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# An outline of Latin culture in Cyprus in the period of Franko-Venetian dominance on the island (1191-1571)

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## SUMMARY

After the division of the Roman Empire into eastern and a western halves, Cyprus came under the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire. From the 7<sup>th</sup> century Arabs, in their strategy of encircling the Byzantine Empire, started invading Cyprus, until Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas reconquered Cyprus for the Byzantium (964-965). In 1191 it was conquered by Richard the Lionheart, who then sold Cyprus to the Knights Templar, who after a short time sold it to Guy de Lusignan, the ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1192 Lusignan established the Kingdom of Cyprus and his family reigned there till 1489 and later the island was in the Venetian hands (to 1571). Latin was to be an official language, but it was soon replaced by French, while Greek became its second language. The Latin Church established itself in the island and installed Latin Archbishops who had supremacy over the Greek orthodox bishops and built numerous monasteries and churches. Despite several centuries of domination of Latin culture and hierarchy it was able to convert to Catholicism only a few Cypriots.

**KEYWORDS:** Lusignan dynasty, Latin Cyprus, Levant, crusades, Franks

## STRESZCZENIE

*Zarys kultury łacińskiej na Cyprze w okresie frankijsko-weneckiej dominacji na wyspie (1191-1571)*

Cypr, stanowiący część Cesarstwa Bizantyńskiego, został podbity w maju 1191 r. przez udającego się z krucjatą do Ziemi Świętej króla Anglii Ryszarda Lwie Serce. Dzięki temu krzyżowcy uzyskali kontrolę nad istotnym strategicznie punktem w lewantyńskiej części Morza Śródziemnego. Krzyżowcy, którzy dotarli na wyspę razem z władcą Anglii, przynieśli tradycje i zwyczaje łacińskie, które stały w obliczu ugruntowanej w poprzednich stuleciach, poprzez język grecki oraz wyznanie prawosławne, kultury greckiej. Latynizacja Cypru i jego społeczeństwa miała być elementem wspierającym legitymizację panowania Łacinników, którzy zastąpili bizantyńską administrację funkcjonującą na wyspie od kilku wieków.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: dynastia Lusignan, łaciński Cypr, Lewant, krucjaty, Frankowie

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At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Cyprus was a part of the Byzantine Empire. However, it changed in May 1191 when King of England, Richard the Lionheart, conquered the island on his way to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade.<sup>1</sup> His conquest gave the crusaders full control over this strategically important point in the Levantine part of the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>2</sup> The crusaders who accompanied the English King introduced Latin customs and traditions to the island, on which Greek culture flourished, as it was well-established in the previous centuries through the

1 G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1948, pp. 318-320.

2 The position and international role of Cyprus in the Middle Ages are discussed in, among others, Ł. Burkiewicz, *Królestwo Cypru jako obiekt zainteresowań państw śródziemnomorskich w latach 1192-1489. Próba zarysowania problemu*, "Prace Historyczne Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", vol. 137 (2010), pp. 27-42.

Greek language and the Greek Orthodox church.<sup>3</sup> Latinization of Cyprus and its inhabitants was to support legitimacy of the rule of Latinists, who replaced the Byzantine administration operating on the island for several centuries.<sup>4</sup>

After 1191 Greeks who lived in Cyprus called the new ruling class Φράγκοι, meaning the Franks, which was the name commonly used in the Levant with reference to crusaders.<sup>5</sup> Frankish nobility and knights did not differ from the indigenous inhabitants of the island with reference to race, but the dividing line went through the area of religion and culture.<sup>6</sup> It is assumed that the Frankish rule in Cyprus – first the English, then the Templars (1191-1192), and next the Lusignan dynasty (1192-1474) and the Venetians (1474-1571) – was the period of fighting between the Roman and Greek Churches, between the Latin hierarchy and believers and the hierarchy and believers of the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>7</sup> A traditional point of view is similar: according to it, the Franks stole the property of the Greek Church, forcefully Latinized the island and bullied the Greek priests into submission and obedience, at the same time persecuting the local inhabitants for their attachment to traditional beliefs and rituals.<sup>8</sup>

The exact date marking the beginnings of the first cultures in Cyprus is still debated.<sup>9</sup> Until recently, on the basis of the archaeological evidence from excavations in Choirokoitia, it was thought that the first humans settled in Cyprus relatively late, around 6500-8000 years ago, although nucleated settlements on the coast of Anatolia and Syria had appeared much earlier. However, the latest discoveries on the Akrotiri Peninsula provide evidence for a much earlier presence of humans on the island, dating back to about 10 500 years ago.<sup>10</sup> The origins of the first inhabitants of the island

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3 L. Steele, *Cyprus before History. From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age*, London 2004, pp. 190-191; M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, Kraków 2013, pp. 28-30.

4 Ł. Burkiewicz, *Sztuka dla wychowania. Architektura gotycka w średniowiecznym Cyprze jako element latinizacji*, "Cywilizacja", no 46 (2013), pp. 175-181.

5 M. Balard, *Łaciński Wschód XI-XV wiek*, Kraków 2010, p. 15; P.W. Edbury, *Franks*, in: *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374*, eds. A. Nicolaou-Konnari, Ch. Schabel, Leiden 2005, p. 63.

6 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 254.

7 Ch. Schabel, *Religion*, in: *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374*, eds. A. Nicolaou-Konnari, Ch. Schabel, Leiden 2005, pp. 158-159, 184; idem, *The Status of Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus*, in: "Sweet Land..." *Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, eds. J. Chrysostomides, C. Dendrinos, Camberley 2006, pp. 168-172.

8 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 255.

9 Ibidem, p. 25; see the article in print: Ł. Burkiewicz, *Kilka uwag do dyskusji nad przyszłością kultury cypryjskiej*, in: *Infiltracja kultur w dobie postępującej globalizacji*, red. A. Jagiełłowicz, A. Drohomirecki, Wrocław 2016, pp. 69-83.

10 A. Ammerman, J.S. Nollet, *New Light on Aetokremnos*, "World Archaeology", vol. 37 (2005), pp. 533-534.

are a significant element of a long-standing discussion on this topic, which is a vital element of the political discourse regarding the island's identity. The proponents of one of the theories claim that the first settlers came to Cyprus from the Balkans, which points at their relations with Greeks, while a different theory states that they came directly from Anatolia, the cradle of contemporary Turks.<sup>11</sup> However, the first Cypriot civilization was created by Eteocyprits<sup>12</sup> and did not reveal considerable foreign influences and interferences.<sup>13</sup> In the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC they were pushed out by a Greek people, called the Achaeans, who dominated the area of the Aegean Sea, reaching also Cyprus.<sup>14</sup> The Achaeans changed the ethnic patterns on the island by introducing a new language and culture and distancing Cyprus from the East and directing it to the West. Although Cyprus is located on the crossroads of various cultures and religions and – due to its turbulent history – has no homogeneous cultural heritage, its longest lasting cultural legacy is connected with the Greeks, who began colonizing the island about 1400 BC. This legacy was strengthened by the widespread use of the Greek language and the popularity of the Greek Orthodox religion.<sup>15</sup>

After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Cyprus remained under Constantinople's control. In subsequent years, the island moved from hands to hands (it suffered frequent raids led by the Muslims), nevertheless, Greek culture was prominent there all the time.<sup>16</sup> The long periods of fights over the island ended when Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas conquered it in 964-965.<sup>17</sup> As it was already mentioned above, at the beginning of May

11 H.D. Purcell, *Cyprus*, New York 1969, pp. 74-75; V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus: from the Stone Age to the Romans*, London 1982, pp. 23-26; E.J. Peltenburg, *Conclusions: Mylouthkia I and the Early Colonists of Cyprus*, in: *The Colonisation and Settlement of Cyprus. Investigations at Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, 1976-1996*, ed. E.J. Peltenburg, Savedalen 2003, pp. 83-103.

12 The term *eteocypriot* was coined by German Orientalist J. Friedrich (1893-1972) in 1932 in order to name the language of the earliest inhabitants of the island. With time it was used as a name of the first inhabitants of Cyprus. See A.T. Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus. A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence*, Oxford 1994, p. 18.

13 F.-G. Maier, *Cyprus from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Ann Arbor 1968, pp. 27-29; M. Given, *Inventing the Eteocyprits: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity*, "Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology", vol. 11, no. 1 (1998), pp. 3-29.

14 K. Nicolaou, *The First Mycenaean in Cyprus*, in: *The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Acts of the International Symposium, Nicosia 1973, pp. 51-61.

15 L. Steele, *Cyprus before History*, pp. 190-191; Ł. Burkiewicz, *Kilka uwag o przyszłości zarządzania kulturą w kontekście Prezydencji Republiki Cypru w Radzie Unii Europejskiej (VII-XII 2012)*, "Perspektywy kultury", no. 9 (2013), p. 92; M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, pp. 28-30.

16 J. Raszewski, *Cypr w okresie bizantyńskim (330-1191)*, in: *Cypr: dzieje, literatura, kultura*, ed. M. Borowska, P. Kordos, D. Maliszewski, vol. 1, Warszawa 2014, pp. 227-242.

17 D.M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus, 491-1191*, Nicosia 2009, pp. 31-49.

1191 the fleet of Richard the Lionheart heading towards the Holy Land landed in Cyprus and conquered the island during only three weeks.<sup>18</sup> At that time Cyprus was ruled by a Byzantine usurper Isaac Komnenos, who did not recognize the authority of Constantinople. Richard the Lionheart first presented Cyprus to Knights Templars, and next, as they were unable to maintain full control over the island,<sup>19</sup> it was sold to Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, who had earlier lost his possessions in the Holy Land. He became the first King of Cyprus from the Lusignan dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

Polish authors became interested in the Cypriot culture from the Frankish period only recently, and the names that should be mentioned here include: M. Misztal,<sup>21</sup> J. Hauziński,<sup>22</sup> M. Dąbrowska<sup>23</sup> and Ł. Burkiewicz.<sup>24</sup> Various aspects of Medieval Cyprus were also analysed before by

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- 18 G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1, pp. 318-320; Ł. Burkiewicz, *Na styku chrześcijaństwa i islamu. Krucjaty i Cypr w latach 1191-1291*, Kraków 2008, pp. 29-34; R. Pernoud, *Ryszard Łwie Serce*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 105-109.
- 19 J. Richard, *Les révoltes chypriotes de 1191-1192 et les inféodations de Guy de Lusignan*, in: *Montjoie. Studies in crusade history in honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, eds. B.Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, R. Hiestand, Aldershot 1997, pp. 123-128.
- 20 See e.g. Ł. Burkiewicz, *Cypr pod panowaniem dynastii Lusignanów i Republiki Wenecji (1192-1571)* in: *Cypr: dzieje, literatura, kultura*, vol. 1, pp. 243-264.
- 21 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, (Chapter 7).
- 22 J. Hauziński, *Cypr*, in: *Encyklopedia Historyczna Świata*, ed. M.M. Dziekan, vol. 10, Kraków 2002, pp. 169-175; there is also literature discussing Cyprus in the Middle Ages in the context of Frederick II of Hohenstauf's politics towards the east: idem, *Polityka orientalna Fryderyka II Hohenstaufa*, Poznań 1978; idem, *Imperator "końca świata": Fryderyk II Hohenstauf (1194-1250)*, Gdańsk 2000. M. Głodek's work devoted to Philippe de Mézières and the politics of the King of Cyprus Peter I of Lusignan should also be mentioned here: M. Głodek, *Utopia Europy zjednoczonej. Życie i idee Filipa de Mézières (1327-1405)*, Słupsk 1997.
- 23 M. Dąbrowska, *Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great in Cracow*, "Byzantiaka", vol. 14 (1994), pp. 257-267.
- 24 Ł. Burkiewicz, *Na styku chrześcijaństwa i islamu*; idem, *Polityczna rola Królestwa Cypru w czternastym wieku*, Kraków 2013; and over a dozen articles, apart from the ones listed in footnotes, including: idem, *Polityka Wschodnia Fryderyka II Hohenstaufa ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem jego stosunku do Królestwa Cypru (w świetle kroniki Filipa z Novary)*, "Prace Historyczne Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", no. 133 (2006), pp. 7-29; idem, *Podróż króla Cypru Piotra I z Lusignan po Europie w latach 1362-1365 i jego plany krucjatowe*, "Studia Historyczne", vol. 50, no. 197 (2007), pp. 3-29; idem, *The Cypriot Jews under the Venetian Rule (1489-1571)*, "Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia", vol. 6 (2008), pp. 49-61; idem, *Two Cypriot royal missions to Poland in 1364 and 1432*, "Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών (Eperitis tis Kypriakis Etaireias Istorikon Spoudon – The Cyprus Historical Society)", vol. 9 (2010), pp. 21-40; idem, *Polityka egipskiego sultanatu mameluków wobec łacińskiego Królestwa Cypru w XV wieku*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego – Nauki Społeczne", no. 2/1 (2011), pp. 7-22 [next reprinted in: Ł. Burkiewicz, *Polityka egipskiego sultanatu mameluków wobec łacińskiego Królestwa Cypru w XV wieku*, "Studia Bliskowschodnie", no. 1/5 (2011), pp. 97-109]; idem, *A Cypriot royal mission to the Kingdom of Poland in 1432*, "Crusades", vol. 10

H. Pachoński<sup>25</sup> and R. Grodecki.<sup>26</sup> In 2010 the Faculty for Interdisciplinary Studies “Artes Liberales” at the University of Warsaw launched a research project entitled “Cyprus – history, literature, culture” (*Cypr – dzieje, literatura, kultura*), and its tangible outcome is a two-volume publication edited by M. Borowska, P. Kordos and D. Maliszewski.<sup>27</sup>

At the end of 12<sup>th</sup> century, that is in the period when the first crusaders headed towards the Holy Land, the Greek Church in the Levant was the richest and the best organized of all Christian churches there.<sup>28</sup> Its position in Cyprus at the time when King of England and his crusaders landed there in May 1191 was also very strong, and the Greek Church maintained its dominating position on the island also later, when it was ruled by the Templars and Guy of Lusignan and his successors and their introduction of Latin structures.

When Guy began his reign in Cyprus, he did not accept the crown, but only used the title *Cipri Dominus*, as a way of paying homage to the King of England from whom he bought the island.<sup>29</sup> In order to strengthen his position and counter the strong position of Greek Cypriots, he brought to the island about 300 knights and 200 servants, coming mostly from his home region Poitou, and 2500 poor Frankish burghers and peasants.<sup>30</sup> In return for the military service, they were enfeoffed with the lands and settled in castles, towns and bigger villages.<sup>31</sup> Guy’s death in April 1194 put a stop to his attempts to build a Latin country on the island.<sup>32</sup>

Guy was succeeded by his brother Aimery, who strengthened the position of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus by obtaining the crown and

(2011), pp. 103-112; idem, *Σχέσεις Κύπρου-Πολωνίας κατά το Μεσαίωνα και την Αναγέννηση (1Δ’ – 1ΣΤ’ αι.)*, in: *Πολωνία-Κύπρος: Από τη χώρα του Σοπέν στο νησί της Αφροδίτης. Σχέσεις ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, eds. G. Georgis, G. Kazamias, Nicosia 2011, pp. 18-47.

25 H. Pachoński, *Dwa zjazdy krakowskie za Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Kraków 1914, pp. 1-21.

26 R. Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski w r. 1364*, Kraków 1995.

27 *Cypr: dzieje, literatura, kultura*, eds. M. Borowska, P. Kordos, D. Maliszewski, two volumes, Warszawa 2014.

28 M. Balard, Łaciński Wschód XI-XV wiek, p. 125; Ł. Burkiewicz, *Polityczna rola Królestwa Cypru*, p. 82.

29 W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, *Les Lusignans de Chypre*, „Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών”, vol. 10 (1980), p. 93; P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge-New York-Port Chester-Melbourne-Sydney 1991, p. 29.

30 P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 16-18; idem, *Le régime des Lusignans en Chypre et la population locale*, in: *Coloniser au Moyen Age*, eds. A. Ducellier, M. Balard, Paris 1995, pp. 355-356.

31 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’Île de Chypre sous le règne de la Maison de Lusignan*, vol. 2, Paris 1852-1861, p. 8.

32 *L’Etoile de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la Terre d’Outre mer*, in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, Paris 1859, p. 208.

building the structures of the Latin Church on the island.<sup>33</sup> In 1196 he turned to Pope Celestine III and asked for help in ‘returning heretical Greeks to the true faith’.<sup>34</sup> As a result of his efforts, Pope issued a bull regulating such issues connected with the Latin Church in Cyprus as buying land belonging to the Church, buying land without papal consents, and a ban on holding offices by priests. As a result, next year the foundations of the Latin Church in Cyprus were laid.<sup>35</sup>

The Roman Catholic archdiocese in Nicosia covered the area of former dioceses of Tremithus, Kition, Lapithos, Kyrenia, Chytri, Soloi and Tamassos. Additionally, Latin bishoprics were created in Limassol, Paphos and Famagusta.<sup>36</sup> Archdeacon Alan of Lydda, one of Pope Celestine III’s envoys, became the first Archbishop of Nicosia, and another papal official, Lataki, about whom not much is known, became the first bishop of Paphos.<sup>37</sup> Soon after introducing the Catholic Church to the island, various Orders, both military and non-military, came to Cyprus in response to Pope’s call to protect the island.<sup>38</sup> Aimery also obtained the permission for his coronation from the Holy Roman Emperor of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, Henry VI. In September 1197 Aimery was crowned king in Nicosia in the presence of Frederick II’s chancellor, Conrad of Querfurt, Bishop of Hildesheim, to whom he paid homage.<sup>39</sup>

Establishing the Latin Catholic Church on the island led to the situation in which Greek Cypriots could no longer turn to their traditional

33 *Chronique de l’île de Chypre par Florio Bustron*, in: *Mélanges historiques*, vol. 5, Paris 1886, p. 54; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Amsterdam 1979, p. 204; P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 31.

34 L. Machairas [Macheras], *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled “Chronicle”*, ed. and trans. by R.M. Dawkins, vol. 1, Oxford 1932, § 28; M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 255.

35 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 124, vol. 3, pp. 601-605; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 2, p. 48; N. Coureas, *The Place to be: Cyprus as a Place of Settlement and Refuge*, “Κυπριακά Σπουδαία”, vol. 66 (2002), p. 127.

36 J.L. La Monte, *A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia*, “Byzantion”, Bd. 5 (1929-1930), pp. 441-522; N. Coureas, *The Place to be*, p. 127; Ł. Burkiewicz, *Na styku chrześcijaństwa i islamu*, p. 50.

37 J. Hackett, *History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus*, London 1901, pp. 470-471; P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 29; idem, *Latin Diocese and Peristerona: A Contribution to the topography of Lusignan Cyprus*, “Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών”, vol. 8 (1975-1977), p. 45.

38 A. Forey, *The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre*, “English Historical Review”, vol. 92 (1977), pp. 481-503; N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 173-180, 187-222; W. Hubatsch, *Der Deutsche Orden und der Reichslenschaft über Cypern*, “Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse”, Bd. 8 (1955), pp. 245-306; Ł. Burkiewicz, *Templariusze i ich wpływ na politykę wewnętrzną Królestwa Cypru w przededniu hasaty zakonu*, “Studia Historyczne”, vol. 52, no. 205 (2009), p. 3 et seq.

39 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’Île de Chypre*, vol. 1, pp. 127-128, vol. 2, p. 11, 31.

leaders i.e. the Greek Church hierarchs.<sup>40</sup> Thus, it was natural for the local inhabitants of the island to rebel: the first rebellion took place in April 1192 and was directed against the Templars,<sup>41</sup> and another was led in 1198 by Cannaqui against the Lusignans.<sup>42</sup>

After the Franks conquered Constantinople in 1204, the conflict between the Latin and Greek Churches became more intense. From the beginning the Frankish rule was accused of appropriating the property and income of the Greek Church, including the tithe, but, as M. Myształ observed, it was not the case, as the tithe was introduced by the Latin administration in Cyprus, and the local Greek Church had not known this kind of tax before. Moreover, according to the latest research, takeover of the Greek Church property did not happen on a mass scale, at least not at the beginning of the Frankish rule in Cyprus, when Orthodox churches and monasteries still functioned.<sup>43</sup> The structures of the Roman Church were built within the property which had belonged to the Byzantine administration, local nobility or Franks living on the island, especially the Venetians, who had had their own churches e.g. in Paphos and Nicosia already before Richard the Lionheart came to Cyprus.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, certain negative events also contributed to a negative view on the relations between Latin and Greek inhabitants of the island. One of them was the death of thirteen Greek monks described in “The Thirteen Saints and Fathers who were killed through burning by the Latins on the island of Cyprus in the year 1231” (Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων).<sup>45</sup> The Franks accused them of heresy, and the direct reason of their martyrdom was the conflict over the kind of bread that should be used for communion: unleavened bread in the Franks’ opinion or bread made with yeast in the Greeks’ opinion.<sup>46</sup>

40 M. Myształ, *Historia Cypru*, p. 256.

41 *Chronique d'Amadi [Cronaca di Francesco Amadi]*, in: *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, publiées par M. Réne de Mas Latrie, vol. 1, Paris 1891-1893, pp. 83-84; *Chronique de l'île de Chypre par Florio Bustron*, p. 50; P. W. Edbury, *The Templars in Cyprus*, in: *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber, Aldershot 1994, pp. 189-190.

42 D. Alastos, *Cyprus in History: A Survey of 5,000 Years*, Nicosia 1955, pp. 168-169; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, vol. 1, pp. 140-141; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks*, in: *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374*, eds. A. Nicolaou-Konnari, Ch. Schabel, Leiden 2005, pp. 19-20.

43 M. Myształ, *Historia Cypru*, p. 258.

44 T. Papacostas, *Secular Landholding and Venetians in 12<sup>th</sup>-Century Cyprus*, “Byzantinische Zeitschrift”, Bd. 92 (1999), pp. 479-501.

45 See e.g. A.D. Beihammer, Ch. Schabel, *Two Small Texts on the Wider Context of the Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara In Cyprus 1231*, in: *POLYPTYCHON/ΠΟΛΥΠΤΥΧΟΝ: Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis*, eds. E. Motos Guirao, M. Morfakidis Filactós, Granada 2008, pp. 69-82.

46 M. Myształ, *Historia Cypru*, p. 261.



From the historical perspective, the most important document connected with the status of the Latin church is so called *Bulla Cypria* from 1260 issued by Pope Innocent IV. It subordinated the Greek bishops to their Latin counterparts and limited the number of the Orthodox bishops to four.<sup>47</sup> *Bulla Cypria* also stated that all tithes (from the Orthodox and the Franks) were to be paid to the Latin clergy.<sup>48</sup>

In spite of its dynamic development in the first decades of the Frankish rule in Cyprus, the Latin Church there faced certain problems. One of them was connected with long absences of the most important figures in the Church hierarchy. The Latin Church availed itself of clergy from Europe: Italy, France and even Portugal, which was a home country of Bartholomew of Braganza, Bishop of Limassol.<sup>49</sup> According to G. Hill, in the period between 1291 and 1360 (69 years) Archbishops of Cyprus resided outside Cyprus for 36 years.<sup>50</sup> The clergy, devoid of bishops' control and left to themselves on a remote island, behaved in an inappropriate way: lasciviousness, outrageous behaviour and attire, ignorance, drunkenness, gambling, and sexual crimes were not uncommon among them.<sup>51</sup> There were priests who served both in the Latin and Greek Churches, e.g. the church of St. John Lampadistis in Kalopanagiotis had a Latin chapel and a Greek church under the same roof, without any partition between them.<sup>52</sup> A characteristic feature of the late period of the Lusignan rule were frequent liturgies and processions in which both the Greek and Latin clergy participated side by side.<sup>53</sup> It happened e.g. during the Turkish siege of Famagusta in June 1571 when the procession headed by Greek and Latin

47 Ch. Schabel, *The Greek Bishops of Cyprus, 1260-1340, and the Synodiakon Kyprion*, „Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών”, vol. 64-65 (2000-2001), p. 217; idem, *The Status of the Greek Clergy*, p. 167, 177; J. Richard, *À propos la Bulla Cypria de 1260*, “Byzantinische Forschungen”, Bd. 5 (1977), pp. 73-93; H.J. Magoulias, *A Study in Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Relations on the Island of Cyprus between the Years A.D. 1196 and 1360*, “Greek Orthodox Theological Review”, vol. 10 (1964), pp. 75-106.

48 N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, pp. 297-306; J. Hackett, *History of the Orthodox Church*, pp. 114-123; Ch. Schabel, *Religion*, pp. 201-212.

49 N. Coureas, *The Place to be*, p. 128.

50 G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 3, p. 1079, 1096.

51 N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312*, pp. 111-117.

52 Feliks Faber (1483), Jacques le Saige (1518), in: *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a history of Cyprus*, tr. and transcribed, with an appendix on the bibliography of Cyprus by C.D. Cobham, Cambridge 1908, pp. 40-41, 60.

53 Steffano Lusignano, *Chorografia et breve Historia Universale dell'Isola di Cipro Principiando al Tempo di Noè per in fino al 1572 per il R. P. Lettore Fr. Steffano Lusignano di Cipro dell'Ordine de Predicatori*, Bologna 1573, in: *Chorography and Brief General History of the Island of Cyprus (A.D. 1573)*, transl. O. Pelosi, in: *Sources for the History of Cyprus*, eds. P. Wallace, A.G. Orphanides, vol. 10, Altamont 2001, §179.

bishops carrying the figure of crucified Christ<sup>54</sup> walked through the town. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Greek Church, even though it had a lower revenue than the Latin Church, systematically increased its influences in various areas of life on the island. It happened more than once that, due to the lack of priests who could say the mass in the Latin order, it was said by Greek priests.<sup>55</sup>

The discussion of the development of the Latin culture in Cyprus in the Middle Ages must include the topic of Gothic architecture.<sup>56</sup> Undoubtedly, its finest example was the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nicosia, whose construction began at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was designed and built in the style dominating in Île-de-France. Although today the part of Nicosia with the cathedral belongs to the Turks, and it has been converted into a mosque, it is still the best preserved example of new Gothic style in the Levant, initiated by the French kings from the Lusignan dynasty. Archbishop Eustorge de Montaigu greatly contributed to the extension of the cathedral: thanks to his efforts, it was expanded to such a state that it could become a place of royal crowning ceremonies.<sup>57</sup> Over the centuries the Cathedral of Saint Sophia served various functions: it was the archbishops' palace, a school and a cemetery.<sup>58</sup> Above all, however, it was a place where the Lusignans received the crown of Cyprus and later also of Jerusalem and Armenia. The trial of Cypriot Templars which took place in 1310 was also held in the Cathedral.<sup>59</sup>

The Cathedral of St. Nicholas, the second most important Catholic Church in Cyprus, was built in Famagusta. It was inspired by the French Cathedral in Reims, and its construction was begun around 1300, with the money donated by a rich noble lady from Cyprus, Isabella of Antioch. With time, after the collapse of Frankish countries in Syria and Palestine,

54 Ibidem, §179.

55 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, vol. 3, pp. 542-544.

56 N. Coldstream, *Gothic Architecture in the Lusignan Kingdom*, in: *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus*, eds. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, M. Iacovou, Nicosia 1998, pp. 51-61.

57 C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, vol. 1, Paris 1899, pp. 70-85; T.S.R. Boase, *The Arts in Cyprus. Ecclesiastical Art*, in: *A History of the Crusades*, general editor K.M. Setton, vol. 4: *The art and architecture of the Crusader state*, ed. H.W. Hazard, Madison 1977, pp. 166-168; M. Balard, *Laciński Wschód*, pp. 191-192; G. Jeffrey, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1918, p. 64-80; N. Coldstream, *Gothic Architecture in the Lusignan Kingdom*, p. 53-55; J.M. Andrews, *Santa Sophia in Nicosia: The Sculpture of the Western Portals and Its Reception*, "Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies", vol. 30, no. 1 (1999), pp. 63-90.

58 G. Grivaud, Ch. Schabel, *La ville de Nicosie*, in: *L'art gothique en Chypre*, eds. J.-B. de Vaire, P. Plagnieux, Paris 2006, p. 104.

59 A. Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1998, p. 44.

this town became the place where the Cypriot rulers were crowned Kings of Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup>

Bellapais Abbey, near Kyrenia is an example of a typical Gothic building representing the Lusignan style. It was founded by Canons Regular, who adopted the Premonstratensians' (the Norbertines') rule and came to the island soon after it was taken over by the Franks. The monastery they built was consecrated as the Abbey of St. Mary of the Mountain and soon gained the name of the Abbey of the Peace (in French "Abbaye de la paix"). With time the name was transformed into Bellapais. In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the monks from Bellapais adopted the Rule of St. Augustine, and the Relic of the True Cross they had been offered attracted masses of pilgrims, which contributed to the wealth of the Abbey.<sup>61</sup>

The Franks did not forget about extending the system of fortresses and fortifications around the biggest towns on the island. By the time they came to Cyprus, the following castles had been built there in the Byzantine period: Saint Hilarion Castle, called Didymi (the Twins) by the Greeks and Dieu d'Amour (the God of Love) by the Lusignans, and fortresses Buffavento and Kantara.<sup>62</sup> These three castles, Buffavento, Saint Hilarion and Kantara, were renovated and extended by the Lusignans, but dismantled by the Venetians, who saw no need to maintain them and treated them as potential rebels' place of residence. Instead, they turned a port town of Kyrenia into a fortress and built walls around Nicosia and Famagusta.<sup>63</sup>

An example of a smaller stronghold is a castle in the village of Kolossi, near Limassol, built by the Hospitallers, which became their main quarters on the island.<sup>64</sup> The knights owned the largest sugar cane plantations in this region, and even today their sugar refinery in Kolossi can be visited and its press with the wheel powered by water transported to the lock through the special aqueduct can be admired.<sup>65</sup>

60 T.S.R. Boase, *The Arts in Cyprus*, p. 172.

61 C. Enlart, *L'Art gothique*, pp. 209-220; G. Jeffrey, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, pp. 323-334, 482-488.

62 L. Burkiewicz, *Polityczna rola Królestwa Cypru*, p. 61; C. Enlart, *L'Art gothique*, pp. 428-436; D.M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, pp. 535-537.

63 N. Coldstream, M. Iacovou, *Venetian Fortifications*, in: *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus*, pp. 175-184.

64 E. Aristidou, *Kolossi Castle through the Centuries*, Nicosia 1983; see e.g.; L. Burkiewicz, *The Hospitallers and their sugar refinery in Kolossi in the context of cane sugar processing in Cyprus (13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, in: *Sacrum w mieście – średniowiecze i wczesna epoka nowożytna. Wymiar religijny, kulturalny i społeczny*, eds. D. Quirini-Popławska, L. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2016, pp. 111-130.

65 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, pp. 455-457; M.-L. von Wartburg, *Production du Sucre de Canne à Chypre: un Chapitre de Technologie médiévale*, in: *Coloniser au Moyen Age*, eds. M. Balard, A. Ducellier, Paris 1995, p. 126; G. Grivaud, *Peut-on parler d'une politique*

Latin and Greek art in Cyprus blended together. For example, thanks to Italian influences, the Cypriot paintings display proper perspective and the right body proportions.<sup>66</sup> Generally, however, Byzantine architecture in the Frankish period did not develop as quickly as in the previous centuries, and there were several reasons for this slowdown. Firstly, at the beginning of the rule of the Lusignan dynasty adorning the walls of religious buildings was done in secret, because, officially, the Orthodox religion was forbidden.<sup>67</sup> Secondly, the outflux of wealthy Greek inhabitants of the island contributed to the situation in which the Greek Church lost the financial support provided by rich aristocrats. This very factor, and not taking over the property by Latinists, frequently mentioned in literature and tradition, and not mass Latinization of everyday life, which in fact did not take place, was the greatest problem for the Greek culture and the Greek Church in Cyprus.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the Cypriot rulers who were Catholics defended the Greek Church because they were aware that, on the one hand, it would strengthen the loyalty of their Greek subjects, and, on the other hand, it would counter the increasing political influence of the hierarchs of the Catholic Church.<sup>69</sup>

When Richard the Lionheart conquered the island, Latin was not in use there. This language, once an official language of the Empire's administration, was replaced by Greek in Byzantium in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and soon became obsolete.<sup>70</sup> During the Lusignans' rule, French became the language of high administration, as the royal court was, of course, French, just as the ruling dynasty was.<sup>71</sup> However, Greek remained the language commonly used in everyday life, while in trade, mainly in port towns, people communicated in French, Italian and Arab. Latin was used for writing trade contracts.<sup>72</sup> With time Cypriot elites became bilingual and started communicating both in French and Greek; some feudal lords who came to Cyprus from the Holy Land even knew Arab. Knowing Greek and Arab was useful, as they were the languages of trade used in everyday life. By

*économique des Lusignan?*, in: Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου [Actes du troisième congrès international des études chypriotes], ed. A. Papageorgiou, vol. 2, Nicosie 2001, p. 363.

66 A. Stylianou, J.A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Bizantyne Art*, Nicosia 1997, pp. 90-106, 186-188.

67 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 290.

68 N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, pp. 185-188; Ch. Schabel, *The Status of the Greek Clergy*, pp. 168-173.

69 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 254 et seq.

70 *Ibidem*, p. 144.

71 G. Grivaud, *Literature*, in: *Cyprus. Society and Culture*, pp. 221-222.

72 *Ibidem*, p. 220.

incorporating elements of Arab, Greek, and other European languages, French spoken in Cyprus became a local lingua franca, and was no longer understood by the French from Europe.<sup>73</sup>

Cypriot literature of the Latin period is represented by three genres: works written in French (Old French), chronicles written in the Cypriot dialect of Greek with Frankish and Italian influences, and Cypriot folk works written in the Cypriot dialect.<sup>74</sup>

An example of works belonging to the first group is the chronicle entitled “Mémoires de Philippe de Novare” written in Old French by Philip of Novara.<sup>75</sup> The full text of the chronicle does not exist,<sup>76</sup> and today we know its content only because its fragments were rewritten in other Medieval chronicles, e.g. “Liber secretorum fidelium crucis.”<sup>77</sup> Philip came from Novara, a town in northern Italy. In Cyprus he offered his services to a Cypriot knight Peter Chappe, whom he accompanied at the Siege of Damietta in Egypt in 1218. Next he started working for John of Ibelin, a wealthy noble from the Holy Land. Around 1226 Philip settled in Cyprus, where he started a family.<sup>78</sup> For his services for the Ibelin family he was rewarded with lands in Cyprus and certain privileges, including the position of a judge in the High Court of Cyprus and an advisor of John of Ibelin, the regent for minor Henry of Lusignan.<sup>79</sup> His chronicle was the basis for other chroniclers and an important source of information about the events from the times of the Crusades.

Another important work from this period is the chronicle “Les Gestes des Chiprois” written by Gérard of Montreal<sup>80</sup> in French around 1325. It is a collection of chronicles presenting the history of the island from the

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73 M. Dąbrowska, *Łacinniczki nad Bosforem. Małżeństwa bizantyjsko-łacinijskie w cesarskiej rodzinie Paleologów (XIII-XV w.)*, Łódź 1996, p. 79; M. Balard, *Łacinijski Wschód*, p. 181; P.W. Edbury, *Frankš*, p. 64.

74 G. Grivaud, pp. 219-284.

75 See: Ł. Burkiewicz, *Polityka Wschodnia Fryderyka II Hohenstaufa*, pp. 12-13.

76 In 1913 a medieval historian Charles Kohler rewrote and published Philip of Novara's memoirs in French; P. de Novare, *Mémoires 1218-1243*, édites par Ch. Kohler, Paris 1913. Later, American historians J.L. La Monte and M.J. Hubert also worked on this text: in 1936 they translated it into English and added historical comments; P. de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, translated, with notes and introduction by J.L. La Monte, with verse translation of the poems by M.J. Hubert, New York 1936.

77 *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* autorstwa Marino Sanuto (Sanudo) is an Italian chronicle which includes certain information on Cyprus, It was written in the years 1307-1321.

78 P. de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 8-9.

79 Ibidem, p. 10. Philip of Novara's life and work were described in P.W. Edbury, *Phillip of Novara and the Livre de forme de plait*, in: *Praktika tou tritou diethnous kyprologikou sunedriou*, ed. A. Pappageorgiou, Nicosia 2001, pp. 555-569.

80 The original manuscript can be found in the National Library in Turin.

ancient times to 1309, which consists of three parts: “Chronique de Terre Sainte”, “Estoire de Philippe de Navarre” and “Chronique du Templier du Tyr”. The first<sup>81</sup> is a series of short annals describing the events happening in the Holy Land between 1132 and 1218,<sup>82</sup> the second<sup>83</sup> is an extended version of the chronicle written by Philip of Novara,<sup>84</sup> and the third describes the history of Cyprus and Syria between 1243 and 1309.<sup>85</sup> Only one manuscript of “Les Gestes des Chiprois” survived till today: the one rewritten in 1343 by John of Miège, who was a prisoner of Amaury de Mirmars, the Lord of the Kyrenia Castle. This manuscript was discovered in 1882 by M.C. Perrin in Piedmont in Italy, who made a copy and offered it to the French National Library.<sup>86</sup> This copy was the basis of G. Raynaud’s publication of “Les Gestes des Chiprois.”<sup>87</sup> Another edition of this source based on the same copy was published by count Louis de Mas Latrie, and it is a part of a monumental work “Recueil des Historiens des Croisades.”<sup>88</sup> So far “Les Gestes des Chiprois” has had several source editions and critical studies.<sup>89</sup>

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- 81 The first pages of “Chronique de Terre” are missing, but from the remaining ones we know that they contained information about the history of the world, from the moment of its creation.
- 82 P. de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 4.
- 83 Gérard of Montreal added certain verses from other sources (“Eracles, op. cit.” and “Annales de Terre Sainte”) to the original text written by Philip of Novara.
- 84 The chronicle of Philip of Novara was published by S. Melani, *Filippo di Novara. Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, Napoli 1994, by L. Minervini *Cronaca del Tempere di Tiro*, Napoli 2000, and as P. de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*.
- 85 Unfortunately, the last pages of this manuscript are missing. Probably Gérard of Montreal ended his chronicle in 1324, when King of Cyprus Henry II died. It can be deduced from the fact Florio Bustron based his *Chronique de Chypre* on *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, and divided it into several parts, the second of which ended in 1324.
- 86 L. Minervini, *Les Gestes des Chiprois et la tradition historiographique de l’Orient latin*, “Le Moyen Age”, vol. 110, no. 2 (2004), p. 315.
- 87 P. de Navarre, G. de Montréal, *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. G. Raynaud, Genève 1887.
- 88 *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, Paris 1841-1906 is a large collection of sources and includes five series: *Historiens occidentaux* (Western historians), vol. 1-5, *Historiens orientaux* (Eastern historians), vol. 1-5, *Historiens grecs* (Greek Eastern historians), vol. 1-2, *Documents arméniens* (Armenian documents), vol. 1-2; *Lois* (Laws), vol. 1-2. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* is the main collection of Latin, Greek, Arab, Old French and Armenian sources connected with the crusades, published in Paris in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- 89 M.L. Bulst, *Zur Geschichte der Ritterorden und des Königreichs Jerusalem im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Schlacht bei La Forbie am 17. Okt. 1244*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, Bd. 22 (1966), pp. 197-226; P. Richter, *Das Geschichtswerk des Philippe de Nevaire. Beiträge zur Historiographie in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten vornehmlich für die Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs II*, “Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung”, Bd. 13 (1892), pp. 255-310; A. Rossebastiano-Bart, *Sul disperso ms. di Cérines delle Gestes des Chiprois ora Varia 433 della*

The second group comprises chronicles written by Leontios Machairas (Macheras) and Georgios Boustronios and the translation from French of “Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois.”<sup>90</sup> Machairas, who came from an affluent and influential Greek family, was born in Cyprus around 1380. Before he devoted himself to writing the history of the island, he held various positions in the Lusignan administration. His work “Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled ‘Chronicle’” presents the history of the island between the year 309, that is the year of a legendary visit of Saint Helen in Cyprus, and the year 1432.<sup>91</sup> Machairas’s work was used as a model by another Cypriot Greek, Georgios Bustronios, the friend of King James II of Lusignan, who extended the chronicle till the year 1501.<sup>92</sup> Both Machairas and Bustronios wrote their works in the Cypriot dialect interspersed with numerous French and Italian expressions. Machairas described this dialect using the following words:

When the Latin period commenced, people began to study French, and their Greek became barbaric and remains like this till today, when we write in both French and Greek [we do it] in a way that no one in the world is able to say what our language is like.<sup>93</sup>

Three Frankish chroniclers should also be mentioned here, as they based their works on Greek chronicles: Francesco Amadi from Venice, Diomedes Strambaldi, a Cypriot of an Italian origin, and Florio Bustron, also a Cypriot of an Italian origin, who worked in the Venetian administration.

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*Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, “Studi francesi”, vol. 67 (1972), pp. 76-79; G. Tyl-Labory, *Gestes des Chiprois, Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge*, eds. G. Hasenohr, M. Zink, Paris 1992, p. 532.

90 G. Grivaud, *Literature*, p. 253; S. Varella, *Language Contact and the Lexicon In the History of Cypriot Greek*, Bern 2006, pp. 49-75.

91 *Chronique de Chypre par Léonce Machéras*, traduction française par E. Miller et C. Sathas, Paris 1882; L. Machairas [Macheras], *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled “Chronicle”*, ed. and trans. by R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols., Oxford 1932. Its manuscripts can be found in the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford, the National Library of St Marc’s in Venice and the National Library in Ravenna. The Oxford manuscript, written in Paphos in June 1555, was published by Constantine Sathas in 1873 in Venice. Interestingly, the manuscript in Ravenna has not been properly studied yet. The chronicle was published in English in 1932 by R.M. Dawkins.

92 George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus, 1458-1489*, ed. N. Coureas with supplementary Greek texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries transl. H. Pohlsander, Nicosia 2005; *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456-1489*, ed. and transl. by R.M. Dawkins, Melbourne 1964.

93 L. Machairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, vol. 1, §158; translation of the passage from Greek after: M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 294.

Most probably Amadi, an academic and a bibliophile, somehow acquired a manuscript of an anonymous chronicle, which he later signed with his own name. “Cronaca di Francesco Amadi”, written before 1489 offers an account of the history of the island beginning with the rule of caliph Omar (Umar) (7<sup>th</sup> century) and ending in the year 1441.<sup>94</sup> Strambaldi’s chronicle reaches the year 1458,<sup>95</sup> while Bustron’s chronicle – 1489.<sup>96</sup> The first two chronicles were based on Machairas’s chronicle, and Bustron’s chronicle was based on Amadi’s and Boustronios’s works.

M. Misztal mentions – well-developed in this period – Cypriot folk art written in a local dialect of Greek, which also referred to culture created by the Franks.<sup>97</sup> A ballad “On Arodafnousa” (Η Αροδαφνούσα), which is believed to tell a literary story of the persecution of Joanna d’Aleman, the mistress of King Peter I of Lusignan, by Queen Eleonor,<sup>98</sup> is a good example of Cypriot folk art.

When in June 1489 the Venetians took Cyprus over from abdicating Queen Catherine Cornaro, the widow of James II of Lusignan,<sup>99</sup> they prepared detailed plans to strengthen the defensive capability of Cypriot towns by increasing their fortifications.<sup>100</sup> In July 1570 the Turkish troops of sultan Selim II landed in Cyprus and after a year of fighting conquered the whole island.<sup>101</sup> This way Cyprus became a part of Turkey for the next 307 years – till 1878 – when the so called Cyprus Convention transferred the administration of the island to Great Britain.<sup>102</sup>

94 *Chronique d’Amadi [Cronaca di Francesco Amadi]*; S. Béraud, *Francesco Amadi, Cronaca di Cipro*, Nicosia 1999.

95 *Cronica del Regno di Cypro di Diomede Strambaldi Ciprioto*, in: *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, M. Réne de Mas Latrie, vol. 2, Paris 1891-1893.

96 *Chronique de l’île de Chypre par Florio Bustron*; Florio Bustron, *Historia overo Commentarii de Cipro*, introduzione di Gilles Grivaud, Nicosia 1998 (a reprint of the edition by M. Réne de Mas Latrie from 1886).

97 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 294.

98 M. Dąbrowska, *A Cypriot Story about Love and Hatred*, “Text Matters. A Journal of Literature, Theory and Culture”, vol. 4, no. 4 (2014), pp. 197-206; M. Pieris, *Cronaca e poesia popolare: Arodafnusa e Zuzana l’Aleman. Interrogativi e problemi*, in: *La presenza femminile nella letteratura neogreca*, Atti del VI Convegno di Studi Neogreci (Roma, 19-21 novembre 2001), a cura di A. Proïou, A. Armati, [Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neellenici XV], Roma 2003, pp. 49-62; G. Grivaud, *Literature*, pp. 280-281.

99 D. Quirini-Poplawska, *Urbs populosissima, opulentissima, liberalissima. Mit czy rzeczywistość późnośredniowiecznej Wenecji?*, Kraków 1997, pp. 151-152.

100 See: G.M. Perbellini, *The Fortress of Nicosia, Prototype of European Renaissance Military Architecture*, Nicosia 1994.

101 G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 3, pp. 878-1040; H. Īnalçik, *Imperium Osmańskie. Epoka klasyczna 1300-1600*, Kraków 2006, pp. 45, 53.

102 C.W.J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule*, London 1970, pp. 34-36.



From the perspective of time, it must be admitted that negative opinions regarding the attitude of the Latin church towards the Greek church originated in tradition and were repeated by chroniclers with vivid imagination, such as Stefano Lusignan, the author of “Chorograffia et breve historia universale dell’Isola de Cipro principiando di Noè per in fino 1572,”<sup>103</sup> and Gianfrancesco Loredano, the author of “Historie de’ re Lusignani.”<sup>104</sup> As it was mentioned above, their accounts are not confirmed by source materials available.<sup>105</sup>

Despite several centuries of the dominance of the Latin church and culture in Cyprus, not many Cypriots converted into Catholicism. Similarly, Latinization of certain areas of life did not transfer the island into a part of Western Europe. The Greek Church and culture offered the inhabitants of the island the support they needed, and even economic benefits connected with joining the Catholic Church did not tempt the majority of them to give up their Orthodox faith.

It should be added here that the ruling classes went through a slow process of assimilation with the local Greek nobility, who did not flee the island after it was conquered by the Franks. It is confirmed by the Venetian sources from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which list 126 noble families in Cyprus including the ones with Greek names e.g. Androutzes, Kallerges, Laskaris, Podocataros, Perakis and Sozomenosne.<sup>106</sup>

The symbol of failure of Latinization of the Greek society in Cyprus was the Bellapais Abbey, built at the beginning of the Latinists rule in Cyprus, only ruins of which remained in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>107</sup> In 1438, during the Council of Basel, Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, while describing representatives of particular churches taking part in the Council, wrote that the Latin Cypriots were more Greek than Latin.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, when in 1571 the Turks conquered Cypriot towns, they were greeted by some Cypriots, especially Jews, as liberators of the country from the Frankish rule.<sup>109</sup>

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103 Stefano Lusignano, *Chorograffia et breve Historia Universale dell’Isola di Cipro*.

104 J.F. Loredano, *Historie de’ re’ Lusignani, pubblicate da Henrico Giblet Cavalier*, per Giacomo Monti, libri undeci, Bologna 1647. The French edition: *Histoire des Rois de Chypre de la Maison de Lusignan... traduit de l’Italien du Cavalier Henri Giblet Cipri*, 2 volumes, Paris 1732.

105 M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, pp. 254-255.

106 *Excerpta Cyprica*, p. 123; G. Hill, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 8.

107 Ch. Schabel, *Religion*, pp. 214-219; M. Misztal, *Historia Cypru*, p. 268.

108 B. Englezakis, *Cyprus as a Stepping-Stone between East and West in the Age of the Crusades: The Two Churches*, in: *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. B. Englezakis, transl. N. Russell, Aldershot 1995, p. 218.

109 B. Arbel, *Jews in International Trade: The Emergence of the Levantines and Pontines*, in: *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, eds. R. Davis, B. Ravid, Baltimore-London 2001, pp. 73-96;

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