

**PAPHOS AND WESTERN CYPRUS:
1191 to 1571**



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Preface

This thesis grew out of an increasing interest in the medieval finds that were being discovered on the Theatre site at Paphos and in general for the eastern Mediterranean at the time of the Crusades. I have been excavating at the theatre for the past six years under the director of the site, Professor Richard Green. The topic of this thesis is study of the Medieval period from Richard I (Lionheart) 1191 to the end of the Venetian period in 1571, concentrating on Paphos and western Cyprus, using the written sources and archaeological evidence to establish activity in this area during this period. The written sources are by no means complete but are just an introduction into this period. A gazetteer of sites is included, with the material found discussed. The Greek Orthodox Churches have not been included as they have been the basis for many studies on iconography and style and many had already been established on the island prior to this period. Two of the most important sites in this area will also be discussed in detail and a brief look at ceramics and numismatics. The state of research for this period will also be briefly mentioned. Recent discoveries in Nicosia, although outside the area of this thesis, are important for this period. I have tried to be as current as possible with all references for the gazetteer.

I would like to thank the following people for their support and help during the writing of this thesis: Professor Richard Green for all his advice, and support, Professor Dimitrios Michaeilides who suggested this topic, Vathoulla Moustoukki, Nancy Serwint and all those at CAARI for their help and support, Chris Schabel for giving me some new sources of information, Holly Cook for all her help and guidance, Craig Barker, Bruce Cook, Tina Ashburner, Cathy and Bruce Oslington and my parents for all their love and support.

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Introduction

*'History in this island is almost too profuse'*¹

Cyprus has a long archaeological record from the Neolithic to the Colonial period. The study of some of these periods has until recently been somewhat neglected, with the interests of archaeologists mainly focusing on the periods from the Neolithic to the Roman with a strong emphasis on the Bronze Age. There have been many books devoted to the study of Byzantine icons and churches but less to the Frankish and Venetian remains, architecture, ceramics and numismatics. It is only recently that real interest and scholarship has begun in these areas.

The medieval history of Cyprus has been of interest to historians and scholars for longer than the archaeological remains of the same period. Early works include Estienne de Lusignan's² *Description de toute l'isle de Chypre*, published in 1580 and the rediscovery of the period by Louis de Mas Latrie, in his three volume work *Histoire de l'isle de Chypre sous le règne des princes des la maison de Lusignan*, published in 1861 along with other articles.³ After this work, the interest in the 'Latin East' as it became known, increased. Camille Enlart came to the island and then published his book *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, in 1899, a description with illustrations of all the surviving monuments that were built by the Crusaders, Lusignans and Venetians over the whole island. This has become a valuable reference and source, as some of these monuments have not survived to the present day. It was not until the 1940s that an English contribution to the subject appeared. Sir George Hill's four volume *A History of Cyprus* is a valuable work and was the basis for many scholars with the same interest. In the

¹'History in this island is almost too profuse. It gives one a sort of mental indigestion.', Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (1937)

² He was a descendant of the Lusignan family, who ruled the island of Cyprus.

³ 'Notices sur les monnaies et les sceaux des rois de Chypre de la Maison de Lusignan', *BEC*, V, 1843-1844, 118-142, 413-437; 'Des relations politiques et commerciales de l'Asie Mineure avec l'isle de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la Maison de Lusignan', *BEC*, VI, 1844, 301-330, 484-521, VII, 1845-1846, 121-142; 'Notice d'un voyage archéologique en Orient', *BEC*, VII, 1845-1846, 489-544; 'Les comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon du XIIe au XIXe siècle', *Revue des questions historiques*, XXVI, 1879, 181-200; *L'île de Chypre Sa situation présente et ses souvenirs du Moyen-Age*, Paris 1879; 'Les comtes du Carpas', *BEC*, XLI, 1880, 375-395; 'Généalogie des rois de Chypre de la famille de Lusignan', *Arch. Ven.*, 1881, 309-364; 'Histoire des archevêques latins de l'île de Chypre', *AOL*, II, 1884, 207-328; 'Registre des lettres du roi de Chypre', *BEC*, LV, 1894, 235

1930s and 1940s excavations were being carried out and finds were being made on the island, with the first analysis of the Byzantine and Medieval ceramics.

Recent scholarship includes books and papers on a wide variety of issues and problems that arise when looking at the Medieval period of Cyprus. Peter Edbury has written a comprehensive book *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, published in 1991, along with numerous articles dealing with the social history of Cyprus.⁴ Anthony Luttrell specialises in the history of the Knights Hospitaller and has also written on the sugar industry in Cyprus⁵. Michael Metcalf has analysed and written about the coinage and economy of Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus and has just completed a three volume work on Lusignan coinage of Cyprus, *The White Bezants and Deniers of Cyprus 1192-1285*, *The Silver Coinage of Cyprus 1285-1382* and *The Gros, Sixains and Cartzias of Cyprus 1382-1489*. Jean Richard has written numerous articles on all aspects of the

⁴ 'The Crusading Policy of King Peter I of Cyprus', in P.M.Holt (ed), *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of Crusades*, 1977, 90-105; 'Latin Dioceses and Peristerona: a Contribution to the Topography of Lusignan Cyprus', *Epetiris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon*, 8, 1978, 45-51; 'The "Cartulaire de Manosque": a Grant to the Templars in Latin Syria and a Charter of King Hugh I of Cyprus', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 51, 1978, 174-81; 'The Murder of King Peter I of Cyprus (1359-1369)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6, 1980, 219-233; 'Cyprus and Genoa: the Origins of the War 1373-4', *Praktika tou Defterou Diethnous Kupriologikou Sunedriou*, 2, 1986, 109-126; 'Cypriot Society under Lusignan Rule', *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus*, 1989, 17-34; 'The Medieval Kingdom of Cyprus', *Medieval History*, 2, 1992, 86-91; *The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours*, 1993; 'The Templars in Cyprus', in M.Barber (ed) *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, 1994, 189-195; 'The Aftermath of Defeat: Lusignan Cyprus and the Genoese, 1374-1382', in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer*, 1995, 132-40; 'Famagusta in 1300', in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, 1995, 337-353; 'Le regime des Lusignan en Chypre et la population locale', in *Coloniser au Moyen Age*, 1995, 354-358, 364-365;

⁵ 'Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the Fourteenth Century', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXVI, 1958, 195-212; 'Emmanuele Piloti and Criticism of the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1306-1444', *Annales de l'ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte*, XX, 1962, 1-20; 'Intrigue, Schism and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377-1384', *Speculum* XLI, 1966, 30-48; 'Feudal Tenure and Latin Colonisation at Rhodes: 1306-1415', *English Historical Review* LXXXV, 1970, 755-775; 'The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291', *Acts of the International Congress of Cypriot Studies II*, 1972, 161-171; 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306-1421', *A History of the Crusades, Vol III The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (ed) H.W. Hazard, 1975, 278-313; 'The Hospitallers in Cyprus: 1310-1378', *Kypriakai Spoudai* L, 1986, 155-184; 'Sugar and Schism: The Hospitallers in Cyprus from 1378-1386', *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, *Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, (eds) A.A.M. Bryer & G.S. Geroghallides, 1993, 157-166; 'The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1386', *Cyprus and the Crusades, Papers Given at the International Conference 'Cyprus and the Crusades', Nicosia 6-9 September 1994*, (eds) N. Coureas & J. Riley-Smith, 1995, 125-142; 'The sugar industry and its importance for the economy of Cyprus during the Frankish period', *The Development of the Cypriot Economy: From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, (eds) V. Karageorghis & D. Michaelides, 1996, 163-174; 'The Hospitallers' Early Written Records', *The Crusades and their Sources, Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, (eds) J. France & W.G. Zajac, 1998, 135-154

Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus.⁶ In 1993 *'The Sweet Land of Cyprus'*. *Papers given at the 25th Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, included papers on the Frankish period. In 1994 there was a conference held in Nicosia called "Cyprus and the Crusades", at which numerous papers were given and then published the following year, concerning all aspects, art, architecture, trade and the economy of Cyprus during the Medieval period. The Latin church in Cyprus has not been overlooked, with Nicholas Coureas' *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195-1312* and the publication of the *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Christopher Schabel. Gilles Grivaud has looked at the primary sources of the period, as well as writing on Frankish society and government. Benjamin Arbel concentrates on the Venetian period of rule and all aspects of trade and society. The art of medieval Cyprus has been studied by Annemarie Weyl Carr and Jaroslav Folda, the ceramics mainly by Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis and Marie-Louise von Wartburg. The historical interest in Medieval Cyprus is alive and well but the archaeology of the period is only now making a small resurgence following Megaw's work on the Medieval ceramics in the 1930s and 1940s. There are very few Medieval archaeological sites in Cyprus that have been excavated and published, the best of these being the excavation of the Kouklia sugar mill and refinery.

Much has also been written about the bigger and more important towns of the period, Famagusta, Limassol and Nicosia, but Paphos has mainly been neglected or mentioned on the periphery. Its remains are not as impressive as to the north, such as the castles of Buffavento, St Hilarion, Kantara to be found on the northern ranges and Kyrenia and Famagusta castles, with their respective churches and surrounding administrative areas, and Kolossi castle in the Limassol area. Nicosia itself had some of the most important architectural remains from the period including the Lusignan palace⁷, but these were destroyed, first by the Venetians who built the surrounding fortification wall that can be seen today, and second by the Ottoman and following periods. Paphos never had the

⁶ see the Bibliography for articles by Richard and Metcalf

⁷ At the time of submission current excavation (beginning June 2002) in Nicosia may have brought to light the remains of the Lusignan Palace. This building and the finds found within it will be of major importance

same importance as that of Nicosia, but it was still the most important settlement on the west coast of Cyprus and during the thirteenth century its harbour was more active than that of Famagusta. It was the first port of call in Cyprus, on the way to the east and Holy Lands and the last port of call on the return journey. The archaeological evidence to be found is centered in a few specific areas, in Paphos itself and then in some of the villages in the area.

The topic of this thesis is a study of the medieval period (from Richard the Lionheart, 1191, to the Ottoman takeover, 1571) concentrating on Paphos and its surrounding territory, the south west of the island including a gazetteer of sites of medieval occupation. The aim of the thesis is to establish what activity there was in Paphos during the period, to see if as commonly thought it was a backwater and isolated from the rest of Cyprus or if it was flourishing in certain periods. By combining the archaeological evidence with the written sources of the period, it is hoped a fuller picture of the area may emerge. While many scholars have looked to the written sources to provide information for this period, and a history has been able to emerge, the archaeological evidence has been ignored and neglected. Historical sources provide important information on the workings of government, trade and some aspects of the day to day life of people in this period but they cannot always provide a full account of what was taking place. The historical sources must be used carefully, the purpose of their writing must be taken in to account when being studied for any specific motives or bias and any bias must be taken into account when being used. Historical sources cannot always be relied upon to provide accurate information, in some cases the source is second-hand information, the writer just repeating the common writing of the period This is true of some travellers' descriptions. Archaeological investigation provides evidence for what and where people built, how they built, what they produced and how they lived and filling in gaps from the historical sources. Excavation and survey material should be used together to form as complete a picture as possible when looking at a large area. Excavation of sites, from houses to castles provide information on the day to day living and material culture. Survey provides

to the study of Medieval archaeology in Cyprus, especially for Nicosia where there are few medieval remains left.

information on how the surrounding area was used, and can bring to light settlement patterns and other possible sites for excavation. By combining the historical sources, excavation and survey material a more complete picture may emerge for this area during the Medieval period.

Beginning with a brief history of the Medieval period and a look at primary sources from the period and historical sources from later periods that can be used, travellers' descriptions and other relevant documents, to compare with what has been excavated and remains to the present. Following that will be a systematic study of sites, a gazetteer, with more discussion and description of the more relevant and important sites. The next chapter will use the sources again to look at what the area was known for and what was being exported from Cyprus to the rest of the Mediterranean and the importance of the ports and harbours of Cyprus. The material evidence will be studied, architecture and building techniques, ceramics, numismatics and their importance. Paphos will be looked at, in relation to the rest of Cyprus, what function it served and its importance to the island and to the rest of the Mediterranean and what this meant for Cyprus.

Chapter 1 History and sources of the period

History

Cyprus was of importance before its conquest by Richard I (Lionheart). In Late Antiquity, from 647AD to 911, the Arabs were regularly raiding the island and the Byzantine emperors were trying to bring it into the Byzantine Empire, which they finally succeeded in doing in 965AD. Cyprus was considered to be a lucrative possession, producing a number of goods that were most likely exported, and with the First Crusade, Cyprus was used as a supply depot. Mukaddasi writing in 985, describes Cyprus “over against Tyre lies the island of Qubrus, said to be twelve days’ journey round. It is full of populous cities, and offers the Muslims many advantages in their trade thither, by reason of the great quantities of merchandise, stuffs and goods, which are produced there. The island is in the power of whichever nation is overlord in these seas. It lies distant across the water a sail of a night and a day...”¹ Sugar was amongst these “stuffs and goods”; it had reached the island by the tenth century.² Cyprus was also producing wheat, barley, pulses, cheese, wine, meat and olive oil. The First Crusade 1095-1100 brought pilgrims and crusaders either journeying to the Holy Land or returning. With this Cyprus became an important supply base for the Crusaders, supplying timber and copper and an important resting point for pilgrims. The First Crusade also brought the Italian maritime republics to trade in the eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus benefited by virtue of its position on the sea routes to the west. In 1126 the Venetians obtained trading concessions on Cyprus and there was a western European community resident in Limassol by the time Richard arrived in 1191³. The coastal towns of Kyrenia, Limassol, Famagusta and Paphos had ports, which were by all accounts busy. It was still a Byzantine possession under the rule of Isaac Komnenos, who in 1184 had seized power of the island and had himself declared emperor.

¹ Mukaddasi 82, translated in *Devia Cypria*, Cobham 1908, 5

² It had reached Cyprus from India via Egypt. Aristeidou 1980b, 69-72; Aristeidou 1983, 33-49; Aristeidou 1984, 63-69

³ Edbury 1991, 3

Richard the Lionheart came to Cyprus in 1191, on his way to the Holy Land on what was to become known as the Third Crusade. Richard had left Rhodes on 1 May and his fleet ran into a storm, a few ships were separated and went on to Cyprus; one of these had Richard's sister and betrothed on board. Isaac Komnenos tried to entice both women to come ashore, with the probable intention of keeping them hostage, but they refused. Richard arrived on 5 May and when he learned of Isaac's intent he promised reprisals. Richard landed at Limassol the following day and defeated the Cypriots in a skirmish nearby. Richard returned to Limassol and on 12 May was married. Isaac Komnenos had still not given up and Richard fought one more battle where Isaac's forces were defeated again. Richard occupied Nicosia and Kyrenia and the island was completely in his hands. A month after his arrival on 5 June, Richard left for Palestine.⁴

Richard now had the island, but within a few weeks of his departure sold his rights to the Knights Templar. The island was sold for one hundred thousand dinars, with the Knights paying forty thousand dinars in down payment, the remaining sixty thousand to be paid with revenues collected from the island. The Knights Templar had trouble controlling the island, exploiting it and thinking that only a limited number of Knights would be needed to keep it under control. In April 1192 they were faced with revolt, which they suppressed mercilessly. They turned the island back over to Richard, who promptly sold it again to Guy de Lusignan, on similar terms to those of the Templars.⁵ The island was now under Latin rule and would remain so for the next four hundred years.

Cyprus now became an important staging post for operations to the east and for supply to the remaining Crusader kingdoms on the mainland. Guy de Lusignan's acquisition of the island made it attractive to emigrate and settle, from both the east and the west. Émigrés brought with them the ideas and institutions of western origin, although they had been modified by their introduction into an eastern environment and were further developed and modified on the island during the period of Latin rule. The political and ecclesiastical institutions were basically laid out the same way. Cyprus became a feudal holding

⁴ Ibid, 7

⁵ Ibid, 8

divided into various fiefs and bishoprics. This lasted until Cyprus became integrated with the Venetian Republic in 1489. The Lusignans set about fortifying and modifying the Byzantine castles of the north and east and building new monuments in Nicosia, among them administrative centres and palaces. The coastal towns of Paphos and Kyrenia were perhaps better protected than the rest. Paphos already had an existing castle or ‘*φρουριον*’ (fort), in which Saint Neophytos was imprisoned for a day and a night in 1159. The castle appears to have been situated near the harbour. Neophytos refers to the church of the Virgin Limeniotissa which stood inside the castle.⁶ A bishop of Iceland, who called at Paphos around 1150, reported that there was a detachment of Varangians garrisoning the port.⁷ The castle of Saranda Kolones was thought to have been this castle, but with excavation this was proven wrong and the castle to be of a later date.⁸ The other ports of Famagusta, Limassol and Larnaca were also modified. With the fall of Acre in 1291 and the end of Frankish rule in the Holy Lands, Cyprus became the closest outpost to the Syro-Palestinian coast and the most important trading centre in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Cyprus already had trade connections to the west. By 1126 Venetians had commercial privileges in Cyprus⁹ and in July 1218 the Genoese had freedom of trade, free jurisdiction and two plots of land, one in Limassol and one in Famagusta. By 1291 there were also Pisans, Catalans, Syrians, Nestorians and Armenians trading in large groups on the island. The Knights Hospitaller and Templar had property on the island and after the dissolution of the Templars in 1311, their property was absorbed by the Hospitallers, making them the second largest land owners in Cyprus after the Lusignans.

Famagusta became the most important port on the island because of its proximity to the Syro-Palestinian coast. It also became the town where the Kings of Cyprus, the Lusignans, were crowned the Kings of Jerusalem after the fall of Acre in 1291. Many

⁶ Galatariotou 1991, 49

⁷ Megaw 1988, 147

⁸ Megaw 1984, 333-340

⁹ Edbury 1991, 3

trading houses had their headquarters in Famagusta.¹⁰ Paphos seems to have become relatively unimportant compared to Famagusta and the other ports in the fourteenth century, after the fall of Acre in 1291. Many pilgrims and travellers seem to have passed through Paphos, including the Anglo-Saxon Saewulf, who called at Paphos in 1102. Welf, duke of Bavaria, who died and was buried in Paphos on his return from Jerusalem in 1102-3; Eric the Good, king of Denmark, who also died in Paphos on his return from the Holy Land and was buried in the cathedral of the town in 1103; St. Kendeas and his companions, who arrived at Paphos from Palestine in 1187 and St. Constantine and his companions who also left Palestine in the same year on a ship bound for Paphos.¹¹ It is evident that Paphos was particularly busy with pilgrims at that stage. In later stages its importance diminished due to a number of factors.

Cyprus flourished during the Lusignan and Venetian rule, becoming more a cosmopolitan society and quite wealthy, due to the trade of its own products, among the most important being the sugar trade. The Lusignan family ruled Cyprus until 1473. The last queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro was a Venetian, who had been made a daughter of the Republic and subsequently married James I, who died in 1473. Caterina Cornaro ruled Cyprus from 1473, with advice from Venice; and finally ceded the island to the Republic in 1489, returning to Venice to live the rest of her life. Cyprus under Venetian rule prospered greatly, although most of the profit went back to Venice. The French were still allowed to hold and own their property but they had no say in the running of the island. The trade of goods was still the most important asset of Cyprus with salt and cotton becoming popular items to trade under Venetian rule. The society of Cyprus retained its cosmopolitan feel, with various nationalities on the island. The Greek Orthodox Church managed to regain its position on the island after being suppressed by the Lusignans. There was no good continuation of rule, as the governors from Venice were relieved every two years, unlike the previous rulers. The Venetians soon began to notice the threat from the Ottoman Turks and began to make preparations. In Nicosia the peripheral districts were demolished to make way for the new fortification walls which still remain

¹⁰ Aristidou 1995, 265

¹¹ See note 65, p.54, Galatariotou 1991

today and in Kyrenia and Famagusta modifications and new walls were added. All to no avail. In September of 1570 Nicosia fell, followed by Famagusta in August 1571. With the fall of Famagusta, the almost four hundred year western influence on Cyprus came to an end, not to be seen again until British rule, which began in 1878.

With the establishment of Frankish rule, many of the Greek aristocracy were deprived of their possessions. Guy of Lusignan was anxious to stabilise the occupation of the island and ensure its defences. By depriving the Greek aristocracy of their possessions and redistributing them to the Franks, as fiefs, he was able to ensure support. Most of these feudal grants were never really connected with important territories, most included only a single village or casal. The customs that had been created in the Holy Land, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem were imposed in respect to feudal law.¹² The king surrounded himself with a group of officials, whose titles were seneschal, constable, marshal, butler and chamberlain. The king retained the major towns of Nicosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, Limassol and Paphos as part of the royal domain and at no point was a major fortification granted to a vassal to be held as part of his fief. The High Court was made up of the liegemen, who judged cases concerning fiefs and vassals. It was also the place where vassals could express themselves to the king.

The Latin Church was established on Cyprus in 1196. Cyprus was already Christian but the secular powers on the island needed the papacy for a number of reasons: to confer legitimacy on the king, to provide a religious institution that could crown the new kings of Cyprus without having to rely on the Greek Orthodox Church (who were regarded as schismatics in the west) and to be able to provide for the religious needs of the new settlers.¹³ The archbishop was in Nicosia and there were three other bishops, at Paphos, Famagusta and Limassol. The bishop of Paphos was in charge of the collection of tithes from the nobility and was second to the archbishop in Nicosia.¹⁴ The Orthodox Church became weaker and poorer, with some of its land and property taken and given to the Latin Church. The Orthodox Church became subordinated to the Latin Church, which

¹² Richard 1989d, 154

¹³ Coureas 1997a, 3

¹⁴ Ibid, 6, see note 9

was trying to attract the Orthodox population, in the hope of converting them. The majority of the population was Orthodox with only the nobles and king being Catholic. There were a number of other religious and monastic orders established on Cyprus also. The Templars and Hospitallers have already been mentioned; there were also Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, Cistercians, Praemonstratensians and Carmelites. The Praemonstratensian Abbey of Bellapais is probably the most well known and best surviving monument.

Sources

There is a large variety of written documents that chronicle this period of Cypriot history, from letters in ecclesiastic archives to merchants' trading documents. Along with travellers' observations of the island, as they passed through, on their way to and from the Holy Land. Some of these sources extend beyond the Frankish and Venetian periods, as they provide descriptions of the area that some of the earlier sources ignore. These later sources are from the Ottoman period of occupation of the island.

Travellers' descriptions and observations of Paphos, dating from the Frankish and Venetian periods of rule, tend to concentrate on describing and mentioning the ancient associations of Paphos with the worship of Aphrodite, or Venus as she was commonly called, and noting places to do with early Christian worship. As most travellers were on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, it is understandable that they would be more interested in sites that had an early Christian connection or present places of worship, rather than any other administrative or secular buildings. Very few descriptions mention any other buildings, except the two towers at the harbour. Some observations were made without ever leaving the ship, just describing what they could observe from the ship and perhaps what they were told about the town.

The incorporation of letters in ecclesiastic archives illustrates the fact that Paphos was an important bishopric and a rich one. Letters concerning the collection of tithes and the importance of monasteries illustrate this. One of the letters also shows the fact that religious orders outside of Cyprus had property in Paphos.

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(1) Willibrand von Oldenburg, travelling in 1211 wrote,

“We continued our pilgrimage thence to visit the cross of the thief who was crucified on our Lord’s right hand, and reached Lamezis [Limassol]. This is a city but slightly fortified, lying by the sea, with a much frequented harbour. Here is the first suffragan see of the lord bishop of Nicosia. Near it are the vineyards of Engaddi... Hence we made the ascent of the mountain called of the Holy Cross, which outtops all the mountains of Cyprus. On its peak is a small convent... From this mountain (Stavrovouni)¹⁵ we saw Paphos: this too is on the shore and contains the second suffragan see of the lord bishop of Nicosia. It is a small town and they still show there the tower on which in the days of heathen ignorance Venus was worshipped by her lovers”.¹⁶ Stavrovouni is located south of Nicosia, on the present road from Nicosia to Limassol.

(2) Latin documents surviving in the Papal Registers show that the bishop of Paphos and Paphos itself were of some importance.¹⁷ The following examples date from the thirteenth century. The first dates to the 18th of January 1224 and says that “the bishop of Paphos has positions to give away in his church, according to the ruling of the fourth Lateran council, when they have devolved onto him.”¹⁸ The second is in regard to a tithes issue and dates to the 19th of February 1236, “a letter to the bishop of Paphos regarding tithes, landholders who have land and are not paying tithes must be compelled to do so by law.”¹⁹ The third dates to the 30th of December 1237 and mentions property held in Paphos, “St Mary of Acre (a religious order), the estate that is in the city of Paphos with a cistern, given by Queen Alice, in which the church, you started to construct the church to Holy Mary of Egypt, on that property.”²⁰ It also mentions the corn, wine cheeses, pulses, rice, oil, sugar, candlesticks, and soap that were being

¹⁵ This is the author’s own identification of the mountain not Cobham’s. This identification is not certain and may be wrong, but from von Oldenburg’s description Stavrovouni seems to be the most likely place. It was recently brought to the author’s notice that a village in the Paphos area was called Stavrovounos but the author could not find any trace of this village. The only villages with a close resemblance to the name of Stavrovouni in the Paphos district are Stavrokonnou and Stavros tis Vuridas neither having a convent with a piece of the Holy Cross.

¹⁶ Cobham 1908, 14

¹⁷ With thanks to Chris Schabel who first mentioned these to me and translated them.

¹⁸ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, compiled by A. Pressutti, Rome 1888-1895, no 4690

¹⁹ *Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 1907, no 2985

²⁰ *Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 1907, no 4013

produced by the abbey of St Mary from its properties in the Paphos district.²¹ The fourth document is again about the issue of tithes, dating to the 9th of October 1238, “Petition of Odo of Montbelliard (constable of Jerusalem), the bishop of Paphos wanted the tithes on the casale of Tarsis, he sighted him to his presence (the bishop) the same constable told him that Aimery wouldn’t have to pay previous bishop elects (papal legates) in front of them with the agreement of Aimery, with the Pope, he wouldn’t have to pay these things. The bishop said if he didn’t pay he would be excommunicated. Please figure out what’s going on.”²²

The fifth document dates to the 2nd of March 1239, “To the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the legate of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Paphos, wants to transfer to Nazareth to become Archbishop there, the area is a sick place, and the bishop cannot speak Greek or understand the rites of the Greeks there, of this he is ignorant.”²³ This is an important document as the bishop mentions that Paphos is a “sick place”, and there are no other documents that the author has found dating to this period in the thirteenth century. In 1211 Willibrand von Oldenburg mentions that he could see Paphos from Stavrovouni, this is doubtful and he did not actually travel there. The next traveller to arrive at Paphos was Jacobus de Verona in 1335. There is for over one hundred years a lack of travellers’ descriptions, with the only documents being religious in nature. The sixth document dates to the 28th of February 1248 and shows that Paphos was being used as a source of income “Nicolas Bonvassall, chancellor of Cyprus should get income from the Paphos bishopric”²⁴. The seventh document dates to the 7th of May 1256, and mentions that certain canons refuse to live in Paphos, “the Pope concedes to Paul (bishop of Paphos) the right to tell the canons of the church of Paphos, if they don’t live in Paphos, after one year of warning to take their income”²⁵. In the next document, dating to the 7th of May 1256, a need for priest is seen, “He can install two priests in the church who are prepared to live there, to administer the services”²⁶. In 1262 the bishop of Paphos could provide for

²¹ Coureas 1997a, 242

²² *Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 1907, no 4551

²³ *Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 1907, no 4753, see Appendix for Latin

²⁴ *Les registres de Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, 1884, no 3698

²⁵ *Les registres d’Alexandre IV*, ed. M.M. de la Ronciere, 1902, no 1432

²⁶ *Les registres d’Alexandre IV*, ed. M.M. de la Ronciere, 1902, no 1433

two canons, for the church there²⁷. In 1263 the bishopric of Paphos “inherited the right to dispose of something up to the sum of 3000 Saracen bezants, all the personal income of his to dispose of for his soul”, showing that there was quite a bit of income from Paphos.²⁸ The last document dates to the 4th of April 1302, “Peter elected and confirmed, after Nicholas. Canons of the church were seven in number, although four of them were bound by several chains of excommunication, since they had deliberated on election of the future pastor and had been compromised. Said Peter on pretext of election and confirmation taking the goods (moveable) meddling with the goods. Took moveable goods to the value of 20,000 gold florins, within the space of three months and obliged the church to pay to certain creditors 2000 more gold florins.”²⁹ These documents are useful in showing what was happening in Paphos in regards to the Latin Church, especially showing that it must have been a rich diocese and with document five, a “sick place” at one time.

(3) In 1306 Pope Clement V wrote a letter to the Bishop of Paphos, concerning some monasteries that were seized by some schismatics.

“[1] To his venerable brother [Robert?], bishop of Paphos. The greater devotion to the Lord which we learn that you glow with, the more confidently we commit to you for carrying out the things that are welcome in the eyes of divine majesty and pertain to the praise and glory of His name and the growth of the Catholic faith.

[2] It has come to the attention of our Apostolate, in a trustworthy report, that a certain Jorgianus [a Georgian?] and some Greek schismatics, calling themselves abbots of the monasteries of Gelia, Lacrona, and St Sabbas of the diocese of Paphos, wrongly seized these monasteries and, to the offense of the Celestial King, retain what they seized. But because of the servile status of these schismatics, these monasteries have collapsed seriously. We aim with anxious care at the re-erection of these monasteries for the glory of the divine name and the increase of the Catholic faith, and we want the Catholic faith to flourish and the cult of the divine name to grow in these monasteries, when the errors of every infidelity have been purged. Therefore, through an Apostolic letter we order

²⁷ *Les registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. J. Giraud, 1900, no 123

²⁸ *Les registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. J. Giraud, 1900, no 212

²⁹ *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. G. Digard, 1884-1939, no 4534

your fraternity, if it is so, to attend to reforming these monasteries by yourself or through another or others with some Catholic religious, if they can be profitably found in those parts, otherwise with some faithful and respectable secular clerics. Those who refuse, through censure, *etc.* Notwithstanding if the Apostolic See has granted to any people that they cannot be put under interdict, suspended, or excommunicated by an Apostolic letter not making full and explicit and word for word mention of this grant. Given in Lyons, the Kalends of February, in the first year.”³⁰

(4) Jacobus de Verona, travelling in 1335 wrote,

“With a calm sea and favourable wind we sailed past Rhodes, which belongs to the Brethren of S. John of Jerusalem and reached Cyprus in great alarm, because a pirate...was following us or close to us. At length by God’s help we escaped him and arrived at the city of Paphos, commonly called Bafa...”³¹

(5) Ludolf von Suchen, travelled through Cyprus sometime between 1336 and 1341, these are his observations on Paphos,

“There are three Bishoprics in Cyprus, at Paphos, Nymocia and Famagusta, and one Metropolitan at Nycosia... Paphos, whilom a great and godly city, is the oldest in Cyprus: it lies on the seashore opposite Alexandria and is now well-nigh destroyed by frequent earthquakes. SS. Paul and Barnabas turned this city to the faith of Christ and thence was the whole world turned to that faith, as is shown in the Acts of the Apostles.

Concerning the castle of Venus. Near Paphos once stood the castle of Venus, where they were wont to adore an idol of Venus, and came to visit its threshold from distant countries, and all noble lords and ladies and damsels were gathered there. It was there that counsel was first taken for the destruction of Troy, for Helen was taken captive as she journeyed thither. In this temple also all ladies and damsels before their bethrothal yielded themselves to men; for in Cyprus above all lands men are by nature most

³⁰ Schabel 2001, 339-340. The monastery of Gelia, could possibly be the ruins of a monastery that is located in the forest, past the village of Gialia, to the east of Polis. This monastery is identified as Agios Mamas on the Cyprus Tourist map for the Paphos region. The location of the other two monasteries referred to are unknown to the author.

³¹ Cobham 1908, 16

luxurious. For the soil of Cyprus and especially where the castle is, if a man sleep thereon, of its own self will all the night provoke a man to lust.

Near Paphos is the place where S. Hylarius lived and worked many miracles, and many other places where many saints lived and especially S. Mamas, who was by family of Lucania, whom the Greeks devoutly and intently invoke for the cure of abscesses.

Concerning the vineyard of Engadi. In this same province of Paphos is the vineyard of Engadi: its like nowhere to be found. It is situated in a very high mountain, and measures two miles in length and in breadth, girt on all sides with a lofty rock and a wall; on one side it has a very narrow entrance and within it is quite level. In this vineyard grow vines and clusters of many different kinds, some of which produce grapes of the bigness of plums, others small grapes like peas, others again grapes without stones, grapes in shape like an acorn, all transparent and grapes and clusters of many other kinds are seen therein. It belonged to the Templars, and more than a hundred Saracen captives were daily therein, whose only task was to clean and watch that vineyard, and indeed I have heard from many of experience that God had made for the use of men no fairer or nobler ornament under the sun. And so we read of it in the Song of Songs 'my beloved is unto me as a cluster (of Cyprus) in the vineyard of Engadi.'³²

(6) The record of the journey taken by an anonymous Englishman to the Holy Land in 1344-1345 provides a description of Cyprus and mentions Paphos.

"As we were then unable, owing to contrary winds, to prosecute our journey any further, our ship's boat brought us ashore, whence, after going two miles, we reached the city of Paphos, where S. Barnabas was sorely entreated. Having received the Holy Communion, we did not walk back to the ship but for five days travelled through the Kingdom of Cyprus past mountains, hills, valleys, rocks and torrents."³³

(7) Pero Tafur, set out from Spain in 1436 to travel to Jerusalem, finally returning there in 1439. During this journey he travelled to many cities around the Mediterranean, and stopped twice in Cyprus, performing two missions for the king. He mentions Paphos a

³² Ibid, 18-19

³³ Mogabgab 1943, 56

few times, but does not give a description of any of the buildings to be found there. He writes,

“And we sailed a lot in three days, passing the Gulf of Satalia, and we went towards the island of Cyprus, along its outer part, towards a city they call Paphos, uninhabited because of bad air and bad water.”³⁴

“And from there I left for the port of Paphos where the king had given instructions, on account of the great plague in Paphos, that I be lodged in a village on top of a mountain, which is a salutary place; and I stayed in the house of Diego Thenorio, a Castilian squire, and I had great pleasure in his company. And after three days an eighteen-bench skiff arrived in the port of Paphos which was to carry me...”³⁵

“And I set out to sea and in seven days landed at the port of Paphos, where I had embarked, a very afflicted place; and on the very day that I arrived, the Bishop and two of his squires had died; and God was merciful to me in that as soon as I put my foot on the ground, right away I rode on the animals of the Bishop and his men and left for the court of the King of Cyprus which was in Nicosia.”³⁶

(8) The chronicle of Leontios Makhairas known as the Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled ‘Chronicle’ is a narrative history of the island up to 1458. Makhairas concentrates on the period from 1359 to 1458. He also includes an earlier history of the island from the story of St Constantine through to Richard I and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom by Guy de Lusignan up to 1359 and the reign of King Peter I. The excerpts taken from the narrative deal with Paphos and the Paphos district.

“Book II, §134. And in 1363 his highness the prince, the regent of Cyprus, sent two galleys from Famagusta to Adalia to take them food and assistance: and they appointed Sir Nicholas Lase as captain, and in the other was Sir Hugh de Bon, a burgess of Famagusta. And they went to Paphos; the galley in which Sir Hugh de Bon was was wrecked, and eight men were lost...”³⁷

³⁴ Nepaulsingh 1997, 10

³⁵ Ibid, 13

³⁶ Ibid, 19

³⁷ Dawkins 1932, Vol 1, 119

“Book II, § 139. ...two of the galleys went in the direction of Turkey (- of Alaya -) and Karpasi, and the other two went in the direction of Paphos.”³⁸

“Book II, § 142. And the galley of John de Mitre also appeared, coming from the region of Paphos...”³⁹

“Book II, § 150. ...and before they came to harbour, a great gale got up and they were separated; the three went to Kerynia and the captain Sir Badin de Brie went to Paphos, and there found the Venetian galleys, in which Sir James de Lusignan and Sir Bohemond, who were on their way overseas (to go to the king).”⁴⁰

“Book II, § 214. ...the king, to show that he was clear of the charge, gave orders for them to fit out his galley, that she should go to Paphos and there wait for him to embark to go oversea...”⁴¹

“Book II, § 216. Then the king went to Paphos, and embarked on the galley and went to Rhodes, and (from thence went) to Naples...”⁴²

“Book II, § 234. ...Sir John de Montolif the Lord of Khoulou...”⁴³

“Book II, § 265. When the king heard this and saw the man’s insolence, he was (very) angry: at once he ordered Sir Henry to go at that very moment with his horses and his arms to be warden at Paphos...”⁴⁴

“Book III, § 294. When they heard what the sultan said, they understood that he had no desire to make peace. Then they write a hostile letter and set it on the point of a spear, and fix it in the ground at the harbour of Alexandria: and they would have no peace with him. And they went away and came to Paphos on the ninth of the month of December 1369 after Christ, and from there they went to Rhodes, and the Genoese and Venetian ships went westwards, (each one of them) to her own country. And the tow Cypriot ships went back to their own country to Famagusta.”⁴⁵

“Book III, § 377. And the (Genoese) galleys cruised round the island and pillaged property, killed cattle, burned crops, received runaway slaves, and did all manner of

³⁸ Ibid, 121

³⁹ Ibid, 125

⁴⁰ Ibid, 131-132

⁴¹ Ibid, 195

⁴² Ibid, 197

⁴³ Ibid, 215, Khoulou is a village lying on the left bank of the Esouza River, north east of Paphos

⁴⁴ Ibid, 247

⁴⁵ Ibid, 283

mischief. Then the six galleys came to Aliki to pillage, and there they found the captain well supported by many men at arms, both knights and foot-soldiers, and found they could do nothing; they left the place (and went to Lemeso and Paphos,) ... Now when the ships had sailed from the harbour of Famagusta, the constable had left a thousand men to guard Famagusta; he took the rest to Lefkosia, and distributed along the coast three hundred good men; he had also numerous local foot-soldiers and Armenian mercenary foot-soldiers. When the Genoese heard this they did not venture to land, not even to draw water, and many of them returned to Lemeso, where the garrison was fewer and weak: and they landed and burned the houses; and the inhabitants took flight; and they did much damage. ... Then a company of Bulgarians gathered together and the Genoese went with them, and the slaves were pillaging and bringing them everything of which they had need. And there gathered together of Bulgarians, Greeks and Tartars close upon two thousand men, and they went and took the castles of Paphos. At that time (the castles) had low walls, and they set to work and heightened them, and they cut a trench, so that the sea flowed in and surrounded them with water, making the place so strong that, when the Cypriots brought up fighting-towers and soldiers in them, they resisted the attack without anxiety for the result.”⁴⁶

“Book III, § 378. The news of what the Genoese had done came to the capital. The king took counsel with his people, and they ordered that the Prince of Antioch should be made commander; and he chose out a thousand good fighting men and went out from Lefkosia to Paphos. And the bailie there was a certain Lombard called Domenico of Montepulciano, and he had with him a good company of men of the district with horses and foot-soldiers. And as soon as they learned that the prince had come, they went out to join his company. On Sunday the third of July 1373 after Christ early in the morning the said prince went to the tower of Paphos and began the attack; and the enemy went into their galleys and came and fought with him. And the battle lasted four hours, and they could avail nothing because the Genoese had great help from the Bulgarians; and our people were not carrying shields, and on this account many were wounded.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid, 357+359, in the year 1373

⁴⁷ Ibid, 359

“Book III, § 379. Then up rose some mother’s son, a bold lad of Cyprus, and took with him fifty youths like himself, and they all went off with one heart and one will to board a galley. And the gangway was on the shore, (and he told them all to run up quickly and board the galley.)...

Book III, § 380. In truth the men in the prince’s company had a material which they call Greek fire, and with this they did great damage to the galleys.

Book III, § 381. When his lordship the prince saw that his remaining there did more harm than good, he went away and returned to Lefkosia. And when the captain of the galleys learned that the prince and all his army had gone back to Lefkosia, they landed a company of men to collect slaves, and went and made captives in all that district, and took many men and women and children, – and many fled and went to the mountains; – and they took away much food and cattle.

Book III, § 382. When Sir James de Ludignan, the constable, heard of the mischief (which the Genoese had) done at Paphos, his blood boiled with anger, and by friendly persuasion he collected together a large body of men and took them with him to Paphos, and their orders were they must attack the enemy; and they armed and went forward in good order. And when they saw the enemy, they would not hear of joining battle, and set an ambush. And he caught three Genoese, who told them that two more galleys and a sailing ship had come to help them, and that a great force as well was on its way, and ‘We are astonished that it had not yet come here’. And this was because they had been scattered by bad weather. When the constable saw this, he evacuated the place and ordered that a proclamation should be made that all slaves, criminals and murderers should join the king and be of his company, and the slaves shall be quit of their slavery and absolved of all blame.”⁴⁸

Book III, § 383. And on the first of the month of October 1373 after Christ a letter was brought to the king to say that thirty-six Genoese sails had appeared before Paphos...”⁴⁹

“Book V, § 652. ...And they went thence to Kouvouklia and did great damage. And they found the Saracen slave who had been baptised and called Thomas; and (as soon as he

⁴⁸ Ibid, 361+ 363

⁴⁹ Ibid, 363

saw them,) he denied his baptism (and went with them. And the Cypriots) caught him again afterwards in 1429, and burned him because he had denied his baptism.”⁵⁰

“Book V, § 696. And when the army of the infidels had gone away, many of the poor folk in their dwellings rose in rebellion and pillaged the Christians, and also killed many of them. Further, one of the king’s mercenaries, who was called Sforza, pillaged as much as he could, and with the Spaniards tried to seize the upper hand at Paphos...Also an Armenian knight was taking his wife to Paphos, and in the lordship of Lefka they violated his wife, and they killed him...”⁵¹

“Book V, § 697. ...And he arranged that Brother Angelo of the Hospital, who was bailie at Paphos, should go with Antony of Milan to break up the head-quarters of the peasant captains...”⁵²

“Book V, § 700. And on Monday the twelfth of May 1427 after Christ news was brought that the king had been sighted at Paphos...”⁵³

(9) The Chronicle of George Boustronios covers the period from 1456 to 1489, following on from Leontios Makhairas’ Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled ‘Chronicle’. The manuscripts that survive date to the sixteenth century according to Dawkins.⁵⁴ The excerpts taken from the narrative deal with Paphos and some of the villages in the Paphos district.

“68. And when the king came to Cyprus, he sent Sir James Salacha and Nicholas de Cres and Nassar Chus and a Mameluke to Paphos. They went to the castle of Paphos and spoke with the captain, Sir James Mache, and told him of the coming of the fleet which had brought King James; and they ordered him on behalf of the king to hand over the castle. And he answered: ‘My lords, give me assurance of safety for my person and for what is mine and for my companions here in the castle and I will do everything for my lord and king.’ They gave him the assurance and at once he opened the gates and surrendered. Then they came in and they left the aforesaid captain to stay in the castle as he was before; and he swore to them to be faithful to the king; and he also made the men

⁵⁰ Ibid, 633, Makhairas is talking about the ‘Saracens’ raiding Cyprus in 1424

⁵¹ Ibid, 673

⁵² Ibid, 675

⁵³ Ibid, 677

of the castle swear. Then the company went in the direction of Chrysochou to the monastery of Yialia: and they treated a monk very badly.”⁵⁵

“83. And on the same day two galleys came to Paphos: one was that of a Sicilian, Muzio Costanzo; the other asked for safe conduct to enter the harbour of Paphos. The captain at Paphos was Sir John Mistachiel and he granted safe conduct and wrote a letter to the king. When the king heard the news, he at once mounted and went to Paphos and annulled the safe conduct which Mistachiel had granted and took over the galley, appointing as captain Sir John Mistachiel to guard her until he could go to Lefkosia to appoint a captain. And when the king came to the town he brought with him the two captains of the galleys. And as captain of the galleys he appointed Sir John Perez and sent him to Paphos; there he took over both the galleys.”⁵⁶

“85. I forgot to write this before: when the Saracen camp removed from Kerynia and they went off to cross the sea, the Mamelukes and the sergeants remained with King James, and the lords at Kyrenia took counsel with King Louis and it seemed good to them that the Lady Charlotte with her husband should go to Rhodes to the Grand Master to bring help to enable her to take possession of the kingdom. And she took the Rhodian galley and that of Sor de Naves and went to Rhodes. At once the Grand Master and all the lords did them great honour and many kindnesses and entertained them well. Then in a few days they came back to Paphos and anchored by the castle. And when the captain, Sir John Mistachiel, saw them he at once surrendered the castle into the hands of the queen. At once the queen appointed Sir Peter Palol as captain, and Sir James Mache she took to Kerynia. She handed the castle over to Sir Peter Palol with a fair company of men. So King Louis and the queen returned to Kerynia; and as soon as they arrived there great rejoicing was held. After a few days Sor de Naves went out with the galleys from Kerynia and Peter de Naves with him. He went to Paphos to remove Peter Palol and to put Peter de Naves into the castle. And as Sor de Naves came by Pendayia with intent to pillage, the commander there was Dimitrios de Coron. And when Dimitrios saw the galleys he at once mounted with his few men and went down to the shore: they set out a fair array. And from the galleys seven men were slain, and of the others three. Many also

⁵⁴ Dawkins 1964, 1

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 26

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 29, the date is the thirtieth of October 1461

on both sides were wounded. And when the galleys saw that they were getting no advantage, they went off to Paphos and took away Palol and put Peter de Naves in his place. Palol returned to Kerynia. And when King James learned that Sor de Naves had gone to Paphos and made Peter de Naves captain, he removed Dimitrios de Coron from Pendayia and set him as captain over Paphos. And when Dimitrios went there he assembled all the Turcopoles and the freed men and besieged the castle, and the men in the castle were in great straits. And Peter de Naves had with him in the castle Franks and Cypriots in great numbers and they sallied out and fought with Dimitrios. At that time Sir John Mistachiel was at Paphos and when he saw that Peter de Naves was captain there, he went to the King and asked him permission: would he allow him to go and speak to Peter de Naves? And the king gave him leave and gave him a letter for Dimitrios de Coron to allow him to speak to Peter de Naves. And when Mistachiel came to Paphos he spoke with Peter de Naves, and said that if he was willing he would give him a safe conduct to come and speak to him and for this he had permission from King James. At once the safe conduct was given and Mistachiel went to the castle and Peter de Naves came out from inside and the two spoke together; then each took leave of the other and they parted. In the morning they met and Mistachiel gave many promises to Peter de Naves, who returned the castle to King James. Then Mistachiel sent a letter to the king by the hand of Balian Salacha. When King James read the letter he was much delighted and at once wrote a letter to the men at Paphos. And to Balian Salacha the king granted the vllages that had belonged to Sir Alexander Cappadoca, Couca and Moniati. In a few days he took them away from him and gave them to Bennet of the Morea. And from Paphos the men came to Lefkosia and all the Mamelukes and many Christians went and brought Sir Peter into the town with great honour. They took him before the king and lodged him in the house of Paravizi. Also the king granted him a great revenue.”⁵⁷

“105. And on the last day of July (1473) a brigantine came from Rhodes to get tidings about the king’s death: she had been sent by Queen Charlotte. She anchored near Chrysochou...”⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ibid, 29-30

⁵⁸ Ibid, 34

“208. And on the second of February (1473) Gabriel Ferli was arrested by Stephen of Chios the captain of Chrysochou, ... 210. And on the same day (the third of February) the Turcoples from Paphos brought Perico de Villafranca and Peter Termini and they were put in the galley; in irons.”⁵⁹

“233. And on the same day (the twentieth of February) Antonello Davila who was captain at Paphos arrived; and a Venetian was set there, John Pentinel....

235. And on the same day Stephen the Chiot was removed from Chrysochou and Andrew the Provensal was appointed there.”⁶⁰

(10) William Wey, reached Paphos in 1458, and wrote,

“From Rhodes we came to Paphos on July 9. There S. Paul was imprisoned in a spot belonging to the Friars Minor, and there is S. Paul’s fountain.”⁶¹ He is referring to the present site of the Franciscan Church at Chrysopolitissa.

(11) Count Gabriele Capodilista, visited Cyprus in 1458. On his return to Italy, his notes were edited and published.

“Friday June 16, in the morning, their course brought them close to the island of Cyprus. They passed C. Epiphanio and a city called Papho, ruined and almost without inhabitants.”⁶²

(12) Felix Faber was a Dominican monk, who travelled twice on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, once in 1480 and again in 1483. He stopped in Cyprus on both occasions. His observations of Paphos were,

“...for we were close to the coast near Paphos. We had a wretched passage and suffered for want of water, bread and other things. A foul wind drove us out of sight of Cyprus, and for three days and nights we saw no land; later on we were again carried into the harbour of Paphos, which is mentioned in Acts xiii. There we bought what was needful and sailing out drifted aimlessly along the coast.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 48

⁶⁰ Ibid, 52

⁶¹ Cobham 1908, 35

⁶² Ibid, 35

On June 25, 1483, we came over against the most ancient harbour of Cyprus which is called Paphos... near which we saw the mount of Venus, as I shall tell on my return,...⁶³

The third see is Paphos, the oldest of all the cities of Cyprus, and made illustrious not only by the songs of poets, but by the deeds of apostles. For SS. Paul and Barnabas preached there. There too Hilarius the abbot lives, and S. Manna, whom the Greeks invoke against the pestilence, and find him a true intercessor. How vast this city was, and how stately the churches which stood there, the extent of the ruins and the noble columns of marble which lie prostrate prove. It is now desolate, no longer a city, but a miserable village built over the ruins; on this account the harbour too is abandoned, and ships only enter it when forced to do so, as was our fate. As the city was laid low by an earthquake so it lies still, and no king nor bishop gives a hand to raise it up again.⁶⁴

November 8. We remained in the harbour of Paphos up to the hour of vespers, when we lifted our anchor and left the port...⁶⁵

(13) Fra Francesco Suriano visited Cyprus in 1484. After travelling to Jaffa, he wrote, "From this Cape Gavata we sailed up to Paphos, in which city S. Paul by his preaching converted the Proconsul. It is entirely ruinous, except one or two towers on the harbour. Hence sprang Venus, the goddess of lust. And now that we are presently leaving the island I ought not to pass it without notice but tell you of its condition.

The island of Cyprus has a circuit of 700 miles: it is a kingdom, and has six cities, Nichosia and Famagusta are well inhabited, Salamina, Lymisio and Bapho are in ruins. It has one strong fortress called Cerines, of old it had 8000 hamlets or villages, now only 800, and these in bad condition except la Piscopia and Larnacha."⁶⁶

(14) Nicole Le Huen possibly travelled to Cyprus during the year 1487:

"Cyprus is an island, a kingdom, a country, thus named from a chief city so named, which was formerly called Paphon, and is dedicated to Venus... At the extremity of the island in that direction was a city formerly very famous, as is shown by its ruins, called

⁶³ Ibid, 37

⁶⁴ Ibid, 45

⁶⁵ Ibid, 47

⁶⁶ Ibid, 48-49

Baffa. There is bad air there, as in all the island. Very noble were its churches in time past, as you see them in their ruin. Below the church which belonged to the Friars Minor is a prison where S. Paul was bound and kept for some time with S. Barnabas while preaching the Gospel and seven pits hard by in another church where were the seven sleepers. And a spring of water of much virtue which is carried to cure fevers....

We anchored as near as we could to Baffa, and some went on shore to get victuals.”⁶⁷

(15) Pietro Casola travelled to Cyprus in 1494, from Italy.

“On Thursday, the 10th of July, as the *provenza* continued, we sailed through that gulf, and at midday discovered the point of the island of Cyprus and came over against a fortified place called Paphos. There, seven Venetian ships, coming from Syria loaded with goods, had stopped, and because they had heard of the capture made by the Turkish pirates, of whom I spoke above, they were afraid of going further...”⁶⁸

(16) Fra. Noe, first printed in 1500, wrote

“We passed by several cities, one of which was called Baffo. This was once large and strong, as its ruins testify. It is now all destroyed. And below is a church which once belonged to the Friars Minor, and a large prison with seven different cells, in which S. Paul was for some time confined, and S. Barnabas the Apostle. In this place under another church runs a wonder-working spring, which is drunk as a sovereign remedy for fever. In this place are seven little rooms where it is said the seven sleepers slept, but not those who slept in the Coelic hill.”⁶⁹

(17) Martin von Baumgarten, made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1508, and stopped in Cyprus on his return from the Holy Land.

“On the tenth day we came to Paphos. This is a noble city, formerly the metropolis of Cyprus, and the palace of Venus; now a very desolate and ruinous place, as most of the cities of Cyprus are, occasioned by frequent earthquakes that happen there, yet by the very ruins it appears what once it was. In Paphos the air is not very wholesome, nor

⁶⁷ Ibid, 51-52

⁶⁸ Grivaud 1990, 145

⁶⁹ Cobham 1908, 53

indeed in all Cyprus, though it abounds with marjoram, hyssop, and other wholesome herbs. This city was built by Paphos, Pygmalion's son by Eburnea, who called it after his own name, and consecrated it to Venus, to whom also they dedicated a very large temple; to which, as some will have it, when Helen arrived from Greece, being stolen by Paris, she repaired, and gave occasion to the Trojan war. Others will have this to be done in Cythera."⁷⁰

(18) Jacques le Saige, was a silk merchant, on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1518. He passed through Cyprus on his return.

"July 21, 1518. The wind freshened, and towards supper-time we saw the beginning of the island of Cyprus somewhere near the city of Baf, where it is said is the temple of Venus."⁷¹

On the 24th (September) foul winds had driven them back to Paphos, where they got wood and water. A church was visited where they sang in Latin, not far from the spot where the seven sleepers lay so long. The town is in ruins: it was the first which the English destroyed. But on the seashore there are still two massive towers, and there was once a strong castle. A fine plain lies around, and near the sea fields of cotton were now ripe. Beyond are high mountains covered with scrub. The air is dangerous to strangers."⁷²

(19) Benedetto Bordone, in 1528, published a book containing accounts of all the islands in the world, each illustrated with a map. His description of Cyprus included a small mention of Paphos,

"on its western cape the city of Paphos, now called Bafo. Here formerly was built a temple to Venus on which rain never fell."⁷³

(20) Denis Possot, a priest was on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1532, and stopped in Cyprus on the return journey from Jerusalem.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 55

⁷¹ Ibid, 56

⁷² Ibid, 61

⁷³ Ibid, 62

“Cyprus is ennobled with four famous cities: the first is called Nicosia, which is the metropolis, Famagusta, Nimesso, Paphos, and several others... Paphos was of old a great and holy city, of which the earliest name was Cyprus, from which the whole island took its name; just as Candia is a town, city and island. So Paphos too is a city, and the country of Cyprus is called likewise Paphos, and the whole island is called in Holy Writ Cethin. There used to be there a church belonging to the Friars Minor, which seems to have been formerly of great size, and to have had seven doors. It was of the time when Monsieur S. Paul preached, and his companion was Monsieur S. Baranabas. Some men say that the Maccabees were there martyred.”⁷⁴

(21) Greffin Affagart, Seigneur de Courteilles, visited Cyprus in 1534, after going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

“And from Minesson we journeyed along the seashore to the port of Basphe, for our ship was going there to load sugar and cotton. At this port, as is told in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, S. Paul converted Sergius Paulus, and you still see a prison in which he was for some time confined: on it had been built in old days a very fine convent of S. Francis. But on account of the unhealthiness of the place the monks have abandoned it, for the air is so poisonous and tainted that no one can live there but a native of the country. Here too is shown the cave of the seven sleepers, in which is a fair fountain, and seven niches round the cave. We waited in this place about eighteen days until our vessel was loaded to our great loss and sorrow, for the first day we went on board we all fell ill, from the tainted and poisonous air, and the fruits and other unwholesome things we had eaten there.”⁷⁵

(22) Jodicus de Meggen visited Cyprus in 1542 on his way to and from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He stopped at Kouklia and Paphos on his return from the Holy Land.

“*Covoda*. Here the ship’s owner and the Scribe and some of us went ashore in the dinghy, and went to a place about five thousand paces distant, which, in my opinion, is the most pleasant and most fertile in the whole of Cyprus. (It is called Covada), where we were

⁷⁴ Ibid, 64

⁷⁵ Ibid, 67

received with most welcome hospitality, by a noble and very kind Cypriot, for sumptuous supper.

This stronghold has, on one side, a country district, both rich and well populated, and, on the other side, a lovely view, from a hill higher up, both of the sea and of a plain with sugar canes and wild vegetation.

The Sugar (Cane) Described. The reeds or canes of the sugar are about the thickness of three fingers, and exceed the height of a man: they grow in fields that are nearly level but are irrigated, and thus slope a little so that they can gradually pass to the lower ends of the fields the water, which is frequently run to them.

It is worthy of note, also, that they are so frequently marked off by nodal points that they seem to be shorter than they really are; the reeds are beautifully proportioned and very plentiful, and are coloured here and there as they grow ripe. So, early in December, there is reaped, each day, as much as can be crushed and macerated by the mills.

Sugar Planting. Moreover, in the month of April, these reeds, cut into sections about half a foot long, are planted and covered with earth; then later, being in a plain open to the sun, are plentifully irrigated, as the nobleman assiduously assured explained to his visitors; and when we departed, he gave each of us, as a present, one of the reeds; it was plain that we were delighted with them on account of their novelty.

There are near his house other fields and vineyards, on account of which he pays every year eight thousand ducats to the Venetian Republic, and three thousand ducats have to be paid annually in necessary expenses (for the cultivation of the fruits and carrying them to the barns) as wage to the servants.

Paphos. On October the third, about lunch time, we were carried on mules, provided by the same man, (who left undone nothing that might be of service to us), to Paphos, where columns of remarkable size are to be seen strewn and thrown around from the ancient buildings: which are a clear sign that in olden days Paphos was a much more renowned place than now. For although, even today, there is a Bishopric here and, as judged by the standards of this island, it has some little property, nevertheless almost everything seems half in ruins.

About 2,000 paces from here, in another village, dwells the Venetian Captain, who, by himself, administers the Law in this area.

The Place of the Seven Sleepers; or, if you choose, the Maccabees. Quite near Paphos, about two furlongs away, one can go down some steps into a deep place, somewhat square in shape, which has seven subterranean caves, although now some of them are half full of earth. In one of them a chapel has been set up for the Greeks; in another, by going down a little, one comes to the most limpid water.

Some people say that in these caves the Seven Sleepers slept for seven hundred years. Others say that the seven Maccabees were buried here.”⁷⁶

(23) Not much is known about John Locke, except that he passed through Cyprus in 1553. He only sighted Paphos from the ship,

“The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the island of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the cape called Ponta Malota, and about four of the clock we were as farre as Baffo ...”⁷⁷

(24) Furer, a German visited Cyprus in 1566, on his return from the Holy Land. He landed at Larnaca, visited Famagusta, Nicosia and Limassol and went to Paphos by sea.

“On April 25, two hours after sunset, we left the shore of Cyprus in a Venetian vessel, which was reckoned one of the chief and largest of its time, with more than two hundred persons in our company, and about noon next day we reached the city of Paphos, where Paul and Barnabas exposed in a marvellous way the fraud and malice of one Elymas, and won the Proconsul Sergius to Christ. This city also has a bishopric with an estimated revenue of 3000 ducats. On May 7 we left Paphos and four days later got into the Attalic gulf.”⁷⁸

These next sources, are from the beginning of the Ottoman period of rule on the island and continue well into the Ottoman period. The first two are concerned with the Ottoman attack on the island, while the following are mainly travellers, many on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and later touring the Middle East, Turkey and Greece.

⁷⁶ Mogabgab 1945, 155-157

⁷⁷ Cobham 1908, 68

⁷⁸ Ibid, 79

(25) Gio. Sozomeno, was an engineer who served at the siege of Nicosia and was taken prisoner when it fell. This extract is from his narrative account, dated to 1570 and only mentions Paphos at the very beginning.

“The first day of July the Turkish fleet appeared in the waters of Baffo, and the second day news reached us that it had landed at the Salines...”⁷⁹

(26) Paolo Peruta, writing again on the siege of Nicosia in 1570, was a Venetian official, who became historiographer of the Republic and took over the annals of Venice. He mentions that there was cavalry at Paphos.

“Pietro Roncadi, who was Governor of the Albanese Militia, going at the same time from Baffo, with the rest of the cavalry; which being all met resolved not to advance any further, nor to attempt anything, but to return all from whence they came...”⁸⁰

(27) Friar Stephan de Lusignan was a descendent of the Lusignan family, who had ruled Cyprus for almost three hundred years. His family had been deprived of their wealth and property, after his great-grandfather sided with Charlotte against James in the struggle for the throne. He was born and grew up on the island. The *Chorography and Brief General History of the Island of Cyprus*, was written in Naples, Lusignan being there, no doubt, because of the Ottoman invasion. The excerpts taken from the text deal with Paphos and the surrounding area, from his perspective of history and description.

“Section 1, The Ancient Place Names of Cyprus.

[1] The ninth name of the island was Paphia, from the name of the god Paphos, and from the famous city of Papho.⁸¹

Section 2, The Location of the Island and its Borders.

[2] From the west the island has these promontories or capes: Accamante in ancient times is now called Cape San Piffano; then Cape Trapano. The last one is Cape Zeffirio, so-called in ancient times; now it is called Cape Celidonio or Melonta Point. These three capes or promontories are boarded partly by the Egyptian Sea, and partly by the Pamphilian Sea.... Between these two capes (*Cape Alessandretta and Cape San Piffano*)

⁷⁹ Ibid, 81

⁸⁰ Ibid, 97

⁸¹ Pelosi 2001, 5

is the Gulf of Grusocco, or the Gulf of Fontana Amorosa.⁸² ... Around this island, and almost everywhere, there are beaches, and in some places they look almost like harbours, such as outside of Famagusta, in Salines, Limisso, in Paffo, in Grusocco, and in Cerines; and in these places large ships can harbour. ... I will not deny that in Famagusta the air is bothersome, and that it is the same in Paffo, as we will speak of elsewhere.⁸³

Section 3, The Ancient Cities of the Island of Cyprus, their Builders, and their Remains.

[5] Old Paffo was built by the god Paffo, around the year of the world 3780, or before the birth of our Lord, 1495. It was built close to the coast, close to Cape Cilidonio, on the south; and during those times it was a royal city, because the gods, as well as the king of Cyprus, made their residence in that city. Therefore, afterwards, it was consecrated to the goddess Venus, as the poets say: 'Et Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphos, item est Paphos Idaliumque tibi'; and because of that they had built the temple to the goddess Venus; and she used to be worshipped there when she was alive; she was also worshipped there many years after her death. In this city there was also a very beautiful garden, in which men and women gathered from all around the world to take delight with the goddess; from that time even to the present men have copied the garden and built gardens similar to it. In this delightful garden, when the goddess Venus was absent, the other goddesses took the goddess Venus's son, Cupid, god of love; and, since he was so beautiful, gracious, and loving, blindfolded him, and tied him up to the myrtle tree, and they tormented him; and then, when his mother returned, she freed him; and from this episode it happens the myrtle is dedicated to the god of love. The temple is totally ruined, along with the city, because of the great earthquakes which occurred in that city, and one can barely see a few remains of it. In this city there was a pool of sea-water, something like a harbour; and as time passed it was ruined by the sea. Some low places remain which hold rain water. These places during the summertime become polluted and produce a bad air, annoying those who live nearby, and truly as Furioso says, Nature has wronged that sublime goddess. When this city was flourishing it produced men and women who were very beautiful and illustrious, who were called gods and goddesses.

⁸² Ibid, 6

⁸³ Ibid, 8-9

[6] New Paffos was built after Troy was destroyed, by Agapenore, commander of the army of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae. Agapenore built it in memory of the old city, and gave it the same name. He ruled there, along with his descendants. This is one of the nine royal cities, existing in the period of the nine kings; and it has always remained a city up until now; it had a very beautiful harbour, created by nature, but then the sea destroyed it. One can still see where it was. Many beautiful temples were built in honour of the goddess Venus and of other gods. Since the temple of Venus was still existing when Saint Barnabas the Apostle returned for the second time to his home land and visited the city, he saw naked men and women offering sacrifices to Venus. In anger at that evil activity, he said a prayer and immediately the temple fell to the ground. No remains can any longer be seen of it, as well as no ruins of the other temples. In past years this city had two strong castles on the coast, which were more strongly fortified than any others at the time of the Lusignan kings. When the Venetian noblemen got the island, they destroyed them because they were afraid of potential treason. They could be fortified again, but it would be quite expensive. The city has bad air because of the waters mentioned above, at Old Paffo. For that reason the Captain, the Latin Bishop and the Greek Bishop live in a village called Ctima, which is a league away; and this village has many inhabitants, because it is a higher area, with good air. The cathedral is in the city, and in it is a miraculous image which is said to have been painted by Saint Luke. The city has a beautiful square, with a beautiful fountain. Many illustrious men have come from there.

[7] Citherea was an ancient city, which is two leagues away from New Paffo, and from the coast, toward the south. Venus was brought to that city from Aphrodisia, and she was raised here. Therefore Venus has the name Citherea, as Hesiod says 'ab oppido Venus appellata Citherea'. The island was also named Citherea, as we already said. Valerius speaks about this city: 'Idalium furto subit, aut dilecta Cithera'. And Vergil says: 'Hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera'. The village is now called Conuclia. It is one of the finest in Cyprus; it is very rich in cotton and in sugar, because of the abundant water that it has. From its many ruins we can see that it was once a beautiful city, and one can find many antiquities and valuable things in the ancient tombs. These tombs are built like rooms below ground. Four to six years ago they found a corpse of a king, almost completely preserved, and, among other things, they found a diamond and a unicorn,

completely preserved and dried up along with its horn. But since it had been buried for so long, the horn had disintegrated. But I was able to get a fragment of that horn. The farmer who found these things, being ignorant of their value, was tricked out of most of them. Many such burials are found in Amathus, Salamis, Paffo, and in many other places. In them are found beautiful pots of terracotta, plates, decorated earthenwares, rings made of gold and silver, earrings, bracelets, anklets, and other things....

[8] Arsenoe is close to the coast four leagues away from Citherea; now it is a village, called Afdimou. In earlier times it had a beach suitable for boats; it still does, but not as good as before. Arsenoe also had a grove, because in earlier times it was customary to have a little grove in the city. Ptolemy Philadelphos built this city in honour of his sister.

[9] ...It is not called Curias any longer, but Piscopia village, and is one of the best in Cyprus. It has more than a thousand hearths and is rich in everything, above all in cotton and sugar. Further, it has plenty of running water, and is full of gardens, with lemons, oranges and other fruits. It truly appears to be a delightful village. The same can be said of the above mentioned cities, above all Citherea and Paffo, which have hills full of lemon trees, orange trees, cedars, myrtles, and other scented little trees, which are (as Ariosto says) a delightful sweetness for sailors passing by. They really seem places consecrated to Venus, goddess of beauty and pleasures.⁸⁴

[15] Venetian ships also visit the cities of Limisso and Paffo. Almost every year between March and September twenty Venetian ships (not to mention foreign ships) carry goods from Cyprus to Venice.⁸⁵

[33] Accamantida was an ancient city, which was built by the Athenian Accamanthe, who was a great friend of the Trojans. When he saw that Troy was conquered, being afraid of the fury of the Greeks, he went to the island of Cyprus and built the above mentioned city at the same time when New Paffo and Salamis were built. It became a royal city; and here Accamanthe and his descendants ruled. This city is located close to Cape Piffani; but the Greeks still call it Accma. The area is full of woods, and one can find horses, donkeys, oxen, roe-buck, fallow-deer and wild pigs. The city is located toward the north. It has become a village called Crusocco, because above all in this area

⁸⁴ Ibid, 9-11

⁸⁵ Ibid, 14

there is gold mining. Near here there is a well, from which they draw water. They put it on the ground where they have made some channels, and they put the water inside; then it congeals, and the Greeks call it crusoccola; the Latins call it vitriol, which comes from the veins of gold; indeed from that vitriol one can extract gold. The sea, which is close to this city, called the Gulf of Crosocco; in this Gulf there was once a very beautiful harbour which is nowadays ruined; nonetheless, the ships which are forced by their luck still go and stop there. Once the stream flowed into this harbour, but today it is a spring. The poets say that those who drink of it would fall immediately in love; and therefore the Latins call it Fontana Amorosa. There was, and there still is, also another spring which makes people forget love.

[34] Terra was a large estate, and it is located in the Paffo region. The village is called Terra.

[35] Toosura was also part of Terra, but we do not have any record of it to ascertain if it is still a village or if it has been totally destroyed.⁸⁶

[36] Ierocepia is considered by Strabo and others to be a city. It is close to Paffo by land, and close to Cape Chilidoni. I think it is a village which is now called Ierochipos.⁸⁷

[44] Arsenoe: according to Strabo this was a city, which is located in the Mediterranean district of Paffo; and during the time of the Greek bishops it was still a city. Now it is the village Arzos.⁸⁸

[51] ...during the time of the Lusignan kings, they were reduced to four: Nicosia, Paffo, Limisso, and Famagusta; and the other ones were left as villages.⁸⁹

Section 4, The Castles of Cyprus.

[52] At various times the following castles, along with those associated with the cities, existed on the island: Paffo, Conuchlia, Limisso, Piscopia, Colosso, Amathus, Ierochitia, Nicosia, Siguri, Canthara, Buffavento, Il Dio d'Amore, Cerines, Potamia, and Famagusta. These are castles which exist today; others are thought to have existed, but we cannot be certain.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 19. Terra is most likely the modern village of Tera south of Polis and Toosura the modern village of Drouseia, also south of Polis.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 19

⁸⁸ Ibid, 22

⁸⁹ Ibid, 23

[53] We have already discussed the citadel at Nicosia and its castle; the same with the castle at Limisso, the two at Paffo, and the ones at Conuchlia, Amathus, Famagusta, Piscopia, and Cerines.⁹⁰

Section 5, The Villages, or Unwalled Feudal Estates.

[61] On the entire island there are, along with the destroyed cities, 850 small and large villages. Some of those villages are so big, that even today they seem like estates. There are some estates in Italy which are only half the size. The largest are these: Lapitho, Siguri, Saint John of Carpasso, Lefcara, Saint Constantine, Limnati, Silicu, Pellendria, Chillani, Collosso, Piscopia, Salines, Covuchlia, Ctima, Arzos, Omodos, Crusocco, Solia, and Morfu, and Lefca; and there are still other villages worthy of being mentioned. All these 850 villages are divided as follows: one part (which is more than half of the whole) belongs to the Royal Chamber. The other part is divided like so: the clergy has a section; and they are called ecclesiastic villages; the nobility owns the other section and they are called Greek Cavallerissimi, that means belonging to the knights.

[62] The archbishop has a section of the ecclesiastic villages; the bishop of Paffo has another section; the bishop of Limisso has some; the bishop of Famagusta has two; and then all of them have the tithes of all the villages which are in Cyprus, either from the Royal Chamber or from the nobles.⁹¹

Section 6, Illustrious Men of Cyprus.

[151] In the city of Paffo there is a cave, which is called the cave of the Seven Sleepers. However, we have found in the legendries that the Seven Sleepers were in Ephesus. In spite of that the citizens of Paffo say that from ancient times that cave was called the cave of the Seven Holy Sleepers. They might be different from those of Ephesus.”⁹²

“Section 7, The Origins of the Cypriots.

[163] The white Venetians are free farmers, along with their children. They paid a certain amount of money at the time of the Latin kings, and every year they gave some money to their master in gratitude. They were subject to the Venetians consuls in Nicosia. No master but the king could rule them or pass judgement on them. But now that the Venetians are ruling the island, these white Venetians have still more privileges. They

⁹⁰ Ibid, 23

⁹¹ Ibid, 25

⁹² Ibid, 37

pay their income tax every year. There are many of them in the area of Paffo; and all together they give three hundred ducats to the captain of Paffo on Saint Mark's day. Some live outside Paffo, and they pay their income tax to the Lieutenant of the Realm."⁹³

"Section 9, The Origins of the Latin Clergy.

[166] ...Therefore the Supreme pontiff fulfilled the desire of the queen, and declared that Nicosia would be the archbishopric, Famagusta, Paffo and Limassol would be bishoprics and he declared that the bishops would be Latin and Greek....The same was done to the other Greek bishops: the bishopric of Paffo returned to Arzos..."⁹⁴

"Section 12, A History of Cyprus.

[327] The Genoese went early to Nicosia, and they found it almost empty of its nobles. So they sacked it of mere spite and they also tried to take the citadels but they could not, because they were well provided with weapons. Then they did many strange things against the Cypriots. They conquered the castles of Limisso and Paffo, defended by the Knights of the Hospital.⁹⁵

[342] The Mamlukes destroyed the entire beautiful city of Limisso to its foundations. Afterwards they sent part of their army (60) and took Paffo, and destroyed it..."⁹⁶

[391] King James sent M. Jacobo Salviati, M. Nicolò de Grei, M. Assar Ghus, and a Mameluke to take the castle of Paffo, which was held by the captain M. Jacobo Mughes. When they talked to him about the intention of King James, the captain answered, 'Reassure the people and authorities that I will do whatever you want.' So it happened. He opened the doors of the castle, and they made the captain swear loyalty to King James. Afterwards his men also swore, and they confirmed him captain as before... They went to Crussoco and they went up to the monastery of Iaglia..."⁹⁷

"Section 15, The Twelve Sections of the Island.

[544] The island is divided into twelve sections: Nicosia, Famagusta, Limisso, Paffo, Cerines, Salines, Messaria, Carpasso, Masoto, Afdimou, Crussocco, and Pentaia."⁹⁸

"Section 21, Condiments.

⁹³ Ibid, 40

⁹⁴ Ibid, 41-42

⁹⁵ Ibid, 78

⁹⁶ Ibid, 80

⁹⁷ Ibid, 90-91

⁹⁸ Ibid, 107

[586] The island produces a lot of sugar in the villages of Lapitho, Agheglia, Ctima, Covuclia, Crusocco, Piscopia, and Collosso. The sugar was also produced in other places, but since they earn more, with little expense, with the production of cotton, they now produce very little sugar...⁹⁹

“Section 23, Clothing.

[588] Linen is produced in a limited quantity, but much cotton. The main profit of Cyprus comes from cotton, and many people therefore call it goldwood, because much can be earned with almost no work.... Mattresses of coarse cotton are made, and in Paffos they make beautiful white thread.”¹⁰⁰

“Section 25, Minerals.

[590] Cinaria, son of Agrippa, was the first to find gold and copper in Cyprus. The vein of gold can be found in many places, as at Crusocco, or at the Mountain of the Cross... In the village of Crusocco vitriol is now mined, which in Greek is called Grasoccola, and it is produced naturally from the vein of gold. Alchemists extract gold from it...”¹⁰¹

(28) Tommaso Porcacchi, writing in 1576, never actually visited the island of Cyprus but was famous for his descriptions of the most famous islands of the world. He made corrections from the oral descriptions given to him by mariners and travellers.

“The southern side is three hundred (miles) from Alexandria in Egypt, four days’ sail... Paphia, from the god Paphos, and the city called by his name. ... On the west it has three promontories or capes, C. San Pifani, anciently called Acamas, Trapano, Cilidonio or Punta Melonta, of old C. Zephyrion: these three look partly towards the Egyptian, partly towards the Pamphylian Sea.... The whole island is divided into eleven districts, thus arranged – On the west Baffo, anciently Paphos, Audimo, Limisso, Masoto, Saline and Mesarea: these look to the south, and lie along the coast, divided from the other districts by a long line of hills. The others look to the north; Crusoco, Pendaia, Cerines, Carpasso, formerly Carpasia. The last is the Viscontado, lying between those of Saline and Cerines. ... The island has no harbour but that of Famagusta, a city on the eastern shore of the plain,... In ancient times there were many, but they were neglected and

⁹⁹ Ibid, 117

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 118

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 118

blocked up by silt. However, nearly all round the coast there are landing places, and at Saline, Limisso, Baffo, Crusoco and Cerines are good roadsteads, where large vessels can anchor and lie; because on account of the winds and the aspect they prefer larger room in which to swing than they can find on the northern coast....

The city of old Paphos, built on the seashore looking south near C. Celidonio, was a royal residence, dedicated to the goddess Venus, with a lovely garden. Here the other goddesses, while Venus was away, caught Cupid (so the story runs), bound his eyes with a scarf, and set him on the top of a myrtle tree. Now the air is corrupted by exhalations from the marshes: such changes befall things, that the most charming spot in the island is now scarcely habitable! New Paphos, built by Agapenor, the captain of the fleet of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, was one of the nine royal capitals, and is even yet standing, and ranks as a city. Here men and women sacrificed naked to Venus, but at the prayer of S. Barnabas the Apostle, a native of Cyprus, the temple fell, and the scandal ceased. Two leagues from this was Cythera, where Venus was brought up, and whence, according to Hesiod, both the goddess and the island took their names. It is now a village called Conuclia, one of the first in the island, for its rich crops of cotton and sugar, and its abundant water. Here are many ancient tombs, like underground chambers, in which have been found many wonderful things, as also at Baffo, Salamina and elsewhere. Curias, another royal capital, was near the sea-coast, where now stands Piscopia, one of the chief villages of the island. It has more than a thousand hearths, and is rich in running water, and gardens full of oranges, lemons and the like, which grow also at Baffa and Cythera.

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...

Other capitals were Solia, anciently called Apamea, and Acamantis, near C. San Pifani, which the Greeks call Accama. It is now a village named Crusocco, for there are traces of gold there, as well as chrysocola or vitriol. Here is the Fontana Amorosa: the poets say that they who drank of it feel the stings of love, but they mention another which in its turn allays their smart."¹⁰³

¹⁰² Cobham 1908, 164

¹⁰³ Ibid, 165

(29) The Seigneur de Villamont, a knight of the Order of Jerusalem and from the Duchy of Brittany, travelled in 1588 on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and stopped in Cyprus on the way to Jaffa and again on his way from Tripoli to Damietta.

“ On Ascension Day, Thursday, May 11, 1589, about mid-day we arrived at the first point of the kingdom of Cyprus, which seamen call Cape S. Piphany, and coasting along came near to Baffo. This city is situated in a fair plain, close to the sea, and much set off to landwards by low hills. But it is half ruined, so that it profits little by the beauty of its site and the fruitfulness of the soil. There are found here in great quantity very beautiful stones called Baffo diamonds: some of them indeed are beautiful enough to deceive many a lapidary. The peasants put them aside and sell them very cheaply.

The city of Baffo was anciently called Paphos, witness Holy Writ, where mention is made of the bonds with which S. Paul was bound before he went up to Jerusalem. In this city the goddess Venus held of old her court, for she was queen of the island of Cyprus, whence she is called Cypris, and the first temple dedicated to her was in this city, where men and women offered sacrifice to her naked; but at the prayer of S. Barnabas the Apostle, a native of Cyprus, the idol of Venus and her temple fell shattered to the ground. A mile from Baffo we were shown the place where are the grottos in which the sleepers slept three hundred and more years without awaking, and many other fine things. But see, all is nearly uninhabited now on account of the unhealthy climate: so great are the changes and vicissitudes of things! Anciently the place was the most delightful in the island, and the favourite abode of its kings.”¹⁰⁴

(30) Girolamo Dandini, was a professor of theology in Perugia and was sent by the Pope to the Maronites of Lebanon in 1596. He stopped in Cyprus on the way to Tripoli.

“Cyprus is at least 480 miles in circuit, 80 broad and 100 long, and has two capes. On the west may be included C. S. Epiphanio, called by the ancients Acamas, C. Trapano and Celidonio, or Point Melonta, or C. Zephiro.... Its only harbour is Famagusta in the east... But large vessels can also ride safely near the shores of Baffo, Limisso, Crusoco and Salines....

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 171

The ancients had good reason to call the island the home and realm of Venus, to call Venus Cypris and the country Cytherea, for not only do they say she was born at Aphrodisio and reared at Cytherea, but that she reigned at Idalio, now Dali, twelve miles S. of Nicosia. So it was that at Paffo men and women sacrificed naked to Venus, in the city which was built long ago by Agapenor, captain of the host of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae. This abuse ceased when the temple fell at the prayer of S. Barnabas. There are also near Cape S. Epiphanius two celebrated fountains, one of which was called 'Amorosa' because those who drank of its waters caught the fire of love: the other was all unlike, because in a moment it quenched this passion."¹⁰⁵

(31) Fynes Moryson, an Englishman, reached Cyprus in 1596, after travelling in Europe and the East between 1591 and 1596.

"On Sunday the nineteenth of May, we came to the first promontory of the island Cyprus, towards the West, and after eight houres sayling, we came to the old city Paphos (or Paphia), now called Baffo, and the wind failing us, and gently breathing upon this castle of Venus, we houered here all the next night, gaining little or nothing on our way. This place is most pleasant, with fruitful hils, and was of old consecrated to the goddess Venus, queene of this iland; and they say adamants were found here, which skilfull jewellers repute almost as precious as the Orientall. A mile from this place is a caue, wherein they faigne the seven sleepers to have slept, I know not how many hundred years."¹⁰⁶

(32) Iohann van Kootwyck, from Utrecht, visited Cyprus twice on his way to and from the Holy Land, in 1598 and 1599.

"On September 11 we sailed briskly through the gulf of Adalia, and about four in the afternoon the island of Cyprus came into view. After sunset, with a fresh wind behind us, we passed close under Acamas, or Acamanthus, the first promontory towards the west, commonly called Cape S. Epiphanius, then Drepanum, now called Trapano, Zephyrion,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 183

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 185

now C. Malotas, C. Paphos, a rock opposite Paphos, and the White Cape, C. Bianco, formerly Phrourion, the first headland towards the south....¹⁰⁷

On September 14 we entered a boat and rowed to the shore, landing at a place called Comerico, built, it is said, on the ancient site of the city Cypria, which gave its name to the island. This was once a populous place, and the chief seat of the island trade. The name says as much, and extensive ruins bear it out, a good many merchants frequent it even now, but fewer than when Cyprus was under Christian rule. There used to be immense stores here, full of every kind of merchandise and grain, in which the island abounds. Now either fire has destroyed them, or the Turks, whose carelessness lets everything fall into ruin, have abandoned them. From Comercio we went on foot to Arnica, called by the ancients Piscopia, about a mile from the shore....¹⁰⁸

Paphos or Neapaphos, now Baffos, one of the four cities which survived to the days of the last kings, is a small village on the south coast. It was founded by Agapenor, and was once famous for a temple of Venus, its harbours and royal palace. It is sixty stadia (so Strabo notes) from Palaepaphos. Here Paul and Barnabas preached the faith of Christ, and made Epaphras its bishop.

Palaepaphos, founded by King Paphos, son of Pygmalion, lies on the south coast near the promontory Zephyrium. This city, so famous in poetry, was destroyed by frequent earthquakes; traces of ruins show what was its former greatness. Here was the celebrated temple of Venus in which persons of both sexes sacrificed naked to Venus: tradition holds that it fell at the prayer of the Apostle Barnabas. Here too Holy Writ says that Paul and Barnabas preached the Gospel of Christ, converted to the Faith the Proconsul Sergius Paulus, and struck the Jew Elymas, a sorcerer and false prophet, with blindness. The remains of an ancient church are still shown, and beneath it a vault where the Apostles were imprisoned. The natives say that diamonds are found on the adjacent shore.

Cithera, also a city of Venus, from which she took the name Cytherea, is not far from Paphos on the same coast; some say it was once called Porphirusae: now it is a village, by the name Couclia, whose well-watered fields abound in grain, cotton and sugar....¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 188

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 190

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 193

Arsinoe took its name from Arsinoe, sister of Ptolemaeus Lagus, king of Egypt. The modern village is called Crusocus. It was chiefly noted for its mines of gold, chrysocola (*carbonate of copper?*) and vitriol. Others suppose that the village of Lefcara occupies the site of Arsinoe.”¹¹⁰

(33) Henry de Beauvau, travelled to Constantinople, in 1604, also visiting Egypt, Malta, Italy and Cyprus.

“Fifteen miles from Satalia we passed the point of the island of Cyprus which sailors call Piphanie, and coasting along we fronted the city of Baffo, anciently called Paphos, now pretty well in ruins. It is situated on the sea-coast, near its port, on a fertile and pleasant hill, in which are found diamonds almost as beautiful as the true. In this city S. Paul was bound as he was going to Jerusalem, as you may see in the Acts of the Apostles: and pagan histories tell us that the goddess Venus, as queen of the said island, held here her royal seat, and that the first temple dedicated in her name was here, where men and women sacrificed to her all naked: but at the prayer of the apostle Barnabas, a native of Cyprus, the temple and idol of the said lady fell and were overthrown together. Men called the goddess of old Cypria, on account of the island, and Paphia, on account of the temple. A mile hence are the grottos where it is said the seven sleepers slept for more than three hundred years without awaking.”¹¹¹

(34) Paul Ricaut, wrote a small volume *The present state of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678*, in which there is a small paragraph on Paphos.

“The Bishop of Pafos, named at present Leontius, who hath the city of Arsinoia under his jurisdiction, gathers his maintenance after the manner of the Archbishop. Pafos was anciently a port of good fame and renown and is so at present; from whence is yearly shipped off a considerable quantity of cottons, silks and other merchandise: but by the oppression and hard usage of the Turks, and the covetousness of the officers, is reduced to poverty and want of people.”¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 194, the brackets and supposition are Cobham’s own

¹¹¹ Ibid, 209

¹¹² Ibid, 235

(35) Cornelius van Bruyn, a Dutchman, arrived in Cyprus in 1683. He travelled quite extensively through the East, visiting Egypt, Syria, Palestine and parts of Asia Minor.

“Cyprus, it is said, had formerly thirteen walled cities, Nicosia, Famagusta, Agianappa, Larnica, Chiti, Lemisco, Bisschopia, Abduna, Coughia, Baffa, Lefcara, Lapida and Sarignia....¹¹³ Coughia is but little distant from the sea. There is nothing to see there. Silk and cotton are produced in abundance. Baffa is nothing but a ruined village on the seashore.¹¹⁴

(*On the 25th they reach Paphos.*) Opposite the entrance of the harbour there are two little rocks. In the afternoon I landed to see the place, which is close to the sea: the houses as usual standing in gardens full of mulberry trees. There are the remains of several churches, and one tolerably perfect, with a few paintings. It is dedicated to S. George, and used by the Greeks for divine service. Near it are three large columns still standing, but I could not make out if they belonged to a church or other building. On the shore is a fort, under which vessels moor, to get the protections of its guns. The old castle is on a hill close by, a mere ruin. Somewhere here, they say, was the prison of S. Paul.

In the mountains round are found the stones called Baffa diamonds, some of which are very beautiful.

On May 26 at daybreak we sailed with a slight but favourable wind, passed Cape S. Epiphanio at night, and on the morning of the 27th saw the coast of Asia Minor.”¹¹⁵

(36) Richard Pococke travelled extensively through Cyprus, for about two months in 1738, as part of his travels in Greece and the Middle East. He published a description of his journeys in two volumes, *Description of the East, and Some Other Countries*, which also included plans of Kition and Salamis. Chapter 5 in Volume II, Part 1, Book Three of *Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia*, is about his observations on Paphos and the Paphos district, and also includes Kourion and

¹¹³ Ibid, 240

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 241

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 243-244, the church mentioned dedicated to S. George could be the church of Ayia Paraskevi at Chrysopolitissa. In photographs taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the church can be seen with at least two large columns standing near it. Van Bruyn also mentions “the old castle”, possibly identifying the castle of Saranda Kolones, before the site became known as the likely area for the temple of Aphrodite.

some surrounding villages. The description begins on his way to Polis, coming by way of Soli.

“On the twenty ninth we travelled over the mountains, and passed by some old ironworks; they showed us a village called *Sarama* to the east, where they said a part of the mountain had been thrown by an earthquake. We arrived the same evening at the convent of *Aiamone*. I had a view of the bay of *St Nicholas* to the north west, in which *Arsinoe* seems to have been situated, where there was a grove sacred to Jupiter. They talk much of the fountain of lovers, but they informed me that there were no ruins about it. They mention also the port of *Agama* in this part, and some ruins near it, which probably are the remains of the antient *Arsinoe*, and the present name of it may be derived from *Acamas* which was the most western point of the island, opposite to the bay is a small island called *St Nicholas*, from which the bay has its name. I was told by the monks, if I do not mistake, that the old name of this island (probably that of the middle ages) was *Stiria*. Towards the sea to the north there is a village called *Bole*, where I was informed there were iron mines and hot mineral waters.

On the thirtieth we passed the hills which are on the west side of the island, and went to the south west into a plain, which is about fifteen miles long and three wide: the city of new Paphos, and the port of old Paphos were on this plain.

This country probably made another kingdom, of which Paphos might be the capital. We arrived at *Baffa*, which is situated near the place where new Paphos stood; it is on a rocky eminence in a narrow plain on the sea, which is separated from the great plain by some rocky cliffs, which might antiently be washed by the sea before new Paphos was built. These cliffs are now full of sepulchral grotts, which doubtless were made for the use of the city. To the west of the town there is a point of land, and the old port was to the south east of it, in an angle made by a small promontory, and was sheltered by piers built out into the sea, some remains of which are still to be seen. The city seems to have been to the east and north of the port; and I observed a very large fosse cut out of the rock to the north of the old town, where probably they dug their stones for buildings. There are several lofty rooms hewn out of the rock, and many small apartments; one of them seems to have served for a large cistern, there being a hole in the top to draw up the water, and stairs down to it cut out of rock; it is probable this was filled in winter by an aqueduct

from the mountains, of which there are some remains near the town; by this means the city might be supplied with good water in the summer time, of which there is a great scarcity in the island. To the north of the port there are some signs of an antient temple on a ground raised by art. From the manner in which the grey granite pillars lie, and by the disposition of the ground, I judged there was a colonade round it, and a portico to the west with a double colonade; the pillars are about two feet in diameter. Half a furlong to the east of this there are foundations of a smaller building of hewn stone near the corner of the port, which might be either a temple or some other public building. Farther to the east are the remains of a large church, which probably was a cathedral, and seems to have been built on the foundations of a great temple, for there are some very large pillars of grey granite now standing near it; they are about three feet in diameter, and finely polished; it is needless to say that both these temples were without doubt dedicated to Venus, for whose worship the city was famous. This place probably began to be considerable when Ptolemy the son of Lagus demolished Citium, and removed the inhabitants to this city; it was almost entirely destroyed by earthquake, but was rebuilt by Augustus, and called Ausgusta, in honour of him. Near the cistern before-mentioned there is a church underground cut out of the rock, dedicated to the seven sleepers; and in the town there are ruins of several churches, and houses, most of which are uninhabited. The city is famous in sacred history for being honoured with the presence of Saint Paul, and on account of his having here converted Sergius the governor of the island to Christianity. About a mile to the north there is a rocky ground near the sea-shoar, cut out into sepulchral grotts; many of them seem to have been designed for rooms, and some of them are very large. I saw five or six which probably were inhabited by families of a superior rank, having a court in the middle, and a colonade of two Doric pillars in front, and three on each side, with an entablature over them, all cut in the rock, and some of the pillars are fluted; one side of these courts is open in front; in each of the other three sides there is a room cut out of the rock, and the door-cases are executed in a beautiful manner.

Half a mile to the east of this place is the new town of *Baffa*, where the governor resides, new Paphos being now called old *Baffa*, and is inhabited only by a few Christians and by a small garrison in a castle at the port. There was antiently at new Paphos a celebrated meeting once a year for the worship of Venus, from which place they went

sixty stadia in procession to the temple of Venus at the port of old Paphos, where, according to the fables of the ancients, that goddess, who is said to have been born of the froth of the sea, came ashore on a shell. The ruins of the city, called by the ancients new Paphos, are now known by the name of old *Baffa*, where there is a small village of the same name about a mile south of *Baffa*. There is an aga and some janizaries who live at the fort in this place. ...

When I had seen everything there, we proceeded on our journey; going at some distance from the sea along the plain, in an hour we came to a running water, and saw some ruins of the aqueduct to the right, which here crosses the river on an arch: in half an hour more we came to *Borgo Ashedieh* where there are remains of a high Gothic aqueduct. Opposite to this place is the first small cape to the south east of *Baffa*, which might be the old promontory *Zephyrium*. In half an hour we passed by *Ideme*, and about the same distance we were opposite to another cape, which might be that of *Arsinoe*; the port of *Arsinoe* might be on one side of it, and the port of old *Paphos* on the other, which was a mile and a quarter from that city; for though I went in search of it, at the cape opposite to *Coucleh*, where old *Paphos* stood, and observed the ruins of several aqueducts that way, yet I could see no signs of the port. We ascended to the village of *Coucleh*, which is situated on a narrow hill extending to the south into the plain. Old *Paphos* was doubtless here, and there are great heaps of ruins about the place, and remains of the foundations of thick walls; the ruins extend about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and half a mile in length. Some say that this city was built by Paphos, son of Pigmalion, others that it was founded by Cynarus king of Crete, and father of Adonis.

These hills extend quite across the island, and are much lower in this part than they are towards the north; they end here in high white cliffs; and where they make a great head of land to the south they are known to mariners by the name Cape *Bianco*, part of which might be called *Drepanum* by the ancients. We travelled over these hills to the east, and in about two hours from *Coucleh* came to a Turkish village called *Alefcora*, where we got a place to lodge in with great difficulty. On the second we went near a large Turkish village called *Afdim*, which is the same as *Audimo* or *Aitimo*.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 262-264, also in Martin 1998, 48-50

(37) Alexander Drummond wrote a series of letters to his brother and other friends, while he was travelling through Cyprus in 1745 and again in 1750. He mentions the ancient associations of Paphos with Aphrodite and its history during the Hellenistic and Roman times. He describes Paphos and Polis Chrysochous.

“In Baffo or Paphos Nova, which is now a large, agreeable town, there are no remains of antiquity; but many ruins of christian houses are built upon by the Turks: the churches have been very numerous, not only here, but also through the whole island... The port, or Paphos Antiqua, according to my conjecture, has been large, and contained many noble buildings, as appears by the ruins at this day, particularly by those of the churches Agioi Solomoni, and Chrisoupolitissa; but they are so demolished that a drawing of them would yield no satisfaction. Great numbers of broken columns are scattered up and down; and of the temple of Venus, which stood on a high place, three subterranean vaults still remain... Near Baffo, to the westward, are what they call their Diamond –mines... From Baffo I took my route northwards through the mountains, from some of which I took the bearing, &c. of the land about Acamas, where flows the celebrated spring called the Fountain of Love...”¹¹⁷.

(38) Abbé Giovanni Mariti arrived in Cyprus, from Italy, in February 1760 and left in October 1767. He was an official of the Imperial and Tuscan Consulates and he travelled all over the island.

“Twelve miles further on is Conuclia, the residence of an *Agha*, the principal person in these parts, and looked on as a kind of feudal lord. The land round the village, owing to the abundance of running water, produces silk and excellent cotton. Many curious antiquities used to be found here, especially in tombs. Now the Turks view all excavations with jealousy, and everyone fears in attempting such to expose himself to fresh extortions. Here stood the city Cythera so besung by poets. It was sacred to Venus, and gave of old a name to the island, as Pliny, Strabo and others tell us.

The next site on the south coast is Old Paphos. Here was the famous temple of Venus, overthrown, together with the entire city, by an earthquake. Scarcely any remains are

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 292-293

visible. A lake close by is not always dry in summer, and makes the place somewhat unhealthy.

Nea-Paphos or New Paphos is on the east coast. It was so called by ancient geographers, and is still known as Pafo, though the name in some modern maps is written Baffo. But it is no longer a city such as historians describe it, having been more than once destroyed. It had a harbour, and even now vessels coming to load here anchor outside; but only in summer, for it is the most dangerous roadstead in the island, exposed and with a bad and rocky bottom, which does great damage to the cables, which are sometimes cut through. Sailors take care to buoy them off the bottom with empty casks, which keep them suspended in the water. There is a fort on the shore, and another, ruined, in the adjacent hill.

Pafo is governed by a *Digdaban* or Commisioner; there is also a *Qasi* and an *Agha*, who is Customs officer. The only building of Christian times is the church of St George, now used by Greeks. The products of this end of the island are cotton, silk, wheat and barley, all abundant and of excellent quality.

He would fish in troubled waters who would try to trace the origin of either city, Old or New Paphos, and I leave the question as too difficult for me. I may just say that in New Paphos too was a temple of Venus, which was destroyed, together with the city, by an earthquake. St Paul, on his visit to Paphos (Acts xiii.) converted by his preaching the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus. Here too he adopted as his disciple and follower Titus, whom he ordained deacon in the city in which he afterwards suffered martyrdom. Pafo was the seat of a bishop under the Lusignans, and still has a Greek bishop, a suffragan of the archbishop of Nicosia.

There are a good many villages scattered here and there about the eastern end of the island, none of them are of any consequence, and some are abandoned and in ruins, so I will not attempt to enumerate them. Those that I shall describe, though their present prosperity may be small, at least made some figure in the works of ancient writers.

Beyond Pafo lies Cape St Epifanio, anciently called Cape Acama, and near it a large village. More to the north is the Gulf of Crusocco, so called from the village Crusocco, the ancient Acamantis, one of the nine royal cities. In the neighbourhood were veins of and mines of gold, and here too they made vitriol. The lands about this bay produce the

best wheat in the island. Near it is the so-called Fontana Amorosa [Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* XVIII. 136] and the city of Calinusa, known also as Alexandretta, now a hamlet.”¹¹⁸

(39) Ali Bey travelling in Cyprus in 1806, notes that there are some ruins in Kouklia, both ancient and medieval. “Close to these colossal ruins there are others, which appear to belong to medieval times, inscriptions, bas-reliefs and some fresco-paintings well coloured.”¹¹⁹

(40) William Turner visited Cyprus in 1815, while also visiting Turkey, Greece and Albania. He provides a quite detailed description of Paphos, its inhabitants and where they lived within the town. At the time, Ktima was the name of the Greek quarter, the main area of New Paphos (Ktima) was the Turkish Quarter and the area near the port was mixed with Greek and Turkish families. He describes the Tombs of the Kings, the hill of Fabrika and the port.

“...as we passed through the Turkish burying-ground, Signor Andrea (these people think all stones an object of curiosity to Franks) made me observe two stones now covering the tombs of Turks. One contained a Gothick inscription, and on the other were engraved three *fleurs de lys*, which seem to carry it back at least to the date of the French Kings of Cyprus, possibly to the time of the Arabs....”¹²⁰. He then goes on to describe the Tombs of the Kings and then moves on to Fabrika, ‘on leaving these ruins... stopped at some other ruins... named, I could learn no reason why, Afrikee. ...On its top there is little to be seen, except three ruined arched chambers, and these seem to be Venetian. These chambers are about sixty feet long, fifteen high. The breadth of the chamber is the span of the arch which roofs it, and the three chambers and arches join each other. They are built of stones of unequal size, but none of them more than four feet long, and eight inches high. On the hill are to be seen some marks of foundations of buildings, but not sufficiently clear to enable one to trace out chambers. The hill commands an extensive view of the plain of Paphos, which is very rich land, and in some parts tolerably cultivated, and of the low brown mountains that bound it. As the sun set while I was

¹¹⁸ Cobham 1909, 85-87

¹¹⁹ Cobham 1908, 408

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 441

examining the remains at Afrikee, I could only take a hasty walk round Baffo, the Marina, which, having been under the Venetians a considerable town, is full of ruined houses and churches. During this walk Signor A. showed me a small hill, on which were some granite columns, and under which he told me were subterraneous chambers. This spot he told me was called by the inhabitants the tomb of Venus... Baffo, formerly a Venetian town of some magnitude, is now like Famagosto, choked up by its own ruins. Palaces and churches are everywhere seen crumbling to the ground... The bay is large, but the port very unsafe, as the mole remains only in part to the east and west, and not at all to the south, which is left quite open... The port is commanded by an insignificant castle built on its banks by the Turks; on the east side, opposite to the castle, is a small ruined Greek church. We walked immediately to the hill where is the ruin which the inhabitants call the tomb of Venus, which is about 100 paces north of the port. Over its surface, which is of very considerable extent, and in its immediate environs, are scattered a great number of grey granite columns, of which all I saw were broken: they were two feet in diameter. As we were bathing in the port, we found two of these under the water, and as it is difficult to know whether these scattered remains are in their original situation, or have been displaced by the hands of man or nature, it becomes nearly impossible to judge what was the extent of the building they supported, or to decide whether that building was the temple of Venus. I think however that the fact of the Marina above being still called Baffo by the inhabitants, and the name given by them to the ruins of the hill, are great evidence in favour of its identity. Signor Andrea told me that he had counted above 150 of these columns, but the hill and its environs being cultivated, most of them are now buried underground. The subterraneous passage is immediately under the hill. The entrance to it is a square of about four feet: the passage below was so choked with stones and dirt, that though I worked hard to remove them, I found it impossible to penetrate above eight feet: of these eight feet the descent was rapid, and the roof formed like the under part of a staircase: possible if the ground above was cleared away, a staircase might be found from above to the chambers below. This is all that remains of the splendour of Paphos.... we stopped at the village of Coukkia, which is built on the site of Old Paphos... Coukkia was formerly a considerable town under the Venetians, but is now nothing but a mass of ruined churches and houses... In the morning early I strolled about

the ruins of Coukkliia, among which I did not discover the remains of any considerable houses. There are three or four churches, which from Venetian became Greek, and are now quite in ruins.”¹²¹

These documents are just a small sample of those that deal with and mention Paphos. They can be used in a variety of ways to illustrate certain points but why they were written, their intended audience and their distribution must be kept in mind. Many were written as guides to the journey undertaken to the Holy Lands, what a traveller may possibly expect to find on the way and what the people were like, and what monuments were to be visited and seen, some were diaries and others letters to family and friends. Pero Tafur’s (7) narrative was not meant just as a travelogue for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem but as a treatise on the practice of good government.¹²² These accounts were not always immediately published after the return of the author, in some cases it took well over a hundred years for some accounts to be published. Willibrand von Oldenburg’s (1) journal of pilgrimage was not published until 1653 and he had travelled to the Holy Lands in 1211.¹²³ On the opposite end of the scale, of Fra Noe’s (16) book, there are a number of editions throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²⁴ The histories of Leontios Makhairas and George Boustronios have been discussed at length elsewhere, but both of these authors were eyewitness to the events they recorded in their histories.¹²⁵ The accounts written at the time of the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus were published almost immediately, especially those describing the battles of Nicosia and Famagusta. Gio Sozomeno’s (25) narrative was addressed to “al Serssmo gran principe di Toscana Sr. Mio Ossmo”, who was probably the Grand Duke Cosimo.¹²⁶ Paolo Paruta

¹²¹ Ibid, 442-444

¹²² Nepaulsingh 1997, 3, his discussion includes some suggestions as to why it took fifteen years before Tafur published his notes in 1454 and what was happening in Spain at that time to make his notes into a treatise

¹²³ Cobham 1908, 13, Cobham gives no indication if the original text was modified in any way for the 1653 publication

¹²⁴ Ibid, 53

¹²⁵ Anaxagorou, N. *Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas*, 1998; Kyrris, C.P. ‘Some Aspects of Leontios Makhairas’ Ethnoreligious Ideology, Cultural Identity and Historiographic Method’, *Στασινος*, 1993, 167-281; Dawkins, R.M. *Leontios Makhairas: Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled ‘Chronicle’*, 2 Vols, 1932; Dawkins, R.M. *The Nature of the Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas*, 1980; Dawkins, R.M. *The Chronicle of George Boustronios 1456-1489*, 1964

¹²⁶ Cobham 1908, 81

was the historiographer of the Venetian Republic and his account of the siege of Nicosia was translated into English in 1658.¹²⁷ Later travellers of the eighteenth century were taking more detailed notes and observations. When Richard Pococke's (36) *Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, was published in a two-volume folio in 1743-45, it included maps of Cyprus and plans of Kition and Salamis.¹²⁸ A rediscovery of many of these accounts took place towards the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when interest in the Crusades and the Holy Lands was renewed.

To begin with Willibrand von Oldenburg's (1) account of being able to see Paphos from the top of Stavrovouni, this would have been unlikely. Stavrovouni is located on the modern road between Nicosia and Limassol, the view from its summit facing towards Paphos is blocked by the Troodos mountain range, making Oldenburg's claim dubious. This is the only traveller's document we have for the rest of the thirteenth century. The next document that mentions Paphos is that of Jacobus de Verona (4) in 1335. The only other documents for the thirteenth century relating to Paphos are Latin documents surviving in the Papal Registers and wholly ecclesiastic in nature. This absence of travellers' descriptions in the thirteenth century is not just for Paphos alone but the whole of Cyprus. These church documents (2) provide an interesting look at Paphos in the thirteenth century. The Latin Church was established on the island in 1196 and the first of the documents, dating to 1224 less than thirty years later, indicates that the bishop of Paphos has positions to give away in his church. The rural population of Cyprus was mainly Orthodox and it was only the crown and noble families along with the Latin urban populations that provided the reason for the existence of the Latin Church. The need for priests in Paphos in 1224, may show that the Latin Church was trying to convert the Greek population in the town and countryside and establish a greater presence on the western half of the island as it was an important diocese within the church. The second document, dating to 1236, relates to the collection of tithes and the failure of some landowners to pay tithes. This duty fell to the bishop of Paphos to carry out for the whole of Cyprus, not just for the Paphos region. This issue continues to the fourth document of

¹²⁷ Ibid, 97

¹²⁸ Ibid, 251

1238, where Odo de Montbelliard, the constable of Jerusalem, must pay tithes from his casale of Tarsis, located in the Holy Land, to the bishop of Paphos, but he refuses to do so and the matter was put before the Pope to find a solution.¹²⁹ The third document, of 1237, illustrates that property in Paphos was also held by religious orders outside of Cyprus, in this case St Mary of Acre, and that this property was given to the order by Queen Alice. It continues by listing the produce from its other properties in the Paphos district. A variety of different religious and military orders had property in Paphos, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Praemonstratensians, Templars and Hospitallers but this is an example of a smaller religious order that had property in Paphos and the Paphos district.

The fifth document of the Latin Church, dating to 1239, mentions that Paphos is a sick place, the bishop wants to transfer to Nazareth and become archbishop there, he doesn't speak Greek and can't understand the Orthodox rites. This document is quite important. It is perhaps the first mention of Paphos being sick and unhealthy for this period. There are many later references to the bad air and sickness of Cyprus but no others from the thirteenth century. It is unfortunate that this bishop does not mention what type of sickness was plaguing Paphos. The plague and Black Death did pass through the island in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries¹³⁰, but there has been no other mention of any earlier epidemics on the island. This document also illustrates that the Greek Orthodox religion was still quite strong in this region and the bishop perhaps made no effort to try and understand or communicate with the Greek population of the area. The sixth document dating to 1248 illustrates that the Paphos bishopric could be used as a source of income as the chancellor of Cyprus is told to look there for funds. It is unknown what the funds may have been needed for but this indicates that Paphos was quite a rich diocese with funds to spare. The seventh document dating to 1256 mentions that certain canons refuse to live in Paphos but it gives no mention of their reasons and gives the bishop the right to strip them of their income after a warning of one year. Paphos may again have become a 'sick place' as it was in 1239 or the canons may not have wanted to travel to this part of the island there is no indication of what their refusal may have been. The next

¹²⁹ Coureas 1997a, 6 for further discussion on this issue

¹³⁰ Edbury 1991, 15

two documents dating to 1256 and 1262 again show the need for priests and canons respectively to administer and live there, indicating that once more there was a shortage of religious personnel for the Latin rites in Paphos. The tenth document dating to 1263 shows the bishopric inheriting the sum of 3000 Saracen bezants, a significant amount of money illustrating again that the income of the diocese was large. The last document dating to 1302 shows that the newly elected bishop had taken goods which were valued to 20,000 gold florins within the space of three months and paid creditors 2000 more gold florins, a not insignificant amount of money and possessions. This indicates that as well as large amounts of money, the bishop of Paphos had a number of different possessions that were quite valuable and expensive. On the whole these documents present an interesting picture of Paphos during the thirteenth century. These documents show the need for priests at the beginning and the end of the century, that the bishop must be vigilant in the collection of tithes, that there is a small religious order with property within the diocese, Paphos being described as a sick place and the income generated within the diocese being quite large.

The documents above mention the need for priests for the diocese of Paphos, this indicates that during the thirteenth century the population of the area would have been much larger than the following centuries. It must be remembered that the documents mentioned in the sources above are from the Latin Church and not the Greek Orthodox Church and they show that an effort was required to try and convert the local population from being Greek Orthodox to being Catholic. Unfortunately there are no population figures for this period due to the destruction of records during the Venetian and Ottoman takeovers of the island. The two figures that do exist for the population of Paphos both come from the fifteenth century, estimates in 1543 and 1556 refer to 1,500 souls and in 1563, there were 2,000 inhabitants in Paphos and Ktima.¹³¹ These figures are just for the town of Paphos not for the surrounding countryside, and would most likely refer to the male population, not women, children or the elderly. The 1543 report is a census report and as such would only be for the purpose of taxation and would most probably only

¹³¹ Arbel 1984, 202,

include those with taxable income, mainly males of all classes.¹³² Arbel is able to show the number of villages in the Paphos area, from a number of reports ranging from the end of the fifteenth century into the sixteenth century, as being anywhere between 97 to 100 with the accompanying figures for peasants, serfs and free tenants, peasants numbering between 12808 to 17532, serfs between 3265 and 8297 and free tenants between 9543 and 9253.¹³³ The figures regarding the population of the town of Paphos are significantly smaller compared with those of Nicosia and Famagusta for the same period of time, but they show that Paphos was the next largest town in Cyprus in comparison to Kyrenia, Limassol and Larnaca.¹³⁴ Grivaud's study *Villages désertés à Chypre (fin XIIIe – fin XIXe siècle)* lists the villages of the Paphos area during the entire period of the Frankish-Venetian occupation. He shows which villages were deserted and abandoned and the villages that continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹³⁵ This information is all gathered from written sources, but used together with archaeological survey would provide valuable information on this area and would also give a better indicator to the population of the area. Intense survey could be carried out in small areas to try and establish where these villages existed and possibly show how big they were to create a more extensive picture of this period.

The letter from the Pope to the bishop of Paphos dating to 1306 (3) concerns the seizure of three monasteries Gelia, Lacrona and St Sabbas in the diocese of Paphos by a Georgian and some Greek schismatics, the collapse of these monasteries and their need for rebuilding, for the Catholic faith to flourish. The Pope instructs the bishop to see to the rebuilding himself or through others of the Catholic faith in the Paphos district. This letter shows that there is a directive coming from the Pope himself to fix these monasteries so Catholicism may flourish and spread throughout the region, probably with the aim of converting as much of the Greek Orthodox population as possible. The monastery of Gelia has been tentatively identified by the author as the monastery of

¹³² See Arbel 1984 for discussion of the Cypriot population and those that would have been counted in any census reports

¹³³ See Arbel 1984, Table II The Population of the Paphos Area According to Some Sources Included in Table I

¹³⁴ See Arbel 1984, Table I Population Data

Agios Mamas at Yialia, to the north east of Polis (see gazetteer) this has also been referred to as the Georgian monastery. The location of the other two monasteries mentioned is unknown.

Jacobus de Verona (4) in 1335 only mentions Paphos in passing, as the first stop reached after travelling from Rhodes and escaping a pirate, he gives no description of the town indicating that he did not disembark from his ship. Ludolf von Suchen (5) travelled through Cyprus sometime between 1336 and 1341 and his observations of Paphos tend to concentrate on its ancient associations, although he does also mention that the city is virtually destroyed by frequent earthquakes. He mentions the vineyard of Engadi which belonged to the Templars but when he saw it, must have belonged to the Hospitallers and that it had Saracen slaves. This is one of the few mentions of slaves in travellers' descriptions of the island they are mentioned by Makhairas in his chronicle as taking part in the capture of castle of Paphos during the Genoese war of 1373,¹³⁶ in the documents of the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto from 1296 to 1307,¹³⁷ and in Pegolotti's *La pratica della mercatura*.¹³⁸ Emmanuel Piloti, a Cretan, notes that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the king had captured 1,500 Saracens, who were sent to work on the royal sugar plantations,¹³⁹ meaning some of them would likely have ended up at the sugar plantation of Koukليا. Slave labour was used on the island but there are no firm figures for the number of slaves on the island at any one time.

The document of the anonymous Englishman (6) dating between 1344 and 1345, shows Paphos as a point to begin a journey through Cyprus, rather than just stopping there and then continue sailing around the coast to Limassol or Famagusta. Pero Tafur's (7) narrative first mentions Paphos as uninhabited due to bad air and bad water; he next mentions that due to the plague he was to stay in a village on top of a mountain. This may be the village of Ktima located on a hill above the coastal town of Paphos here Tafur

¹³⁵ Grivaud 1998a, see maps 37-39, 575-577 also appendix 7 for the Venetian Inventory of villages 445-448 for the Paphos area

¹³⁶ Dawkins 1932, 358-361

¹³⁷ Arbel 1993, 152

¹³⁸ Ibid, 153

¹³⁹ Ibid, 161

stayed with a Castilian squire indicating that there was a foreign presence in the area and the town. On his return to Paphos after performing a mission for the king, he again notes that it was a sick place and that the bishop and two of his squires died on the day that Tafur arrived back. The Black Death did hit the island in 1348¹⁴⁰ and this is no doubt the sickness and plague that Tafur is describing in Paphos. Tafur did not finish his narrative immediately on his return to Spain in 1439 but fifteen years later in 1454,¹⁴¹ and as mentioned previously did not mean for them just to be a travelogue but a treatise for good government.

The chronicles of Leontios Makhairas (8) and George Boustronios (9) are both eyewitness accounts of events taking place on the island. Makhairas' chronicle does include a history of the island from the earliest known times to King Peter I (1359-1369), but he concentrates on the period from 1359 to 1458. One of the passages chosen from his narrative describes the king (Peter I) as ordering his galley fitted out and going to Paphos to wait for him there to sail overseas, indicating that the port of Paphos was still being used, by royalty as well as travellers and merchants. He also describes the Genoese war of 1373 and the damage the Genoese did to Paphos and Kouklia, freeing slaves and capturing the castle at Paphos, although which castle in Paphos, the fort or Saranda Kolones, is not clear. Boustronios' chronicle continues on from Makhairas to 1489 and the handover of the island to the Venetians. He records the conflict of succession between Queen Charlotte and her illegitimate brother James the Bastard, his eventual success and his marriage to Caterina Cornaro. The excerpts show that Paphos had a small role to play in this conflict, the castle of Paphos, its captain and garrison are mentioned several times, this most likely being the fort at the harbour. Polis Chrysochou is also mentioned as being an anchorage and as having its own captain, who may have fallen under the jurisdiction of the captain of Paphos in hierarchy but the position existing nevertheless and showing that Polis was of some small importance.

¹⁴⁰ Edbury 1991, 153

¹⁴¹ Nepaulsingh 1997, 4

William Wey (10) in 1458 only mentions the Franciscan church as the spot where St Paul was imprisoned, giving no other information about Paphos. Capodilista (11) also in 1458 describes Paphos as ruined and practically uninhabited providing no other description or information. Faber (12) stopped in Paphos in 1480 and 1483, again associates Paphos with ancient and early Christian tales but also notes how big the city was and how many ruins and columns are lying about. He also continues the tradition of a ruined city with a small village built over the top and the harbour as being abandoned and only being used when absolutely necessary. This contradicts Affagart (21) in 1534, who mentions that his ship was loaded with sugar and cotton in the port of Paphos. The next few sources, (nos 13, 14, 16 and 17) all describe Paphos as ruined, having bad air and give varying descriptions of the state of buildings and their associations with Aphrodite or early Christian history. These descriptions date to 1484, 1487, 1500 and 1508, possibly indicating that these travellers might have been aware of previous descriptions of Paphos in the same vein and continued this tradition. Casola (15) in 1494 describes Paphos as a 'fortified place' but does not describe what made it fortified. It must be assumed that he means the two harbour towers that were still visible to Jacques le Saige (18) in 1518. Le Saige also mentions that 'there was once a strong castle', which must have been Saranda Kolones. This is the first mention of this site and it is not mentioned again until 1683, when Cornelius van Bruyn (35) describes it as "the old castle on a hill close by, a mere ruin", distinguishing it from the fort on the shore. This seems to indicate that the area where Saranda Kolones and the Roman town was located, became abandoned except for the two harbour towers and the main settlement of the town was located on the eastern side where Chrysopolitissa and the Frankish Baths are located. Affagart (21) continues the descriptions of Paphos of being unhealthy, the air being tainted and descriptions of the early Christian associations of the town. Meggen (22) in 1542 describes Kouklia, but only in terms of sugar, he gives no information on the Manor House even though he ate there but concentrates on the process of growing and refining the sugar. Paphos he describes in ruins, mentioning there are indications that it was much grander in the past than it appeared when he visited. His detailed description of the process of growing sugar would possibly have been written with an audience in mind, to educate those who did not know or understand how sugar was made and this description does provide information

on the seasonal production of sugar. Fürer (24) mentions that the bishopric of Paphos, in 1566, has an estimated revenue of 3000 ducats. This is the first mention of what the bishopric is worth outside of ecclesiastic documents and that Paphos was still quite rich towards the end of the sixteenth century, even though the town was in ruins.

Lusignan's Chorography (27) completed in 1570 in Naples, provides a first hand description and history of the island from a descendant of the Lusignan family. Some of his descriptions of locations and places are confusing. He mentions Old Paffo as having in ancient times a temple to Venus, a beautiful garden, but these being ruined due to earthquakes and a ruined harbour; New Paffos as having a temple to Venus also and the city which St Barnabas visited, again no ancient remains to be seen but it did have two castles on the coast and because of the bad air the Captain and the Latin and Greek Bishops live in Ktima; Citherea which he identifies with Conuclia (Kouklia) and again having had a temple to Venus in ancient times but now producing cotton and sugar. Old Paffo could have been the village of Yeroskipou, its name means sacred garden but it has no harbour, so this identification is unlikely. It seems probable that Lusignan has wrongly identified Old Paffo and Citherea when they should probably be identified as one and the same place. He also mentions other villages in the district which give a small indication of the population of the area and also mentions produce that was specific to the region. On the whole Lusignan must be used carefully to provide information and care must be taken when trying to identify certain villages and towns mentioned by him.

Porcacchi (28) never visited the island of Cyprus but was famous for descriptions of the most famous islands of the world. He made these descriptions from descriptions given to him by mariners and travellers, so his description of Paphos is second hand and the standard information provided by travellers who had actually visited Paphos and Cyprus, not providing any new details. The next few sources (nos 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34) again have similar descriptions of Paphos, the ancient and early Christian associations of the town, that it was in a ruinous state and was once an important town. The description by Pococke (36) in 1738, is quite detailed and provides much information about the ancient and medieval town, although he does mistake the site of Saranda Kolones for the temple

of Venus, due to the columns that were visible above the ground, and other areas are described in terms of being ancient when they are actually medieval. He misidentifies Chrysopolitissa as having a temple dedicated to Venus and the small basilica of Limeniotissa by the port as being another temple to Venus. If kept in mind that Pococke may not have been aware of the medieval aspect of Paphos his description of the remains of the town are useful in identifying the progress of decay and also misinformation about sites, Saranda Kolones being the most famous wrongly identified site in Paphos. Mariti (38) is still able to identify two different forts, one on the shore and the other on the adjacent hill, this seems to be the last identification of a fort or castle (Saranda Kolones) on the hill before excavation confirmed it to be so in the 1950s. This site was mainly identified as the site for the temple of Venus in Paphos, which is yet to be located. Turner (40) also provides interesting observations of Paphos that must be carefully examined to pull out the relevant information relating to the medieval period in Paphos. He observes tombstones with Gothic inscriptions and fleur de lys, a building on the top of Fabrika (Afrikee, as it was then called) that he thinks could be Venetian, and again another description of the site of Saranda Kolones and its granite columns.

These documents can be used to form the beginning of a collection of traveller's descriptions, letters, diaries, ecclesiastic and administrative documents that provide information on the Paphos region. They must be used carefully, their origin and their intended audience must be taken into account when they are being studied but they do provide information on how the medieval traveller perceived Paphos and Cyprus. The later sources provide useful descriptions of some monuments that do not survive to the present day and more detailed descriptions than those of the medieval traveller. The documents of travellers show that in most cases early travellers did not spend much time in Paphos itself, compared to visits to Nicosia and Famagusta, which in most cases are described in more detail. The standard description of Paphos is of a ruined, sick and earthquake prone town, with no detailed description of the town. They do not give much information on the population or day to day living. Ecclesiastic documents provide important information about the Latin Church in the region and its wealth and various problems, information that would not be found in the archaeological record, showing that

Paphos was an important diocese within the Latin Church of Cyprus. The lack of documents for the thirteenth century illustrates that written sources cannot always be relied upon to provide information for all periods and that archaeological evidence dating to the thirteenth century be used to create an understanding of what was happening during this time. Other archives on the island have been lost, those of the Templars and Hospitallers are an example, destroyed with the Ottoman invasion. The written sources and the archaeological evidence must be used together to provide a more complete picture of the area for this period.

Chapter 2 Gazetteer

This gazetteer is an attempt to list all the available information about sites in Paphos and the Paphos district that have any medieval material dating between 1191 and 1571. The gazetteer is intended to be archaeologically rather than historically based. References to medieval primary sources are usually omitted unless they provide evidence for dating or important descriptive information about the sites concerned. The primary sources were dealt with in the previous chapter and the secondary sources quoted will themselves provide an introduction into the primary sources. Full details of all the references listed in the gazetteer will be available in the Bibliography. It will begin with the town of Paphos, and then on to the relevant sites within the Paphos district.

Paphos Town

Map 1

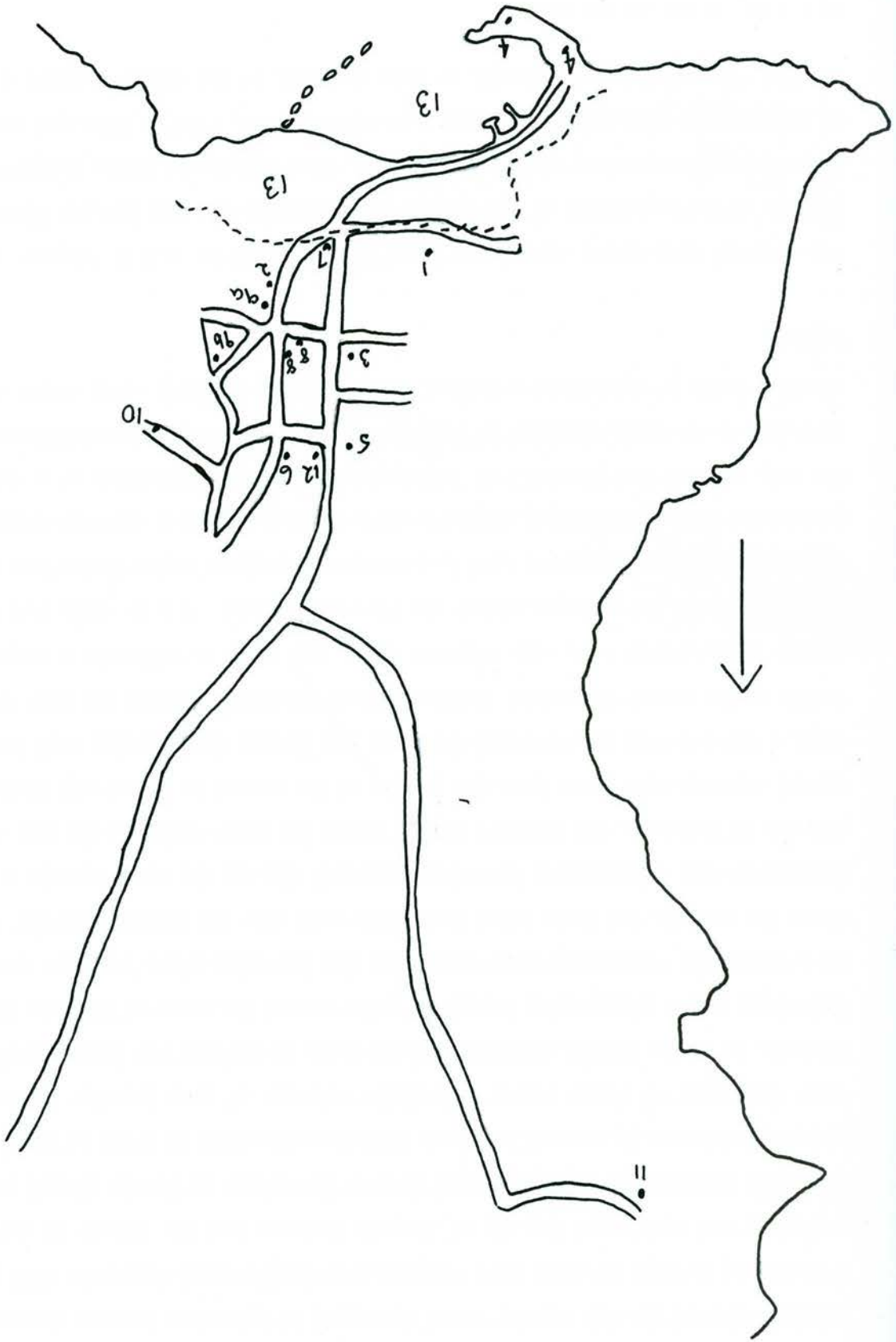
In Paphos there are a number of sites of medieval occupation. These are mainly to be found around the harbour. The most important of these is the castle of Saranda Kolones. There are also two forts on the edge of the harbour. Other sites include the remains of a Gothic church at the site of Chrysopolitissa, Frankish Baths, a pier from the “Latin Cathedral”, a complex of buildings on the site of the Hellenistic theatre also known as Fabrika, and some walls that may possibly be from a house. During the construction of the local branch of Woolworth, a huge quantity of Medieval ceramics was found (see map for site location).

Saranda Kolones (1)

(Plates 1-8)

The castle of Saranda Kolones is one of the most important buildings in Paphos. Saranda Kolones is a Crusader castle of concentric design, square with an open courtyard, surrounded by an outer curtain wall and a rock-cut ditch with a counterscarp lined with masonry. The walls of the castle had been strengthened with granite columns from Roman buildings. These columns gave the castle its present name, Saranda Kolones or the Castle of the Forty Columns. At the beginning of the last century, locals, visitors and

Map 1: Paphos Town



scholars believed that this was the site of the temple of Aphrodite, because these columns were poking through the earth. D.G. Hogarth, travelling through Cyprus in 1887 stopped at Paphos and mentioned the site of Saranda Kolones and the temple of Aphrodite: 'Tradition points at this day to a mound close to the harbour as the site of such a temple; at a rough estimate its summit measures 200ft from the north to south by 250ft east to west: fragments of about twenty monolithic columns of grey granite, 22 inches in diameter, lie on the surface, protrude from the sides, or are built into fences hard by, and from these native exaggeration has given to the mound the name of Saranda Kolones.' He continues by mentioning some excavation that had taken place 'no other remains lie above the surface, but three holes have been sunk into the mound whereby massive foundations and substructures have been exposed: that on the south reveals a vaulted chamber 12 feet high, the southern wall of which has fallen away: to the east of this a narrow stairway runs down from the surface of the mound to a doorway choked with earth; a massive wall can be traced for some feet further, the returning wall being also visible on the east of the mound. In the centre of the summit a shaft has been sunk into similar substructures of a very massive order, and there is evidently a labyrinth of staircases, vaults and passages underlying the whole mound...If it be really true that this is site of a temple of Aphrodite, (and its commanding position beside the harbour tends to corroborate such a tradition), it might be worth while to explore it more thoroughly with the help of pick and shovel'.¹ G. Jeffery continues this assumption of a temple of Aphrodite in his book, although he does say 'during the middle ages the Roman temple would probably be turned into a fortress, hence the mass of debris under which it is now buried'.²

The original excavations carried out from 1957 to 1959 by A.H.S. Megaw, the then Director of the Department of Antiquities, established the fact that Saranda Kolones was indeed a castle and not the temple of Aphrodite, that Hogarth and others thought it might be. Excavations were carried out again from 1966 to 1967, 1970 to 1971, and from 1981 to 1985. The excavations brought to light the plan of the castle. Around a central

¹ Hogarth 1889, 5

² Jeffery 1918, 401

courtyard was a first story with undercrofts where stables, a mill room, an oven and a steam bath with its stoking chamber and a forge were located. Four towers of quadrangular shape are located at the corners of the castle. Half way along the eastern side of the castle was an apsidal tower. The reused granite columns were laid horizontally within the tower walls for reinforcement. Around the castle was an outer wall with eight towers, one at each of the corners and in the middle of three sides. On the east side however, where the apsidal tower is found, there was an outer gate tower again reinforced with the granite columns. This wall bends outwards so it can accommodate the apsidal tower. There is also a well in the courtyard, fed by a cistern and another cistern. The construction of the castle is thought to have begun some time after 1194 or around 1200AD. Its destruction is thought to have taken place with the 1222 earthquake, that is said to have devastated Paphos, causing the harbour to dry up. This date is now disputed by M-L. von Wartburg.³

Hogarth 1889: *Devia Cypria, Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus*, 5; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 401; Megaw 1958: 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1957', *Archaeological Reports 1957*, 48-49; Karageorghis 1959: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 83, 353; Megaw 1959a: 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1958', *Archaeological Reports 1958*, 32-34; Megaw 1959b: 'A Twelfth Century Scent Bottle from Cyprus', *Journal of Glass Studies* 1, 59-61; Karageorghis 1960: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 84, 292; Megaw 1961/2: 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1959-1961', *Archaeological Reports 1961-62*, 45; Megaw 1967: 'Excavations at Paphos in Cyprus, 1966', *Archaeological Reports 1966-1967*, 25-28; Karageorghis 1967: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 91, 365-368; Nicolaou 1967: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1966', *AJA* 71, 403; Megaw 1968a: 'Excavations at Paphos in Cyprus, 1967', *Archaeological Reports 1967-68*, 27-28; *ARDAC* 1967, 1968, 18-19; Karageorghis 1968: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 92, 349-351; Nicolaou 1968: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1967', *AJA* 72, 376; Megaw 1970: 'The Castle of the Forty Columns at Paphos', *Proceedings of the VIII Scientific Meeting of the International Castle Institute, Athens, 25-29 April 1968*, 65-70; Megaw 1971: 'Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos: Preliminary Report on the 1966-67 and 1970-71 Seasons', *RDAC*, 117-146; *ARDAC* 1970, 1971, 19-20; Karageorghis 1971: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 95, 425-429; Megaw 1972a: 'Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus 1970-1971', *DOP* 26, 322-343; Megaw 1972b: 'Saranda Kolones: A Medieval Castle Excavated at Paphos', *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kyprialogikou Synedriou Nicosia 14-19 April 1969, Tomos B*', Nicosia, 173-182; Karageorghis 1972: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 96, 1085-1088; Nicolaou 1972: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1970', *AJA* 76, 316; Nicolaou 1973: 'Archaeological Notes from

³ von Wartburg 2001, 127-145

Cyprus, 1971', *AJA* 77, 57-58; Megaw 1977: 'The Arts in Cyprus, B. Military Architecture', *A History of the Crusades, Vol IV The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States* (ed) Hazard, 196-207; Megaw 1982: 'Saranda Kolones 1981', *RDAC*, 210-216, *ARDAC 1981*, 1982, 42; *ARDAC 1982*, 1983, 42-43; Karageorghis 1982: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 106, 737-740; Karageorghis 1983: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 107, 947-948; Megaw 1984: 'Saranda Kolones: Ceramic Evidence for the Construction Date', *RDAC*, 333-340; Karageorghis 1984: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 108, 960-964; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: *Paphos, History and Archaeology*, 309-310; *ARDAC 1983*, 1984, 46-47; *ARDAC 1984*, 1985, 46-48; Megaw 1985: 'Progress in Early Christian and Medieval Archaeology', *Archaeology in Cyprus, 1960-1985*, 295-298; Rosser 1985: 'Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos, Cyprus 1981-83', *DOP* 39, 81-97; *ARDAC 1985*, 1986, 47-48; Karageorghis 1985: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 109, 954-957; Rosser 1986: 'Crusader Castles of Cyprus', *Archaeology, July/August*, 40-47; Karageorghis 1986: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 110, 864-865; Rosser 1987: 'The Lusignan Castle at Paphos called Saranda Kolones', *Western Cyprus: Connections, SIMA LXXVII*, 85-198; Karageorghis 1988: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 112, 841-842; *ARDAC 1987*, 1988, 58-59; Megaw 1994: 'A Castle in Cyprus attributable to the Hospital?', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, (ed) Barber, 42-51; der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide to the Monuments*, 39-40; Boas 1999: *Crusader Archaeology, The Material Culture of the Latin East*, 108-109; von Wartburg 2000: 'Cane sugar production sites in Paphos. Real and imagined', *RDAC*, 381-401; von Wartburg 2001a: 'Earthquakes and Archaeology: Paphos after 1222', *Praktika*, 127-145; Megaw & Rosser 2001: 'A Watchtower before Pafos Castle', *RDAC*, 319-334

Chrysopolitissa (2)

(Plates 9-10)

Chrysopolitissa, as the area is known, is the site of three churches. The existing church is known as Ayia Kyriaki Chrysopolitissa, and was built during the fifteenth century. It replaced an earlier eleventh-century church which was destroyed by earthquake in 1159. The earlier church was larger, the foundations of its apse encircling the bema of the present building. Chrysopolitissa is a three-aisled church with an extended western arm and no narthex and a high octagonal lantern. Outside, along the east and south walls the lower courses of the eleventh century walls are still visible.

Also on the site is an early Christian cathedral or basilica, the largest on the island of Cyprus. Constructed towards the end of the fourth century, it is a seven-aisled building with granite and marble columns. The central nave possesses a double apse and the floors are covered with mosaics of floral and geometric patterns. It would have been an impressive building.

The building of most interest is the Gothic church, also known as the 'Franciscan' church (pl. 9a and b). It is built immediately to the north of the former basilica. Built in 1312 and repaired in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, it was a large three-aisled church, possibly with rib vaults. The bases of two rows of five columns are visible. During excavation their capitals were found, decorated with grapes, flowers and rosettes, which seem to be unique in the island. Also found were four limestone angels, in late Renaissance style, almost life-size, supporting a canopy (pl. 10). Four vaulted underground chambers were also discovered during the excavation, but their purpose is unknown. Some tombstones were also found, with inscriptions, one dating to 1312. Excavation of the site began in 1964, resumed in 1968 and then continued almost annually for the next twenty years. It still awaits full publication. The director of the excavations was Mr Athanassios Papageorgiou

Enlart 1899: *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 356-358; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 403; *ARDAC* 1964, 1965, 11; Karageorghis 1965: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 89, 297; Karageorghis 1968: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 92, 351; Karageorghis 1970: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 94, 287-289; Nicolaou 1970a: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1968', *AJA* 74, 75; Nicolaou 1970b: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1969', *AJA* 74, 395-396; *ARDAC* 1971, 1972, 22; Karageorghis 1972: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 96, 1081-1082; Nicolaou 1972: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1970', *AJA* 76, 316; Karageorghis 1973: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 97, 679-680; Nicolaou 1973a: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1971', *AJA* 77, 57; Nicolaou 1973b: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1972', *AJA* 77, 430-431; Karageorghis 1974: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 98, 895; *ARDAC* 1974, 1975, 30-31; Karageorghis 1975: 'Chronique...', *BCH* XCIX, 844; Nicolaou 1975: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1973', *AJA* 79, 131; Karageorghis 1976: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 100, 899-900; *ARDAC* 1975, 1976, 34-36; Nicolaou 1976: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1974', *AJA* 80, 372-373; Karageorghis 1977: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 101, 776-779; *ARDAC* 1976, 1977, 46-47; Nicolaou 1977: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1975', *AJA* 81, 531-532; Karageorghis 1978: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 102, 936; *ARDAC* 1977, 1978, 40-41; Nicolaou 1978: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1976', *AJA* 82, 535; Karageorghis 1979: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 103, 722; *ARDAC* 1978, 1979, 42-43; Karageorghis 1980: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 104, 801; *ARDAC* 1979, 1980, 39; Nicolaou 1980: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus', 1977-1978', *AJA* 84, 73; Karageorghis 1981: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 105, 1007; *ARDAC* 1980, 1981, 40; Karageorghis 1982: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 106, 737; *ARDAC* 1981, 1982, 38-39; Karageorghis 1983: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 107, 945; *ARDAC* 1982, 1983, 40; *ARDAC* 1983, 1984, 45-46; Karageorghis 1984: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 108, 959-960; Maier & Karageorghis 1984: *Paphos, History and Archaeology*, 292-295 & 309-311 & 323; *ARDAC* 1984, 1985, 48; Karageorghis 1985: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 109, 957-959; *ARDAC* 1985, 1986, 46-47; *ARDAC* 1986,

1987, 48-49; Karageorghis 1986: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 110, 862; Karageorghis 1987: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 111, 691; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1988: 'Χρονολογηµενή Κεραµεική 14ου Αιώνα από την Πάφο', *RDAC Pt 2*, 245-248; Karageorghis 1988: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 112, 841; *ARDAC 1987*, 1988, 57-58; Megaw 1988: 'Reflections on Byzantine Paphos', *Καθηγητρια, Essays presented to Joan Hussey*, 135-150; Papageorghiou 1990: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 114, 982; Papageorghiou 1991: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 115, 826-827; Christou 1994: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 118, 686; Christou 1995: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 119, 829; der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide to the Monuments*, 41-44

Latin Cathedral (3)

(Plates 11-14)

The only remaining feature of this building is a solitary pier, the south corner of the west end of the cathedral (pl. 11). Built in the thirteenth century, this pier with part of a vaulting rib supported by moulded corbel, is preserved (pl. 12). It is possible from this and the many scattered blocks around this pier, to deduce that this building would have had a ribbed vault. Among the scattered blocks, the author found a possible keystone(?), with a carved bird, possibly an eagle (pl. 13a). This stone is no longer on the site. Other blocks indicate that they belonged to window jambs or the vaulting (pl. 13b). The pier has a rubble and mortar core with fine ashlar masonry on the exterior. It is thought to have been built in the thirteenth century and restored by Francesco Contarini, the last Latin bishop of Cyprus, during the sixteenth century. The site extends under the main road Apostolou Pavlou, in an easterly direction. This site has never been excavated. There is some hope that excavation will take place in the near future, with the current roadworks.

Enlart 1899: *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 355-356; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 403; Maier & Karageorghis 1984: *Paphos, History and Archaeology*, 310; der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide to the Monuments*, 45

Paphos Fort (4)

(Plates 15-16)

This has been mistakenly referred to as the castle, in some articles, probably because it is in a better state of preservation than the actual castle of Paphos, Saranda Kolones. It is located on the west side of the harbour [of Paphos] (pl. 15a). Another small fort or tower

was constructed at the seaward end of the western mole, to control the entrance to the harbour. This fort or tower, has not survived to the present day: all that remains are the remnants of some walls (pl. 15b). The remaining fort has been modified several times, by the Lusignans, Venetians and during the Ottoman period. It seems the upper floor level and roof have had the most modification during the Ottoman period. It is unclear whether the drawbridge is an original feature to the Medieval period or a later Ottoman addition. Neither site has been excavated, to the author's knowledge.

Enlart 1899: *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 502-503; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: *Paphos, History and Archaeology*, 310; Aristidou 1994b: *Paphos Castle*; der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide to the Monuments*, 38-39

Garrison's Camp (5)

This site is located to the north west in the ancient city and consists of a subterranean sanctuary of the Hellenistic to Roman periods, with a series of interconnecting rock cut chambers. A small Byzantine basilica of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, and a street and buildings have also been excavated. A quantity of medieval ceramics and some medieval coins have been found on the site. There is evidence of pottery manufacture, with tripod spacers and wasters that have been found at the site. The site has been excavated since 1988, by an Italian team under the direction of Filippo Giudice.

ARDAC 1991, 1992, 53-4; Giudice 1991: 'Campagne di scavo 1988-1990 nell'area di Garrison's Camp a Nea Paphos', *Acta Cypria* 1, 21-23; Giudice 1992a: *Acta Cypria* 2, 91-104; Giudice 1992b: 'Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Campagna 1988', *RDAC*, 205-250; Giudice 1993: 'Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Campagna 1989', *RDAC*, 279-327; Giudice 1994: 'Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Campagna 1990', *RDAC*, 215-68; Giudice 1992: 'Campagne di scavo (1988-1990) nell'area di Garrison's Camp a Nea Paphos', *Acta Cypria, Part 2*, 91-103; Herscher 1995: 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 99, 288; Giudice 1996: 'Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Campagna 1991', *RDAC*, 171-267; Herscher 1998: 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 102, 347-348; Steel 1998: 'Archaeology in Cyprus 1987-1997', *Archaeological Reports for 1997-1998*, 147; Hadjisavvas 1999: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 123, 624-625; Giudice 2001: 'Paphos, Garrison's Camp, VIIIa Campagna', *RDAC*, 255-290

Fabrika (6)

(Plates 38b-39)

This is the site of the Hellenistic Theatre of Paphos. Excavation began on this site in 1995 and continued to 2001, under the direction of Richard Green, from the University of Sydney. While the main aim of these excavations was to bring to light the remains of the Hellenistic Theatre, from the beginning it was clear that there was also medieval activity on the site. A complex of structures dating to the medieval period, was uncovered in the excavation and are now in the process of publication. These structures were built over the old orchestra and stage-building of the theatre, by the road leading to the north-east gate out of the city. They have been dated to the late twelfth century, with a number of phases continuing to the sixteenth century. Green thinks that some of the complex may have been industrial, as there are layers of ash and burnt material in some areas and traces of the manufacture of decorated pottery in the area. A well of the thirteenth century was discovered during excavation last year (2001), which was filled with alternating layers of rubble and soil which contained a range of pottery, marble fragments, stone, bone, shell and metal. The glazed medieval pottery from the well dates to the thirteenth century.

Herscher 1998: 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 102, 342; Hadjisavvas 1999: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 123, 626-627; Richard, J.R. 2000: 'The Theatre of Paphos and the Theatre of Alexandria Some First Thoughts', *The Library of Alexandria, Centre of Learning in the Ancient World*; Gabrieli et al 2001: 'Medieval Kitchen ware from the theatre site at Nea Paphos', *RDAC*, 335-356; Green et al (forthcoming): 'A 13th Century Well at the Theatre Site, Nea Paphos'; Barker and Green, forthcoming (on the architecture of the medieval building?); Green and Stennet, forthcoming (on the architecture of the theatre)

Woolworth Building (7)

During excavation of this site for the construction of the Woolworth building, numerous medieval ceramics were found, both fragmentary and complete pieces. This was reported to the author by some locals and some pieces were collected and shown to the author. The site is of some significance, as it sits where the ancient and medieval harbour would have ended and it is adjacent to the site of the Chrysopolitissa churches. It might have been the site of merchants' warehouses or shops, or possibly some administrative

buildings to do with the harbour. Unfortunately no archaeological excavation took place at the site to the author's knowledge and an opportunity was lost.

Stasandrou Street and Paphias Aphroditis Street (8)

(Plates 17-21)

On Stasandrou Street there are remains of a wall, that this author thinks to be medieval (pl. 17a and b). The wall is four courses high, the approximate height being 1.19m, the length is unknown, as the bottom course of stone is the longest, between 3-5 metres, on the south end it stops at the Exalt Tourist Office which is on the corner of Stasandrou and Paphias Aphroditis. There is also the indication of a doorway which is now blocked (pl. 18). There is a mason's mark on one of the blocks, in the form of a right-angled triangle.

On Paphias Aphroditis Street are the substantial remains of a building which most likely joins with the wall on Stasandrou Street, it is approximately 3-5 metres tall (pls. 19a and 20). Part of a wall with an arched room, plastered and now used as a storage space, this is between 1.5 and 2 metres tall (pl. 21). It is unknown whether the plaster is from medieval or later times and there is evidence of fire and smoke. The wall is quite substantial, with well-dressed limestone blocks and a mortar and rubble core, similar to the Latin Cathedral pier but on a smaller scale. There has been no excavation conducted here to the author's knowledge, and the land is still in private hands.

Frankish Baths (9a & 9b)

(Plates 19b, 22-24)

There are two buildings referred to as baths. The baths on the corner of Stasandrou and Paphias Aphroditis Streets (9a) and the baths on the corner of Minoos and Agiou Agapitikou Streets (9b). The baths on the corner of Stasandrou and Paphias Aphroditis Streets (9a) are approximately 50 metres to the north of the Chrysopolitissa churches (pl. 19b). Some excavations have been carried out on the site but there is no publication of any material found or the nature of the architecture of the site. Several decorated blocks lying around the baths are similar to those found at Chrysopolitissa and may very well have come from the Frankish Church (pl. 22a). This bath house may have been adapted

by the Ottomans, but this is not clear. This bath house seems to be a small complex compared to the other baths (9b).

The baths on the corner of Minoos and Agiou Agapitikou Streets (9b) are larger in size (pl. 23a and b). Two rooms remain to their full height with the roof preserved, with indications of at least another two rooms (pl.24a and b). The two rooms that have been preserved have domed roofs. Again some excavation or clearance work has been carried out on this site but there is no publication on any of the finds or architecture of this site. This bath house may be Ottoman rather than Frankish but without excavation material it is very difficult to date.

der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide to the Monuments*, 44

Icarou Street (10)

At the time of writing, a tomb was discovered during the excavation of the road for the laying of new pipes. This tomb is of the Roman period, with frescoes which have been badly damaged by damp. It contained several loculi. The floor of the tomb had been lowered, most probably sometime in the medieval period. Some medieval glazed ceramics and cooking wares were found. The medieval glazed ceramic assemblage dates to the thirteenth century.

Tombs of the Kings (11)

(Plates 25-26a)

The Tombs of the Kings are a Hellenistic cemetery, to the north west of the ancient town of Nea Paphos. In Tomb 5, the largest of the peristyle tombs, the westernmost tomb and also the closest to the sea, where the west portico had collapsed, there is a structure that has been interpreted by the excavator as a large medieval pottery kiln (pl. 25a and b). This is in the south west corner of the tomb. There is also the mark of a cross (pl. 26a) and a number of medieval sherds were found. There are also crosses on a few other tombs and scattered surface finds of medieval ceramics.

ARDAC 1978: 37-38; Karageorghis 1979: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 103, 715; M. Hadjisavva: *Tombs of the Kings, A World Heritage Site*

Ayia Solomoni (12)

(Plates 26b- 27)

Ayia Solomoni is located just to the west of Fabrika, on the main road Apostolou Pavlou. It is a small underground complex which were probably Hellenistic chamber tombs that were converted for use as a church. It is located under the 'Handkerchief tree'. There are some paintings of the 12th century. The Latin graffiti of visiting Crusaders are visible on these paintings (pls. 26b and 27).

Paphos Harbour (13)

(Plates 28-29a)

Investigations have been carried out in around the harbour of Paphos, to determine its size and shape, record and map any archaeological remains and conduct a geoarchaeological survey of the area. These investigations have mainly concentrated on the Hellenistic and Roman periods of the harbour, but they are also helpful in trying to determine what was happening and happened to the harbour in the Medieval period. The ongoing geological changes that were occurring to the harbour can be applied to the Medieval period as the processes continued. It is worth noting that the ancient harbour, where the present day car park is located, would have come up to the rise where Saranda Kolones is situated. This would make Saranda Kolones even more strategically important.

Hohlfelder 1992: 'The Paphos Ancient Harbour Excavations', *RDAC*, 255-256; Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993: 'Underwater Explorations at Paphos, Cyprus: The Preliminary Survey', *AASOR* 51, 45-62; Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993: 'Paphos Harbour, Past and Present: The 1991-1992 Underwater Survey', *RDAC*, 365-379; Hohlfelder 1995: 'Ancient Paphos beneath the Sea: A Survey of the Submerged Structures', in *Cyprus and the Sea, Proceedings of the International Symposium Organised by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Cyprus Ports Authority, Nicosia 25-26 September 1993*, 191-210; Leonard et al 1998: 'Geoarchaeological Investigations in Paphos Harbour, 1996', *RDAC*, 141-158; Leonard 1998: 'The Paphos "Lighthouse Block" Reconsidered', *RDAC*, 159-160⁴

Paphos District

Map 2

Within the district of Paphos there are a small number of medieval sites that have been located by excavation, the most significant being perhaps the site of Kouklia, which includes a Royal Manor House and the industrial site of sugar mills and refineries. Some of the villages that have been included in this gazetteer have not been excavated or surveyed but taken from Jeffery's *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*. The reason for this is because he actually does take note of any medieval remains that were still existing when he wrote his book, that may not have survived to the present. There are also a number of possible medieval sites that have been identified through survey. The survey material will be listed at the end of the gazetteer under the name of the survey projects, for example the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project, for easier reference. Although the methodology behind archaeological excavation and archaeological survey is different, by using both excavation material and survey information, a greater picture of the medieval period in western Cyprus is able to emerge. Archaeological survey identifies possible sites for future excavation and gives a greater understanding and interpretation of the wider area, while excavation can give detailed stratigraphy and understanding of a particular site, helpful for detailed dating purposes.

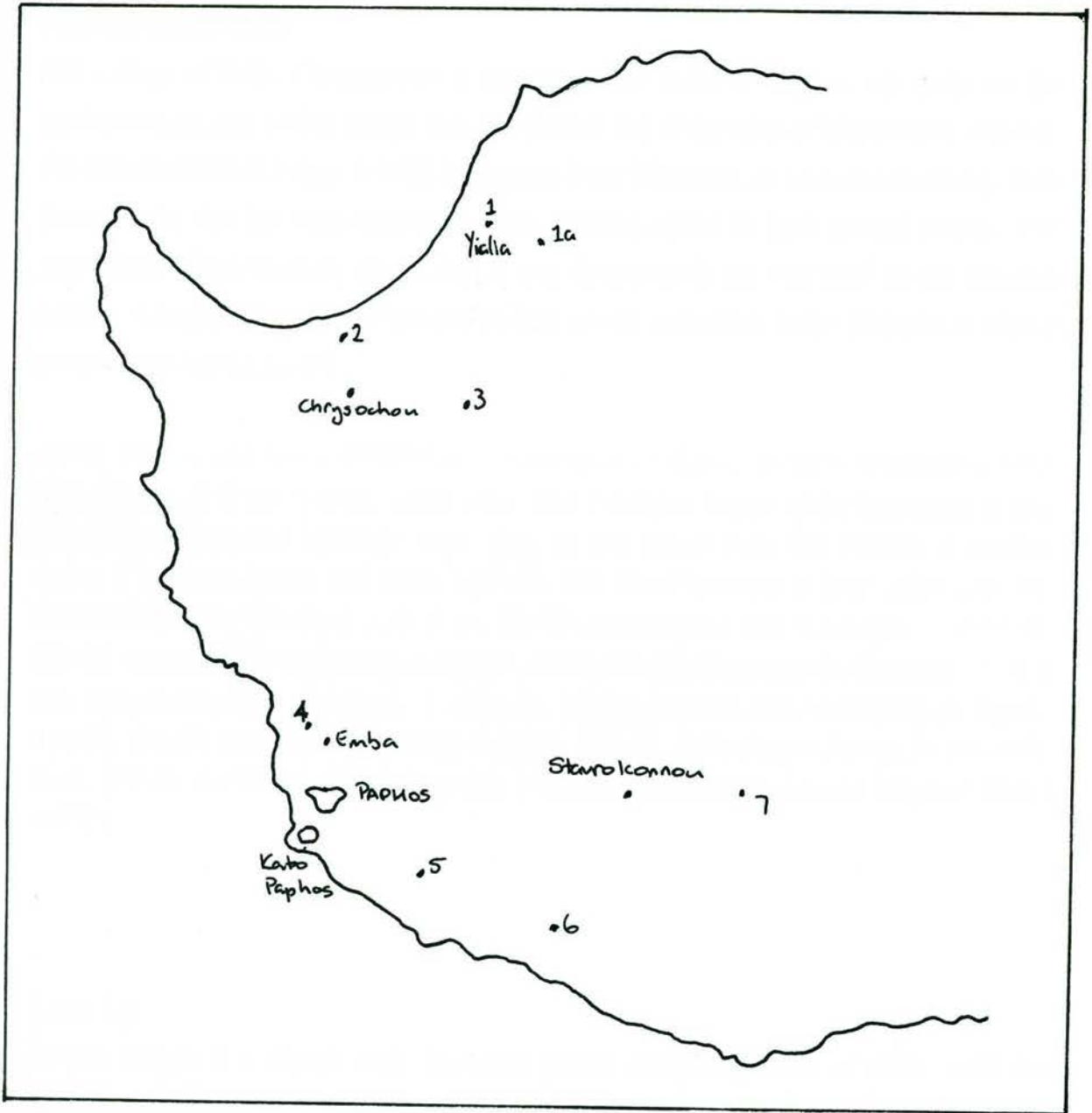
Yialia (1)

(Plate 29b- 30)

To the east of the village of Polis Chrysochous which is located to the north of Paphos and not quite on the coast, lies the village of Yialia. There are the remains of a monastery or abbey, a few miles inland from the village, in the mountains (pl. 29b). It is called Agios Mamas. It is according to Enlart 'a strange Byzantine church on a trefoil plan, the three apses still exhibiting fifteenth century paintings in a style both primitive and infantile (pl. 30a) but undoubtedly inspired by western art.'⁵ There is an inscription on one of the buttresses, that could possibly be Georgian, but this has not been translated (pl

⁴ This article refers to a Venetian block found in Paphos depicting a lighthouse with the lion of Venice, and although it has nothing to do with the harbour investigations, as it was discovered in 1938, it is important in relation to the Venetian use of the harbour at Paphos.

⁵ Enlart, translated by David Hunt, 1987, 360



Map 2: Paphos District

30b).⁶ As far as the author is aware no systematic excavation has been carried out at this site.

Enlart 1899: *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 360; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 416

Polis Chrysochous (2)

The village of Polis Chrysochous is located to the north of Paphos, not quite on the northern coast, just a little inland. It is the ancient site of the cities of Marion and Arsinoe. Current excavations began in 1983 by a team from Princeton. A Lusignan building, built around 1200 AD has been excavated. This building seems to have several phases. The later phase of the building shows that it was destroyed in the first half of the fifteenth century, a hoard of coins was discovered and a well containing large amounts of glazed pottery of the same period.

Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 413-415; Karageorghis 1985: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 109, 960-961; Childs 1988: 'First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University', *RDAC* Pt 2, 121-130; Metcalf 1990: 'The Currency of Lusignan Cyprus in the Years Around 1400 in the Light of a Coin Hoard Excavated at Polis', *RDAC*, 241-284; Papageorghiou 1990: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 114, 982-983; Papageorghiou 1991: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 115, 827-829; Herscher 1995: 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 99, 278-280; Christou 1996: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 120, 1095; Christou 1997: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 121, 927-928; Herscher 1998: 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 102, 336-338; Steel 1998: 'Archaeology in Cyprus 1987-97', *Archaeological Reports for 1997-1998*, no 44, 147-148; von Wartburg 2000: 'Cane sugar production sites in Cyprus. Real and imagined', *RDAC*, 381-401

Lysos (3)

In this village is a church with decorated panels containing coats of arms, over the doorways, one over the north doorway and one over the south doorway. These are mentioned and described by both Hogarth and Jeffery.

⁶ Refer to source 2 in the previous chapter for a letter that possibly refers to this monastery.

Hogarth 1889: *Devia Cypria, Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus in 1888*, 18; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 410

Lemba (4)

The village of Lemba and that of Emba have long been associated with the medieval period, especially with the growing and processing of sugar cane. These villages were both royal estates and may have used a common refinery complex. Excavation has been carried out, but not to identify any area that may have been used for sugar production, rather to identify possible ceramic production sites. These excavations are being carried out by a team from Greece, with finds of medieval glazed ceramics. A site has been identified through survey as a possible medieval settlement between the villages of Lemba and Khlorkas.⁷

Hadjisavvas 1977: 'The Archaeological Survey of Paphos A Preliminary Report', *RDAC*, 222-231; von Wartburg 1997: 'Lemba Ware Reconsidered', *RDAC*, 323-340; Hadjisavvas 1999: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 123, 620-621; von Wartburg 2000: 'Cane sugar production sites in Cyprus. Real and imagined', *RDAC*, 381-401

Akhelia (5)

Located to the east of Paphos, the village of Akhelia again has long been known to have an association with the medieval period. No excavations have been carried out and no building currently remains that could have anything to do with sugar production. Jeffery noted that in the Byzantine church a tombstone was found with a medieval coat of arms. According to both Hogarth and Jeffery, the Hospitallers received lands in its neighbourhood and cultivated and produced sugar. There are no longer any remains that are identifiable as belonging to the Medieval period above ground.

Hogarth 1889: *Devia Cypria, Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus*, 42-46; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 387; Gregory 1993: 'Byzantine and Medieval Pottery', *The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite, Vol 2, The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project, Artifact and Ecofactual Studies, SIMA Vol CIV:2*, 157-175; der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide*

⁷ This is Lemba Ayia Marina (Inv. CS 2289), see Hadjisavvas 1977, 227

to the Monuments, 56; von Wartburg 2000: 'Cane sugar production sites in Cyprus. Real and imagined', *RDAC*, 381-401

Kouklia (6)

(Plates 31-38a)

Located to the south east of Paphos, overlooking the coastal plain, is the Royal Manor House of Kouklia, with refineries and below it on the coastal plain, a bigger complex of sugar mills and refineries. Surviving in sections between these two sites, part of an aqueduct, which supplied water, crucial to the refining process of sugar. This is also the site of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, dating from the Bronze Age through to the Roman Period. Excavations began here with Cesnola in 1875, Enlart observed the ruins of the Manor House in 1899 and systematic excavation was begun by a Swiss-German team in 1952. The Royal Manor House of Kouklia, also known as Couvoucle, with its associated industrial buildings on the Sanctuary site and those on the coastal plain known as Stavros, were the headquarters and administration centre of the Royal sugar cane estates in the Paphos area.

The Manor House has been reconstructed, with only a Gothic Hall in the east wing surviving from the Lusignan period. The hall is divided into four bays, has diagonal ribs supporting a vaulted ceiling. The present courtyard is higher than the medieval level; a flight of steps descends down into the hall. The north wing and gate tower, the west wing and half of the east wing are from the Ottoman period, and some renovation work has been done by the Department of Antiquities. A refinery was discovered above the ruins of Sanctuary, with the remains of boiling installations preserved. A group of square bases, thought of for a long time as the foundations for a colonnaded Roman hall, are dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were hearths on which the cane juice was boiled, in stages, in copper cauldrons of different sizes.

The site of Stavros, on the coastal plain, was the main area of sugar refining and processing. This is a large complex of buildings. One part of the complex has two mills, one supplied by a branch of the aqueduct, that was built in a later period to increase the

production capacity of the large mill. The second complex combined the milling and refining process. It is situated at the bottom of a slope, directly in the line of the main aqueduct. The mill building was the centre of the complex, and was divided into two main parts, the mill house and the grinding hall. (A discussion of the refining process of sugar will be in chapter 3). Two phases of construction have been noticed for the entire complex, beginning with the first phase to the end of the fourteenth century, or possibly earlier. Ceramic evidence shows that both Stavros and the Sanctuary were working well into the sixteenth century. Large amounts of sugar pottery were found. There are two types, the conical moulds with a circular hole at the bottom and the narrow-necked flat-bottomed jars in which they sat. More than 6700 moulds and 3000 jars were counted from the Sanctuary site and the Stavros area.

Enlart 1899: *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 503-505; Jeffery 1918: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 397; Karageorghis 1967: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 91, 355-358; Maier 1971: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaipaphos) Fifth Preliminary Report: Season 1970', *RDAC*, 44-48; Karageorghis 1971: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 95, 407-409; *ARDAC* 1970, 1971, 21; Maier 1972: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1970', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 87, 276-284; Nicolaou 1972: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1970', *AJA* 76, 314; Maier 1973: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaipaphos) Sixth Preliminary Report: Season 1971 and 1972', *RDAC*, 187-198; Herrin 1973: 'Appendix: Kouklia 1972 The Medieval Pottery', *RDAC*, 199-201; *ARDAC* 1972, 1973, 22-23; Herrin 1974: 'Anhang, Old Paphos 1972 The Medieval Pottery', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 48-51; Karageorghis 1974: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 98, 871-875; *ARDAC* 1973, 1974, 22-23; Nicolaou 1975: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1973', *AJA* 79, 130; Maier 1976: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaipaphos) Eighth Preliminary Report: Season 1974', *RDAC*, 93-97; Karageorghis 1976: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 100, 884-886; *ARDAC* 1975, 1976, 24-26; Maier 1977: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) Ninth Preliminary Report: Season 1976', *RDAC*, 134-140; Karageorghis 1977: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 101, 758-761; Nicolaou 1977: 'Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1975', *AJA* 81, 528-529; Maier 1978: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, Neunter vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1976', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3, 309-316; Karageorghis 1978: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 102, 920-922; Maier 1979: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) Tenth Preliminary Report: Seasons 1977 and 1978', *RDAC*, 168-176; Karageorghis 1979: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 103, 700-703; Maier 1980: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 10. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1977 und 1978', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4, 498-511; Karageorghis 1980: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 104, 790-794; Maier 1981: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) Eleventh Preliminary Report: Seasons 1979 and 1980', *RDAC*, 101-105; Karageorghis 1981: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 105, 1002-1004; *ARDAC* 1980, 1981, 40-42; Karageorghis 1982: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 106, 740-743;

ARDAC 1981, 1982, 39-42; Maier 1983: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 11. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1979 und 1980', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2, 143-154; von Wartburg 1983: 'The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus: Results of Recent Excavation', *The Antiquaries Journal* LXVII 2, 298-314; Maier & von Wartburg 1983: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) Twelfth Preliminary Report: Seasons 1981 and 1982', *RDAC*, 300-314; Karageorghis 1983: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 107, 949-951; *ARDAC* 1982, 1983, 40-42; Maier & von Wartburg 1984: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 12. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1981 und 1982', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2, 301-327; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: *Paphos, History and Archaeology*, 326-341; Maier & von Wartburg 1985: 'Reconstructing history from the earth c2800BC – 1600AD: Excavating at Palaepaphos, 1966-1984', *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960-1985*, (ed) Karageorghis, 163-170; Maier & von Wartburg 1986: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) Fourteenth Preliminary Report: Season 1985', *RDAC*, 55-61; *ARDAC* 1985, 1986, 55-56; Maier & von Wartburg 1987: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 14. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1985', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4, 557-568; Karageorghis 1986: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 110, 869-871; Maier 1987: 'Medieval Paphos', *Paphos in the History of Cyprus*, 19-26; Maier & von Wartburg 1988: 'Strangers at Palaepaphos', *RDAC pt.2*, 275-278; Karageorghis 1988: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 112, 844-847; *ARDAC* 1987, 1988, 62-63; Maier & von Wartburg 1989a: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) 15th Preliminary Report: Seasons 1987 and 1988', *RDAC*, 177-188; Maier & von Wartburg 1989b: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 15. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1987 und 1988', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4, 569-598; Karageorghis 1989: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 113, 837-840; *ARDAC* 1988, 1989, 56-57; Papageorghiou 1990: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 114, 971-972; *ARDAC* 1989, 1990, 64-65; Maier & von Wartburg 1991: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) 16th Preliminary Report: Seasons 1989 and 1990', *RDAC*, 255-262; Papageorghiou 1991: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 115, 820-821; *ARDAC* 1990, 1991, 63-65; Maier 1992: 'The Archaeology of the Royal Manor House at Kouklia', *Epetiris XIX*, 251-262; Maier & von Wartburg 1992: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 16. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagne 1989 und 1990', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4, 585-597; *ARDAC* 1991, 1992, 58-59; Christou 1993: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 117, 743; Maier & von Wartburg 1994: 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) Seventeenth Preliminary Report: Seasons 1991 and 1992', *RDAC*, 115-128; von Wartburg 1995: 'Design and Technology of the Medieval Cane Sugar Refineries in Cyprus. A case study in industrial archaeology', *Paisages del azucar. Actes del quinto seminario internacional sobre la cana de azucar*, (ed) A. Malpica, Granada, 81-116; Herscher 1995: 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 99, 292; der Parthog 1995: *Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus, A Guide to the Monuments*, 59-63; Luttrell 1996: 'The sugar industry and its importance for the economy of Cyprus during the Frankish period', *The Development of the Cypriot Economy*, (eds) V. Karageorghis & D. Michaelides, 163-174; Christou 1996: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 120, 1087; von Wartburg 1997a: 'Medieval Glazed Pottery from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos (Site TA). A Preliminary Survey', *RDAC*, 184-194; von Wartburg 1997b: 'Lemba Ware Reconsidered', *RDAC*, 324-340; Maier & von Wartburg 1998: 'Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos, 17. vorläufiger Bericht: Grabungskampagnen 1991-1995', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 105-132; von Wartburg 1998:

'Mittelalterliche Keramik aus dem Aphroditeheiligtum in Palaipaphos (Grabungsplatz TA)', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 133-165; Hadjisavvas 1998: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 122, 683-684; *ARDAC* 1992, 1998, 53-54; *ARDAC* 1993, 1998, 58-59; Boas 1999: *Crusader Archaeology, The Material Culture of the Latin East*, 81; von Wartburg 2000: 'Cane sugar production sites in Cyprus. Real and imagined', *RDAC*, 381-401; von Wartburg 2001a: 'Earthquakes and Archaeology: Paphos after 1222', *Praktika*, 127-145; von Wartburg 2001b: 'Types of imported table ware at Kouklia in the Ottoman period', *RDAC*, 361-396

Western Cyprus Project – Prastio – *Agios Savvas tis Karonis Monastery* (7)

This is a Middle Chalcolithic period settlement site that has medieval ceramics mainly dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Excavation took place between 1992 and 1995, under the direction of David Rupp. Cypriot pottery from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is poorly represented at the site, and no pottery was found dating from the seventh to tenth centuries. Maiolica ware of the sixteenth century, imported from Italy, was found along with Cypriot pottery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Most of this pottery was found in secondary positions, with no secure deposits and in very fragmentary condition. They do indicate where there was medieval activity and where there may have been medieval occupation.

Rupp et al 1993: 'The Western Cyprus Project: 1992 Field Season', *RDAC*, 381-412; Rupp et al 1994: 'Preliminary Report of the 1993 Field Season of the Western Cyprus Project at Prastio – *Agios Savvas tis Karonis Monastery* A (Paphos District, Cyprus)', *RDAC*, 315-328; Rupp and D'Annibale 1995: 'Preliminary Report of the 1994/95 Field Season of the Western Cyprus Project at Prastio – *Agios Savvas tis Karonis Monastery*', *RDAC*, 33-48; Rupp et al 1999: 'Prastio – *Agios Savvas tis Karonis Monastery* (Pafos District, Cyprus): 1994-1995 Field Season and 1992-1995 Artifact Analyses', *BASOR* 316, 23-88

Archaeological Survey of Paphos

Map 3 (Area I) and 4 (Area II)

This survey was carried out in 1975, concentrating in two areas. The first was the village areas of Khlorkakas, Lemba and Kissonerga, villages that are a few kilometres north of Paphos town and the second was the area of the village of Souskiou, north of Kouklia. Three medieval sites were identified in the first area, Khlorkakas 'Archangelos' (Inv. CS 2273), Lemba 'Ayia Marina' (Inv. CS 2289) and Kissonerga 'Sphayi' (Inv. CS 2301). Two sites were identified in the second area, 'Mandroudhes' Settlement (Inv. CS 2312)

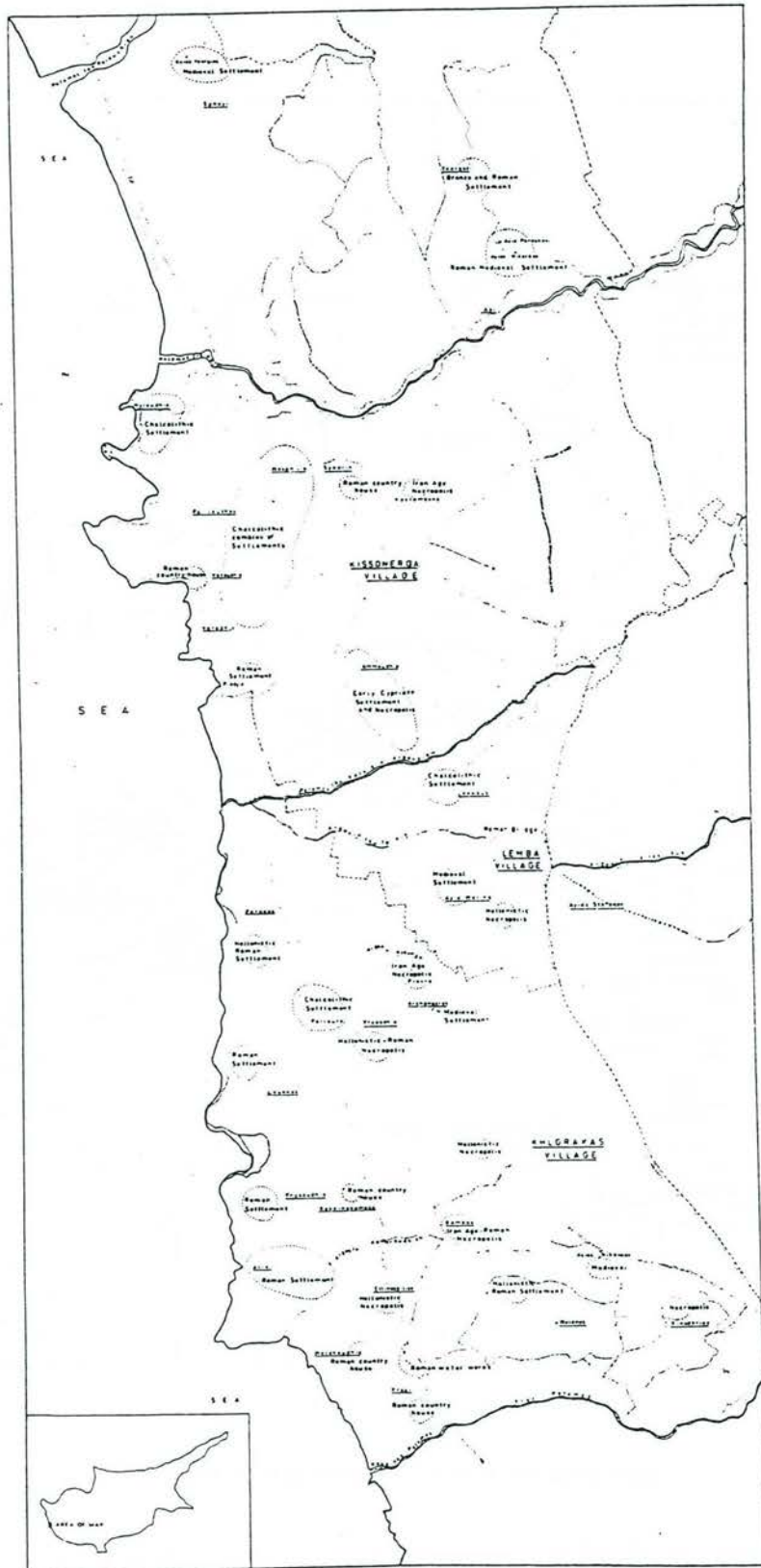


Fig. 1. Map showing Area I. The coastal plain and the lower hills north of Paphos town (Khlorakas, Lemba, Kissonerga).

MAD 3: Archaeological Survey of Paphos, Area I (after Hadjisavvas 1977)

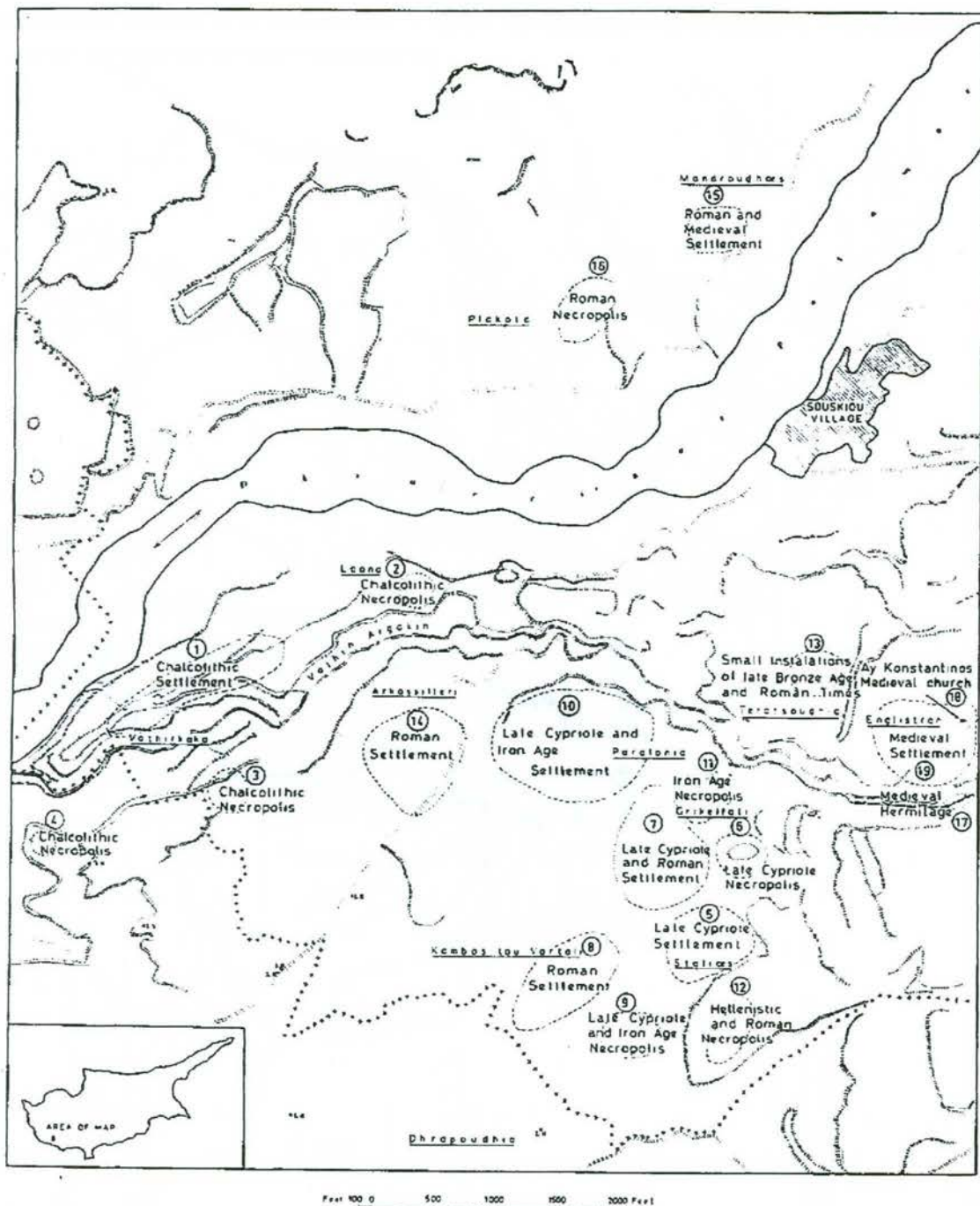
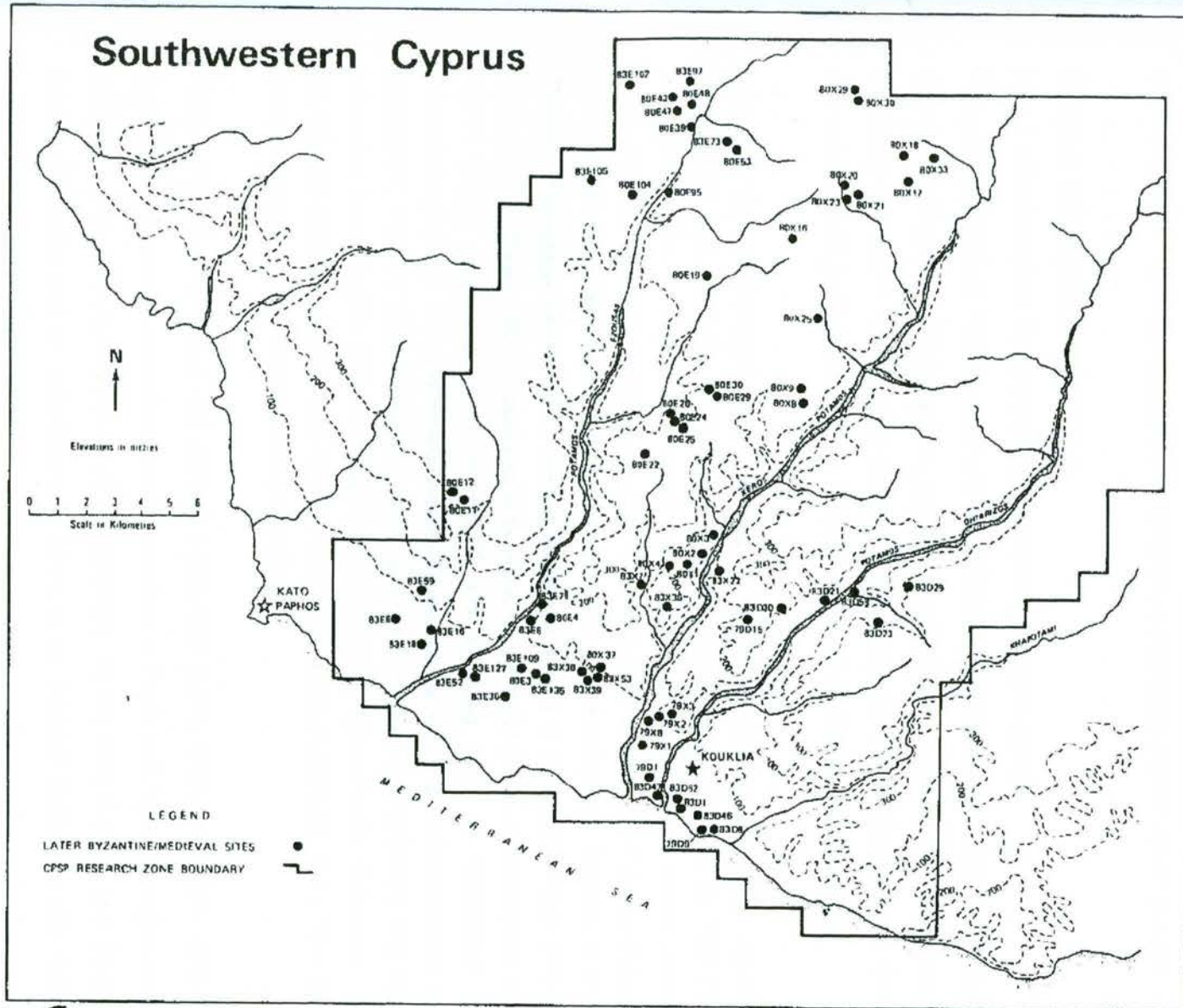


Fig. 2. Map showing the Area II. Souskiou village.

MAP 4: Archaeological Survey of Paphos, Area II
 (after Hadjisavvas 1977)



Map 5. Distribution of Byzantine/Medieval sites in the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project research zone.
 (after Gregory 1987)

and 'Engleistron' Settlement. It is noted in the report that a survey was carried out in the Polis Chrysochous area, but never published.

Hadjisavvas 1977: 'The Archaeological Survey of Paphos. A Preliminary Report', *RDAC*, 221-231

Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project

Map 5 (distribution of Byzantine/Medieval sites in research zone)

This survey began in 1979 in south west Cyprus, in selected areas within the territory of the ancient kingdom of Palaipaphos, specifically the Ezousas, Xeros and Dhiarizos river drainages. A number of sites were discovered, dating from the Neolithic to the Ottoman and early modern periods and quite a number of medieval sites were identified.

Rupp 1981: 'Canadian Palaepaphos Survey Project: Preliminary Report of the 1979 Season', *RDAC*, 251-268; Sørensen 1983: 'Canadian Palaepaphos Survey Project: Preliminary Report of the 1980 Ceramic Finds', *RDAC*, 283-299; Rupp et al 1984: 'Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project: Second Preliminary Report 1980-1982', *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 133-154; Rupp et al 1986: 'The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project: Third Preliminary Report, 1983-1985', *Acta Archaeologica*; Sørensen et al 1987: 'Canadian Palaepaphos Survey Project: Second Preliminary Report of the Ceramic Finds 1982-1983', *RDAC*, 259-278; Gregory 1987: 'Circulation of Byzantine and Medieval Pottery in Southwestern Cyprus', *Western Cyprus: Connections, SIMA Vol LXXVII*, 199-213; King 1987: 'An Investigation of the Geographical Origins of Pottery from Southwestern Cyprus and the Source of the Materials used in their Manufacture', *Western Cyprus: Connections, SIMA Vol LXXVII*, 215-226; Rupp et al 1992: 'The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project: 1991 Field Season', *RDAC*, 285-317; Christou 1992: 'Chronique...', *BCH* 116, 820-822; Sørensen and Rupp et al 1993: *The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite, Vol 2, The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project, Artifact and Ecofactual Studies*

Along with the excavations and surveys mentioned above, there are a few others that should be mentioned. Excavations have taken place at Peyia and Agios Georgios on Cape Drepanon. The information published concentrates on the Late Roman and Byzantine nature of the site and no information is given as to whether there was any medieval activity in this area. Cape Drepanon was known, from the land and sea, in the medieval period as the sources in the previous chapter illustrated, yet there is no information provided by the excavator. The same can be said of the Danish Akamas Project, which was excavation and survey of the Akamas peninsula. This area was again known in the

medieval period from land and sea, illustrated in the sources. The Danish Akamas Project concentrated on the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine nature of this area, making no mention if any medieval artifacts were found during survey or excavation. They have looked at the ancient road network in the Paphos district, from Polis to Kouklia, providing a valuable source of information for the earlier periods and also for the Medieval period.⁸

The area that seems to be lacking any evidence or information for the medieval period, incorporates the areas mentioned above, the Akamas. The coastal strip, beginning from the villages of Lemba and Emba, all the way up the coast, around the Akamas peninsula to Polis, where there is evidence of medieval activity. This area of land must have had some small settlements, as there are some small bays that would have been suitable to sail into if the sea or weather became too rough. A survey of this area would be helpful in establishing what was happening in all periods, not just the medieval.

The sites listed above are some of the most important for the medieval period in Cyprus. They provide a glimpse of what was happening in the medieval period in the western district of Cyprus and show that although Famagusta and Nicosia were the two most important cities on the island, Paphos was not a backwater. The Latin Cathedral, Franciscan Church, Saranda Kolones and the site of Kouklia show that Paphos and the surrounding district had perhaps more population than originally thought. The Royal Manor House of Kouklia, with its sugar refineries, and other possible sites for sugar refining at Achelia and the villages of Lemba and Emba, show that Paphos was agriculturally rich and fertile. The town of Polis in the north, would have served the same purpose, on a smaller scale, as Paphos, being the first stop on the northern coast of Cyprus, if travelling to Kyrenia and Cape Andreas and the last stop on the return journey.

⁸ Bekker-Nielsen 1995, 87-132

Chapter 3 Product, Ports and Trade

Cyprus produced and exported a great variety of different stuffs and goods. One of the most important being sugar. Sugar was the important export for the island, during its Latin occupation. Sugar was introduced to the island in the late tenth century.¹ Crusaders were introduced to this substance when they arrived in Holy Land. They taxed the sugar refineries they found operating there, but they themselves did not enter into the business.² It was not cultivated in quantity in Cyprus, until the late thirteenth century, after the fall of Acre, when their tax opportunities were lost and they realised how lucrative the sugar trade was. The sugar that was grown and refined in Cyprus was cane sugar and it is first referred to in legal documents at the start of the fourteenth century. Plantations and sugar refining establishments are mentioned in various texts, at Kolossi, Episcopi and in the Paphos area.³ The evidence that survives, comes from three main sites that have been excavated, Kolossi, Episcopi and Kouklia, Kouklia being the most relevant to this thesis. As mentioned earlier, the sugar industry was important to the economy of medieval Cyprus. The monarchy had its own plantations and refineries, one of them being Kouklia. The refineries of Kolossi and Episcopi belonged to the Hospitallers and the Cornaro family, respectively. The sugar trade made the island rich.

The cultivation and refining of the sugar was arduous and labour intensive. Water was needed to irrigate the cane sugar and also needed in the refining process. There are a number of examples of legal disputes about water, especially between the two holdings of Kolossi and Episcopi.⁴ The first stage of the refining process, was the first crushing of the sugar cane with large grindstones. The second stage, involved the second crushing of the mash produced by the first, usually done by a water driven mill. The water, in the case of Kouklia, supplied by an open aqueduct, was converted into a covered pressure channel. The water coming in at pressure, turned a wheel which in turn, turned millstones of a smaller size than the original grinding mill. The juice collected from this process was

¹ Aristeidou 1980b, 69-72

² Silberman 1989, 75

³ von Wartburg 1983, 298

⁴ von Wartburg 1983, 301

then boiled several times, usually in large copper cauldrons. The quality of the sugar depended on the number of boilings, high quality sugar was usually boiled three times. After the boiling was completed the juice was then poured into the moulds. Sugar pottery included two types of vessels, narrow-necked flat-bottomed jars and conical moulds with a circular hole in the bottom. The conical moulds were placed in the jars to allow the molasses to drip through, and for the crystalline sugar to remain in the mould like a loaf. There were three different sizes of moulds and jars, reflecting the quality of the sugar. The approximate volumes of these moulds are 1, 4 and 8 litres. The best quality sugar was formed in the small mould and known as 'Bambillonia' and 'Caffettino'. The next was the loaf sugar of inferior quality known as 'Musciatto' and formed in the medium mould. The larger and taller moulds were used for crystal sugar known as 'polvere di zucchero'.⁵ In many cases there is evidence that these sugar vessels were produced on site, at the refinery, to reduce transport costs, a kiln was found during excavation of the Temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia. It had fragments of sugar moulds and jars.⁶

The crystal sugar of Cyprus, 'polvere di zucchero', was the biggest export, rather than the finer 'Caffettino'. This is shown by the quantity of the larger and taller moulds found at Kouklia and Episcopi, outnumbering the smaller moulds.⁷ The decline of the Cypriot sugar industry seems to be due a number of factors. Under Venetian rule, sugar production declined but did continue and with the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492, sugar became cheaper to produce, with the introduction of slavery. The climate of the New World was also comparable to the Mediterranean and favourable for the growth of sugar cane. Although the sea voyage was still hazardous and a long distance compared to short trips within the Mediterranean. The Ottoman conquest of the eastern Mediterranean and expanding trading routes signalled the end for the growth and production of sugar cane and sugar on Cyprus.

Cereals were the main crop for domestic consumption and much of the island was suitable for their cultivation. The soil was prepared before the winter rains and then the

⁵ von Wartburg 1983, 310

⁶ von Wartburg 1983, 299

⁷ von wartburg 1983, 312

grain was sown. The harvest began in early April and continued to the end of June.⁸ Olive oil continued to be produced and exported and used for the making of soap. Sesame was also grown to produce oil.⁹ Vegetables were also grown, including cucumbers, melons, garlic and other herbs, pulses and cabbage. Onions were also an important export crop for Cyprus and were grown at Phinika in the mountains of the diocese of Paphos.¹⁰ Fruit trees included figs, pistachios, oranges, lemons, dates, pomegranates, almonds, carob and bananas which are still grown along the west coast of Cyprus today. The Paphos plain and the area around Chrysochou were especially fertile.¹¹ Vineyards also existed, mainly in the south of the island. Ludolf von Suchen mentions the vineyard of Engadi to the north of Paphos and a number of slaves who worked there.¹² Cotton was grown mainly in the Venetian period and exported to the west.

Travellers passing through Cyprus often noted what crops and animals there were on the island and sometimes what was being made for export. Ludolf von Suchen noted that 'there too in the highest mountains facing the sun is produced excellent wine. At first it is red, but let it stand in an earthen jar four, six or nine years it becomes white. Yet it is not thereby diminished but grows ever stronger... The trees and herbs that grow here are the same as those of the Holy Land'.¹³ Gabriele Capodilista, visiting Cyprus in 1458, noted that in the village of Episcopi he 'saw some of the most lovely gardens of oranges, citrons and carobs, and some other trees called banana, which produce fruit very much like small cucumbers; when it is ripe it is yellow and very sweet of savour... and they saw many fields of sugar cane: and these gardens and fields are watered by running streams, and bulbs and squillions grow there in abundance'.¹⁴ Paul Walther, a priest, visited Cyprus in 1482, he observed that 'the island of Cyprus is exceedingly fertile but is very hot. Wine, wheat, oil, milk, honey, wax, pomegranates, and fruit called St. John's bread, cassia, flax and cotton wool, are produced there in abundance. Meats are very cheap – eight or nine fattened lambs are sold for one ducat and an ox a year and a half old, is sold

⁸ Richard 1985b, 274

⁹ Ibid, 275

¹⁰ Ibid, 275

¹¹ Ibid, 268

¹² see source 5 in Chapter 1

¹³ Cobham 1908: 20-21

for one ducat, and I have seen these with my own eyes. Apart from the sweet and good waters, there abound salt, metal and timber'¹⁵. Fra Francesco Suriano wrote in 1484 that 'the island produces meat in plenty so that one may get twelve or fourteen sheep for a ducat. It is poor meat and unwholesome. The air is very bad, hence you never see a creature with a natural colour in his face, it is all art. Almost every year it is smitten with locusts, and the result is great barrenness and death. When the locusts do not come they harvest grain enough for four years. It produces plenty of sugar and good cotton, plenty of cheese, laudanum, honey, wool, the finest camlets known, and samite'¹⁶. Fra Noe noticed the same thing in 1500, regarding the meat 'mutton is very cheap, but not very good. Sometimes you can get nine sheep for a ducat'¹⁷.

Pietro Casola travelled through Cyprus in 1494, on his way to and from pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He visited the village of Episkopi and noted the process of making sugar and the quantity produced. '...Where they make so much sugar, that, in my judgement, it should suffice for all the world. Indeed it is said to be the best which goes to Venice, and the quantity sold is always increasing....It is very interesting to see how they make the sugar – both the fine and the coarse – and so many people at work. There were not less than four hundred persons there, all employed – some in one way, some in another. It was interesting, too, to see such a number of utensils; it was like another world to me. There were cauldrons of such a size that if I described them no one would believe me. One of the factors...told me that every man was paid every Saturday. The said factor was an Italian, but he knew Greek. There was also a great quantity of cotton in the fields, but it was not yet ripe for gathering. It was a great pleasure to see so many trees in the woods, loaded with carob-beans, *bazane ultramarine*, as we call them.'¹⁸ These observations were recorded in the month of July. Casola mentions the number of people working at Episkopi during sugar production. The four hundred that he mentions were paid and not slave labour, he makes no mention of any slaves working at Episkopi although they must

¹⁴ Ibid, 35

¹⁵ Mogabgab 1941, 38

¹⁶ Cobham 1908, 49

¹⁷ Ibid, 53

¹⁸ Mogabgab 1941, 42

have been there. A comparable number must also have worked at Kouklia during the same period. He also notes that the cotton plants have not yet matured.

Martin von Baumgarten in 1508, wrote that after arriving at the town of Corsico 'which is situated in a very pleasant valley, having a prospect over the sea as far as Cilicia... Here we spent several days, till the ship was loaded with corn and silk. In the mean they offered to us of almonds, peas, and other fruits of the same year's growth,...the island...is very fruitful of corn, abounding with silkworms, silks, oil, sugar and wine. ... We spent the rest of our time with a great deal of uneasiness in this island, being forced to tarry till the ship had taken in her lading of several sorts of merchandise'¹⁹. Jacques le Saige noted in 1518 that around Paphos 'a fine plain lies around, and near the sea fields of cotton were now ripe'²⁰. Benedetto Bordone said of Cyprus that 'it abounds greatly in wine, oil, wheat, barley, sugar and cotton: it produces veins of various metals, and vitriol of the greatest use in medicine'²¹.

Denis Possot took careful note of the produce and various types of animals on Cyprus when he travelled through in 1532, 'this island is full of stony hills, is hot, rich and fertile in produce, and cheap; with the best wines possible...There is good wheat, whereof is made bread which is sweet and wonderfully good, fowls, doves and very fat partridges. The hares are large and have big, broad and thick tails...the sheep are larger than those of our side; some of them have six or seven horns, but one cannot eat their flesh for its unpleasant savour, one dares not taste it. The goats have long and pendulous ears like bloodhounds. There are camels of huge size, which like mules and asses amble along without any art or training of men. There are no wolves nor deer nor hinds nor other like animals in this island. One finds here plenty of wild sheep, which have the hair of a deer and run in the country like wild animals...There is a kind of apple which they call the apple of Paradise, of a wonderful form. There are likewise trees of which the leaves are four palms in breadth, and reach in height the stature of a man. In the fruit which these trees bear there are many seeds and pips, more than a hundred of them, which are long

¹⁹ Cobham 1908, 55

²⁰ Ibid, 61

²¹ Ibid, 61

and large as a finger. These trees last only three years, and others spring from their roots....In this island there is much sugar and cinnamon, much silk which the worms make, many mulberries, trees which provide food for the silkworms: there is likewise a great abundance of white salt'.²² He goes on to describe a village where he stayed and what he encountered there, '...we found many sheep with tails as big as their bellies. One of them had four great horns, two straight and long and two others twisted. There were goats of which the males were as big and stout as stout donkeys. The good flies (bees) are inside the houses of the said village, and on the outside of the walls of the houses they have little holes to go in and out, and the wax and honey are thus inside the houses. This is the fashion throughout the kingdom of Cyprus. ...There too we saw some very fine French mulberry trees, which had many ripe mulberries, of which we ate freely. There are also white mulberry trees with white fruit, but it is not good, for it is too sweet. But the leaves of this kind are very suitable for food for the worms which make silk. There are many fields where cotton is grown, and it is to be noted that when the wheat harvest is done this cotton is sown at once, and what is left of the seed is used to fatten oxen. From this seed is produced a plant two feet high, with a leaf rather like that of a rose, and a flower like a poppy, except that it is yellow. From this flower is produced a pod, like a nut, from which the cotton is extracted. And because the seed is mixed with the staple of the cotton they have certain tools of wood and iron to get out that seed. And this is repeated every year on February, and so in all parts of Cyprus. ... In this country they leave their wheat in heaps in the fields, and do not thresh it, but make a fair place on which they arrange the sheaves, and then they have a fine harrow all set with sharp flints; on this they stand and drive about the horse, ass or mule; it cuts up the straw small, and that they give chiefly to their cattle.'²³

Greffin Affagart visited Cyprus in 1534, gives a good example that the port of Paphos was still being used, to load cotton and sugar, even though it had supposedly dried up, and the town was uninhabitable (see source 21 in Chapter 1). Jodicus de Meggen, while visiting Kouklia, gives a description of sugar cane and its planting. He also noted that

²² Ibid, 63-64

²³ Ibid, 63-66

‘the whole of Cyprus is very productive of all kinds of merchandise and fruits, for example salt, sugar, cotton (they call it *Bombasium*); of silk, oil and other things. It is difficult to describe the abundance in which this country produces all things, granted only that by assiduous irrigation there be no lack of water through the continual heats of the summer. This is a matter of great importance to the inhabitants and they spare no expense to achieve it. For to this end they have very deep and wide wells from which plentiful streams of water are drawn up and poured into the dry fields by means of chains of earthenware jars driven round on big wheels operated by a draft horse. I have partly seen for myself, and partly learned from others worthy of credence, that the seasons here are, by our own standards, preposterous. In the summer the land is so dry and parched by the intense heat of the sun, that, in those places which are not being helped by irrigation, there is no green thing to be found.’²⁴

Meggen also provides a description of some of the other produce and animals to be found on Cyprus. ‘*Tame Partridges*. As regards what some people have said about the tame partridges of Cyprus, of their great number and usefulness, and the cheapness of the sheep, it is indeed possible that things were so at the time when these authors wrote. But today we saw with our own eyes that times have changed. There are, indeed, a great many sheep which have astonishingly large and fat tails – weighing six pounds or more – but their price is by no means small; and there are, indeed, very beautiful partridges, but we saw none of them so tame that they could be kept in and around houses like hens or other domestic birds, as has been related in diaries of travellers. I do not deny that some few of them have been tamed but only at the cost of much time and trouble; these are sold at a good price, for they are useful to fowlers in their occupation of bird catching.... The island also produces a fruit called *Anguria*, bigger than a human head, full of sweet juice and very refreshing, which may be eaten without harm by those who are ill or have fever. For it slakes the thirst in a wonderful way, and is therefore, much prized in this dry region, so oppressed with great heats.’²⁵ While visiting Paphos he describes a plant which he calls ‘Adam’s Apple’ that may possibly be the banana tree, ‘in these parts there are

²⁴ Ibid, 147-148

²⁵ Ibid, 151-152

found, here and there, bushes about half the height of a man, having enormous leaves about the same height, about three feet wide, such that someone stretched out could easily be hidden by one leaf! Every third year these put forth fruits, kept apart and separated in their own particular coverings, which are called by the inhabitants *rusae*, and are much prized. There are some who aver, on account of its excellence, that the fruit is the *Apple of Adam*.²⁶

An Italian manual of Geography published in Venice in 1551, describes Cyprus as having ‘great store off wine and oil, a sufficiency of grain and veins of metal, from which are produced vitriol, and a metallic rust of much use in medicine. In Cyprus is found much sugar-cane, in which sugar is secreted. Besides they make cloth of goats’ hair, which in our day is called camlet. Many things are exported from the island and carried to other countries, whence are derived no small gains. ... The island teems with delicacies...’²⁷. It is unfortunate that it does not mention what was exported to other countries, but it is possible to assume that at least in some parts of Italy, Cypriot goods would have been well known.

John Locke took note of goods being loaded onto ships at Limassol, in 1553. ‘At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their provision, and some for to sell, and also vinegar. They lade also great store of *Carobi* trees, they lade also cotton wolle there.... They have also in the Island a certaine small bird much like unto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceive nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season. They take great quantitie of them, and they use to pickle them in with vinegar and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for present of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200 jarres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentifull that when there is no shipping, you may buy them for 10 *Carchies*, which coine are 4 to a Venetian *Soldo*, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2 pence the dozen, after that rate of their money.’²⁸

²⁶ Ibid, 157

²⁷ Cobham 1908, 67

²⁸ Ibid, 72

Elias of Pesaro describes in a letter, written in October 1563, the variety of food being grown and produced on the island. 'The salt here is wonderfully fine, you get a measure of two pounds for five Venetian *quattrini*. I have never seen so good bread as that of Famagusta, but it is dear. Wheat sell by the Bolognese basket at 4 *livres*, 4 *soldi* Bolognese. The olive oil is very bad, one cannot use it in cooking, and in lamps it gives off a detestable smell: the pound of twelve ounces costs eight *quattrini*. Most people use oil of sesame for basting and cooking. It is good and costs two *quattrini* the ounce. But the smell is too strong to eat it raw. Olives for eating are as big here as walnuts, and are cheap at fifteen *quattrini* for ten pounds. But they never ripen thoroughly. There are pomegranates in great quantity, some sweet, some sour, others middling. They are large and have thick pips, as good to look at as to eat. The largest costs a *quattrino*, and it seems they will keep for a whole year. When I arrived here their vintage was nearly over, for they gather their grapes in August, and all their fruits ripen a month earlier than in Italy. The time of peaches too was past. I have found no eatable grapes, except such as the vinegrowers bring now and then from the hills, white and black, but they will not keep more than three or four days. I asked also about the price of wine, and was told that this year it was selling at 3 *livres*, 14 *soldi* of Bolognese money the large Bolognese measure. It is very strong, and must be diluted with two-thirds of water. I have bought a cartload and a half of wood for eleven silver *marcelli*. Onions and leeks are finer than in Italy, but cost twice as much. Cabbages and cauliflowers are found in abundance, for a *quattrino* one can get more almost than one can carry. Also green stuff of every kind, beetroot, spinach, carrots, mint, marjoram, parsley, rue and other herbs, is plentiful and cheap: also pulse of all kinds, peas, lentils, white kidney beans (not red), beans, rice, millet and the like not dear. Daily, morning and evening, one can buy fish as cheaply as in Italy. Four eggs cost a *denaro*, or one and a half *quattrino* each. Geese and turkey are rare; for a couple of geese you will have to pay five or six silver *marcelli*, for a pair of turkeys four *marcelli*. Fine fowls three *marcelli*, medium do two and a half. Quails a little more than a *marcello*, the couple, tame pigeons about the same, wood-pigeons a little more. Six walnuts for a *quattrino*, the same for quince, but these are small. Apples are scarce and poor; such as you can find cost a *quattrino* for two. I have seen no pears yet,

but am told that peasants bring them from the hills and sell them very dear. Medlars, sorbs and almonds are nowhere grown. Citrons, lemons, oranges, capers, pistachios, dates, breadfruit, figs, green and dry, are abundant and cheap. The native cheese is made of a mixture of the milk of sheep, goats and cows, but it does not keep, for it is too rich.... The small sheep and the lambs, they tell me, are fine and good: there are many of them, they sell at a *mocengio* each, more or less, according to the size.... Honey is dark and thick, and sold at two *quattrini* the pound.²⁹

Stephan de Lusignan's *Chorography and Brief General History of Cyprus*, written in 1573, provides a detailed description of what was being produced and grown on the island. 'The island produces enough wine, and it does not import any wine from abroad; indeed it produces so much that people like the illustrious Cardinal Cornaro and others bring it to Venice and Rome... The island produces a great quantity of barley and wheat, which is also brought to Venice. If they did not export it the quantity would be so great that it would last for two years. This actually happened once. All the other grains with which we make bread here in Italy are not used, except that four years ago the Republic of Venice ordered some millet to be sown. Our farmers do not eat any other kind of bread, except that made of wheat or barley. The island produces a lot of vetch for the oxen, camels, and pigeons, and does not produce any hay, because of the shortage of water during the summertime'.³⁰ He goes on to mention the various types of legumes, fruit, herbs and condiments that are produced on the island, also the wild and domestic animals that are found on Cyprus. He also notes that Venetian ships stop at Paphos and that between March and September seems to be the peak time for Venetian and foreign ships to be exporting products from Cyprus (see source 27, paragraph 15 in Chapter 1).

The Paphos area seems to have been one of the major areas for the growing of cotton. The relatively mild climate would suit the growth of the cotton plant and cotton seems to have been grown alongside the sugar cane, in some plantations. This has been noted in the sources and Koukklia is an example of this. The growth and production of cotton is

²⁹ Ibid, 75-76

³⁰ Pelosi 2001, 116

very labour intensive. It would be feasible to have cotton plants near sugar cane as they could share the same water supply and the labour force that works in the production of sugar could also be utilised when the time came to pick the cotton from the plants. This would have required a large labour force, depending on the size of the cotton plantation. There is no evidence for the manufacturing of cotton to be found at Kouklia, even though the sources do mention that cotton was grown in the area. The cotton may have been taken somewhere else to be processed or may have been shipped in its raw state before being refined. The sources do mention that Cyprus exported camlets and other clothing items, it is possible the cotton was used for these as well as a raw supply for the west. Cotton was a later export, mainly in the Venetian period.

The produce grown in the area of Paphos, from cotton and sugar, to figs, pistachios, oranges, bananas, grapes for wine and vegetables would not just be for export but for local consumption also. Sugar and cotton were the primary export crops but there were a number of other exports that would also have been produced for local consumption. Oil, wine, silk, cereals, carob, corn were exported but also consumed by the local population. Perishable goods that the sources describe, fruits, meats and vegetables would be generally for the local population and any traveller passing through. Although onions seem to be an important export and were grown in the Paphos region and would have survived a sea voyage much better than some other fruits or vegetables. The production and export of vitriol (sulphuric acid), which was produced near Polis, is also mentioned in the sources and seems to have been one of the more unusual exports from the island.

Sugar, cotton, wine, cereals and other goods mentioned above were exported from the island to the west. They left Cyprus from its ports, usually Famagusta, but also Limassol and Paphos and later from Larnaca when salt was being harvested there. Limassol was the island's main port during the Byzantine period and continued to be so until Famagusta rose in the late thirteenth century.³¹ Limassol and Paphos are both mentioned in Italian nautical guides, written in Acre during the thirteenth century, as trading ports in

³¹ Coureas 1995b, 255

Cyprus while Famagusta is omitted.³² Famagusta was not situated on the navigation routes that linked the West to the Levantine coast.³³ After the fall of Acre in 1291 Famagusta became the most important port in Cyprus and in the region. Merchants from all over the Mediterranean were trading there, Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Catalans and Syrians.³⁴ Limassol and Larnaca also increased in importance during this time. Larnaca increased in importance during the Venetian period because of the production of salt, which was regularly exported to Venice.³⁵ The Frankish buildings that survive in Famagusta, the churches, castle and defensive walls around the city, show that it was the second city of the island after Nicosia. During the fourteenth century it became the setting for the Lusignan kings to be crowned as kings of Jerusalem.³⁶ Famagusta was captured by Genoese forces in 1374, after disputes between them, the Venetians and the king.³⁷ Paphos was also raided by the Genoese and the fort captured.³⁸ After this Famagusta started to decline slowly.

Both the Genoese and the Venetians had property in Paphos. In 1232 Genoa received a house in Paphos³⁹ and a Venetian report of 1242 or 1243 lists houses, shops, land and other property in Limassol, Nicosia and Paphos.⁴⁰ The harbour at Paphos did get smaller and larger ships were not able to enter, but as travellers have recorded, smaller ships were able to enter and goods were still being loaded. Ships would anchor outside the harbour where it was deeper, and longboats and possibly other smaller vessels would be able to enter, to load up on the items for export. It was still the first port of call from the West. It was used for the export of the agricultural produce of the area, especially cotton, which mostly went to Venice.⁴¹ Although the harbour had declined and Paphos was not as important as the other ports, it still had a purpose to serve. Venetian documents dating from 1543 and 1563 show that Nicosia's population increased from 16,000 to 25,000,

³² Ibid, 256

³³ Jacoby 1984, 147

³⁴ Aristidou 1995, 264

³⁵ Arbel 1996, 186

³⁶ Edbury 1995b, 337

³⁷ Arbel 1996, 179

³⁸ Edbury 1991, 204

³⁹ Arbel 1984, 159

⁴⁰ Ibid, 165

⁴¹ Aristidou 1995, 268

Famagusta from 8,000 to 10,000 and Paphos from 1,500 to 2,000.⁴² After the large populations of Nicosia and Famagusta, Paphos had the next largest population on the island. It had the third largest town population on the island. The villages of Kouklia, Akhelia and Lemba must have had sizeable populations to deal with the production sugar and cotton. The harbour at Paphos was convenient and close for the produce to be sent to once it was ready for export.

The archaeological evidence for the goods mentioned above being exported is limited, apart from sugar there is no evidence in the archaeological record so far for the production and export of other goods. This does not mean of course, that these goods were not being produced and exported. The lack of evidence from the archaeological record can be partly explained by the fact that as yet there has been no study of the agricultural aspects of the medieval period and the evidence may not survive. Merchants' documents and manuals provide much of the information of what was being exported from the island, especially from the port of Famagusta but are lacking for Paphos. At the moment the written evidence must be relied upon for information for the general trade of Cyprus. A medieval shipwreck coming to or going from Cyprus would provide important information on trade and goods. In the case of sugar, it is different, with the installations at Kouklia, Episkopi and Kolossi providing information on the processing and refining of sugar and combined with written sources, for what happened to the sugar after it left the refineries, a full picture of the sugar trade can emerge. In terms of the population size and content it is very difficult to form a clear picture. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether it was slaves or serfs or both together worked in the fields. The written sources are sometimes ambiguous. Makhairas mentions that slaves joined the Genoese and took the castle at Paphos during the Genoese war in Cyprus and Ludolph von Suchen mentions that Saracen slaves worked in the vineyards of Engadi at Paphos. There is a lack of evidence in the archaeological record for slaves but this might not always be easily identifiable if the evidence was there.

⁴² Ibid, 202

In relation to the other ports and harbours of Cyprus, Paphos harbour was relatively unimportant. Its decline caused by a number of factors, the change in the harbour size and depth, the collapse of Acre in 1291 altered the trade routes and made Famagusta important, the frequent earthquakes that travellers always mention and the fact that the city was 'in ruins', these ruins a mixture of the Roman and Medieval. The harbour was still being used by small vessels and was still used for shelter in bad weather. In trading terms, it was a small harbour servicing the needs of the western end of the island with the exception being the transportation of the sugar from Kouklia to Paphos for export, a shorter and easier journey, than taking it to Limassol. It was still used by pilgrims and travellers and indications are that it would have had a small foreign population in residence Pero Tafur writes that he stayed with a Castilian squire in Ktima.⁴³ By the end of the Venetian period Paphos was a small town with a population of 2000 people Paphos would become even more isolated during the Ottoman period and would not prosper again until the late twentieth century.

⁴³ Nepaulsingh 1997, 19

Chapter 4 Medieval Assemblages

The most important sites of Saranda Kolones and Kouklia will be looked at in greater detail and discussed. Their architecture, ceramics and function will be looked at. The site of Fabrika will be discussed also, then a general overview of the area and sites.

Saranda Kolones

Within the town of Paphos, the castle of Saranda Kolones is one of the most important buildings and probably the most important medieval structure. Saranda Kolones, as mentioned previously, is a Crusader castle of concentric design, square with an open courtyard, surrounded by an outer curtain wall and a rock-cut ditch with a counterscarp lined with masonry. This shape makes it unique on Cyprus no other castle built after the Frankish occupation followed its style. The walls of the castle had been strengthened with granite columns from Roman buildings, giving it its name, Saranda Kolones or the Castle of the Forty Columns. Saranda Kolones was originally identified as the Byzantine castle at Paphos that surrendered to King Richard I when he conquered the island in 1191.¹ A garrison of Varangians was stationed at the port in 1150² and St Neophytos was imprisoned in a castle near the harbour in 1159³ the garrison and St Neophytos' prison must have been in the same building but not that of Saranda Kolones. This castle or fort has yet to be identified. Saranda Kolones has now been identified as being constructed in the early years of Lusignan reign. Saranda Kolones has been thought to have been destroyed with the 1222 earthquake that is said to have also devastated Paphos and caused the harbour to dry up. This date is now disputed and will be discussed further below.

The architecture of the castle is as follows, (Fig. 1) a castle with five towers arranged around an open courtyard, enclosed by an outer wall with eight towers, encircled by a ditch cut into the bedrock (pl. 1a). The inner ward was approximately square, arranged in two vaulted storeys (undercroft and piano nobile) with a small central courtyard (pl. 1b),

¹ Recorded in Roger de Hoveden's Chronicle "...the following castle surrendered: Paphos, Buffevent, Deudeamur, and Candare", in Mogabgab 1943, 52

² Megaw 1988, 147

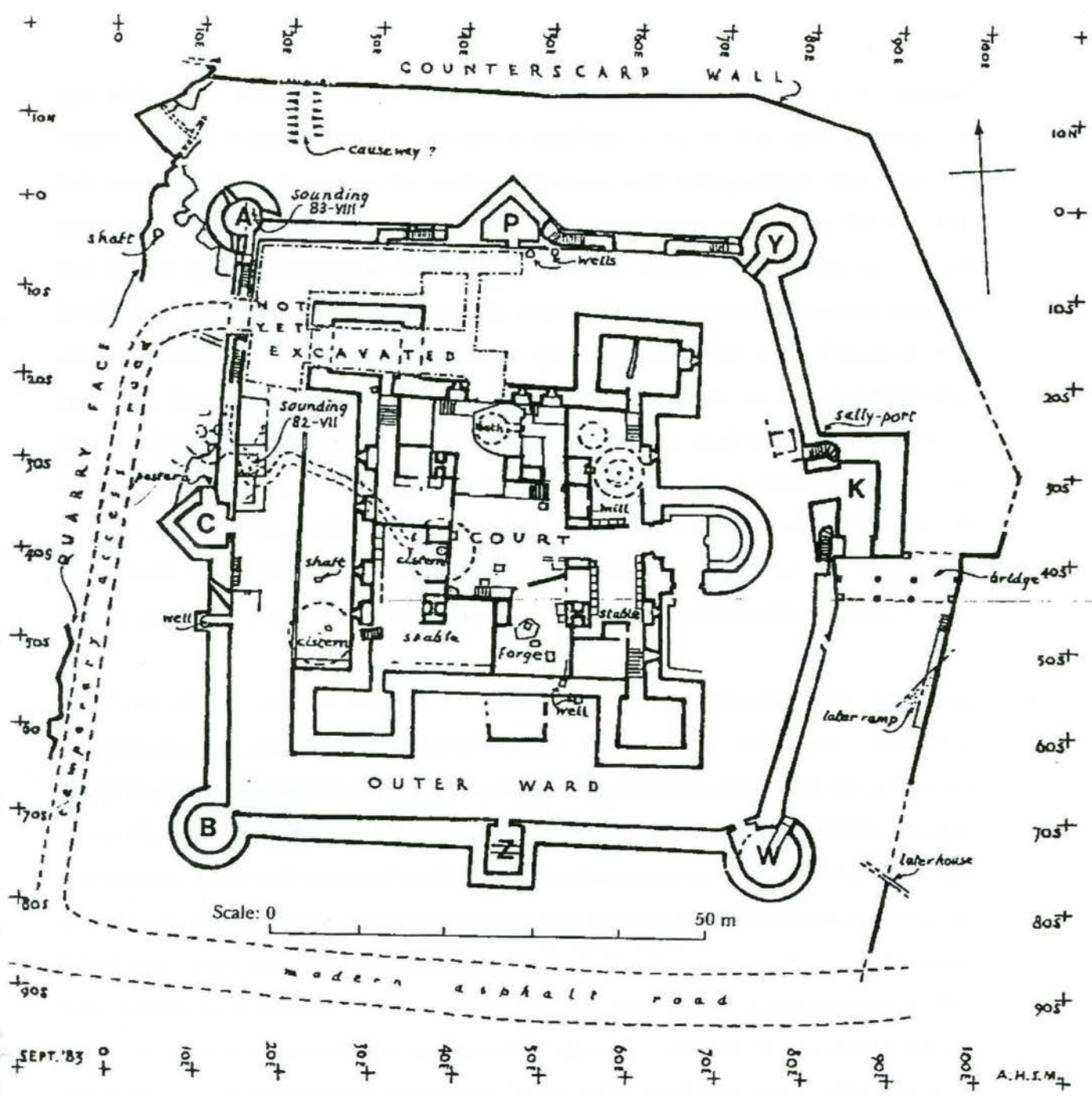


FIG 1: Saranda Kolones (after Rosser 1985)

entered at the middle point of the eastern side through an apsidal gate tower. Substantial remains of vaulted undercrofts also survive around the courtyard. The eastern gate tower had two gates, the outer one on the south of the tower, both with portcullis slots and bolt holes. In the apsidal gate tower several of the granite columns can be seen (pl 2a). The four towers are quadrangular in shape and stand at the corners of the castle and would have been quite massive. The vaulting of the undercrofts was carried on immense piers of ashlar masonry (pl. 2b), not dissimilar to the surviving pier of the Latin Cathedral. The springings for the vaulting have survived at various points. There are nine piers that ring the courtyard. There are pairs of latrines (pl. 3), back to back, in three of the ground floor corner piers, which seem to be repeated in the corresponding piers on the upper floor as they are separated by double partitions and the drain shafts descend and are preserved from above. Partitions of coursed rubble construction, were found by the excavators, butting against the piers, which formed a continuous perimeter around the courtyard.

After entering the castle, a stable is to be found in the south east undercroft, which has mangers on either side made from reused columns (pl. 4a and b). At the south end of the stable there is a staircase to the southeast tower. The adjoining section of the undercroft was a forge (pl. 5a and b), its entrance in the southeast corner of the courtyard where it extended to. There was a second stable in the southwest corner. It extended to the forge on the south side and to the middle of the west wall where it had its entrance. A well shaft linked to a cistern can be found just inside the door. Another cistern was accessible from these stables by a staircase to be found in the west wall. Most of the mangers in this stable have been destroyed due to quarrying after the collapse of the castle. In the northwest corner of the castle, a staircase leads to the northwest tower. There are two storerooms next to the staircase. The excavators think that one of the storerooms must have been reached from a mezzanine floor, as there is no doorway from the courtyard. This is the only section of the undercroft that is paved with stone. It has a stone staircase that leads to a small, circular steam bath on the mezzanine level. Next to this the stoking chamber for the bath (pl. 6a and b). This room is also paved and contains reused marble column bases.

³ Galatariotou 1991, 49

Separated by a rubble partition is the mill room in the northeast undercroft (pls. 7 and 8a). A row of mangers was found just inside the entrance to this room, similar to the ones in the stable opposite and also a small storeroom to the west. A well shaft was found in the east face of the pier joining the east and north undercrofts. The masonry has been cut on the pier's north and east sides and on the opposite walls to allow the animals, most likely donkeys, to be able to drive the mills, the south mill by the entrance and another one in the west bay of the mill room. The mill at the south entrance has a ring of paving stones that the animals that were powering the mill would have walked on. Within this ring "on the south side is a concentric parapet of stone, which has as its centre a inverted column base, set into the rubble layer that underlies the floor. At its centre is a pivot hole, presumably cut to receive a vertical axle. The pivot hole is cut into the floor of a shallow channel that runs to the north side of the base. At the same level are bedded two large stones, interrupting the parapet of the mill ring on the north side. These are socketed, seemingly to receive a massive transverse wooden beam. Two pairs of small pillars are set opposite each other, on either side of the large socketed stones, and these pillars are cut at the top with channels to receive smaller beams in the same east-west direction, though higher. These features, which interrupt the circular parapet, give the enclosure an oval outline and straddle its only entrance, doubtless at the point where the output of the mill was collected. They probably had some role in the support of the superstructure of the mill, of which nothing has survived."⁴ The millstones were also missing. Some fragments of a basalt millstone were found against the east wall. A more complete, though still broken, millstone was found against the west wall of the mill room and this is thought to be an upper millstone for a different milling process⁵, possibly producing sugar or for the grinding of flour. Among the debris found in the mill room were mangonel balls, more than 1500, mostly "rounded chert nodules that occur naturally in limestone deposits and erode from the sides of dry river beds. They splinter easily when dropped, making them ideal anti-personnel weapons."⁶ They would have originally been stored on the roof of the castle. The second mill was also poorly preserved and seemed to be abandoned at the time of the earthquake. "Only the east part remained, including its

⁴ Rosser 1985, 88

⁵ Ibid, 88

⁶ Ibid, 89

four pillars, cut at the top to receive horizontal beams, its two lower sockets stones and its central support, again an ancient marble column base.”⁷ The paving stones that would have surrounded the mill had been mostly removed. A hearth was found next to the mill, against the pier, showing that food had been cooked.

The living quarters of the castle were most likely on an upper floor that would have been reached by two external staircases rising from the courtyard on the north and south sides. The excavators believe that the upper floor was also roofed with masonry on piers that would have corresponded with the piers that exist on the lower storey. Among the many stones that fell during the earthquake, are a number of springing blocks from the corners of piers but two of them do not match the *in situ* springings of the lower piers and most likely belong to the piers of the upper storey. A chapel is thought to have been located in the apsidal gate tower as some blocks with the remains of fresco painting were discovered in this area during the excavation.⁸

The outer wall has eight towers one at each of the corners and in the middle of three sides and on the east side where the apsidal tower is found, there was an outer gate tower, again reinforced with granite columns. Following the plan of the castle the various towers will be described. To begin with tower A, on the northwest corner, which is slightly oval in shape and has a basement chamber close to the level of the ditch. Three embrasures remain and the tower was reached by a staircase from the south, descending in the thickness of the wall. Tower P was reached by a similar staircase descending from the east. “This tower provides a two-sided projection, but above the *chemin de ronde* of the outer wall it would have been of blunt pentagonal plan.”⁹ Tower Y on the northeast corner is octagonal in plan and only the lower courses of stone survive. Continuing around the outer wall, the east section is deflected slightly outward to account for the apsidal gate tower of the inner ward. Tower K is quadrangular in plan and the largest of the towers. It is slightly displaced to the north to avoid concealing the gate tower entirely.

⁷ Ibid, 89

⁸ Megaw 1972, 325

⁹ Ibid, 325

Apart from tower A, it is the only one with a basement chamber and also to have been reinforced with granite columns.

Tower W located on the southeast corner, is circular but very little remains. The lower part of an internal staircase descending to a blocked sally port to the north survives. A glass factory dating to the seventh century, may have been discovered. A number of glass fragments and wasters were found during excavations.¹⁰ Tower Z is small and quadrangular, and also preserves a staircase. The southwest tower B only survives in circular outline on the rock. Preserved is a small section of the floor of its lower chamber. Between towers B and C, there is a small turret built to enclose a well. Tower C is pentagonal in shape and is one of the best preserved towers. "Its floor is for the most part intact, reached by two steps within a wide entrance from the outer ward; an equally wide postern leads onto a small terrace on its northern flank. This terrace is formed in part of solid rock and in part by the extrados of a semicircular masonry vault covering a rock cut tunnel which passes under the northeast corner of the tower. In order to support the weight of the tower, the tunnel had been tightly packed with boulders and *spolia* up to the apex of the vault."¹¹ Another staircase is found between towers C and A, it descends south to a rock cut water channel, found to be blocked with masonry.

Only the west section of the outer ward was preserved to its original level over an extensive area. The fallen remains of a wall constructed with mud mortar were found in this section, this wall divided this section of the outer ward into two sections, inner and outer. The wall fell towards the outer wall. Eight courses were found and it seems to have fallen in one piece. This wall together with the extensive cracks in the masonry of the inner ward and the way some of the face-blocks of the outer wall fell into the ditch indicate that the castle was destroyed by earthquake. The ditch encircled the castle and completed its defenses, although it was not cleared to the same level on all sides, possibly due to the earthquake, which may have interrupted the clearing process. In the south section of the inner ward between the southeast and southwest towers the remains

¹⁰ Ibid, 340

¹¹ Ibid, 326

of another tower were found, thought to be a watchtower which predates the castle by a few years and was incorporated into the construction of the castle. Megaw believes that the watchtower was constructed *ca.* 1193 and construction of the castle between *c.* 1198 and 1204.¹²

There were numerous finds from the castle ranging from ceramics to weapons, and ranging in date from the Hellenistic to the Medieval periods. The medieval ceramics are probably the most important as they help with dating the construction and destruction of Saranda Kolones. To help establish the date that construction was begun on the castle and to solve the question of whether Saranda Kolones was a Byzantine castle taken over by the Lusignans or whether it was an original construction of the Lusignans, the archaeologists excavated a number of sondages in and around the northeast tower of the inner ward, and two more, one in tower A and the other against the inner face of the west curtain wall, between towers A and C. There were 18 sondages in total. With the ceramic material that was found in these sondages the conclusion was reached that the castle in fact had been a new construction of the Lusignan period. Some of the Byzantine ceramics that were found are datable to the early twelfth century, but, as Megaw says, "in that case they could have reached Cyprus, been broken, discarded and used as filling material before 1159, when St Neophytos was imprisoned in the 'phrourion' at Paphos. But that will not allow the castle, under the floors of which they were found, to be equated with that Byzantine fortification, for several other fragments from the same or similar contexts could not have reached Cyprus before that date."¹³ It is worth noting that the Lusignans would have cleared the site before construction and cut through anything that would have been there. If there was a castle on the site previously, they may have been more likely to modify and improve it, like they had done at Kerynia and Famagusta, rather than destroy it.

Among the ceramics, several pieces to do with sugar production were found, a collecting pot for molasses and the conical pots that sat in these jars have also been found. This

¹² Megaw & Rosser 2001, 330

¹³ Megaw 1984, 337

indicates that sugar production may have been taking place in the castle mill room or alternatively, the pots were kept there in storage and the sugar production was taking place elsewhere in Paphos or in a surrounding village. Apart from ceramics, glass fragments, iron nails and fragments of iron barrel hoops, iron arrowheads, a helmet and spikes were also found during excavation. There are also numerous masons' marks of Crusader character all over the walls of the castle (pl. 8b).

The castle is also thought to have possible connections with the Hospitaller order. This is due to the similarity of its design, the concentric castle, with that of Belvoir castle, the Hospitaller fortress in Israel. Belvoir is forty years older than Paphos and much larger, but there are many similarities between them. The plan of both castles is similar, with the exception that at Belvoir the entrance to the castle is on the western side, rather than the eastern side as at Paphos.¹⁴ The destruction and abandonment of Saranda Kolones is commonly held to have happened with the earthquake of 1222, which is also thought to have destroyed most of the town. The castle was used as a quarry after its destruction and robbed of its stone. Rosser notes that above the ramps that were constructed to facilitate the quarrying and removal of stone, local thirteenth century pottery was found.¹⁵ He also mentions the amount of pottery found in the mill room and how closely dated they were to years before 1222.¹⁶ Among the destruction layers several skeletons, both human and animal were discovered. Megaw also notes that above the destruction layer, there were many fragments of medieval glazed pottery of types not represented in the sealed destruction contexts.¹⁷ He also notes that a pottery may have been established in the ditch close to tower W, the southeast corner, circular tower. Fragments of bowls and a fragment of a tripod stilt were found and it may have continued into the fourteenth century, as two coins were found, one a coin of Henry II and one a coin of Hugh IV.¹⁸

¹⁴ Rosser 1987, 185-198 & Megaw 1994, 42-51

¹⁵ Rosser 1985, 85

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 95

¹⁷ Megaw 1971, 133

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 133-134

These coins may also be regarded as evidence of quarrying of the ruins at that later date. The rest of the coins from Saranda Kolones are yet to be published.¹⁹

While the assumption may be that the castle was destroyed in 1222, and the town fell into decline afterwards, there is evidence to suggest that this was not the case.²⁰ There are several important buildings that were constructed post earthquake including the Latin Cathedral and the Gothic church at Chrysopolitissa. Paphos was still an important town and the only major town on the south west coast it would not have been left to go to ruin. The harbour was still being used to load goods into the sixteenth century and several historical sources mention the castle at Paphos, not the two towers by the harbour. Observant travellers up to the eighteenth century still noted the remains of a castle on a hill above the port. The castle may never have been fully rebuilt but perhaps there were certain areas that could still be used in some way and were partially rebuilt and used. The actual site of Saranda Kolones was strategic, with views around the coast and to the mountains inland. It is reasonable to assume it was not completely abandoned after the 1222 earthquake.

Kouklia

The village of Kouklia located to the south east of Paphos, overlooking the coastal plain, is the site of the Royal Manor House, with refineries and below it on the coastal plain, a bigger complex of mills and refineries known as Stavros. Surviving in some sections between these two sites, part of an aqueduct, which supplied water crucial to the refining process of sugar. Kouklia is most famous for being the site of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, which dates from the Bronze Age through to the Roman period. The village is referred to as Couvoucle, Couca, Covada, Conuclia, Couclia, Cithera, Coughlia, Coukklia and Old Paphos in the sources dating from the Medieval period and later, as well as occasionally being referred to as Kouklia.

¹⁹ Some can be found in Metcalf 1998, Metcalf is preparing them for publication 'The medieval coins from Saranda Kolones, Paphos', they should provide interesting material for dating for the construction and destruction of the castle.

²⁰ See von Wartburg 2001, 127-145

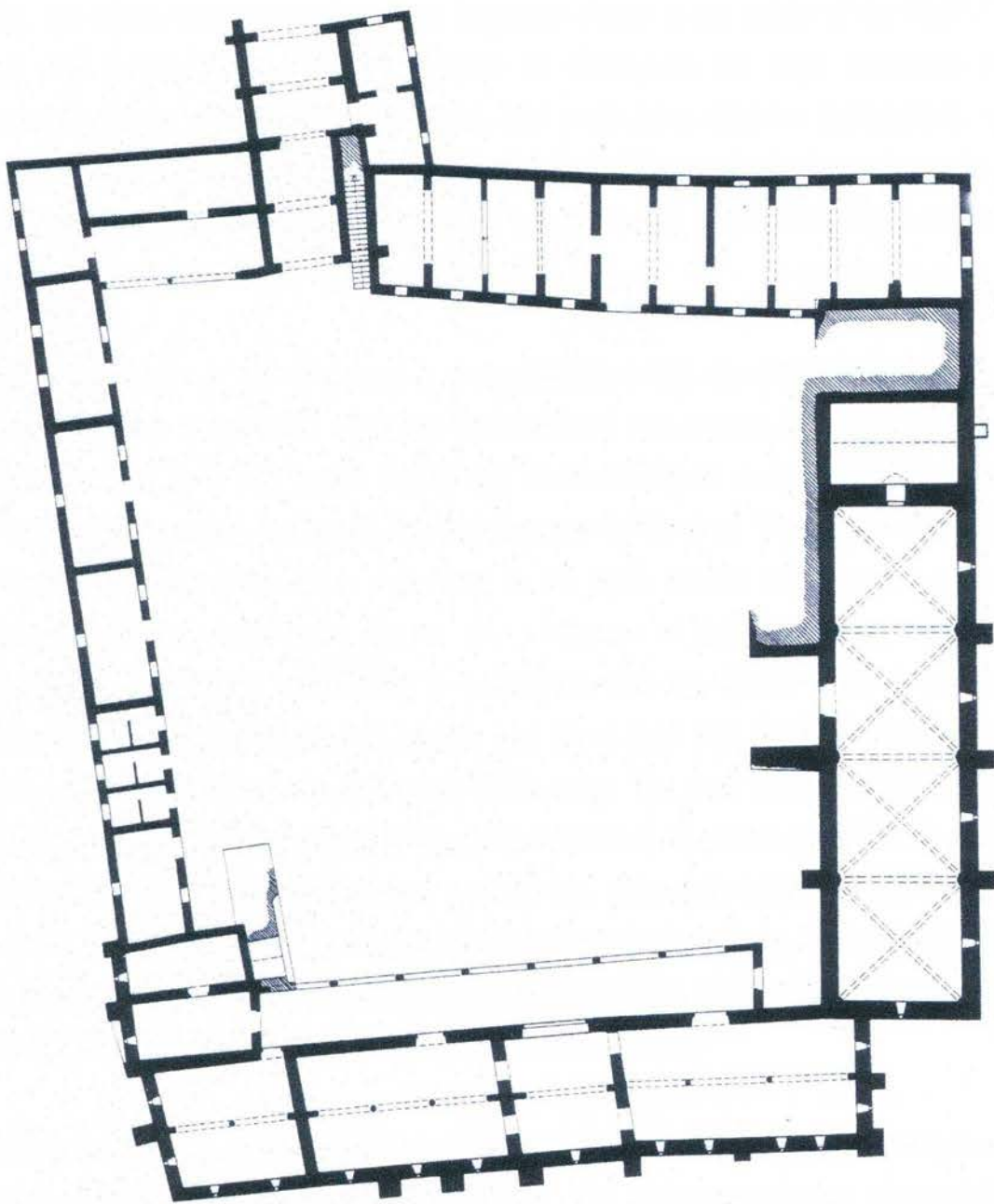
The Royal Manor House (Fig. 2) occupies a commanding position overlooking the coastal plain and what would have most probably been the main road to Paphos.²¹ There are three main building phases for the Manor House, the first is the erection of the original manor in the late thirteenth century; the second, a phase of rebuilding sometime in the Lusignan period and the third, a second phase of reconstruction sometime in the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, either Venetian or early Ottoman.²² Maier found it impossible to attribute individual components of the Manor House to definitely one period. The Manor House is roughly rectangular in plan with a central courtyard and a single gate incorporated into a tower on the northern side. The North Wing has rooms east of the gate tower which served as stables and seem to date mainly from the Ottoman period. Maier has been unable to determine “how far the walls of the North Wing rest on medieval foundations...although some Lusignan masonry seems to be preserved in the eastern part”.²³ The gate tower itself is medieval, indicated by its elaborate plan and by some capitals of the arches which closely resemble those found in the South Wing. The upper storey was most likely rebuilt in the Ottoman period. The West Wing’s “only medieval structures surviving above ground are the remains of a ramp which once led to an upper storey...the outer wall of the modern rooms follows the line of the medieval walls”.²⁴ The South Wing consists of a terrace of four rooms with a covered arcade in front of these (pl. 31a). These have been largely rebuilt and reconstructed after the original Lusignan work. Medieval features were found to survive under piles of rubble and debris, these included the lower parts of the walls, buttresses and pillars, and the springings of arches. The East Wing’s large northern room is of Ottoman construction but rests on Lusignan foundations. It was badly damaged in the earthquake of 1953 and was reconstructed in the Ottoman form. The Gothic Hall, dating from the late thirteenth century dominates the entire Manor House (pl. 32a). It is a two-storey hall, divided into four cross-vaulted bays. “Its fine proportions are due in no small measure to the strictly square plan of the bays which measure 6.80/90 by 6.80m. The arches and the ribs (pl. 33) of the vaulting, with abaci in the thirteenth century style, rest on corbels set in the wall

²¹ Bekker-Nielsen 1995, 96, the ancient road would most likely continue in use into the medieval period.

²² Maier 1992, 252

²³ Ibid, 252

²⁴ Ibid, 252



KOUKLIA
ROYAL MANOR HOUSE
GRABUNGSPLATZ CH

Fig 2: Royal Manor House, Kouklia (after Maier, 1992)

just above floor level. These corbels and the four keystones represent the only decorative element in this otherwise sober room. Of the key stones visible now one is original (pl. 32b), the others were remodelled from fragments found in the debris of the Hall".²⁵ The Hall was reconstructed but it is possible to distinguish the local sandstone by its weathering from the reconstructed areas. The walls have massive foundations, which descend 3.5m. below the current surface. The East Wing's upper storey has one large room, with the same dimensions as the Hall beneath it and its original height can be seen in the surviving beam rests.

From excavations in the courtyard it was established that the current floor is in most cases only a few centimetres above the bedrock, and that already in the Medieval period the Hall's floor level was 2.40m. below that of the courtyard. A ramp which ran parallel to the surviving ramp, leading to the upper storey of the East Wing, was the means of access to the Hall. Excavations continued in the south eastern corner of the courtyard, where the bedrock drops away steeply, and a complex of underground store rooms was discovered. They were constructed in connection with the Gothic Hall. A rectangular cistern, built later in the Lusignan period, was found built into the corner formed by the west wall of the Hall and the south wall of the ramp. The store rooms were destroyed by fire and later rebuilt with a new water conduit, some time in the late fifteenth or in the sixteenth century. "Medieval glazed pottery was very rare among the stratified find material. Coins and other datable small finds were missing entirely. This, combined with the lack of written documents referring to the construction of the Manor House, makes it impossible to date the different building phases more closely."²⁶

Maier continues by saying that there is "unambiguous evidence for the function of the building, both archaeological and documentary. The underground store rooms yielded a considerable amount of the typical pottery used in the processing of sugar cane. This means that they served as annexes of the extensive refinery installations which operated during the late thirteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. on the site of the former Sanctuary

²⁵ Ibid, 253

²⁶ Ibid, 254

of Aphrodite, immediately north of the Lusignan Manor House".²⁷ Jodicus de Meggen (source 22) gives a description of sugar production at Kouklia in 1542 when he stopped there.

A sugar refinery was located on the ruins of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. In the Roman sanctuary the remains of boiling installations are preserved. These are a group of square bases that were thought to be for a long time the foundations of a colonnaded Roman hall. They date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and are the hearths on which the cane juice was boiled in sequence in copper cauldrons of different sizes. Vast quantities of the broken vessels that were used in the refining process were found at the site, the sugar jars for collecting the molasses and the sugar cones with the circular hole at the pointed bottom. It was thought that they were manufactured locally and evidence for this was found in the west of the hall of Sanctuary I, the remains of a round kiln were found associated with type of pottery mentioned above.²⁸ The refinery buildings and installations covered the entire area of the Sanctuary, although none remain today. They probably collapsed through neglect or were destroyed by later buildings. Parts of the buildings seemed to have survived into the nineteenth century, but these were removed during the 1888 excavations of the site.²⁹ The water needed for the boiling of the sugar juice was supplied by a concrete water channel, which distributed water to different parts of the refinery.³⁰ The water must have come from the aqueduct which led to the refinery on the Temple site and then passed by the Manor on its eastern side down to the mill and refinery of Stavros on the coastal plain.

The sugar refinery of Stavros at Kouklia is extensive. There are two separate buildings, a small one that was for milling purposes only (referred to as TST II in the excavation reports) and the other a much larger complex (TST I) that dealt with all aspects of the production of sugar, from the milling to the refining process. The layout of the larger building installations is as follows, the building was divided into four separate working

²⁷ *Ibid*, 254

²⁸ Maier 1977, 133

²⁹ Maier 1979, 175

³⁰ *Ibid*, 175

units: the milling, refining, stoking and storage-workshop sections respectively (Fig. 3). The small building was for milling only and was fed from branch line of the main aqueduct. Maier believes that it “may have been built in order to increase the milling capacity when growing demand for cane sugar had to be met.”³¹

The larger building complex TST I (pl. 34a), is located at the bottom of a short, steep slope. As mentioned above the layout of the building was divided into four separate working areas. The mill building was divided into two parts, the millhouse and grinding hall. The grinding hall (pl. 34b) was where the sugar cane was first crushed, it measures 8.50 by 8m., and parts of the walls are preserved to a height of 1.40m. There is evidence of arches supporting a roof, springings of the arches are found *in situ*. The roof covered a large millstone base of conglomerate rock (3.40m., in diameter) found in the centre of the hall (pl. 35). Other conglomerate millstones were found on the site and one them would probably have revolved in a vertical position on this base. The millstones were rotated by animals. The millhouse was where the second milling of the mash, from the first grinding, occurred in a subterranean chamber (pl. 36a). “The open aqueduct was converted into a covered pressure channel, the end of the chute being formed by a round limestone spout of 19cm.diamter. Wheel emplacement and tailstream are covered by a subterranean vaulted chamber. The well-dressed limestone blocks of the vault closely resemble the masonry of the Gothic hall in the Royal Manor House. This elaborate construction supported a working platform on which millstones of smaller size than those of the grinding hall could be operated without complicated transmissions and thus with a minimum loss of energy.”³² The millwheel was driven by a water jet coming from the spout, this was a horizontal wheel of turbine type. This was not the first wheel of this type on the site. After debris had been cleared, circular grooves were found on the stone pavement of the vaulted chamber, indicating that the original emplacement was designed for a horizontal wheel.³³

³¹ Maier 1983, 301

³² Ibid, 305

³³ Ibid, 305 & von Wartburg 1983, 307

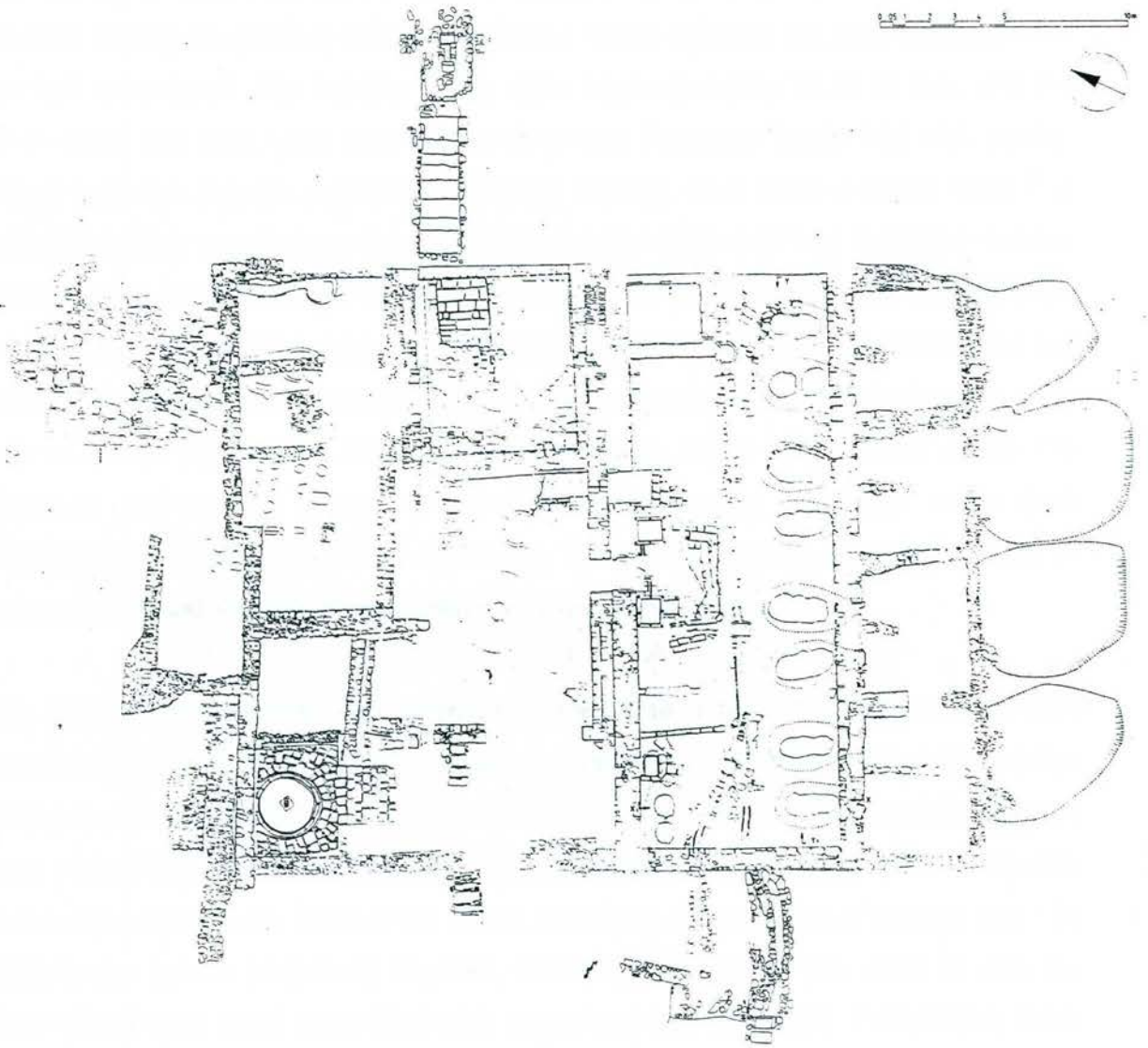


Fig. 1. Plan of the cane sugar refinery at Couvoucle-Stavros (Site TST I).

Fig. 3. TST I, Refinery at Karklia, (after von Lambert and Maier, 1991)

The tailstream left the vault from the southwestern corner by a subterranean canal. The refinery installations could be entered from the vaulted chamber by a flight of steps in the southeastern corner of the vault. The refinery hall extends along the eastern side of the mill and grinding hall. Four water basins lined with waterproof cement for the cleaning and soaking of sugar pots and two square limestone basins in the floor on either side of the door linking the grinding hall to the refinery, which collected the juice extracted from the mill were found. The refinery hall is quite large measuring 23.50 by 8m., and the north, south and west walls were built with dressed limestone blocks laid with mortar. Debris indicates that the room was originally vaulted, most likely a barrel vault.³⁴ A series of boiling installations is located between the south wall and the water conduit which passes along the centre of the room. Maier and von Wartburg note that "they are arranged in a basic pattern conditioned by requirements both of building construction and refining process."³⁵ There are eight hearths in total attached to fire chambers which were operated from outside (pl. 36b). The stoking area is found to the south of the fire chambers and was first divided by buttresses. In the second phase four rooms were created with two fire chambers for each room. These were accessed through doorways in the south wall and individual ramps from the natural soil (pl. 37a).³⁶

The storage-workshop area, also referred to as the North Wing, is located next to the mill room and grinding hall. It is an oblong hall of irregular plan and its roof was supported by arches. Later these arches were blocked by walls, dividing the hall into separate areas. A large part of this hall served as both a storage and workshop area. In some rooms the round depressions were found on the floors, indicating the presence of storage jars. "In other rooms narrow brick-lined channels, widening into circular pits, were let into the floor. These were found to be filled with copper and lead fragments. Conceivably these rooms served as workshops for the repair of the huge copper cauldrons and other tools used in boiling the cane juice."³⁷ A room on the western end of the hall revealed under the floor of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a staircase leading down into a square

³⁴ Maier & von Wartburg 1989, 182

³⁵ Ibid, 182

³⁶ Maier & von Wartburg 1991, 256

³⁷ Ibid, 260

room with plastered walls and a floor of stone slabs. On the floor there was a large circular mill base of limestone blocks (pl. 37b). It shows signs of use. Maier and von Wartburg believe that this mill was not essential to the working of the refinery, as the room was filled with debris up to the floor level of the hall.³⁸

The sugar refinery was built towards the end of the thirteenth century with all of the areas mentioned above. A first remodelling of the refinery took place sometime in the fourteenth century. This involved the hall with basins, hearths and the vaulted mill house and possibly the grinding hall at the same time. This was combined with the construction of the stoke rooms. Some parts of the building seem to have been destroyed in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, although it is uncertain what caused the destruction. The reconstruction is believed to have begun immediately afterwards and the remodelled refinery continued to operate during the period of Venetian rule and possibly through the sixteenth century.³⁹

Massive amounts of sugar pottery were recovered during the excavation of the refineries both at Stavros and the Sanctuary refinery. The sugar pottery is made up of the conical mould with a hole pierced in the bottom and the narrow-necked jar on which they rested (pl. 38a). The Stavros site alone produced 11,764 moulds and 4320 jars, not including fragments.⁴⁰ An indication of how much sugar was being produced. It is unknown if this number of moulds and jars was for just one season's produce or had accumulated over several seasons. If this was one only season's produce then the quantity of sugar being produced is staggering. The three types of moulds (discussed in Chapter 3) were all represented, but the number of the Type I mould, which was used to make the high-quality sugar, was only found in very small numbers compared to the rest. This indicates that the refinery of Stavros was only producing small amounts of this sugar and that the bulk of the sugar being produced was the cheaper crystal sugar "polvere di zucchero".⁴¹ The majority of the medieval glazed pottery was mainly located in and around the Royal

³⁸ Ibid, 262

³⁹ Maier and von Wartburg 1989, 186-187 & Maier & von Wartburg 1991, 262

⁴⁰ Maier and von Wartburg 1989, 184

⁴¹ Ibid, 184

Manor House and the Sanctuary. The pottery ranges from locally produced ceramics from Paphos to imports from the east and west. The imported pottery includes a small number of fragments of Islamic wares, Byzantine wares of 'Fine Sgraffito', Aegean wares and Italian imports of maiolica and polychrome sgraffito wares. The local pottery includes Brown and Green Sgraffito ware, the 'Monochrome Sgraffito' style and 'Slip Painted' ware. Secure stratigraphy was rare in Kouklia for medieval glazed ceramics due to the constant reuse of the site.

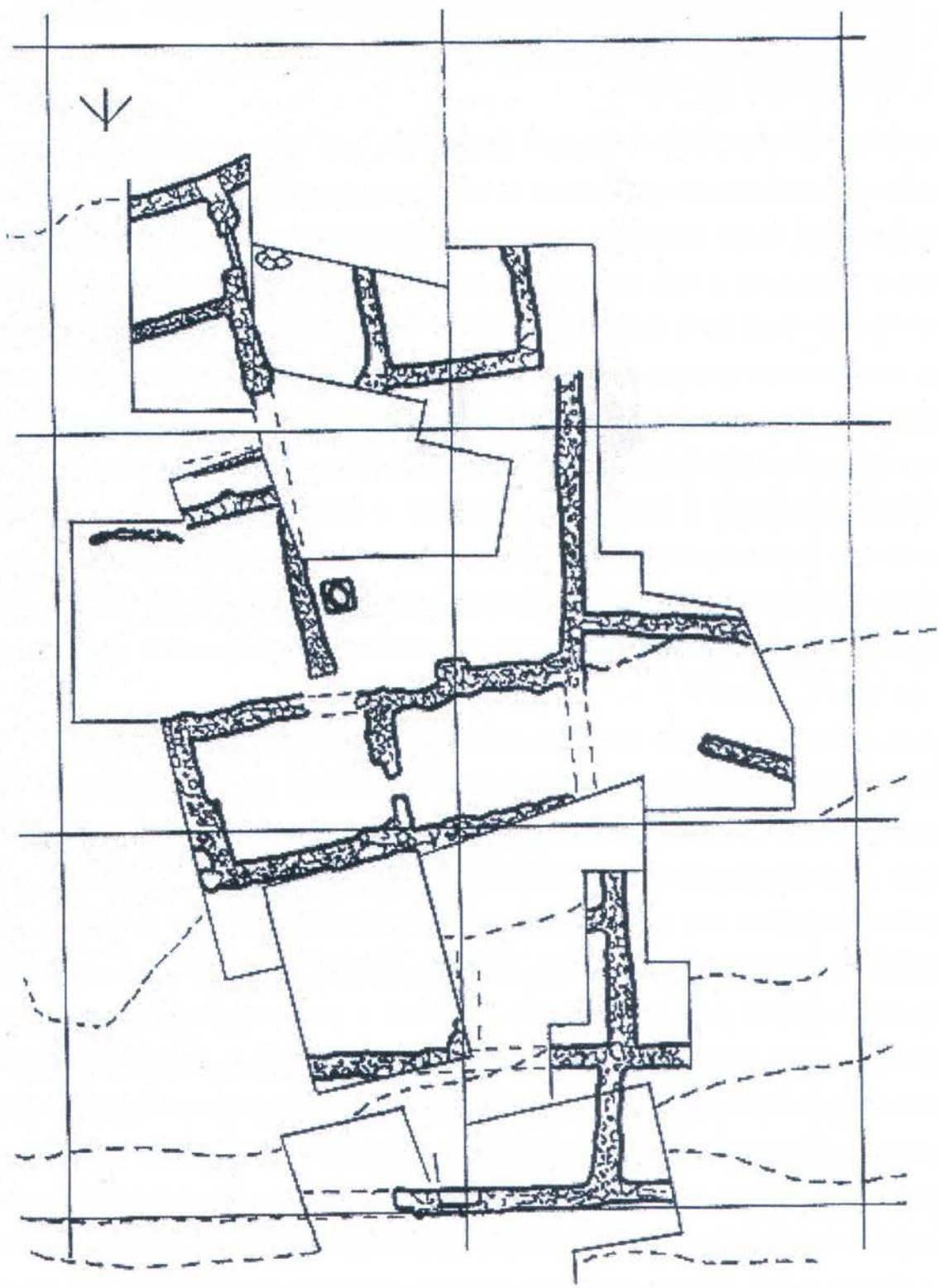
The Royal Manor House and sugar refineries of the Sanctuary and Stavros are important medieval sites in Western Cyprus. They provide important information on the processing and refining of sugar in the area, and an indication that the area was quite prosperous. The Manor House and refineries were administered by the Lusignan kings, and there were other royal domains producing sugar in the region, according to fifteenth century documents, at Akhelia and Lemba. This shows that this region of the Paphos district, the southwest coast was an important area. There is no indication as to where the sugar was taken once it was ready for export. There are two possibilities it was taken to the closer port of Paphos over a relatively easy road along the coast, or to Limassol, further away and over a harder route. It can be suggested that the sugar went to Paphos mostly, although there is no evidence to support this. Travellers have documented that their ships were loaded with sugar at the harbour of Paphos Greffin Affagart in 1534 mentions that his ship was loaded with sugar and cotton.⁴² This is obviously a later source, but it may be possible to assume that this practice was continuing from earlier times. Kouklia was an important village during medieval times, as a royal domain and as a producer of sugar.

Fabrika

The Hellenistic Theatre of Paphos is providing a small glimpse of domestic or industrial occupation within the town of Paphos. A complex of structures dating to the medieval period (Fig. 4) has been built over the orchestra and stage-building of the theatre. There are a number of phases to these structures and dating begins from the late twelfth century and continues to the sixteenth century. The complex may have been industrial in nature,

⁴² See source 21, in Chapter 1

Fig 4: Medieval building complex, Fabrica



as there were layers of burnt material and ash in some areas and traces of the manufacture of pottery, tripod stilts and wasters, in the area. The rooms are rectangular and there is evidence of courtyards within the complex. Floor surfaces within the complex were very hard to identify. One of the most important discoveries was of well filled with alternating layers of rubble and soil, which contained ceramics and other materials. The well was excavated down to 6.95m, to water level. It has been cut into bedrock, with footholds in the sides and is cylindrical.⁴³ The majority of the ceramics found were medieval glazed ceramics, kitchen ware was rare and there was a considerable quantity of Roman fragments which were very worn. Of the glazed ceramics, three were imported pieces, a fragment of Green and Brown Painted Ware (inv. 3492), a fragment of Aegean Ware (inv. 3681) and the base of an Egyptian Monochrome Glazed Ware bowl (inv. 3673).⁴⁴ The rest of the medieval glazed ceramics were consistent with Paphos local manufacture and date to the middle to late thirteenth century. A separate Theatre Workshop has now been suggested for the site, due to the number of wasters and tripod stilts found.⁴⁵

Metal was found in the well also. An iron adze designed for woodworking was found this seems to be miscast and is a reject piece thrown into the well dump. Other pieces of metal were also found, a bronze disc, a small flat piece of iron, iron nails and slag. Stone objects were found, a grindstone of limestone, a limestone pestle, and two slightly curving octagonal stones (only one inventoried 3816, pl. 39), one of which remains in the bottom of the well where they were both found. Excavation was halted as water was found. The stone that was recovered shows fine workmanship, with fine tooling visible on all sides of the block. It may be possibly be part of a springing block due to its slight curve, a block that is used indicating the beginning of an arch. The stone is very similar to that found in the 'Franciscan' Church at Chrysopolitissa. It may have possibly come from a building that may have existed on the top of Fabrika hill. There are various cuts in the bedrock which suggest a building of some sort once stood on the hill. Its unknown

⁴³ Green et al, forthcoming, 'A 13th Century Well at the Theatre Site, Nea Paphos'

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Cook and Green, 'Medieval Glazed Wares from the Theatre Site at Nea Pafos, Cyprus: A Preliminary Report', (forthcoming), Green et al, 'A 13th-Century Well at the Theatre Site, Nea Paphos', (forthcoming), Cook and Green, 'Medieval Glazed Pottery Found in a Tomb at Odos Ikarou, Kato Pafos: A Preliminary Report', (forthcoming).

why two similar blocks would have ended up in the well and their origins remain obscure. The well material seems to have been dumped at one time and quite deliberately, at the end of the thirteenth century, possibly indicating a change in the nature of the site. There is also a masons' mark (pl. 38b), similar in style to those at Saranda Kolones, on one of the stone blocks that mark where the stage building would have been. This masons' mark does not seem to be related to any of the medieval walls that were found on the site, but may possibly have been marked for this block to be removed and used as building material for another structure in the area.⁴⁶ A total of twenty-two identifiably Medieval coins have been found on the site, most from insecure contexts.

Ceramics

The production of glazed pottery in Cyprus began towards the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Cypriot glazed pottery flourished during the period of Latin rule, became an item for export and has been found on many sites in the eastern Mediterranean. A number of workshops seem to have been established on the island throughout this period, in the areas of Paphos, Lapithos in the district of Kyrenia and Enkomi in the district of Famagusta.⁴⁷ The workshops and finds from the area of Paphos will be discussed further. Cypriot glazed pottery is classified into three basic groups: the first being Painted Wares, which is divided into Slip-Painted Wares and Green Painted Wares, the second being Sgraffito Wares which is subdivided into Monochrome Sgraffito, One Colour Sgraffito, Brown and Green Sgraffito and Green Painted Sgraffito and the third being Plain Glazed Ware which includes Monochrome Plain Glaze Ware and Bi-chrome Plain Glaze Ware.⁴⁸

The Paphos area may have had more than one workshop as had originally been thought. Lemba ware was named after its findspot near the village of Lemba, in the south west of the Paphos district (see Gazetteer). This pottery is characteristic in its dark red, coarse fabric, which is sometimes fired to a dark grey and upturned foot.⁴⁹ The possibility of

⁴⁶ see Pringle 1981, for a discussion of masons' marks, their use and meaning

⁴⁷ Stern 1995, 325

⁴⁸ Megaw and du Plat Taylor 1951, 2-13

⁴⁹ Dikigoropoulos and Megaw 1958, 77-93; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1993, 116-118

other workshops in Paphos itself is suggested by the finds of wasters and tripod stilts at the sites of Saranda Kolones, Chrysopolitissa, Garrison's Camp, Leptos Walls⁵⁰, the site of the Theatre can also now be added to this list. The Theatre workshop was functioning during the thirteenth century after which there seems to be a break in production at this site.⁵¹ The pottery found in Odos Icarou supports the suggestion of a Theatre workshop. All the glazed pottery from this site dateable to the thirteenth century with much of the Cypriot pottery attributable to the Theatre Workshop.⁵² Cypriot ceramics were exported during this period to the Holy Land⁵³ providing important dating information for Cypriot ceramics. The fall of Acre in 1291 ended this export of Cypriot ceramics to the east.

The pottery found at Chrysopolitissa has not yet been fully published (pl. 40)⁵⁴, although some of it has been on display in the Paphos Archaeological Museum for some years. This material would provide important comparisons to other material found in Paphos and the rest of the island and would contribute to the knowledge of the medieval glazed and plain ceramics. The material on display in the museum includes some fine pieces of imported Italian Maiolica (pl. 41a) dating to the late fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. These pieces were found during the excavation of the Franciscan Church at Chrysopolitissa. They indicate that the Franciscan church continued in use up to at least the sixteenth century and the high quality of the Italian Maiolica found would probably have belonged to the head priest of the church and possibly the bishop if he still resided in Paphos at this time. The introduction of Maiolica during this period and the increasing number of finds may reflect on the fact that the Genoese and Venetians were becoming more active in Cyprus towards the end of the fourteenth century. The Venetian takeover of the island in 1470 would have facilitated more imports to the island. Some broken glazed ceramics were also found in a medieval house at Chrysopolitissa, together with a

⁵⁰ von Wartburg 2001, 128

⁵¹ Cook and Green, 'Medieval Glazed Wares from the Theatre Site at Nea Pafos, Cyprus: A Preliminary Report', (forthcoming), Green et al, 'A 13th-Century Well at the Theatre Site, Nea Pafos', (forthcoming), Cook and Green, 'Medieval Glazed Pottery Found in a Tomb at Odos Ikarou, Kato Pafos: A Preliminary Report', (forthcoming)

⁵² Cook and Green, 'Medieval Glazed Pottery Found in a Tomb at Odos Ikarou, Kato Pafos: A Preliminary Report', (forthcoming)

⁵³ Boas 1994, 102-122, Stern 1995, 325-335

⁵⁴ Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1988, 245-248

coin of Hugh IV (1324-1358).⁵⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzis identifies the pottery as coming from the Lemba workshop and concludes that this was still operating well into the mid fourteenth century.⁵⁶

The pottery found in the Polis area was mostly discovered in medieval graves.⁵⁷ The burials seem to range in date from the thirteenth through to the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These burials all contained a single bowl in the burial similar in practice to the graves excavated at Episkopi, west of Limassol, by Joan du Plat Taylor.⁵⁸ Most of the Polis burials date between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The custom of burying a person with a bowl has continued to the present day on Cyprus except for one important fact, instead of the bowl or plate being placed whole into the grave as it was in the medieval period, it is now broken before placement in the grave. The bowls placed in the graves of Polis and Episkopi are the glazed bowls that were also used as tablewares. It is difficult to say exactly whether these graves were for the nobility or middle classes. There are many medieval tombstones found in Cyprus, depicting knights and the upper classes, but none were found in any sort of context, actually on top of a grave. The ethnicity of the burial can also be called into question, because of the change in burial practice regarding the whole versus the broken bowl. It is possible that the burials with a whole bowl may be those of foreigners, not the native Cypriot population. The lack of excavated and known cemeteries for this period is a gap in forming a more complete picture of the everyday life and death of the medieval Cypriot.

In Jeffery's *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, he mentions and records a medieval tombstone found in the churchyard of Panayia Theoskepasti⁵⁹ and another that Hogarth records from St George's church in Paphos.⁶⁰ Both of these tombstones, which have inscriptions, are on display in the Paphos Museum, along with two others, one with inscription and another that shows the upper torso and head of a young man (pl. 42).

⁵⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1993, 124

⁵⁶ Ibid, 124

⁵⁷ Dikigoropoulos and Megaw 1958, 77

⁵⁸ Taylor 1938, 55-86

⁵⁹ Jeffery 1918, 404

⁶⁰ Hogarth 1889, 9

Numismatics

There are only three recorded and published coin hoards from the Paphos region, one found in Paphos, one from the village of Stavrokonnou and the other from Polis. D. M. Metcalf has published both the hoards of Paphos and Polis and also the Stavrokonnou hoard originally looked at by J. R. Stewart.⁶¹ Coins were also found during the excavation of Saranda Kolones⁶² and Fabrika. A hoard was found in Koukليا in 1937, of between 2000 and 3000 gros and half-gros of Henry II, Hugh IV, Peter I and Peter II (1285-1382). They were found near the church of Ayios Epiphanius, in two ceramic jars.⁶³ Stewart suggests that they may have been buried in July or August 1373, when the Genoese were attacking this area.⁶⁴ Koukليا, being a centre of sugar industry and having the Royal Manor House for administration of this enterprise is likely to have had a lot of revenue pass through. Koukليا and the Royal Manor House were attacked by the Genoese, and the coins were not found. It may be possible to speculate that if the coins were in the Manor House they may not have survived and would likely have been looted. Unfortunately this coin hoard has been dispersed their whereabouts for the most part are unknown. A hoard of at least 54 coins, possibly as many as 68, was found in 1975, in a field near Akhelia. These were white bezants, one of Hugh I and 53 of Henry I (1205-1253).⁶⁵ Akhelia is also associated with the sugar industry, under the control of the Hospitallers, in this case. These coins were again sold on, with only thirteen being photographed and weighed.⁶⁶ These two hoards from Akhelia and Koukليا, although found without the benefit of archaeological excavation, show that during the thirteenth century onwards there was a tremendous amount of money in the Paphos area. Metcalf raises the possibility of there being a third mint in Cyprus, after those of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the possibility that this mint was located in Paphos.⁶⁷ These mints all operated at different times. The mint at Nicosia was established early on, but the mint at

⁶¹ Metcalf 1990 for Polis and Metcalf 2001 for Paphos, both also referred to in the three volume *Corpus of Lusignan Coinage* also including Stavrokonnou, Stewart 2002 for Paphos and Stavrokonnou hoards

⁶² These coins are in preparation for publication by D. M. Metcalf 'The medieval coins of Saranda Kolones, Paphos'.

⁶³ Stewart 2002, Vol II, note 262, 84

⁶⁴ Ibid, note 262, 84

⁶⁵ Metcalf 1998, 65

⁶⁶ Ibid, 65

⁶⁷ Ibid, 13

Famagusta was not established until 1310.⁶⁸ A second mint founded during the thirteenth century is suggested by Metcalf after 'a study of the numismatic patterns and details of the bezants points very strongly to an even earlier instance of the establishment of two mints, at about the time when Hugh I attained his majority, in 1210'.⁶⁹ He suggests that Paphos 'before the earthquake which destroyed the castle (and much else), ... had a more important role in the political geography of Cyprus than it did after 1222, perhaps the second mint was originally at Paphos.'⁷⁰ The lack of documentary sources is not unknown for this period and until more evidence is found either by excavation, more coin hoards and their study for identifying marks this idea should not be dismissed.

The Paphos hoard of 525 coins was found by the Department of Antiquities in 1940 while doing clearance work in Kato Paphos, the location of the find is not mentioned. The coins were of Hugh III (1267-1284) and Henry II (1285-1306). Another hoard of 267 coins, of roughly the same date, was in the possession of J. R. Stewart, also from Paphos or its district. These two hoards seem to have been concealed at roughly the same date and are similar in their composition. Metcalf concludes that the coins were concealed sometime in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.⁷¹ The location of the find would provide important information regarding the topography of Paphos during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, if they were found in a domestic, administrative or industrial area.

The Polis hoard of 216 coins was found in the Lusignan building, built around 1200 and come from the second or third phase of the building, whose destruction has been suggested to have occurred around 1400.⁷² The building was not rebuilt and a well or cistern was also found to be full of polychrome glazed wares of this date. The hoard itself consists of 191 coins of the fourteenth century, silver gros grands and gros petits of the Lusignan kings and 25 foreign coins. The coin hoard seems to have been concealed in the fifteenth century, one coin already a hundred years old when buried, the majority minted

⁶⁸ Ibid, 11

⁶⁹ Ibid, 11

⁷⁰ Ibid, 13

⁷¹ Metcalf 2001, 359

⁷² Metcalf 1990, 241

before 1375⁷³ and also included three small silver-gilt crosses, four silver nails and a single silver loop or link of a chain.⁷⁴ The coins were found in a number of stacks and traces of cloth were found on three of them indicating that they were wrapped, the foreign coins had been in single stack on their own.⁷⁵ The Cypriot coins range in date over a hundred years.⁷⁶ The foreign coins come from Venice, Naples, Sicily and the Order of St. John at Rhodes.⁷⁷ These coins may possibly have belonged to a merchant, because of the number of foreign coins. Metcalf writes that the “coastal location of the find-spot allows us to speculate that it may have been concealed in haste, or that its owner may have failed to recover it because of some sudden act of violence... it is unusual, however, in that it includes 24 foreign coins. The fact that they had not been excluded from circulation, as was the official policy throughout the fourteenth century, may reflect a slackening of control at a time when the Nicosia mint had become relatively inactive...also, the find-spot is at some distance from the mint, in a district where foreign money could arrive by sea.”⁷⁸ This hoard shows that Polis was not isolated from the rest of the island and the presence of foreign coins may be attributable to routes taken either by land and sea, most likely the latter.

The Stavrokonnou hoard of over 800 coins was found in 1946, in a field by a villager. The coins were found in a ceramic jar.⁷⁹ Stavrokonnou is northeast of Paphos in the Xeros valley. The hoard also comprised two silver spoons and a pair of tweezers or tongs. The coins were those of Henry II, Hugh IV, Peter I, Peter II, James I, Janus, John II, Charlotte, Louis, James II, James III and Catherine, Catherine and some Venetian (1253-1489), mostly silver. They were hidden according to Metcalf in 1488 or soon after, within the Venetian period of rule on the island.⁸⁰ The coins that were a hundred years old were not overly worn at the time the hoard was hidden. The majority of the coins date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 131 of these being Venetian. Stavrokonnou was not an

⁷³ Ibid, 241

⁷⁴ Ibid, 242

⁷⁵ Ibid, 242

⁷⁶ Ibid, 254

⁷⁷ Ibid, 280-281

⁷⁸ Ibid, 254

⁷⁹ Metcalf 2000a, 1

⁸⁰ Ibid, 1

important village or casal during the medieval period yet a hoard of this size was found within its domain. Hoards seem to be commonly found in houses under floors or in fields, and split evenly between archaeological excavation and accidental discovery. The Stavrokonnou hoard found by accident in a field, begs the question of what else may be out in this area and if any benefit could have come from excavation of the find spot at the time of discovery.

The sites of Saranda Kolones and Kouklia are the two most important medieval sites in the Paphos region and are representative of the archaeological and historical period. These sites have been excavated with a view to the medieval period, articles have been published regularly by the excavators so information is available and they are both different to each other, one a castle and the other being industrial in nature. This difference is important many medieval monuments that survive are mainly churches or castles. Kouklia with its Manor House and sugar refineries provides more information on industry, in a period where it has not been much investigated. Kouklia provides material that dates from the thirteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century, the whole medieval period, giving a site that is continuous in use and habitation for almost the whole of the medieval period, an unusual situation in Medieval Cyprus. The continued use of the site and its importance in the area shows that the Paphos region was most likely not the backwater that it has been previously thought of. This site also being recorded in the written sources from the period, producing a site that can be studied both from archaeological and historical perspectives. Saranda Kolones gives information on the workings of a castle in Cyprus, where there is comparable material but no other excavation. Saranda Kolones as possibly the first original Lusignan foundation in Paphos, shows that the town at the beginning of the period was quite important and needed some measure of defense. The devastation of the castle by earthquake in 1222 has not yet been proven beyond doubt and this poses problems for the dating of ceramic material from the site and for the eastern Mediterranean region. If the castle was destroyed later in the thirteenth century, the chronology for medieval glazed ceramics must change. Written sources show that the castle is sporadically mentioned throughout the period and later. Some later sources from the Ottoman period are still able to identify the mound and the

castle, showing that to the observant traveler it was still identifiable. The cost of building such a castle would have been enormous and to let it fall into complete disuse after an earthquake would not seem likely. It must have continued to be used in a small way.

Fabrika, meanwhile, provides a small-scale look at an industrial site that is located in the town of Paphos. The other medieval sites in Paphos, Chrysopolitissa, the baths and the Latin Cathedral need either publication or excavation, much more could be learned from these sites if any work done on them had been published, a greater picture would emerge. It seems that the medieval occupation of Paphos moved from the site of the Roman occupation to the eastern half of the town and around the harbour, from the archaeological evidence that is available at present. With the exception of the Latin Cathedral and the finds from Garrison's Camp the majority of material found is on the other side of the modern road of Apostolou Pavlou. It is known from the sources that there was settlement on the hill above the town known as Ktima, but there are no remains to be seen today except for a bath house that was later modified in the Ottoman period. The Lusignan building in Polis Chrysochous needs to be published in a fuller form and with this a small indication of medieval Polis might appear. Domestic contexts for the medieval period in Cyprus are lacking and more work needs to be done in this area.

Conclusion

This thesis has been an attempt to create a picture of the Medieval period in western Cyprus, using the archaeological evidence and some written documents. Studying the written sources has provided information for certain periods of time and left gaps in others. The author did not come across any travellers' documents after Willibrand von Oldenburg (1211) mentioning Paphos or the rest of Cyprus for the rest of the thirteenth century, only some documents from Vatican archives relating to church matters. Archaeology must be used to fill the gaps for this period. Saranda Kolones, the well deposit from the theatre site at Fabrika and the pottery from the tomb on Icarou Street, all in Paphos give some information but other sites in the area need to be studied and published. These sites show that during the thirteenth century Paphos had not yet declined and the ceramics found at Fabrika and Icarou Street indicate that pottery workshops were active in Paphos itself as well as in Lemba. The later written sources provide more detailed descriptions of various buildings and places. The collection of documents in this thesis is not definitive of all the documents that deal with Paphos and Paphos region: it is an attempt to begin one. They have provided observations and information about the region that are now lost from the archaeological record. Documents relating to trade, government and the church provide useful information where the evidence does not survive.

The gazetteer shows that there are a number of important sites in the region and more work needs to be done from excavation to publication, and more interest taken in the period. In Paphos itself, the castle of Saranda Kolones is important for establishing chronology of pottery and architecture, and the churches of Chrysopolitissa and the Latin Cathedral indicate that Paphos was an important town in religious terms. The other sites, Garrison's Camp, Fabrika and the Tombs of the Kings which mainly date to earlier periods but have amounts of medieval finds above these earlier periods, also provide information about the use of the area and where possible occupation occurred. Some sites need to be excavated and some of those excavated need to be published so a bigger picture of the town of Paphos can emerge. What can be seen is that Paphos was not quite

the backwater it is thought to be, with two forts, two large Latin churches, a castle and a possibility of other sites the town was perhaps slightly more prosperous than first believed. From the archaeological material that remains today the main settlement of the town seems to have moved from the site of the Roman houses to the eastern side of the town, with the exception of the Latin Cathedral and Garrison's Camp which are further north of the Roman houses. It must be remembered that Paphos is the first coastal settlement of any significance to be reached if travelling from the West and generally speaking within the district. During the thirteenth century, at least, Paphos was more pre-eminant port on the island, until the collapse of Acre in 1291, after which Famagusta rose to importance. The production of ceramics in the town and the area, and their export to the east and west, at this time indicate that Paphos would have been quite prosperous. Within the district the Royal Manor House and sugar refineries at Kouklia, indicate that this region was significant. The south west coast with its fertile plains and good climate provides evidence of sugar refineries and from the sources the growth and production of cotton. These building complexes provide information on the industry of sugar production and are among only two other sugar producing sites that have been excavated on the island. With additional sugar plantations and possible refineries at Akhelia and Lemba, administration of the district would have occurred in Paphos. The town of Polis, to the north, would have played a similar but smaller role in that area. The surveys that have been completed provide more information for the district and indicate that although not densely populated there were a number of villages in the area during this period. Missing from this collection of information is the absence of any domestic building. The Theatre site at Fabrika is the best example so far, but the true definition of the site has yet to be concluded. There are many domestic items found, the Medieval Glazed ceramics and kitchen wares but they are not usually found in any secure contexts. Although there is a possible site for this in Paphos the wall and remains of a building in Stasandrou and Paphias Aphroditis Streets. The south west coast would have been busy with sugar and cotton production for almost the entire period. The Kouklia refinery installations were not destroyed until the end of the sixteenth century. The harbour of Paphos was still being used, even if in a limited fashion. Travellers were still passing through and ships were still being loaded with goods into the sixteenth century.

The relationship between the historical and archaeological record is one of mutual necessity. The medieval period in Cyprus cannot be studied fully if either the archaeology or written documents are excluded. The historical sources provide important information for aspects of the society of the medieval period that cannot be found in the archaeological record, the dress and customs that do not always survive, but they should not be relied upon exclusively to provide information. In the case of travellers, some descriptions are problematic. There is the common practice of copying previous descriptions and just creating a standard description that may last for years. Archaeological evidence is needed to balance the historical sources, sometimes it can answer certain questions posed by the written sources and other times it can contradict what is thought to be correct because of the written sources, as the case of Saranda Kolones shows. This castle, thought to have been destroyed in the earthquake of 1222, may now have lasted a little longer into the thirteenth century. The written sources do not provide much information on the region of Paphos, again mainly standard descriptions and it is doubtful that any travellers visited villages outside of Paphos, except for Kouklia.

The pattern that emerges for western Cyprus is one of occupation mainly along the south west coast, from Kouklia to Lemba and then inland villages and to the north, occupation in Polis and some small surrounding villages. Paphos was the main town for this whole area and the most likely administrative centre. It was the second most important bishopric on the island in Latin and Orthodox terms and towards the end of the Venetian occupation had a greater population than those of Kerynia, Larnaca and Limassol. It was the first place that travellers arrived to and the last place they left from, on the island. The town of Paphos seems to have been more than just a backwater, although never matching Nicosia in the thirteenth century and Famagusta, later, in importance, it nevertheless seems to have been occupied continuously throughout the medieval period. Kouklia, in relation to Paphos, was also important as one of the main sugar refineries in the area. Kouklia must be included with the villages of Akhelia, Lemba and Emba as sugar producing and refining sites, and its importance cannot be overestimated because of the abundance of its archaeological material and the lack of archaeological material from the

other villages. This is due to certain factors, the lack of interest, exploration, investigation and excavation of these sites. Polis may have been the northern equivalent of Paphos on a much smaller scale, but the archaeological and written sources are few and a clear picture of this area has yet to emerge.

The overall state of research for the written documents of this period is quite advanced. There are number of publications that have collected travellers' accounts, administrative records of the Lusignan and Venetian periods, ecclesiastic documents and merchants accounts of Cyprus. There is new material coming to light all the time but there is also a lack of material, travellers' accounts for the thirteenth century, which would provide important information. There are many documents that deal with the rest of Cyprus but less for Paphos and its district. This may also be a matter of survival of documents and current interests in research.

The state of medieval archaeology is different to that of the written sources it has only recently become popular in a small way on Cyprus, with the period experiencing a small revival. Kouklia and Saranda Kolones are amongst the two most important medieval sites on the whole island and contribute greatly to this period. The excavation of the sugar refineries of Kolossi and Episkopi have also contributed to medieval archaeology of the island. As illustrated in the gazetteer, there has been excavation of medieval material in Paphos but it has not been published and this is detrimental to the understanding of the period. Medieval material has been sitting in museum basements waiting to be published. The study of the medieval glazed ceramics has been quite popular in the last few years, but many publications are of museum collections that have little provenence and no stratigraphic evidence, with the exception of material from Kouklia and Saranda Kolones. Medieval glazed ceramics are not often found in secure stratigraphic deposits on the island. The study of Medieval numismatics is one area where the archaeology has not fallen behind, with several publications and full chronology established by Michael Metcalf. There is a lack of any purely domestic sites, such as houses or farmhouses and this creates a gap in the knowledge of the everyday for the period. This may be due to the non-survival of such evidence, but more research needs to be done in this area. At the

time of completion, the remains of the Lusignan Palace were discovered and tentatively identified in Nicosia. This excavation will provide important information on all aspects of life in this period and is significant for the whole island. The fact that many of the best preserved buildings of the medieval period lie on the northern half of the island has pushed archaeologists to look for any remains in the south to the advantage of the study of the period. The study of churches and their decoration have been one of the most heavily published areas of this period, but the publications mainly deal with the Greek Orthodox churches and only a few with the Latin remains, of those it is the better preserved examples in the north of the island, in Nicosia and Famagusta. Architecture of the medieval period on the island has only been discussed in the most general terms with Enlart's book still the most important reference even now. The lack of interest has been disadvantageous to the study of Medieval archaeology on the island and Cyprus is only now catching up with the study of the Crusader period in the Holy Lands. To remedy this situation, more publication of already excavated sites needs to be undertaken, more survey to identify sites for future excavation needs to be carried out. Using the written sources and the archaeological material together will help to create a greater understanding of the Medieval period, for Paphos and for the whole of Cyprus.

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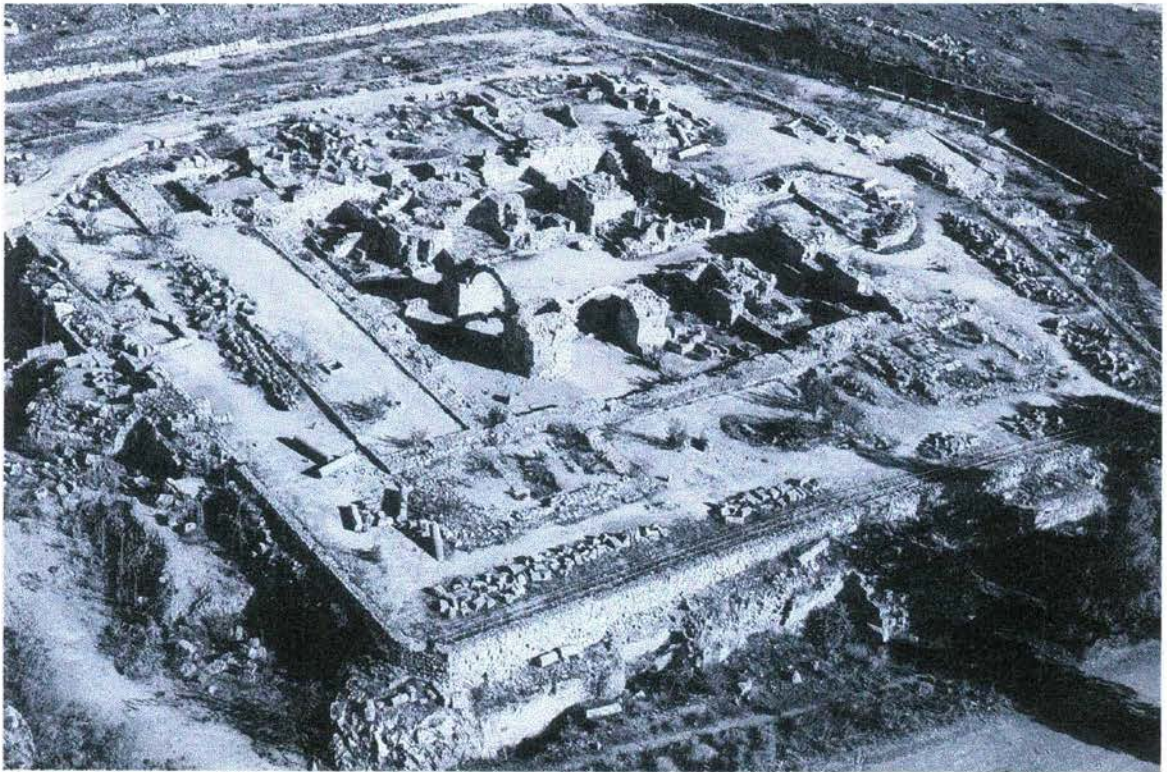
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1a Aerial view of Saranda Kolones (taken from a postcard)



1b Saranda Kolones: courtyard (photograph by the author)



2a Saranda Kolones: apsidal tower with columns (photograph by the author)



2b Saranda Kolones: vaulting and piers for the undercrofts (photograph by the author)



3 Saranda Kolones: pier with latrine (photograph by the author)



4a Saranda Kolones: stable facing south (photograph by the author)



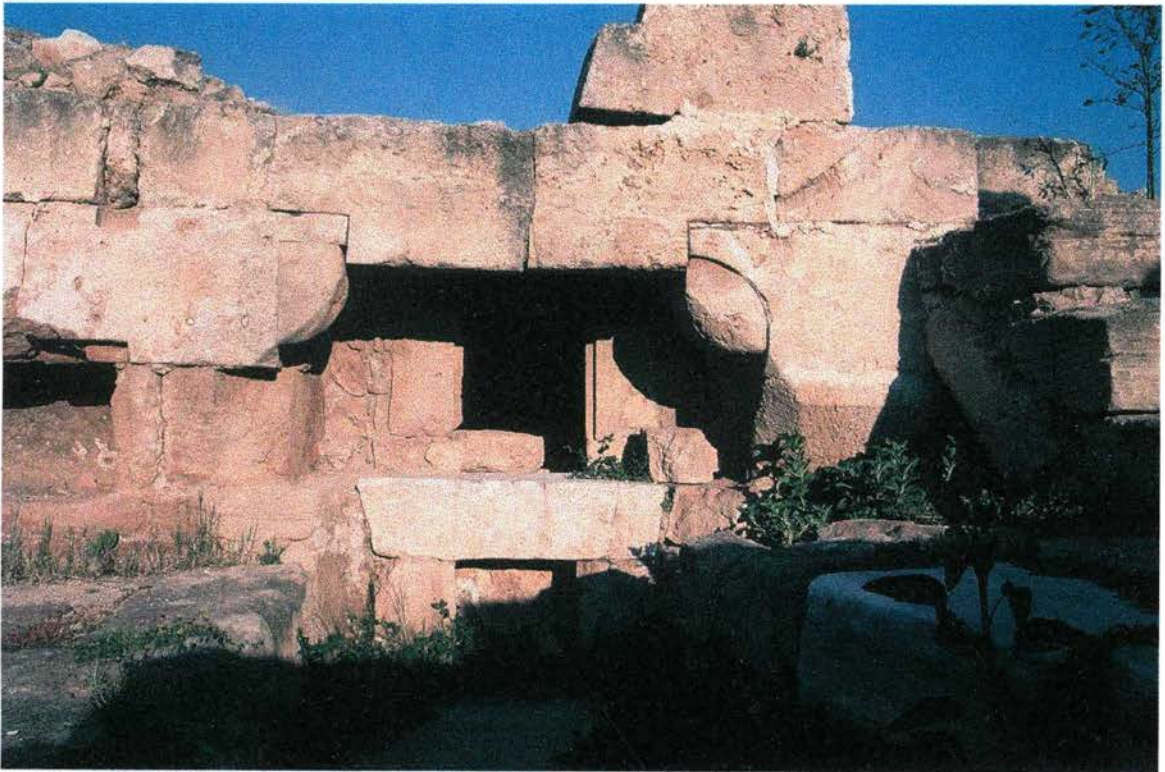
4b Saranda Kolones: stable with reused columns (photograph by the author)



5a Saranda Kolones: forge (photograph by the author)



5b Saranda Kolones: graffiti of a boat on forge wall (photograph by the author)



6a Saranda Kolones: stoking chamber (photograph by the author)



6b Saranda Kolones: stoking chamber with staircase (photograph by the author)



7a Saranda Kolones: the mill room facing south opposite the stables (photo by the author)



7b Saranda Kolones: mill room facing north (photograph by the author)



8a Saranda Kolones: graffiti on the door post of the mill room (photograph by the author)



8b Saranda Kolones: mason's mark on the south west pier (photograph by the author)



9a Chrysopolitissa: the Gothic church facing west (photograph by the author)

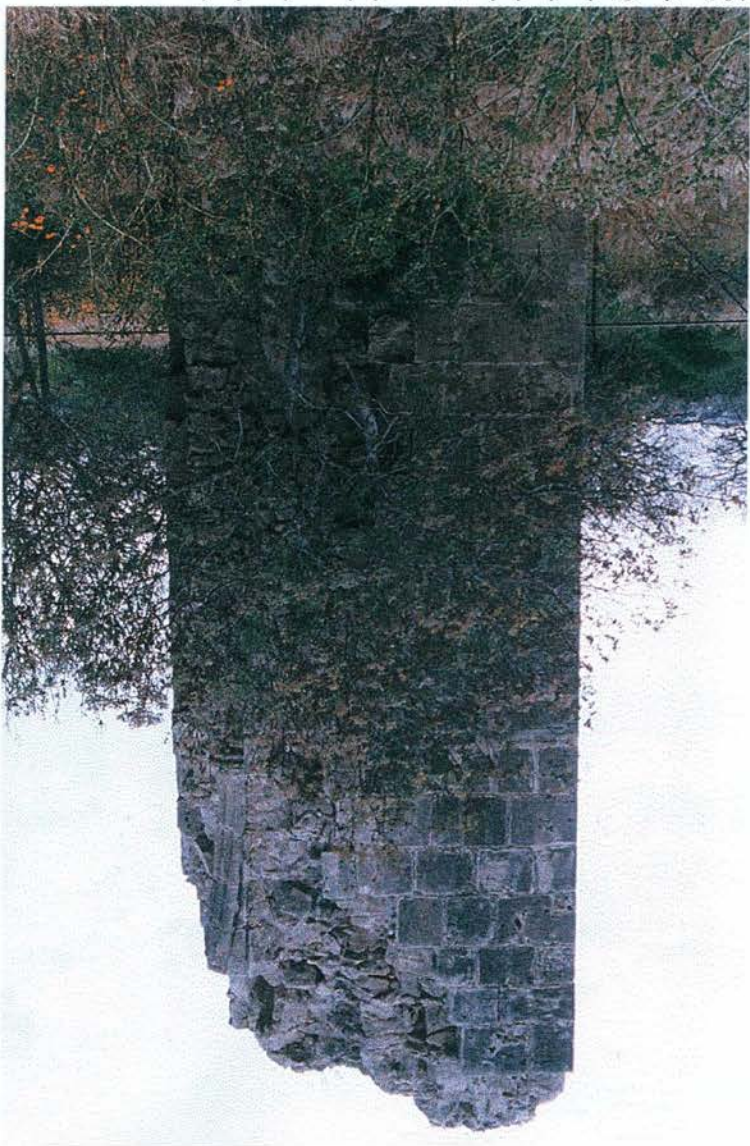


9b Chrysopolitissa: the Gothic church facing south (photograph by the author)



10 Limestone angel found at the Franciscan Church, height: 93cm
(after Maier and Karageorghis 1984)

10 Latin Cathedral: last remaining pier facing west
(photograph by the author)



11 Latin Cathedral: detail of vaulting rib (photograph by the author)





13a Latin Cathedral: possible keystone depicting an eagle (photograph by the author)



13b Latin Cathedral: one of the many worked blocks on the site (photo by the author)



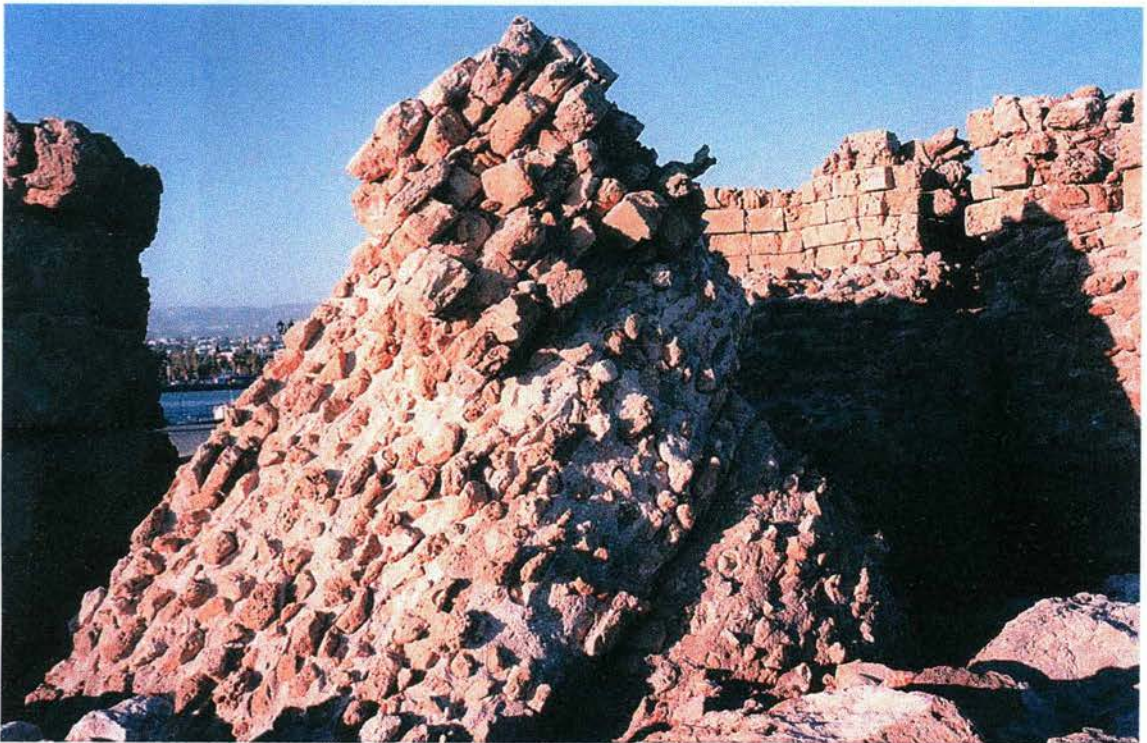
14a The Latin Cathedral viewed Saranda Kolones facing north east (photo by the author)



14b The Latin Cathedral viewed from the modern road facing west (photo by the author)



15a Paphos Fort (photograph by the author)



15b Remains of the second fort or tower by the harbour (photograph by the author)

16 View of Paphos Fort from remains of second fort or tower
(photograph by the author)





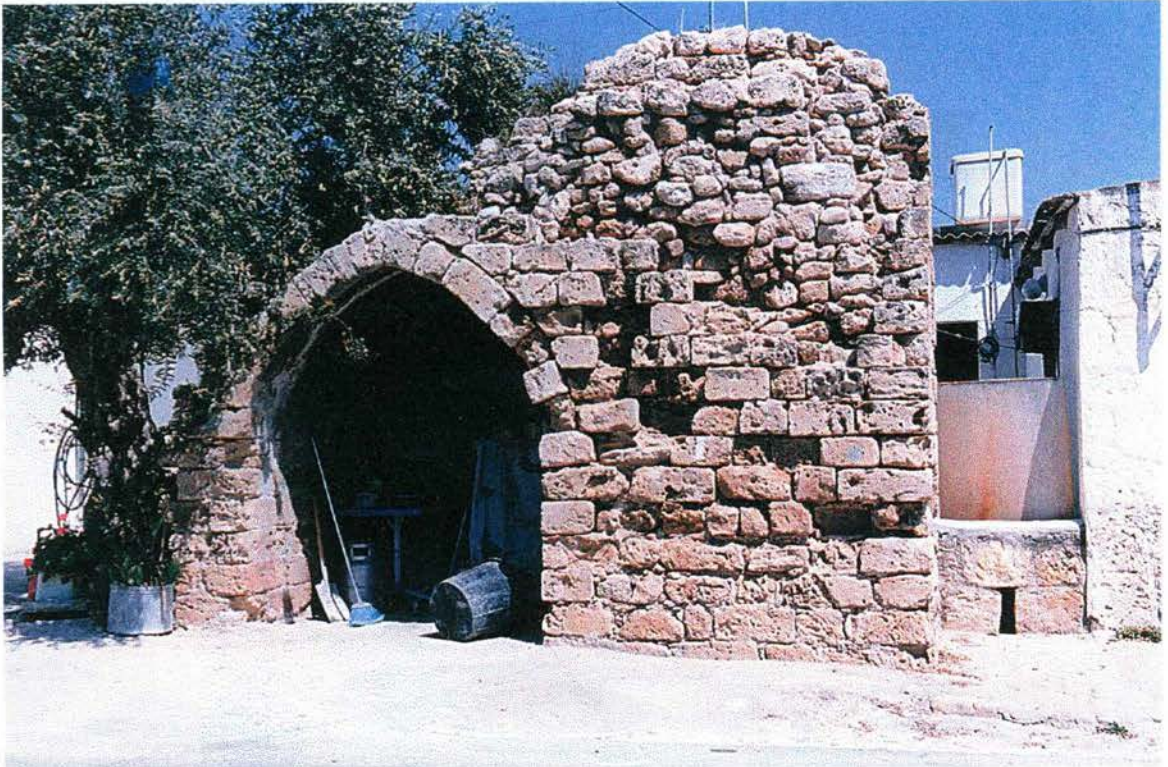
17a Remains of a wall on Stasandrou Street facing west (photograph by the author)



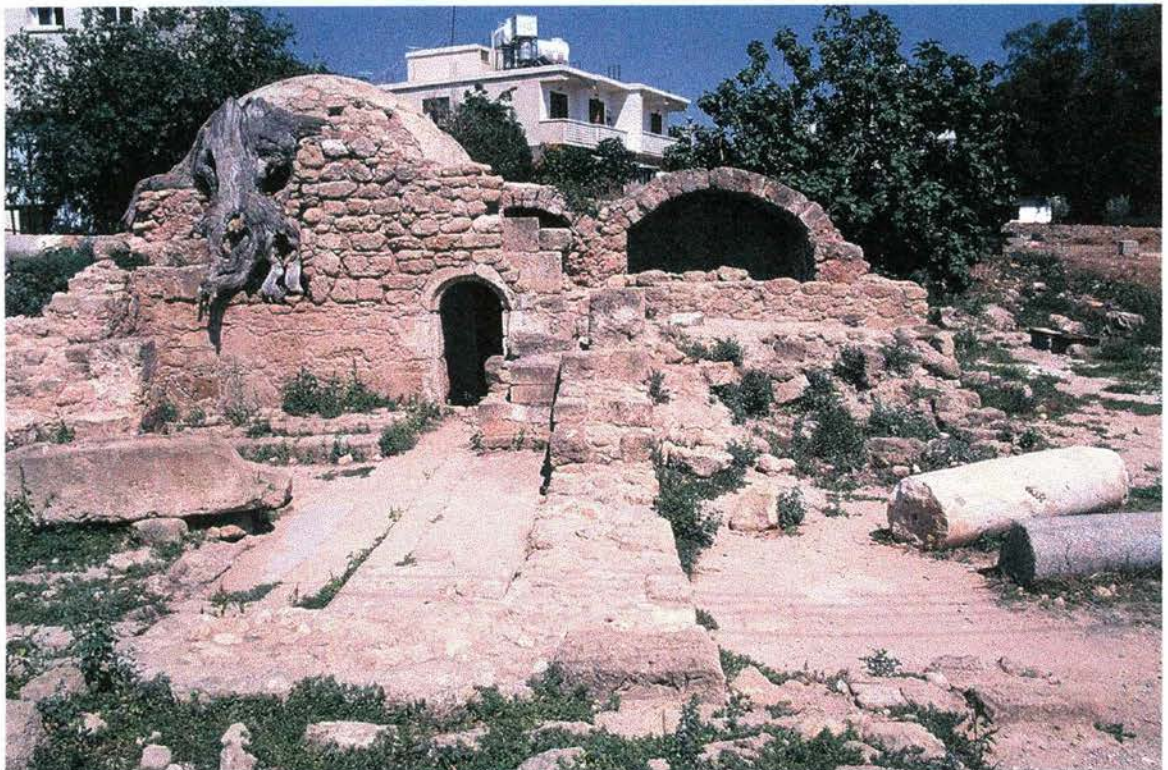
17b Remains of a wall on Stasandrou Street (photograph by the author)



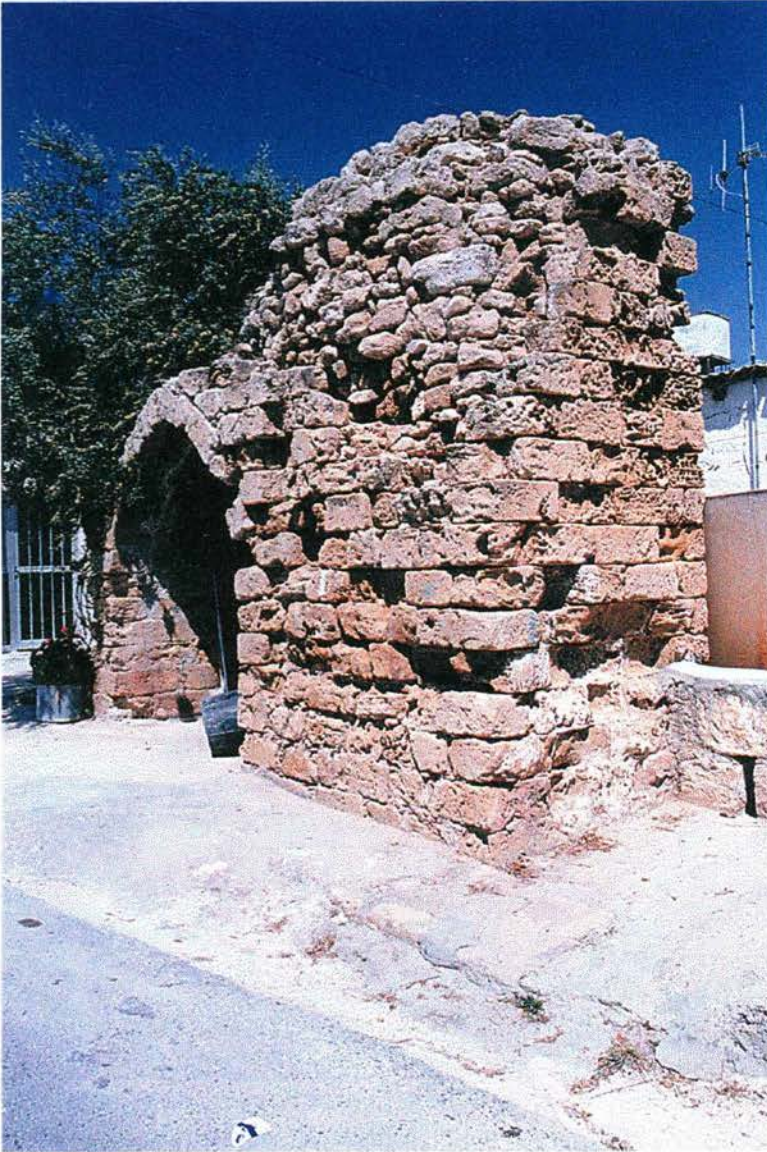
18 Stasandrou Street wall indicating a possible doorway
(photograph by the author)



19a Remains of a building on Paphias Aphroditis Street (photograph by the author)



19b Baths to the north of Chrysopolitissa facing east (photograph by the author)



20 Remains of a building in Paphias Aphroditis Street
(photograph by the author)

27 Detail of arched room in the building on Paphias Aphroditis Street (photograph by the author)





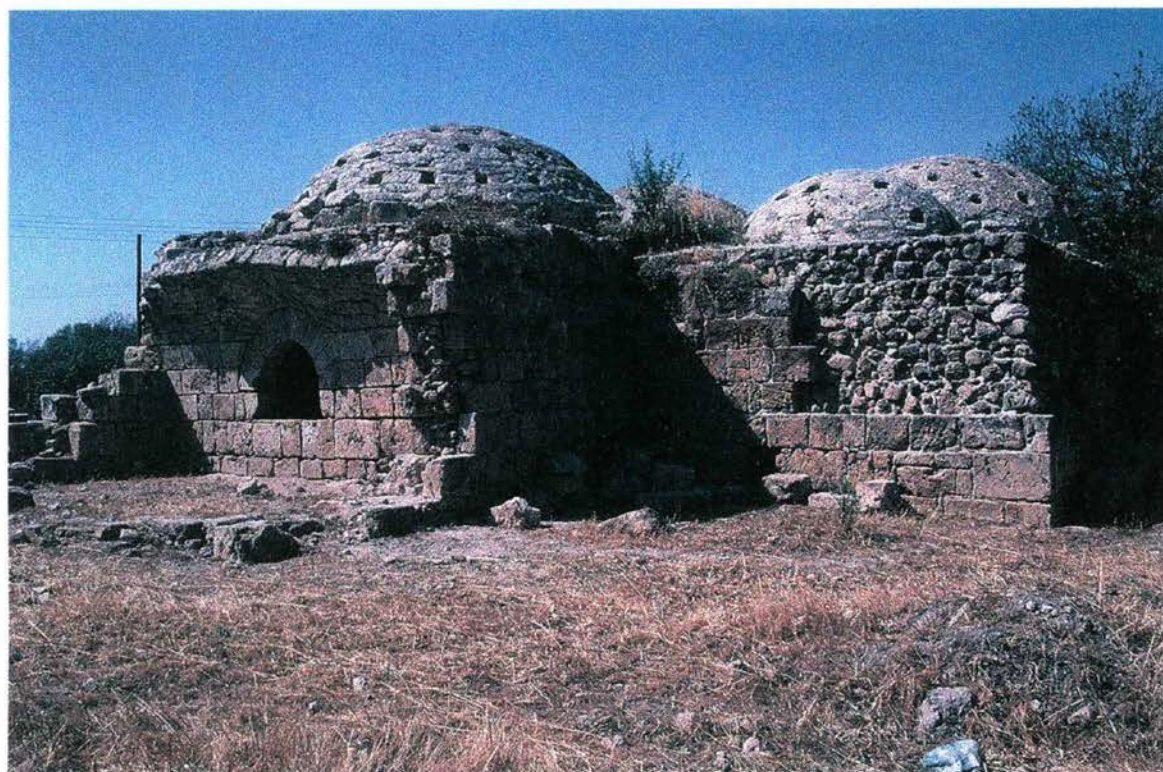
22a Decorated block lying outside the Chrysopolitissa Baths (photograph by the author)



22b Ceiling of the Baths to the north of Chrysopolitissa (photograph by the author)



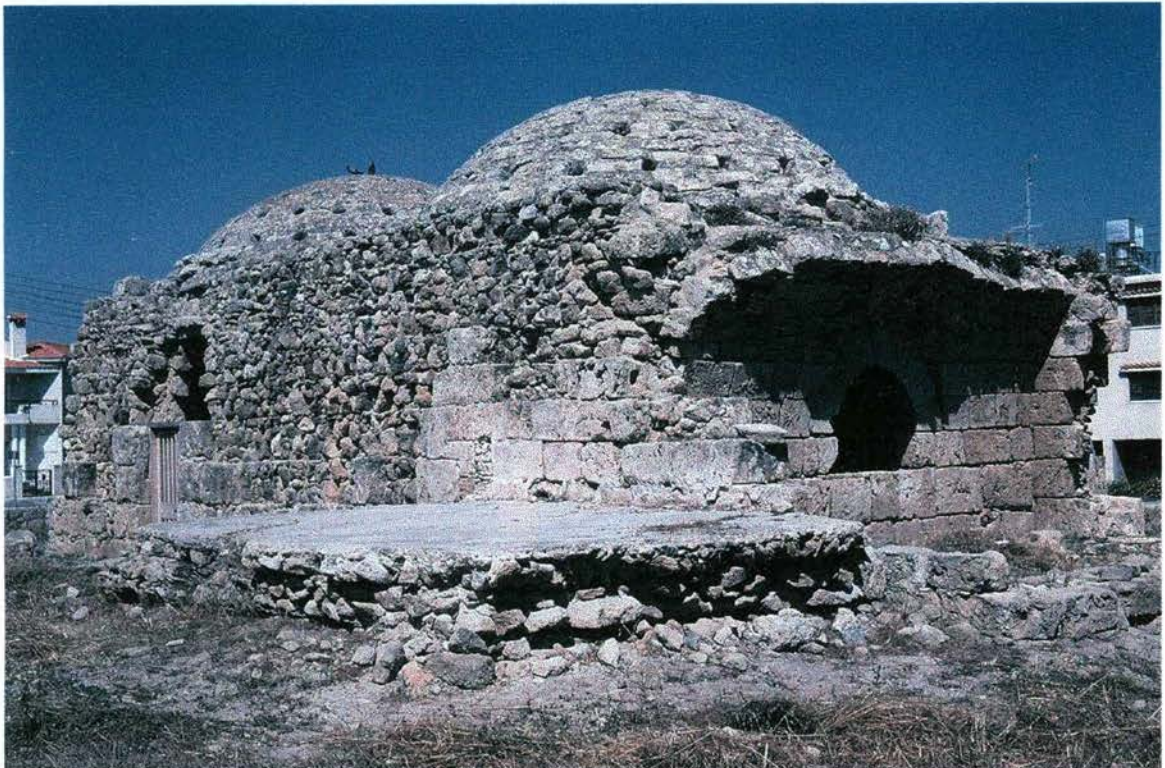
23a Frankish Baths facing east (photograph by the author)



23b Frankish Baths facing north (photograph by the author)



24a Frankish Baths showing remains of another two rooms (photograph by the author)



24b Frankish Baths (photograph by the author)



25a Tombs of the Kings: Tomb 5 Kiln (photograph by the author)



25b Tombs of the Kings: Tomb 5 Kiln (photograph by the author)



26a Tombs of the Kings: cross on a pillar in Tomb 5 (photograph by the author)



26b Ayia Solomoni: detail of Crusader graffiti on the walls (photograph by the author)

27 Ayaia Solomoni: graffiti (photograph by the author)





28a Paphos Harbour: Paphos Fort and Harbour Tower are visible (photo by the author)



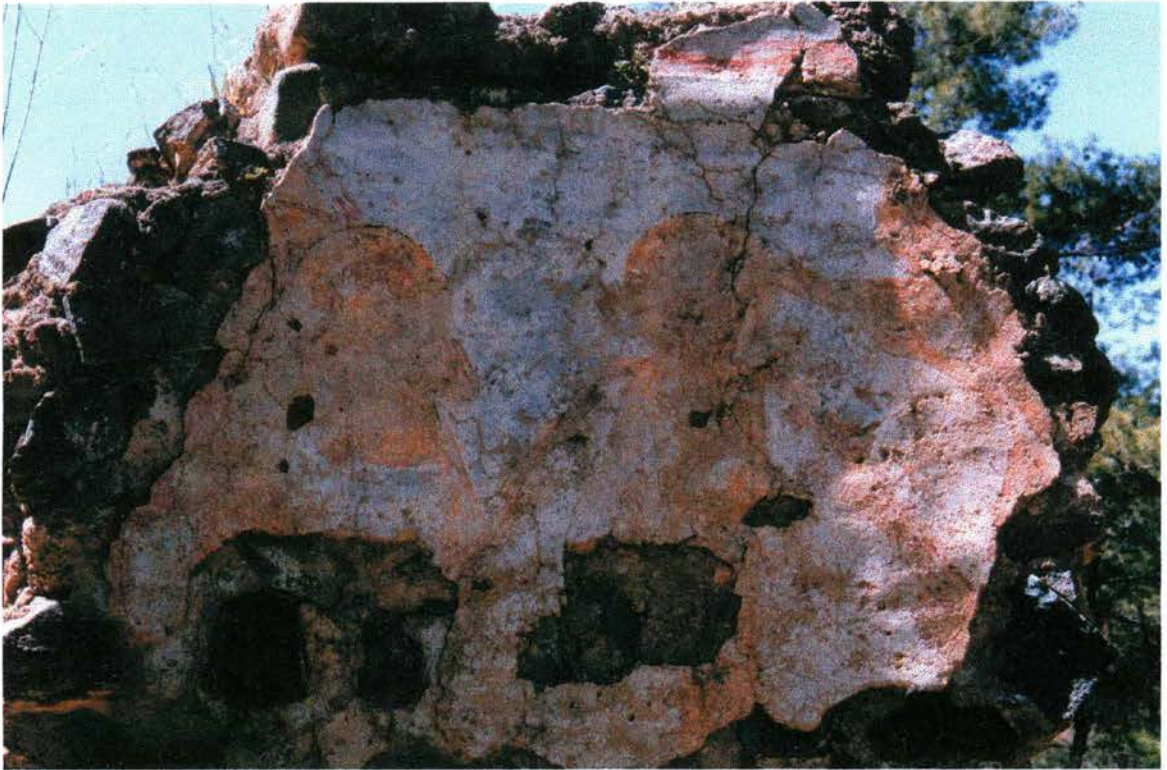
28b Paphos Harbour: ancient and modern from Saranda Kolones (photo by the author)



29a Saranda Kolones from the ancient harbour (photograph by the author)



29b Yialia: remains of a monastery or abbey (photograph by the author)



30a Yialia: detail of wall painting, two saints (photograph by the author)



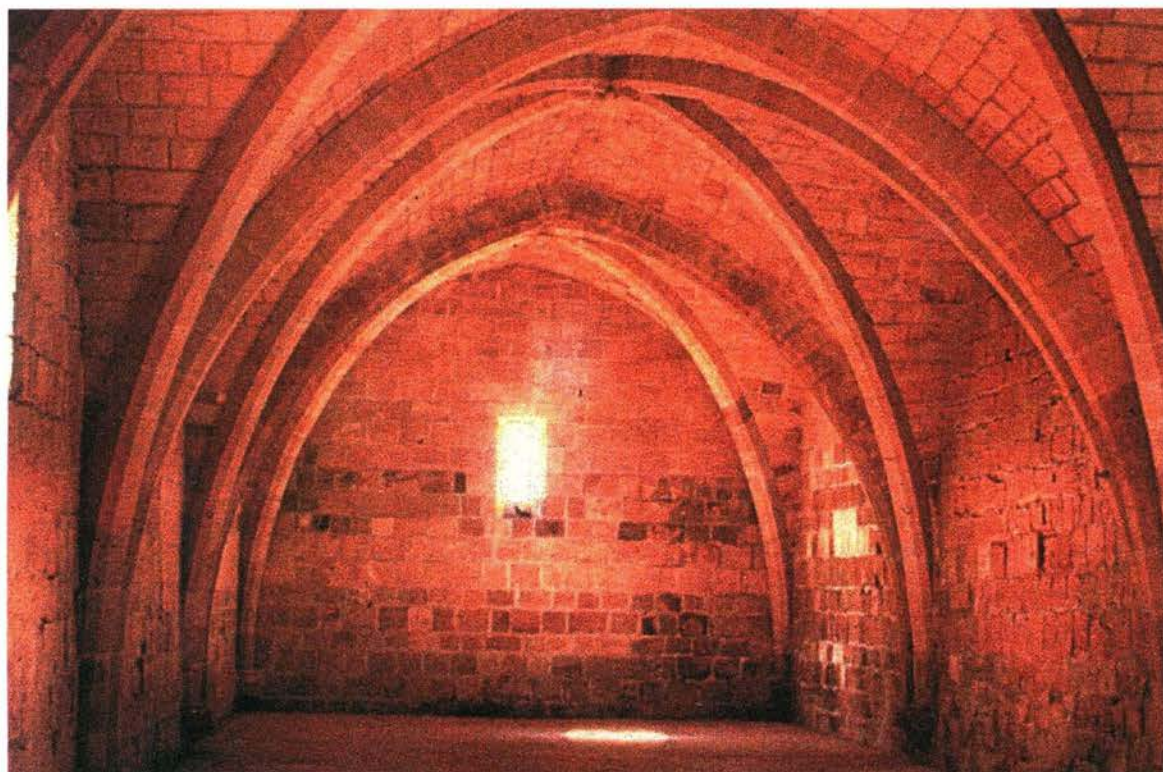
30b Yialia: a possible Georgian inscription on one of the buttresses (photo by the author)



31a Kouklia: Royal Manor House South Wing (photograph by the author)



31b Kouklia: Royal Manor House entrance to the Gothic Hall (photograph by the author)

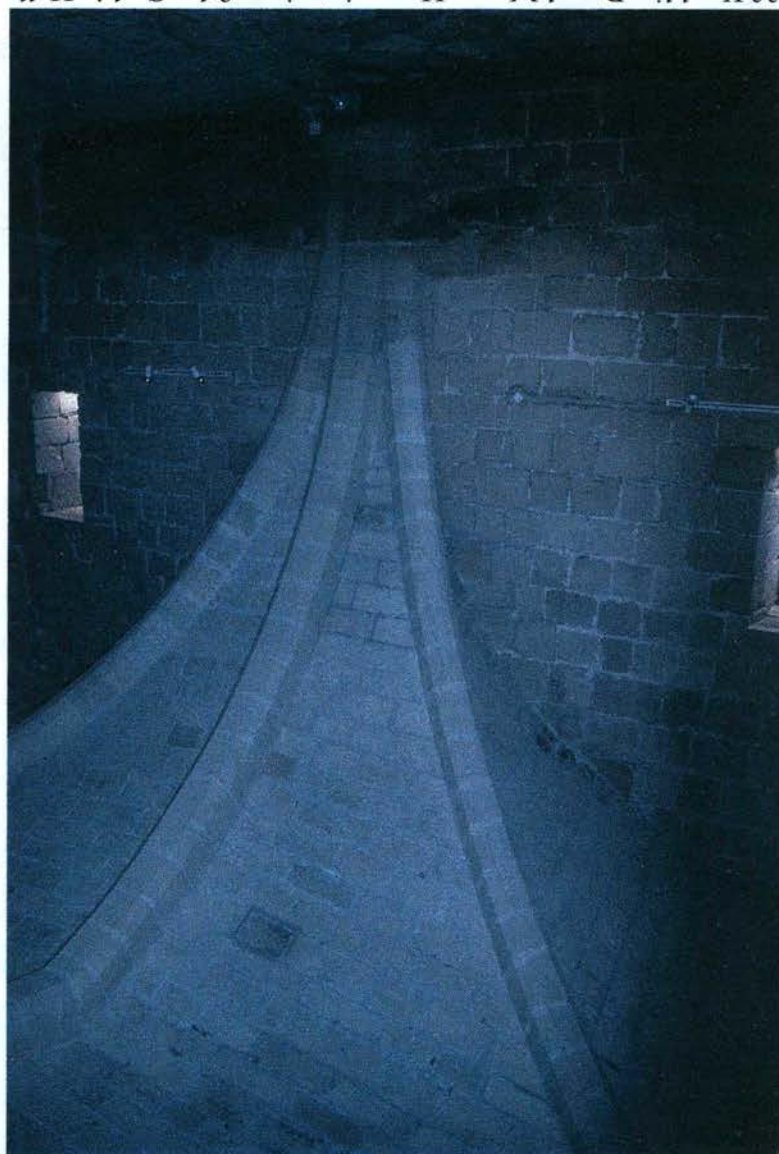


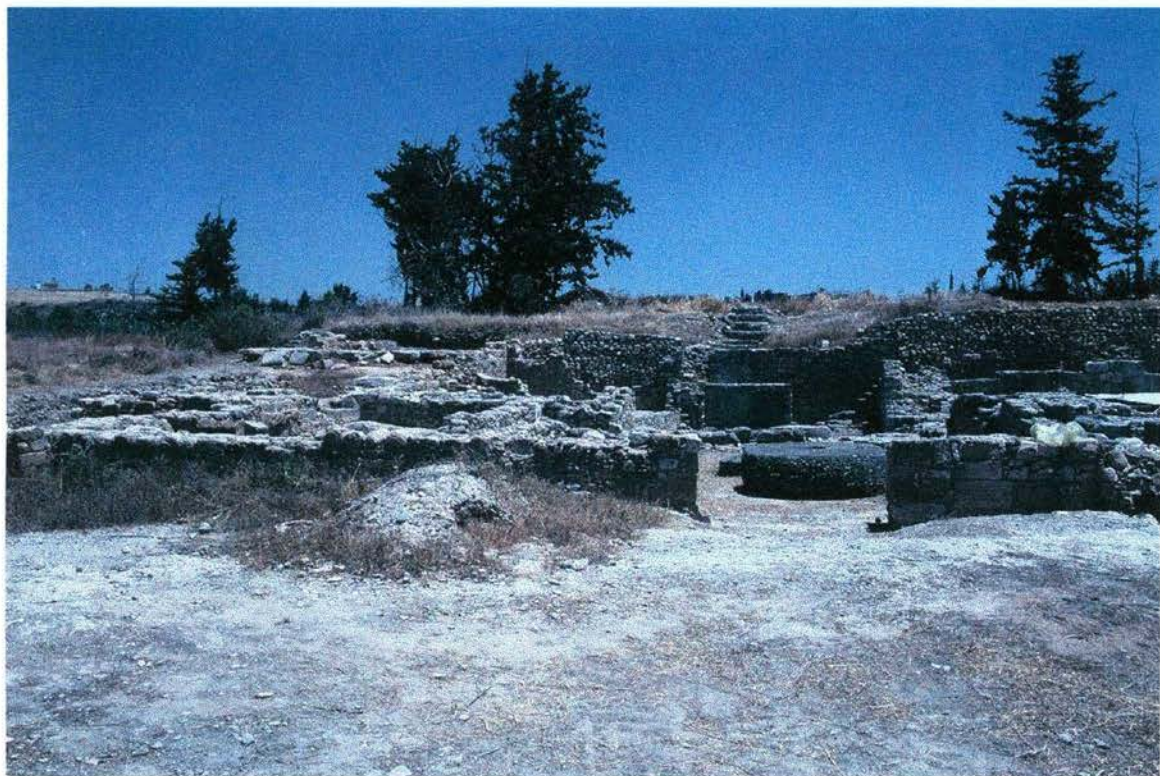
32a Kouklia: Royal Manor House Gothic Hall (after Maier and Karageorghis 1984)



32b Kouklia: Royal Manor House Gothic Hall keystone (photograph by the author)

33 Kouklia: Royal Manor House interior of the Gothic Hall
(photograph by the author)





34a Kouklia: Refinery area TST I (photograph by the author)



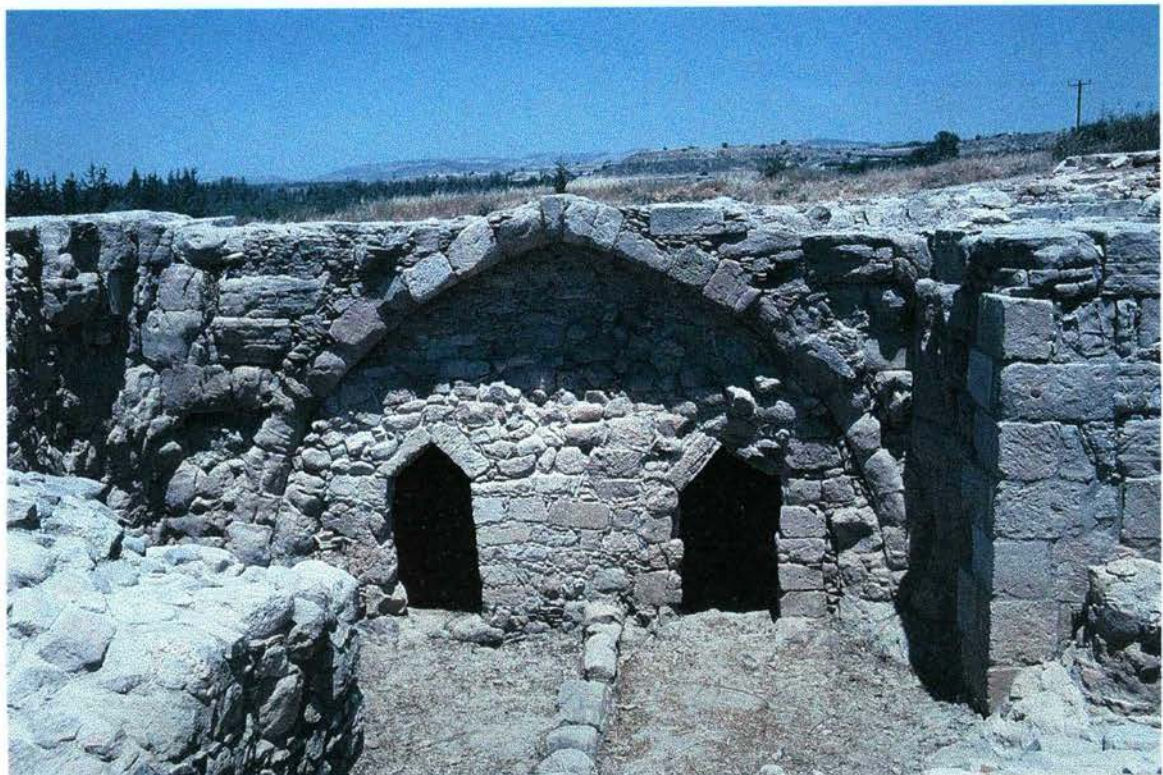
34b Kouklia: view of the grinding hall facing east (photograph by the author)

35 Kouklia: Refinery, conglomerate millstones in the grinding
hall (photograph by the author)





36a Kouklia: Refinery subterranean grinding chamber (photograph by the author)



36b Kouklia: Refinery one of the fire chambers (photograph by the author)



37a Kouklia: Refinery, view of ramp leading to the stoking areas (photo by the author)



37b Kouklia: Refinery, room under the floor of 15th & 16th centuries (photo by author)



38a Kouklia: Types of sugar moulds and jars (after Maier and Karageorghis 1984)



38b Fabrika: mason's mark on foundation for stage building (photograph by the author)



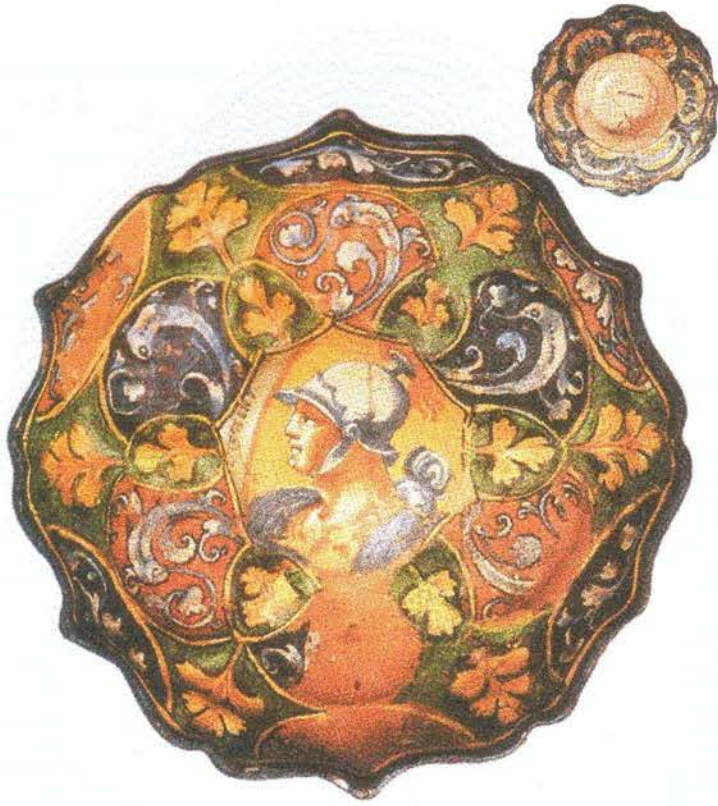
39 Fabrika: worked stone from well (photograph by the author)



40a Green and Brown Slip-Painted Bowl from Chrysopolitissa
(after Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998)



40b Sgraffito Bowl from Chrysopolitissa (after Papanikola- Bakirtzis
1996)



41a Maiolica Bowl from Chrysopolitissa 16th century (after Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998)



42 Tombstone in Paphos Museum head and torso of young man (photograph by the author)