 metres; the longer axis is parallel to the river. At each corner there was a square tower measuring on the inside 4.4 to 4.5 metres by 3.5 to 4.10 metres. The walls were apparently 1.2 metres thick. There were barrel-vaulted basements in each of the four towers, in one of the southern towers a water conduit is still extant, showing that this basement was used as a cistern. The conduit is of terracotta made out of bottomless jars wedged one into the other (Fig. 342). All round the outside of the walls there was a glacis 7 metres broad and about 3 metres high. A ditch 35 metres broad ran round the whole of the castle; it drew water through a drainage ditch from the neighbouring river.

This is all that can be made out today of the layout of the castle of Sigouri.

9

PRIVATE HOUSE, AYIA NAPA

For a description of the church at Ayia Napa¹²⁸ and a reference to the fountain there¹²⁹ see above. I did not consider it appropriate to include this house when dealing with religious architecture since it has nothing about it to suggest a monastic construction; but on the other hand it makes an interesting contribution to the study of the developments of domestic architecture in Cyprus.

This building has every appearance of being a private house. There is a vaulted *porte cochère* with a room above it, at right angles to which there is on the right of the entrance an oblong pavilion which projects for an equal distance in front of and behind the other part of the building. Both parts consist of a ground floor and an upper storey, making a well-balanced whole (Fig. 396).

The ground floor is a sort of store-room lit from the outside by a

123

Petition to Doge Barbarigo, *Bibl. Nat., MS. ital. 895.*

124

p. 137. The text as printed gives Sinore, an obvious misreading.

125

ib., p. 24.

126

Descr. de Cypre, fol. 210.

127

'Il Castel Franco era al casal Syvori, quai e sito in terren piano, et e quadro con quatro torre en li quatro cantoni, e la sua porta con ponte levador; e intorno d'esso fosse profonde et larghe, le quali se impivano d'acqua dalla fiumara di Pedia, fabricato per il re Giacomo primo, et è poco tempo che s'ha cominciato a ruinare;' Bustron, p. 24.

128

See above, p. 71.

129

See above, p. 386.

single small trilobed window. The entrance doorway is low with a pointed arch framed by a hood-mould in the shape of a rectangular panel. In the two corners are escutcheons whose distorted shape indicates that they are of fifteenth or perhaps sixteenth century date. To right and left of the door are flagstaff sockets in stone intended perhaps to hold the supports of an awning rather than to carry flags. The entrance passage is roofed with a pointed barrel vault. Along the line marking the separation between the two storeys there is a string-course in Renaissance style.

The upper storey contrasts with the ground floor in the richness of its architectural decoration and the number and width of the openings. The outside and inside are different. The outside openings, which are now mostly blocked up, are much wider; they were not glazed but formed loggias. The one over the gate has a broad semi-circular arch, the others on the side walls of the wing have pointed arches; all have jambs decorated with pilasters and an arch with mouldings. The opening over the entrance gate has an arch ornamented with a row of lozenges and it is surmounted by an entablature carved with a cyma recta with pointed water-leaves in a very formal style. There were originally colonnettes placed on top of the pilasters to support the ends of this entablature, as with the windows on the inside of the monastery.

The latter are of medium size with semi-circular arches. They have the same pilasters surmounted by colonnettes which carry the ends of an entablature with a cyma recta decorated with water leaves. The faces of the pilasters are hollowed into panels in accordance with Renaissance

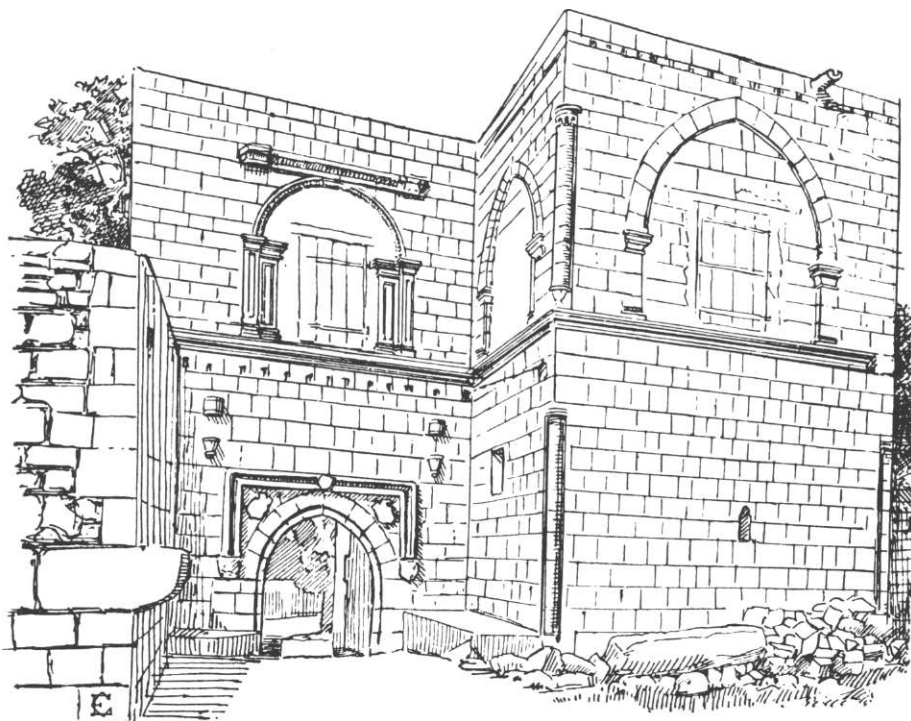


Fig. 396
Entrance to building
at Ayia Napa.

PRIVATE HOUSE, AYIA NAPA

practice. The shafts of the bulging colonnettes have a cable moulding at the bottom linked to the base by a sort of calyx of leaves; the upper part of the shaft is faceted with flutes ornamented with batons. The capitals are very formalised examples of a bastard Gothic style inspired by models from the fourteenth century. The arch of one of the windows

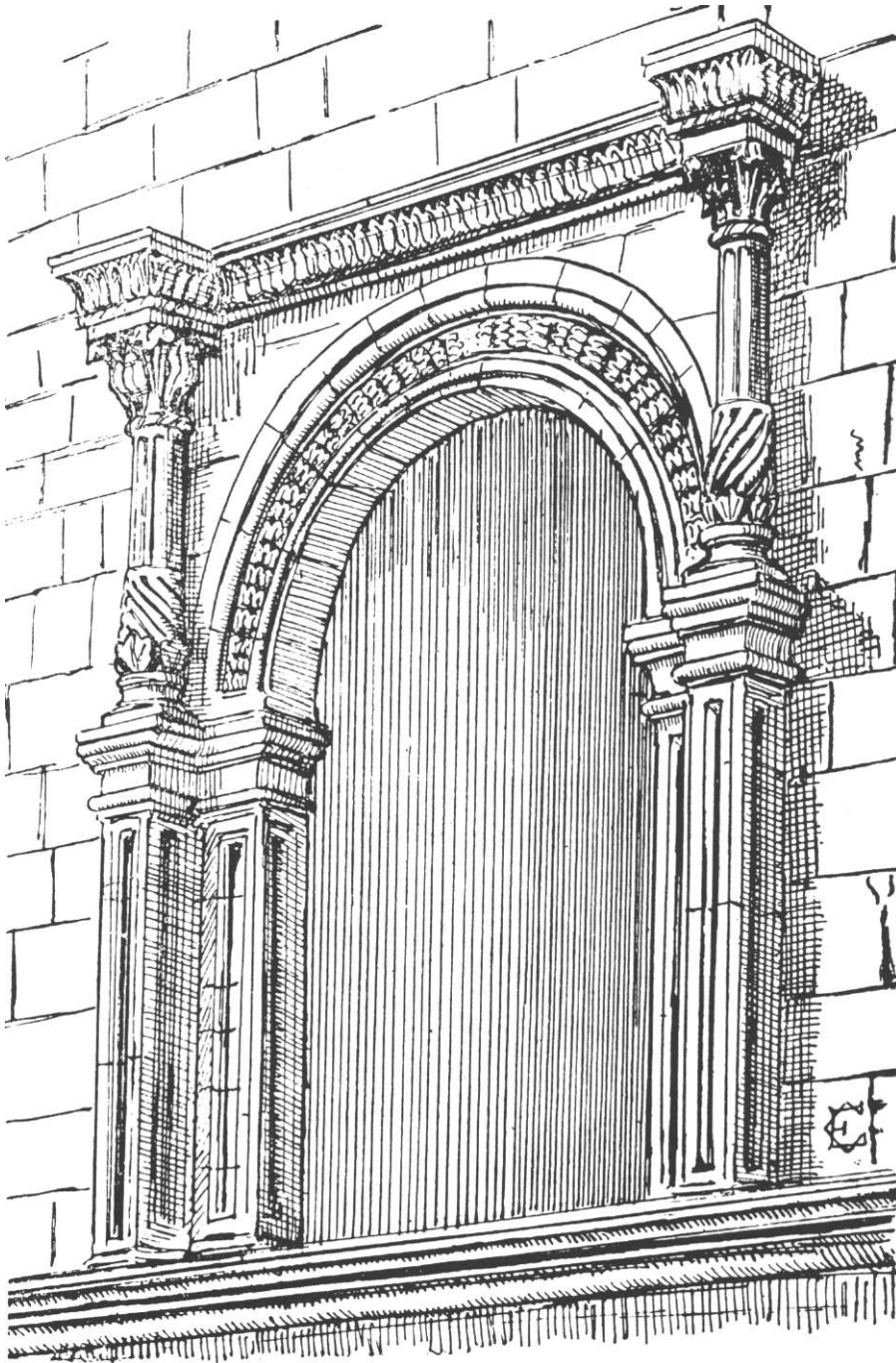
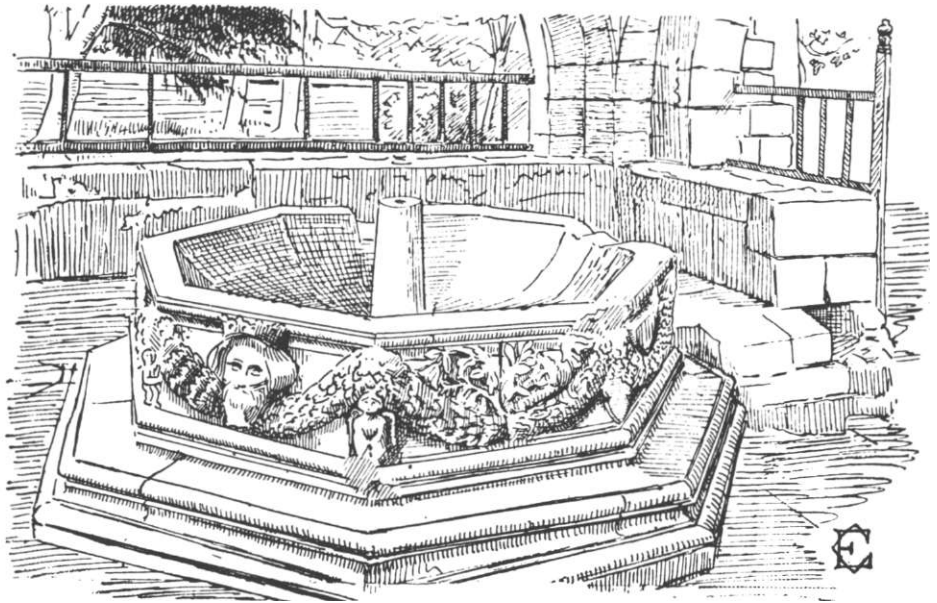


Fig. 397
Window on interior.

Fig. 398
in cloisters,
Ayia Napa.



bears between its mouldings a heavy garland of leaves in a style deriving from the Renaissance but which shows from its undulating design that it is meant as a rather distant imitation of the arches in Famagusta Cathedral.

As is almost invariable in Cypriot architecture the corners of the building are decorated with colonnettes with moulded capitals in the style of the end of the Gothic period.

Water collected on the roof terrace is carried away through simple cylindrical gargoyles.

Water is brought from a spring along a channel to the foot of this building to supply a fountain there; the water is discharged through a well-executed head of a boar carved in marble. Presumably it was part of the central motif of the now damaged fountain (Fig. 398) which is in the middle of the cloister garth beneath a clumsily constructed aedicule, a squat cube pierced by four broad pointed arches and crowned by a dome. In the middle of the aedicule there is an octagonal basin in Travertine marble decorated with swags of garlands in the style of the antique sarcophagus at Bellapais. The swags are very heavy and above each of them were sculpted motifs in high relief, for example a bearded head of a king which retains some resemblance to the style of the fourteenth century. In the corners are other small motifs such as angels, coats of arms and so on, badly executed and badly proportioned. The basin is surrounded by a widely splayed stepped base decorated with fine mouldings. In the centre of the basin, which is crowned by a narrow moulding, there is a hollow shaft to carry the water which originally had a crowning piece of sculpture through which the water flowed. The water

PRIVATE HOUSE, AYIA NAPA

in the fountain was the same as the stream I mentioned above which now comes through the boar's head gargoyle, originally no doubt part of the monumental fountain.

The monastery of Ayia Napa was completely rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century at the earliest, more probably in the sixteenth century. Its particular interest derives from the remaining pieces of domestic architecture just described.

The style of these buildings is the same as what one would call in France Early Renaissance but it has a truly Italian harshness. The Gothic doorway owes nothing to Italy but is probably Catalan rather than French. The angle colonnettes are a piece of local fantasy; the pleasant architecture of the windows is an original feature that does credit to the Cypriot architect. What gives it its special interest is the reminiscences of the French fourteenth century mingled with Renaissance art.

I have mentioned already that the chapel has no architectural merit. It shows a return to degenerate Byzantine practices with a few completely bastardised Gothic touches and has nothing in common with the Renaissance style even though it is contemporary with the other buildings. This is the same contrast that you can observe in France also in the same period, for instance in the castles of Ecoeu and Chenonceaux.

CHAPTER V

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

The Districts of Larnaca, Limassol and Paphos

THE DISTRICT OF LARNACA

i

THE TOWER AT PYLA

The lordship of Piles was one of the principal fiefs in the Kingdom. Situated two or three Cypriot miles to the north-east of Larnaca it belonged to the powerful Gibelet family. All that remains to remind us of its historic importance is a small square keep of a very late period (Fig. 399).

It is rectangular in plan, the internal measurements being 3.32 by 7.2 metres. The walls are 7 metres thick. The building is coarsely constructed of rubble masonry with ashlar blocks at the corners; the material is a white limestone which crumbles very easily.

It consists of a basement, a first storey entered through a square doorway presumably served by a staircase, and an upper storey with a flat roof. The rooms were not vaulted but had simple timber roofs. The basement had no external apertures, the other storeys had arrow-slits opening under low curved arches at the end of deep embrasures. A brattice defends the doorway.

On the second storey, on the south-west side, there is a brattice used as a latrine (Fig. 400); the stone seat is still in place. The brackets supporting it are the most characteristic feature of the building because their cyma recta curve demonstrates that the tower at Pyla is not earlier than the Renaissance. Otherwise it is exactly like many small keeps, resembling dovecots rather than military structures, that sprang up all over the

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Cartulary of St. Sophia,

No. vin.

2

Amadi, p. 501.

THE TOWER AT KITI

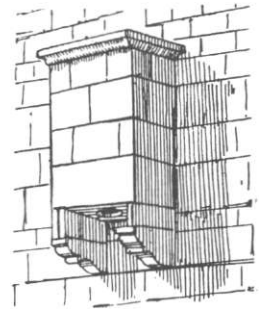
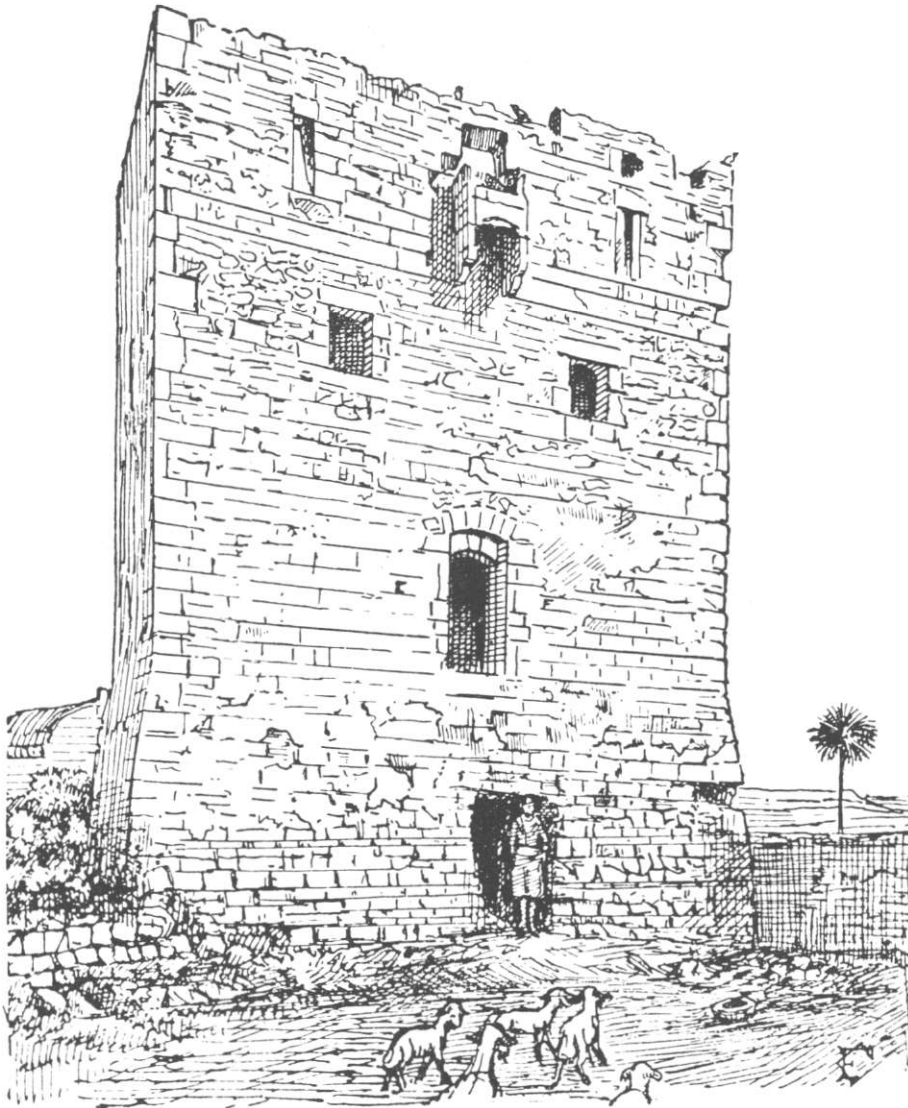


Fig. 400
Latrines.

Fig. 399
Tower at Pyla.

French countryside during the wretched, troublous times of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2

THE TOWER AT KITI

In 1196 *'Le Quit'* is mentioned as one of the properties belonging to the archbishopric of Cyprus.¹ In 1426 Kiti was burned down by the Egyptians, who had landed at Limassol and were marching on Larnaca and Nicosia.² In 1469 the fief belonged to Henry of Lusignan, the uncle of James the Bastard and grandfather of Father Stephen Lusignan. James

confiscated it from him.³

At the end of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century the fief of Kiti was purchased from the Venetian Republic by Hercules Podocatoro.⁴ The small tower still to be seen near the beach was built at about this time. Dapper is the first to refer to it in 1677;⁵ since then Baron Rey has published a description and a sketch to which I might add a few details.⁶

It is very like one of that series of watch-towers which were being erected at short intervals along the coastline of the Kingdom of Naples at the same date; but the latter are carelessly constructed in brickwork, in both of which points they differ markedly from the little tower at Kiti. It has, however, the same squat proportions, broad machicolations and a very massive lower portion with a pronounced batter.

As with earlier keeps, the only entrance is a doorway on the first floor. There are no windows in the ground floor under which there is a cistern under a barrel vault. The flat roof of the tower, on the other hand, is laid over a very broad ribbed vault with plain ribs rectangular in profile. From this room a staircase built into the west wall of the tower leads up to the roof. Around it are machicolations whose crenellated parapet rested on brackets of three courses with a quadrant profile.

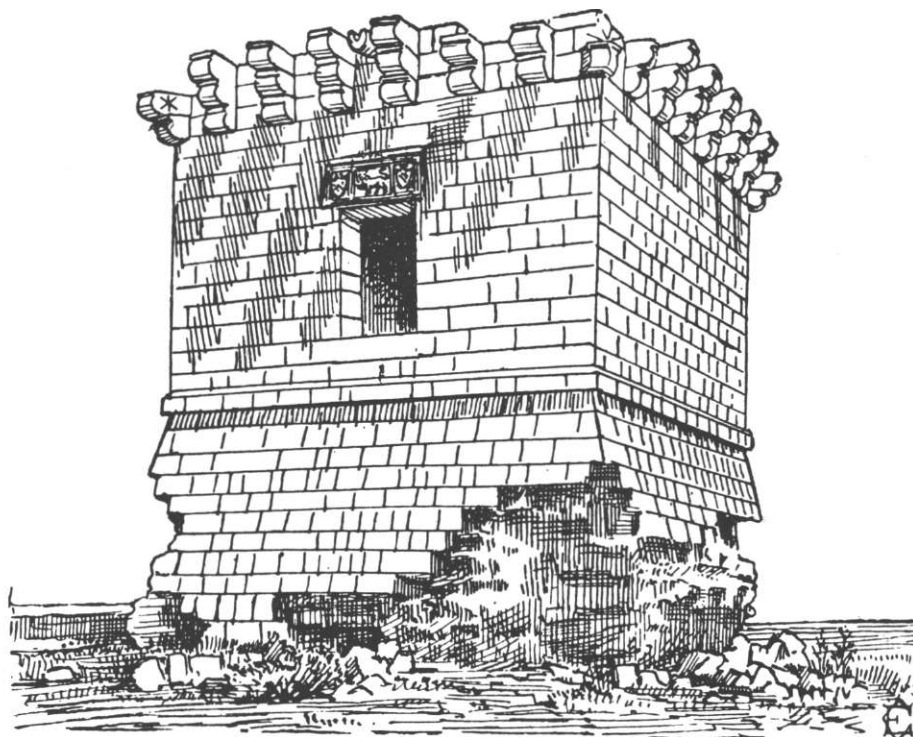


Fig. 401
Tower at Kiti.

³ Lusignan, fol. 120 and Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, vol. III, pp. 240-42.

Originally the lordship had been sold to John Flatres but Podocatoro offered more.

⁵ *Descr. des isles de l'Archipel* (1702 edition), p. 38.

⁶ *Architecture militaire des Croisés*, p. 231.

brackets.

The doorway is a plain rectangle but the lintel is divided into three compartments, the centre one carved with the lion of St. Mark holding a sword and the two side ones with shields of Italian pattern. The carvings are framed within a moulding that was immensely fashionable in Cyprus, a torus with a narrow fillet.

The arms of Venice show that the earlier attribution of the tower to the fourteenth century was in error. It cannot have been built before the very end of the fifteenth century and proves that Venetian domination did not mean that Gothic traditions were forgotten.

THE TOWER AT ALAMINOS

Alaminos was a fief belonging to Philip of Ibelin, Seneschal of the Kingdom of Cyprus. In 1307 the usurping Prince of Tyre, who had driven his brother Henry II from the throne, confined the Seneschal, who had remained faithful to his rightful king, to his residence there.⁷ Next year, taking the view that this precaution was not sufficient, he apprehended Philip of Ibelin at Alaminos and sent him into exile in Armenia.⁸ A later usurper, James the Bastard, gave the lordship of Alaminos, some time between 1464 and 1468, to John Loredan.⁹

The village of Alaminos is in Larnaca district, close to the boundary with Limassol district. A tower (Fig. 402) is to be seen there, rather like the one at Pyla but a much more wretched affair. It is built throughout in a clumsy and irregular masonry of small stones, some of which appear to have been scarcely worked at all. It had a flat roof and two other floors of planking laid on beams. There were no openings in the basement. There was a doorway opening under a wooden lintel in the west wall of the first storey, with arrow-slits on either side; on the remaining faces there were more arrow-slits and square loopholes, with embrasures on the inside. In addition, the top storey has a round-headed window in a corner of the west side and a fire-place on the north side.

A large groove bisects the western wall, running from the top of the doorway to the summit of the tower. It housed the drawbridge when in the raised position; from the size of it the drawbridge was plainly a very long one, evidently operated from the roof.

Another ruined tower dominates one of the hills on the Akamas peninsula in the Chrysokhou region between Polis and Paphos. This is also rectangular and roughly constructed; the remains of the ground floor and first storey can be seen.

These four towers, and another of which traces can be seen on the beach at Amathus, were obviously observation posts used by the coast watchers, who were on duty every night along the coasts of Cyprus.

Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre, an. 1309; Amadi, p. 263; Bustron, p. 150.

8
Bustron, p. 158.

ib., p. 420.

10
See the ordinance of James II published by Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III, p. 238.

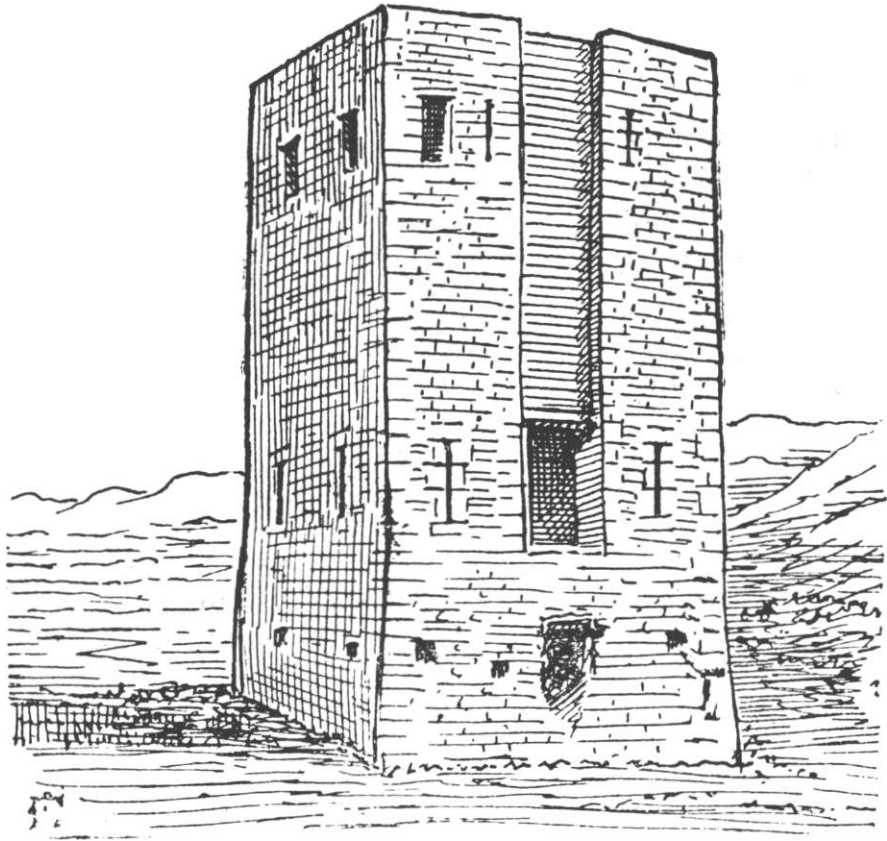
11
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 70, v^o and 218; see note by Mas Latrie, loc. cit.

12
Bustron, p. 171: 'Il casai Chierochitia con la sua stantia in foggia de fortezza.' cf. Amadi, pp. 290, 505, 506 and Strambaldi, p. 277.

13
Bustron, p. 169.

14
Amadi, pp. 506-7; Strambaldi, pp. 279-80; Bustron, pp. 363-5; Khalil Daheri, ap. Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, pp. 512, 536, 538; vol. III, p. 503.

Fig. 402
Tower at Alaminos.



They were manned by the freemen or *francomati* in the time of James the Bastard¹⁰ and under the Venetians, according to Lusignan,¹¹ by Albanian mercenaries.

4

THE COMMANDERY OF KHIROKITIA

or Kheroidia

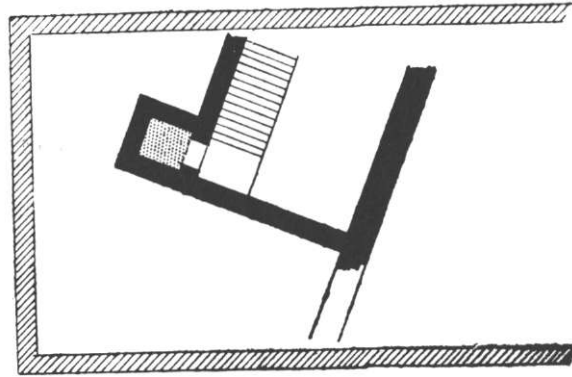
Khirokitia, also known as Kheroidia, is an inland manor not far from Limassol. There used to be a castle there belonging to the Templars.¹² When the members of the Order were arrested in 1308 the Marshal of the Temple was imprisoned there.¹³ From then on it was apparently in the hands of the Hospitallers.

In 1426 the Mamelukes, who had landed at Limassol, advanced to the neighbourhood. King Janus, having marched to meet them at the head of his troops, took up his position on 5th July at Khirokitia Castle and next morning offered battle. The action was fought around the castle, whose remains attached to one of the saddest pages in the history of Cyprus. The army was cut to pieces, the king was taken prisoner.¹⁴ Henry of Lusignan, Prince of Galilee, son of James I and grandfather of

¹⁵ Lusignan, *Généalogies*,
fol. 53.

¹⁶ *Descr. de Cypre*, fol. 35.

THE COMMANDERY OF KHIROKITIA



the historian of Cyprus, was killed in this battle.¹⁵

According to Father Stephen Lusignan the Egyptians 'demolished and levelled the castle, which was a fairly strong one; it has not been rebuilt since.' In fact, however, it must have been rebuilt not long afterwards by the Hospitallers because the extant remains appear to be in the same style as the keep at Kolossi, which is of the fifteenth century.

The ruins of Khirokitia Commandery (Fig. 403) now amount to very little. At the spot called by the local peasants 'the old Seray' there are to be seen the remains of a handsome room with a pointed barrel vault, constructed in fine ashlar masonry. It is 5.47 metres wide and the least ruined of the walls measures 12.80 metres, which might be the full original length. The walls are 1.6 metres thick. Beneath this room was a cellar, now filled up. From one of the corners of this ruin there extends at right angles a wall 28 metres long and 70 centimetres thick in which can be seen, upside-down, a very battered stone bearing the arms of the Order of St. John.

Beyond this wall, and about 10 metres on the other side of the road, there is a square enclosure of dry-stone walling which seems to be resting, at least partly, on old foundations. Inside it are other foundations forming a rectangle. One of the long sides of this rectangle is formed by a narrow, straight staircase of fourteen steps which goes down to a depth of 4.2 metres below the surface. At the right of the landing at the bottom there is a pointed archway opening onto a well, 1.42 metres square, fed by a plentiful spring. Thanks to the staircase it is possible to draw water straight from the spring. The well is called 'the Franks' Well'. It is possible that it may have belonged to the ancient keep.

About 100 metres away is the small church of *Panayia tou Kampou*. Also at Khirokitia is an old bridge with pointed arches.

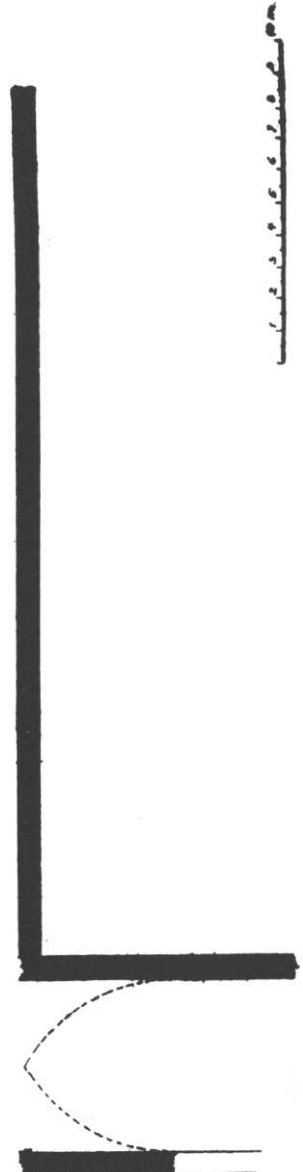


Fig. 403
Plan of ruined castle
at Khirokitia.

THE DISTRICT OF LIMASSOL

LIMASSOL CASTLE

According to Father Stephen Lusignan Limassol Castle was built originally by Guy of Lusignan in about 1193.¹⁷ As against this, Willibrand of Oldenburg found Limassol only weakly fortified¹⁸ and Florio Bustron maintains that it was not a royal foundation but was a former Templar castle seized by the crown in 1308.¹⁹

There certainly was a castle in Limassol in 1228 because it was there that Amalric Barlais, a faithful supporter of Frederick II, held in prison, and maltreated, the sons of the Lord of Beirut who had been handed over to the Emperor as hostages.²⁰

In 1248-1249 St. Louis, who was received by the King of Cyprus as an ally, concentrated his troops in Limassol and wintered there;²¹ he probably lived in the castle. Presumably it was there that he gave audience to the Empress of Constantinople²² and the Tartar embassy.²³

In 1373 the castle must have suffered serious damage because the Genoese captured it and burned the town.²⁴ In 1395, according to the Lord of Anglure, who visited Limassol, the town was 'for the most part uninhabited.'²⁵

In 1402 it was again besieged by the Genoese but it resisted and they were driven off.²⁶

In 1407 the Genoese again besieged it;²⁷ their object was to ruin a port which seriously competed with Famagusta which they then held.

In 1413 the troops of the Sultan of Egypt landed at Limassol and burned the town. The governor, Philip of Picquigny, withdrew into the castle.²⁸ It had been restored, according to the very probable account given by Strambaldi, by James I (1382-1398).²⁹

In 1425, in the course of the disastrous invasion which led to the captivity of King Janus, Limassol was one of the first places in the island ravaged by the Egyptian Mamelukes who landed at Paphos and marched on Limassol, burning everything as they went.³⁰ They arrived on about the 10th August and laid siege to the castle in which the governor Stephen of Vicenza had shut himself up. He had hastily thrown up a rampart of stones and earth to block a gap in the defences which could have given easy access; unfortunately this weak point was known to a Saracen slave who deserted to the enemy.³¹ According to Stram-

17

ib., fol. 123. (Ed. note.)

But see Megaw in *History of the Crusades*, vol. 1V,

pp. 198-9: there was a

Byzantine castle at Limassol in 1193 and the castle

described by Enlart was built, either by James I or

Janus, in the shell of a thirteenth-century church.

18

'Civitas non multum munita', Allatius, p. 142.

19

p. 24.

20

Gestes des Chiprois, pp. 46-7; Bustron, p. 69.

21

Joinville, 130-31; in the edition by N. de Wailly, pp. 72, 74.

22

ib., 137; p. 76.

23

ib., 133-4; p. 77.

24

Bustron, p. 300.

baldi there were several of these slaves who were ransomed by a Mame-luke admitted under a flag of truce.³² Whatever truth there may be in these stories the Egyptians made their assault at this weak point with the assistance of a heavy mortar, made a breach there which gave them entry, sacked the castle, killed the Governor and carried off everything they found in it.

In 1518 Jacques Le Saige considered the castle 'reasonably strong'. He tells the following curious story: 'Seven or eight of my companions swore to me that they had visited this castle and had been shown the famous head of brass which had spoken to Valentine, the brother of Orson. I thought I should mention this to place it on record; I should have liked to go and see it, but I learned of it too late and had to leave.'³³

This strange object must have been removed shortly afterwards because in 1538 there was a repetition of the disaster of 1425: the castle was so badly guarded that when ten Turkish galleys appeared by surprise in front of Limassol the only defenders in it were the governor and his family, mainly women; in spite of their vigorous resistance the place was stormed and the defenders carried off by the pirates.³⁴ The success of this *coup de main* impressed the Proweditore Francesco Bragadin to such an extent that he decided to dismantle the castle. He partially carried out his project; Christopher Furer von Haimendorf reports that he saw it in ruins in 1556.³⁵ According to Florio Bustron it cost so much to dismantle it that it would have been cheaper to make it impregnable.³⁶

In 1565 the Venetians had second thoughts. The Proweditore Asconio Savorgnano reported to the Venetian Senate that it would be desirable to fortify Limassol on a plan providing for demi-lunes and at least six bastions.³⁷ The project does not appear to have been put into execution, at least not on so extensive a scale as this.

In 1567 and in 1568 the buildings of Limassol were badly damaged by earthquakes.³⁸ In 1570 the Turks ravaged the unfortunate town for the last time;³⁹ even when Bartholomew de Salignac visited it a few years before he had found it already nothing but a mass of ruins.⁴⁰ In 1579 the traveller Carlier wrote: 'Most of the houses had been shaken by earthquakes three or four years before our visit as was the castle also, of which only the masonry walls remain; but the town was once rather beautiful, as can be realised from the ruins to be seen.'⁴¹

In about 1590 the Lord of Villamont visited the ruins; he took special note of the castle where he saw on a gable-end the arms of Lusignan, Cyprus, Jerusalem and Armenia.⁴²

Other travellers have not given any description of Limassol Castle. In 1670 Nicholas Hurtrel only mentions its artillery which, he says, defends the harbour against attack and also provides the means of implementing the successful Turkish policy of ruining the harbour: all ships were prohibited from taking anything, even water, on board, and from anchoring

40

Le saint voyage de Jérusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure, p. 81: 'This city of Limeso, which is for the most part uninhabited, was destroyed on this wise by the Genoese some time ago when they made war on the King of Cyprus.'

26

Bustron, p. 355.

27

Jorga, *Comptes de Famagouste*, No. 107. Repairs made to a wooden tower, a siege engine constructed for the siege of Limassol.

28

ib., p. 357.

29

'... il castello de Limisso, qual fece fabricar re Zac', Strambaldi, **I**, 277.

30

Amadi, p. 501 'Andavano brusando da casal in casal fino a Limisso dove remaseno et combattevano il castello.'

31

'Et a una finestra murata con pierre et fango, che uno saracine li fece advertiti, trasseno una bombarda et feceno loco et introrno et preseno el castello, dove occiseno Stephano da Vicenza, balio, et tolseno tutto cio che vi era in qual loco, de roba, arme et gente'. Amadi, p. 501.

32

'Et andorono a Limisso, nel castello. Et li schiavi Saraceni sapevano un buso nel castello, et no era fabricato, drento del quale li havevano drento del castello. Et quando venne l'imbassador, li comprò, et venero con lui et

there for longer than twelve hours, unless they paid a so-called anchorage-duty of 122 piastres.⁴³

li fu mostrato et introno
la notte per quel buso et
presero il castello et amazzo-
rono il balio de Limisso
et amazzorono assai et
menorono et molti.' Stram-
baldi p. 270; cf. Bustron,
p. 358.

33

On the tale of Valentine
and Orson see C. Nisard,
Hist. de livres populaires
(Paris, 1864), vol. II,
pp. 472-5.

34

'Et perche era mal guardato,
del 15 38 vene dieci galie
turchesche, et non havendo
trovato nel castello altro que
il castellan et sua moglie,
et figlie, l'hanno preso con
gran difficolta et menato via
il castellano et detta sua
brigata.' Bustron, p. 24.

35

Itinerarium Aegypti etc.,
p. 109.

36

'Et dapoi, partitosi li Turchi,
per consiglio di persone di
guerra pratiche, concluse il
proveditor de Cipro
M. Francisco Bragadin et li
rettori di ruinarlo, et hanno
speso tanto per ruinar una
parte d'esso, che con altro
tanto, et forse meno,
l'havevano assicurato, et
fatto inespugnabile.' Bustron,
p. 24; cf. Lusignan, *Descr.*
de Cypre, fol. 20, v°.

37

Bibl. Nat., MS. ital., 1500.

38

Lusignan, *op. cit.*,
fol. 211 v°, and 212.

39

Calepino, *Prise de Nicosie*,
p. 248.

Today the castle is the only ancient monument in the town. It is still considered to be a Venetian construction, a theory which is completely confirmed by its outward appearance, closely similar to the fortifications at Famagusta. However there is a pleasant surprise in store for those who get inside it; not, indeed, for the general run of those admitted, because the castle is now used as a prison, but at least for the archaeologist authorised by the great courtesy of the British administration to inspect the interior.

The old Gothic castle has simply been encrusted with an outer shell of Renaissance construction. Having been used by the Turks as a fortress and by the British as a prison it has never been visited much and its most characteristic parts are immersed in total obscurity, to such an extent that I can hardly think of a monument so unknown up to the present as Limassol Castle. Nevertheless it is extremely interesting, not only because of the memories it evokes but also by its layout (Fig. 404) and details.

The construction can be divided into three entirely distinct parts: the thirteenth-century walls which are among the oldest remains of European art in Cyprus; a fourteenth-century reconstruction closely related to the style of Famagusta Cathedral, which dates from 1311; finally the Venetian reconstruction, which is equally close in style to the fortifications of Famagusta, dating from 1492, 1496 and 1544. It should be noted that part of the medieval construction is difficult to date precisely and could be of the fifteenth rather than the fourteenth century; probably, however, it represents the restoration carried out by James I.

The castle runs parallel to the nearby beach. The surviving thirteenth-century portions are a massive square keep, like the one at Kolossi, but originally without vaulted ceilings, and a large hall or chapel.

The square keep (Fig. 405) is at the south-west end of the fortress which forms an extended rectangle of the same width as the keep and only one storey lower. Another rectangular construction of the same height was built by the Venetians at the other end of it which gives the castle a regular elevation. At first sight, therefore, in its present state, it recalls the Plantagenet castle at Niort or the old Romanesque castle at Le Blanc, which have two square keeps linked by a rectangular main building or a small rectangular fortified courtyard of the same width as the keeps. I am afraid however that it does not seem likely that one can detect in the castle at Limassol an influence introduced by Richard the Lionheart because the central portion is a reconstruction much later than his time and the north-east end appears to have been rebuilt from the foundations up at a later date still.

The keep had a ground floor and an upper storey. If there ever was a crypt or cellar it has been filled up; but the rocky nature of the ground

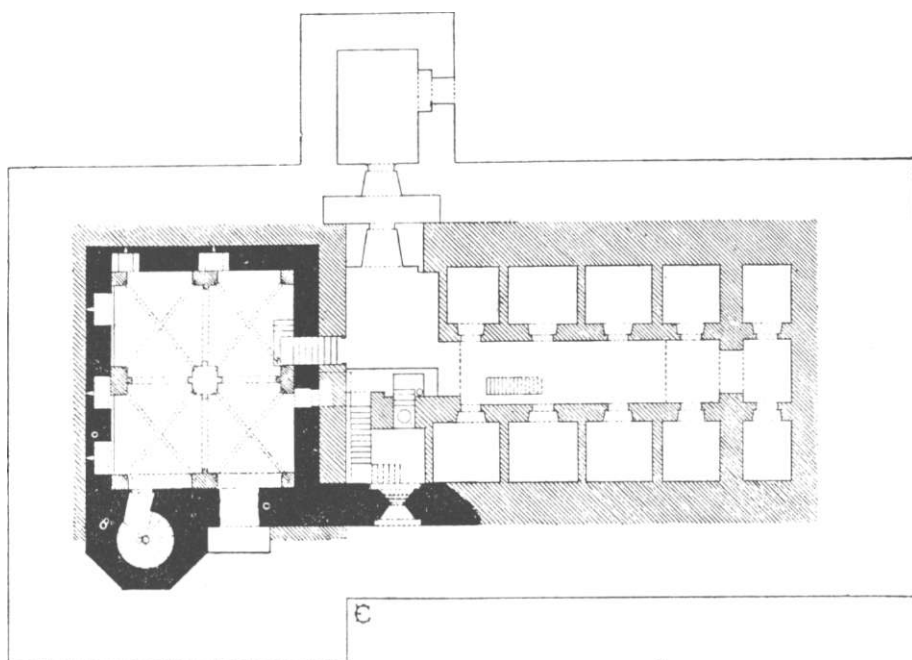
LIMASSOL CASTLE

and the fact that it is not much above sea level make it unlikely.

Usually with keeps the entry is into the upper storey and the ground floor only has narrow openings. Here however there is a small door leading inside the fortress on the west and opposite it on the east a wider opening which may have been either an entrance or perhaps more probably a window whose embrasure reached down to ground level.

A fine, broad spiral staircase led up to the first floor whose beams rested at their eastern and western ends on recesses in the wall. The staircase, which is in part constructed in the thickness of the wall, has a circular shaft. An open gallery in the south wall at first floor level might have been intended to give access to an arrow-slit, a brattice or a latrine but it may also have been, as at Loches, the original entrance to the keep. If so the large opening in the ground floor must have been a window. In the west side of the first storey there were three low and wide openings, either arrow-slits or small windows, with in front of them a wide embrasure furnished with stone benches; on the south-east side the only opening is the staircase door; on the north-east side there are no ancient openings; on the north-west there were three openings of which the last, on the north-east, was an elegant window, or possibly an oratory, since in the case of this opening alone the angles were decorated with colonnettes (Fig. 406), the other two apertures being arrow-slits with embrasures and benches.

The staircase used to go higher than this room, probably to a simple flat roof because the present top floor of the keep seems to be relatively recent and later than the destruction of the upper part of the staircase.



40

Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, vol. IV, ch. I.

41

Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 6092, fol. 162, v° and 164.

42

'The last King of Cyprus of that nation (sc. French) was of the house of Lusignan; and I was shown armorial bearings on the gable of the old castle at Limisso, now completely ruined, displaying the three lions and also the arms of Jerusalem.' *Voyage du Sieur de Villamont*, fol. 124, v°.

43

op. cit., p. 108. Hurltel and his ship's company, although threatened by a corsair flotilla, weighed anchor at night to avoid this crushing tax.

Fig. 404

Plan of Limassol Castle.

Ornamentation dating from before the fourteenth century appears to be limited to the profiles of some mouldings, apart from the opening with colonnettes mentioned above. There is first a string-course, in the form of a drip-course surmounted by a fillet, which goes all round the room at a height of two metres, rising as a hood-mould above the doorway or flattened embrasure to the south-west. As for the colonnettes of the north-west window their crocketed capitals are mutilated and their abacuses are in the form of a talon surmounted by a ring moulding. There is finally a doorway with moulded corbels on the north-east and another on the first level of the staircase. These ornaments clearly belong in style to the thirteenth century.

In the fourteenth century it was decided to convert the ground floor and the first floor into a single room which was to be given a vaulted roof. The flooring beams were accordingly removed and eight piers placed in the corners and the centres of the four sides with a tall column or pillar in the middle. Engaged columns were constructed against the centres of the piers and others in their angles and on these supports four ribs were erected. The central support has now disappeared, the bases of the other supports have been defaced but their capitals (Fig. 406) have remained intact. They are round, with polygonal abacuses and no sculptural decoration, closely similar to those in Famagusta Cathedral which are dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. The arches and transverse ribs are of equal section with simple panels.

In the fifteenth or sixteenth century the Venetians skilfully removed the central pillar and replaced the springer which it carried with a lowered section of vaulting. They then added an extra storey to the keep, divided into two rooms with pointed barrel vaults like those in the keep at Kolossi. This upper storey definitely seems to be an addition although in France, in the thirteenth century, the square keep of Castel-

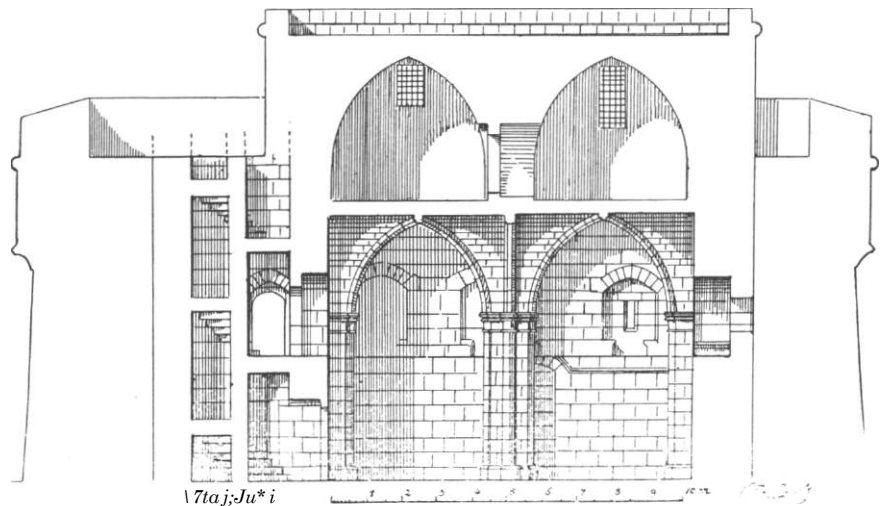


Fig. 405
Limassol Castle, trans-
verse section.

LIMASSOL CASTLE

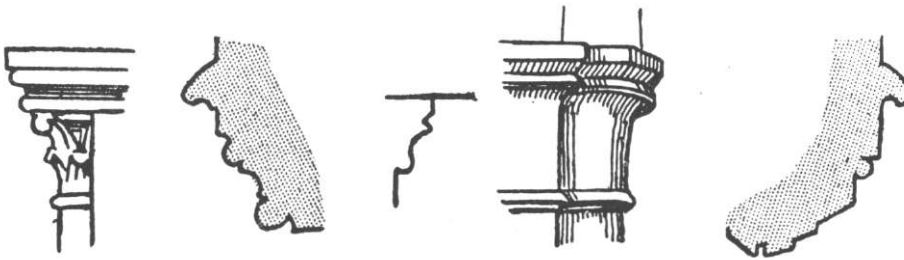


Fig. 406

Details: 1. Window on north-west side of keep. 2. Arches in hall. 3. Door in lower part of keep. 4. Keep. 5. Window in hall.

nau de Bretenoux also has a ground-floor room with a pointed vault and an upper with a lower, pointed barrel vault.

On the north-east side of the keep a chapel, or possibly a large hall, must have been added subsequently; there remains a large pointed window to the south-east and part of a big arcade to the north-west springing from a corner of the keep. Both were ornamented with mouldings; the window has a double splay, a pair of colonnettes and a protruding hood-mould (Fig. 406), all much defaced. Apart from these two details the range of rectangular buildings extending to the north-east of the keep seems to belong to the Late Middle Ages and may be the work of King James I, at least in the lower parts. They are very close in appearance to Kantara Castle. This part of the castle includes two long parallel buildings separated by a narrow courtyard closed at one end by the old keep and at the other by a strong curtain wall. The two structures are both divided into two storeys, each of which consists of five or six pointed barrel-vaulted chambers opening onto the courtyard by doorways with pointed arches at ground level and with flattened arches on the upper floor, leading onto a wooden balcony. This is the same scheme as is found in the northern part of Kyrenia Castle in the more recent constructions. Each chamber may have had an arrow-slit, as at Kantara, before the Venetians encased the whole castle in their massive external protection.

Originally too the curtain wall on the north-east probably had arrow-slits on two levels with approaches behind them which opened onto the courtyard through doorways with pointed arches. Beneath each building and the courtyard there are three parallel galleries of the same pattern, with pointed barrel vaults and communicating doorways. This basement is exactly similar to the one at Kolossi Castle. The only ornament found in this part of the castle is a *congé* with a Gothic profile on the jambs of the doorways connecting the basement galleries.

It is not possible to give a precise date for all these buildings nor to be certain, in their present state, of distinguishing the modifications which they have undergone. However, the main building described in the preceding paragraph appears to have been rebuilt in the fourteenth century, given its close resemblance to Kantara; the bay between it and the keep is of the thirteenth century, as are the walls of the keep; the interior of

44

Codex diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 101. Kolossi is mentioned *sub anno* 1191 by a continuator of William of Tyre; see Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 5.

45

Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 91.

46

p. 171.

47

Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 376.

48

On the manufacture of sugar in Cyprus in the Middle Ages see the interesting details given by Mas Latrie, from Pegolotti, in *Hist.*, vol. III, p. 88, note 2. On the sugar factory at Kolossi see *ib.*, pp. 27, 88.

49

ib., vol. II, pp. 455, 457, 503.

the keep was restored in the fourteenth century and the upper storey is more recent.

THE GRAND COMMANDERY OF KOLOSSI

Kolossi was called in the Middle Ages *le Colos*. It belonged to the Hospitallers, but the name was not given to it by them because they ruled in Rhodes, famous in ancient times for its Colossus; in fact the name had been in existence since the thirteenth century. The fief of Kolossi was given to the Hospitallers by King Hugh I; the charter in which he made the grant, published in Paoli's collection, is dated in September 1210.⁴⁴

When the Christians lost their last possessions in Syria the Order of the Hospital aspired to make Kolossi into a fortress which would replace the magnificent castle of Acre that it had just lost and allotted the same budget for its upkeep. In the General Chapter held at Limassol on 22nd October 1302 'it was established that Le Colos should be treated in respect to expenses and in all other matters in the same way as was the manor of Acre'.⁴⁵

Florio Bustron⁴⁶ affirms that this fief (*il castello e casal Colosso*) was confiscated from the Templars in 1308 and handed over to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Possibly this is a simple error or perhaps the Templars did have a Commandery at Kolossi alongside the Hospitallers'; in any event in the regulations concerning the Commandery of Cyprus established by the Chapter of the Hospital in 1380 it was confirmed that its seat was at Kolossi.⁴⁷

The Commandery of Cyprus was wealthy, thanks to its agricultural enterprises. Its wines have been famous for centuries and still are today; in the Middle Ages its sugar production was equally highly reputed.⁴⁸ To irrigate their cane plantations and to drive the water-wheels of their factory, the knights built aqueducts which throughout the fifteenth century involved them in disputes about water rights with their neighbours, the Cornaros of Piscopi, who were also rich sugar manufacturers.⁴⁹

It seems fairly certain that the Commandery of Kolossi was more or less ruined by the Genoese invasions of 1373 and 1402 and by the Moslem invasions of 1413, 1425, 1426 and 1538; in 1460, however, the Hospitallers had made a timely declaration of neutrality and took no part in the war which James the Bastard and the Sultan of Egypt waged against Louis of Savoy.⁵⁰

The castle which stands today was reconstructed in the fifteenth century. It seems to have resisted the earthquakes of 1567 and 1568 which brought such complete destruction to Limassol and its environs. The construction is thoroughly uniform. On the east wall are carved four coats of arms (Fig. 408). One is of Cyprus quartering Armenia, which was not used before 1393; the second is either of Anthony Fluvian, who

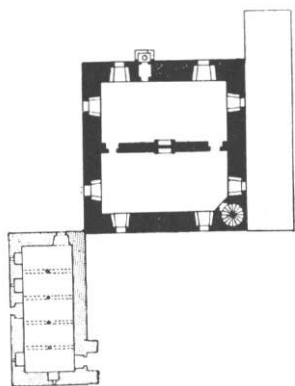


Fig. 407
Kolossi Castle, plan.

50

Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III,
p. 104 et sq.

51

They are reproduced, after a
sketch by E. Duthoit, on
p. 236 of Baron Rey's
*Architecture militaire des
Croisés.*

52

Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. III,
p. 821, after Codalberti's
Life of Catherine Cornaro,
Venice MS., fol. 63.

53

Mas Latrie, *Doc. nouv.*,
p. 568 et sq. *Documents
concernant la Grande Com-
manderie de Chypre.*

54

ib., p. 571.

55

p. 25.

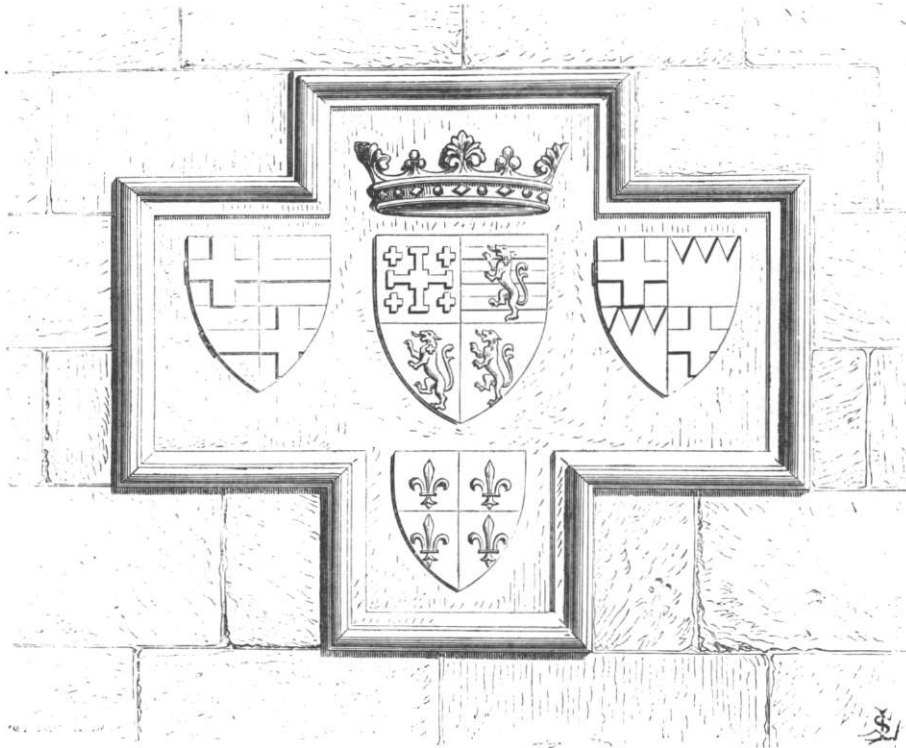


Fig. 408
Armorial bearings on east
side, Kolossi Castle.

became Grand Master of the Order in 1427 or of his successor John de Lastic (1427); the third is of James de Milli, Grand Master from 1454 to 1461; the fourth is unidentified but is not of a Grand Master. From these⁵¹ it can be deduced that the castle was the work of two Grand Masters, that it could not have been begun before 1421 and that it was completed towards the middle of the fifteenth century.

In 1488, when George Cornaro persuaded his sister Catherine to abdicate, the Venetian Republic recompensed him by giving him the fourteen villages which constituted the Commandery of Rhodes in Cyprus⁵² and from that date the head of the family bore the title of Grand Commander of Cyprus.⁵³ It became a purely honorary one after the Turkish conquest of 1570, passing in 1799 to the Mocenigo family by marriage with the last heiress of the Cornaros. During this time the Turks continued to operate the sugar factory until American sugar-cane and European sugar-beet rendered it unprofitable. An inscription can still be read on the gable of the old sugar factory recording its reconstruction under Murad Pasha in 1591:

Ἐκτοβτ] ἐν ἐξπovia, *αϑρ'α* (1591)
ev raj icaipæ tov ejXapirpov Mopar-Uaxui --

The first description of the castle, by Florio Bustron,⁵⁵ dates from the fifteenth century; there are a few lines on it in Father Stephen



Fig. 409
Machicoulis.

Lusignan in the sixteenth century;⁵⁶ Mas Latrie gave a summary account in 1847.⁵⁷ Baron Rey⁵⁸ writes at rather greater length; he had not visited it himself but was able to give a correct description thanks to information supplied by the Marquis de Vogûé and E. Duthoit. He prints three drawings by Duthoit; the one of the machicoulis is not wholly accurate but the other two are reliable. Finally Magen has a brief reference to the castle in his article on the removal of the Amathus Vase.⁵⁹

The castle of Kolossi is an imposing building which dominates the Limassol-Paphos road and commands a wide view of the neighbouring coast and the Akrotiri peninsula, not because it is itself on high ground but because the surrounding country is practically level. In shape it is an isolated tower, square and squat, crowned by a crenellated flat roof. It is 21 metres square and 29 metres high, carefully constructed in medium-

Fig. 410
Castle from east.



THE GRAND COMMANDERY OF KOLOSSI

sized ashlar blocks; the walls are 3 metres thick. It consists of a basement and two storeys. The basement is divided into three galleries running north-south, the ground floor into two galleries running east-west and the upper storey into two similar galleries but with their directions at right angles, the same as the basement. All the galleries have pointed barrel vaults.

A spiral staircase of 34 steps is built into the south-east corner of the tower with a small semi-circular protrusion into the interior; it runs from the basement to the roof. To the west of it is a conduit bringing water from the roof to a cistern underneath the lower rooms. This conduit is now blocked. According to Florio Bustron the castle had a well also but perhaps he only meant that the garrison could draw on the cistern fed by the conduit, which must have had an opening in it immediately beneath the trap door leading from the ground floor to the basement.

The three rooms in the basement were lit by airholes beneath the vault a little above ground level.

The ground floor and the basement have external doors with pointed arches placed immediately one above the other.⁶⁰ The door to the ground floor is reached by a stone staircase carried on a flying arch over the door of the basement. This arrangement however is not original, since the upper door has a groove on each side designed for the lowering of a drawbridge and above it are two openings still containing the pulleys over which ran the chains for raising and lowering it.⁶¹ The lower door had little in the way of defence but the basement only communicated with the first storey through a trap door in the roof. Both doors were defended by a machicolis on the top of the tower. This machicolis (Fig. 409) is carried on six brackets of three courses with a quadrant profile and on a blind arcade of five small pointed and cusped arches. Over these arches, which are framed by a rectangular bead-moulding, there is a block of mouldings containing a groove filled with a rosette diaper.⁶²

There are two windows on each side of each floor. They are plain, almost square with a very flattened arch on top with moulded coping stones on the outside (Fig. 411); on the inside the embrasure is provided with stone benches carved underneath with a broad cavetto for greater comfort.

Halfway up the eastern face is a panel in the form of a Greek cross, framed by a moulding, which bears four coats of arms. In the middle is a shield ensigned with a crown with fleurons and bearing 1st quarter Jerusalem, 2nd the Cyprus lion on a field barry for Lusignan, 3rd Cyprus, 4th Armenia. To right and left of these royal arms are two smaller shields, unensigned, of which one bears in the 1st and 4th quarters St. John of Jerusalem and in the 2nd and 3rd a fesse, for either Anthony Fluvian or John de Lastic and the other has, 1st and 4th quarters St. John of Jerusalem, 2nd and 3rd the arms of James de Milli, a chief

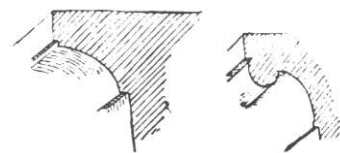


Fig. 411
Stone benches and coping stones of windows.

56
fol. 35.

57
Rapport.

58
Monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie, pp. 233-7.

59
Le vase d'Amathonte in Recueil des travaux de la Société d'Agriculture d'Agen (Agen, 1867), pp. 26-7.

60
There is a similar pair of doors exactly one above the other serving the ground floor and the first floor in the square keep at Brugnac (Gironde) which is closely similar to Kolossi.

61
A similar groove and similar pullies can be seen on the entrance to the castle at Préseau (Nord) which was originally a keep of the same design, and probably also the same date, as Kolossi.

62
These carved details have been omitted in the sketch already mentioned in *Architecture militaire des Croisés*, figure 59, p. 235.

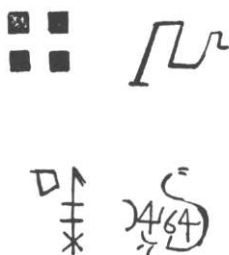


Fig. 412
Paintings on walls.

indented. Beneath is a still smaller shield of four quarters each with a fleur-de-lis. They were published by Baron Rey after a drawing by the late Monsieur Duthoit.⁶³

Between the windows on the north side of the first storey is a small brattice used as a latrine; there is another placed almost above it to serve the crenellated roof.

There are fireplaces in the western room of the ground floor and in the two rooms on the first floor (Figs. 413, 414, 416, 417 and 418). The latter are placed back to back in the middle of the dividing wall, which is pierced by two doors between the fireplaces and the external walls. The fireplace on the ground floor is in the exterior wall on the west side between the windows and there was only a single door between the two rooms, at the south end.

The design of the fireplaces is fairly plain. The one on the ground floor (Fig. 418) has a lintel supported by quadrant corbels; a band of mouldings runs around the jambs, the corbels and the lintel. The one in the southern room of the first floor (Fig. 416) is plainer still: the hood is pyramidal and rests on an entablature supported on corbels projecting from the jambs. The jambs and corbels are decorated with a plain thick torus moulding, heavily and coarsely executed. An escutcheon framed by a fillet and charged with a fleur-de-lis is carved on the two side faces. The fireplace in the other room (Fig. 417) has much the same general form but the two jambs are more finely decorated with two plaited convex



Fig. 413
First floor, south room.

THE GRAND COMMANDERY OF KOLOSSI

meanders and the entablature has a foliated scroll. This fireplace is by far the most richly decorated and best of the three.

The eastern room of the ground floor has a trap door leading down to the basement.

In the lower part of the tower there are some paintings and inscriptions. A picture on the south wall of the south room, near the door, represents Christ on the cross between the Virgin and St. John. It is not badly done but in a debased and commonplace style and dates in my opinion no earlier than the sixteenth century.

Under the curve of the southern window embrasure in the same room are a few letters in Gothic minuscule in red, adorned with arabesques. On one side is written *gaudebo* followed by a small *i.e.* which should stand for *in Christo* and on the other *al.*; presumably an abbreviation of *alleluia*, followed by the date 1536 (Fig. 420). On the opposite wall are some smaller letters, much defaced, also in red, looking like masons' or notaries' marks, the beginning of a date in Armenian (?) and the date 1464 (Fig. 412). Finally on the side-posts of the entrance door on the outside there are scratched in Gothic letters on one side IHS and on the other IHS MA (Fig. 415).

The inscriptions all appear to date from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, the tower itself, as shown by the coats of arms, being of the fifteenth century; one of the painted dates shows that it already existed in 1464.



Fig. 415
Monograms on jambs of door.

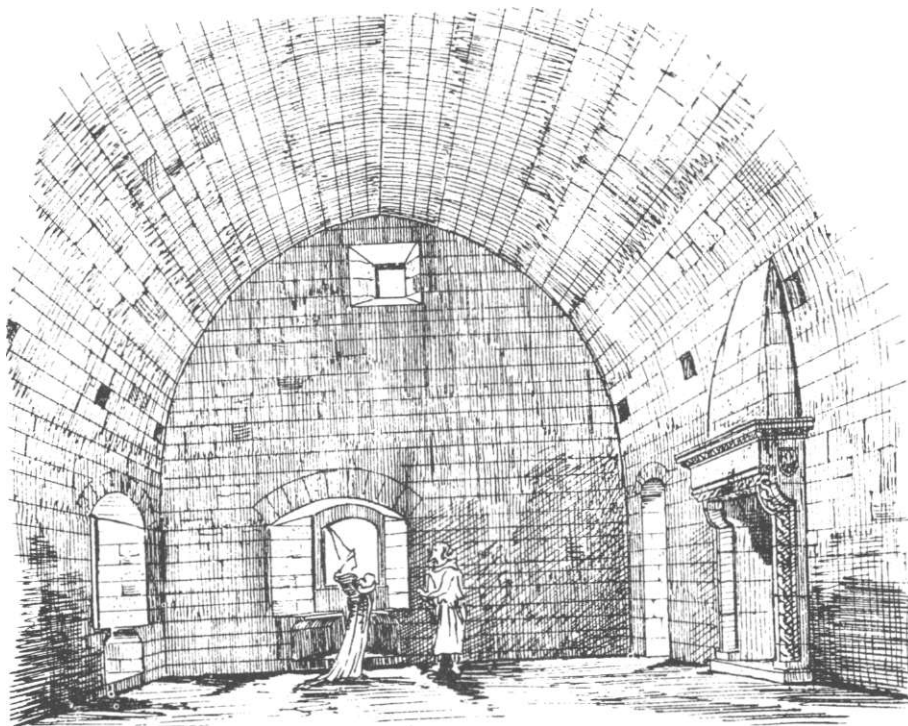


Fig. 414
First floor, north room.

Square keeps of this kind but smaller were built in Cyprus in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at Pyla, Kiti and Alaminos. There is a square keep of the same type, strikingly similar, at Brugnac near Castillon (Gironde); it even has two pointed-arch doors one above the other giving access to the raised ground floor and to a basement.

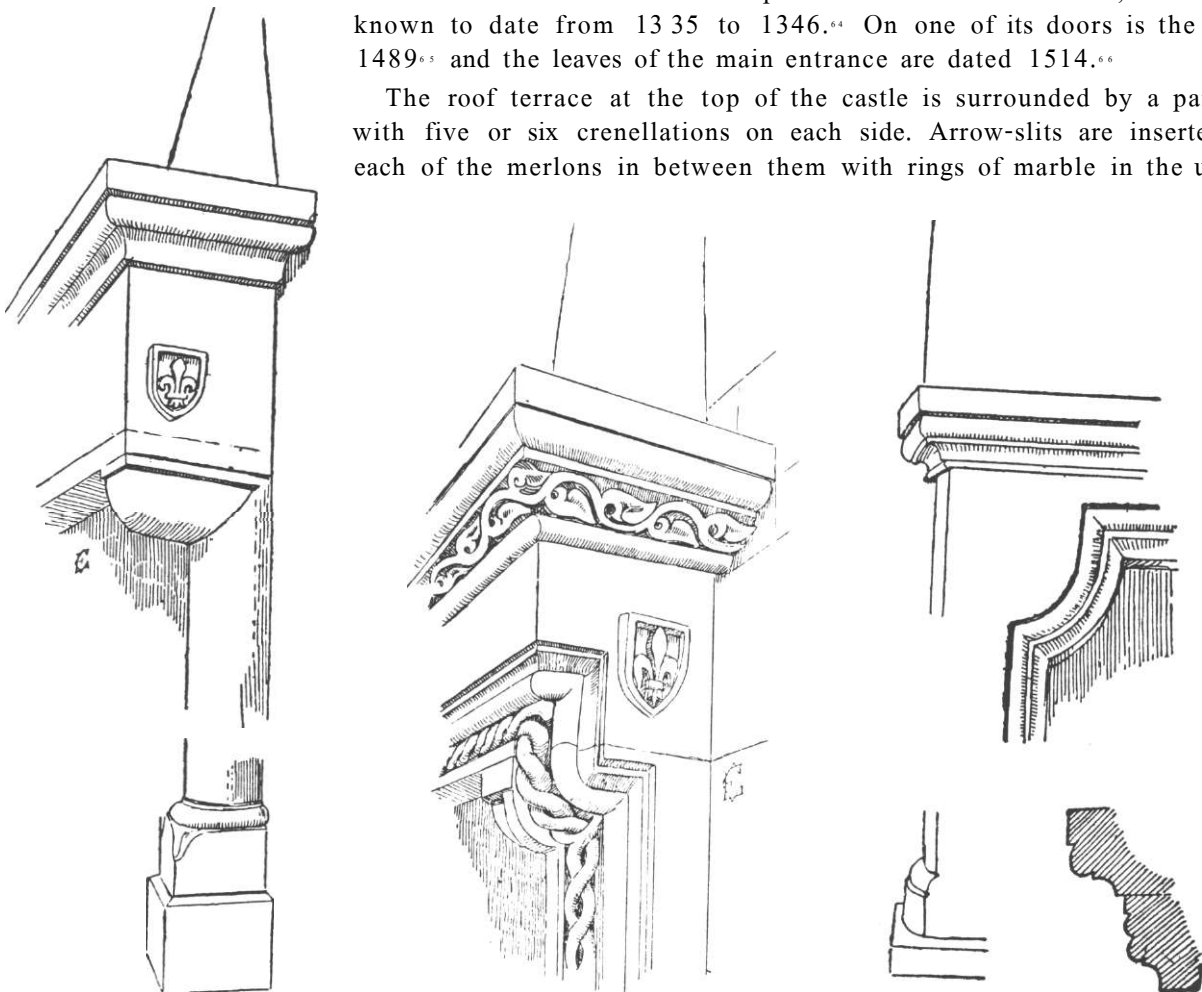
The barrel vaults are far from being proofs in themselves of an early date because they never ceased being used in castles; in any case they came back into fashion in Cyprus about the end of the fourteenth century, replacing the ribbed vault. The machicolis at Kolossi is in a decadent Gothic style; the rosette diaper which in France would indicate a date in the twelfth or thirteenth century, was in fashion in Cyprus, as also in Sicily and Italy, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and later. The decoration of the fireplaces matches the special style found on monuments erected by the Knights of Rhodes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The foliated scrolls are identical with those on the friezes of the doors of the Hospital of St. John in Rhodes, a building known to date from 1335 to 1346.⁶⁴ On one of its doors is the date 1489⁶⁵ and the leaves of the main entrance are dated 1514.⁶⁶

The roof terrace at the top of the castle is surrounded by a parapet with five or six crenellations on each side. Arrow-slits are inserted in each of the merlons in between them with rings of marble in the upper

Fig. 416
Fireplace in south room.

Fig. 417
Fireplace in north room.

Fig. 418
Fireplace on ground floor.



THE GRAND COMMANDERY OF KOLOSSI

corner which served as hinges for the shutters which pivoted on them to block the crenellations. In one of the corners the upper portion of the spiral staircase makes crenellation impossible and no doubt out of a desire for symmetry the other corners have none either. Perhaps they all had small platforms at a higher level, probably crenellated, but there is now only one such, without crenellations, which covers the whole of the shaft of the staircase.

A small, low annexe was subsequently built in front of the eastern side of the tower. At its north-west corner it adjoins a long, low building, lit by arrow-slits and a pointed door on the south, which closes on that side the courtyard in front of the entrance to the keep. It is divided into two naves by four stone pillars supporting the roof on arcades. It is now a stable and may always have been one. To the south-east at a certain



Fig. 420
Paintings in an embrasure.

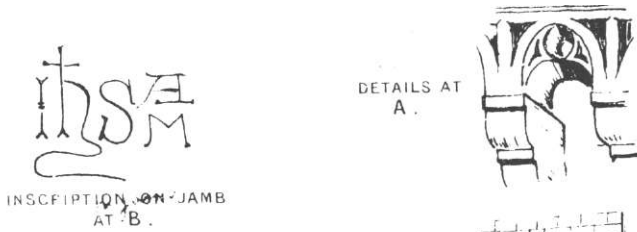
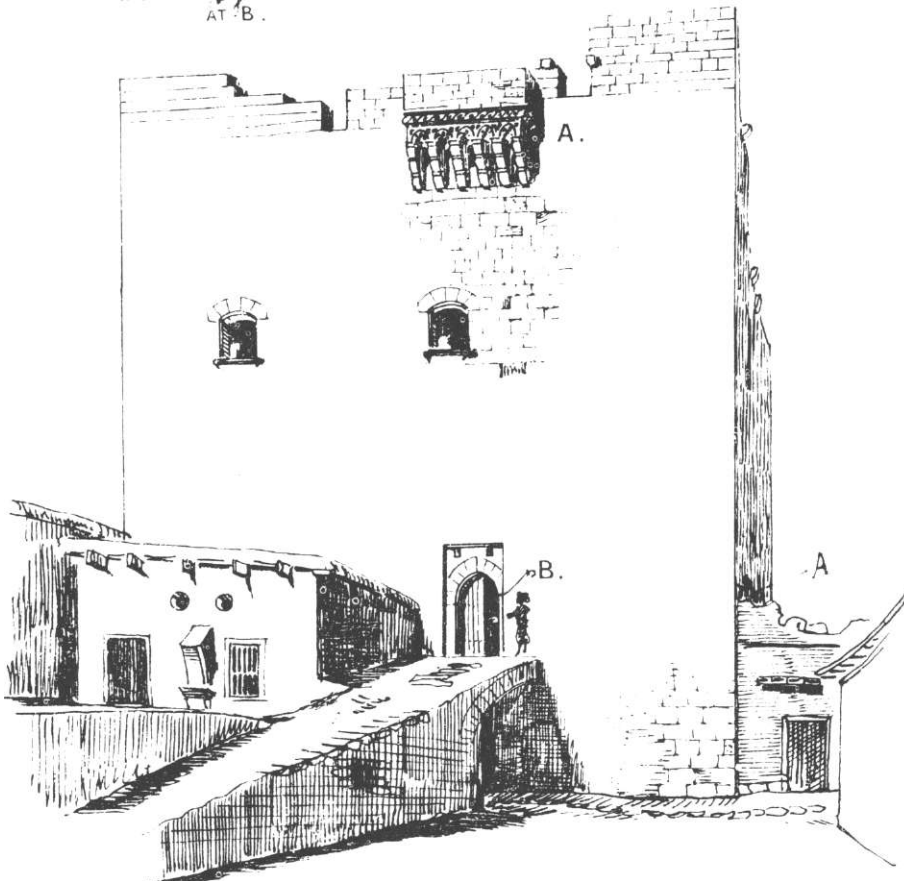


Fig. 419
Kolossi Castle from south.



63
op. cit., p. 236, figure 60.

64
See V. Guérin *L'île de Rhodes*, p. 148. Work on it started when Anthony Fluvian was Grand Master.

65
E. Flandin *Hist. des Chevaliers de Rhodes* (Mame, 1864), p. 290.

66
Now in the Versailles Museum; published by Rot-tiers.

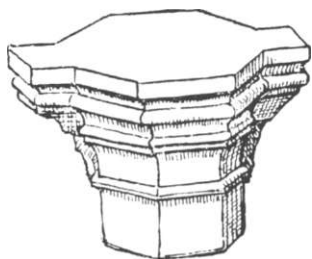


Fig. 421
Capital in the church.

distance from the tower there is a larger building with a barrel vault divided into bays by transverse ribs. The side walls are recessed by blind arches; the north-west wall, which is older, has two closed arcades with pointed arches supported by cruciform engaged pillars. On the south the façade is pierced by an *oeil-de-boeuf* and two square windows; it bears in a cartouche the Greek inscription quoted above. This façade is framed by buttresses with an ovolo moulding in the style of Renaissance fortifications.

To the east of the tower and north of this building there are the lower courses of a square construction with a buttress on its east side. On the west it abuts on an aqueduct, a plain wall pierced at one or two points by doorways. One of these doorways is a monumental arcade with depressed semi-circular arches which was the eastern entrance to the knights' premises, the limit of which was marked by the aqueduct. Two other doorways, both quite small, have no decoration beyond chamfered lintels.

Kolossi church is a small Byzantine edifice. In the interior is a handsome iconostasis in Italian Renaissance style. It contains also a fine moulded capital (Fig. 421) in the French style of the fifteenth century which must have come from a building of some importance. On two sides of it there are protruding corbels, which were probably sculptured as they have been defaced. In shape this resembles the pillars of the porticoes in some secular edifices of the fifteenth century, like the pilory building in the square at Milan. It plainly comes from some now demolished outbuilding of the Commandery.

67
'Est civitas parva, in qua hodie monstratur turris ilia super quam, apud gentilium errores, Venus a suis amatoribus colebatur.' Allatius, ed., p. 143. (Ed. note.)
This will have been part of the Byzantine castle of Paphos, now called '*Saranda Kolonnes*'.

68
cf. Joinville, Wailly ed., p. 342, sec. 625 'The Count of Joigny's mansion in the city of Baffe'.

69
ib., p. 75, sec. 137.

70
Amadi, p. 398.

71
N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 79.

72
Machaeras, pp. 205, 207, 208; Bustron, p. 301.

73
Amadi, p. 495; Bustron, p. 301.

74
Andanças e viajes de Pero Tafur (Miguel Ginesta, Madrid, 1874), p. 50: 'Una çibdat que llaman Bafa desabitada por el mal ayre e mal agua.'

THE DISTRICT OF PAPHOS

i

THE HARBOUR AND CASTLE OF PAPHOS

The town of Paphos, though its harbour is small and wretched, has nevertheless been in the past a centre of commerce and a strong point of some importance. In 1211 Willibrand of Oldenburg found nothing there worthy of remark beyond an old tower which was alleged to have been consecrated to the cult of Venus.⁶⁷ In 1248 the Lord of Joigny stayed there⁶⁸ and the Empress of Constantinople landed there when she came to confer with St. Louis.⁶⁹

In the following century, by which time the town had gained a certain importance, the Genoese, then at war with Cyprus, descended on it and laid it waste; on the 5th June 1316 eleven galleys commanded by Nicholas of Sono landed a force there which burned the houses and de-

THE ROYAL MANOR AT KOUKLIA

molished everything they could find to destroy.⁷⁰ In 1328, after the town had managed to raise itself from its ruins, the Venetians obtained permission to open a new trading loggia there;⁷¹ but the Genoese, the eternal enemies of the Kingdom of Cyprus, came back in 1373 to ravage Paphos once again.⁷² In about 1391 King James I ordered the construction of a castle and some outlying strongpoints to defend the town.⁷³

At some date between 1435 and 1439 the Catalan Don Peter Tafur visited Paphos which he described as depopulated by reason of the unhealthiness of the air and water;⁷⁴ he himself took up his lodging on a high ridge, presumably at Ktima, to avoid the fevers.⁷⁵

In 1461 Paphos Castle surrendered to officers of King James II, then to Queen Charlotte when she came back from Rhodes and then to the King once more.⁷⁶ Not long afterwards Florio Bustron wrote that there was hardly anything worth seeing in Paphos apart from two fortified towers and some old churches.⁷⁷ These two towers were probably the small castle and the fort at the end of the pier. Lusignan confirms;⁷⁸ he says that at Paphos 'there were two very strong castles on the sea whose walls were always washed by the waves; the kings of the Lusignan family had provided them with all things necessary for their defence but since the Venetians have become lords and masters of the island they have completely demolished and levelled them.'⁷⁹

At present all that the little harbour of Paphos has to show is a square Venetian fort, linked to the land by a bridge now in ruins. It consists of two storeys, the upper one slightly set back, and appears to include some fragments of an older fort. A ruined semi-circular pier runs out from it to enclose the harbour; at the end are the shapeless ruins of what was another small fort on the pierhead.

THE ROYAL MANOR AT KOUKLIA (COVOCLE)

The place referred to in old French documents as the manor of Covocle,⁸⁰ nowadays called Kouklia, is on the very site of the ancient Greek city of Paphos, rebuilt by the Romans a few miles further west. Its history was well known in the Middle Ages, indeed in the fourteenth century Ludolf of Sudheim⁸¹ goes so far as to ascribe aphrodisian properties to the very air of Paphos.

The Lusignans made Covocle the headquarters of a royal bailiwick. A sugar factory, owned and managed by the Crown,⁸² was built there in the centre of large plantations of sugar cane, irrigated by an extensive system of canals. In 1426 it was sacked by the Mamelukes⁸³ but reconstructed. Down to the end of the period of Latin domination there was a manor there and a Crown sugar-factory, cane fields and canals, all carefully fostered by the government which drew large revenues from

Fig. 422
Masons' marks.

75
ib., p. 72. 'È dende me parti al puerto de Bafa, donde el Rey tenia mandado que yo fuese apostentado en una aldea ençima de una montana, que es lugar sano, por la grant dolentia de Bafa.'

76
Bustron, pp. 401, 409.

77
ib., p. 15: 'E quanto a Papho, non havemo altro di quelli tempi ne altro si vede al presente che due torri in foggia di castelli et le chiese antique.'

78
Descr. de Cypre, fol. 211.

79
ib., folio 16 and v°.

80
There are variations: Couvocles (1468), Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, pp. 210, 249; Covucho, Venetian document of end of fifteenth century, loc. cit., p. 507.

81
Quoted by Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 211.

82
On sugar manufacture at Covocle see Mas Latrie, *Hist.*, vol. II, p. 211, note; vol. III, p. 176, note; **P.** 210 'Sugar ... which is refined at Couvocles' (1468), pp. 220, 232, 249,

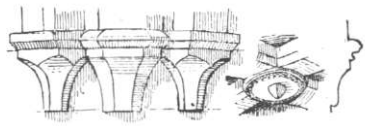


Fig. 423
Royal manor at Koukليا,
brackets and boss in
ground-floor room.

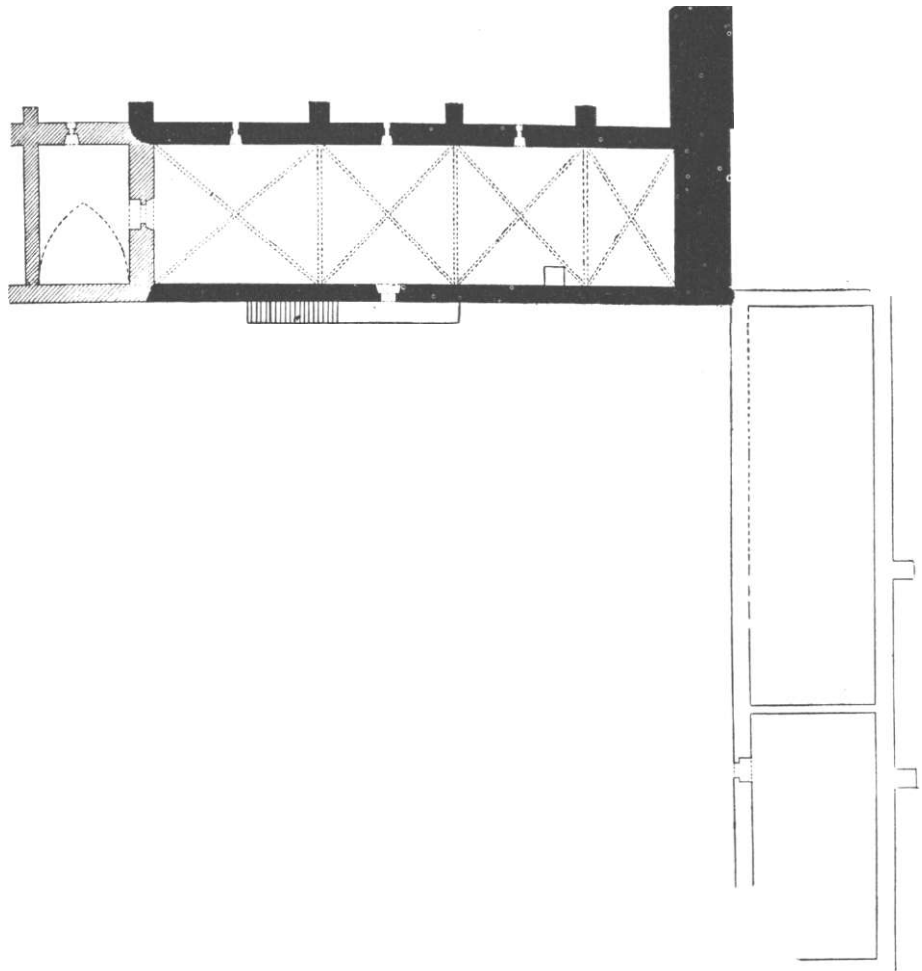


Fig. 424
Plan of royal manor at
Koukليا.

'honey from the manor of
Couvoucles', p. 507. cf.
Bustron, p. 29.

83

Bustron, p. 357; Strambaldi,
pp. 268-9; Amadi, p. 500.

84

In 1564 the Venetians carried
out some very interesting
archaeological excavations in
these ruins, details of which
are given by Lusignan in
Descr. de Cypre. fol. 17.
Since 1878 methodical
excavations by the British
have uncovered the floor
area of the temple, un-
happily the condition of the
mosaics there is deteriorating
daily.

85

There is a similar bracket
in the cloister at Silvacane.

this enterprise.

The Lusignans built their manor and their factory only a few feet from the ruins of the Greek temple of Venus which had been thrown down by earthquakes and buried beneath its own ruins.⁸⁴ It is a magnificent Gothic structure surrounding a square courtyard, at least on two sides of it. There are numerous masons' marks on the finely dressed stones (Fig. 422). The ruins dominate the surrounding countryside and can be seen from a long distance.

The east wing measures 36.65 metres along the front. There is a large ground-floor room, measuring 30.24 by 6.95 metres internally, which is covered with a vault supported by four ribs (Fig. 425). On the north is a room with a pointed barrel vault, 4.5 metres wide, and to the south was another wing now demolished; these two additions are later. Above is an upper room now partly collapsed but still preserving its small square windows and its timber roof with thick beams supported on posts and struts in the centre. An external staircase led from the main court-

THE ROYAL MANOR AT KOUKLIA

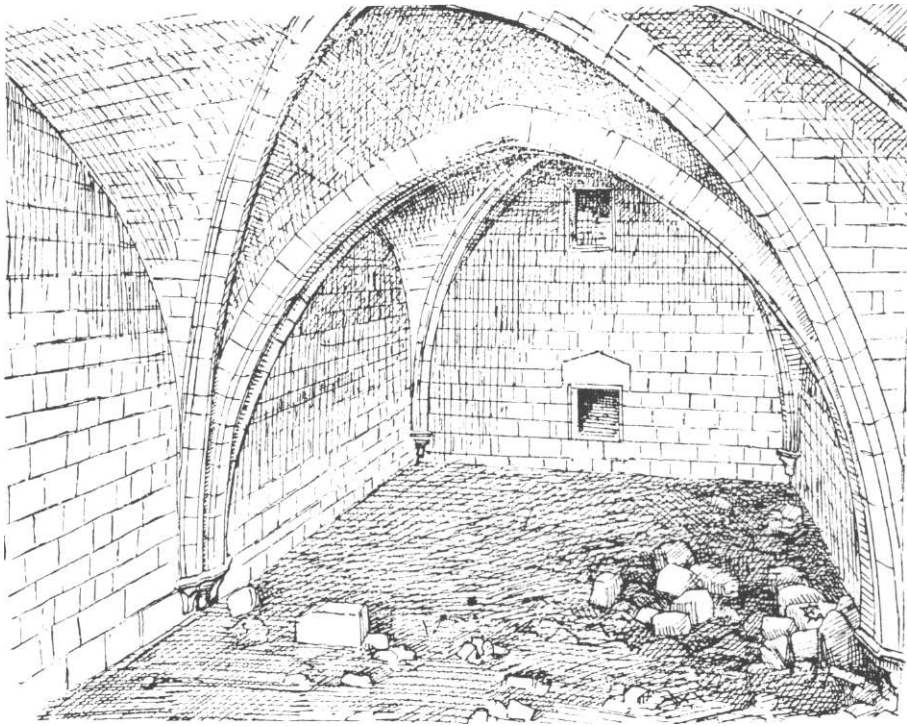


Fig. 425
Ground-
manor.

yard to this upper room; beneath it was a doorway giving direct access to the ground-floor room.

The vaulting arches of the ground-floor room are supported on triple groups of faceted brackets (Fig. 423) of a form peculiar to Burgundy and the south of France.⁸⁵ The arches are simply blocked out in a prismatic profile and the abacuses have the profile of a Gothic talon. The style is French, of the thirteenth century. The room is lit by arrow-slits; the thrust of the vaults is taken by buttresses. Another building with buttresses, rebuilt after the 1425 disaster, is at right angles, running east and west, measuring about 33.4 metres, and is more ruined than the one described. The rest of the manor house has disappeared.

Some stretches of Gothic aqueducts still survive between these buildings and the sea; they must have served the sugar factory, as at Kolossi.

CHAPTER VI

MINOR ARTS - CONCLUSION

i

MINOR ARTS

As is well known, the Kingdom of Cyprus prospered greatly after the loss of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the promulgation by the Popes of bulls forbidding Christians to trade with infidels. This prohibition gave Cyprus a kind of monopoly and as it had already profited by giving refuge to as much of the Christian population as had been able to escape from enemy domination the two circumstances combined to give a tremendous stimulus to Cypriot commerce and industry. Commercially its main concerns were banking and the trade in slaves, pearls and precious stones and such agricultural products as spices and cotton. Industrially it specialised in the manufacture of sugar and salt but also particularly in luxury goods such as perfumery (*oiselets de Chypre*),¹ rich textiles, especially camlet, silk thread, reversible embroidery known as *broderies de Chypre* and *ors de Chypre* i.e. tinsel; jewellery, cypress-wood chests with metal fittings, fine pottery and other similar articles. A few remaining specimens, and in particular many entries in contemporary inventories, bear witness to this industrial prosperity.²

At times the minor arts in Cyprus, as in Rhodes, exhibit western styles in all their purity; in woodwork, for example, in the doors of Our Lady of Tyre, and in those of the hospital in Rhodes, now removed to the Versailles Museum; in ironwork in the strap-hinges in Nicosia Cathedral and the candelabra in Famagusta Cathedral; in brass-work in the plates from Bellapais, Avgasida and Ayia Varvara, which may have been imported; and in a seal found in Famagusta (Fig. 426).³

The cypress-wood coffer decorated with a sheet of tin, partly in relief and partly cut out, which was owned by and published by Victor Gay, is an attractive specimen of pure fourteenth-century Gothic style. On the pierced sheet of tin which covers the lid is a set of circular medallions decorated with fantastic animals; the border bears the following inscrip-

See De Laborde *Glossaire* s.v., pp. 424-5 and Victor Gay *Glossaire*, article *Chypre*.

It is likely that many of the silver perfume-burners specially designed to be used for burning '*oiselets de Chypre*' were of local manufacture. It also seems probable that the reason why Cypriot perfumes were sold in boxes shaped like little birds is that the island was famous for its ortolans and its falcons; the feathers used to cover them were probably taken from the brilliant plumage of the roller, a common bird in Cyprus.

According to Victor Gay's *Glossaire*, s.v. *Chypre*, 'during the period in question (Middle Ages and Renaissance) Cyprus produced a large range of manufactures. A large and highly skilled working population was engaged on bronze work, gold thread, the weaving of linen, silk and

tion in fine Gothic capitals: JE SUI LESCRIN QUI SUI VENU DE CHYPRE POUR ESTRE VENDU: BENET SOI [R] [T] QUI MACHATERA TANTOST.⁴

Victor Gay, no doubt unaware of the extent to which the Gothic style and the French language were acclimatised in Cyprus, conjectures that only the woodwork is Cypriot and that the metal decoration was a subsequent addition. In my opinion, this is a mistake. These wooden coffers decorated with pierced metal plaques are not specially rare — there is a fine example, for instance, in the cathedral treasury at Tournai, though that one does not seem to be made of exotic wood — and it does not appear likely that this method of decoration was necessarily intended as an added embellishment for boxes made of uncarved, expensive wood but rather that it was a development of the ornamental strap-work used on thirteenth-century wooden coffers like those in the *Musée Carnavalet* and in the treasury at Noyon.⁵

Some of the pieces in Western style present combinations of motifs unknown in the West, for instance a carved wooden coffer in the collection of Mr Boysset, the French consul in Cyprus. The style is Venetian Renaissance, as are most of the carved chests, usually painted in bright colours, which can be seen in peasant houses in Cyprus, but the sides are decorated with *serviettes* which undoubtedly derive from a French late-Gothic model.

There are also objects whose style is partly or entirely oriental. One is the very beautiful basin made for King Hugh IV by an Egyptian artist; only the inscription is Gothic. Its learned owner has been kind enough to provide a description for inclusion in this book. Another example is a dish in the same collection, oriental work with the Lusignan arms added. Another is the object known as the cincture of the Virgin, at Ayia Napa.

In the category of household objects, which both in the Gothic and Renaissance periods drew more on eastern than on western inspiration, in contrast to architecture, particular mention should be made of pottery, both in Cyprus and in Rhodes. Cypriot pottery is very different from Rhodian but both derive from Persian models. The former is more under western influence and closer to the pottery found all along the coasts of Asia Minor. Little known at present, it would justify study.

The centre of production seems to have been Lefkara, a village still famous for handiwork,⁶ because it is there that the largest amounts of Cypriot pottery have been discovered. They are found mainly in tombs, as is the case in most countries with ancient and medieval pottery. They appear to date from the sixteenth, fifteenth and fourteenth centuries though perhaps production had already begun in the thirteenth. Much the commonest type is a round cup with angular belly and a short foot; there are also some hollow dishes and plates and, to judge from a painting (Fig. 152) ewers were also made. The best-known pieces are in brown glazed earthenware, decorated in white and grey at the edges.



Fig. 426
Seal found at Famagusta.

wool to produce fabrics such as silk brocade (*baudequin* or baldachin), a type of fustian called *boucassin*, camlet, diaper, satin and serge and the making of many-coloured embroidery for orphreys. For details see the separate entries.'

I am indebted to Monsieur Boysset, the French Consul in Cyprus, for knowledge of this object. The text reads: S. FR(atris) S. DE CHAM (?d) O(?n).

Glossaire s.v. Coffre, p. 404.

Among metal objects of Cypriot provenance I might mention the silver lantern presented to the Pope by Peter I, the gilt spurs engraved with the names of the Three Wise Men which were found in Peter I's tomb in 1567, the twelve silver statues of the Apostles which in the fifteenth century were in St. Dominic's at Nicosia and the two silver angels presented to St. Sophia in

The more carefully made pieces are covered with a white slip, at least on the inside. On it are traced sgraffito designs heightened with yellow, green and bronze-green enamel. The exterior is only rarely decorated; sometimes one finds a decoration in dribbled slip of a row of small flowers in relief.

The style of decoration is, as with the coarser ware, a rather clumsy imitation of Persian works. The commonest motifs are birds, foliar scrolls, rosettes, palmettes and geometrical designs. Mixed with these are some Gothic motifs: scrolls, mascarons, imaginary coats of arms and that well-known group of a young man and a young woman which is so common in France in the fourteenth century and occurs there again under Louis XIII on plates identical in fabric and colouring with Cypriot medieval work. Some of these plates have been recovered from the early fortifications of Valenciennes.⁷

The finest examples of this pottery may go back to the fourteenth century. Decadence sets in in the fifteenth and from then on one finds motifs borrowed from Italian Renaissance art such as Italian escutcheons and thick garlands with ribbons.

Cypriot pottery clearly influenced Italian pottery of the type known as 'alia Castellana' which is found throughout Italy from the thirteenth century onwards.

Even when the motifs are of western origin it seems that Cypriot pottery was always the work of local artists since the Gothic or Renaissance motifs are invariably garbled.

Whether Latins or locals Cypriot artisans are skilful. Such objects as the fifteenth-century bottle or the thirteenth-century sword published in Gay's *Glossaire* (pp. 202 and 211), are sufficient to prove this, though since their style is purely western it will nearly always be impossible to know whether they were imported.

Costume, as shown in paintings and on sepulchral monuments in Cyprus, is purely western except perhaps for the pockets which are remarked on by Count de Mas Latrie and which appear on dresses from the fourteenth century onwards. The fact that use was made of oriental dress materials did not give clothing a local character because these materials were in great demand, imitated and widely employed in the west, and Cyprus itself manufactured large quantities for export.

2

CONCLUSION

I began with the proposition, which I think I have now proved, that this book is a chapter in the history of French art. The monuments of Cyprus are a part of that history, just as the *Assizes of Jerusalem* are a part of our legal history, and they do not disgrace it. I go further: they

the fourteenth century
by John de Polo. On the
bread-boxes made of
cypress wood and other
pilgrim souvenirs see
Voyage du Sieur de Caumont
(1418), pp. 136-9.

In modern times the special-
ity of Lefkara is fine lace.

7
Now in the town museum.

8
The name is ancient but is
not derived, as was once
thought, from Città di
Castello which was
certainly neither the only
nor the original place of
manufacture.

9
See Em. Bertaux, *Les*
Français d'Outremer en
Apulie au temps de
Frédéric II in *Revue*
historique, 1899.

CONCLUSION

complete it. It is well known how poor French architecture is in the fourteenth century, and that the reason is the disasters of the Hundred Years War. Cyprus too suffered great disasters after a period of prosperity, but they began only in 1373. No fourteenth-century building in France can compete in size or in artistic unity with Famagusta Cathedral.

Let me further remark that although it copies Rheims Cathedral, St. Urbain at Troyes and some buildings in the south of France the imitation is so supple, so well thought out and so perfectly adapted to the climate and to the resources available that it has all the merits of an original building. In Cyprus Gothic is a natural style, practised at first hand, quite unlike, and infinitely superior to, Italian Gothic in which, for example, you find imitation pointed gables erected in front of flat roofs. Cypriot Gothic can therefore be considered as a variety which completes the picture of the French schools of Gothic. It is French colonial art.

Southern Italy took lessons from it after Frederick II's expedition to Cyprus whose failure (1232) caused many of his Cypriot partisans to emigrate there.*

Two peculiar features of Cypriot art which made it of special value to lovers of the Gothic and Renaissance styles are that in each case these styles came to the island direct from their original source at the moment when they reached their highest perfection, and that the disaster of 1570 called a halt to the development of western art just when it was about to plunge into hopeless decadence.

It would be wrong, nevertheless, not to recognise that Gothic art in Cyprus did show notable signs of decadence in some of its architecture though it is no more bastardised than what can be seen in certain of our frontier provinces, Hautes Alpes for example. It is valuable to establish the nature, and consequently the causes, of this decadence. I find two: unintelligent copying of older motifs (Fig. 427) without grasping their spirit and the mixing of two disparate styles, Gothic and Byzantine. These two mistakes can be reduced to one: a failure in logic. It is logic that finds appropriate solutions to programmes, and insists that only elements of the same nature can be combined together. Once repudiate logic and one falls either into inept imitation or into absurd combinations. Decadent art in Cyprus gives us the material for forming an objective judgment of the results that flow from a bastardised architecture unschooled by logical reasoning.

There is another, subsidiary lesson which we learn from these works of the decadence: that to mix Gothic and Byzantine produces a mongrel style and one that the pioneers of Gothic construction took great pains to avoid. In this you have the *reductio ad absurdum* of the paradoxical argument that seeks to prove that Byzantine elements contributed to the origin of the Gothic style.

I do not mean to suggest that the Byzantine buildings of Cyprus, which I have not had time to deal with in this book, were entirely with-

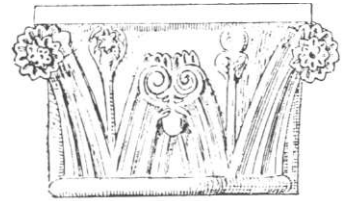


Fig. 427
Capital from ruined
mosque, Paphos.

10
 I take these churches to be eastern whereas I believe the Romanesque churches in Cyprus are derived from the ones built by westerners in Syria. They strike me as being very much closer to the Romanesque style than to Oriental practice; moreover they are only found in one area, and that happens to be the one with easy access to the opposite coast and very little contact with the rest of the island.

11
 It must be admitted that there are close points of resemblance between Famagusta Cathedral and the Abbey churches at Essen and St. Adulf, the nave pillars in the one case and the towers in the other; but it is undisputed that the Gothic style came to Germany from France, more particularly from Champagne, so that the resemblances are evidence of collateral not linear descent.

out influence on western architecture, and I am speaking of Gothic, not Romanesque. It is a fact that there were close relations between Cyprus and those regions in which Romanesque architecture is particularly subject to Byzantine influences, such as Périgord, Venice and Apulia. The domed churches in these three regions, for instance St. Stephen and the later St. Front at Périgueux, Cahors Cathedral, St. Marks's in Venice, and Angoulême and Molfetta Cathedrals, are all very close to certain churches in Cyprus which were certainly visited by pilgrims from before the foundation of the Latin Kingdom. I refer in particular to the following churches, whose dates, unfortunately, are unknown: St. Lazarus at Larnaca and St. Barnabas near Famagusta, both of which were at or near stopping-places on the pilgrims' routes and contained deeply venerated relics; and the church at Yeroskipos, which is quite close to Paphos where they often landed. The first two have domes on drums and on pointed arches, and massive square piers pierced by arcades; the third is cruciform, roofed with a series of domes on drums. So all the features of St. Front at Périgueux can be found in Cyprus in churches which were certainly visited by many people from the West.¹⁰ These facts could provide matter for a book. Another book, and a very interesting one, could deal with Cypriot paintings and mosaics. Cyprus had for long been a point of contact between two civilisations and it is there more than anywhere else that Romanesque architecture and Italian painting must have made, at a certain moment in their evolution, a fruitful contact with Byzantine art.

As for Gothic art, such as it was when it was imported from France at its finest period,¹¹ it had nothing to fear from comparison with any art in the world. It became acclimatised, but it needed no external alliance to make it fertile and productive. Its buildings bear exhilarating witness to the merits and potency of French art and French colonisation.

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON A BRASS BASIN MADE FOR HUGH IV, KING OF CYPRUS 1324 - 1361

By Henry-René d'Allemagne

The object here published is a deep basin of the sort exemplified by the so-called baptismal bowl of St. Louis, now in the Louvre.

There is room for considerable argument about what function it was originally intended to serve. Without going so far as to say it was never used for a baptism I feel sure that that was not the purpose for which it was made. The type is common throughout the East, and in particular in Syria and Mesopotamia, among the treasures accumulated by rich and powerful chiefs; as we learn from the historians of the Crusades they lived surrounded by an ostentatious luxury that the West could hardly rival. Objects of this kind, made of brass lavishly inlaid with silver, took the place at Eastern courts of the heavy silverware used in our countries. They were valued very highly by reason of the skilled workmanship which had gone into their construction.

In its present state the object illustrated gives only a feeble and perhaps a false impression of its pristine splendour when it left the hand of the accomplished artist who made it. The ornamentation is so rich that the background was scarcely noticed; the few places which were not covered with silver were decorated with a brilliant black enamel which enhanced the relief of the incrustations with a strong shadow effect.

Generally speaking, pieces of brassware damascened with silver have become extremely rare, the value of the silver having led to their destruction. Indeed in the early nineteenth century there were manufacturers who ransacked the bazaars of the Levant for the sole purpose of stripping off the silver from specimens of this admirable ware; these vandals have done far more damage than the passage of time because of their passion for destroying works of art on which Arab craftsmen had lavished so much care and skill.

Only Sultans, Caliphs and other such potentates could afford such

expensive table-ware. The inscriptions that I have collected prove that objects of this sort were reserved exclusively for Moslem princes in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia; there is no doubt that Hugh IV, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, was following their practice in ordering the construction of this piece which I have been fortunate enough to acquire.

It belongs to a class of objects of which very few now survive, those made by Moslem craftsmen for Christian princes. It shows indeed a mixture of quite disparate pagan and Christian artistic motifs. Under the former heading come the monumental Cufic inscriptions so commonly used in all Moslem decoration, whether on mosque façades, armour, or even gems. The second element is exemplified by the Christian iconography from which is taken the design of the six medallions containing sacred figures within a circle of twelve others bearing the signs of the zodiac. There are also some palmate crosses dotted about here and there without any pattern, as though the artist had suddenly remembered from time to time that he was after all making something intended for Christian hands.

The magnificent inscription in Gothic characters running round the lip of the basin (Fig. 428) declares that the piece was made for 'the Most high and mighty King Hugh of Jerusalem and Cyprus, whom God preserve.' Possibly this was only part of a longer inscription whose opening words were inscribed either on the lid or on the ewer which must have accompanied the basin. The suggestion is to some extent corroborated by comparing the French inscription with the Arabic inscription.

I have been greatly assisted by two learned orientalists, Mr. Clermont-Ganneau, Member of the Institute, and Mr. Max van Berchem, of the French Archaeological Mission in Cairo, in deciphering the inscription in Cufic lettering. In presenting their version I must preface it with the

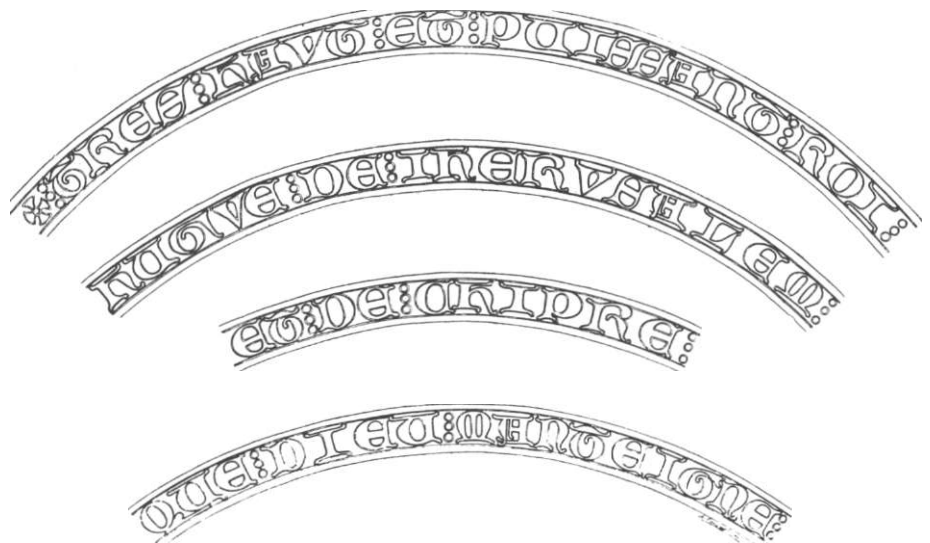


Fig. 428
Inscription on lip of
basin.

warning that since the text is unique, or at least my colleagues know of none even remotely similar, they would not wish to claim that it is either definitive or complete. The fact is that these ornamental inscriptions present a difficulty in interpretation that we Europeans, used to the Latin alphabet, cannot readily grasp. At the time when this piece was made only a very few specially learned men could decipher the script and in consequence the artist took no trouble about making his characters clear and legible. His sole purpose was to fashion something decorative and all he was concerned with was to fill the space left free by the rosettes and the other different ornaments in as attractive a manner as possible. This is demonstrated most plainly by the fact that the same inscription is repeated eight times in all, four times on the inside of the piece and four times on the outside.

The four inscriptions on the inside are disposed as follows. One, in very large characters, is divided into six sections, separated from each other by six large rosettes of which three bear the coats of arms of the Lusignan family and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The other three rosettes carry minuscule copies of the big inscription, divided into six sections. All these small inscriptions are written in a circle and identical both in sub-division and in meaning.

The translation of the text is as follows: 'This piece has been made for his Most High Majesty, his Noble Eminence, by the Master Hugh, who has tasted the benevolence of him who appears like a star to religion and to the kings of the Franks, Hugh of Lusignan, may his power endure for ever.'

I leave to my erudite collaborators, Clermont-Ganneau and Max van Berchem, the task of elucidating in a special monograph the titles used for Hugh of Lusignan; the honorifics of Most High Majesty and Noble Eminence are standard terms in Arab protocol for the King of Cyprus. They intend also to make some interesting observations on the construction of the sentence and the method of transliterating the proper names used into Arabic. I must however mention a suggestion which they have made to me and which gives a very special interest to the history of this piece.

It will be observed from the translation of the Arabic inscription given above that the artist who made the piece had the same name as the King of Cyprus, Hugh. This suggests that we might have here an Arab artist who had been taken prisoner by the King's troops, perhaps seized on board a vessel travelling from Syria to Egypt. To regain his liberty and at the same time to find favour with his powerful master this Arab artist then renounced Islam, and became a Christian, choosing the King as his patron and taking his name. To express his thanks for benefits received he made the magnificent basin which has come down to us and in the inscription which he engraved on it he has gratefully celebrated the clemency, munificence and boundless benevolence of his benefactor.

It should be remembered that at the beginning of the fourteenth century Famagusta was an entrepot for all the merchandise both of East and West and that there were then close relations between Famagusta and Venice, Queen of the Sea. Both were centres of artistic production and it is very likely that Master Hugh, the artificer of the basin, was the leader of that school of Venetian craftsmen who during the whole of the medieval period produced brassware damascened with silver in imitation of oriental brassware. They brought their skill to so fine a point that, for many of the pieces, it is now practically impossible to decide whether they are the production of a skilful Venetian engraver or of a Moslem craftsman of the Levant.

After this glance at the probable history of Hugh of Lusignan's basin it will be of interest to study more closely the decorative motifs on it.

The base is almost entirely covered by a series of nineteen medallions identical in size. They are inscribed within a circle surrounded by, first, a corona of foliage and, second, a ring of lanceolate leaves. The same motifs are repeated at the bottom of the vertical part. The nineteen medallions can be divided into two sets.

The twelve which touch the circumference of the circle bear representations of the signs of the Zodiac.

1 Aquarius. Represented as a man standing in front of a pile of burning faggots, or perhaps a furnace. On the fire is a vessel with steam coming from it. Reference to Macrobius¹ shows that 'Aquarius proves the power of the Sun which causes rain by sucking up water and vapours'. This explanation corresponds exactly with the scene represented and is entirely conclusive.

2 Pisces. The second sign of the Zodiac. The fish appear to be chasing each other; they have a fishing line round their necks to signify that fishing is good at the approach of spring.

3 Aries. The month of March is indicated by a man riding on a ram. Macrobius says 'the ancients did well to adapt the other signs also to the nature of the Sun. Thus the Ram, like the Sun, is on the left hand during the six winter months and on the right for the six months after the spring equinox.'

4 Taurus. 'The Bull is closely connected with the cult of the Sun, for the inhabitants of Heliopolis worship the bull Neton and the inhabitants of Memphis worship the bull Apis.'

In the piece under discussion this sign is represented by a man in a big turban riding on a bull.

5 Gemini. The fifth sign figures the well-known representation of the Twins. Two persons with haloes, wearing wide baggy trousers, are crouching on their heels.

'The Twins who in the myth take it in turn to live and die are nothing more than the Sun which is by turns above and below the horizon.'

6 Cancer. Represented here by a crouching figure with two pairs of

¹ *Le monde primitif* by Court de Gebelein, vol. IV

arms crossing each other and one growing in place of his head. 'The Crab by his sidelong way of walking best typifies the oblique and retrograde motion of the sun.'

7 Leo. 'The ancients consecrated to the Lion that part of the Zodiac from where the Sun produces the greatest heat and they call the sign of the Lion the house of the Sun because that animal appears to have, by nature, a substance similar to that of the Sun and because it surpasses all other animals in vivacity and heat by as much as the Sun surpasses all other stars.' This explanation, rather a long and involved one, shows why the artist has represented the month of July as a standing lion whose head is replaced by a radiant Sun.

8 Virgo. 'The Virgin, holding an ear of corn in her hand, is the power of the Sun, her virtue which ripens the fruits, and men call her Justice because she alone brings it about that men enjoy their harvests, sweet fruits of their labours.' Here the Virgin does in fact hold in her hands two long oval objects. They might be bunches of corn-ears, if a parallel is desired with the Latin author. I should prefer to suppose that when the silver inlay was still there it would have been apparent that the artist had given the Virgin palm branches, a usual attribute in medieval manuscripts.

9 Libra. The month of September is here represented by a figure with its left arm raised above its head holding in its hand the beam of a balance from which are hanging two concave dishes, as often figured in scenes of the Last Judgment on tympana over cathedral doors. This sign can be explained as typifying the equality of nights and days that occurs when the Sun reaches the autumnal equinox.

10 Scorpio. A warrior in full armour holding a broadsword is about to strike the Scorpion. This sign typifies the Sun, turned sluggish in winter, whose efforts only become noticeable in summer.

11 Sagittarius. 'Sagittarius, the lowest of the Sun's houses, is human above, a horse beneath, because he is in the lowest portion of the zodiac; nevertheless he shoots an arrow because when the Sun is born again it gives life to everything.' I have nothing to add to this explanation which corresponds perfectly to the type figured here.

12 Capricorn. Capricorn is represented here by a man in a flowing cloak holding an animal by the horns. 'It is Capricorn' says Macrobius 'who brings back the star of day above the horizon. He is like the goat whose name he bears in loving to climb to the highest places.'

It is more difficult to identify with certainty the six medallions which come below. On the central axis of the basin i.e. facing the Lusignan arms and just below the first words of the inscription '*Très Haut*', we find again a haloed Virgin accompanied by two fishes, plainly the same type as the one in the Zodiacal signs. Opposite is a God the Father, haloed, His hands raised holding the folds of His vestment. This type is quite frequent in the Middle Ages; Abraham is represented in this attitude

receiving in his bosom the souls of the elect. On either side are two military saints holding swords behind their heads, one in profile and the other full face; they are closely similar to the figure in the zodiacal signs who is engaged on killing the Scorpion. Facing, on each side of the Virgin, are two figures one of whom holds in his hands a scroll and the other is playing a stringed instrument. The medallion in the centre contains a Sun with multiple rays.

The identification of the last six medallions just mentioned is almost impossible but the artist may perhaps have intended to represent his patron the King and the saints most honoured in Cyprus at that time. We might take them as being St. Barnabas, whose tomb is near Famagusta, St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, St. Mammias of Morphou, St. Catherine of Alexandria, a Princess of Cyprus, St. Lazarus, who was buried in Larnaca, and St. Helena who brought Christianity to Cyprus and bequeathed to it the cross of the Penitent Thief. Taking a different view we might think of St. Paul, St. George, St. Peter, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Martin and St. Catherine who are the saints most frequently depicted in fourteenth-century Books of Hours. The complete absence of details which must have been chased on the silver inlay means that we are reduced to hypotheses and it would be better to devote no further time to speculation.

On the inside the vertical walls have five decorative motifs superimposed, varying in importance and richness of ornamentation. Starting from the lower register we have at the bottom a ring of lanceolate leaves whose points touch the points of a similar ornament around the edge of the horizontal part. They are attached to a frieze of foliage geometrically intertwined to leave a diamond-shaped space in the centre of which is a three-leaved clover. Above this is a second frieze with hunting scenes within a border marked off by lines. This border is skilfully treated by the artist; it takes the form of a ribbon which turns back on itself to surround the rosettes after which it returns on itself again to go back to the upper edge and then repeats the movement. It thus links together all the motifs of the decoration, separating them but emphasising their unity.

The frieze with hunting scenes is divided into six panels separated by rosettes. Each contains six animals. Starting from the point below the first words of the French inscription (*Très Haut*) the animals are disposed as follows:

1 Wolf, dromedary, panther; probably the artist intended to represent one of those trained panthers used for hunting in the Middle Ages. Tame panthers, or rather, strictly speaking, leopards were often used in the chase which, in the way it was managed, much resembled hawking. The leopards were brought to the meet on a low cart and kept hooded until the moment that a herd of deer was sighted. They were then unleashed and unhooded whereupon they took a few bounds, sprang on their prey and strangled it in an instant. They were then lured away from it by

throwing them some pieces of meat and hooded once more. The kings of Cyprus had a great passion for this form of hunting and spent vast sums on keeping tame panthers.²

2 Roe-deer (or antelope), winged griffin, winged lion; it is quite common in medieval bestiaries to combine representations of imaginary creatures with real animals.

3 Roe-deer (or antelope), griffin, elephant.

4 Fox, lion, buffalo.

5 Hyena, trained panther, hare.

6 Roe-deer (or antelope), greyhound, hyena.

These friezes with hunting scenes, of which some examples can be found in western art, were very common in oriental decoration. I have noted numerous examples on pieces found in central Asia, either on beaten brass vases or even more frequently on cast bronze mortars.

Above this frieze is the large-scale Cufic inscription already referred to, separated by medallions. On the rim, which is almost flat and parallel to the base, is the French inscription in Gothic characters. Finally, on the outside edge of the rim, is a narrow frieze of foliage between two small borders, divided into twelve panels by twelve rosettes.

The outside of the piece is as richly decorated as the inside. The ornamentation consists of the same elements as already described. Starting from the top, immediately below the strongly projecting lip, there is the same narrow frieze of foliage divided into twelve panels. Below this are the lanceolate leaves attached to a frieze of geometrically patterned foliage. Next is a hunting frieze. Starting beneath the word '*manteigne*', the last word in the French inscription, we find:

1 Bear, trained panther, antelope.

2 Wolf, dog, hyena.

3 Wolf, unicorn, elephant.

4 Lion, antelope, dog.

5 Stag, dog, hare.

6 Wolf, lion, dromedary.

In this frieze the animals are running to the right, on the one inside to the left.

Between the two hunting friezes we find the same ornamental Cufic inscriptions with the same divisions into six parts by six rosettes, the inside and outside identical.

The lowest register is decorated with a final hunting frieze in which the following animals can be distinguished:

1 Trained panther, horned antelope, trained panther.

2 Antelope, lion, wolf.

3 Winged panther, winged griffin, wolf.

4 Buck, trained panther, doe.

5 Roe-deer, trained panther, running dog - with different ears from the greyhound.

2

See above, p. 18 n. 9.

6 Hare, lion, roe-deer.

If we examine the basin to consider the technique of its manufacture we find that it is made in one piece without a join. The original casting was fairly close to its finished form but much shallower, and to bring it to its present shape the artist had to hammer out the base and the sides. By successive reheatings to a temperature high enough to prevent it becoming brittle he was able to draw out the metal into the shape corresponding to his design. It was then turned on a lathe to make it balanced and regular throughout. The proof of its perfect homogeneity is the sound it gives out when struck, like the ring of a great bell.

This method of fabrication has left some obvious traces. On the bottom of the piece when turned over there are marks of the planishing hammer used to flatten the metal and in the centre of the interior, in the middle of the design, there is a tiny hole made by the iron point of the wooden mandrel of the lathe.

I have emphasised the method of production because it shows an advanced technique and a high degree of metal-working skill.

The silver inlay was effected by the *champlevé* technique done with a chisel; the areas intended to be filled with silver being left below the level of the metal whereas the edges, slightly raised above the level, are covered with hatchings caused by repeated incisions in the metal. The hollows thus made were covered with silver leaf which was then hammered in. In this way the silver was driven into the small hatchings which held it firmly in position, following faithfully the contours and curves of the artist's design.

Unfortunately the King of Cyprus's basin has been entirely stripped of its silver. Only a few insignificant fragments of the damascening survive but from them it is manifest that after being set in position the inlay was chased and chiselled. For instance in the hunting scenes the fur and plumage of the animals was clearly indicated. The heads of the figures representing the signs of the Zodiac were fully designed and modelled by hatchings; the letters were edged with borders and shadings to indicate which letters crossed over which in the grand tangle of the large inscriptions.

Brassware with a mixture of Arab and Christian motifs and ornaments is distinctly rare. I can only think of a few examples. I shall instance first of all a shallow dish with the Lusignan arms reproduced here (Fig. 429). It is rather later in date but the technique is identical with that of the King of Cyprus's basin.

The Arabic inscriptions are of no historical interest and appear to be the work of a Christian artisan with very little knowledge of Arabic. They invoke glory, prosperity and long life on the proprietor of the piece. On general stylistic grounds I should date it to the fifteenth century.

The second example of Arab-Christian brassware that I can cite comes from the admirable collection of oriental brassware belonging to Mr. Piet



Fig 429
Plate with arms of
Cyprus Lusignan.

Latauderie, a dish, almost a tray, on which the figures decorating the background are haloed and one holds a cross in his hand.

Lastly I shall refer to a basin, rather like the one I have been describing, in the Amsterdam Museum. It bears an inscription in Gothic characters which appears to have been garbled by the artisan who engraved it. The text, which as can be seen is gravely defective, runs as follows: 'Mentem sancta spontania onorem Dei patrem Liberationis.' I am indebted to the erudition of my colleague and friend Mr. Enlart for the restoration of the text, based on a passage in the manuscript chronicle of Pantanelli of Sermoneta 'A description of an ancient bell, now destroyed, in the Cistercian abbey at Valvisciolo.' On the skirt of the bell was inscribed the prayer to St. Michael against lightning 'Mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem Deo et patrie liberacionem.' The bell was dated 1244 and bore the maker's mark "3F.

Although the inscription is not in itself of outstanding historical interest it is of value as showing that this Arab-Christian piece of brassware was probably made in Italy in the workshop of a bell-founder who used the inscription as an ornamental motif without understanding its precise meaning. The escutcheon accompanying the prayer against lightning, which is inserted four times into it, is divided per pale, one side bearing arms which I have been unable to identify and the other the royal arms of the Bourbons of Sicily. The first quarter is 'or, four pales gules (Leon), in the second quarter or, four pales gules (Aragon) divided by Aragon-Sicily which is the same, with flanches argent, two eagles sable.'³

This piece, undoubtedly of the greatest interest, was brought to my attention by Messrs. Duseigneur, antiquaries, who are largely responsible for the current popularity in France of fine oriental brassware.

Today, when so much enthusiasm is being shown for the development of an 'Art Nouveau' it is worth while studying these works by the most skilful artisans of the Middle Ages because by learning to understand them with full knowledge we may perhaps discover the secret of this style of ornament which successfully combines richness with restraint and which, though we may succeed in emulating, we can never surpass.

(Editor's note.) The coat of arms, as described, can hardly be that of the Bourbon kings of Sicily, the earliest of whom came to the throne in the eighteenth century. It may be Aragon-Sicily, but does not appear to be correctly blasoned by Monsieur d'Allemagne.

GLOSSARY

The French equivalent is given except where the spelling is identical. Drawings in this section are published by courtesy of Penguin Books from their *Dictionary of Architecture*, John Fleming, Hugh Honour, Nikolaus Pevsner, drawings by David Etherton (London, 1970 and several reprints).

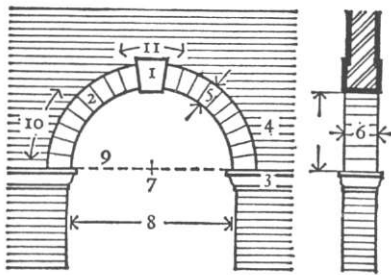
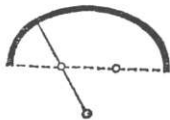


Fig. I. Arch.

- 1 Keystone
- 2 Voussoirs
- 3 Impost
- 4 Abutment
- 5 Extrados
- 6 Intrados
- 7 Centre
- 8 Span
- 9 Springing line
- 10 Haunch
- 11 Crown



Basket arch



Lancet arch



Fig. II. Astragal.

ABACUS (tailloir)

The topmost member of a capital.

ABSIDIOLE

A small apse or apsidal chapel (Fig. 73).

ACROTHERION (acrotère)

A gable ornament (Fig. 129).

AEDICULE (édicule)

A decorative feature resembling a small temple with a gable.

AMBULATORY (déambulatoire)

The aisle around the east end of a church behind the altar.

APSE

A semi-circular or polygonal structure terminating the sanctuary at the east end of a church.

ARCHITRAVE

The lower part of an entablature (Fig. VII).

ASHLAR (pierre de taille)

Masonry of squared stones.

ASTRAGAL (astragale)

A narrow semi-circular moulding often found on the lowest member of a capital or entablature (Figs. II and VII).

AUMBREY (armoire)

A cupboard for sacred vessels.

BAILEY (bailie)

The defended courtyard of a castle.

BARBICAN (barbacane)

A defensive work in front of a gate.

BASKET ARCH (arc en anse de panier)

A three-centred arch resembling a basket handle (Fig. I).

BASTION

A defensive work.

BATTER (fruit)

Inward slope of a wall.

BANDELET (bandeau)

A narrow flat moulding.

BEAD, BEAD MOULDING

(baguette)

A narrow cylindrical moulding, often decorated with ornaments resembling beads.

BELL (corbeau)

The main part of a capital.

BELVEDERE (belvédère)

An open structure which provides a view.

BILLET MOULDING (billette)

A moulding of short square or cylindrical pieces placed at regular intervals (Fig. III).

BIRD'S BEAK (onglet)

A moulding which, in section, shows a sharp slightly curved edge.

BOSSAGE

Protruding bosses on masonry blocks.

BRACKET (culot)

A small supporting block to carry a projecting weight (Fig. 80)/

BRATTICE (bretèche)

A corbelled external gallery commanding the foot of a wall (Fig. 399).

BUTTRESS (contrefort)

GLOSSARY

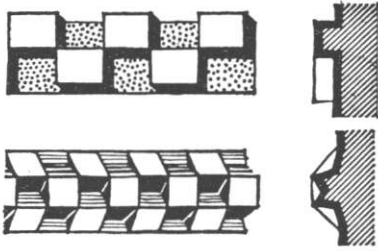


Fig. III. Billet.

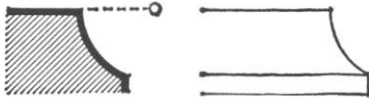


Fig. IV. Cavetto moulding.

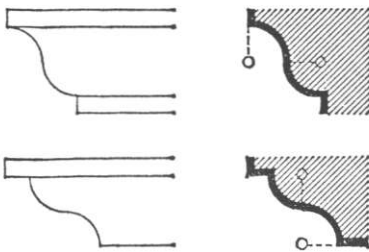


Fig. V. Cyma recta; cyma reversa.



Fig. VI. Dog-tooth.

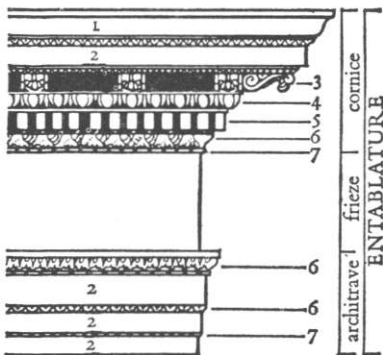


Fig. VII. Entablature.

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1 Cyma recta | 5 Dentils |
| 2 Facia | 6 Cyma reversa |
| 3 Modillions | 7 Astragal |
| 4 Ovolo | |

A masonry construction used to strengthen a wall against the thrust of an arch or roof (Fig. 34).

CAVETTO (cavet)

A concave moulding (Fig. IV)

CHAMFER (biseau)

A bevel made by cutting across the edge of something originally right-angled.

CHEVET

The east end of a church, including sanctuary and ambulatory.

CONGE

A concave quadrant moulding joining two architectural elements.

CONSOLE

A bracket, usually large and decorated.

CORBEL (corbeau)

A projecting block supporting a weight (Fig. 193).

CORNICE (corniche)

The upper part of an entablature; a feature crowning a wall (Fig. 51).

CRENELLATED (crénelé)

Surmounted by battlements (Fig. 367).

CROCKET (crochet)

A projecting ornament of stylised leaves (Fig. 210).

CUSP (redent)

A projecting point in tracery formed by the intersection of two curves.

CYMA RECTA (doucine)

A double moulding, S-shaped in section, concave above and convex below (Figs. V and VII).

CYMA REVERSA (trace à contre-courbe)

A double moulding, S-shaped in section, convex above and concave below (Figs. V and VII).

DIAPER (point de diamant)

A repeated pattern of small lozenges.

DOG-TOOTH ORNAMENT (denticles)

A pattern of tooth-like relief ornaments, pyramidal in shape (Fig. VI).

DORTER (dortoir)

Communal sleeping quarters in a monastery.

DOSSERET

A vertical projection serving as the lower part of a transverse rib engaged with the wall or framing a door or window.

DRIP-STONE, DRIP-MOULDING (larmier)

A projecting stone or moulding to shed water (Fig. IX).

EMBRASURE

The splayed recess of a door or window (Fig. 413).

ENCEINTE

The walls surrounding a castle or a city (Fig. 371).

ENCORBLEMENT (encorbellement)

A continuous series of corbels (Fig. 193).

EN DELIT

Term used of a block of stone set at right angles to its natural grain.

ENTABLATURE (entablement)

The upper part of an architectural order, from architrave to cornice (Fig. VII).

ESCUTCHEON (écusson)

A shield or a small shield-shaped decorative motif (Fig. 354).

EXTRADOS

The upper surface of an arch (Fig. I).

FILLET (filet)

A narrow flat band separating or decorating the surface of mouldings (Fig. VIII).

FINIAL (fleuron)

A crowning ornament over an arch or pinnacle (Fig. 170).

FLAMBOYANT

A Late-Gothic style characterised by wavy tracery.

FLYING BUTTRESS (arc-boutant)

An arch or segment of an arch transmitting the thrust of an arch or roof to an external buttress (Fig. 46).

FORMERET

The lateral rib of a vault parallel

GLOSSARY

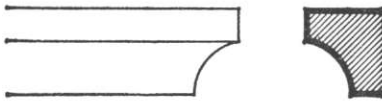


Fig. VIII. Fillet.



Fig. IX. Hood-mould

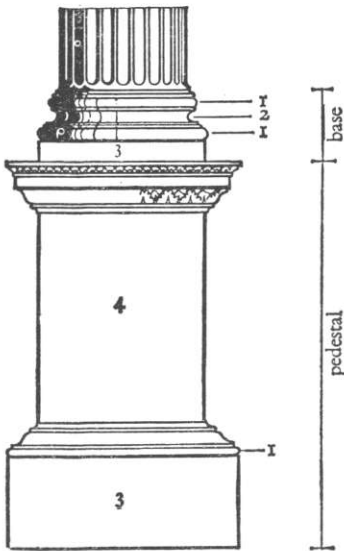


Fig. X. Pedestal

- | | |
|----------|---------------|
| 1 Torus | 3 Plinth |
| 2 Scotia | 4 Die or dado |



Fig. XI. Roof boss.



Fig. XII. Scotia.

to its axis, set against the wall; also wall-rib (Fig. 4).

GADROON (godron)
A convex ornament on a curved surface.

GARGOYLE (gargouille)
An ornamental water-spout (Fig. 213).

GARTH (préau)
The central enclosure in a cloister.

HOOD-MOULD (larmier)
The drip-stone or drip-moulding over a window or door (Fig. IX).

ICONOSTASIS (iconostase)
The screen in front of the sanctuary in an Orthodox church.

IMPOST (imposte)
The part of the wall, usually moulded, supporting an arch (Figs. 246 and I).

JAMB (jambage)
The vertical side-pieces of a door or window.

LUNETTE
(1) A half-moon-shaped opening;
(2) A similarly-shaped bastion.

MACHICOLATION (machicoulis)
An external gallery supported on corbels with holes in the floor for dropping missiles on enemies below (Fig. 409).

MERLON
The upward-pointing portion of a battlement.

MINARET
A tall tower attached to a mosque and used for the call to prayer (Fig. 29).

MITRED ARCH (arc en mitre)
A straight-sided pointed arch.

MODILLION
A small bracket, usually in scroll form and part of a series (Figs. 3 and VII).

MULLION (meneau)
A vertical member dividing a window into two or more lights (Fig. 50).

NARTHEX

Interior subdivision of a church, at west end.

NOOK-SHAFT (colonnette profilée)

A colonnette set in the angle of a window, pier etc. (Fig. 4).

OEIL-DE-BOEUF

A round window (Fig. 265).

OGEE ARCH (arc en accolade)

An arch composed of two reversed S-shaped curves.

ORDER (ordre)

A column with base, shaft and entablature.

OVOLO

A convex moulding, either a quarter of a circle or an arc of an ellipse (Fig. VII).

PARVIS

An enclosed space before a church (Fig. 129).

PENDENTIVE (pendentif)

A device for supporting a dome over a square on a triangular construction at each angle.

PILASTER (pilastre)

A square engaged column.

PISCINA (piscine)

A niche with a stone basin for washing sacred vessels (Fig. 187).

PLINTH (plinthe)

The pedestal of a column (Fig. X).

QUADRANT MOULDING (quart de rond)

A convex moulding a quarter of a circle in profile (Fig. 369).

QUADRILOBE

An opening in the form of four leaves.

QUATREFOIL (quatrefeuilles)

A circle of tracery divided by cusps into four leaves (Fig. 374).

RETABLE

An altarpiece.

RETURN (retour)

Any subsidiary feature at right angles to the main structure.

ROOF BOSS (clef de voûtes)

Ornament placed at the junction of the vaulting ribs (Fig. 184).

GLOSSARY

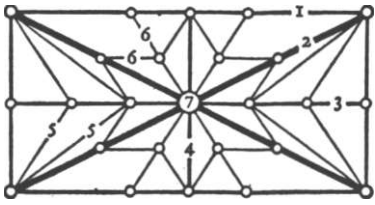


Fig. XIII. Vault.



Barrel vault



Groin vault



Rib vault

- 1 Transverse rib
- 2 Diagonal rib
- 3 Transverse ridge-rib
- 4 Longitudinal ridge-rib
- 5 Tierceron
- 6 Liemes
- 7 Boss

ROSE-WINDOW (rose)

A round window with tracery radiating like the spokes of a wheel (Fig. 86).

SCARP and COUNTERSCARP (escarpe et contrescarpe)

The defences on either side of a moat.

SCOTIA (scotie)

A deep concave moulding, usually between two toruses (Figs. X and XII).

SHAFT-RING (annelet)

A moulding encircling a column (Fig. 36).

SPANDREL (écoinçon)

One of the two triangular spaces between the extrados of an arch and its frame.

SPLAY (ébrasement)

Slanting edge of a door or window.

SPRING (retombée)

The point at which an arch rises from its supports.

SPRINGER (sommier)

The lowest voussoir in an arch.

STRING-COURSE (cordon)

A continuous horizontal band, often marking the division between storeys.

STYLOBATE (soubassement)

The substructure of a building or colonnade.

TALON

An ogee moulding.

TAS-DE-CHARGE

The lower part of an arch or vault, made from a single block and bonded into the wall.

TCHIFLIK

An hereditary country estate of the Turkish period.

TORUS (tore)

A convex moulding, usually semi-circular in profile (Fig. X).

TRANSVERSE RIB (doubleau)

A rib at right angles to the wall, extending across a vault (Fig. XIII).

TREFOIL (Trèfle)

A piece of tracery divided by cusps into three leaves (Fig. 187).

TRIFORIUM

An arched passage opening onto the nave above the aisle vaulting.

TRIGLYPH (triglyphe)

A slab carved with three vertical channels.

TRILOBE

An opening in the form of three leaves.

TYMPANUM (tympan)

The flat surface above the lintel and below the arch of a doorway.

UNDERCROFT (sous-sol)

A vaulted basement room beneath a church or monastery.

VAULT, BARREL (voûte en berceau)

The simplest form of semi-circular or pointed vault (Fig. XIII).

VAULT, GROINED (voûte d'arêtes)

A vault produced by the intersection at right angles of two barrel vaults (Fig. XIII).

VAULT, RIBBED (voûte d'ogives)

A vault supported on a framework of diagonally-intersecting arched ribs (Fig. XIII).

VOUSSOIR

One of the wedge-shaped stones composing an arch (Fig. I).

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PLATE I. John II, King of Cyprus, wrongly named Philip
(Diary of Georg von Ehingen, Stuttgart Library).



PLATE II. Catherine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus (School of Bellini;
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia).



PLATE III. The Larnaca tympanum (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

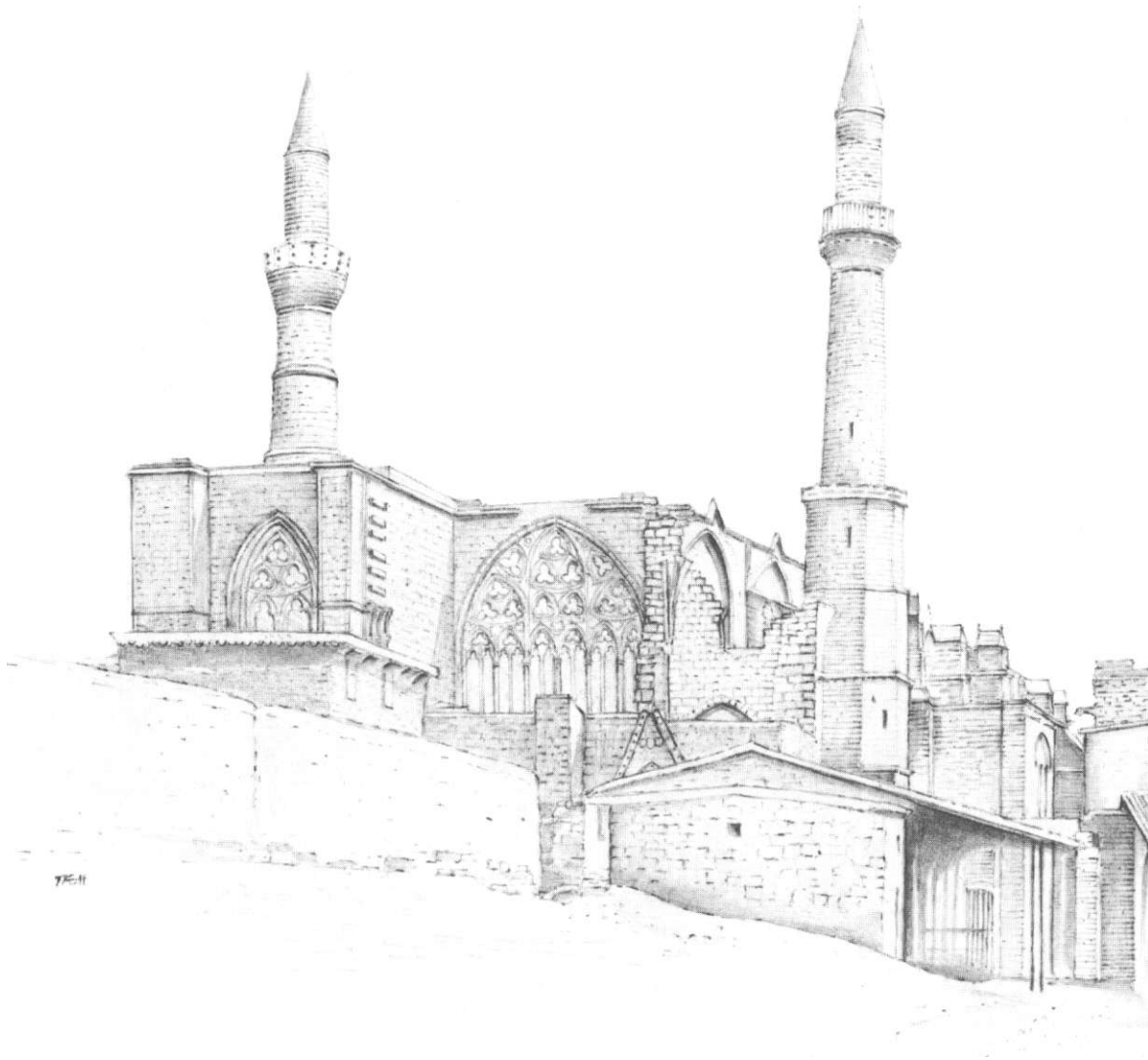


PLATE IV. The cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia (Selimiye Mosque); from west



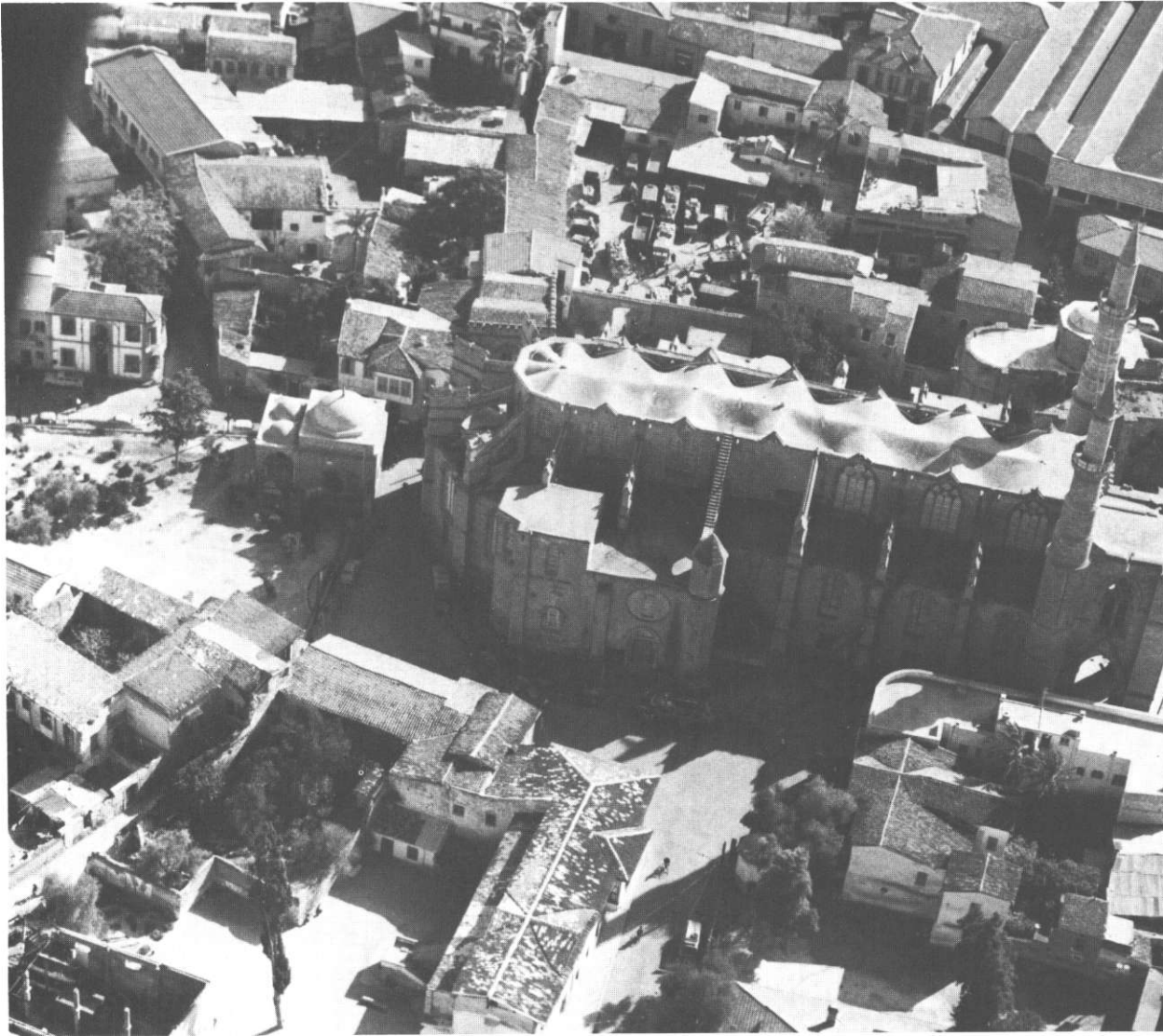
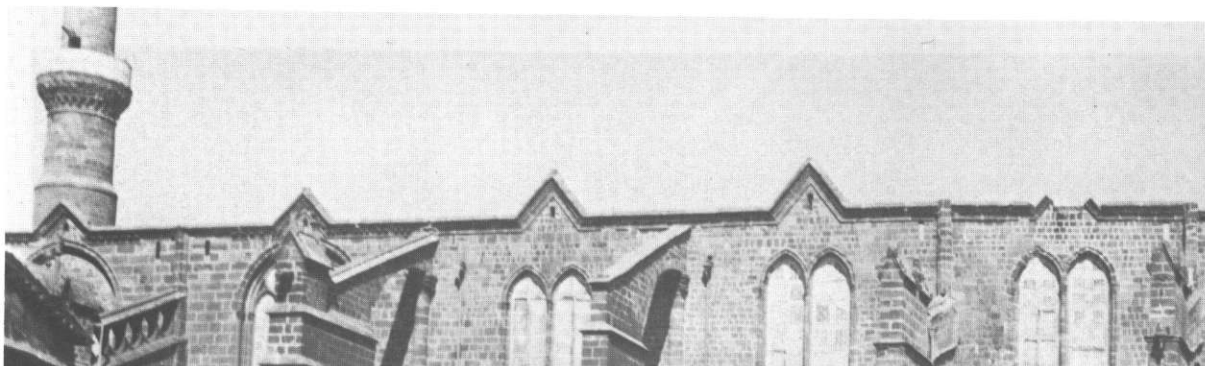


PLATE VI. Aerial view of the cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia; from north.



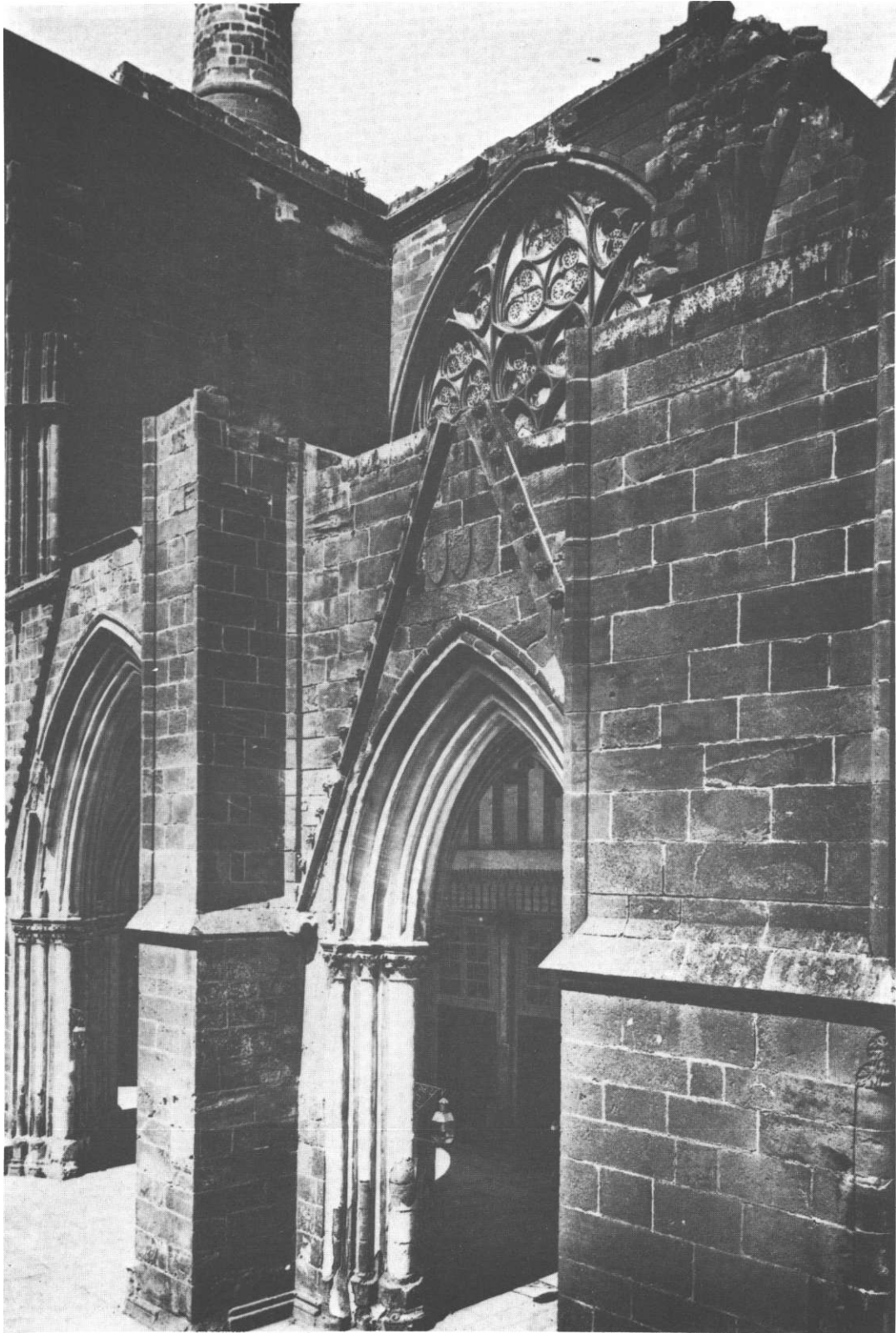


PLATE VIII. The cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia; the porch.

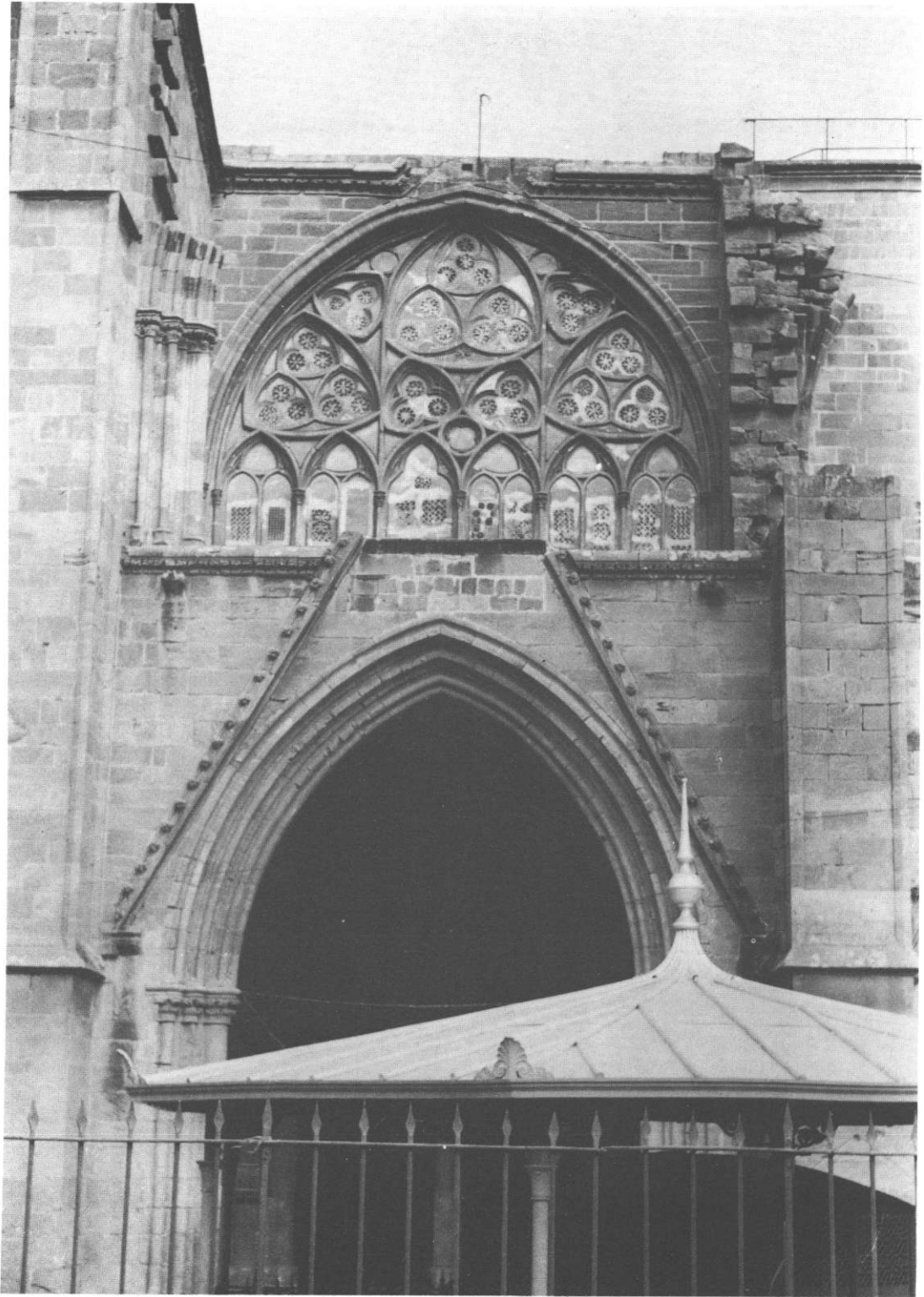


PLATE IX. The cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia; central doorway of porch.



PLATE X. The cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia; nave.

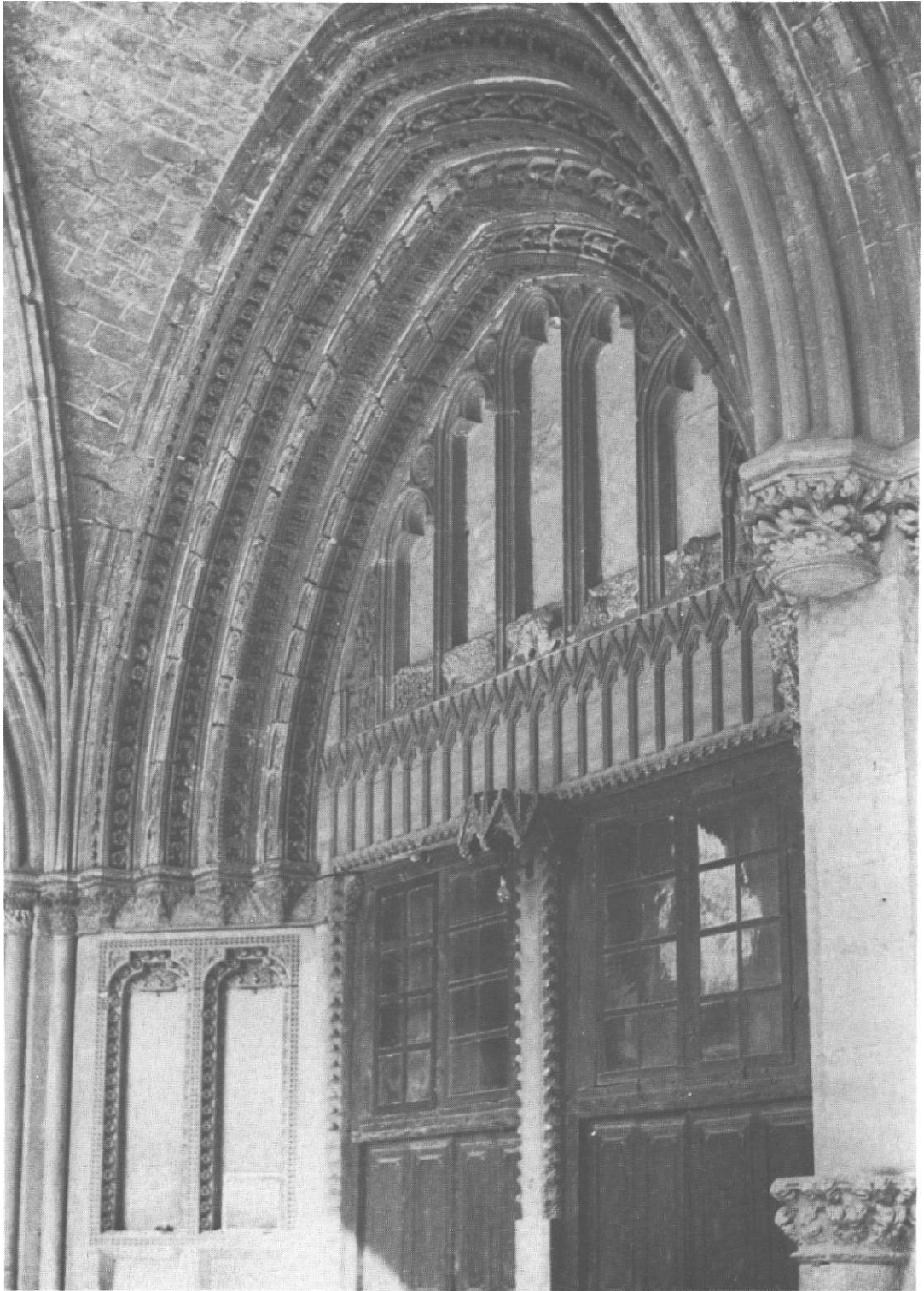


PLATE XI. The cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia; main west doorway.



PLATE XII. The cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia; detail of central doorway.





PLATE XIV. The church of St. Nicholas, Nicosia (Bedestan); main doorway.

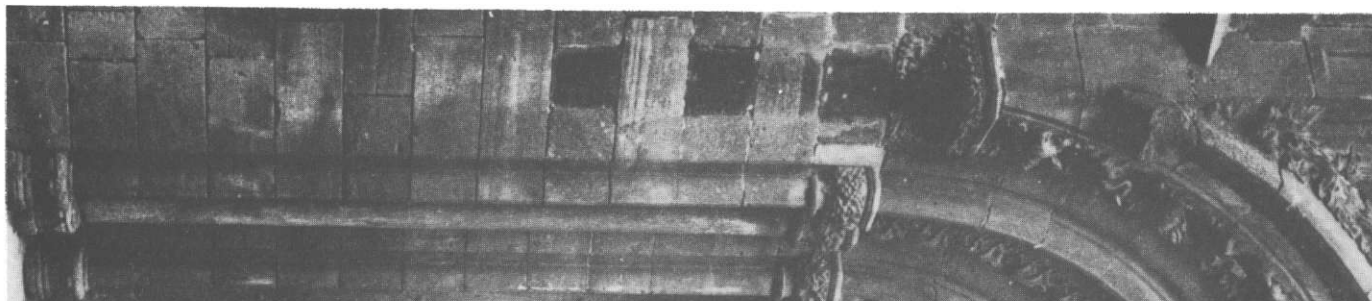
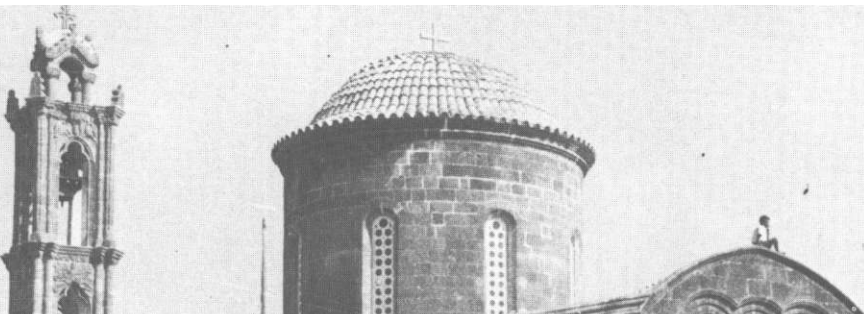


PLATE XV. The chu

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PLATE XVI. The church of St. George of the Latins (Büyük Hammam).



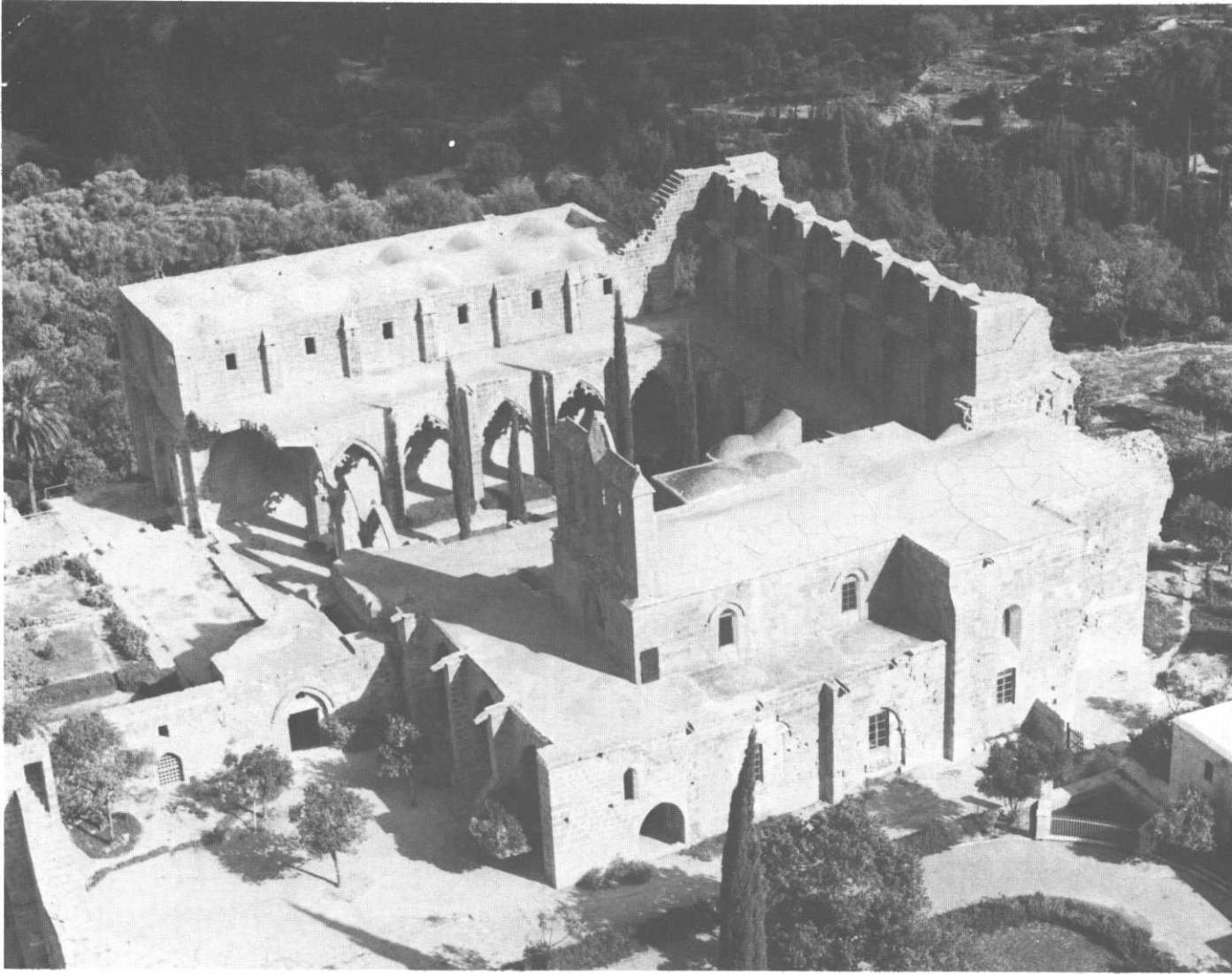


PLATE XVIII. Aerial view of Bellapais Abbey.



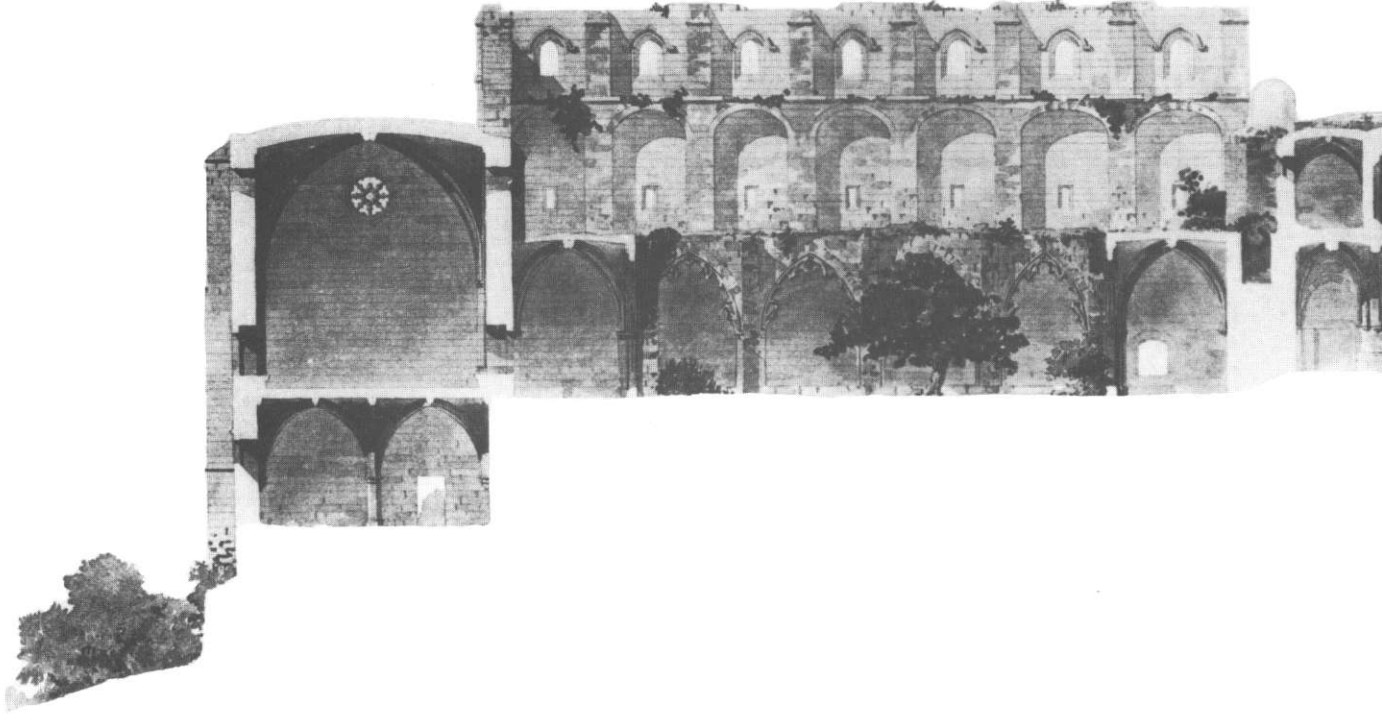
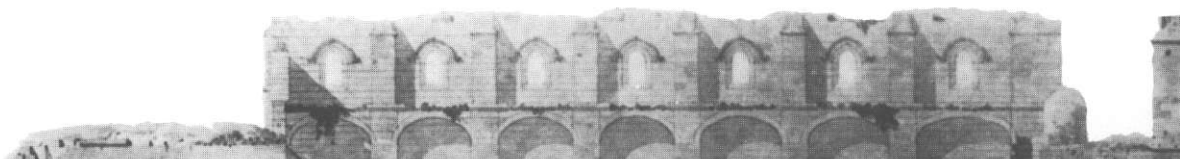


PLATE XX. Bellapais Abbey in 1865; transverse section north to south.



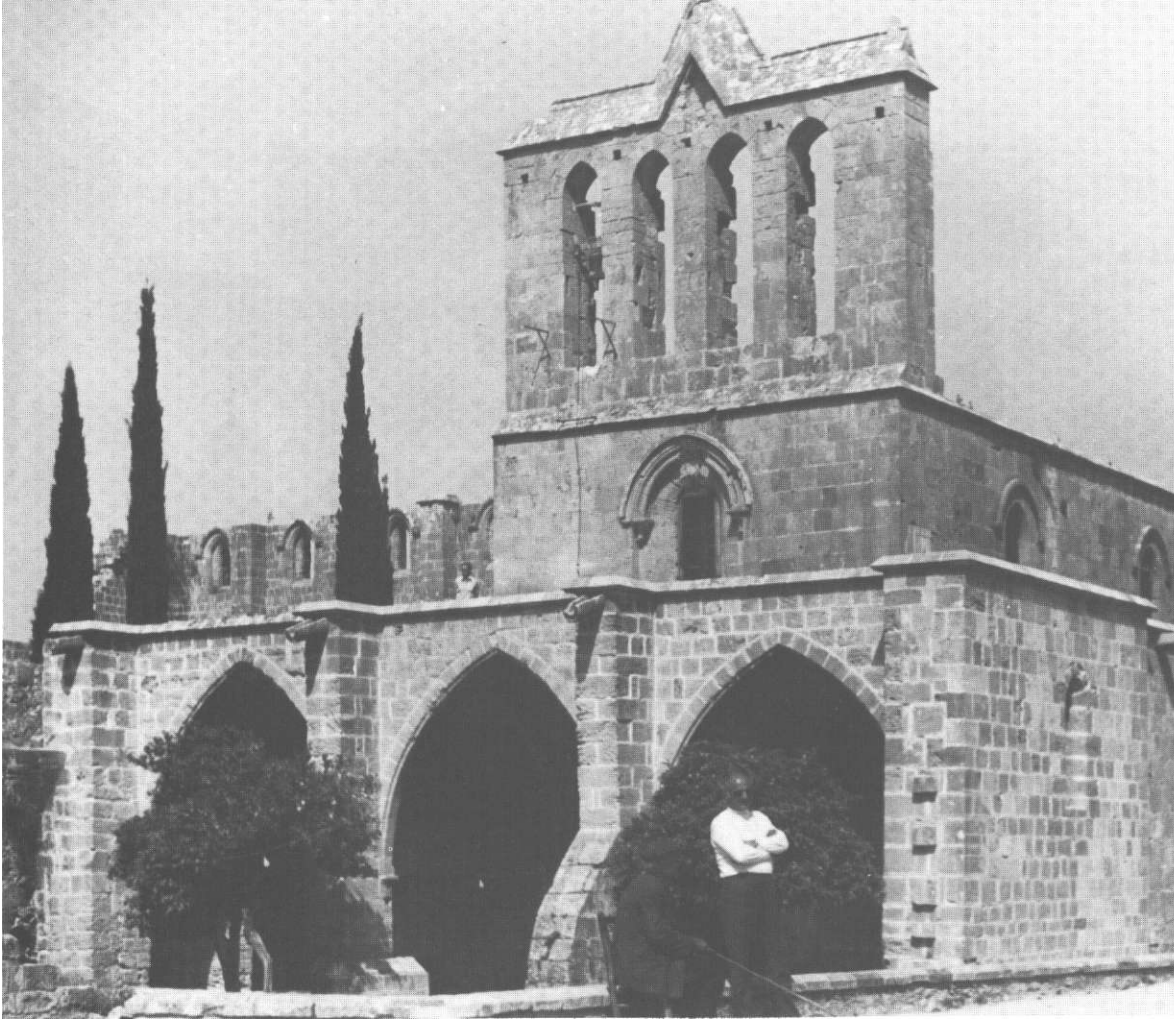


PLATE XXII. Bellapais Abbey; the church.



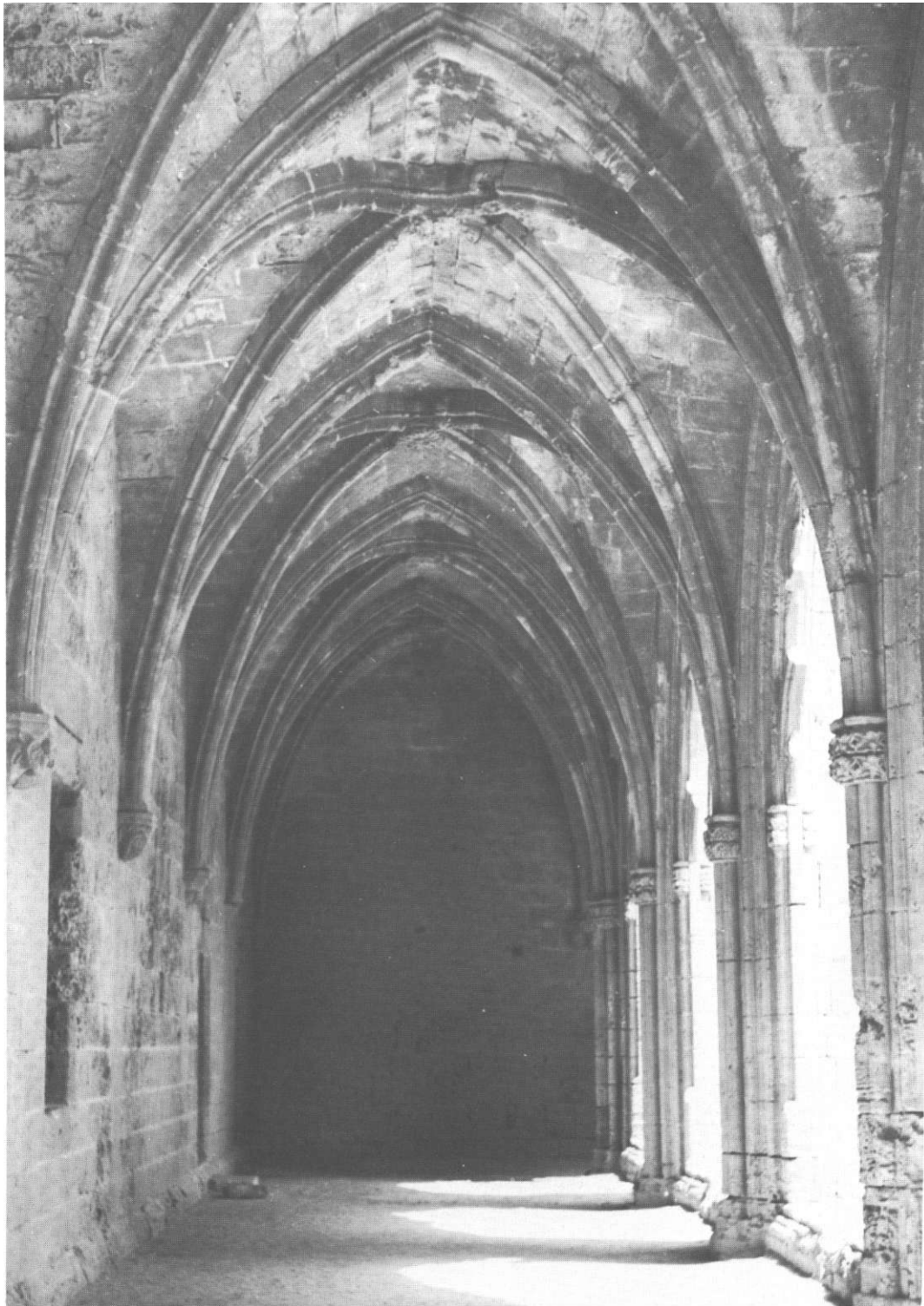


PLATE XXIV. Bellapais Abbey; cloisters, east walk.

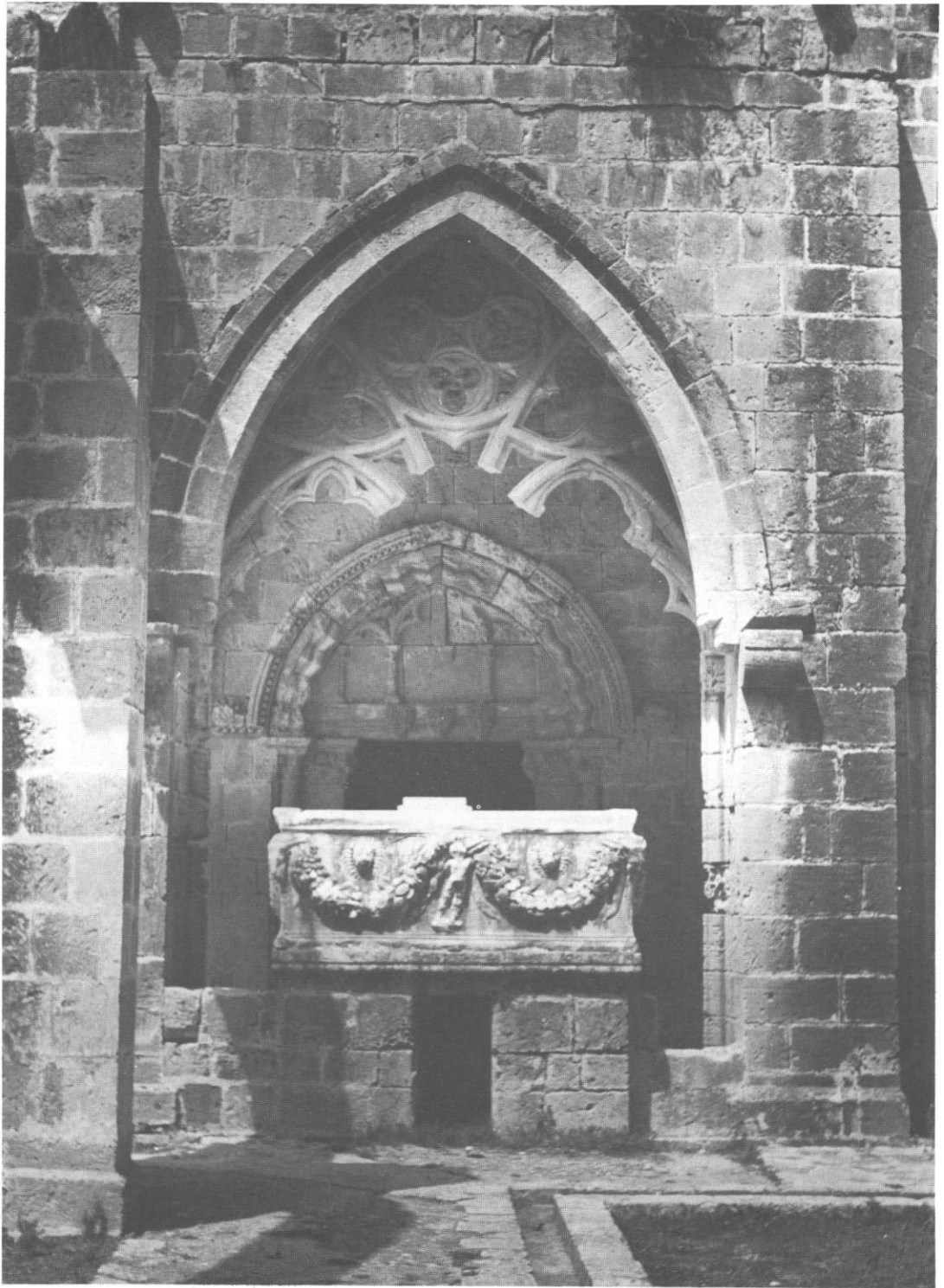


PLATE XXV. Bellapais Abbey; refectory door, with ancient sarcophagus reused as lavabo.

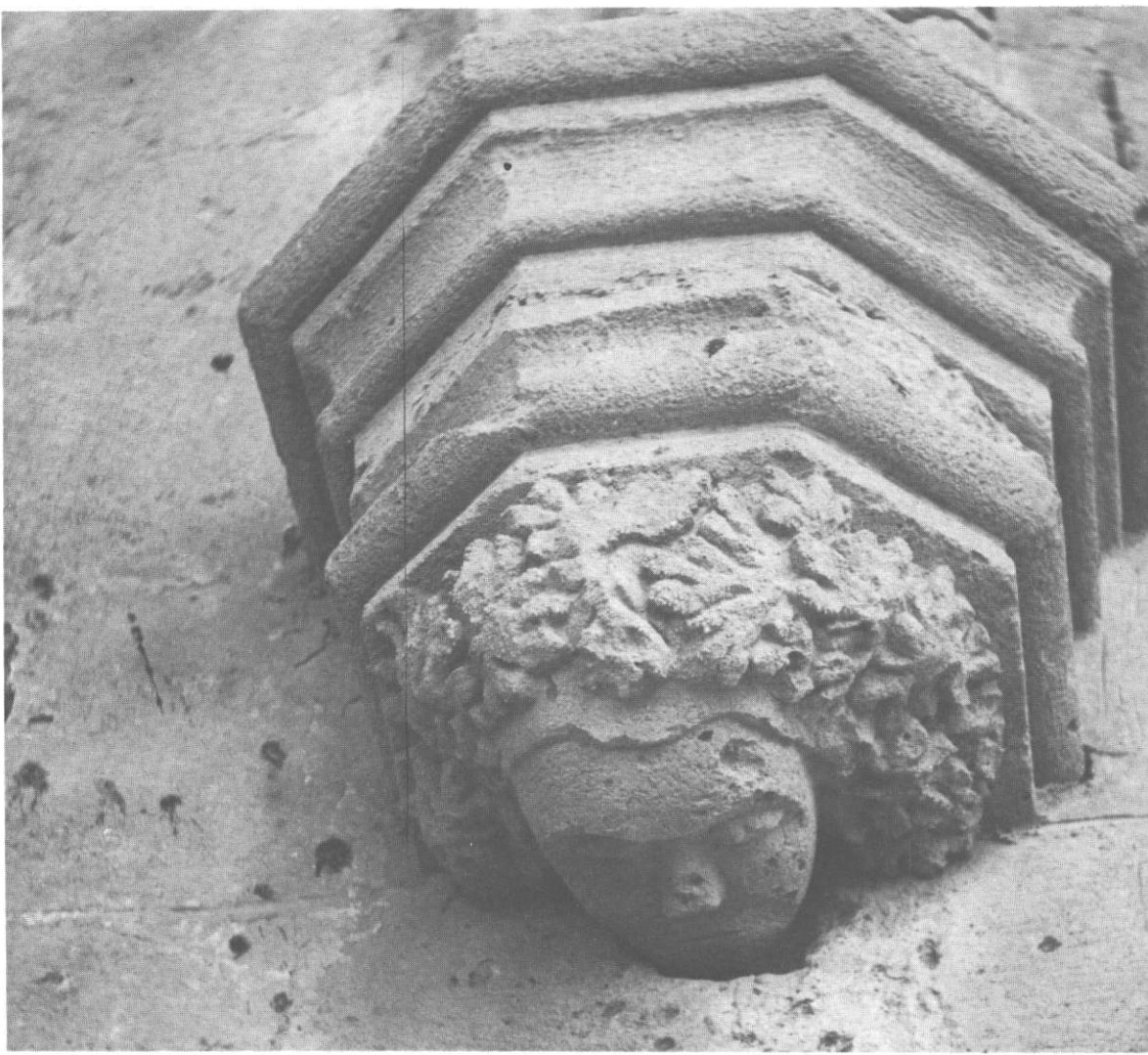


PLATE XXVI. Bellapais Abbey; south cloister walk, corbel.



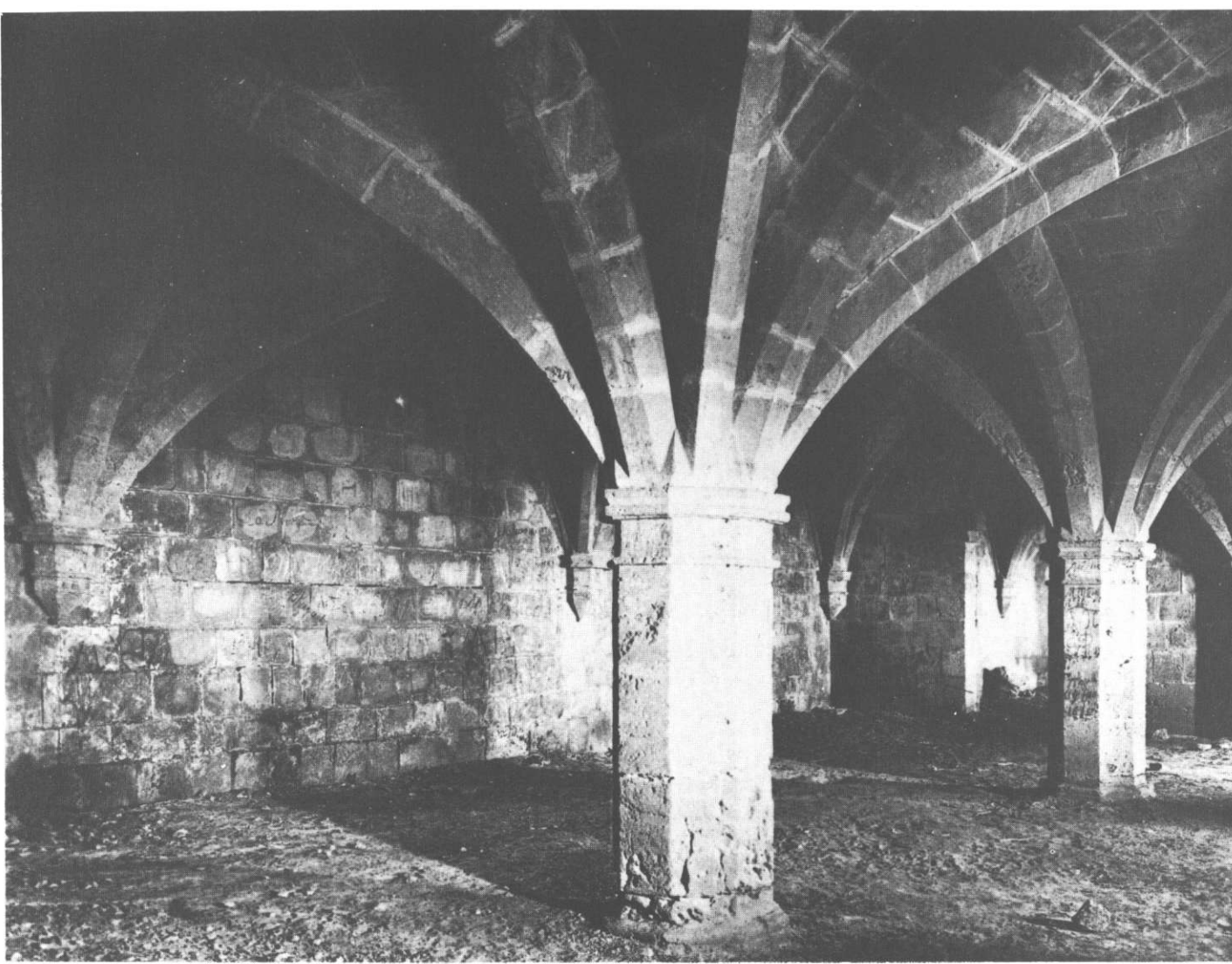
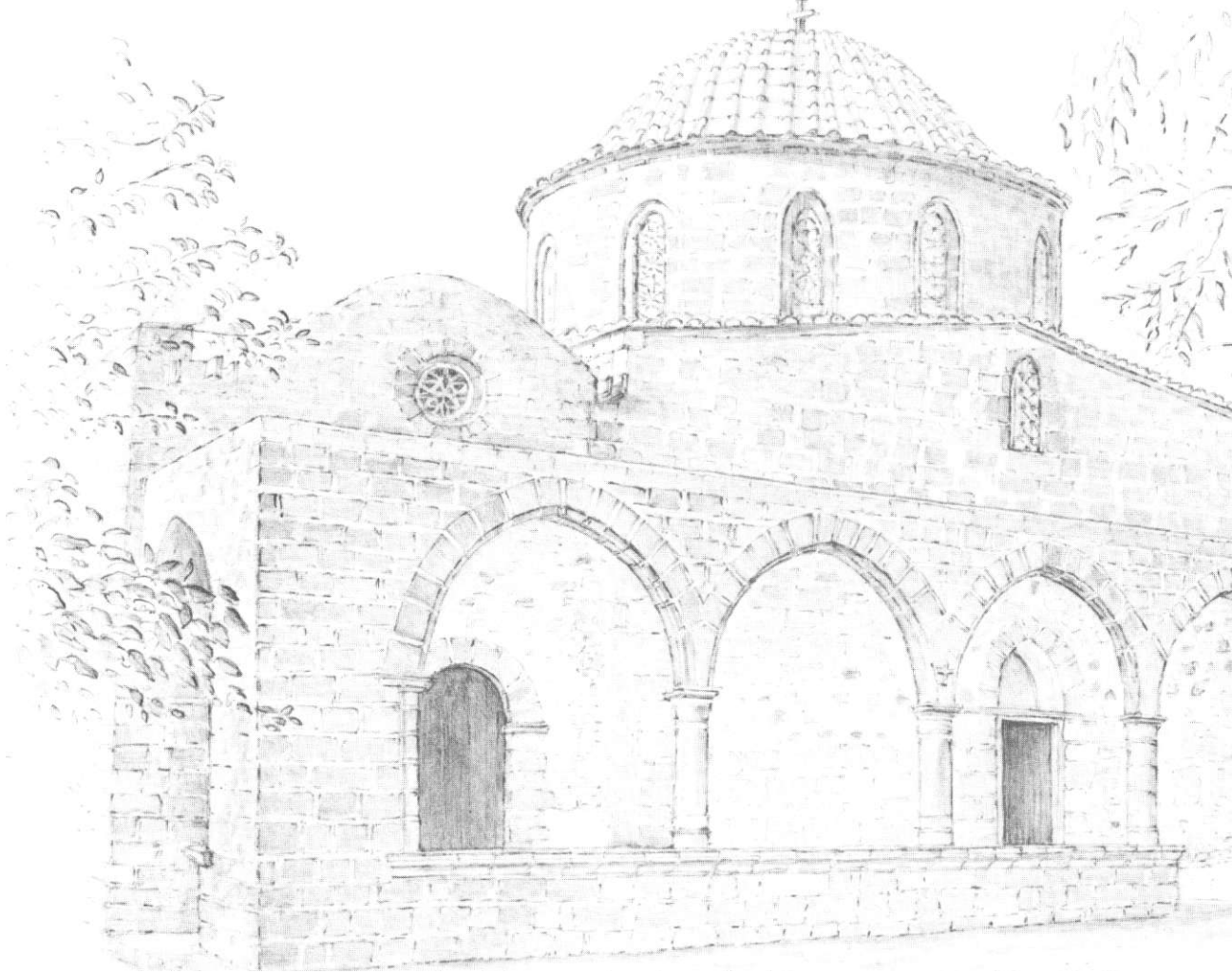


PLATE XXVIII. Bellapais Abbey; the undercroft.





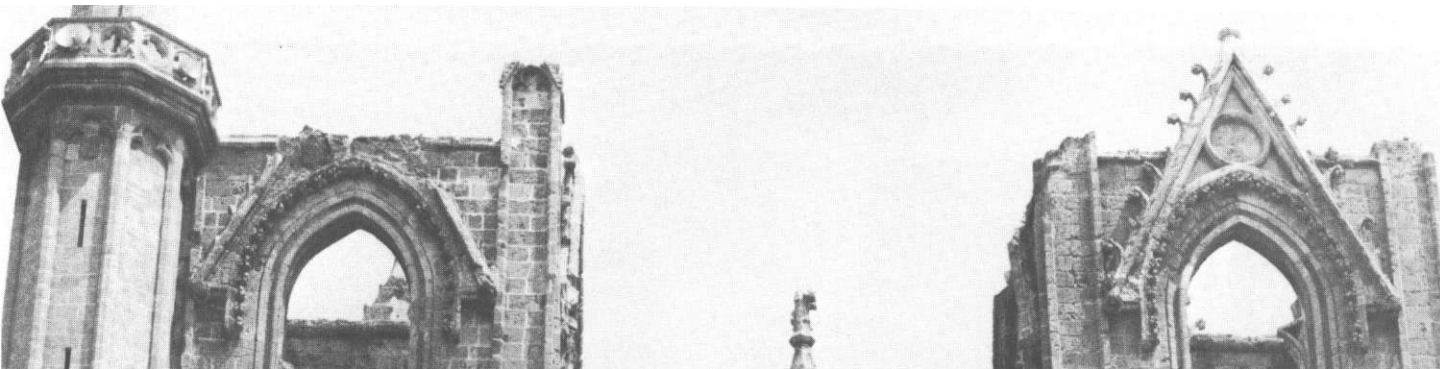
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PLATE XXX. The church of Antiphonitis; south side.





PLATE XXXII. The cathedral of St. Nicholas and partial view of the ramparts, Famagusta.



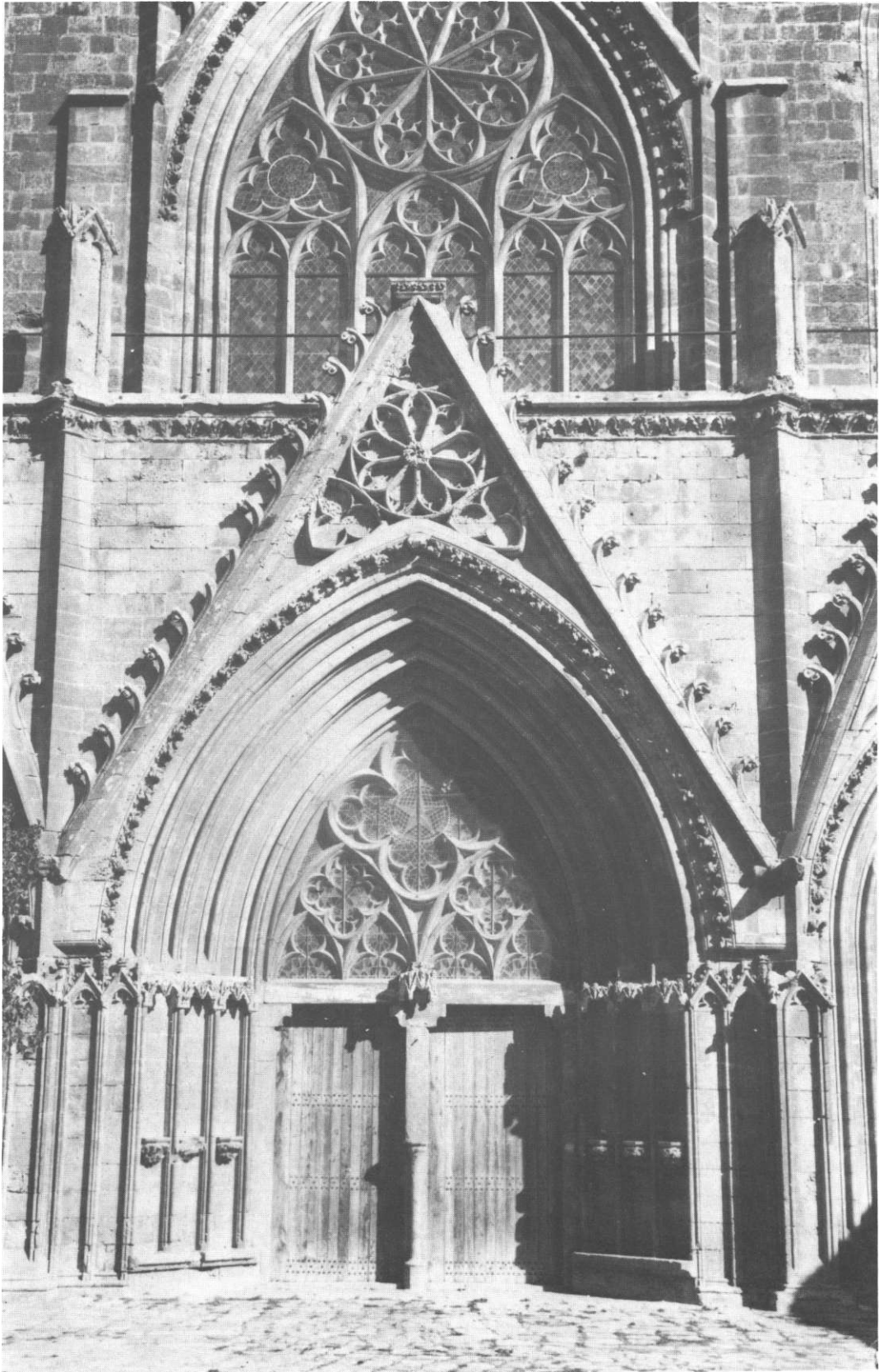


PLATE XXXIV. The cathedral of St. Nicholas, Famagusta; central west doorway.

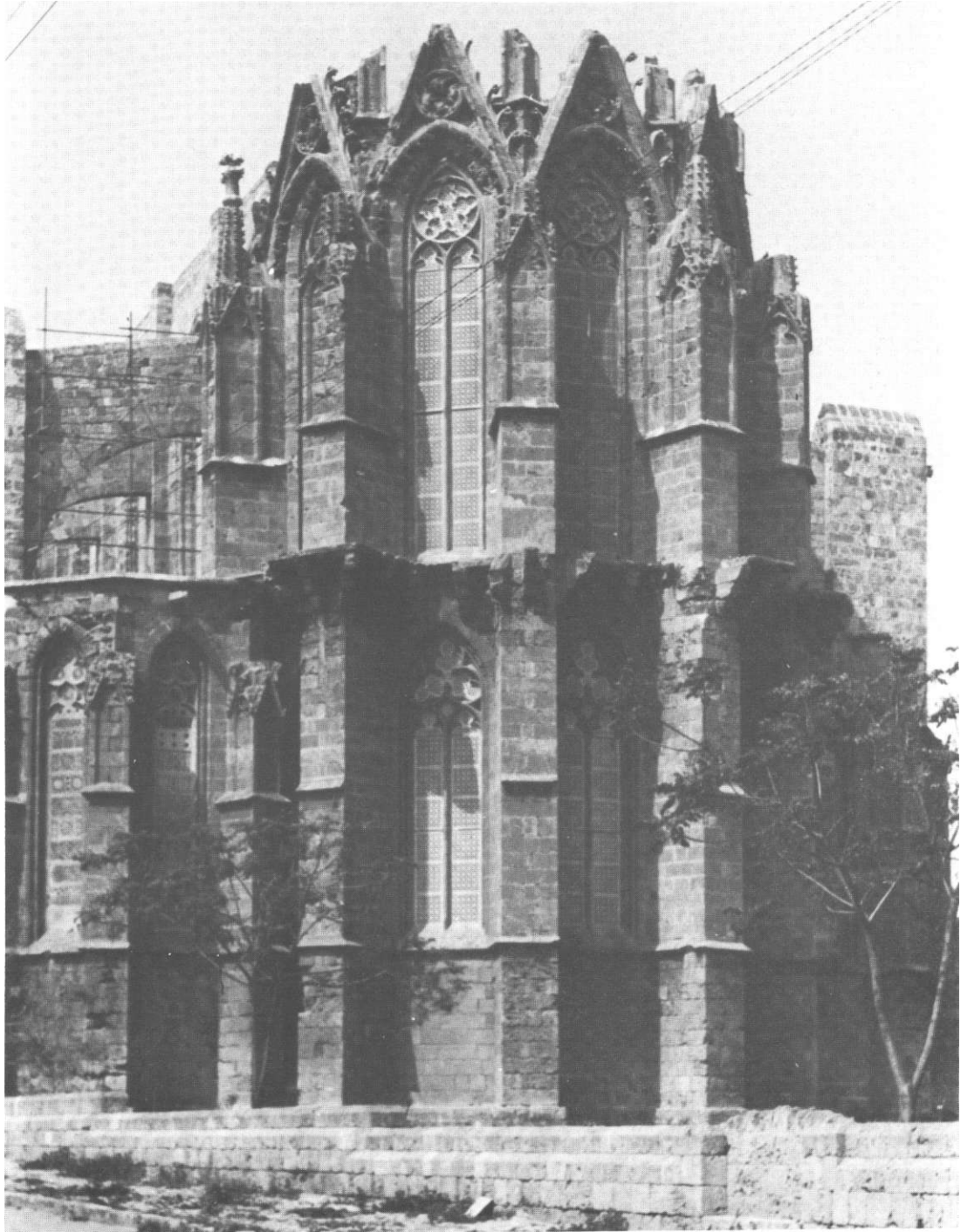


PLATE XXXV. The cathedral of St. Nicholas, Famagusta; east end.

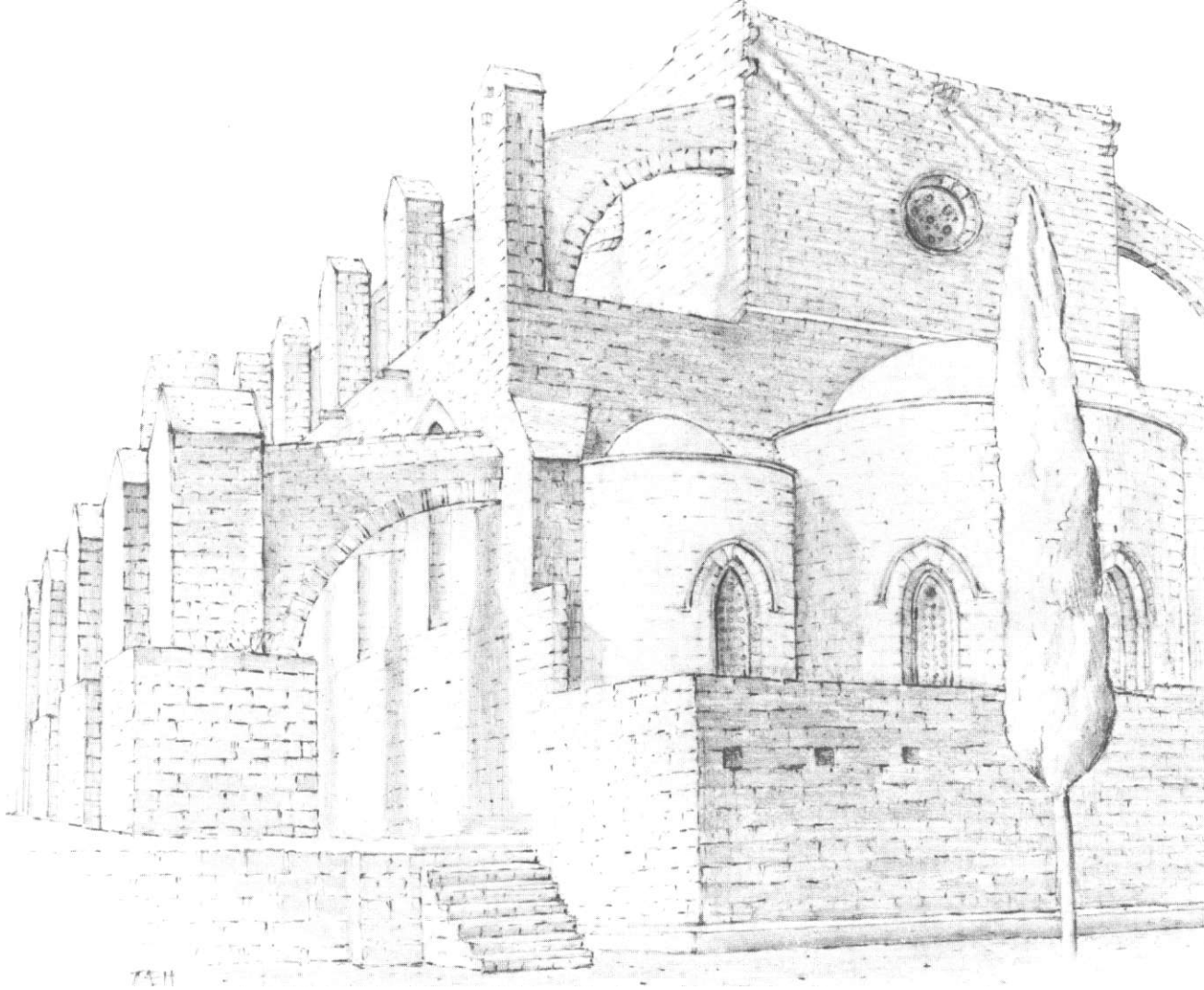


PLATE XXXVI. The church of SS. Peter and Paul, Famagusta; from south-east.

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PLATE XXXVIII. The church of SS. Peter and Paul, Famagusta; north door, detail.



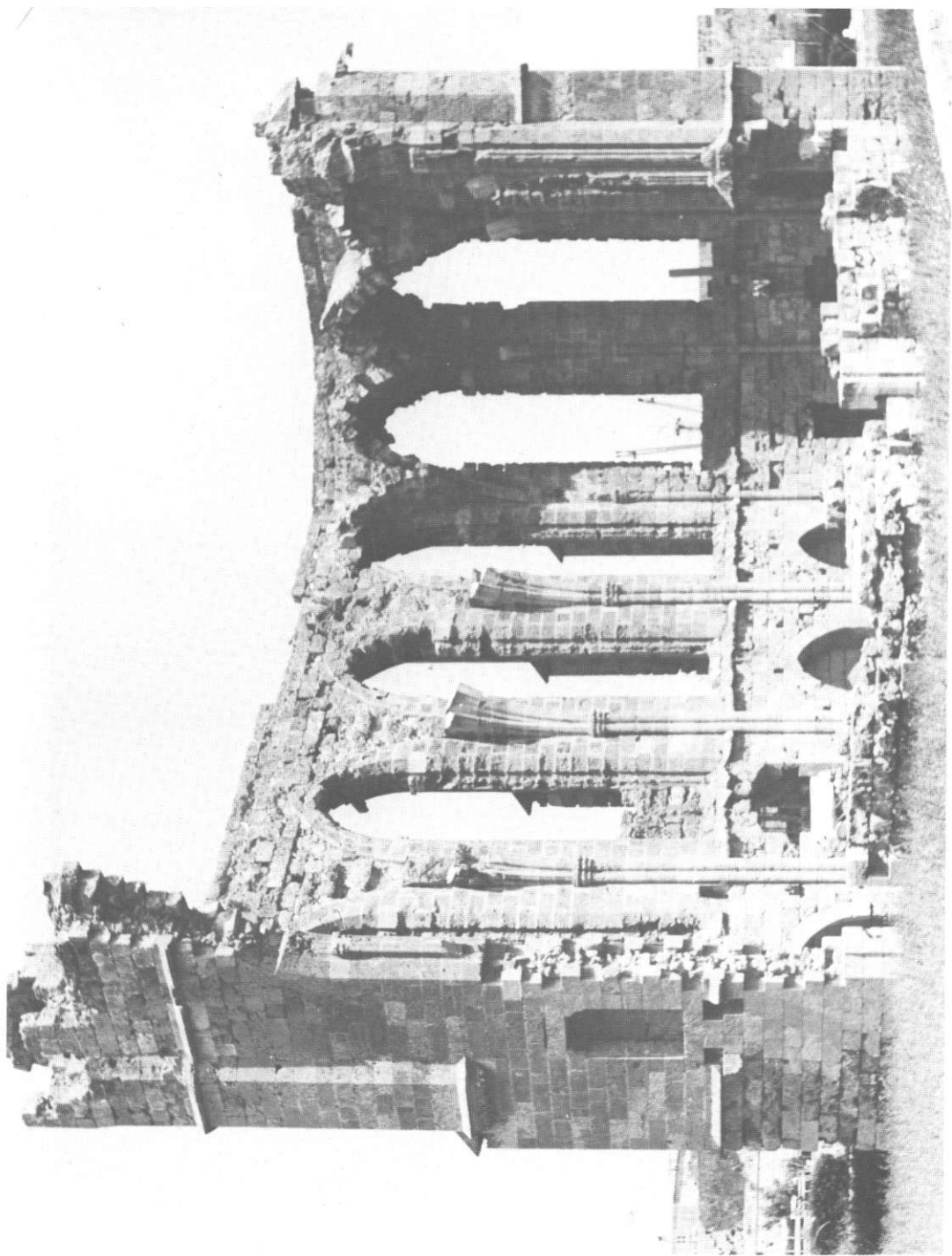


PLATE XL. The church of St. George of the Latins, Famagusta; from south-west.



PLATE XLI. The church of St. George of the Latins, Famagusta; north doorway.



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PLATE XLII. The monastery of Ayia Napa; with façade of church on the left.





PLATE XLIV. The Angeloktistos church, Kiti.





PLATE XLVI. Fragment of a funerary monument with relief carving representing a Prince of the Lusignan family (The Louvre).

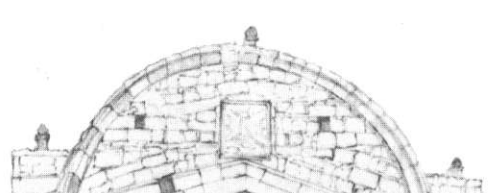




PLATE XLVIII. The Royal Palace, Serai, Nicosia.

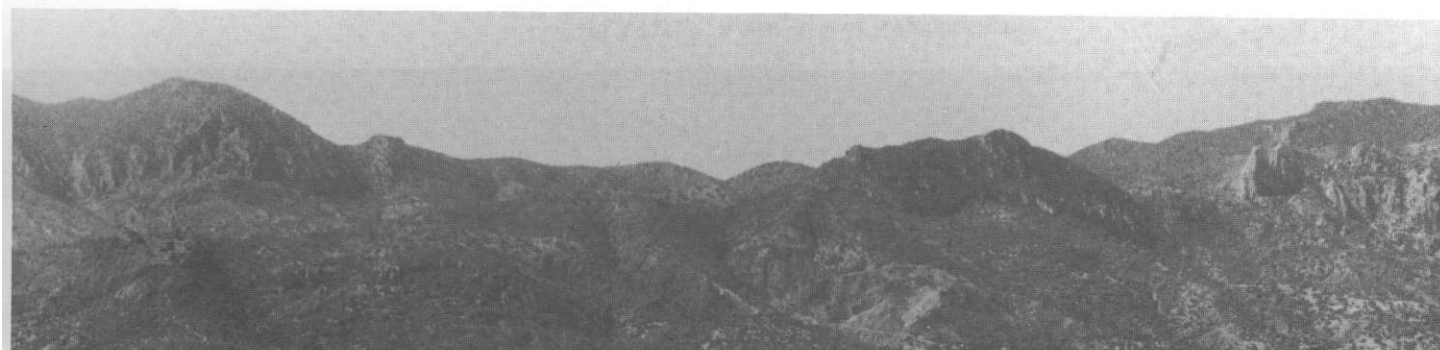




PLATE L. Aerial view of Kyrenia Castle.

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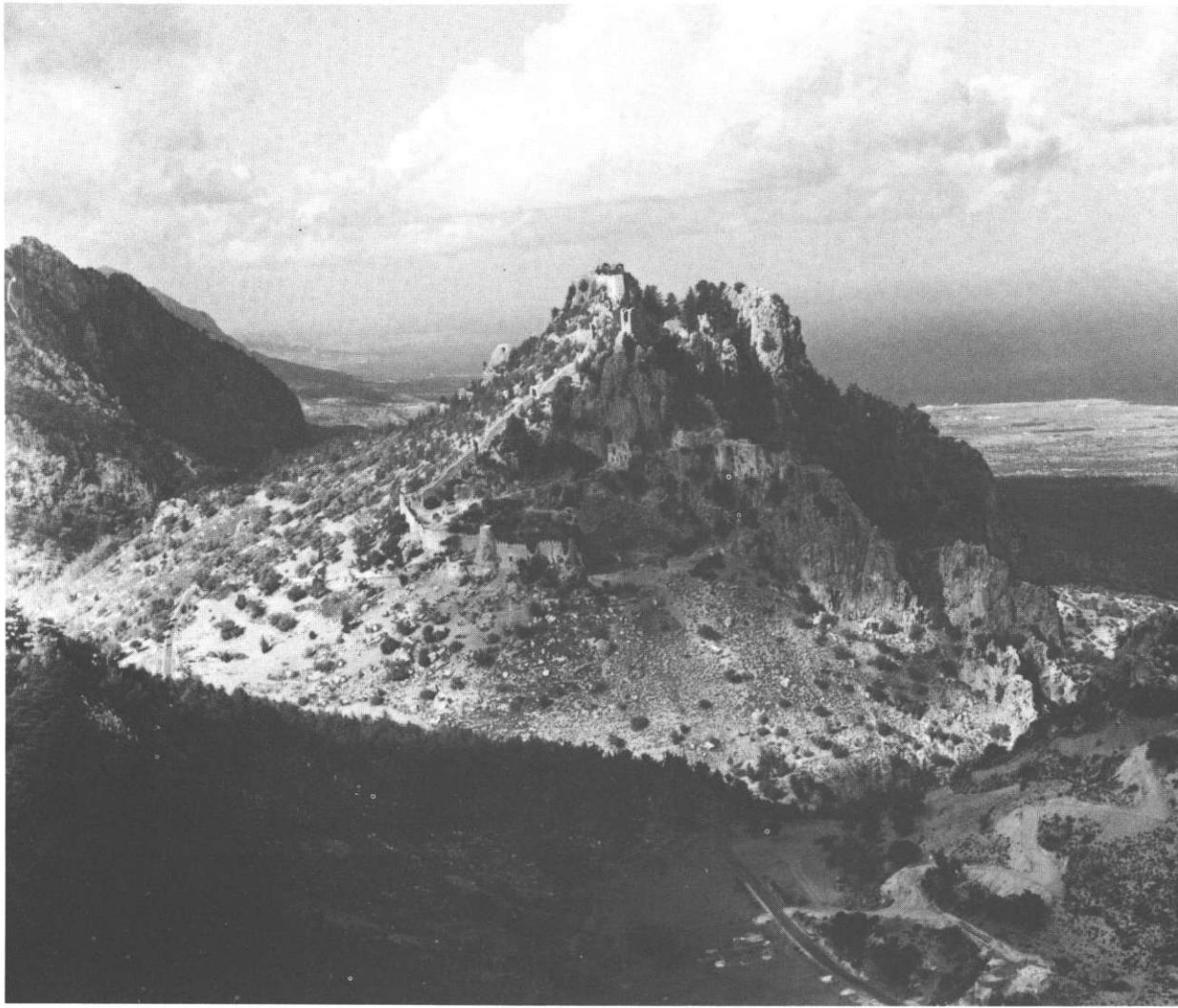
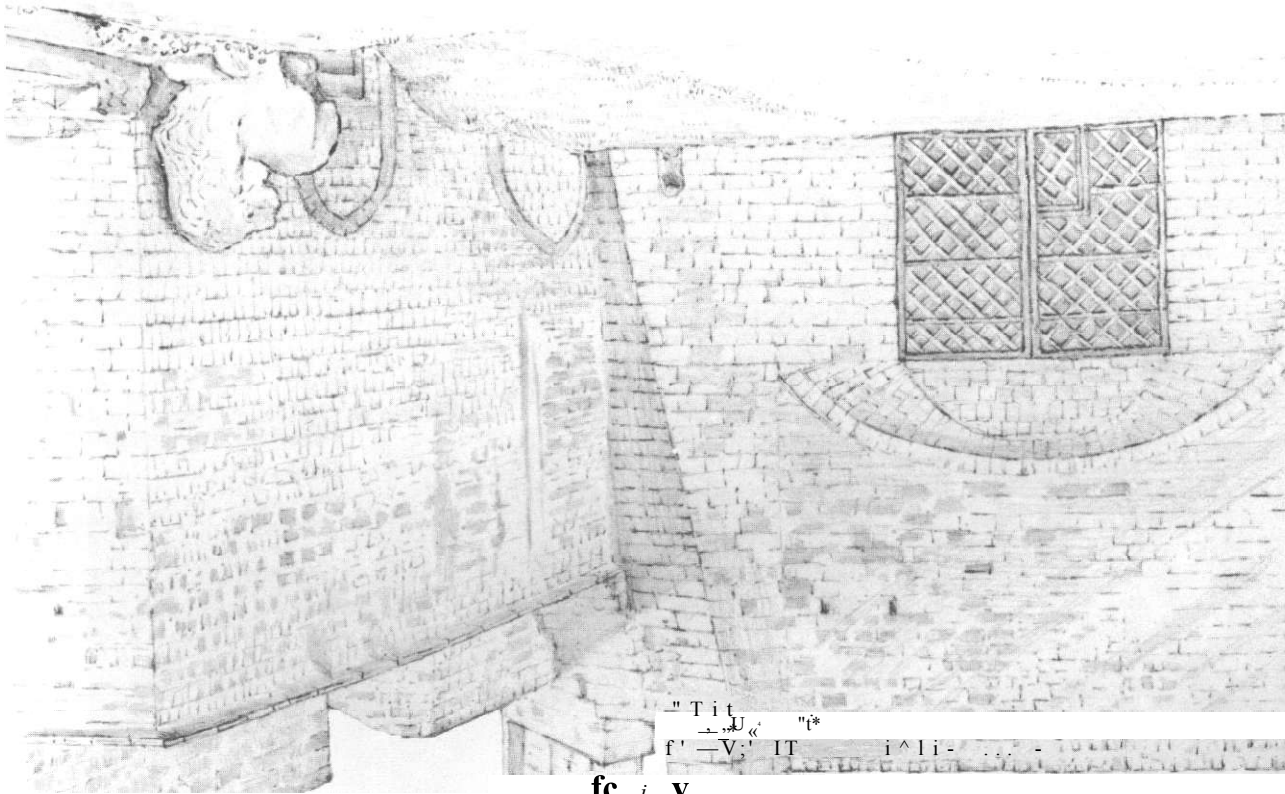
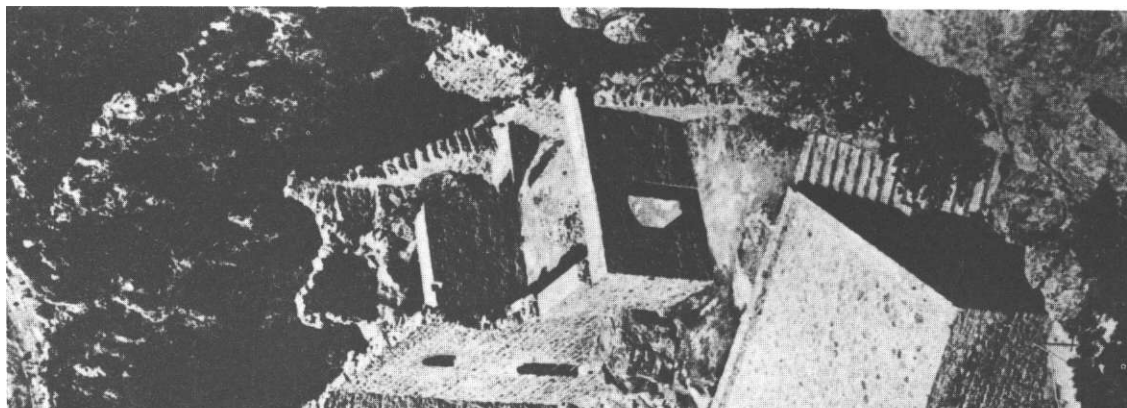


PLATE LII. Aerial view of St. Hilarion Castle.





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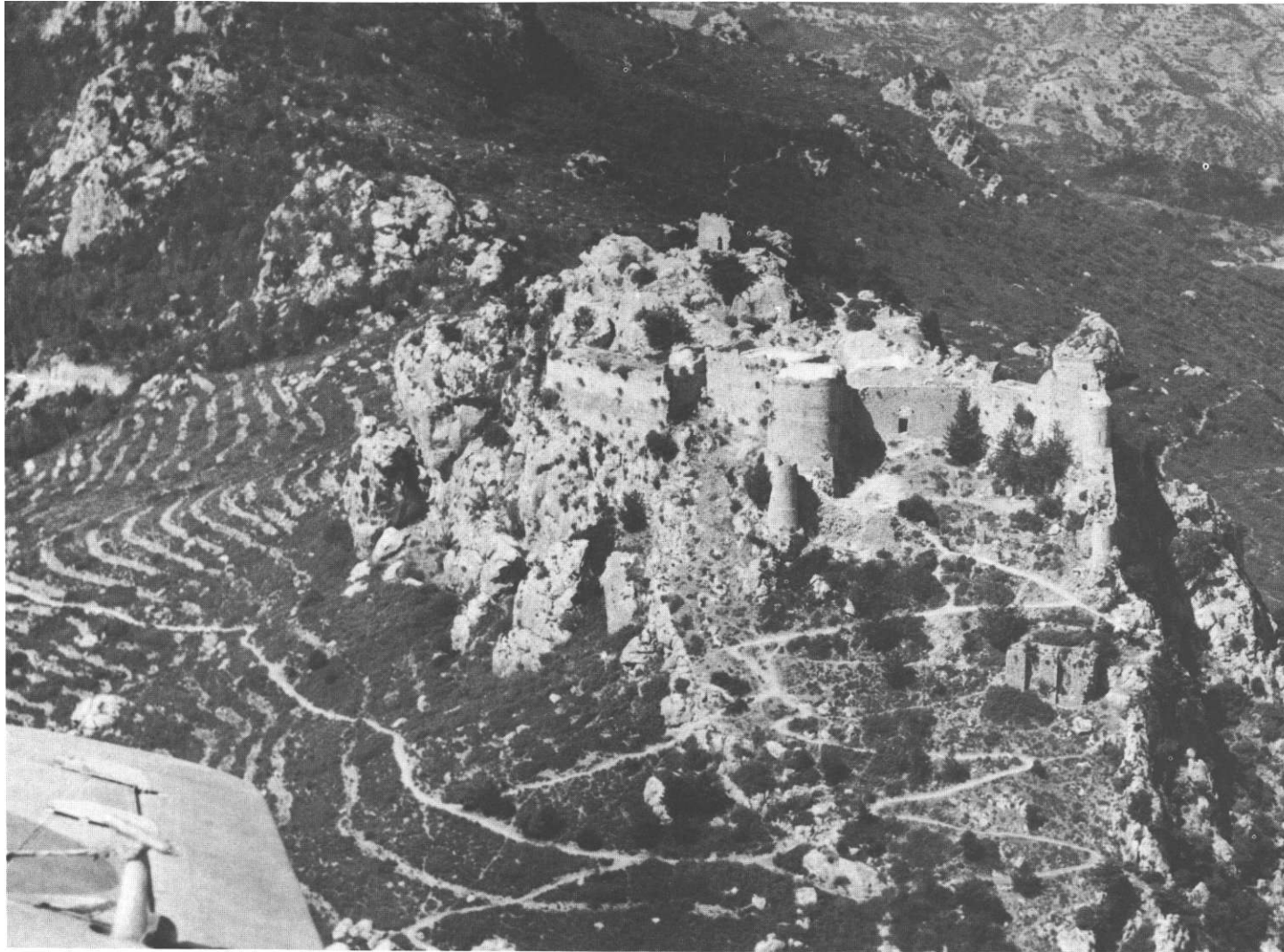


PLATE LVI. Aerial view of Kantara Castle.

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PLATE LVIII. Kantara Castle; from south-east.

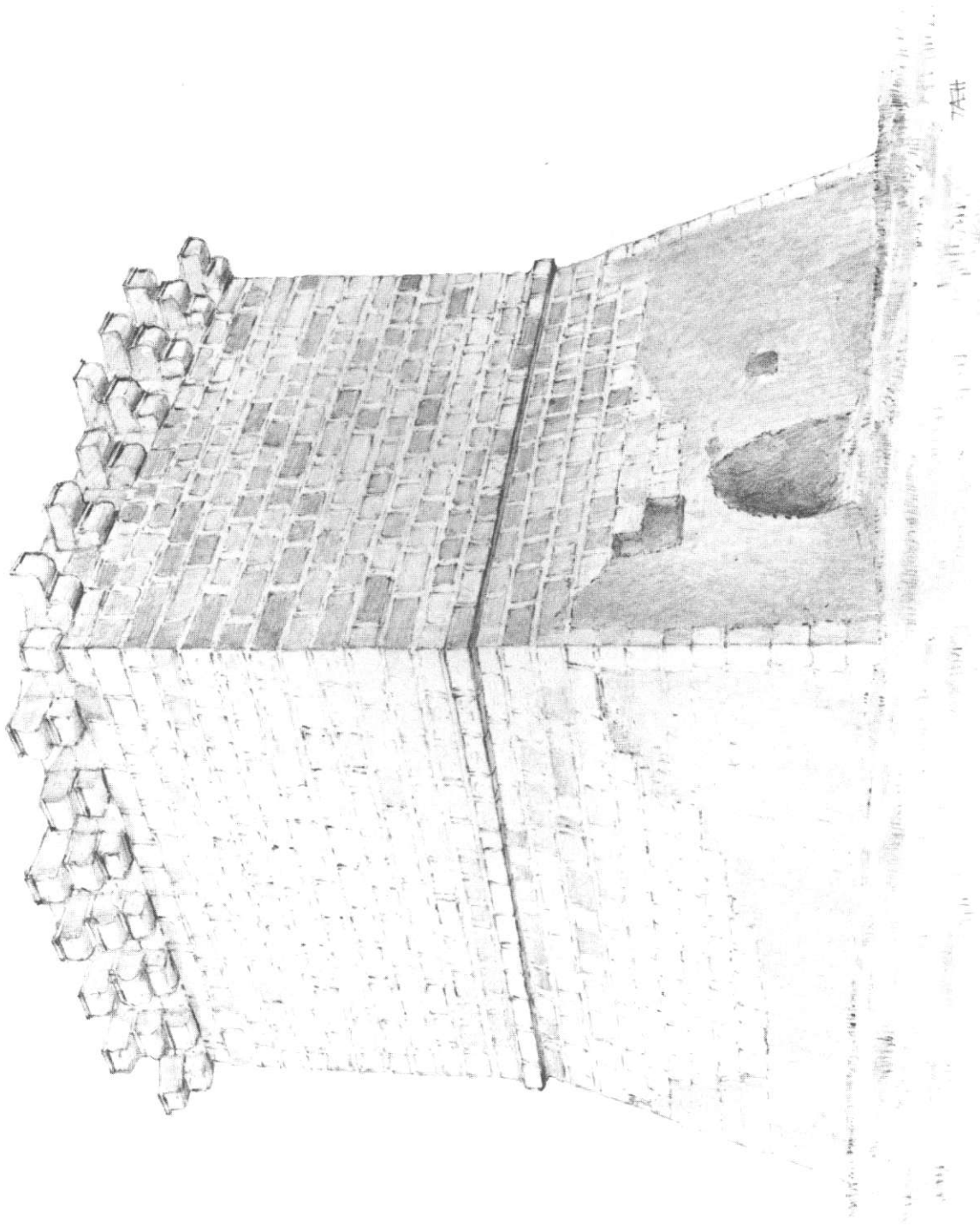


PLATE LIX. The tower of Kiti.

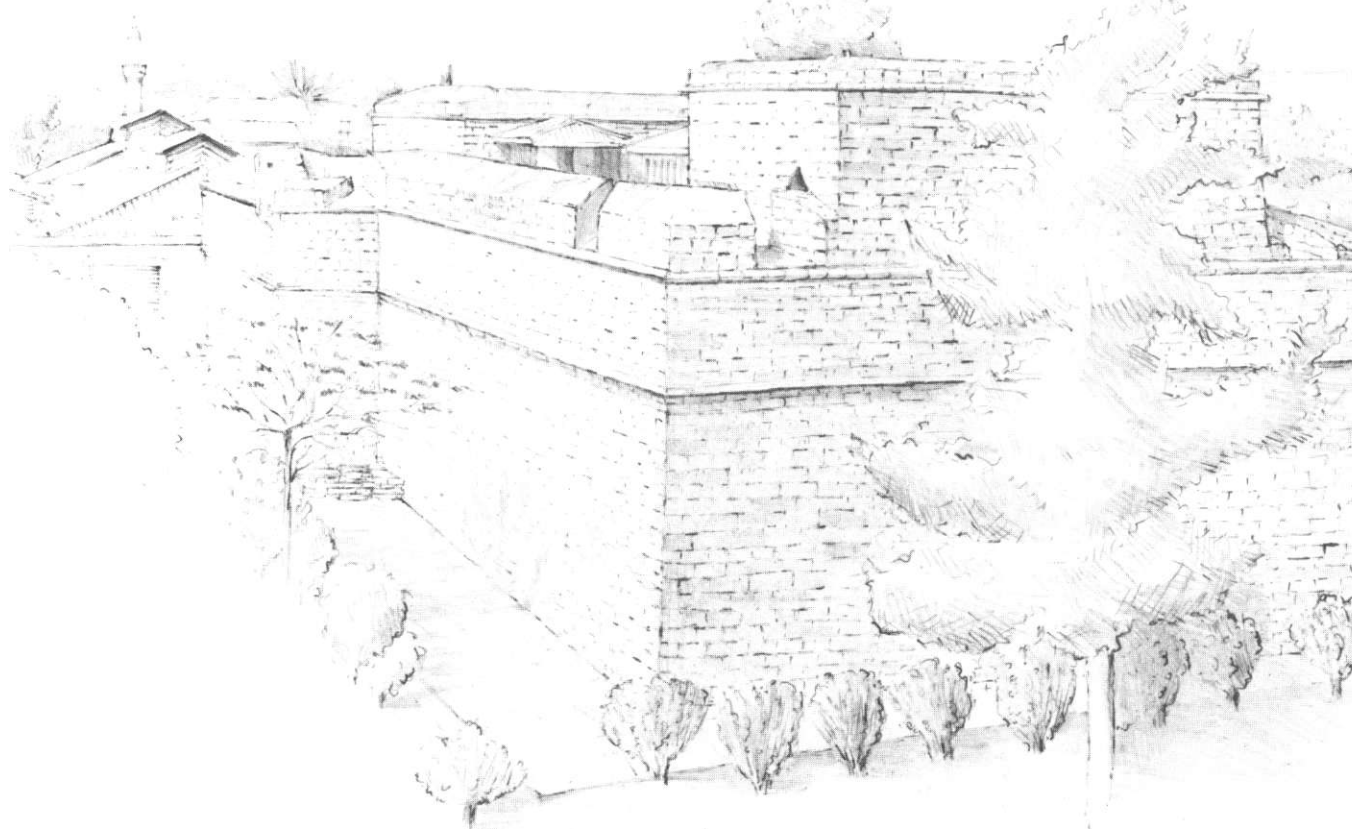


PLATE LX. Limassol Castle.



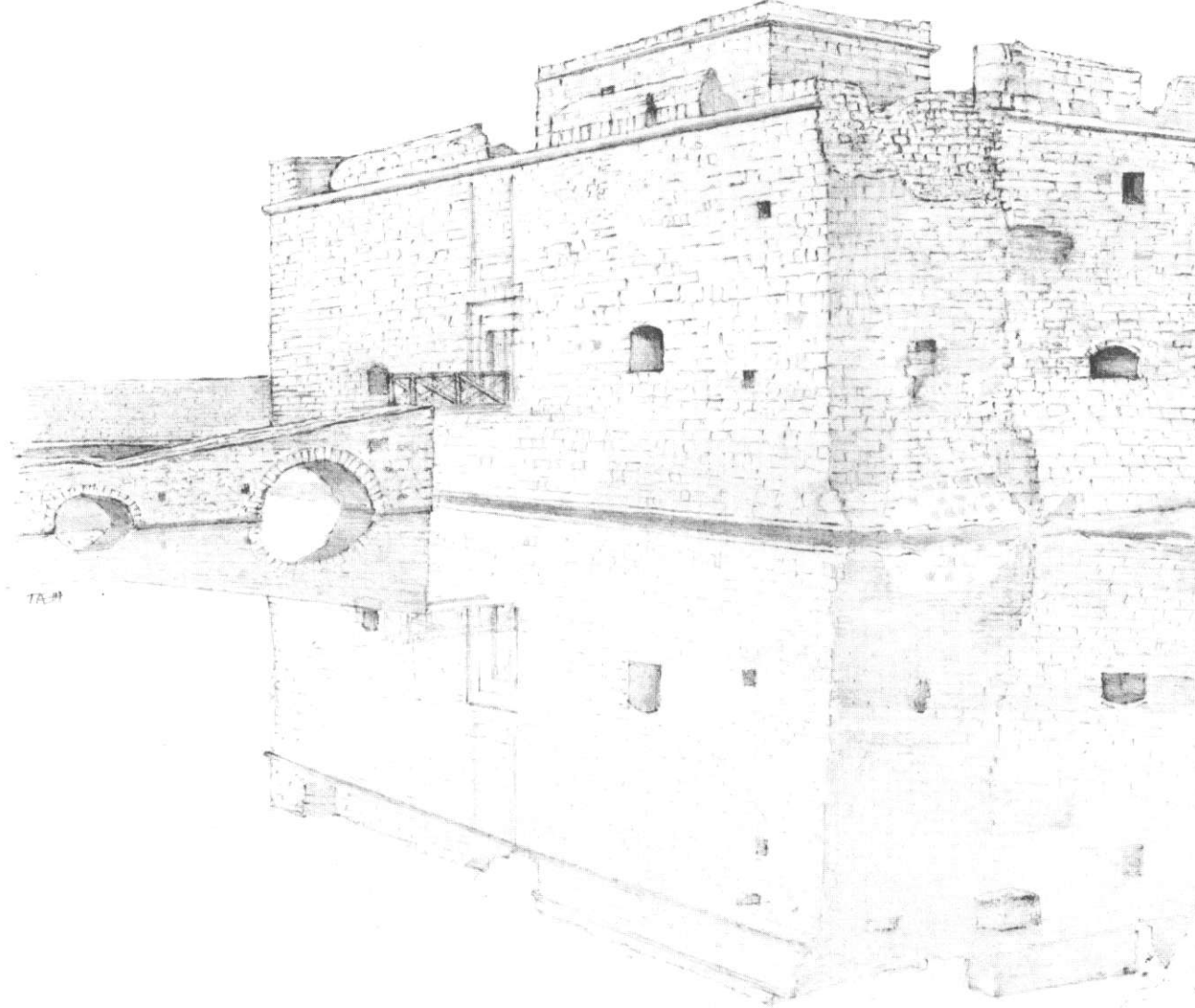


PLATE LXII. The castle of Paphos.

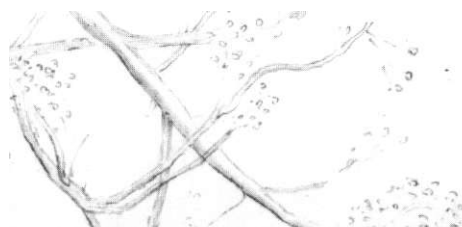
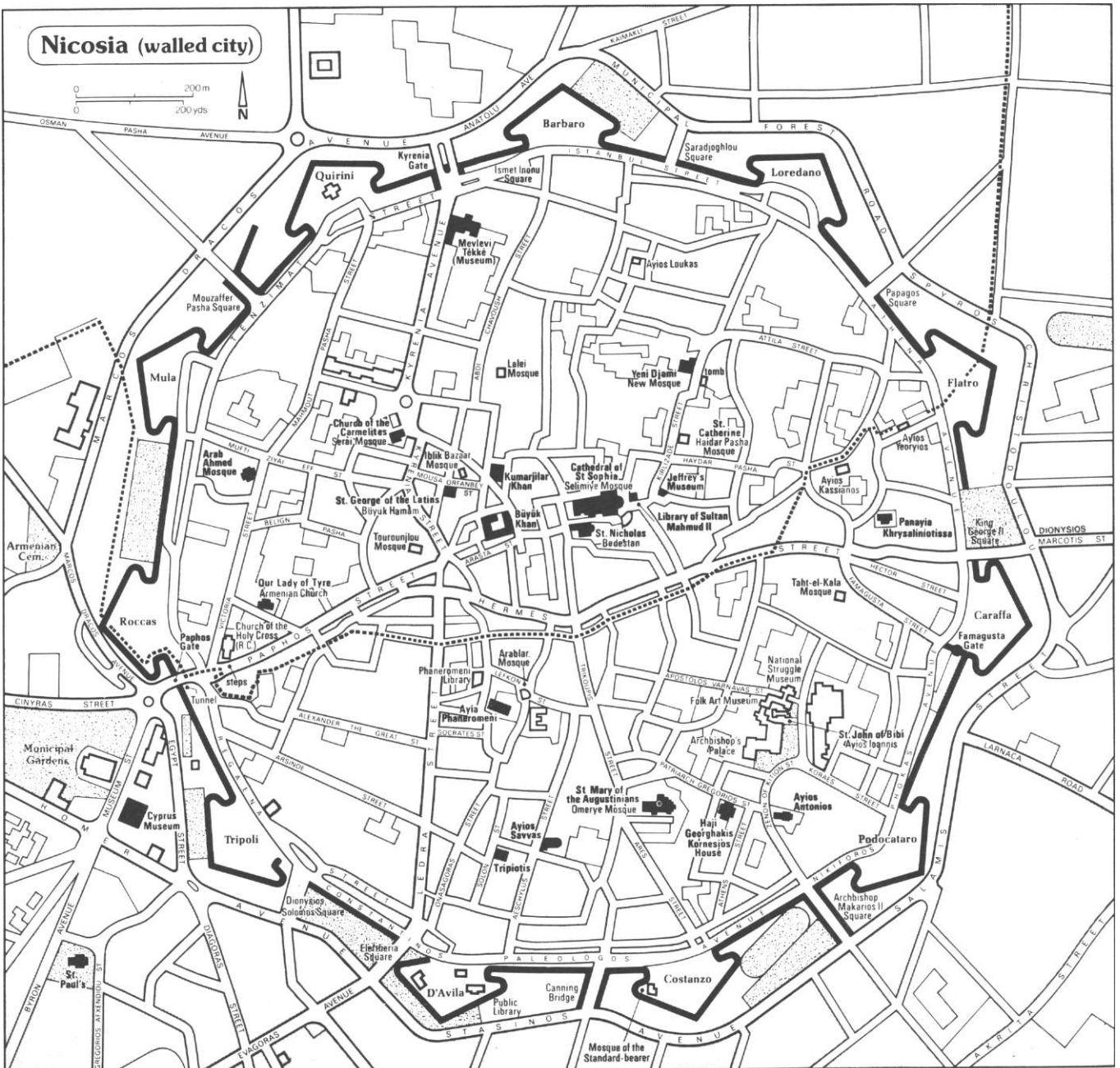




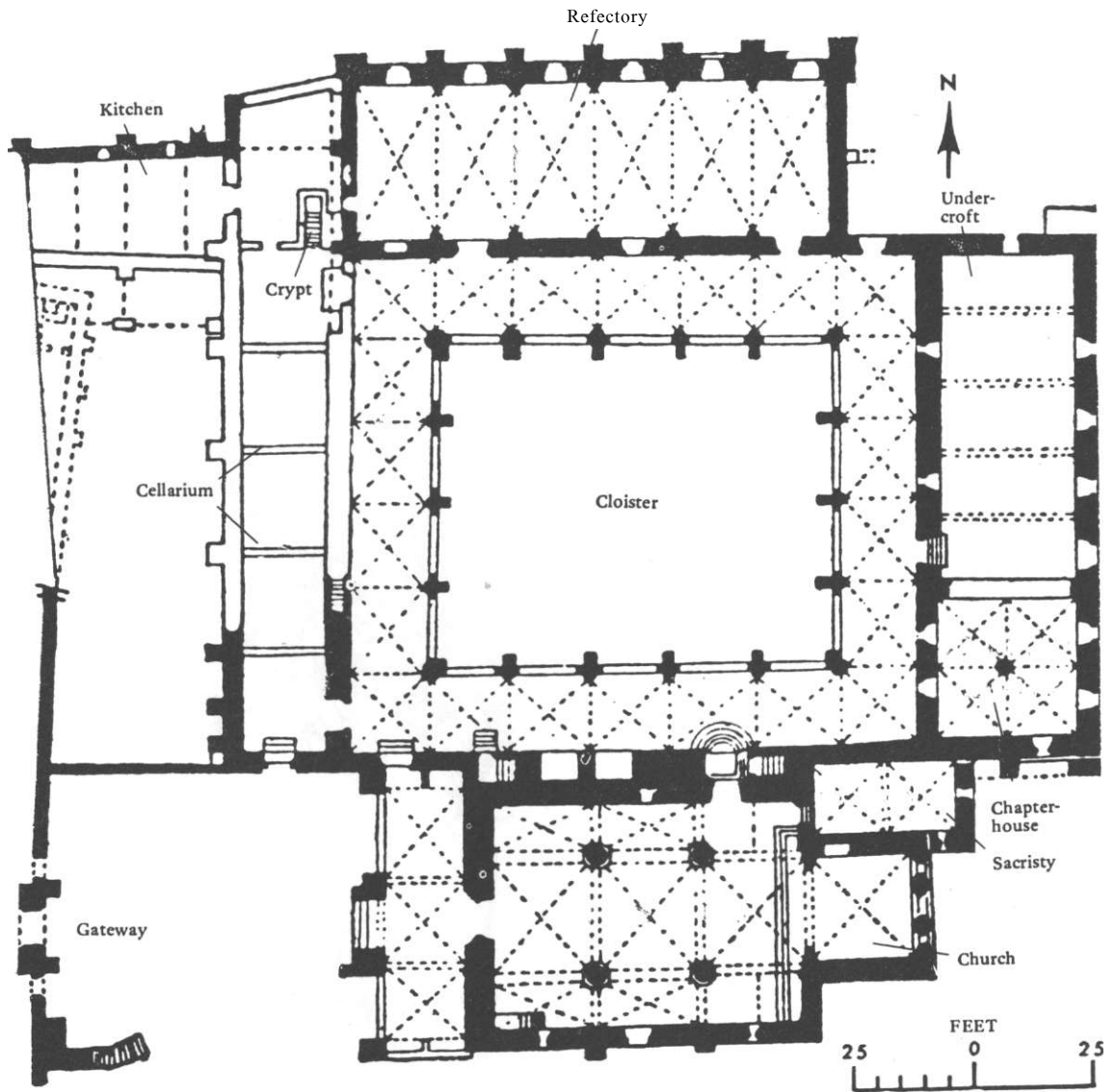
PLATE LXIV. Sgraffiato bowl (British Museum).



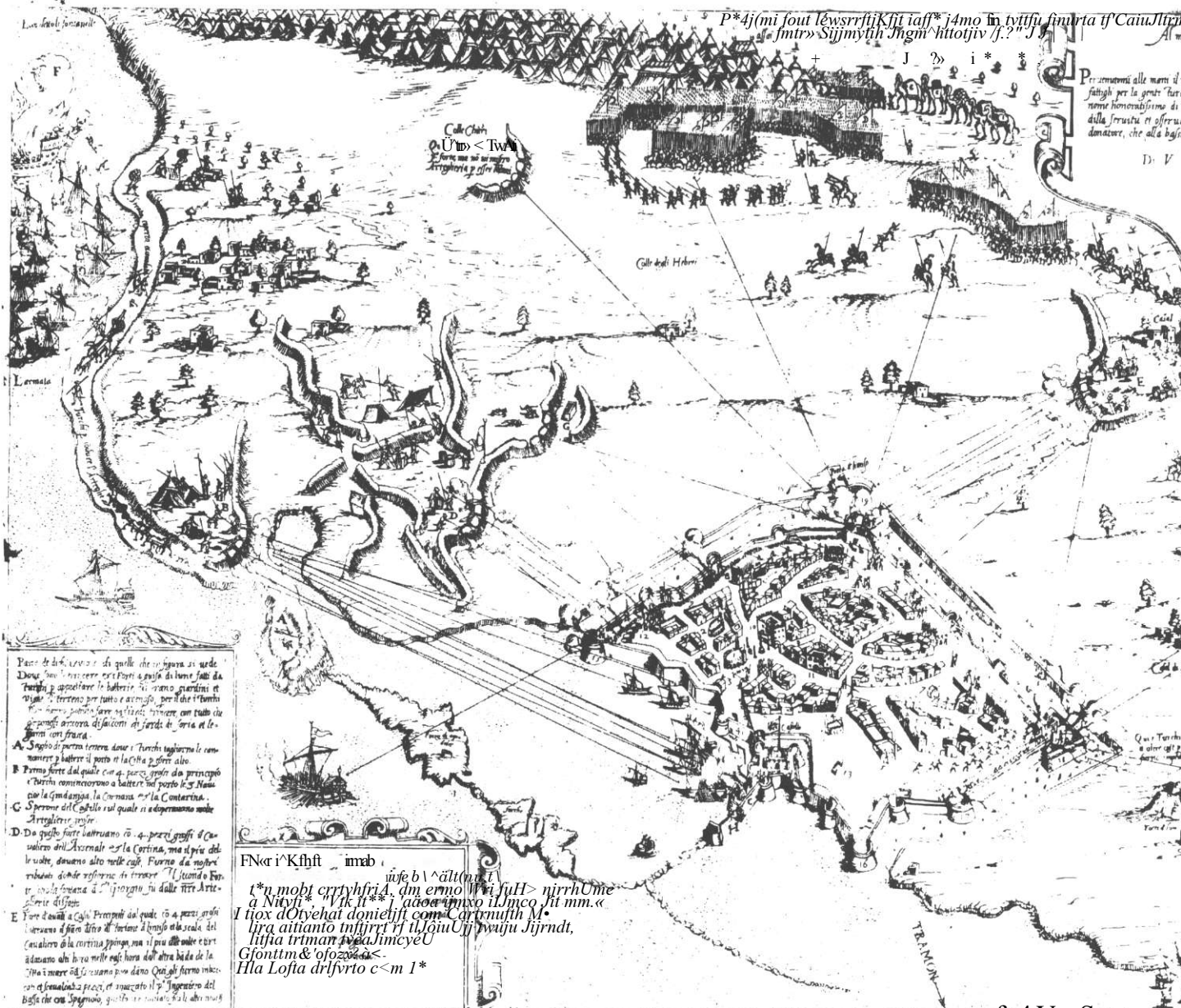
PLATE LXV. Copper basin with silver inlay, made for King Hugh IV.



PLAN I. Nicosia.



PLAN II. Bellapais Abbey.



Pace de la guerra e di quelle che se hanno si vede
 Dove non possono esser fatti a parte di bene fatto da
 Turchi e apostolare le habite in mano guardanti et
 vngli. Terreno per tutto e acorto, per il che l'ombro
 non hanno potuto fare scuffi, invece con tutto che
 si sono arrotati di fucili di farda de' oria et le
 armi con fuoco.

A. Spago di pietra terrena dove i Turchi tagliano le can-
 noniere e battere il punto in la Città e altri alto.

B. Puntone forte dal quale con 4 pezzi spaga da principio
 i Turchi cominciarono a battere nel porto e 3. Navi
 con la bandiera la Cornusa e la Contarina.

C. Spessore del Castello sul quale si adoperarono molte
 Artigliere, vngli.

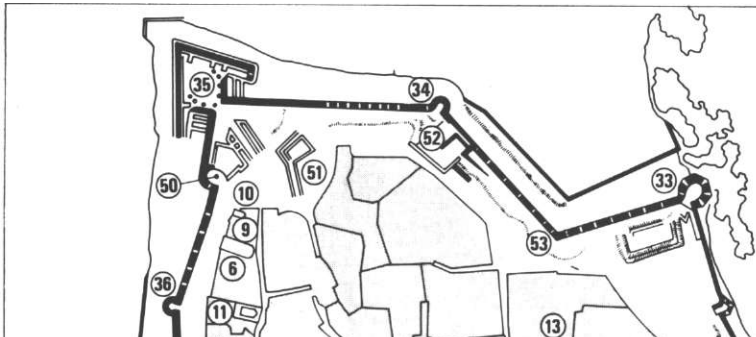
D. Da questo forte battevano 10. 4 pezzi grossi il Cas-
 tellero dell'Acquedotto e la Cortina, ma il più del
 le volte, dovevano altro nelle cavigli. Fuorno da nozze
 ribatuto, anche riforme di tronari. Il secondo For-
 te, dove furono 4. i pioggetti di dalle tre Ar-
 tigliere difese.

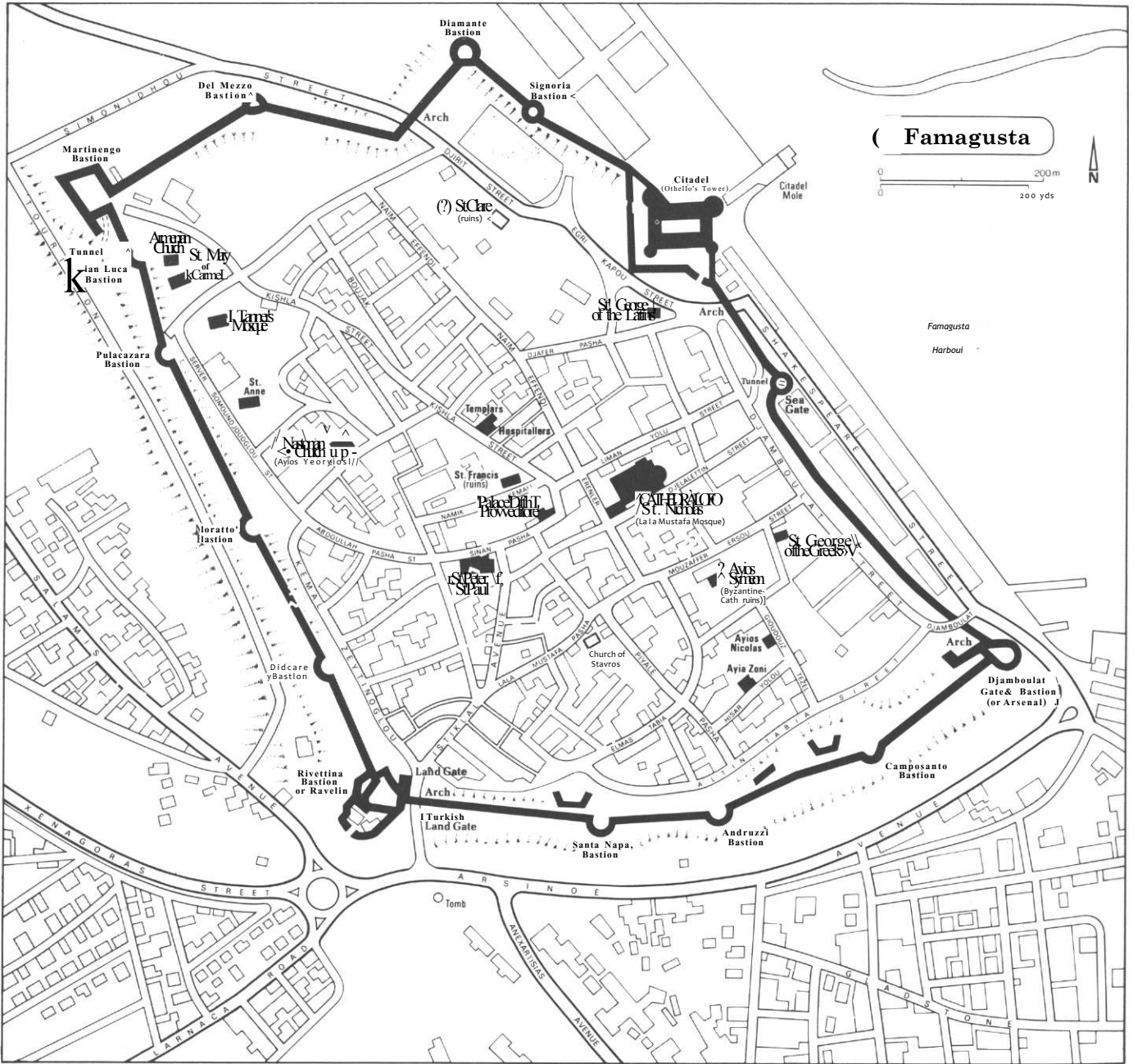
E. Torre di mura a Casti. Preposti dal quale 10. 4 pezzi grossi
 battevano il forte detto il Terreno di famiglia et la scala del
 Castellero di la cortina spaga non si può alle volte e d'art
 adavano alle loro nelle cavigli, hora dall'altra banda de la
 mura i mure del 5. erano poco d'arco. Qui gli fanno molto
 con el fucilato a pezzi et sparato il 7. Ingenero del
 forte che con 3. spaga, quello che batteva, si il altro mure

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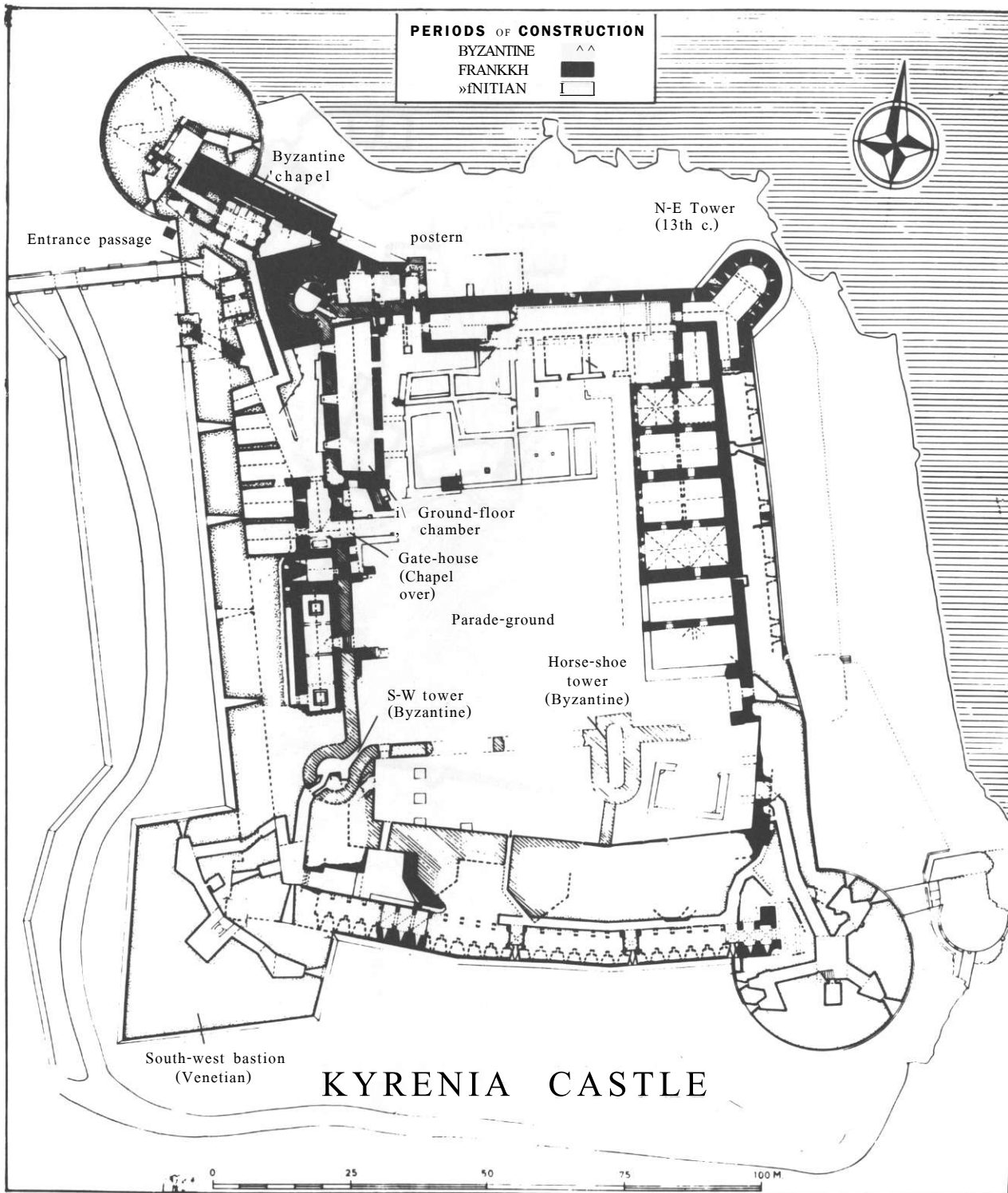
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PLAN III. The Siege of Famagusta; engraving by Stefano Gibellino (Bressa, 1571).

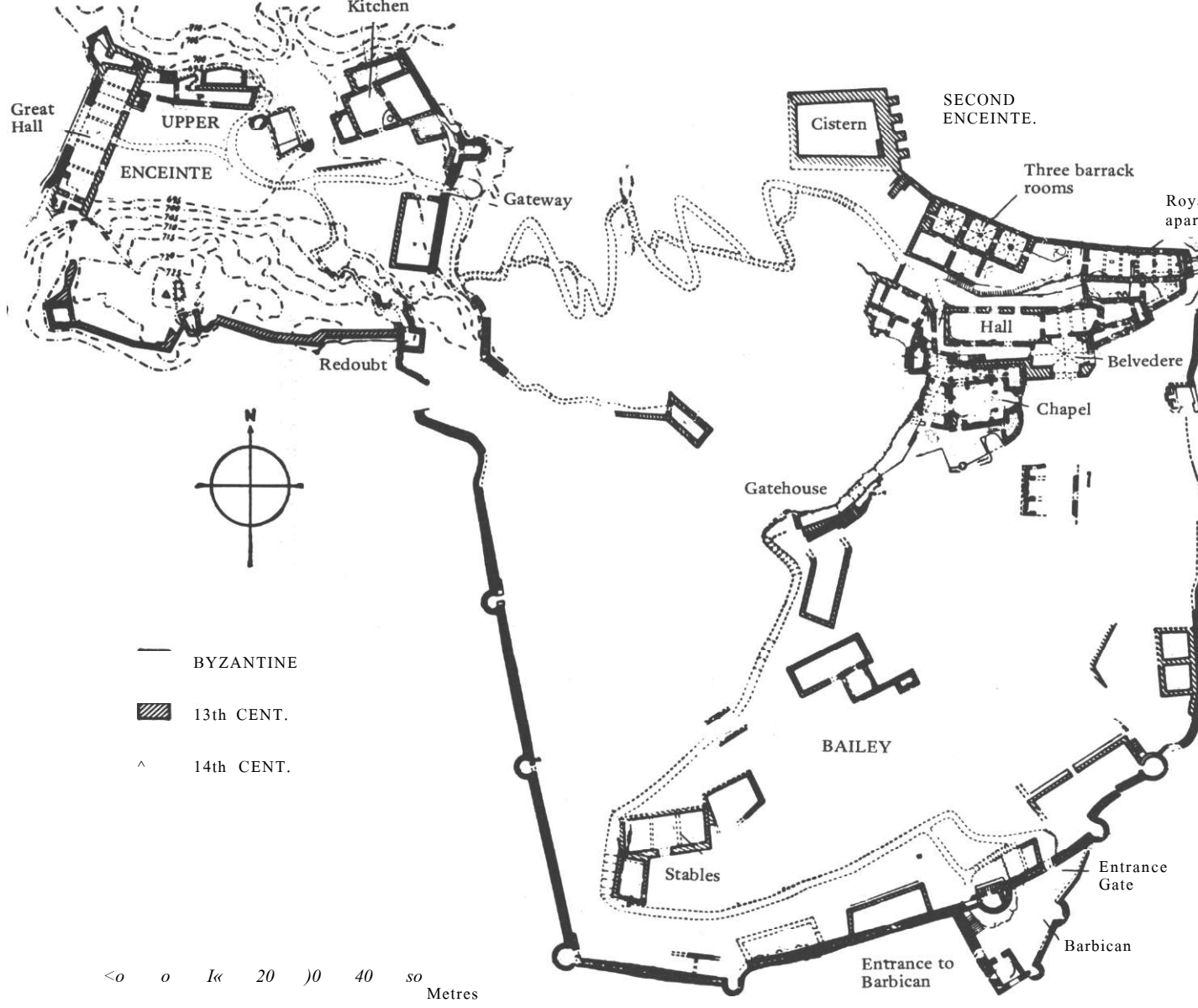




PLAN V. Famagusta.

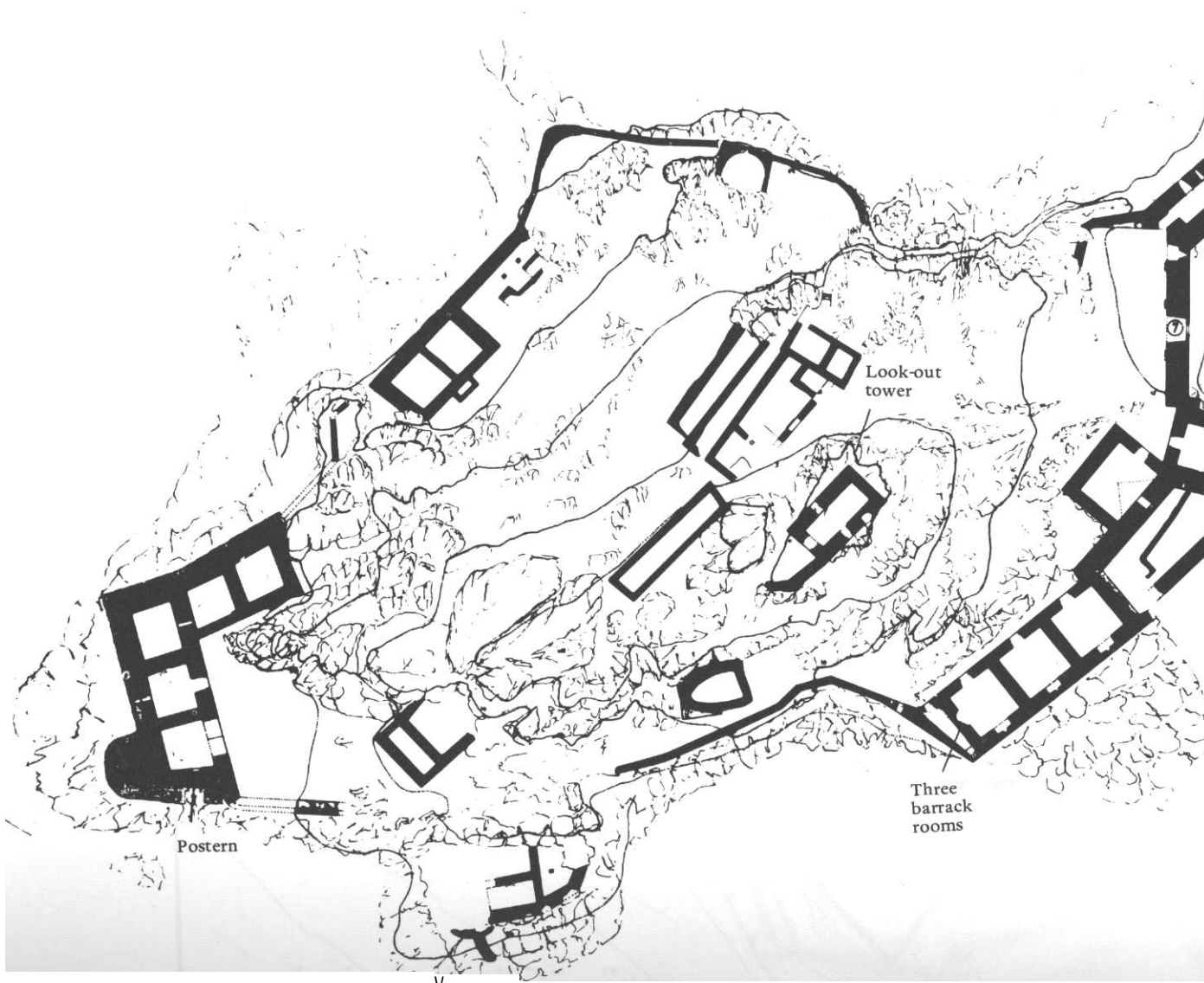


Plan VI. Kyrenia Castle.



Plan VII. St. Hilarion Castle.





V

PLAN IX. Kantara Castle.