

THE HISTORY OF CYPRUS



CHAPTER I

THE FRANKISH FOUNDATION

GUY AND AIMERY DE LUSIGNAN (1192–1205)

Before we proceed to the next epoch in the history of Cyprus, it will be well to try and form some idea of the state of the island at the time of its passing into the hands of a French dynasty, and of the immediate effects of that change. What were the constituents of its population, in respect of nationality, religion and social status, and in what sense were these to develop in the next three centuries; which were the cities and ports, and which were the religious establishments and the places of military importance in existence at the time and destined to play a part in the coming age?

Of the racial and religious elements which went to make up the population¹ of Cyprus at the time when it passed out of the hands of the Byzantines, by far the largest was of course Graeco-Cypriote. The Arabs, in spite of their frequent incursions, had left no trace, if they had ever settled there in any numbers.²

The Syrians, who at various times had found their way thither, became, so far as language, religion and manners were concerned, entirely fused with the Greeks.³ Under the Lusignans they enjoyed the separate

¹ M.L., *H.* 1, Ch. v; Hackett, pp. 522–34; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 65–78. Stubbs (*Seventeen Lectures*, p. 187) exaggerates when he speaks of 'flight of the Greek population which had begun under Isaac and had been completed after the massacre of Nicosia'. The account of the various sects given by Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 34sq., and *Descr.* ff. 71sq., is especially valuable, although it is not always possible to distinguish the earlier conditions from those prevailing in his own time. He has been fully used by Hackett.

² Almost certainly Arabic place-names are Kantara and Komi Kebir (Vol. 1, p. 272, n. 1).

³ *Constitutio Cypria* of Alexander IV, 1260; Raynaldus, 1260, p. 67, § 50.

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jurisdiction of a *Reis* appointed by the King at Nicosia, and, as late as the fifteenth, and probably even in the sixteenth, century, at Famagusta.¹ But most of these Syrians were probably later arrivals, rather than survivors of early immigrations. They were for the most part settled in the towns, though the locality Syrianochori (in the Morphou district) may have been an agricultural settlement.

The Armenians,² on the other hand, never lost their national identity, As we have seen (Vol. I, p. 281), people of that race were settled in the island as early as the sixth century. That immigration was involuntary; but later, with the rise of the state of Armeno-Cilicia in the eleventh century, communication between that kingdom and Cyprus, though by no means always friendly (Vol. I, pp. 306f.), must have led to Armenian immigration into the island. There were Armenians in the army which Isaac Comnenus opposed to Richard Lion Heart,³ and Armenians are mentioned early in the thirteenth century along with the Greeks, as making up the subject population, in a way which implies that they had not settled there recently.⁴ A memory of an early settlement is preserved in the name of Armenochori, a village (now Turkish) near Limassol, which was taken from the Templars and transferred to the Hospitallers in 1307.⁵ But more important was the quarter of Nicosia, between the Konak Square and the Paphos Gate, known as *Armenia*, a name which it still bears.⁶ In the middle of the sixteenth century the

¹ In the capitulation of Famagusta in 1464, § 8, it is agreed that the Greek burgesses shall have *la loro corte de Suriani* (Fl. Bustron, p. 412). Something must here have fallen out of the text. From Lusignan (*Chor. f. 81; Descr. f. 216b*) it is clear that the Greeks and Latins were specifically excluded from the court of the Reis.

² On the Armenians in Cyprus, see Palmieri in Vacant-Mangenot, *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* II, col. 2467; Papken I, *Hai-Kibros* (Antilias-Lebanon, 1936). I have to thank Dr H. A. Utidjian for a copy, and translations of certain parts, of this little work.

³ M.L., *H.* III, p. 592.

⁴ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 1211; *Exc. Cypr.* p. 13. In spite of his contemptuous description, the Armenians seem to have been favoured by the Lusignans; they were too clever in commerce to be neglected, and their religious beliefs made them sympathize more with Latins than with Greeks. (M.L., *H.* I, p. 106. Cp. Hackett, pp. 523 f.)

⁵ M.L., *H.* II, p. 110. Three villages mentioned by Lusignan in 1573 as inhabited by Armenians now show no trace of them.

⁶ Sir H. Luke, *More Moves on an Eastern Chequerboard* (1935), p. 182. The Armenian church in Nicosia (Surp Asvadzadzin), a fourteenth-century building, came into the hands of the Armenians before the Turkish conquest. The Turks used it as a salt-store, but afterwards handed it back to the Armenians as a reward for their help in the capture of Nicosia. Mustafa Pasha, as will be seen, employed in the sieges of Nicosia and

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sect had bishops in Nicosia and Famagusta. The latter, however, though of Armenian birth, was of the Roman religion, and a Dominican, Br. Julian by name. Before his time the Armenians in Cyprus had recognized as head of their Church the Armenian Patriarch, who resided in Cilicia. Julian made them transfer their obedience to the Roman Church.¹

The connexion of the Maronites,² the most numerous Christian sect in Cyprus after the native Orthodox Church, with the Mardaites of the Byzantine historians (Vol. I, p. 287) is extremely doubtful, and the earliest evidence of their presence in the island dates from the twelfth century, when, as we have seen (Vol. I, p. 305), in 1121 and 1141 the abbots of the monastery of St John Chrysostom at Koutzoventi were appointed by Maronite patriarchs.³ After this there is no record of Maronites in the island until the thirteenth century, the last immigration from Syria having perhaps taken place at the end of the twelfth century. They seem to have settled not in the towns, but chiefly in the mountains to the north of Nicosia. Their chief centre, Tala or Attalia in the Karpas, seems to be no more traceable. Their numbers, once very large,

Famagusta a great body of Armenian sappers; but, as regards the Armenian inhabitants of Nicosia, there is a tradition that they assisted the besiegers, opening the Paphos Gate to them, and that as a reward they were entrusted with the keeping of one of the city gates (*Hai-Kibros*, pp. 27, 87; information from Dr Utidjian). The church has been identified with the Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady of Tyre, which was the only nunnery of the Latins in the time of Lusignan (Enlart, I, p. 145. Cp. below, p. 29, n. 5). Pagouran, (*Kipros Gueghzi*, 1903, pp. 63, 68) quotes a firman ordering Muzaffer Pasha, Beylerbey of Cyprus, to return to the Armenians the church called 'Tartougha', which they had previously owned, after it had been emptied of the salt. They were not to be allowed to add to the structure. The date is Zi'lhijje 978 (27 Apr.–25 May 1571). The Latin Archbishop is said to have laid a curse on the Armenians that they should never increase to more than forty families. On medieval Armenian churches in Nicosia, still unidentified, see Mogabgab, *Supp. Exc.* II, p. 87. The Armenian church in Famagusta is of the fourteenth century. See Enlart, I, pp. 142 ff., 365 ff., for this and the Nicosia church; also Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 50 ff., 143 f.; cp. for that at Famagusta his *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, no. 4, p. 37. The church in Famagusta was known as the 'Cathedral of the Mother of God, the Caller' (Mogabgab, *op. cit.* p. 55).

¹ Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 73.

² M.L., *H.* I, pp. 106–11; Hackett, pp. 527–9; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 70–3; *Hdb.* pp. 52 f.

³ But afterwards the monastery came to depend on that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

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though the estimate of 180,000 is incredible, may have been under the last of the Lusignans 7000 or 8000, occupying some thirty villages.¹ The most interesting monument connected (though only by tradition) with the Maronites is the fourteenth-century church of St Anne at Famagusta.²

The Jacobites,³ representing the Monophysite heresy which had been condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, were of sufficient importance in Cyprus in 1222 to be included by Honorius III in the order which he gave to enforce on them, with the Syrians and the Nestorians, obedience to the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia. It is likely, therefore, that they had penetrated into Cyprus before the Latin occupation, but as to this we have no trustworthy information.⁴

The Nestorians or Chaldaeans⁵ were included with the Jacobites in the order of Honorius III mentioned above. A bishop sometimes resided in the island; otherwise they were under the Metropolitan of Tarsus, himself subordinate to the Patriarch of Baghdad. They were to be of great importance in the fourteenth century, when they built the church at Famagusta identified with that known to the Greeks as A. Georgios Xorinos,⁶ and recently handed over to the Orthodox community.⁷

The Jews had certainly come back to Cyprus in some numbers before the end of the twelfth century. The edict prohibiting their return after the Revolt of 115 must soon have become ineffectual (Vol. I, pp. 241f.). The earliest⁸ testimony to their presence in the Middle Ages seems to be that of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the island between 1160 and

¹ Lusignan (*Chor. f.* 34 b; cp. *Descr. f.* 73) says the Maronites were the most numerous sect in the island, after the Greeks, and occupied 30 (33) *casali*. Under the Turks, at the end of the sixteenth century, they were scattered about nineteen villages or farms (Dandini in Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 182). From the latter years of that century they were closely connected with the Communion of Rome.

² Enlart, I, pp. 347–55; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 140, and *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, no. 4, p. 39.

³ M.L., *H.* I, pp. 112f.; Hackett, pp. 525f.; Papaïoannou, III, p. 69.

⁴ Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* II, 1421, gives two Jacobite bishops in Cyprus in the 7th–8th centuries (Hackett, p. 526); after this there is no record until the 13th century.

⁵ M.L., *H.* I, p. 112; Hackett, p. 529; Papaïoannou, III, p. 73.

⁶ Enlart, I, pp. 356ff.; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 144f.; Dawkins on Machaeras, 93.

⁷ Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 144, with a characteristic footnote.

⁸ Except that a scholar, Moses of Cyprus, is said to have acted as arbitrator between Armenians and Greeks in the eleventh century (*Jewish Encycl.* s.v. Cyprus).

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1173, and who tells us that besides the orthodox Jews there is a community of heretic Jews called Cyprians. They are Epicureans, and excommunicated by the Jews everywhere. They profane the evening of the Sabbath and keep holy that of the Sunday. These heretics are also mentioned by Abraham Ibn Ezra, who in the middle of the eleventh century wrote refuting the books which they had composed in defence of their tenets.¹ Since Benjamin found not only orthodox but heretic Jews, the total number must have been considerable. From the fourteenth century onwards, as we shall see, they must have been flourishing.

Many other races² and languages were represented in the island, since pilgrims of all countries passed through it, so that 'the tongues of every nation under heaven are heard and read and talked; and all are taught in special schools'.³ This in the middle of the fourteenth century. In the Byzantine period, Greek (for communicating with Byzantium) and 'Syrian' (Syriac, for the Patriarch of Antioch) had sufficed for official purposes. But after the Frankish settlement, men 'began to learn French, and barbarized their Greek into what it is to-day', says Machaeras in the fifteenth century, 'and we write French and Greek so that in the world there is no one who can say what language we use'.⁴ In the sixteenth century the Babel of tongues had become even more confused.

It seems clear, from the slight indications given above, mostly inferences from conditions at a later date, that, with the possible exception of the Armenians, the only people with whom the new Latin regime at

¹ Rapaport in Asher's ed. of Benjamin of Tudela, II, p. 56. He points out that, in calling them Epicureans (*Apicorossin*, which in the language of the Talmud would imply exclusion from the Jewish community), Benjamin is punning on *Kaphrasin*, Cyprians. See also M. N. Adler's ed. of the *Itinerary* (1907), p. 15. Ibn Ezra visited Cyprus before he went to England in 1158. Kyprianos (p. 95) is of course wrong when he says that the Jews had never returned to Cyprus. There were 2000 in Famagusta alone in Lusignan's time; Cotovicus (p. 93) found many at Lemesos in 1598; but they rapidly decreased later, and by Pococke's time (1738, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 269) they must have disappeared altogether. De Vezin (end of 18th cent., *ibid.* p. 368) confirms that they were strictly excluded. Cp. Palmieri, col. 2468.

² Of the gypsies who were there in the sixteenth century (Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 71; M.L., H. I, p. 114) there are now none left. Mrs Scott-Stevenson (*Our Home in Cyprus*, 1880, p. 254) describes them as being often met with in Cyprus in her time.

³ Ludolf of Sudheim, in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 20. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 158, II, p. 112. It is interesting to note that, when Henry II was carried off by the Lord of Tyre, his mother Queen Isabel cursed in a mixture of French, Arabic and Greek (Amadi, p. 322).

⁴ Machaeras, 158. See also below, Ch. XVII, p. 1106.

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its beginning had seriously to reckon were the Greek-speaking Cypriotes of the Orthodox Communion.¹ Of this fact, as already observed,² one obtains no true picture from the great legislative monument of Frankish Cyprus, the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, which reproduces the conditions of the kingdom for which they were first drawn up, and where the Syrians and Arabs were by far the most important people after the ruling class, the Greeks and Armenians being regarded as hardly worthy of notice. In the documents which were drawn up in Cyprus, on the other hand, the picture is in truer proportion to the relative importance of the various peoples.

Yet it must be remembered that between the French ruling class and the natives there never came about any such general fusion as the Normans effected in England and Sicily.³ For a man like Philip de Novare, representative of the chivalry of the realm, the Cypriotes seem hardly to exist. The Normans, on the other hand, and the peoples whom they conquered, had all come within the sphere of Latin civilization and the Roman Church, and knew no such causes of religious animosity as made an impassable gulf between the French rulers of Cyprus and their Greek subjects.

Our historians, being chiefly concerned with the affairs of courts and war, give little or no information of the condition of the people during Byzantine times. Such reflections as we can catch seem to show their condition in a pitiable light. Taxation for tribute stripped the wretched inhabitants of what the raiding enemy had left them. 'Strange and ill to hear of', writes St Neophytus about 1196, 'are the terrible sufferings of this land, so that its rich men have forgotten their wealth, their grand dwellings, their families, servants and slaves, their multitude of flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, horses and animals of all kinds,⁴ fields of corn, and fertile vineyards, and varied parks, and in great haste have stolen away and sailed to foreign lands and to Constantinople. And as for those who could not escape, who can recite the tragedy of their tribulations, the inquisitions, the imprisonment in public gaols, the extortion

¹ Whom, for brevity's sake, but without committing ourselves to any theory of their racial affinity, we may be content to call simply 'Greeks'.

² M.L., *H.* 1, p. 101.

³ J Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen-Âge*, p. 38.

⁴ Πλήθους ποιμνίων, βουκόλων, λακινίων, βοσκημάτων παντοίων. By λακινίων the translators understand 'swine'. But, in view of Cypriote λακηνάρι, 'stallion' (Kyriakides, *Cypriote Vocab.*), I have translated 'horses'.

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of money, up to thousands and thousands?' Doubtless the writer is thinking of the rich men and the nobles,¹ rather than of the poor, but where the upper classes suffer under a tyranny, the lot of the lower is not usually improved. It has been justly remarked² that the picture drawn by many writers of the prosperity and happiness of Cyprus under the Frankish rule is entirely distorted, and that the brilliant surface presented by the Lusignan court or the rich merchantry of Famagusta covered a core of poverty and oppression. In 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg describes the Franks as rulers of the country; all the others—Greeks and Armenians—obey them like villeins (*coloni*), paying tribute like slaves (*servi*). They are rude in all their ways, and go about poorly clothed, yet are given to self-indulgence (the blame for which may lie on the wine of Cyprus, or rather on those who drink it). A picture of a degraded people. Thus all classes alike of the original population had been reduced;³ all alike were in the same position of subjection to an alien dominion. The cleavage between rulers and subjects was more definite, probably, than had ever been the case in the history of Cyprus, where the population had usually stood in some sort of relation, commercial or political, with the conquerors before the conquest became a fact. But these English, from a far and almost unknown island, 'a land far beyond Romania towards the north', in the words of St Neophytus, these English, or rather Anglo-Normans, who swept like a hurricane through the island, and the French who followed them, were a race almost unknown to the Cypriotes, whose only experience hitherto of Westerners must have been confined to the few Italian traders who had settled in such places as Lemesos.

The accounts which we have of the different classes of the Cypriote population all date from the Frankish period or later, but we are assured that these classes were the same as under Byzantium.⁴ In the towns the Cypriote population lost all its rights,⁵ although it was subject to

¹ Kyprianos (p. 56) says that the noble houses under the Dukes numbered about a hundred.

² L. Philippou in *Διαλέξεις περί τῶν κορυφαίων Κυπρίων φιλοσόφων κτλ.* (1937), pp. 67ff.

³ Cp. M.L., *H.* 1, p. 48.

⁴ M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 48f.

⁵ How far, if at all, the non-noble class had any share in local government, is doubtful. Kyprianos, a native of Kilani, says (p. 47) that this place preserved down to Venetian times an ancient usage, by which the inhabitants elected twelve local officials (*primates*, *proēstotes*), who governed their community, and were subordinate to the island authorities. He seems to imply that this was exceptional.

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taxation, regular or exceptional. These people, descendants of Byzantine Cypriotes of good family, came, under the Franks, to be called *bourgeois*. In course of time, many such Cypriotes, as we shall see, rose to positions of importance in commerce, the army or the administration, and even to noble rank; but, at the beginning of the period with which we are concerned, their condition must have been no better than under the tyranny of the last Byzantine ruler.

The ruling class in the Frankish period consisted of the royal house and the nobles,¹ who, it was said, all came to Cyprus with Guy de Lusignan, being mostly French barons who had lost their lands in Palestine. In the time of James the Bastard those who were dispossessed (as supporters of Charlotte) were superseded by many noble (and some not noble) Italians; and others came from Venice in the time of the Venetians.² And yet, from the actual names of the 126 noble houses, as recorded in the sixteenth century,³ it would seem that some at least of the old Byzantine families must have survived. Such names are Androutzes, Agapetos, Kallerges, Kontostephanos, Laskaris, Loaras, Palaiologos, Podocataros, Perakis, Sozomenos, Synkletikos, Nicolas Kyrieleēsos. A few of these can be explained as having found their way to Cyprus through Venice. The rest must be old indigenous noble houses which after being reduced to mere burgessdom had fought their way up again.

The native Cypriotes—the landed gentry among them disappeared—fell into three classes:⁴

The lowest was that of the *Paroikoi*, *parici* ('neighbours').⁵ These paid

¹ Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 30 b; *Descr.* ff. 81 b sq. On the principal noble families under the Lusignans, see M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 135 ff.

² In 1477 plans were made for sending 100 noble families from Venice to settle in Cyprus, but came to nothing. See below, Ch. XII, p. 729.

³ By Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 82 b sq.; *Descr.* ff. 82 b–83 b; cf. Kyprianos, p. 273; Pandelides, in 'Αθηνᾶ, xxxiv, p. 140. The last writer includes Kallepios; but this was probably of Italian origin (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 123).

⁴ Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 29 sq.; *Descr.* ff. 70 sq.; Loredano (Giblet), 1, p. 9; Porcacchi ap. Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 167; M.L., *H.* 1, p. 49; Hackett, pp. 72 f.; Papaïoannou, 1, pp. 101 f.; Dawkins on Machaeras, as below.

⁵ The word is variously explained; by Attar (M.L., *H.* III, p. 520) as 'forestieri habitatori'. The explanation of Fl. Bustron (p. 461) is probably correct, though I do not understand his etymology: 'Il *Parico* è vocabolo greco, tratto da παρά τοῦκῆς, che vuol dire huomo obligato star appresso la casa, che non si può partir da quella casa, ovvero casale, senza licenzia del patron di quel casale.' As it were *adscriptus glebae*.

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an annual tax per head,¹ and rendered a *corvée* (*angarion*) of two days' labour a week to their lords, who also took one-third of the produce (excluding the seed) of the fields.² This had been the arrangement under the Dukes; the French kings confirmed it and increased the tax, and in granting a fief gave the lord jurisdiction over his *parici*. They were treated as mere chattels, and their lord could inflict on them any sort of punishment short of mutilation or death.³ From an entry in the Book of the Secrète in the fifteenth century it appears that marriage between *parici* belonging to two different lords was restricted. James II, in a mandate issued in 1468,⁴ abolished an old regulation, by which when a man of one village and a woman of another, both belonging to the same lord, were affianced, and by reason of escheat or dowry or donation the two villages passed into the hands of different lords, then the woman, on marriage, might go to live with her husband, but the husband's lord was obliged to give her former master another woman in her place. He now ruled that such compensation was not to be exacted, but the woman, if her husband predeceased her, was to return to her former master.

The second class were the *Perperiarîi*, so called from the tax which they paid in hyperpers (which is only another name for the gold nomisma or besant).⁵ Originally *parici*, they had risen out of that class, by compounding with the Dukes or Katapans; they had thus become freemen in regard to the persons of themselves and their children; but their lands and crops paid the same tribute as those of the *parici*, and they were still liable to an annual tax of fifteen hyperpers payable to their lords.⁶

¹ In 1463 the Hospital exempted a *paricus* at Phinika from the annual *testagium* of 38½ besants (M.L., *H.* III, p. 125).

² Philip de Mézières, writing in 1389 (M.L., *H.* II, p. 382), says that 'le menu peuple ... est serf au roy et aux seigneurs; et convient que trois jours en la sepmaine chacun fasse corvée à son seigneur'. This *corvée* persisted under the Venetians; below, Ch. XIII. The tax of one-third is the origin of the *triton*, which came in time to mean the tax on crops, whatever its amount, and survived to modern times as the word for tithe. Pandelides in 'Αθηναϊκά, XXXIV (1922), pp. 135-40.

³ The lord had jurisdiction in all minor matters; but when the condition of the serf or the ownership of the slave was concerned, and when the case was a criminal one, involving capital punishment or mutilation, the Haute Cour took cognizance (M.L., *H.* I, pp. 49 f.).

⁴ M.L., *H.* III, pp. 226-7; Zannetos, I, p. 934.

⁵ Dawkins on Machaeras, II, pp. 46 f., 168.

⁶ These *perperiarîi* had originally included most of the civil servants and all the rich bourgeois of Nicosia. But many redeemed themselves in the fourteenth century,

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Thirdly, there were the *Lefteri* (*eleutheroi*) or *francomati*,¹ *parici* who had been emancipated on a payment to their lord or by his mere grace (this freedom was extended to any children born after such emancipation). Their lands and crops were free, but a proportion (varying from one-fifth to one-tenth) of the latter was taken by the lord. If he asked them to work for him, he had to pay them wages, although most of them were content with very little. The children of marriages between this class and the *parici* usually descended to the lower grade.² These *lefteri* were subject to the jurisdiction not of the lord, but of the ordinary magistrates. They paid tribute to the King for certain privileges and for salt.

Another class in a different category from those already described, were the 'White Venetians'—native Greeks or Syrians who enjoyed the rights of Venetian nationality. Of the White Venetians, most lived in the province of Paphos, and, in Stephen de Lusignan's time, they paid 300 ducats a year to the Captain of that place. In other parts of the island there were a few who paid the tax to the Lieutenant of the Kingdom. They had bought their rights from the King, to whom they paid tribute every St Mark's Day; and they were under the jurisdiction of the Venetian bailie, in Nicosia, with appeal to the royal judges. A similar, but smaller, class were the 'White Genoese'.³

The Albanians, who are generally mentioned by the writers who describe the various classes of the population, were comparatively late

when Peter I wished to raise money for his travels (Machaeras, 157; Amadi, pp. 414, 418), and in Lusignan's time there were few left; cp. Attar, in M.L., *H.* III, p. 520, and Sagredo, *ibid.* p. 540. The value of the hyperper went steadily down. On the progress of the fall, see Dawkins on Machaeras, II, p. 47.

¹ Both Attar and Sagredo (M.L., *H.* III, pp. 520, 541) explain *francomati* as later immigrants into the villages (essendo venuti altri habitatori per i casali; altri habitatori di diversi paesi). Lusignan's explanation, adopted in the text, is preferable. Luke, in his note on Savorgnan's *Discrittione*, p. 17, is wrong in supposing the term to be first used in Lusignan's *Description*. Nor is his suggestion that it was properly *franconati*, i.e. the free-born children of emancipated *lefteri*, likely, since it is applied to such emancipated *lefteri* themselves.

² In some places they were divided; if there was only one child it belonged to the lower class. Such intermarriages were discouraged, and the priests forbidden to solemnize them.

³ M.L., *H.* II, p. 51, n. 4; III, p. 18 n., p. 60, n. 4; Dawkins on Machaeras, II, pp. 110 f., 156. There was also a class of 'Black Genoese', which seems to have comprised manumitted slaves. This probably gives us the reason for the others being called 'White'. Loredano's reasons (Giblet, I, pp. 10 f.) seem to be without any foundation.