

AT THE EDGE OF EMPIRE: VENETIAN ARCHITECTURE IN FAMAGUSTA, CYPRUS

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Abstract: This essay examines the Venetian-era architectural remains of Famagusta, Cyprus, Venice's easternmost Mediterranean colonial outpost. Famagusta's architectural monuments are presented as components of Venice's policies of colonial expansionism and the strategy of stamping its possessions, even this one on the periphery of its empire, with the signifiers of Venetian domination and historical predestination. The ways in which these monuments may have been used in civic rituals, and the functions of these rituals, are also examined. The use of antique *spolia* and the architectural interplay with the Lusignan era gothic monuments characterize Venetian ideological tactics in Famagusta's built environment. Also addressed is the possible influence of Giangiolamo Sanmichele, who was sent to Famagusta to renovate the city's fortifications. These defenses, much modified by the Venetians, are virtual textbooks of early modern military architecture.

Keywords: Famagusta, Venice, Cyprus, *spolia*, Sanmichele, fortifications, St. Nicholas Cathedral, Lusignan, Salamis, Crete.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrians, responding to one another, these walles did the Venetians make.¹ John Locke, English pilgrim, 1553.

During the medieval and renaissance periods, when cities were usually fortified, Venice's main islands were distinctive in their openness. Once through the straits between the outer islands, which were defended by a series of forts—the Malamocco, San Pietro della Volta, San Nicoló, and Sant'Andrea—no battlements or towers marred the distinctive panorama of the city's architectural jewels.² Only the Arsenale was immured and this may have been as much to keep the industry hidden from the gaze of potential spies as it was truly defensive. The Palazzo Ducale, free of the defensive architectural vocabulary that marked its terra firma counterparts, was boldly placed at the waterfront, with the high domes of St. Mark's hovering beyond. Venice's confidence was thus expressed in the architectural facades that also made up the facade of her self-image.

Urban visages were less accommodating farther afield in Venice's maritime empire where the defensive architecture tended to be sternly monumental and decidedly utilitarian. Manifold perils awaited Venetian traders and navy ships beyond the more secure waters of the northern Adriatic, including pirates, belligerent Genoese, and Venice's principal adversaries, the Ottoman Turks. The ramparts of Corfu, Nafplion in the Peloponese, and the seaport fortifications of Candia (Herakleion), Chania, and Rethymnon on Crete, among many others, give us some indication of the types of mas-

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¹ *Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus*, ed. and trans. Claude Delaval Cobham (1908; New York 1969) 70.

² So observed Pero Tafur, who visited Venice in the 1430s. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (Upper Saddle River, NJ 1997) 16. Tafur also visited Cyprus, though not Famagusta, see *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 31–34.

sive coastal defenses Venetians erected to protect their strategic ports. It is perhaps fitting that Venice's easternmost stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean, Famagusta, Cyprus—merely 100 miles from the coast of Syria—would at the same time be one of her most spectacular bulwarks (figs. 1–2).³ When the Venetians gained control of Cyprus in 1489 they undertook a program of modernization which would stamp the civic center, port, and fortifications with the emblems of Venetian dominion.⁴ This article gives an account of the Venetians' attempt to import to this distant outpost the essential architectonic signifiers of their empire. The most monumental projects involving military architecture—the ravelin, the Sea Gate and the Martinengo Bastion—will be singled out as exemplary of the Venetian's most ambitious architectural expressions. Analysis of the triple gateway of the palace of the Proveditore, the Palazzo del Proveditore itself, the pair of monumental columns, and a renovated building near the cathedral (at one time a medieval grammar school) will demonstrate how the city's center was modified to complement public ritual and hierarchize the built environment of the main square. The “Bedestan Palazzo” and “Biddulph's Gate” will be briefly discussed and consideration will be given to the possible roles of the Venetian architects Michele Sanmichele and his nephew, Giangirolamo Sanmichele, who was sent to Cyprus to oversee architectural projects. Some attention will also be given to the Venetians' use of antique *spolia* as they endeavored to construct an image of cultural dominance and verify Venice's inheritance of the eminence of earlier Mediterranean empires.

Famagusta's rich history and its location as a stepping stone interposed between three continents—Europe, Africa, and Asia—makes it a particularly intriguing and cosmopolitan locus at a zone of interplay between East and West, and thus it provides a challenging case study of Venice's imperial aspirations in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵ This study is meant to complement recent scholarship on Venice's cultural interaction with its eastern empire and its Levantine trading ventures.⁶ Defining and

³ Numerous publications deal with the history of Venice's rule over Cyprus, e.g., Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Ashgate 2000). The principal chronicle of the era just before Venetian hegemony over Cyprus (just before and during the reign of Caterina Corner [Cornaro]) is George Boustronios, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456–1489*, trans. R. M. Dawkins (Victoria, Australia 1964). A useful primary source for Famagusta is *Nicola de Boateriis: notaio in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, ed. Antontio Lombardo (Venice 1973). A source for the 16th c. which deals substantially with Cyprus is the French/Italian volume of Alessandro Magno, *Voyages 1557–1565*, trans. Wilfred Naar, preface Alberto Tenenti (Fasano 2002). Famagusta, however, is mentioned only a few times.

⁴ Venice had informally controlled the island since 1473, when the Lusignan king James II died (or was assassinated, along with his infant heir), leaving his young wife Caterina Cornaro queen of Cyprus. During her reign the Venetian Senate was largely in control of her decisions. See Benjamin Arbel, “The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473–1489) as a Family Affair,” *Studi Veneziani* n.s. 26 (1993) 67–85. Repr. in *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice* (n. 3 above).

⁵ Cyprus, in general, presents a compellingly layered complexity with its overlapping stratigraphies of the ancient Greek and Roman, the Byzantine, medieval (Lusignan Dynasty) early modern (Venetian), and Ottoman civilizations. The last three cases representing foreign dominance—European and Turkish—over a predominantly Greek Orthodox indigenous population. Yet in each of these eras Cyprus was also characterized by a strong cosmopolitan flavor owing to its strategic location at the crossroads between East and West.

⁶ Recent attention to Venetian Crete includes, for example, Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge 2001). The art and architecture of Venetian Crete is compiled in Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell'Isola di Creta*, 5 vols. (Venice 1908). For architectural interactions with the East, see Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East. The Impact of the Islamic World*

analyzing the outer orbits of Venetian hegemony, where it was often challenged and under constant flux, helps us understand how Venice produced an image of security in the visual culture of even its most peripheral satellites. The colonial enterprises of Venice, moreover, offer us illuminating examples of the initial manifestations of early modern colonialization, which could help us evaluate instances of European expansionism in subsequent eras.

While Famagusta's military architecture was functional in an obvious and utilitarian way, the management of the civic space of the central square employed more refined visio-cultural operations. Famagusta's main square is seen herein as a locus around which the built environment was decisively and deftly manipulated to assert Venice's ownership, to naturalize the urban surroundings for Venetians, and to acculturate the local population. This process of acculturation, however, while strongly motivated by a desire to import and impose the architectural signifiers of Venetian style and culture—thus also positing Venice as center, origin and mother city—is also marked by a particularly resourceful re-assignment of artifacts from local Greco-Roman culture. As in Venice itself, the Venetians' use of antique *spolia* in Famagusta is deployed to propagate a myth of imperial greatness and Venice's inheritance of the mantles of the earlier Greek, Roman, and Byzantine empires, just as Venetian humanists, similarly, could alternately configure Venice and its republic to be a New Athens, a New Rome, a New Byzantium, or even a New Jerusalem. The examples of the strategic uses of *spolia* in Famagusta illustrates, as Patricia Fortini Brown has put it, the "... Venetian ability to seize opportunity when unexpected treasures came to hand..."⁷

Maria Georgopoulou has shown that the Venetians were very conscious, even as early as the mid-thirteenth century, of the roles architecture and the manipulation of urban spaces could play in the assertion of Venetian culture and authority on subject cities.⁸ In the words of the sixteenth-century chronicler Antonio Calergi, the rulers must "... know how to maintain the loyalty of the people and the subjugated cities, how to avoid and resist all the evils that can sometimes incite rebellion ..." ⁹ Architec-

on *Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven & London 2000). See also Carolyn Campbell, Alan Chong, et al., *Bellini and the East* (London 2005). For a survey of the general visual culture of Venetian Cyprus, see the exhibition catalog *Cyprus. Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (Nicosia 2003). A recent study of Venetian and Hospitaller defense networks in the Aegean is *Venetians and Knights Hospitallers. Military Architecture Networks*, ed. Anna Triposkoufi and Amalia Tsitouri (Athens 2002). The standard text on Venetian fortifications, however, is Pietro Marchesi, *Fortezze Veneziane 1508–1797* (Milan 1984). Inter-cultural exchange between Greek Cypriots and Venetians during the Venetian era, which was a mere 81 years on Cyprus, is still an area awaiting further study. See David Holton, "A History of Neglect: Cypriot Writing in the Period of Venetian Rule," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vols. 14–15 (1998–1999) 81–96. In the same volume Annemarie Weyl Carr outlines the issues of interaction with Greek traditions and the Lusignans: "Correlative Spaces: Art, Identity, and Appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus," *ibid.* 59–80; see as well Weyl Carr, "Byzantines and Italian on Cyprus: Images from Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995) 339–357. Economic relations are discussed in Marie-Louise von Wartenburg, "Venice and Cyprus: the Archaeology of Cultural and Economic Relations," *Bisanzio, Venezia e il Mondo Franco-Greco* (Venice 2002) 503–517; and Benjamin Arbel, "Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: The Case of the Synglitico Family," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995) 325–337.

⁷ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven & London 1996) 21.

⁸ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (n. 6 above) 15–16.

⁹ *Ibid.* 15. For an account of one such revolt on Crete see Sally McKee, "The Revolt of St. Tito in Fourteenth Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment," *Medieval Historical Review* 9 (1994) 173–204.

ture played a role in this process. I suggest that one of the primary objectives of the modifications of the built environment of Famagusta's main square was to serve public rituals. Given the centrality of processions and public ritual in Venetian culture, it is not surprising that such practices would have been exported and modified in various colonial contexts. Examining how both these strategies and tactics—long and short term methods of dealing with the political and social realities of specific colonial cases—had both generic and specific, localized manifestations, is crucial.

Although it is not possible to give a full account of these myriad circumstances, the Venetians' architectural projects in Famagusta should be seen within the context of other local and pan-Cypriot colonial operations. For example, in gaining suzerainty of Cyprus in 1489 (though it is arguable that they gained effective control in 1473 when Caterina Cornaro became queen of Cyprus) the Venetians inherited an island that had suffered dramatic declines in population, mostly because of recurring plagues.¹⁰ Population growth became a first order of business so that the island's agricultural and mineral resources (sugar, grain and salt) could be profitably developed and exploited.¹¹ In 1491 the envoys of Famagusta, describing the town as very poor and desolate, beseeched the Senate to try to bolster the town's population by encouraging immigration.¹² Famagusta was infamous for its unhealthy air and the Venetians moved quickly to improve the living environment, draining the swamps north of the city, and instigating a policy of quarantine and a system through which to enact it.¹³ These practical measures for augmenting the labor force and improving sanitation, which were largely successful, were complemented by the Venetians' architectural patronage, which sought to recreate a simulacrum of a secure and ordered Venice in its new colonial holding.¹⁴

Other specific regional circumstances are also relevant. For example, the Venetian presence in Famagusta, and specifically in the monumental city center, was not defined by indigenous architectural signs over which the Venetian had to be overlaid, as was more the case on Crete. Rather, the Venetians inherited a Latin gothic city where the built environment was evocative of northern Europe (though, admittedly, a gothic that had undergone Levantine, crusader transformations) rather than embodying the Byzantine/Orthodox identities of the indigenes. Cypriots had already endured three centuries of Lusignan, European rule by the time the Venetians took over. In such instances one could be greeted as liberator or occupier. Factors such as these, specific

¹⁰ Benjamin Arbel, "Cypriot Population under Venetian Rule (1473–1571) A Demographic Study," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice* (n. 3 above) 183–190. See also Gilles Grivaud, "Peuplement et Population," in *Cyprus, Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (n. 6 above) 49–54.

¹¹ See the table of resource yields in the years 1523 and 1540 in Ekaterini Ch. Atistidou, "Venetian Rule in Cyprus," *Cyprus, Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (n. 6 above) 37.

¹² Arbel, "Cypriot Population" (n. 10 above) 184 n. 9. "... quella poverissima et desolata città ... per esser ... da pocho tempo in quà una gran parte ruinada." Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Senato Mar, R. 13, fol. 51v (17 May 1491).

¹³ Ibid. 185–186. The Venetians later put efforts into improving Famagusta's water supply; Benjamin Arbel, "Supplying Water to Famagusta," *Praktika tou Tritou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synerdriou*, ed. Georgios Ioannides (Nicosia 2000) 651–656.

¹⁴ However, it was an issue of contention in the historiography of scholarship on Venetian Cyprus whether Venetian rule was "successful." See Benjamin Arbel, "Entre mythe et histoire: la légende noire de la domination vénitienne à Chypre," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice* (n. 3 above) 83–107.

to Cyprus, need to be kept in mind, for while Famagusta's new situation under the aegis of the lion of St. Mark might be positively comparable to the many other instances of Adriatic, Aegean, eastern Mediterranean, or even Black Sea towns that came under Venetian control, it also presented unique challenges for the Venetians who had to adapt their strategies to this distinctive context.

Although others have given accounts of Famagusta's walls, a brief overview of the fortifications will set the scene for the Venetians' architectural projects in the city. Tracing the walls' history will also provide an account of the salient moments in Famagusta's history, thus giving a better sense of what the Venetians confronted when they gained full control of the city.

The history of the fortifications of Famagusta begins with the passing in 1191 of the suzerainty of the island of Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, who had been the last Crusader king of Jerusalem. Before the Lusignans gained control, Cyprus had been conquered, then sold by Richard the Lion Heart to the Knights Templar. Templar administration was brief, and Cyprus was soon turned over to Guy, who had just been expelled from the Holy Land after Saladin's victory over Crusader forces at the Battle of Hattin in 1187. The Lusignans and their considerable entourage of wealthy nobles and traders moved to Cyprus, and the Lusignan dynasty began a colorful three-century rule. Famagusta, on the east coast, facing trading centers on the Syrian shores, grew steadily in the following century, but enjoyed a particularly rapid period of development after the crusaders finally lost the profitable Middle Eastern ports of Tyre and Acre in 1291. By the mid-fourteenth century Famagusta was thought to have the richest citizens in the world.¹⁵ It soon became the easternmost trading outpost of the Christian west, and so many goods passed through it, and at such profitable exchanges, that the merchant Simon Nostrano, for example, was said to have built the sizable gothic church of Saints Peter and Paul from a one-third portion of the proceeds from a single trading venture.¹⁶

Famagusta had been a small harbor with some light fortifications as early as 1211 but we know very little of these early defenses.¹⁷ Significant fortification work seems to have begun around 1300, firstly on the castle and the seaward or eastern wall. This is not surprising, since the Lusignans would have made it a priority to provide safe haven for themselves and for their interests in the city, which revolved mainly around the security of the anchorage. A mole extending from the castle into the sea was built,

¹⁵ The reminiscences of Ludolf von Suchen, who visited Famagusta some time between 1336 and 1341, are typical: "The third city of Cyprus is Famagusta ... It is the richest of all cities, and her citizens the richest of men ... I dare not speak of their precious stones and golden tissues and other riches, for it were a thing unheard of and incredible. In this city dwell very many wealthy courtesans, of whom possess more than one hundred thousand florins. I dare not speak of their riches." *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 19–20. The 15th-c. chronicler Leontios Makhairas also devotes several pages to Famagusta's astonishing wealth in *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. and trans. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford 1932) 81–87. See also David Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Studies in the Crusader States and Venetian Expansion* (Northampton 1989) 145–179; Peter W. Edbury, "Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto," *Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. Eberhardt Mayer (Munich 1997).

¹⁶ Michael Walsh, "Saint Peter and Paul Church (Sinan Pasha Mosque) Famagusta: A Forgotten Gothic Moment in Northern Cyprus," *Inferno* 9 (2004) 4. See also Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. David Hunt (London 1987) 246–253.

¹⁷ *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 14.

thereby constricting the harbor entrance towards a natural shoal that still protects the port. Enlart notes that peasant labor was conscripted for work on the new defenses, and that by 1368, citing the fourteenth century chronicler Leontios Machairas, the chain tower at the entrance to the harbor was completed.¹⁸

By 1372 the Lusignan king, Peter II, expanded the defenses of the arsenal, as Enlart notes, in anticipation of an attack by the Genoese.¹⁹ But by this time, certainly, the city had a circuit of walls and very likely a dry moat. Famagusta was blessed with outcroppings of rock that invited as much quarrying out ditches as building up walls, and this is a feature of significant portions of the landward walls, where upwards of one half of the mural elevation is a wall of natural carved rock, making the defenses virtually impossible to undermine (fig. 3). The Genoese attack came in 1373, and Famagusta was lost to the Lusignans for almost a century, even while they continued to control the rest of Cyprus.²⁰ Only in 1464 did the Lusignans finally retake Famagusta, but at great expense and to regain a once thriving city that the Genoese had exploited into virtual dereliction. Travelers such as Nicholai Martoni, who landed in Famagusta in November of 1394, made note of the city's decline: "But now the Genoese hold the said town ... but a great part, almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship."²¹ It is likely that the Genoese did some work on the fortifications, but, generally, they seem to have been loath to invest heavily in their new conquest and so might be expected to have added minimally to the defenses.²² Still, Martoni could add, "The said city has finer walls than any I've seen in any town, high with broad alleys [moats] round them, and many and high towers all around."²³

There are few civic fortifications as impressive and historically important as the walls of Famagusta, and yet they remain woefully understudied, even though they are incomparable textbooks of medieval and early modern military architecture. They are also relatively unscathed by the sometimes distorting ministrations of modern restora-

¹⁸ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 444.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ See Peter W. Edbury, "The Aftermath of Defeat: Lusignan Cyprus and the Genoese, 1374–1382," *Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer* (Poitiers 1995) 132–140; and idem, "The Genoese Community in Famagusta around the year 1300: a historical vignette," *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi in honore di Geo Pitarino*, ed. Laura Baletto (Genova 1997) 235–244. See also Netice Yildiz, "Search for the Traces of the Bank of St. George of Genoa in Famagusta: the Genoese in Famagusta in the Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Cyprus Studies* 2, ed. Ülker Vancı Osam (Famagusta 2005). The Genoese, like the Venetians, maintained a strong presence in Famagusta even earlier in the Middle Ages. Indeed, one of the most informative sources on Famagusta are the records of the Genoese notary Lamberto da Sambuceto. See Edbury, "Famagusta Society," (n. 15 above) 87–95. See also idem, "Cyprus and Genoa: the Origins of the War of 1373–4," *Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kupriologikou Sunedriou* 2, ed. T. Papadopoulos and B. Englezakis (Nicosia 1986) 109–126. Invaluable primary sources for early relationships between Genoa and Famagusta are published in N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire de Croisades au XV siècle. Syndicamenta Famamuste 1448–1449. Revue de L'Orient Latin* 4 (1896); and C. C. Desimoni, *Attes genois de Famaguste, 1299–1301, Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884).

²¹ *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 22.

²² Makhairas records that the Genoese added some height to the walls and attempted to flood the moat with seawater, a venture that was no doubt unsuccessful. Although it may have been just the castle that the Genoese were trying to isolate. Makhairas (n. 15 above) 1.435. In vol. 2 see Dawkins's n. 420 (163–164) citing Martoni's observations that the castle was *almost* surrounded by the sea (ibid. 22).

²³ Ibid.

tion.²⁴ As in other Venetian ports beyond Venice, Famagusta's walls integrate both terrestrial and marine defensive components, thus adding to their complexity and sophistication. Camille Enlart was among the first to examine them as part of his monumental survey *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* of 1899.²⁵ While the walls have been described in numerous guidebooks over the years, these accounts have usually been fairly cursory save for Gianni Perbellini's essays that give a somewhat more sustained consideration although here, too, the Famagusta defenses are discussed only as part of broader surveys of the numerous castles, towers and walled cities of all of Cyprus.²⁶ More recent and detailed work has been done by Nicolas Faucherre, who deftly traces the vestiges of the Lusignan past of the walls and gives detailed accounts of the Venetian renovations.²⁷

The walls of medieval Carcassonne in France, often championed as being the most complete European city walls in existence, were almost entirely reconstructions of the nineteenth-century. In contrast, the walls of Famagusta are very largely just as they were five centuries ago. About three and a half kilometers in circuit, they are marvelously complete, with each of their two major landward, corner bastions and eleven more subsidiary bastions intact. In addition, the Lusignan era castle—with its own moat and four bastions: two large and two smaller, also integrated into the wall circuit—is in remarkable condition as well, as are its principal gates: the Land Gate (Limassol Gate—a post-Venetian addition) and the Sea Gate (Porta del Mare). Enhancing the appeal of these extraordinary fortifications, the integrity of the horseshoe-shaped moat and the mural works and counterscarp are also virtually complete. Even the *glacis* of the western defenses still retains its sloping topography. Many of the *cavallieri* platforms are in excellent condition. The tunnels in the walls are in respectable states, especially in the west and south walls, though many of these were modified and walled up for use as jail cells in the Ottoman period. More recently, since 1974, the

²⁴ Still, during British rule on Cyprus, particularly between 1935 and 1956, the Department of Antiquities undertook many conservation projects on the walls and bastions. Accounts of these projects, many of which proceeded under the direction of Theophilus Mogabgab, are found in numerous issues of the Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Nicosia) during those decades, and in the Mogabgab photographic archive in the current [Turkish] Department of Antiquities offices in Famagusta.

²⁵ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above). Other general surveys that include sections on Famagusta's walls are George Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (1918; London 1983); and Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles* (London 1936).

²⁶ Gianni Perbellini, "I castelli di Cipro e le crociate," *La fabbrica dei castelli crociati in Terra Santa*, ed. L. Marino (Florence 1997) 110–117; idem, "Outline of Fortified Networks in Cyprus" *IBI Bulletin* 48 (1992) 3–16; idem, "The Venetian Defences of Cyprus," *Fort* 16 (1988) 7–44; idem, "Le Fortificazioni di Cipro dal X al XVI Secolo," *Castellum* 17 (1973) 7–58. See also idem, *The Fortress of Nicosia prototype of European Renaissance Military Architecture* (Nicosia 1994). A similar booklet on Nicosia is Nicola Coldstream, *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress* (Nicosia 1993). See also Michel Balard, "Famagouste au Debut du XIV Siecle, *Fortifications, Portes de Villes, Places Publiques dans le Monde Meditteranean*, ed. Jacques Heers (Paris 1985) 279–299. There is a fairly detailed discussion of Famagusta in Leone Andrea Maggiorotti, *Gli Architetti Militari*, vol. 1 (Rome 1932 or 1933) 433–453 [N.B. "Anno XI E. F." / Year 11, "Era Fascista"].

²⁷ Nicolas Faucherre, "L'Enceinte Urbaine de Famagouste," *L'Art Gothique en Chypre*, ed. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris 2006) 307–350. In the same volume Christian Corvisier gives an account of the architectural history of the castle at Famagusta, which is incorporated into the walls, (351–366). I concentrate herein on the Martinengo Bastion, the ravelin and the Sea Gate Bastion as most representative of the Venetians' new constructions.

Turkish army has altered some bastions on the north flank of the city (principally the Martinengo). Only a few of these tunnels are open to the public at this time.²⁸

John Locke's observation about Famagusta's walls at the opening of the essay—"these walles did the Venetians make"—was only partly correct. As already noted, the walls had been constructed by the Lusignans, who made many spectacular marks on Famagusta's built environment.²⁹ The city was described by Willibrand of Oldenburg in 1211 as "slightly fortified."³⁰ As Famagusta's strategic importance and wealth increased there was significant expansion of the walls, moat and counterscarp. When the Venetians assumed suzerainty in the late fifteenth century, they were obliged to enhance and refurbish these walls in preparation for the inevitable Ottoman assault that would utilize modern artillery and siege tactics, both naval and terrestrial, which the Lusignan walls and bastions were ill-equipped to repel. Walls were thickened by the backing of substantial terrepleins (which also facilitated transport of munitions atop the walls and provided ancillary gun platforms), bastions were dramatically renovated or totally rebuilt, and, in the case of the northwest corner of the city, an entirely new complex dominated by the daunting Martinengo Bastion was constructed. Yet even these "modern" walls were built at a time when such military architecture was quickly becoming outmoded. The rapidity of the rate of obsolescence might be illustrated by observations made by a number of sixteenth-century travelers. One visitor, Jacques le Saige, who arrived in Famagusta in 1518 (about thirty years after the Venetians had taken over), not only admired the walls but noted that they were just recently refurbished:

We were greatly astonished to see so great a city. For vessels cannot come nigh but for reason of the rocks, and the walls too are terribly thick, and there are fosses lined with masonry along the town. Hence you might gather that one might attack it from without and yet be unable to injure that city ... The walls of Famagosse are freshly repaired, and there is a very grand boulevard. In brief it is an impregnable city ...³¹

In 1552 Daniel Ecklein, from the German city of Arrau, thought that Famagusta's walls had the best land and sea defenses of all the towns he had seen in his travels as a

²⁸ Part of the urgency for new scholarship on the art, architecture, and archaeology of the region is linked to the 36-year impasse on the island and its division into the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish, northern sector that Turkey has posited as a separate national entity: the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (unrecognized). The art and architecture of this region, much in need of international attention and the expertise of conservators, has been languishing in dire straits with the continued embargo of the north. In 2008 Famagusta was placed on the World Monument Fund's list of its 100 most endangered cultural heritage sites.

²⁹ Though in the specific case of Famagusta, the Lusignans lost control of the city to the Genoese in 1373 and regained it only in 1464. The standard histories of the Lusignan era are Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge & New York 1991); and Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot 1997). See also *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nicolou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (Leiden 2005). An earlier broader survey, encompassing several eras including the Lusignan and Venetian, is Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge 1940–1952). Several sections of the following deal with the West's relationship with Cyprus during the Venetian occupation of the island: Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 162 (1984). See esp. chaps. 21–23.

³⁰ *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 14. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 444.

³¹ *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 57.

pilgrim.³² As we have already seen, in 1553 the English pilgrim John Locke found the fortifications stalwart and impressive, and it is likely that in the thirty-five year interim between le Saige's and Locke's visits modernizing work continued.³³ Similarly, a decade later, in 1563, Elias of Pesaro wrote admiringly to his brother, "Famagusta ... is a fortified town, girt with a double wall, commanded by a fine large and solid castle."³⁴ In 1566, the pilgrim Christopher Fürer could unhesitatingly evaluate the city as "well fortified."³⁵ Yet Giacomo Diedo, a Venetian Senator, described Famagusta in 1570, merely four years later, as "small and weak [needing] men of valor, whose strength and high spirit should make up for the defects of its fortifications."³⁶ Perhaps none of these earlier travelers, mere tourists after all, had Diedo's insight into what kinds of tribulations those defenses might have to endure. Famagusta's walls thus stood at the cusp of anachronism: in one year magnificent and in the next deficient, they were thus testaments to the rapid progress in the weapons and strategies of siege warfare. The Famagusta renovations represent the necessity of having to adapt to the realities of gunpowder and devastating cannon barrage. It was an actuality that these walls eventually had to confront in a heroic defense legendary in the annals of war, the Ottoman siege of 1570–1571, documented visually in the famous print by Stefano Ghibellino (fig. 4) and in numerous dramatic literary accounts such as Paolo Paruta's *Storia della Guerra Cipro* (1571).³⁷ Nevertheless, though the walls of Famagusta may have prefigured the waning days of the relevance of the walled city, the ramparts, in their ultimate test, did not fail. Rather, disease and starvation among the dwindling surviving Venetian defenders led to eventual surrender. The besieged seem to have been the "men of valor" Diedo indicated as requisite, for a small but resolute group of defenders held off an imposing Ottoman war machine for several months.³⁸

The Venetian campaign of refurbishing of the walls, beginning around 1491 and continuing over the next eighty years, proceeded on many fronts and involved several aspects of the defenses. The Commune of Famagusta sent the following petition to the Venetian Senate, an indication of the difficulties of securing professional builders to guide such ambitious projects so far from home:

[Please send] two master builders to work the kiln and a vessel to transport the lime to Famagusta. These, together with eight or ten master builders to arrange the broken stones in the trench and to work on the inclined wall, and in order to manage all of them, would you please send an engineer to supervise the construction, and with a mandate such that no local officer may put a stop to anything that we build, because many orders had been given by

³² See entry in *Cyprus, Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (n. 6 above) 181.

³³ *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 70.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 73.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 77.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 91. In 1565 the Proveditore Ascanio Savorgnano mentions that work on the fortifications is not to his liking. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 448.

³⁷ *Excerpta Cypria* (n. 1 above) 108–119. Paruta was the official historian of Venice, taking up the writing of the annals of the city which had been begun by such renowned humanists as Pietro Bembo and Luigi Contarini.

³⁸ An account of the records in Venetian archives pertaining to the preparations for war on Cyprus can be found in John R. Hale, "From Peacetime Establishment to Fighting Machine: The Venetian Army and the War of Cyprus and Lepanto," *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto*, ed. Gino Benozzi (Florence 1974) 163–184.

Your Highness's local officers, but none of them is competent, which is inconvenient, and therefore if Your Sublimity were not to order this mandate, the constructions will not be completed promptly.³⁹

The bastions were either thickened considerably with sheathings of additional stone and their interiors dramatically reconfigured to facilitate the quick delivery of heavy munitions, or, most often, the old bastions were demolished and built anew. Crenellations (assuming that they existed in the earlier Lusignan bastions) were usually replaced by sloping aprons with cannon positions.⁴⁰ In some cases, however, such as in the Andruzzi bastion, a crenellation system was retained but modified for small artillery, arquebuses or muskets (fig. 5). The walls were made effectively thicker by tons of earth backing, which also created substantial level areas at the tops of the ramparts for the erection of several huge *cavaliere*, raised platforms of earth faced with heavy ashlar masonry. These platforms gave defenders a significantly better view of enemy movements, encampments, and artillery positions, as well as greater range for Venetian cannon and additional protective height. All along the curtain walls one sees today the evidence of arrow loops, anachronisms for the Venetians, which were hastily filled with loose stones. Elsewhere, old medieval gateways were blocked up and mural elevations extended.

The two most dramatic modifications were at the two landward corners of the city. The southwest corner was also where the principal land gate was situated. Below the lofty Lusignan era polygonal bastion that had the older land gate at its base, the Venetians built a new ravelin complex in a roughly arrow-shaped formation in 1544. The moat was expanded outwards to accommodate the larger configuration, and two new gates with long drawbridges extended from either side (figs. 6–7). This substantial addition bolstered the southwest corner of the city walls with an immense bulwark integrated into the city's main defensive array, thus dramatically improving the level of protection for the newly positioned main gate and its approach (later, a new gate would be opened up beside this ravelin, the current land gate for the city). The upper part of the new ramparts bristled with cannon, while the top of the old Lusignan polygonal bastion now served essentially as a *cavaliere*. Wide ramps were constructed to efficiently supply it with munitions. This gave the southwest corner a double level of firepower over the distant and mid-range of the battlefield, but also substantially greater enfilading fire into the moat in both northerly and easterly directions. The ravelin was eventually attached and fully integrated into the main wall circuit with two "wings" as the defensive qualities of the ravelin free-standing were in later years seen

³⁹ Trans. Beatrice Basso. The original reads: "Do maestri de far fornaxe et uno maran per il condur de le calcine in Famagosta. Apresso otto over .x. maestri per rompere el tuffo dentro de fosso, et per laborar in la scarpa, et sopra de tutti questi li piaqui mandar uno ingegnier sopra le fabriche, com tal mandato che rector alguno no possi contradir a tutto quello sara principito a fabricare, perche molti principii esta dati per i rectori de la Celsitudine Vostra, et nesuno ha profection alguna, che e cosa inconveniente, et per zio no serano presto profecte quelle fabriche non facendo questo tal mandato la Sublimità Vostra." Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 447. See Hale's explanation for such delays in Hale, "From Peacetime Establishment" (n. 38 above) 183.

⁴⁰ For detailed analyses of all the bastions and the intervening curtain walls see Faucherre, "L'Enceinte Urbaine" (n. 27 above) 317–350.

to be of dubious advantage. A section from Lorini's *Delle fortificatione* of 1597 addresses the ravelin's defects:

But this defense has been found in our time to be not only imperfect but highly dangerous to the garrison. The ditch around the ravelin is difficult to enfilade and becomes a cover for the enemy, and after mining operations the enemy easily occupies the ravelin and captures the entrance to the city.⁴¹

Another significant addition to the walls was the construction of a broad new circular bastion at the port. This bastion greatly increased firepower into the harbor and provided much needed auxiliary fire towards the sea entrance that was only partially protected by the castle's towers. But the Sea Gate (*Porta del Mare*) was also, as its name indicates, the new principal entrance to the city from the harbor. As such, and since it was the gate through which most Venetian visitors would arrive, the gate was articulated in a manner that many who traveled to Venetian ports of call would have found familiar and reassuring. The portal is framed with late fifteenth-century style revetments with a conventional architectural vocabulary and iconography: a pediment with the lion of St. Mark, a Latin inscription in classicizing lettering, and coats of arms, in this case those of Nicolo Priuli (fig. 8).⁴² The lion of St. Mark, the empire's primary signifier, was not merely a symbol of Venice. It assured the travelers the protection of the saint even at the furthest fringes beyond the Venetian lagoon, thus legitimizing the expansion of Venice's economic and military reach under the saint's emblem. The portrayal of the lion is in many ways standard, but there was a particular variation on the theme, which is represented here: the forepaws are on the land and the rear paws are in the sea, indicating the dual terrestrial and maritime aspects of Venice's empire, a depiction all the more relevant after Venice's war with the League of Cambrai, 1508–1516.⁴³

Like some other such portals and monuments in the outer ranges of the Venetian empire, Famagusta's Sea Gate makes use of *spolia*. The white marble panels and discs of red marble (now bleached) came from the ruins of the ancient Greco-Roman city of Salamis just five miles north of Famagusta. *Spolia* had particular significance for Venetians. Venice was gaudy with it, especially with materials from Constantinople, booty from Venice's sack of the city in 1204. For Venetians, the taking of Constantinople was also Venice's victory over the eastern Roman Empire and represented its patrimony of the majesty of imperial Rome and Byzantium and their grandeur, power, and mythical histories. *Spolia* of such antiquity, from a much celebrated ancient Greco-Roman city, would have had particular dignity and would have evoked His-

⁴¹ Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 108.

⁴² The inscription reads: "NICOLAO PRIOLI CYPRI PRAEFECTO MCCCCLXXXVI" ["Nicolo Priuli, Prefect of Cyprus, 1496"]. See *ibid.* 110–111. The same inscription also appears on another bastion on the west walls, the Moratto bastion. A demi-lune, like the Sea Gate bastion, it nonetheless has an elegance which is much less apparent in the other demi-lunes of the circuit. No two bastions at Famagusta are the same, making each a case study of the defensive requirements of each specific section of the walls.

⁴³ A number of free-standing sculptures of lions complemented those in relief inset into architectural facades. One large example, much eroded, still stands inside the Sea Gate. It was once accompanied by a smaller lion. Others can be found at the entrance to the mosque at Tüzla (Gk. Enkomi; about 4 miles north of Famagusta) and in other places in Cyprus.

tory's affirmation of Venice's greatness. The antique style of the portal thus colluded semiotically with the materials out of which it was constructed to create a multi-layered metaphor of Venice's majesty and ordained position in the history of "civilization," a metaphor all the more powerful at this dramatically remote point at the Levantine periphery of Venetian rule. Here, too, Venice was "meant to rule," as if destined to take its place as the most recent heir of antique imperial splendor.

The primary visual reference for Famagusta's Sea Gate is the gate to the Arsenale in Venice (fig. 9) which may have been designed by Antonio Gambello in 1460. This portal, originally much simpler in design than we see today (additions were made in later centuries), and thus closer in appearance to the Famagusta Sea Gate, offered a range of classical allusions in its decoration and design to convey Venice's antique heritage and the power of the empire as construed through the industrial and military activities that went on in the Arsenale itself. The Arsenale's gate used Byzantine *spolia* in the columns and capitals flanking the entrance, and its general design echoed the Roman triumphal arch in Pula in Istria.⁴⁴ Michele Sanmichele, Venice's premier military architect of the sixteenth century, was to design his own variant in the portal of the Palazzo Podestà in Verona. Visitors to Famagusta, thus greeted by a gateway echoing the entrance to the Venetian Arsenale, would have been encouraged to believe that Famagusta was similarly secure.

Upon entering the monumental gate, which had an impressive iron portcullis (still *in situ*, though rusted in position), visitors found themselves in an unexpected and imposing interior. The Sea Gate bastion's inner structure consisted of a single, broad dome. This expansive space and the novelty of such an architectural feature may have powerfully reiterated the prowess of Venetian engineering skill by utilizing a complex form associated with ancient Rome. Here, too, it must have been especially inspiring and reassuring to find such a remarkable architectural element in the hinterland of the realm.

Passage through the Sea Gate's outer portal and its domed interior took visitors in a right dog-leg to the inner portal to the city.⁴⁵ Opening up before the visitor was a broad main road that led to the town's square, as does its contemporary counterpart. Towering magnificently to the left as one emerged from the darkness of the Sea Gate was the lofty and richly gabled corona of the Lusignan-era gothic cathedral of St. Nicholas (fig. 10).⁴⁶ A Venetian would have been comfortable with a blending of gothic and classicizing elements as the predominant styles of the built environment. This may explain the anachronistic crenellated profile and arrow loops of the Sea Gate bastion. Perhaps this medieval reference was meant to evoke the city's illustrious medieval past and to resonate with the gothic towers of St. Nicholas, which marked the city's position for mariners from miles away. Priuli may have quite purposefully utilized

⁴⁴ Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven & London 2002) 116, 120, 148. In addition, a marble lion had been taken from one of Venice's holdings in the Aegean, Delos, and set up beside the gate.

⁴⁵ It is possible that the Sea Gate functioned as a kind of customs area where visitors were registered and thus the large open space may have facilitated the processing of arrivals.

⁴⁶ See Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 242–245; Michael Walsh, "A Gothic Masterpiece in the Levant. Saint Nicholas Cathedral, Famagusta, North Cyprus," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 6.11 (2005) 1–6.

both contemporary Renaissance elements and the medievalism of crenellations. Priuli, as Jeffery notes, was both the patron and architect of the bastion as well as its military engineer, and perhaps the architect was cognizant of the manifold functions of these architectural “historical” signs.⁴⁷ He may have had a sense of humor as well (a useful characteristic in remote and dangerous places), as contemporaneous attackers who may have smirked at the antiquated quaintness of the crenellations were in for a surprise, for they camouflaged a placement for an enormous cannon aimed directly at the entrance to the port.

The most impressive Venetian addition to the walls of Famagusta, the Martinengo Bastion, is found at the northwest angle of the trapezoidal perimeter of the defenses and was the most ambitious single element of the Venetians’ architectural projects in Famagusta. The Venetians had inherited fortifications with many weaknesses, but the most vulnerable corner had been the northwestern section. It is perhaps this most urgent concern that motivated the Senate to dispatch Giangirolamo Sanmichele. The Martinengo Bastion, if not designed by Giangirolamo, is Sanmichelean in design (figs. 11–12). The Martinengo would be Famagusta’s most modern configuration in keeping with recent innovations in bastion design which took modern cannons and artillery into account and increased both the defensive and offensive capabilities of the bastion.⁴⁸

The Martinengo is an angled bastion of a type invented in the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ The designs of these types of bastions were dramatically distinct from the demi-lunes which had characterized medieval fortifications. Particularly in the sixteenth century, European cities undertook ambitious building and renovation campaigns—Famagusta was not alone in this—to modernize their fortifications in order to adapt to innovations in cannon technology and siege warfare.⁵⁰ The angled bastion was the most striking manifestation of this process of modernization. The Martinengo thrust out from the curtain wall and functioned as a huge gun platform, which along with the *cavaliere* (elevated platforms on the top of the walls) multiplied offensive firepower, thus helping to keep the besiegers at a distance and diminishing the efficacy of their cannon. At the same time, the curled *orrechiae* (“ears”) of the bastion provided enfilading fire to sweep the moat in two directions, defending the ditch from a protected position. The Venetian era walls of Nicosia (Lefkosia), the capital of Cyprus, were expressions of the most contemporary and ideal configuration: circular in plan with broad, obtuse bastions at regular intervals. It was one of the few instances where the ideals of the

⁴⁷ Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 111. Jeffery uses the term “Water Gate” to refer to the monument.

⁴⁸ A similar angled bastion, also called the Martinengo Bastion, was constructed at Candia (Herakleion) Crete.

⁴⁹ An account of innovations in bastion design is John R. Hale, “The Early Development of the Bastion: An Italian Chronology c. 1450–1534,” *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, and B. Smalley (Evanston 1965) 466–494. For the treatises on military theory of the time, including aspects of the bastion, see the intro. in Martha D. Pollak, *Military Architecture, Cartography, and the Representation of the Early Modern City* (Chicago 1991) xi–xxxvi.

⁵⁰ See the chap. “Later Italian Wars and the Origins of Permanent Artillery Fortification 1530–1600” in Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare. The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494–1660* (London 1987) 23–42.

architects and theorists was actually constructed.⁵¹ But Famagusta's walls were, of course, not built from scratch by the Venetians, and thus each bastion was modified in specific ways for existing conditions.

Two models in the Naval Museum in Venice provide representations of Famagusta's walls before and after the Martinengo project (figs. 13–14). The earlier model, mislabeled *Maina in Morea*, shows a series of four proximate demi-lunes along a polygonal corner at the northwest corner, almost fort-like in demeanor. Since the building of the Martinengo obliterated the earlier walls, we cannot be sure of the previous configuration until future excavations or comprehensive renovations reveal more information, or ground-penetrating radar is used to reveal older mural works. We have reason to be suspicious of the Arsenal model, since air views of the Martinengo do not seem to reveal such a formation.⁵² Nor do we have a demarcation that indicates the form of whatever bastion complex was there in the past, as we have, for example, so clearly in the case of the Santa Croce Bastion of Lucca, where the newer, angled bastion had enveloped the earlier demi-lune but not destroyed it.⁵³ Even the later museum model, correctly labeled *Fortezza di Famagosta, Isola di Cipro*, has numerous inaccuracies, compromising even more our trust in the verisimilitude of the earlier model, though it does correctly show the distinctive addition of the Martinengo.⁵⁴

An indication of how the Venetians wanted the Martinengo to function is conveyed by the severely acute plan of its angle. Since the Martinengo had to work somewhat alone in its quadrant it had to, along with its *cavaliere*, cover a great range both bilaterally and in the enemy's distant field. It thus thrust out to a sharp point, in contrast to the broad angled bastions of the Nicosia (Lefkosia) fortifications, which were planned to work collectively in series along the consistent curve of the curtain walls. The sharper angle of the Martinengo was also dictated by the lay of the original walls and the moat, which necessitated that the *orrechiae* be swept back so as to enfilade the sections (and, in turn, so that the responding bastions could enfilade around the Martinengo with no dead ground beneath it). Additionally, the high, level ground to the northwest of the bastion was an ideal staging ground for enemy attacks, and the sagittal profile of the Martinengo presented its sloping and dramatically raking faces to that area, thus helping deflect and deflate enemy fire from that direction. A marble relief of the lion of St. Mark (the likely subject, though only the frame for it remains) defiantly stared down the besiegers from the hastate crest of the bastion. The Martinengo's construction, however, consisted of more than the dramatic promontory of its apex and its

⁵¹ Though, unlike the most famous example, Palmanova, Nicosia was not entirely a planned city. While the circular walls reflected the ideal, the city itself retained its medieval plan. See Perbellini and Coldstream (n. 26 above).

⁵² Perbellini, nevertheless, seems certain, claiming that the model "... gives the exact situation before 1555–58." Perbellini, "The Venetian Defenses of Cyprus" (n. 26 above) 22.

⁵³ See Roberta Martinelli and Giovanni Parmini, *A Renaissance Fortification System: The Walls of Lucca* (Lucca 1991) 63. Lucca's walls, today parks with trees and walkways, offer an excellent example of how Famagusta's walls and moat could be used in the future.

⁵⁴ One dramatic inaccuracy is that the model shows the entire city's moat filled with sea water. Since the western segment of the moat is carved out of natural rock and is several feet above sea level, this is clearly impossible. However, the castle's moat could have been filled with water. This may have led visitors to record inaccuracies about the moat, which were in turn picked up and retold as part of the mythology of the city's fortifications.

cusped *orrechiaie*. Wide ramps descending to the *orrechiaie* and ascending to the upper ramparts and flanking *cavaliere*, provided an efficient infrastructure for the movement of munitions and the rapid deployment of men and supplies from one position to another. In addition, a broad, curving barrel-vaulted tunnel united the two *orrechiaie*, thus enabling defenders to respond quickly to shifts in enemy strategies, feints, or diversions. The considerable smoke generated by cannon was efficiently carried away by numerous chimneys, thus keeping the tunnel's air clear.

The designs that facilitated lateral repositioning were complemented by the potentials for effective vertical troop relocations. The lowest defensive element of the complex was a postern gate which allowed, for example, nocturnal excursions into the moat to thwart enemy mining operations. The next level up included the quartet of large guns of the *orrechiaie*, while another tier along the crest of the bastion also incorporated artillery placements. Yet another elevation was supplied by the towering platforms of the nearby *cavaliere*. One could move among these vertical levels as quickly as one could change positions laterally. A well-organized group of defenders could thus attain, in alteration, defensive or offensive postures with an impressively expeditious adaptability. However, despite the representation of pitched battles at the Martinengo in Stefano Ghibellino's print of 1571 (fig. 15), the written accounts of the Ottoman siege focus exclusively on the attacks along the southern flank of the city, which included the ravelin in the west and the arsenal at the east end. Today the Martinengo seems relatively unscathed while many parts of the southern walls still bear the wounds of 1570–1571 (in addition, the number of cannon balls found in the southern half of the city is far greater than in the northern). It could very well be that the Martinengo's considerable capacities were never pressed into service.⁵⁵

While the military projects in Famagusta were the most monumental, the architectural projects around the main square of the city were the more subtle expressions of *venezianità*. Two Venetian monuments from the town's main square, the twin columns and the triple arch gateway to the Venetian palace, are the most visible elements of the Venetians' manipulation of the institutional and social heart of the city. The bases of the twin columns, and their Doric/Tuscan capitals, are of white marble and, set against the grey granite of the columns, are reminiscent of Brunelleschi's pairing of creamy white walls alongside the grey tones of *pietra serena*. These monolithic columns were set up in the square near St. Nicholas cathedral (fig. 16) and were counterparts to the famous columns at Venice's principal waterfront, which carried aloft the statues of St. Theodore and the lion of St. Mark, two protectors of the city.⁵⁶ Though smaller, the Famagusta columns quite purposefully echoed their impressive aura and metaphoric significance, and they also probably supported sculptures of St. Theodore and the lion of St. Mark.⁵⁷ The monolithic columns in Venice were ancient *spolia* and so, too, were

⁵⁵ Famagusta's walls and bastions are marked with innumerable mason's marks, which have never, to my knowledge, been systematically documented or studied.

⁵⁶ In Nicosia/Lefkosia, the capital city of Cyprus, the Venetians erected a single column.

⁵⁷ I have inspected the tops of the columns and there are gouges which in their patterns seem to indicate metal footings for statues. Only one of the capitals retains its impost which served as a base for the statues. Jeffery believes that a small marble lion, for many years found sitting near a larger lion just inside the sea gate (the larger still there, the smaller has vanished) may have originally been the lion of St. Mark for one of the columns. See Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 125–126.

the pair in Famagusta. As with the marble decorations of the Sea Gate, the columns came from the Roman ruins of Salamis.

The Bacino columns were not only signifiers of Venice's inheritance of Roman eminence, but also functioned as gates to the city. Their importance as ceremonial thresholds was realized in many of Venice's civic and religious rituals which involved the Bacino, including state visits. In Famagusta this gateway function may have been less emphatic, but their evocation of the Bacino pillars would have appended certain associations as to their meaning. Whatever gateway function they may have had depends on the position of the columns in the Venetian period. The Ghibellino print of the siege of Famagusta (fig. 17) shows the columns immediately in front of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas, where they could have acted as outdoor portals for processions either sacred or secular, since the piazza was also flanked by the Venetian palace. It is possible that the columns were moved at a later date from directly in front of the cathedral to where they are today, just off to the side of the piazza and set against the west wall of an Ottoman madrasa, which itself integrated earlier gothic architectural remains. But it is also possible that the columns were in this current location all along, and Ghibellino's print a bit inaccurate. A column base, just beside the present location of the columns, may indicate an earlier, but very proximate, position.⁵⁸

In their contemporary position, the columns probably still had a ceremonial function, framing a processional way to the bishop's palace and leading to the north portal of the cathedral, which, given the importance of the northern threshold opening on to the bishop's palace, may have been an official processional route. An octagonal fountain, revealed in excavations of the area in 1947, would have complemented these functions since processions would have passed alongside it.⁵⁹ It is likely, then, that the columns functioned to some degree as portals or gates, marking a processional route from the Palazzo del Provveditore to the cathedral and/or the bishop's palace.

Processions, which were central elements of Venetian culture, would have operated in colonial contexts as indicating possession of the colony and a sealing of the relationship between the Venetian immigrants and the physical as well as spiritual fabric of the foreign city. Similarly, ceremonies would have provided opportunities for assertions of *venezianità* where manifold elements of ephemeral visual culture and pageantry (icons, banners, flags, coats of arms, costume, and other civic iconography) could have complemented the architectural signifiers of Venetian dominance. Indeed,

⁵⁸ This column base, uncovered in 1951, was surrounded by pavements of hexagonal tiles which resemble those from the bath complex at Salamis. It may well be, then, that these tiles, too, were materials taken from Salamis. See Mogabgab Archive "St. Nicholas Cathedral" file box, images 9959, 9960, 9961, 9962, 10007, 10009. By the time of Alexander Drummond's visit to Famagusta in 1745, the columns seem to have not been directly in front of the cathedral. Drummond notes that: "In the front of this church, upon the right, are two granite pillars, detached from it, with capitals and bases of white marble ..." *Excerpta Cyprica* (n. 1 above) 274.

⁵⁹ See the Mogabgab Archive, "St. Nicholas Cathedral" file box, images 10421 to 10426. Only the base of the fountain was found, making it possible that it was begun but never completed. Even if completed, it was likely not as ornate as the Venetian fountain in Candia (Herakleion) on Crete, the Morosini fountain. An octagonal fountain at the monastery of Agia Napa, Cyprus, may indicate what the Famagusta fountain may have looked like. A 19th-c. imitation of it can be found in Famagusta in "Desdamona's Park" near the Sea Gate. Such a simple octagonal fountain from Candia (Herakleion) Crete, appears in an illustration by George Clontzas reproduced in Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (n. 6 above) 88. See the reference to the Venetian fountain in Arbel, "Supplying Water" (n. 13 above) 653–654.

the ephemeral nature of processions also made them a medium that could be adapted and ever reinvented for new contexts and reconstituted to new urban physical and social topographies.⁶⁰ That the Venetian propensity for procession and pageantry extended to her colonies is suggested by a woodcut of an elaborate procession in the Piazza San Marco in Candia (Herakleion), Crete, reproduced in Gerola's *Monumenti Veneti* (fig. 18), which illustrates an ordered parade almost as splendid as the one depicted by Gentile Bellini in his famous painting of the procession in the Piazza San Marco of Venice.⁶¹ In the case of Venetian Candia, Georgopoulou has convincingly argued that ceremonies were a crucial element in the process of bi-communal acculturation, whereby the city and its streets, squares, churches, and the other aspects of its built environment, became the common ground where ritual could bind diverse ethnic groups. "These formally orchestrated ceremonies," writes Georgopoulou, "enlivened the city space, preserved the symbolic order of the colony, and created a concrete official image of the society."⁶² The binding operations—Venetians to the city, Venetians to Cretans, Cretans to Venetians, Cretans to *venezianità*—structured the "new" society's diverse social elements. Georgopoulou also notes that "... we are led to believe that in the case where there was an important cult of a local saint, the Venetian authorities were eager to place in under the aegis of their colonial government."⁶³ It is significant, then, that most of the Venetian structures and monuments in Famagusta relate quite specifically to the Cathedral of St. Nicholas. In this configuration, we might reflect back to the Sea Gate entrance and see it not merely as an impressive monumental entrance but a portal signifying only one element in a complex processional route, a conscious instance of town planning aimed at intensifying and systematizing urban ritual. The Sea Gate entrance provided a dignified and triumphal arch for processions from the ships' landings up the main street to the cathedral square. Such ordered processions implied an ever-evolving image of a harmonious society. As Patricia Fortini Brown noted of Venice: "... recurring processions thus displayed and reinforced the social hierarchy, with all its distinctions and differences of rank, role and class. Furthermore, by suggesting broad participation in the affairs of the city, they also provided the means for cohesion within that very unequal society."⁶⁴ So, too, in Venice's colonies. In the manifold ways in that the Venetians altered and adapted the built environment of the square of Famagusta, a stage was thus set, and decorated, for such symbolic operations.

This process of taking possession of history and place was made even more emphatic with a remarkable artifact that the Venetians set up between or near the two

⁶⁰ Iain Fenlon has observed that Venetian ceremonies, even those adopted by Venetians from elsewhere, were mutable and adapted to new, local circumstances over time. Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City. History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven & London 2007) 88

⁶¹ Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* (n. 6 above) 2.23. Also reproduced in Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (n. 6 above) 98, who provides the citation *Istoria ab origine mundi* (Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Graec. VII, 22 [1466], fol. 134v).

⁶² Ibid. 213.

⁶³ Ibid. 215.

⁶⁴ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven & London 1989) 168.

columns: the fabled “Tomb of Venus” (fig. 19).⁶⁵ The large marble Roman sarcophagus—likely from nearby Salamis but possibly from one of Cyprus’s other Roman cities like Kition, Kourion, or Paphos—was decorated with garlands, faces, and erotes. While the goddess Venus is often associated with the Greek island of Cythera, a myth also had Cyprus as her birthplace and abode. Since “Venice” is tantalizingly assonant with “Venus,” the correlation functioned to prop up the Venetian myth of Olympian benefaction. The punning of “Venus” and “Venice” occupied sixteenth-century Venetian humanists and the correlation was thus a strong one through the years of Venetian rule on Cyprus (with typical contortion, they could in alternation compare Venice with the Virgin Mary, as the Venetian lagoon had never been violated).⁶⁶ The “mythical” sarcophagus propagates a “mythical” Venice as part of the signifying complex of Famagusta’s square. So, just like the *spolia* of the bronze horses, the Tetrarchs, and the “Pillars of Acre” from Constantinople, reassigned in Venice’s main square, antique artifacts could be given new iconologies and their signification could be redeployed for the elaboration of Venetian colonial ideologies.⁶⁷

Germane to the use of antique *spolia* is the issue of the specific source of the artifacts: Salamis. Famagusta had an illustrious and heroic civic lineage as it was founded by citizens from the ancient Greco-Roman city of Salamis, just five miles to the north, which had constructed for itself a Trojan War era foundation myth.⁶⁸ It was believed that Salamis had been founded by the Greek hero Teucer on his way back from the Trojan War. Salamis became a much celebrated city, especially during the reign of King Evagoras in the mid-fourth century BCE (though it continued to be an important city through the Roman and early Byzantine eras, beginning its decay around the sixth century CE). Venetians, lacking the classical Roman pedigrees of many of her terra firma rivals, had also concocted a Trojan foundation myth.⁶⁹ Thus Salamis’s architectural and artistic remains provided particularly inspiring material for Venetian Famagusta’s signifying operations: Famagusta was a “sister” city, also founded by a veteran of the Trojan War, thus it is proper that Venetians should rule here. Salamis was, in fact, a metonym for Cyprus as a whole, so renown was that city in the Venetians’ evaluation of the island realm. Fortini Brown has discussed a statue ensconced in the

⁶⁵ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 462–423; Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 126–127. Another such sarcophagus, almost identical, was set up at the medieval monastery of Bellapais, near Kyrenia, Cyprus, and used as a fountain for monks to wash their hands in before entering the refectory. The “Tomb of Venus,” Jeffery notes, was used in 1878 for the British Commissioner of Famagusta who died shortly after arrival. So it spent many years in the Varosha Cemetery. Currently, the sarcophagus is found just behind the triple arch gateway of the ruins of the Palazzo del Provveditore.

⁶⁶ Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton 1981) 15, 53–54. David Rosand, “*Venetia figurata*: The Iconography of a Myth,” *Interpretazioni veneziane: Studi di storia dell’Arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David Rosand (Venice 1984) 177–196, esp. 190.

⁶⁷ See Maria Georgopoulou, “Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage,” *Art Bulletin* 77.3 (1995) 479–496, esp. 479–480.

⁶⁸ Archaeology suggests that Salamis did have a Bronze Age heritage, but one more local than the myth. Just two miles inland from Salamis are the ruins of the city of Enkomi, which flourished around 1500 BCE. It is thought that as the Enkomians’ river port silted they founded Salamis nearby on the seashore. Closer still to Salamis are the Bronze Age “Tombs of the Kings,” excavated, as was Salamis, by Vassos Karageorghis. See his *Salamis* (London 1969).

⁶⁹ Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (n. 2 above) 17; and eadem, *Venice and Antiquity* (n. 7 above) 13.

façade of the Ca' Bembo in the Campiello S. Maria Nuova in Venice: Chronos holding a sun disc with an inscription beneath:

DVM. VOLVITVR. ISTE IAD. ASCR. IVSTINOP. VER. SALAMIS. CRETA. IOVIS. TESTES. ERVNT. ACTOR. PA IO. SE. M^v

As long as this [the sun] rotates, the cities of Zara [Iadra], Cattaro [Ascrivum], Capodistria [Justinopolis], Verona [Verona], Cyprus [Salamis], Candia [Creta Iovis] will give testimony to his actions.⁷⁰

"Cyprus" is indicated by "Salamis," the island's essential signifier of eternal greatness. All of the Salaminian *spolia* used at Famagusta, then, can be seen to have, on many levels, powerful resonance with Venice's imperial mythology.

The triple arch gateway (fig. 20), also in the main square of Famagusta, operated as a new façade for the Lusignan Palace, which the Venetians had greatly enlarged to the west to provide a courtly residence for the Proveditore. The Lusignans had constructed a triple arch gateway with gothic arches that still exists about five meters behind the Venetian addition. The Venetians thus quite consciously put a new face on the part of the palace that fronted the piazza, its three rounded Renaissance arches also echoing in more contemporary forms the three portals of the gothic cathedral of St. Nicholas in a manner similar to how the classically inspired arcade of Sansovino's then newly completed Biblioteca Marciana played against the gothic loggia of the Palazzo Ducale across the Piazzetta in Venice. The gate's date is verified by the marble inset in the hanging keystone of the central arch: the arms of Giovanni Renier, who was captain of Cyprus in 1552. While a crucial modernizing element of the palace entrance, and thus of the city's main square, it may have had a very utilitarian function as well, offering an additional level of protection against a citizenry that, historically, had a tumultuous relationship with its rulers. There is evidence of several versions of hinged doorways, at least one set of which may date from the Venetian era. Recalling Calergi's comments earlier about potentials for rebellion, the sturdy wooden doors would have helped secure the palace from any challenges from the populace.

The triple gateway in Famagusta is stylistically very much of its mid-sixteenth-century moment and displays elements that associate it strongly with late Renaissance and Mannerist work and especially the work of Michele Sanmichele, who, at the time of the gateway's construction, was Venice's premiere military architect.⁷¹ A connection between the Sanmichele family and Famagusta is made through the master architect's nephew, Giangirolamo Sanmichele, who followed in his uncle's professional footsteps.⁷² Giorgio Vasari gives an account of Giangirolamo's career, which included modernizing the fortifications of Zara (Zadar, Croatia), Sebenico (Šibenik, Croatia), Candia (Herakleion, Crete), and Corfu, as well as a loggia in Lesina (Hvar, Croatia)

⁷⁰ Ibid. 285–286.

⁷¹ Michele also designed many projects for Venetian colonies. See Jordan Dimacopoulos, "Sanmicheli nei territori veneziani del Mediterraneo orientale," *Michele Sanmicheli*, ed. Howard Burns, C. L. Frommel, and Lionello Puppi (Milan 1995) 210–221.

⁷² Giangirolamo is most often referred to as Michele's nephew, but he may have slightly more distantly related, being the son of a cousin.

using designs very much in keeping with his uncle's.⁷³ Having begun to establish his reputation and poised to inherit his uncle's mantle, Giangirolamo married the noblewoman Hortensia Frascatori, but within days of his nuptials he was ordered to Cyprus to oversee the modernization of the defenses. Vasari claims that the young man energetically toured the island, diligently making drawings and taking notes, but after a mere three months he succumbed to the notoriously bad air of Famagusta and came down with a fever. Within days he was dead and was entombed in St. Nicholas cathedral. Adding to Venice's losses in architects, his famous uncle died in the same year. Despite the brevity of Giangirolamo's tenure on Cyprus, it is possible that he had a hand in designing the triple arch gateway. Certainly, the elements of the gateway have strong similarities with other gates designed by Michele and Giangirolamo.⁷⁴ The gate's pattern of chamfered masonry and mannerist arrangement of voussoirs, as well as a drip course at the impost—perhaps adapted from the Roman amphitheater in Verona—relate it strongly to the Porta Panigrà in Candia (Herakleion) on Crete (fig. 21) and to elements of Michele's Porta Palio in Verona.

Other than the capitals, however, the most striking feature of the Famagusta gateway is the frieze which today is articulated with triglyphs and guttae over the projections held up by the columns. Such elements are consistent with several related Sanmichelean monuments such as the aforementioned Porta Palio and Porta Nuova in Verona, and the Porta Terrafirma in Zara, although in each of these cases the triglyphs run continuously, alternating with metopes decorated with reliefs of roundels and/or bucrania. However, the photographic record of the Famagusta gate urges caution about the original nature and extent of the triglyphs. In a photograph from 1887, from Harvard's J. P. Foscolo Archive, the frieze is non-existent except for lone segments at each end of the structure, neither of which seem to indicate triglyphs, though admittedly the image is indistinct (fig. 22).⁷⁵ A later photograph published in 1908 shows this configuration unchanged.⁷⁶ A later reconstruction, visible in a photograph published in Langenskiöld's volume on Michele Sanmichele, printed in 1938, shows the triglyphs over the projections and a fully restored entablature (fig. 23). This is reiterated in a 1941 photograph in the Mogabgab archive. Thus the current configuration seems to be a result of a reconstruction done in the 1920s.⁷⁷ It may well be accurate. Certainly, it would be consistent with designs of that era. Enlart made a drawing in

⁷³ Giorgio Vasari, *Michele Sanmichele. Architetto Veronese* (Verona 1960) 38–41. See the discussion of the Sanmichele in Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 112–115. For an image of the Lesina loggia see Eric Langenskiöld, *Michele Sanmicheli. The Architect of Verona* (Uppsala 1938) 170.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 169–170 and pl. 67B, where the Famagusta gateway is mislabeled "The Loggia in Corfu." Langenskiöld believed that the triple gateway, which he calls "the loggia of the Famagusta palace," was a work by Giangirolamo (169). Despite the high probability, there are no documents to lend greater certainty.

⁷⁵ The J. P. Foscolo photographs are part of the Collection of A. Kingsley Porter, Fogg Art Museum [ref. 171.4 F211 3L 1]. Many of Foscolo's stunning photographs of Cyprus appear in *J. P. Foscolo*, ed. Andreas Malecos (Nicosia 1992).

⁷⁶ The photograph was likely taken in 1904–1905. It appears in the 1906 first ed. of Basil Stewart, *My Experiences of Cyprus* (London 1908) after 76. See also A. O. Green, *Cyprus, a Short Account of its History and Present State* (Kilmacoll 1914).

⁷⁷ Langenskiöld, *Michele Sanmicheli* (n. 73 above) 170, notes that the loggia was "completely excavated in 1929."

1896 which the restorers seem to have trusted. In it he clearly delineates a triglyph and guttae on the one remaining section on the northern section of the triple gates.⁷⁸

The bases and capitals of the Famagusta triple gateway are virtually identical to those of the twin columns and were likely carved by Venetian masons. They are indicative of a revitalization of the Doric in Venetian architecture in the sixteenth-century (Sansovino, for example, made extensive use of the order). Venice's control of the Greek eastern Mediterranean justified the prominent use of that order, indicating that the city was the inheritor not only of Byzantine Greek glory but also of the grandeur of the ancient Greeks. Such an emphasis on Greek culture was also a characteristic of Venetian humanism, which showed a preference for the study of Greek over Latin.⁷⁹

The triple gateway, like the twin columns, no doubt functioned ceremonially as portals from which state representatives would emerge. The central portal would have been given prominence in the hierarchy with the flanking arches serving ancillary personages. And while it was at once a portal and "triumphal arch," it was also a loggia, lending dignity to the piazza. It is also likely that, as a loggia, the gate functioned as a place of presentation and audience, as state representatives could have sat on risers as spectators of civic rituals or performances, as can be seen in the lower right of the drawing published by Gerola of a procession in Candia (fig 18). Another Venetian loggia with such functions is the well preserved loggia at Hvar (Lesina), Croatia, which was designed by Giangiolamo Sanmichele just before his journey to Famagusta in ca. 1540–1550.⁸⁰ Yet another, also decorated with triglyphs and metopes, was found in Candia (Herakleion), Crete.⁸¹ Sansovino's loggia at the base of the campanile of San Marco in Venice comes to mind, as it also played a central role in civic ceremony. The Famagusta gate should be seen, then, as a multifunctional element in its assertion of Venetian dominion and playing roles as triumphal arch, ennobling edifice, loggia, and first line of defense for the Palazzo del Proveditore.

While the triple gateway formed the official face of the Palazzo del Proveditore, it is not known what survived of the medieval Lusignan palace during the mid-sixteenth century. Perhaps much of this structure suffered during the Genoese occupation. Certainly, almost nothing of it survives today. What is known, however, is that the Venetians made substantial additions at the west end of the complex in the form of a large cortile surrounded by a simple high wall in the south, storerooms and an armory in the north, and a multi-storied residential block on the west side that had a large banqueting hall, probably on the *piano nobile* (fig. 24). A substantial chapel was appended to the northwest corner. Walls of the residential block still survive to a substantial height, and some of the portals and fenestration are intact. The ashlar of the walls is modified at the portals' frames where faceted rustication, *alla diamante*, surrounds the open-

⁷⁸ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 467. He also makes note of it in his text (468).

⁷⁹ See Felix Gilbert, "Humanism in Venice," *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations* (Florence 1979) 24–25.

⁸⁰ Langenskiöld, *Michele Sanmichele* (n. 73 above) 170. Langenskiöld claims that the columns at Hvar's loggia are also ancient spolia.

⁸¹ See Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* (n. 6 above) 3.35–60. And at Canea (Chania) and Rethymnon, Crete as well. See Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (n. 6 above) 79–87.

ings. Sadly, the inscription and/or sculptural blocks above the portals have vanished (fig. 25). Post holes indicate the positions of timbers for the flooring/ceilings and porches. One of the more remarkable features of the palace was a wooden footbridge that is said to have connected the women's quarters at the upper level with the women's gallery of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, which flanked the palace across a narrow street to the south.⁸² Since virtually all of the Lusignan palace has been destroyed there is little to tell us how the earlier palace may have communicated with the later Venetian addition. The large cortile must have been meant to host elaborate court ceremonies and festivities.⁸³

A hybridized Venetian renovation in Famagusta's main cathedral square—Enlart referred to it as "... a thoroughly archaizing, eclectic and cosmopolitan work"—is a structure consisting of three rib vaulted bays, that is appended to the southwest corner of St. Nicholas cathedral (fig. 26).⁸⁴ In terms of articulating the architectural setting of the square, the building represented yet another institutional presence—probably ecclesiastical, originally—which defined and organized the space of the square, thus establishing its spatial precedence in the city by more emphatically segregating it from the busy street which ran along the square to the south. The original function of this Lusignan era building is not known but Enlart hypothesized that it may have served initially as the cathedral grammar school.⁸⁵ A second storey, now completely gone, was accessed by an external stairway from the south, still *in situ*, on the street side of the building (fig. 27). Two impressive ocular windows, Venetian modifications, about 2.0 meters in diameter and with Renaissance style frames, face the cathedral square. Wide arches, broad enough for carts, are parallel to one another on the south and north long sides, thus suggesting that the building may have been reassigned by the Venetians as a gatehouse or monumental entrance to the square. The archway facing the square was articulated by jambs with recycled colonnettes and sculpted capitals and a Romanesque zigzag motif in the archivolt (possibly some of these parts used from an early medieval structure). Coats of arms of the Ragazzoni family, inset high on the walls facing the square indicate a late sixteenth-century date for the renovation.⁸⁶

The likelihood for some ceremonial function is implied by brackets that supported a balcony on the south side of the structure above the archway (fig. 27). The porch is reminiscent of a balcony for benediction, public announcement, appearance, or ritual permission to proceed into the cathedral square. Whatever the building's purpose(s), it is designed as a transition between the city streets and the more dignified urban space of the square. Perhaps it was the monumental entryway for popular/public participation in civic processions and ceremonies. While the church and state paraded into the

⁸² Another bridge was said to have extended from the Lusignan palace to other buildings in the west. Nothing of this construction survives but it is referred to in Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 249–250.

⁸³ We can posit a purely pragmatic explanation. Water was a rare commodity on Cyprus, and Venetians typically collected rainwater in the courtyards of their palaces and stored that water below. In this instance as well, a large cistern stored thousands of gallons of water beneath the cortile.

⁸⁴ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 462.

⁸⁵ Ibid. See also Jeffery, *Historical Monuments* (n. 25 above) 125.

⁸⁶ Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Le Décor Heraldique sur les Monuments Médiévaux," *L'Art Gothique de Chypre* (n. 27 above) 450.

square from the episcopal (bishop's) palace and the Palazzo del Proveditore respectively, they may have been joined by the members of the populace (guilds, confraternities, ordinary citizens) who entered through this building's impressive archways, which formed a sort of tunnel. If so, then the structure's gate function may have played, on certain ceremonial occasions, a socially binding role, helping create a symphysis or confluence of colonizer and colonized, mediated by the process of procession. Since any processions were likely to entail the mutual adoration of religious icons or relics, such rituals may have played crucial roles in physically and socially concatenating diverse people through common worship.

One possibility, also conjectural but also worth considering, is that the gateway was, during ceremonial occasions, the entryway to the cathedral piazza for the Orthodox community. The south edge of the square, where the gateway is situated, was only 100 meters from the Orthodox cathedral of Famagusta, St. George of the Greeks, a church which was itself a strange hybrid of Latin and Byzantine forms (fig. 28). If ritual and procession were indeed used to further cohesion between the two Christian communities (or the many, including Armenian, Maronite, Jacobite, and Nestorian), this gate may have played a mediating role just as icons used in processions may have provided a common devotional focus for those of diverse affiliations. Georgopoulou has shown, for example, how the icon of the Virgin Mesopanditissa was used in Candia (Herakleion), Crete, as a tool of reconciliation between Greeks and Venetians. At the same time, Georgopoulou also notes that this "reconciliation" didn't always hold, and, moreover, the Venetian attempts to co-opt the Orthodox church of St. Titus in Candia engendered resentment in the indigenous Orthodox population. Such conflicts existed in Cyprus as well.⁸⁷

The upper storey of this building is a mystery. As mentioned earlier, it is totally destroyed (it could have been a timber superstructure). However, if Enlart is correct about the structure's original function as the cathedral grammar school there is no reason that it could not have continued in that role. The external staircase on the south side, facing the street, supports this more public function of the upper storey. We are also reminded of the gateway function of the arch in the Torre del'Orologio in the Piazza San Marco in Venice that opened to the main road, the Merceria, leading to the Rialto. Here, too, an archway demarcates a gateway from a piazza to a street, multiplying the number of dignified facades and using architecture as a way to complement civic ceremony and emphasizing passage from different hierarchical spaces of the city. This portal also orchestrated the pedestrian's experience of entering the dramatically expansive space of the Piazza San Marco as one emerged from the dark and relatively confined artery of the Merceria. The breathtaking facade of the church of San Marco, viewed at a dramatic perspective, was hidden by the portal's framing until the last moment of emergence into the sunlit piazza's capacious expanses. In the Famagusta structure, also, the space of the main square was segregated and thus more dramatically revealed through the passageway. At the very least, this building, along with the

⁸⁷ Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete" (n. 67 above) 479–496. See also Irene Bierman, "The Message of Urban Space: the Case of Crete," *Espaces et Sociétés* 47 (1985) 377–388, who also considers subsequent Ottoman reassignments of earlier structures and spaces, a project which would also apply to Famagusta.

other Venetian buildings constructed or renovated in this era, sought to refine the hierarchical organization of the civic center. As an example of renaissance town planning the manifestations may seem modest, yet they are significant instances of the Venetian impulse to stamp their colonial holdings in an attempt to naturalize the surrounding for both Venetians traveling at the edge of their empire and for the local populations whose destinies they controlled. While the original medieval structure may well have been a grammar school, the Venetians converted it both structurally and functionally. Yet its most dramatic aspect, and one which also points to a function linked to civic performance, was another impressive piece of *spolia* from Salamis, a long marble frieze in late antique or early Byzantine style with wild animals framed in a scrolling acanthus motif. This slab, around six meters long, was set up as a long bench (*panca*) against the structure (fig. 29). It seems likely that, at least on some occasions, this bench served as a seating area for officials of some kind, perhaps for a cortege leaving the cathedral from its southern façade portal.⁸⁸ It closely resembles a bench-like projection running from the porphyry statue of the Tetrarchs to the Porta della Carta in Venice, a zone of undeniable charge in terms of ceremonial and ritual importance. It, too, is decorated with reliefs of running animals.

Just to the northeast of the Palazzo del Proveditore are the remnants of another palazzo that may have been a renovation of a large medieval house (fig. 30). It reveals much about what some of the finer palazzi in Famagusta may have looked like in the Venetian period. The palazzo, named the “Bedestan Palazzo”—also known as the “Queen’s Palace” because it corresponds to a palazzo of that name in Ghibellino’s print and its location agrees with the historical record indicating that Caterina Cornaro vacated the larger palace and took up a smaller palace nearby and just to the north—consisted of a two-storied L-shaped block (although it could have been U-shaped, as the western end has been lost) around a rectangular cortile with a simple loggia. It is of a style and plan that in Venice might have been called *rustico*, and the cortile may well have been a garden plot similar to the *palazzi rustici* represented on the outer islands of the Giudeca in Jacopo de’ Barbari’s woodcut view of Venice of 1500 (fig. 31). The main entrance of the Bedestan Palazzo is articulated *alla diamante*, just like the windows and portals of the Palazzo del Proveditore.⁸⁹

Yet the Bedestan Palazzo may not have been Famagusta’s most prestigious Venetian residence. Just to the north on the same street stands an ornate entryway to another palazzo. Here, however, the entrance is all that survives, free standing like a sculpture at the roadside (fig. 32). The portal only narrowly escaped destruction as it was once scheduled for demolition in the late nineteenth century. In an effort to save it, her majesty’s high commissioner in Cyprus, Sir Robert Biddulph, bought the property so as to avert the portal’s demise, and ever since it has been known as “Bid-

⁸⁸ The bench still functions as a seating area for those attending funerals in the Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque. St. Nicholas was converted into a mosque in 1571 after the Ottoman conquest. At some point during the Ottoman period, but presumably not long after 1571, a medieval tomb slab from the cathedral was smoothed down and used as a slab for the deceased. This was set up immediately in front of the antique marble “bench” supported by more *spolia*: segments of antique columns. Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 125.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 158. A small private chapel of uncertain date survives in the cortile by the south wall. It could be a modern caprice.

dulph's Gate."⁹⁰ A drawing by Enlart from around 1896 shows the gate in an era when the sculpture was in better condition—the lion holding a shield is quite discernible—and one of the door's flanking columns was still *in situ*. Still, as with the triple gateway, Enlart's drawings are, after all, drawings, and we cannot know how much liberty he might have taken in "reconstructing" from the fragments he saw. Of these two palaces little can be determined until excavations reveal more about their history and use.

My earlier discussion of the fortifications of Famagusta was technical, as if they were purely utilitarian structures, even if extraordinary in their utility. But in considering the walls and bastions as architecture we find other levels of signification that link them conceptually to the issues I have been discussing. No doubt practical considerations were paramount for the architects and military engineers who designed and built the walls. Yet the fortifications were also potent architectural signs and, indeed, the defining markers of the city. Famagusta became a Venetian holding at a propitious moment in the history of printmaking and Venetian publishing. The years between 1489 and 1571, when Venice controlled Cyprus and Famagusta, were years which saw a marked acceleration in the number of cartographic and quasi-cartographic representations of Venetian colonial ports along their long maritime trade routes on the Dalmatian coast, in Corfu, the Peloponese, Crete, the Cyclades, and, ultimately, Cyprus. We therefore have numerous depictions of Famagusta from the print culture of the era with which the Venetians "took possession" of the city by producing and reproducing representations of it. In these images, the walls and other elements of fortification are given emphasis, and visitors to the city often commented on the walls, while remarks on the other architectural features of the city are rare. The walls literally define the city in the prints. The myth of Famagusta was the myth of its walls. For Venetians who did not live in colonial towns, the outline of the towns' walls were glyphs of the glory and far-flung security of Venice. These bird's eye views of Venice's colonies were not cartographic, not maps, but, rather, diagrams of military strength meant to engender a sense of confidence in Venetian traders who would be more willing to emigrate or undertake distant trading ventures under the protection of the realm's impressive series of sanctuaries. The actual walls really did provide security, while their representations disseminated the crucial *idea* of security.

Travelers to Famagusta, while impressed by the solidity of the walls, were also struck by their beauty. While John Locke noted that Famagusta was "strongly rampired" he also noted that it was "a very faire strong holde." And other voyagers used language to imply that the walls were both strong and beautiful. The mathematical and geometric theories which military architects used to design fortifications ensured that, even in the case of extreme renovation, as in Famagusta, the walls and bastions displayed pleasing aspects of proportion and rhythm which gave an attractive visual quality to the defenses. As Marie-Luise von Wartburg puts it, Venetian military architects "designed technically effective defensive structures in architectural forms

⁹⁰ Biddulph published a paper which is still a very informative and accessible introduction to Cyprus and a revealing account of how the British surveyed their new colonial possession. Sir Robert Biddulph, "Cyprus," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series*, vol. 11.12 (1889) 705–719.

which combined monumental elegance with the expressions of power and defiance.”⁹¹ This aesthetic dimension of the fortifications was by no means a mere felicitous and unintended byproduct of geometric calculations about attacking, defending, angles and trajectories. The beauty of Famagusta’s fortifications signified to both indigenes and Venetian immigrants alike. Each could be at once reassured by the walls’ solidity and the precision of their engineering, and seduced by their attractiveness, which reaffirmed the walls’ bi-functionality. In other words the aesthetic elements of the fortifications were also practical, for the appearance of impregnability could help reassure a citizen and intimidate an enemy. Whether this is a valid observation or not, it is nonetheless true that the Ottomans, when they arrived to take Famagusta in 1570, fresh on the heels of their relatively easy and successful siege of Nicosia, Cyprus’s principal city (which had a far more advanced set of walls and bastions), they expected Famagusta to be an even more fleeting engagement. Yet upon arrival, inexplicably from a purely military point of view, they hesitated and dug in instead of mounting a vigorous assault on the walls, which, had they prosecuted it, very likely would have resulted in a quick victory. The fortifications can thus be seen to communicate ideas complementary to those conveyed by the renovations, monuments, and *spolia* of the town square.

I demonstrated how the Venetian monuments of Famagusta were a colonial instance of the architectural performance of *venezianità*. The exploitation of the local gothic structures, the manipulation and reformation of the built environment, and the refined tactical uses of *spolia* to reproduce the mythology of Venice are consistent with Venetian methods in both Venice itself and other colonial contexts such as Candia, Crete. The role played by Famagusta’s architecture in the fashioning of Venetian identity, coupled with civic ceremony and ritual, is consonant with Venetian ideals and represent an eloquent example of how, even at the most remote edges of its empire, the Venetians saw the urban fabric of their colonial cities as stages where the scenography of empire could be constructed and the drama of historic destiny could be performed for the consumption of both colonizer and colonized. The Venetians saw Famagusta as a field of social and cultural action and the central square as an open air gallery where architecture, artifacts and rituals could play definitive roles in naturalizing the physical and social space. The walls and bastions defined the scope of this impressive stagecraft, providing its monumental backdrop and imbuing the city with a demeanor of might and *dignitas* in the cultivating of its mythology.

Whether processions and public rituals actually did engender concord in their mediating choreographies we do not know.⁹² Works of architecture are ideal forms manifesting an idealization of concepts. Even when we read their signs correctly suspicion is warranted. Analyses of records indicating actual relationships between Greeks and

⁹¹ Marie-Louise von Wartburg, “*Vestigia leonis*: Art and Architecture in Cyprus under Venetian Rule,” *Cyprus, Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (n. 6 above) 67.

⁹² Nor do we know what transformations of ritual may have occurred, since ceremonial importations could lead to a metamorphoses in colonial contexts, as Carolyn Dean has shown, for example, in her analysis of the indigenous peoples of Cuzco, Peru, and their acceptance, but also their conversion, of the Corpus Christi procession to serve ancient pre-Columbian Inka ideals. See Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ. Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham & London 1999).

Venetians on Cyprus are needed to temper the fantasies of myth, symbolism, ceremony and ritual. Colonizers are often configured as active oppressors and the colonized as passive oppressed. For the most part this was true of the relationship between Venetians and Greeks on Cyprus. These rituals, additionally, while they may have been inclusive, served to perform the strict hierarchies of the society. Precedence in ritual defined and reproduced the rigidity of social strata, reiterating the positions of rulers and ruled. Yet among the colonized there was always passive and active resistance, segregation, defiance, just as there undoubtedly was co-operation, conciliation, and concord. The Greek population, which comprised ninety percent of the total during the years of Venetian rule—overwhelmingly peasants—was amongst the most heavily taxed in Venice's empire. Moreover, they were obliged to trade only with Venice. Many revolts were planned by Greeks, though, owing to the Venetians' vast intelligence system and its policies of generous monetary rewards for information, few came to fruition. The ringleaders of such plans were quickly rounded up and executed.⁹³

In the later years of Venetian rule, however, there seems to have been more attempts at conciliation. By then a generation of Venetians had spent most or all of their lives on Cyprus and were at least partially bilingual and less apt to see the Greeks as "foreign." It is possible that such maneuvers towards pacification, at least by governmental institutions, were motivated by the increasing likelihood of an Ottoman offensive against Cyprus. Greek rebels had made overtures to the Ottomans in attempts to rid Cyprus of the Venetians.⁹⁴ Thus the possibility of internal rebellion coupling with an Ottoman invasion pushed the Venetians towards more tolerant strategies. In 1547 the Council of Ten in Venice made unprecedented gifts of supplies and money to some Orthodox monasteries.⁹⁵ Later, in 1568, merely two years before the Ottomans attacked, the Council of Ten tried to negotiate a more equitable relationship between the Latin and Greek archbishops of the island. Venetian citizens also patronized Greek churches.⁹⁶ At the same time a Greek bureaucrat such as George Boustronios, who wrote a history of Cyprus during the years of the reigns of James II and, later, Caterina Cornaro, could be quite devoted to his employers, Lusignan or Venetian.⁹⁷

And how strong was Venetian identification for Venetians living so far from the empire's heart? Did Venetians who were born and raised on Cyprus consider themselves Venetians or Cypriots? Had they developed composite identities? There is evidence that there were strong tendencies towards Cypriot identification amongst Venetians. Benjamin Arbel has found evidence in the *capitoli* of the Envoys of Famagusta, for example, that Famagusta's Venetian town council attempted to exclude any citizens from serving unless they had lived there for twenty-five years. Thus there was an attempt to coalesce power among those committed to the city (though also to close the body to those from lower social ranks). The council members tried to make the posi-

⁹³ Aristidou, "Venetian Rule in Cyprus (1474–1570)," *Cyprus, Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (n. 6 above) 41.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 40–41.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 41.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 42.

⁹⁷ See Dawkins's intro., *Chronicle of George Boustronios* (n. 3 above) 1–2.

tions hereditary, thus indicating that they had permanently linked their fortunes to Famagusta and Cyprus.⁹⁸ Also telling is the case of Livio Podocataro, who at his death bequeathed 50,000 ducats to provide scholarships for Cypriot students wanting to attend the university of Padua. His epitaph refers to him as Livius Podacatharus Cyprius.⁹⁹ Sally McKee has examined such issues in her study of Venetian Crete, and the questions she poses would also be relevant to Cyprus, another of Venice's uncommon dominions.¹⁰⁰

If Venice was, as Patricia Fortini Brown has put it, "an empire of fragments," we find a compelling aggregation of such fragments—literal, figurative, and social—in Famagusta, providing key pieces in the puzzle of what Venice was and intriguing evidence about how Venice fashioned its empire and how that same empire refashioned Venice. Many such pieces lay far beyond the Venetian lagoon, not only in the Adriatic, the Aegean, or the eastern Mediterranean, but the Black Sea as well. It is by examining these fragments of empire that we will gain a better sense of all that Venice was and in what ways Venetian activities could be considered precursors of later manifestations of European colonial enterprises.

⁹⁸ Arbel, "Urban Assemblies in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice* (n. 3 above) 210–211.

⁹⁹ Jeffery, *Historic Monuments* (n. 25 above) 81–82. Jeffery notes that the Podocataro were an accomplished family. Ettore Podocataro wrote a history of Cyprus (in 1566; Jeffery records the citation for Ettore's *History of Cyprus* as Cod. Miscell. S. Marco. III. No. 649) in which he includes a biography of Ludovico Podocataro (b. 1430, Cyprus, a demonstration that Venetians had developed long-term relationships with Cyprus long before they gained full control in 1489). Ludovico became a canon of Padua and, later in life, a cardinal, leaving his office of the canon of Padua to his nephew Livio. Livio was archbishop of Nicosia from 1524 to 1554, an office he left to his son Cesare. Enlart was critical of Cesare, who was absent from Nicosia when the Ottomans attacked in 1570; *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (n. 16 above) 88. After the Ottomans took Cyprus, many Cypriots went to Venice and markedly increased the number of Greeks of the ethnic community there. Most of these left their properties to Cypriot churches and monasteries in gestures of nostalgia and love for their lost homeland. See Chryssa Maltezou, "Cypriots in the City of St. Mark after the Island's Turkish Conquest (1571)" *Cyprus, Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (n. 6 above) 75–81.

¹⁰⁰ Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia 2000).



FIG. 1. Aerial photograph of Famagusta, Cyprus.

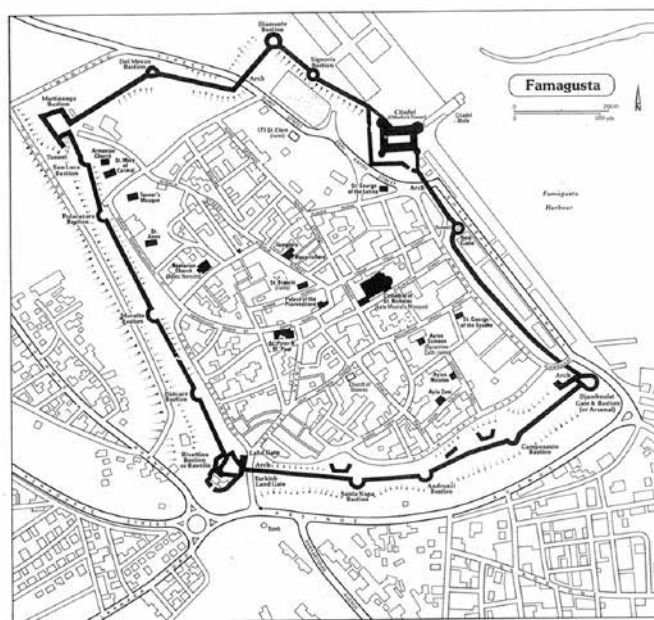


FIG. 2. Diagram of Famagusta and its walls.



FIG. 3. Section of the walls of Famagusta between the ravelin and the Santa Napa Bastion with natural excavated rock making up the lower sections (photo by author).



FIG. 4. Stefano Ghibellino, print of the Siege of Famagusta, 1571.



FIG. 5. Andruzzi Bastion crenellations, looking east, with adaptations to the crenellations for firearms and artillery (photo by Dan Frodsham).

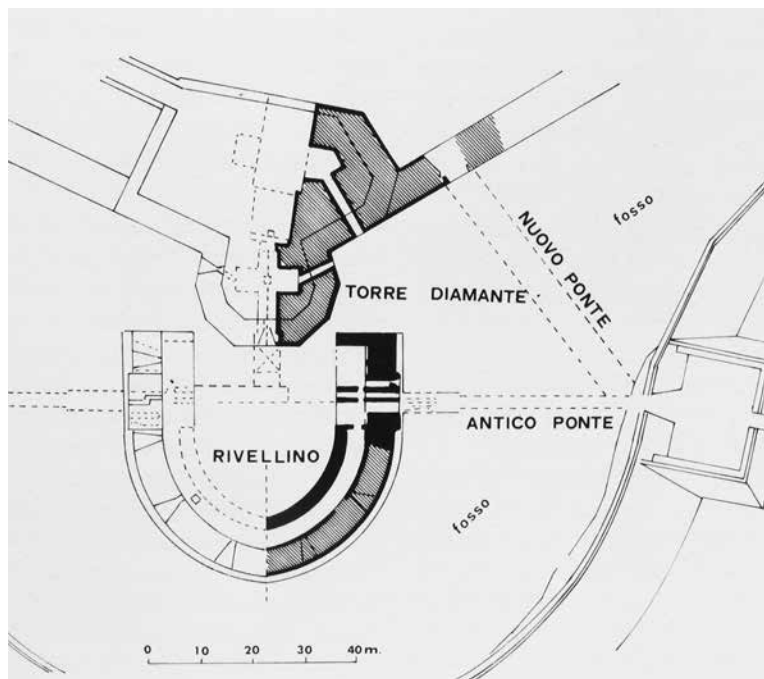


FIG. 6. Diagram, the Ravelin, Famagusta (Maggiorotti, *Gli Architetti Militari* [n. 26 above]).



FIG. 7. The Ravelin, south flank with south drawbridge gate, Famagusta (photo by author).



FIG. 8. Nicolo Priuli, The Sea Gate bastion, Famagusta, 1496 (photo by author).



FIG. 9. Antonio Gambello (?), Arsenale Gate, Venice, 1460 with later additions.



FIG. 10. The apse of the gothic cathedral of St. Nicholas, Famagusta, 14th century (photo by author).



FIG. 11. View of the Martinengo Bastion, Famagusta, from the northwest, (photo by author).

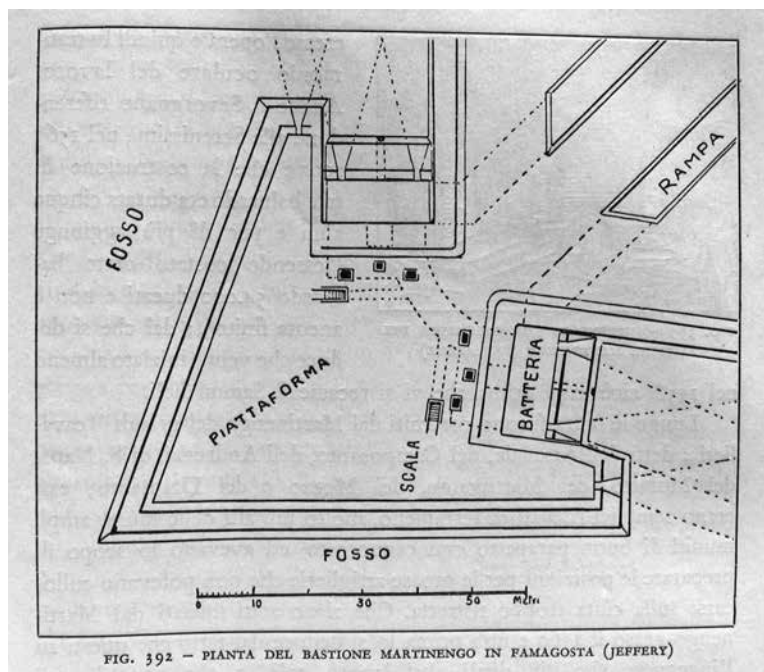


FIG. 12. Diagram of the Martinengo Bastion, Famagusta, from Maggiorotti, *Gli Architetti Militari* (adapted from Jeffery, *Historic Monuments of Cyprus* [n. 25 above]).



FIG. 13. Wood model of Famagusta before 1555 (mislabeled “Maina in Morea”), the Naval Museum, Venice (photo by Anna Basso).



FIG. 14. Wood model of Famagusta after ca. 1555, the Naval Museum, Venice (photo by Anna Basso).

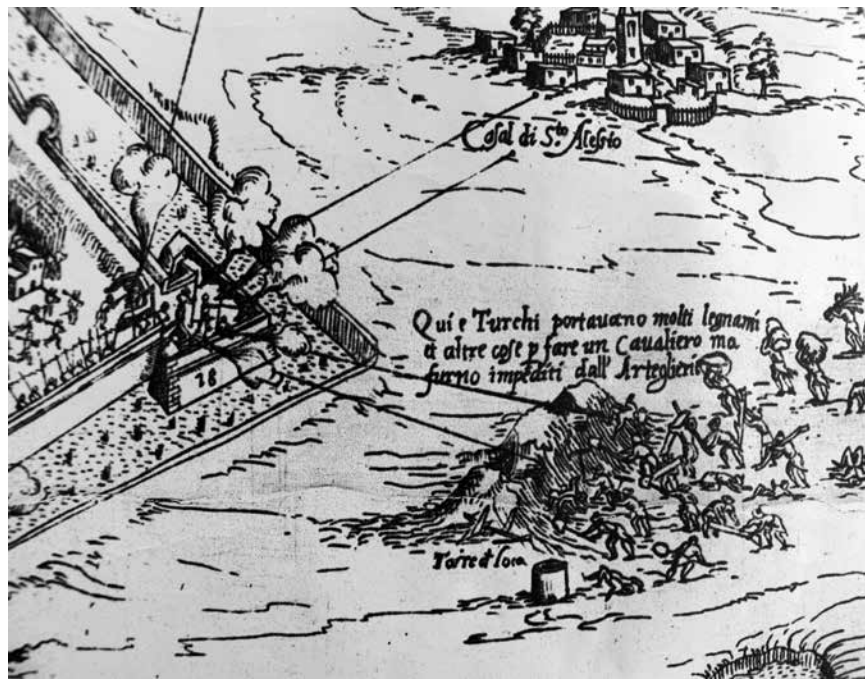


FIG. 15. Battle at the Martinengo Bastion, detail from Stefano Ghibellino, print of the siege of Famagusta, 1571.

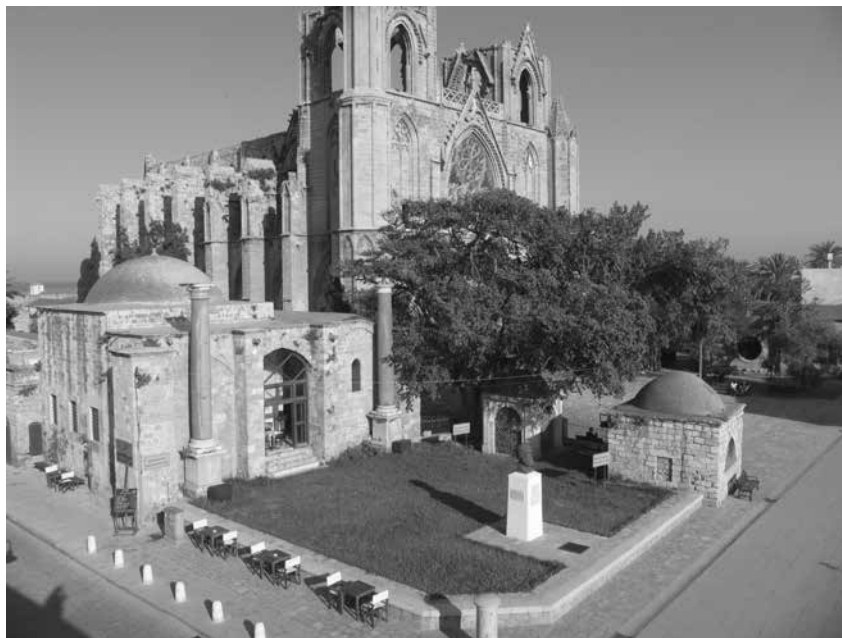


FIG. 16. The twin Venetian columns, Famagusta, set up at left by the grass in front of the madrasa. St. Nicholas cathedral in background (photo by author).

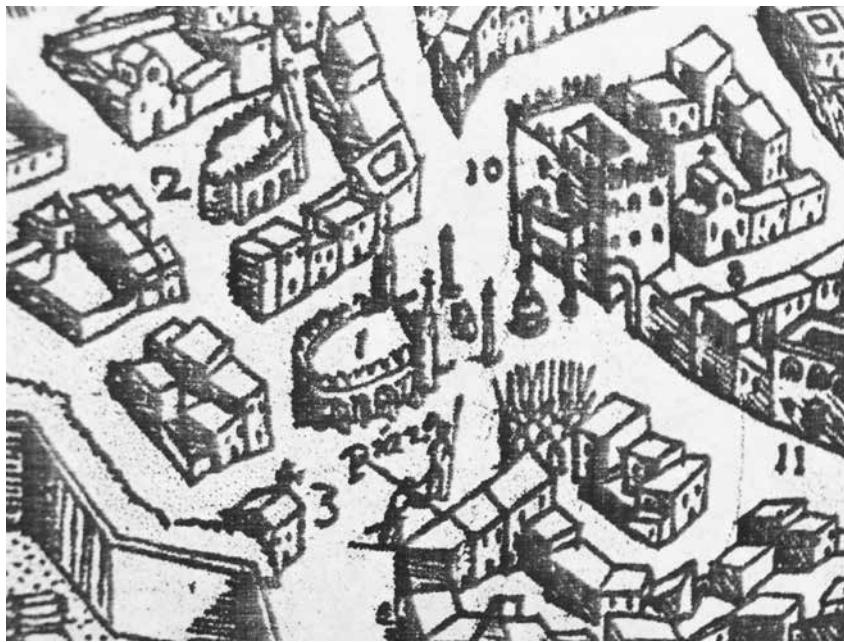


FIG. 17. Detail from Stefano Ghibellino's print of the siege of Famagusta, 1571. The twin columns are in front of the cathedral of St. Nicholas (no. 1 on plan) with the "Tomb of Venus" set up between them.

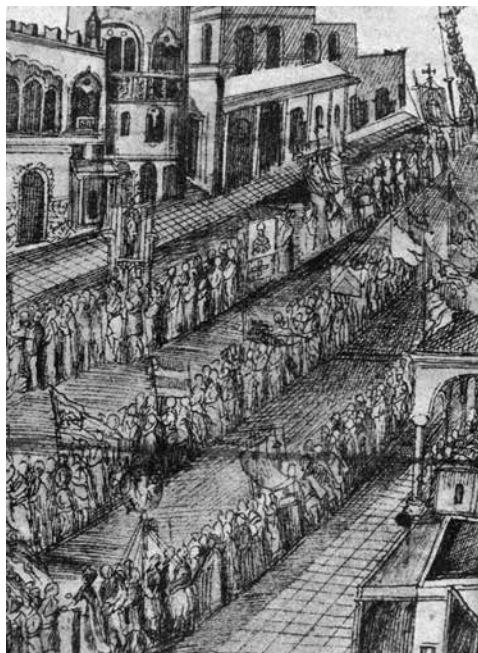


FIG. 18. Procession in Candia (Heraklion), Crete, from Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* (n. 6 above) (Biblioteca Marciana, MS Graec. VII, 22 [1466], fol. 134v).



FIG. 19. The so-called “Tomb of Venus,” Roman sarcophagus probably from Salamis, Famagusta, Cyprus (photo by author).



FIG. 20. Triple arch gateway to the Venetian Palazzo del Proveditore, Famagusta, from the east (photo by author).

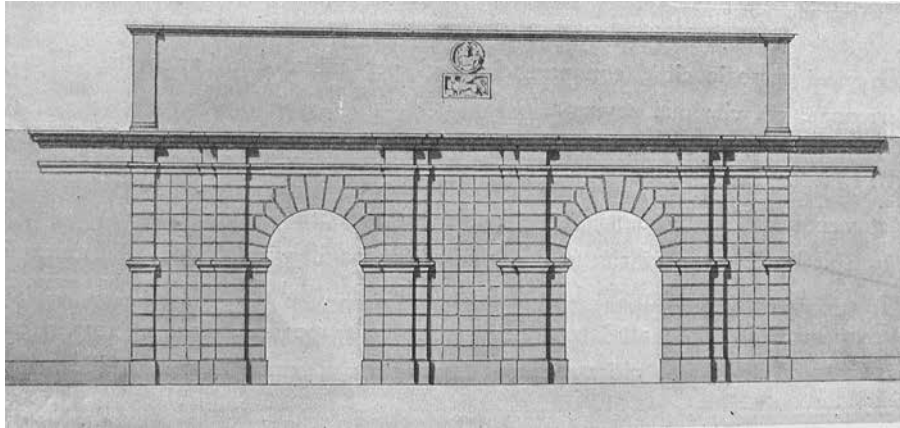


FIG. 21. Porta Panigrà, Candia (Heraklion), Crete, from Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* (n. 6 above).



FIG. 22. Triple Gateway, Famagusta, photograph ca. 1878, J. P. Foscolo archive. Courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



FIG. 23. Triple Gateway, Famagusta, ca. 1930 from Langenskiöld, *Michele Sanmicheli* (n. 73 above).



FIG. 24. Palazzo del Proveditore, Famagusta, walls of residential block and cortile (photo by author).



FIG. 25. Portals in the Palazzo del Proveditore, Famagusta, residential block (photo by author).



FIG. 26. Structure at the south end of the square, Famagusta, general view from the north with the portals of St. Nicholas Cathedral at left (photo by author).



FIG. 27. Structure at the south end of the square, Famagusta, general view from the southwest with archway, external stairs, and brackets above arch for balcony (photo by Michael Walsh).



FIG. 28. St. George of the Greeks, Famagusta, 14th c. (photo by author).



FIG. 29. The bench (*panca*) made from a marble antique frieze from Salamis (photo by author).



FIG. 30. The façade and entrance portal to the "Bedestan Palazzo" (aka "Queen's Palace"), Famagusta.

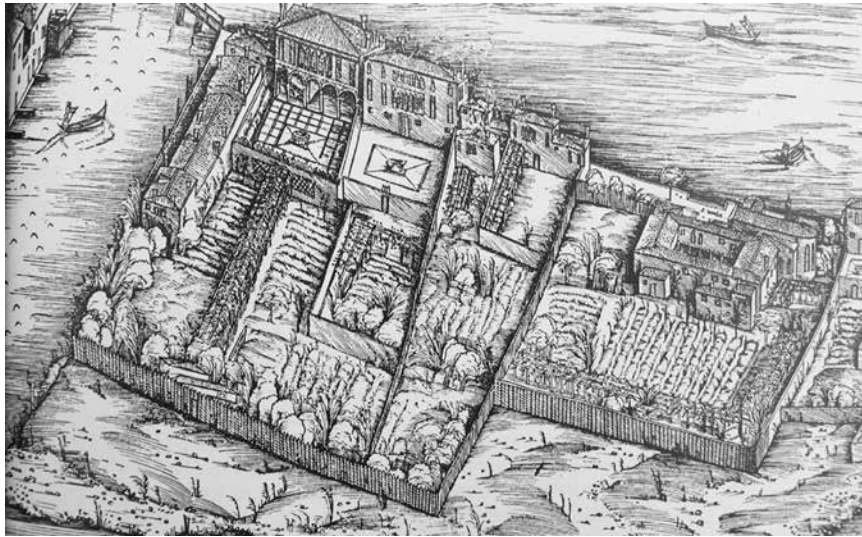


FIG. 31. Jacopo de' Barbari, detail from the woodcut view of Venice, 1500, showing palazzo with large garden plots in the Judeca.



FIG. 32. "Biddulph's Gate," Famagusta (photo by author).