

## Bridge across the Void: Medieval Memories from Nicosia's Green Line

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### ABSTRACT

Before the Green Line and today's politics, Medieval and Renaissance Nicosia was divided by politics and commerce. The author gives us a tour of the walled city based on historical sources and shows the role played by the Pedieus river and its bridges.

### RÉSUMÉ

Bien avant que la ligne verte n'apparaisse avec la situation d'aujourd'hui, Nicosie était divisée au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance par des questions de politique et de commerce. L'auteur nous fait visiter cette vieille ville *intra muros*, guidé lui-même par des sources historiques qui font référence à des points de repère tels le fleuve Pedias et ses ponts.

By 11 am, April 23, 2003, a few thousand Greek Cypriots had crossed the checkpoint at the Ledra Palace Hotel of Nicosia. They were heading north into occupied Cyprus. Similar numbers of Turkish Cypriots had entered the government-controlled area, for day-long visits. This event was a response to the first large scale relaxing of absolute segregation by the régime in the occupied areas of Cyprus since the 1974 Turkish invasion. Over the following days, the trickle turned into an unstoppable flood. Whether this move was simply a pre-emptive strike in a diplomacy of impression on that régime's part or the start of substantial developments will certainly be debated by analysts and evidenced by future developments themselves.

The Green Line that divides Cyprus and its capital city of Nicosia continues east of the Ledra Palace checkpoint and traverses the old walled city. However, this absolute and impenetrable void running through the middle of the walled town, following the traces of Paphos and Hermes

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Streets, once the city's main commercial arteries, is far from being a new limit or frontier. Rather, since the earliest days recorded in considerable historic sources on Cyprus, it appears that the same path was followed by the river Pediaeus, dividing the Byzantine, the late Medieval and the Renaissance city in two. The river was subsequently diverted in 1567-1568 by the Venetian Governors and engineers to flow around the newly constructed circular Renaissance walls and fill their defensive moat. Two years later, during the hot summer of 1570, the Ottoman army found the moat dry, as the winter torrent had long stopped flowing. Nicosia fell to the Ottomans on September 9 after eight weeks of siege. Since then the river has followed its present course, running west of the city towards its north before turning east to head towards the Bay of Famagusta.

During the late Medieval and Renaissance period (1192-1570), the names of at least six bridges were recorded as lining the river inside the city. An attempt will be made here to restore in our memory and imagination both the river and bridges. As we contemplate their fraction in the urban and social fabric of Nicosia, it becomes clear that this linear space was not only the central artery of the capital, but also the focus of urban life and the path of ceremonial and religious processions. Furthermore, it will be shown that the river provided a backdrop for the city's commercial activity, an edge for its castles, royal courts and important public spaces, and indeed the point of reference not only for significant events during civil or ethnic conflicts, international wars and natural catastrophes, but also during moments of reconciliation and celebration.

### *The Bridge of Saint Dominic*

In the vicinity west and south of the Paphos Gate (Renaissance *Porta San Domenico*) existed the illustrious monastery of Saint Dominic, constructed in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and considerably enlarged shortly thereafter. For the next two centuries, this monastery became a repository for numerous members of the reigning Lusignan dynasty and its nobility. On its northwestern edges, the monastery, as well as the large citadel constructed around it in the late 1370s, was bordered by the river, which then proceeded to enter the city. A bridge found nearby assumed the name of this monastery: The sole reference to this bridge comes from the various Cypriot

chronicles whose recounting of the events of 1376 included mention of the bridge of Saint Dominic and a nearby church dedicated to St. Barbara.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, during the refortification of Nicosia in 1576-1568, a church of *Santa Barbara* was demolished near or outside of the proposed *Roccas* bastion, in the vicinity of the present Paphos Gate.<sup>2</sup> The location of the historic bridge of Saint Dominic was reconfirmed during foundation excavations at the headquarters of the Cyprus Telecommunications Authority (the so-called Electra House), just west of Paphos Gate, in 1949: It was then that the pier of an arch of a stone bridge was brought to light, more than six meters below the present ground level. The span of the arch was 2.74 m., and its height 2.90 m.<sup>3</sup> One should note that when in 1395 the traveler Nicolas de Martoni saw Nicosia's *pontes plures*, he commented that some were constructed out of stone, while others were still constructed out of wood.<sup>4</sup> The stone Bridge of Saint Dominic, connecting the citadel and Dominican monastery with neighbourhoods north of the river, must have undoubtedly been one of the most prominent of the capital.

### *The Bridge of the Seneschal*

Further inside the city was to be found the Bridge of the Seneschal. As its name testifies, the medieval *Ponte del Syniscalco* of the chronicles must have been located west of the city centre, near the old Byzantine *castello* of Nicosia, which itself once stood roughly north of the present Phaneromeni church.<sup>5</sup> The Seneschal was the King's appointee, often responsible for the defense of the city and kingdom interchangeably with the Constable. Apparently, he resided in that castle when the chroniclers bestowed this name upon the bridge. The Seneschal Bridge is connected to a bloody event which transpired during Easter Sunday in 1192: That was the morning when the Templar Knights, lords of Cyprus barely a few months after purchasing the island from Richard the Lionheart, were surprised in the castle of Nicosia. There ensued an uprising in which the Greeks protested the cruel and unusually harsh treatment they had endured from the Knights. The hundred or so mounted Templars proceeded to slaughter anyone who crossed their path. The fifteenth-century chronicles observe that the streets around the castle filled with blood, which eventually found its path into the river by the Bridge of the Seneschal.<sup>6</sup> More than a century later, and following an alleged month of continuous rain, the same bridge would be

blocked by trees and other debris, and result in the great flood of 1330, which caused thousands of deaths in the city.<sup>7</sup> Recounting the same event, one of the chronicles further specified that this bridge was the *secondo ponte della città*.<sup>8</sup> This comment can either be interpreted as meaning the second bridge of the city in importance, or, more probably, as the second bridge in topography; i.e., down the river's path. Indeed, as already mentioned, at the entry of the river into the city's west end would be found the Bridge of Saint Dominic. No one knows the name of the Seneschal Bridge, located roughly at the crossing of Ledras and Hermou streets with considerable certainty, had been in late Byzantine times, in 1192, or indeed in 1330, but by the mid-fifteenth century it carried the memory of the Seneschal, and a hundred years later it was *chiamato del Lodron* (or *Ladron*),<sup>9</sup> and must have adjoined, along with the castle, the southwestern edge of the important *piazza di sopra* or upper square, in the middle of Nicosia.<sup>10</sup>

### *The Bridge of the Saints Apostles, or Saints Peter and Paul*

During the initial stages of the fierce fighting between the invading Genovese army and the people of Nicosia in early December 1373, another bridge is mentioned. While being pursued, it appears that the Genovese made a stronghold at the bridge of the Saints Apostles,<sup>11</sup> of which the dedication, on recounting the same event, later chronicles specified as "Saints Peter and Paul."<sup>12</sup> The following day, the area of violent fighting, which would persist for hours, began at this bridge and continued until the bridge of the Pillory.<sup>13</sup> The Pillory Bridge, as will later be shown, lay at the east end of the city.<sup>14</sup> Attempting to locate the Bridge of Saints Peter and Paul takes us to a chapel with the same dedication, founded by Simon de Montolif a few years prior to the 1373 events, as two Papal indulgences attest.<sup>15</sup> This chapel survived into 1468, as various mentions to it bear witness<sup>16</sup> and was perhaps also the site of a school in the early sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> It must have given its name to the nearby bridge. Since the Dominican friars became the chapel's owners in 1567, as compensation for the demolition of their monastery, which lay outside the new fortifications,<sup>18</sup> the chapel and the bridge can thus initially be localized inside the (considerably smaller) Renaissance walled city.

Events of three years later would reconfirm that not only were the chapel and bridge inside the Renaissance walls, but also that they occupied a

prominent, central location. During the fighting of 1570 between the Ottomans and the Cypriots, after the former had entered the walled city from the *Costanzo* bastion in the south, they were attempting to reach the quarter of the Cathedrals in the town's centre. Fierce street fighting followed in the street of Saints Pierre and Paul, in front of the Cathedral of the Greeks.<sup>19</sup>

Hence the street leading from the river towards the Greek Cathedral of *Hodegetria*, now a ruined building called the *Bedestan*, must have been the street of Saints Peter and Paul in 1570, hence the bridge and chapel certainly lay nearby at the centre of the city. Researchers have mentioned that the crossroads at that point of the city (Hermes and Trikoupis streets) conserved this history in its Turkish name, which translates to the Principal (or Main) Bridge.<sup>20</sup> It would appear that the Bridge of the Holy Apostles or "Principal" bridge, in the centre of Nicosia, provided the south-eastern edge of the *Upper Square* of the renaissance city.

### *The Bridge of the Jews*

The Jewish community in late Medieval Nicosia is rarely referred to, but it apparently numbered quite a few members, as it is connected to one of the city's bridges: In 1385, when King James I ordered an execution, this took place on the roof of the Bread Market, by the side of the bridge of the Jews, *tou yiofiriou tou evraikou*.<sup>21</sup> While no other source refers again to this bridge, an attempt could be made here to provide for its localization, starting from mentions of various other provision markets in the late Medieval city:

As early as 1367, it is attested that certain quantities of wine found after the death of bishop Guy d'Ibelin at *casal Pellendres* had been carried on animals, brought to Nicosia and sold at the *fonde du vin*.<sup>22</sup> More than a century later, the 1468-1469 *Livre des Remembrances* conserves mentions of the Butchery of Nicosia,<sup>23</sup> the recently created Fresh Fish and Game Market,<sup>24</sup> and the Sugar Shop of the royal domain.<sup>25</sup> Six years later, the chronicles also mention the *fountikan ton Porikon* or *fontego delle frutte* of Nicosia.<sup>26</sup>

Given the isolated mentions, it would be impossible to locate the bread and other provisions markets, as well as the Bridge of the Jews, in the fabric

of the late Medieval city, as the Medieval and Renaissance sources provide no further clues. However, it is important that more than three centuries later, Archduke Louis Salvator would still see, south of the Cathedrals and following an easterly direction, the "great Provision bazaar", with various vegetables, fruit, bread and sweets sold, followed by the fish and meat bazaar.<sup>27</sup> One could thus imagine a similar succession for these markets, attested to from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, south of the Cathedrals. Perhaps they expanded eastwards and southwards from the east end of the upper square along the river and the Covered street.<sup>28</sup> While the river entered the city at one point, at the citadel and the Bridge of Saint Dominic, it apparently branched out and exited the city at three points in the east end, and Salvator, on his entering the city from Famagusta Gate and going towards the bazaars, would still see at the side of the street "*the dry bed of the Pidas, with several bridges*".<sup>29</sup> It thus remains a strong possibility that one of those bridges, lining the river south of Hermes street, at a distance due west of Famagusta Gate, had been the fourteenth-century Bridge of the Jews with its nearby bread market.

### *The Bridge of the Exchange*

As mentioned, it was the bridge of the Seneschal which was blocked by debris and eventually caused the 1330 destructive flood in Nicosia.<sup>30</sup> Later chronicles iterate that if the *ponte del cambio* had given way, "there would not have remained a single soul alive in Nicosia".<sup>31</sup> While one could initially only theorize that this bridge was thus located at the east of the city, the important topographic information comes from the fact that the chroniclers specify the *ponte del cambio* as located near the Temple.<sup>32</sup> The Temple of Nicosia, the old church commenced by the Templar Knights and continued by Guy de Lusignan, the first Latin Lord of Cyprus, who was eventually buried therein in 1194,<sup>33</sup> was to be found *prope flumen*, if indeed it was the same building that Guy's brother, Aimery, donated back to the Knights the following year.<sup>34</sup> It was explicitly reconfirmed by the chronicles themselves that the Temple, which in the early fourteenth century and on numerous occasions is mentioned as being next to the first royal court,<sup>35</sup> lay by the side of this court and the river. Descriptions tell of the important *ruga coverta* or covered street of the city, and one learns that this street began north of the citadel of Nicosia (at the west end of the city), followed the whole length of the river until the Temple, and that along this street were shops with covered arcades,

through which one could go “until the [first] royal court and the lower square”.<sup>36</sup>

The location of the Temple, and thus also the easternmost end of the Covered Street as well as the Bridge of the Exchange, has been approximated with the publication of the letter concerning the 1567 demolitions for the refortification of Nicosia: Exactly under the proposed Caraffa bastion, north of the present Famagusta Gate, was to be found the *Tempio Antiquissimo*.<sup>37</sup> Next to the vestiges of this church, the unidentified foundations of which were excavated in the early twentieth century when the British were creating an opening north of the *Caraffa* bastion and worked on the bastion itself,<sup>38</sup> must have lay the historic Bridge of the Exchange, directly linking the first royal court and the adjoining west end of the important lower square with the neighbourhoods north of the river.

*The Bridge of the Pillory, or of the Berlina, or of the Prisons, or of the Cotton Market*

The chronicles contemplate that after the blood of the 1192 slaughter by the Templars filled the streets and eventually entered the river at the Bridge of the Seneschal, as mentioned previously, it run until the Bridge of the Pillory, which by the sixteenth century was *detto della Berlina*, where a great stone was later set up in memory of the slaughter.<sup>39</sup> From this statement one can deduce that the bridge of the Pillory was certainly located at some point further down the course of the river; i.e., east of the city centre. As is evident by the name, this was the preferred place in Nicosia for public scorn of petty offenders, who were placed in the same named devise, their heads and hands locked in the holes of the pillory. The Bridge of the pillory was also the site of public executions. Hence logically a considerable open space surrounded the bridge and could accommodate large crowds gathering for the event: Heads, hands, legs and other body parts of unfortunate Nicosians and others were variously displayed by the authorities near or on this pillory, as numerous mentions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reveal.<sup>40</sup> From these, as well as from mentions of the bridge during the 1373-1374 war between Cyprus and Genoa,<sup>41</sup> and after a cross-referencing of these sources, it becomes clear that the Bridge of the Pillory was also known by the names “of the Berlina”, “of the Prisons”,<sup>42</sup> and, most importantly, “of the *Kato Mesi* or *Piazza* of Nicosia” (events of 1460 and 1461).<sup>43</sup> This bridge was located

thus in the *piazza* or square of Nicosia, at the east end of the city, which with the later emergence of the *upper* square in the center of Nicosia was referred to as the *lower* square. Two riverside churches are connected with this *piazza* of Nicosia.

First, we find the Church of Saint George, located in plain view within the square as early fourteenth century events attest.<sup>44</sup> We can see a commemoration on its walls, through the driving of a nail on the height of the 1330 floodwaters.<sup>45</sup> Next to this church, which prominently features in tax collection accounts of the same period,<sup>46</sup> was the cotton market. To serve that market, in one of the outside corners of the church a marble cistern was imbedded.<sup>47</sup> As late as 1517, the church, called *San Zorzi della piazza delle Lane* (Saint George of the Cotton Square) was given the right to collect the tax on the salt quantities which entered through an (unnamed) Gate into Nicosia.<sup>48</sup> Secondly, in 1462, there is mention of a church of Santa Mavra, and its nearby Bridge of the Cotton Market or *Nymatopulio*.<sup>49</sup> Since the cotton market adjoined this bridge, named in the 1460 document, then the Church of Saint George with its marble cistern must have also stood nearby. It must certainly have been close enough to the river to have substantially flooded and hence the commemorations of the 1330 flood on its walls. Thus, the northern 'limit' of the lower square must have edged onto the river, with the open space for the cotton market and Saint George and Santa Mavra lining part of that edge. Reconfirmation of this proposed topography comes when both the neighbouring churches of Saint George and Santa Mavra, located by the river in the *piazza* of Nicosia, were demolished in 1567, as they lay outside the new fortifications, in the vicinity due east of the proposed *Caraffa* bastion.<sup>50</sup> It is at this location, outside the renaissance walls and east of Famagusta Gate, that we should place the historic Bridge of the Pillory, or of the Berlina,<sup>51</sup> or of the Cotton Market, perhaps the easternmost bridge mentioned in the sources.

The river Pedieus and its bridges, in the heart of Medieval and renaissance Nicosia, have long vanished from today's topography. What remains is the no-man's land inhabited by cats and UN soldiers, destroyed shops and buildings, and an underground drainage and sewage ditch. Yet, despite its disappearance and relatively obscure history, the memory of this lifeline in the old city resonates in our minds and inspires our imagination. Let us hope it will fuel our hope and actions, so that it can soon resume its proper place, connecting the urban, ethnic and social threads of Nicosia.



NOTES

1. Leontios Makhairas, *Eksigisis tis Glikeias Horas Kiprou, I opoia legetai Kronaka, toutestin Chronikon*, c. 1440s (first in *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, II, éd. Constantine Sathas, Venice, 1873, reprinted Athens: Vas. N. Gregoriades, 1972, pp. 50-409), *Récital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"*, éd. and transl. RM. Dawkins (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932), 2 vols, I, par. 571, p. 568; Diomedes Strambaldi. *Cronicha del Regno di Cypro di Diomede Strambaldi Ciprioto*, ?c. 1470s, published as *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France: Histoire Politique: Chronique de Strambaldi*, éd. René de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893), 2 vols, II, p.241; Francesco Amadi (earliest known owner). *Cronaca di Cipro* (ending in 1442), published as *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France: Histoire Politique: Chronique d'Amadi*, éd. René de Mas Latrie, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891) 2 vols., I, p. 483 (also reprinted as *Kipriologiki Bibliothiki*, 9, éd. Theodoros Papadopoulos, intro. Sylvain Beraud. Nicosia: Idryma Archiepiskopu Makariou III, 1999); Florio Bustron. *Historia Overo Commentarii de Cipro* [ending in 1489], c. 1560s, published as *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Mélanges historiques: Chronique de l'île de Chypre, Tome Cinquième*, éd. René de Mas Latrie, (Paris, 1886), p. 343 (also reprinted as *Kipriologiki Bibliothiki*, 8, éd. Theodoros Papadopoulos, intro. Gilles Grivaud. Nicosia: Idryma Archiepiskopou Makariou III, 1998).

2. Gilles Grivaud, 'Nicosie Remodelée (1567): Contribution à la Topographie de la Ville Médiévale', *Epetiris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon, (EKEE)*, XIX (Nicosia: Kentro Epistimonikon Erevnon, 1992, pp. 281-306), p. 306.

3. Kevork Keshishian. *Nicosia, Capital of Cyprus: Then and Now* (1978, reedited Nicosia: Moufflon, 1990), p. 61.

4. Nicolai de Marthono, *Notarii, Liber Peregrinationis ad Loca Sancta*, c. 1395-1396, published as 'Relation du Pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, Notaire Italien', éd. Léon LeGrand, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, III (Paris: Société de l'Orient Latin, 1895; reprinted Brussels: Culture et Civilization, 1964), p. 634. For an English translation of this excerpt vid. Claude Dévalal Cobham, éd. *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), p. 26.

5. That the Byzantine castle was located *in the middle* of the city, contrary to what most scholarship had believed so far, vid. FI. Bustron, op.cit., p. 26; and Steffano Lusignano. *Chorografia et brève Historia Universale dell'Isola di Cipro principiando al tempo di Noè per in fino al 1572 per il R.P. Lettore Fr. Steffano Lusignano di Cipro dell'Ordine de Predicatori*. (Bologna: Alessandro Benaccio, 1573; edited and translated as *Lusignan's Chorography and Brief General History of the Island of Cyprus*,

*A.D. 1573*, trans. Olimpia Pelosi, in series *Sources for the History of Cyprus, X*, eds. Paul W. Wallace and Andréas G. Orphanides. Altamont: Greece and Cyprus Research Center, 2001), par. 39, p. 145. For the localization of the old castle *vid.* Keshishian, *op.cit.*, p. 39 (wherein, however, no sources for this localization are cited).

6. 'Amadi', *op.cit.*, p. 84; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 51; Lusignano, *op.cit.*, par. 255, p. 187.

7. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 65, p. 60.

8. Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

9. FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

10. Lusignano, *op.cit.*, par. 255, p. 187.

11. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 434, p. 418; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 179.

12. 'Amadi', *op.cit.*, p. 456; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p.314.

13. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 436, p. 420; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

14. On this bridge *vid.* further in the discussion.

15. Wipertus Hugo Rudt de Collenberg, 'Les grâces papales, autres que les dispenses matrimoniales, accordées à Chypre de 1305 à 1378', *EKEE*, VIII (Nicosia: Kentro Epistimonikon Erevnon, 1977. pp. 251 (indulgence of May 17, 1357) and 252 (indulgence of June 22, 1369).

16. Louis de Mas-Latrie. *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols, III (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1855), pp. 210-211, 282-283; Jean Richard. *Le Livre des Remembrances de la Secrète du Royaume de Chypre, 1468-1469 (Sources et Études de l'Histoire de Chypre, X*. Nicosia: Centre des Recherches Scientifiques, 1983), pp. 43 (act 88, November 29, 1468) and 112 (act 196, May 28 and September 3, 1468).

17. Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, *op.cit.*, p. 503.

18. Lusignano, *op.cit.*, par. 168, p. 167.

19. Calepio in Estienne de Lusignan. *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre* (Paris: G. Chaudière, 1580), fol.260b, as cited in Theodoros Papadopoulos. *Epimetron eis tas peri eikonon paradosis, Kipriakai Spoudai, AB'* (Nicosia: Etaireia Kypriakon Spoudon, 1968, pp. 99-119), p. 111.

20. Keshishian, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

21. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 611, p. 602.
22. Jean Richard. 'Guy d'Ibelin, O.P., évêque de Limassol et l'inventaire de ses biens', *Bulletin de CorrespondenceHellénique*, LXXIV (Paris, 1950, pp. 98-133), p. 123 and n.4.
23. The Butchery of Nicosia was leased on May 18, 1468 for three years to *Thodorin tou Petro o Pouzis* and his companion *Perin tou Foti* the grocer (Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, *op.cit.*, p. 279; Richard. *Le Livre des Remembrances*, *op.cit.*, act 191, pp. 107-108).
24. Leased on July 8, 1468, again for three years, to *Yorgin Paleologuo* (Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, *op.cit.*, pp.279-280; Richard, *Le Livre des Remembrances*, *op.cit.*, act 194, p. 109). Mas-Latrie had therein interpreted *agua fres* to signify 'fresh water', while Richard (*ibid*, p. 191 n. 194.1) proposed 'fresh game', deriving from the Cypriot *agra*, a more probable scénario since it was to be sold along with fresh fish.
25. On October 13, 1468, some quantities of sugarcanes that had been found in the *mahzen dou sucre*, the sugar shop that the royal domain possessed at Nicosia, were sold to Andrea Cornaro (Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, *op.cit.*, p. 221; Richard, *Le Livre des Remembrances*, *op.cit.*, act 68, p. 34).
26. Granted by Queen Caterina Cornaro to the Catalan Anthony Garcia or Perez. *Vid.* Georgios Boustronios. *Dii gisis kronikas Kiprou arhevuyonta a po tin ehronian auws' Hristou*, c.1490s, in *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, II, éd. Constantine Sathas (Venice: Typois tou Chronou, 1873, reprinted Athens: Vas. N. Gregoriades, 1972, pp. 411-543; in English: *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, 1456-1489, transl., and intro. R.M. Dawkins. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964), par. 188, p. 507; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 449.
27. Louis Salvator. *Levkosia, die Hamptstadt Von Cypern* (Prague, 1873); in English: *Levkosia, the Capital of Cyprus*. (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1881; reprinted London: Trigraph, 1983), p. 52 numbers 15-18, and pp. 54-55.
28. On the Covered Street *vid.* the discussion under "The Bridge of the Exchange".
29. Salvator, *Levkosia*, *op.cit.*, p. 18.
30. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par.65, p. 60; Strambaldi, p. 27.
31. Amadi', *op.cit.*, p. 405; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 254.
32. FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 254.
33. Lusignano, *op.cit.*, pars. 259, 263, p. 188.

34. Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, *op.cit.*, pp. 598-599; *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, eds. Nicholas Coureas and Christopher Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1997), pp. 141-142 (document 45, September 29, 1195).
35. 'Amadi', *op.cit.*, p. 260; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, pp. 149, 170.
36. FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, pp. 463-464.
37. Grivaud, 'Nicosie Remodelée', *op.cit.*, p. 304.
38. Joan du Plat Taylor. 'A Thirteenth century church at Nicosia, Cyprus', *Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology*, 4, éd. O.G.S. Crawford (London: 1932), pp. 469-471. Taylor did not identify this church, even though he did observe the familiar *Agnus Dei* of the Templars adjoining its wall.
39. 'Amadi', *op.cit.*, p. 84; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 51.
40. Among them: The hand and leg of John Lombardo in 1349, before the rest of him was hanged, on orders of Hugh IV (Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 82, p. 76; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 34); the heads of the Lord of Arsuf, Sir Henry de Giblet, and Sir John de Gaurelle, cut off at the bridge in 1373 (Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 423, p. 402; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 172); the Count of Urbino and his brother hanged there by the Genovese in 1374 (Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 510, p. 500; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 212; 'Amadi', *op.cit.*, p. 469; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 326); the captain of a pillaging Genovese ship, hanged from his feet on orders of James II in 1460 (G. Boustronios, *op.cit.*, par. 62, p. 456; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 401); the head of Hector de Chivides put on display at the bridge in 1461 (G. Boustronios, *op.cit.*, par. 69, p. 459; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, p. 402).
41. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, pars. 432, 435, 436, pp. 416, 420; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, pp. 178, 180.
42. The dedication "Of the Prisons" appears during events of 1374. This signifies that the prisons of Nicosia were probably located nearby.
43. G. Boustronios, *op.cit.*, pars. 62, 69, pp. 456, 459; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, pp. 401, 402.
44. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 51, p. 50; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 21; 'Amadi', *op.cit.*, pp. 250, 298, 402.
45. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 65, p. 60; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 27; FI. Bustron, *op.cit.*, pp. 254-255.

46. Jean Richard. 'Les Comptes du Collecteur de la Chambre Apostolique dans le Royaume de Chypre (1357-1363)', *EKEE*, XIII-XVI (Nicosia: Kentro Epistimonikon Erevnon, 1987, pp. 1-47), p. 38.

47. Makhairas, *op.cit.*, par. 274, p. 254; Strambaldi, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

48. Grivaud, 'Nicosie Remodelée', *op.cit.*, p. 290 n. 38.

49. Jean Richard. *Documents Chypriotes des Archives du Vatican, XIV et XV siècles (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome LXXIII: Chypre sous les Lusignans*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1962), p. 126.

50. Grivaud, 'Nicosie Remodelée', *op.cit.*, p. 305.

51. For the argument, through an intriguing etymological journey, that the names Pillyri, *Pillory*, *Berlina* and *Nymatopulio* (Cotton Market) refer to the same bridge, *vid.* note by A.H.S Megaw in Richard. *Documents Chypriotes*, *op.cit.*, p. 126 n. 2. If one were to elaborate the linguistic argument further, *Berlina* could be viewed as a phonetic Italian translation by the chronicles of the Medieval (and modern) Cypriot *Bellerina* (apparently a cotton cloth, a version of which was surely sold at the Medieval market), which itself could be a corroded form of *Pillirena*, or the things 'of the Pillory', or 'sold by the Pillory'. All possible names are thus reconciled, deriving from the fact that since the early days of late Medieval Nicosia, the Pillory and the open space around it were to be found near that bridge.

