KING PETER I OF CYPRUS AND THE ARMENIANS (1358-1369)

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King Peter I (1358-69) is one of the most controversial rulers of Lusignan Cyprus, especially as regards his promotion and execution of the crusade against Alexandria in 1365. Yet his crusading policies and more generally his warfare against the Muslims encompassed Anatolia and Syria as well as Egypt. Because of this, the Armenians of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia were involved in this warfare, while on Cyorus itself Armenian mercenaries formed part of the royal army. King Peter's strategy towards the Armenians had mixed results. His forces successfully captured the Armenian port city of Gorhigos. which remained part of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus down to 1448, but failed to re-capture Laiazzo (Avas), the chief port of the Cilician kingdom of Armenia, prior to its seizure and retention in 1337 by the Mamluks, Nor did King Peter I organize a crusade in collaboration with the Armenians against the northern areas of Syria, after the manner attempted by the Cypriots, Mongols and Armenians in the early fourteenth century, during the reign of King Henry II of Cyprus (1285-1324). The possible migration of Armenians from Cilician Armenia to Cyprus and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean during King Peter's reign is another subject that needs to be further researched. The above issues form the subject of this paper.

The main Cypriot sources recording the annexation of Gorhigos by King Peter's forces in January 1360 are two. One is the anonymous early sixteenth century Italian chronicle called 'Amadi' after its last owner, the Venetian noble Francesco Amadi, and the second is the chronicle of Leontios Makhairas. written in Cypriot Greek in the mid-fifteenth century, which records this event in far greater detail, while 'Amadi' simply summarises the fifteenth century Cypriot chronicler Leontios Makhairas on this subject. Makhairas states that the inhabitants of Gorhigos themselves took the initiative by summoning King Peter to take the port in view of the inability of their own king, Constantine III (1344-63), to defend it. He also states that his account of King Peter's annexation of Gorhigos is 'as I have found it recorded in the king's court'. Given Makhairas' own familial connections with the royal court, this assertion is perfectly credible, although he does not, unfortunately, specify what kind of record he had consulted. Makhairas also inserts an erroneous anachronism, stating that the incumbent king of Armenia was King Leo V (1374-75), who had fled to France following the Mamluk conquest of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia. In fact, Cilician Armenia was conquered later, in 1375, by the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, who captured King Leo V but, following his ransom, allowed him to

go to France, where he died in 1393. Makhairas also imparts the information that the inhabitants of Gorhigos had asked King Hugh IV of Cyprus (1324-59) to annex the city, but that the latter had refused since Cilician Armenia at the time was under the rule of King Guy (1342-44), a nephew of King Henry II of Cyprus (1285-1324) and so a relation of King Hugh.¹

Although Gorhigos's population was predominantly Armenian, it is interesting that according to Makhairas the two envoys sent to King Peter from the town were both Greeks, Michael Psararis and Costas Philitsis, who recommended the townspeople to the king and his council and also gave the king letters declaring their intent to submit to his rule. The chronicler also records that King Peter desired to have a place in Turkey and so sent Smyrna galleys with a force of four companies of archers under the command of the English knight Robert de Louza, named in 'Amadi' as Robert Tulassan. It is then pointed out that King Peter solicited papal permission for the use of these galleys, which normally formed part of the Cypriot naval squadron entrusted with the protection of Smyrna, the Aegean port city seized in 1344 from the Turks by a naval league of Roman Catholic powers and held until 1402. Makhairas's account ends with the observation that the kings and regents of Cyprus, following the annexation of Gorhigos, regularly dispatched two galleys to the city with wages for the garrison, supplies and weaponry, while fighting the Turks there daily.2

Several features of the above narration merit further discussion. The reference to the dispatch of Greek envoys from a city populated mainly by Armenians perhaps reflects how Greek served as a common language in negotiations between the kingdom of Cyprus and states in southern Anatolia, a phenomenon attested to by extant documentation from the early thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries. That King Peter desired a base on the southern Anatolian littoral in order to break the power of the local Turkish emirs is perfectly credible, and confirmed by his capture of Adalia in 1361, a resounding success given that its citadel was deemed virtually impregnable. The fact that the force sent to annex and retain Gorhigos was headed by an English mercenary captain points to how King Peter was employing foreign mercenaries from the outset of his reign, a practice that caused resentment among his nobles and constituted one of the factors leading to the king's assassination in 1369. Finally, the fact that King Peter I wrote to Pope Innocent VI asking for his permission for the seizure and retention of Gorhigos is also credible since, along with the subsequent capture of Adalia, it diverted precious resources from the Aegean theatre. As early as November 1353 this pope had written to King Hugh IV warning him that the garrison in Smyrna was in danger of being overrun due to a shortage of supplies, and the Master of the Hospitallers was informed that it lacked essential supplies in June 1355. When appointing the Carmelite friar Peter Thomas as legate to the East on 11 May 1359, one of the reasons cited by the pope was the danger above all to the city of Smyrna?

Given King Peter I's commitment to the crusading ideal, one must discuss why no crusade was organized during his reign to help the embattled kingdom of Cilician Armenia, which had suffered losses of territory and devastating raids from the Turks and the Mamluks and was in even greater peril than Smyrna. Dynastic conflicts between the Lusignans and the Armenian Hethoumid dynasty going back to the time of King Hugh IV are the likeliest reason. King Guy of Armenia (1342-1344), a nephew of King Henry II of Cyprus and a son of Amaury by his Armenian wife Isabel, was murdered by anti-Latin Armenian nobles in 1344 along with his younger brother Bohemond on account of their pro-Latin policies. In his stead, the son of Baldwin the marshal of Armenia was crowned King Constantine III, and he gave orders for Soldane, the mistress of Guy's brother John, and their two illegitimate sons Bohemond and Leo, to be murdered. Although they managed to escape to Cyprus, this episode created an animosity that the passage of time did not extinguish. Two years after King Constantine III's death in 1363 his cousin and namesake usurped the throne. Constantine IV, the penultimate king of Cilician Armenia, ruled a shrinking kingdom until 1373, when he was assassinated by a pro-Latin faction of Armenian nobles, the very group that pinned their hopes on the Armenian branch of the Lusignans, 4 King Peter I was likewise promoting the claims of this branch, represented by his kinsmen Bohemond and Leo, the illegitimate sons of the late John of Lusignan, to the throne of Armenia. This was his real objective, not organising a crusade in aid of Armenia that would shore up the reigning Hethoumids, who had expelled the Armenian branch of the Lusignans in the first place. Sometime after 1363 the possibility of having Bohemond crowned king of Armenia arose, but his death impelled King Peter to support Leo's candidature. This is also reflected in the letter Pope Urban V sent on 3 April 1365 to the archbishops, bishops and other prelates of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia, in which he recommended Leo to them as their king,5

It was, moreover, the hostility between King Peter I and the Ārmenian Hethoumids that explains why no embassies were sent from the Armenian royal court to the papacy in Avignon during his reign. Another important factor was the papal recognition of the Uniate Armenian friars that took place under Pope Innocent VI. These friars were active in Greater Armenia, living according to the Rule of St Augustine and the Constitutions of the Dominican Order. The pope granted them recognition on 31 January 1356 and decreed that they would be subject to the visitations of the Dominican master or his deputy, something that must have displeased King Constantine III and the anti-Latin party in control of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia. This displeasure possibly explains

why Narses Baliantz, the Armenian Uniate who in 1338 had been reconsecrated archbishop of Mantzikert by Latin bishops, was apparently unable to visit Armenia to obtain replies to questions regarding the Armenian faith, despite having been instructed to go there in 1353 and once again in 1355 by Pope Innocent VI. Baliantz may have been resident in Cyprus during his final years, for he died there in 1361, leaving a small ring and a silver seal as spolia to the papal collectors, as recorded in their accounts for the same year.⁶

Another prelate who found refuge on Cyprus was Ponce the archbishop of Tarsus, Possibly a Franciscan, he had been appointed to this see in May 1358 but had been forced to vacate it when the Mamluks conquered Tarsus in 1360. On his death, he was succeeded on 26 October 1366 by the Franciscan lean Ponhver, who was resident in Cyprus and in 1373 was sent to Venice as an ambassador of King Peter II. Clearly, under King Peter I native Armenian prelates supporting the Roman Church and Latins appointed to Armenian sees came to be resident in Cyprus, which served as a refuge for them given the hostility of the Hethoumid kings of Cilician Armenia, as well as the Mamluk threat. The indigenous Armenian Church, like the reigning monarchs Constantine III and Constantine IV, was likewise hostile to the papacy and the Armenian Uniates. In 1361, during the reign of King Peter of Cyprus, this church convoked a council at Sis, the capital of Cilician Armenia, in the course of which Latin liturgical usages such as the addition of water to the wine of consecration were expressly condemned. The hostile attitudes of the indigenous Armenian Church towards the papacy and its representatives in Cilician and Greater Armenia combined with that of the Armenian kings towards King Peter I of Cyprus precluded the organization of any crusade to help the shrinking Armenian kingdom.7

King Peter I's understandable hostility towards the Hethoumids did not extend towards Armenians in general. His sack of Alexandria in October 1365 resounded throughout Christendom. Among its commemorators were the Armenian monks Vadan de Gherim and Grigor d'Akner, both living in Jerusalem, who noted this event in their colophons.⁸ In the war with the Mamluk sultanate that followed, however, the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Sha 'ban (1363-77) appears to have incited the emir of Karaman to attack Gorhigos early in 1367 at the head of a powerful army, despite the protestations of the sultan's envoy to Cyprus, who was brought into King Peter's presence over the matter. The king reacted by organizing a fleet of galleys under the command of his brother John, the titular prince of Antioch, to sail to the city's rescue. Several sources record the military operations leading up to the repulse of the Turkish attack, notwithstanding the fact that the Turks had managed to seize one of the towers outside the castle. Guillaume de Machaut, perhaps the major French poet and musicain of the fourteenth century whose account of this and other

campaigns of King Peter is based on the recollections of French mercenaries who formed part of the king's forces, devotes over 1200 lines to this event in his rhymed history titled 'The Capture of Alexandria', out of a total of nearly 9000 lines. According to his account, knights from England, Venetians, Cypriots and Genoese as well as the French took part in this expedition, and he observes that King Peter spent considerable sums on this military expedition. Machaut recounts that six galleys with 600 men-at-arms and 300 archers sailed to relieve Gorhigos, while Makhairas gives ten as the number of galleys, without giving a number for the forces sailing there. Both Machaut and Makhairas agree in their respective narratives that the besieging Turks were repulsed with heavy losses, with King Peter's forces capturing many tents, artillery pieces and other equipment. The royal fleet returned to Cyprus in mid-March.⁹

In the following May, according to the record of an anonymous Armenian colophon, the emir of Tarsus launched a devastating attack against Cilician Armenia, Employing over 12,000 horsemen and even more infantry, he laid siege to the capital Sis, which King Constantine IV and his lords defended valiantly. As this attack was centred on the kingdom's interior, neither King Peter nor the Hospitallers, whose naval forces were unable to operate far from the coast, could help the Armenians. Perhaps mindful of the fact that the Turks were a far greater threat than the enfeebled king of Armenia, in the autumn of 1367 King Peter I sent an expedition to Laiazzo, formerly the main port of Cilician Armenia, with the aim of capturing it in concert with the forces of King Constantine IV. According to Machaut's chronicle, it was King Constantine IV who initiated the venture, stating that the Mamluk sultan sought to either behead or enslave him. King's Peter's fleet sailed from Cyprus in September 1367 and after raiding Tripoli and Tortosa on the Syrian littoral, his forces arrived at Laiazzo, with King Peter commanding the forces in person. The main sources for this expedition. Machaut and Makhairas, agree that after a hardfought battle the king's forces managed to capture the town and the castle by the sea, but not the strongly defended land castle, and so eventually they withdrew. Machaut imparts the information that following this withdrawal King Peter stayed with his forces in a nearby port waiting for the arrival of King Constantine of Armenia, to whom he sent messengers requesting his arrival. The port in question was perhaps Mallos, although the more distant Gorhigos cannot be excluded, given that it was already under King Peter's control. King Constantine, however, perhaps fearing Mamluk reprisals against his kingdom. never turned up.10

It is shortly after this episode that Machaut's chronicle records the claim that the Armenians offered King Peter I the crown of Armenia in mid or late 1367, with the Armenian lords handling over the keys of their castles to his brother Prince John, who assumed the Jordship of Armenia on his behalf. No

other source corroborates this claim, which is probably a garbled version of Pope Urban V's letter mentioned above, in which King Peter's cousin Leo was recommended as king. King Peter's attempt to seize Laiazzo was also commemorated by Philippe de Mézières, his chancellor and fervent admirer who, following King Peter's death, went back to his native France, where he composed his major work titled *Le songe du vieil pelerin* towards the end of his own long life. In Book 3 Chapter 281 of this work he recounts the wealth of the kingdom of Cyprus under King Peter I, the king's courage and his conquests in battles against the infidel; Alexandria in Egypt, Satalia in Turkey, Laiazzo in Armenia. Tirola and Tortosa in Svria'. II

One now turns to examine the activities of the Armenians within the kingdom of Cyprus under King Peter I. A corps of Armenian soldiers is recorded by Makhairas as serving in the Lusignan army under King Peter Land his heirs. and it is noteworthy that the earliest record of this corps dates from the time of Peter I himself. Papal correspondence and the colophons of Armenian manuscripts record the establishment of Armenians in Famagusta, the kingdom's chief port from the late thirteenth century onwards, at the start of the fourteenth century. 12 There are also records of Armenians resident there during the reign of King Peter I in the 1360s, in the deeds of the Venetian notary Simeone, the priest of San Giacomo dell' Orio, resident in Famagusta in the years 1362-1371. In his will dated 3 April 1363 the citizen of Venice Fetus Simitecolo made several bequests including one leaving the sum of twenty white bezants to an Armenian called Vanes. Neither the reason for this bequest nor Vanes's profession or social status are given, unfortunately. In another deed of 30 November 1363, the Armenian Hayton, the son of Leo Cases of Famagusta, granted a quittance to his fellow national Salon, son of a certain Barach of Laiazzo, a burgess of Famagusta, for all that they had managed together from the outset until then, namely on behalf of Hayton's mother. This deed despite its overall vagueness at least imparts the valuable information that Salon was a burgess of Famagusta descended from an Armenian of Laiazzo. Perhaps his father, Barach, had migrated to Cyprus after the Mamluks conquered Laiazzo for good in 1337. This mention of an Armenian among the burgesses of Cyprus is unique, indicating that Salon belonged to those Armenians in Cyprus acknowledging Roman primacy, for only Christians obedient to Rome could be members of this class, at least prior to the fifteenth century.13

The loyalty towards Rome of the Armenians resident in Famagusta also attacted the attention of the above-mentioned Philippe de Mézières. While still chancellor of Cyprus he composed a biography of Carmelite friar and papal legate Peter Thomas. Peter Thomas had been a bosom friend of his, for Philippe, Peter Thomas and King Peter had enthusiastically promoted the crusade of October 1365 against Alexandria. Following Peter Thomas's death

in 1366, Philippe de Mézières composed this biography as part of an unsuccessful attempt to secure the legate's canonization. A passage in it on the Armenians of Famagusta arouses particular interest. In it he referred to the Armenians of Famagusta as having witnessed a miracle concerning Peter Thomas that occurred while he was resident there, soon after he had returned from visiting the Holy Places.

Remaining in Famagusta for some time, he used to serve his Creator and the glorious Virgin Mary so humbly [...] that in the middle of every night or at around that time, he was prostate on the ground in his room [...] and he burst forth into prayers so intently [...] that he sensed nothing worldly [...] and during those hours when he was thus prostate in prayer a flame from the sky was seen by Armenians and others nearby and all around to be coming down over his room.¹⁴

By having the Armenians witness a miracle concerning a papal legate, even if he mentioned others witnessing it as well, Philip de Mézières, chancellor of Cyprus and a close friend and adviser of both King Peter I and the papal legate Peter Thomas, was indicating clearly that among the various non-Latin communities living in Cyprus the Armenians were seen as closest to the Latins. Armenians are mentioned on several other occasions in the biography, listening to Peter Thomas's preaching and attending his funeral, along with Latins, Greeks, Syrians and Nestorians. ¹⁵

As seen above, some of the Armenians residing in Famagusta were the descendants of Armenians who had arrived there from Laiazzo. This raises the question of whether under King Peter I Armenians from Cilician Armenia migrated to Cyprus. To date there is no firm evidence for this, but Armenian migration was taking place elsewhere in the Mediterranean during the reign of King Peter. In February 1366, the Hospitallers allowed Armenians from Byzantine Lesbos to settle on Kos to the north of Rhodes. At least fifty Armenian families were settled in Kephalos, a town located to the south of the city of Kos and called Narangia in the middle ages. Their envoy was named Vanes de Cafa Armenus, an indication that he and perhaps the remainder originated from Caffa in the Crimea. Three years earlier, in 1363, Armenians from the Black Sea region had received permission to settle in Venetian Crete. This migration of Armenians to Crete and the eastern Aegean islands suggests that Armenians were perhaps migrating to Cyprus as well under King Peter 1.16

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that of the twenty-two Armenian manuscript colophons originating from Cyprus between the years 1280 and 1468 that have been collected and published by Professor Dickran Kouymjian, not one dates to the time of King Peter I. Perhaps this indicates the lack of any cataclysmic events during his reign, such as the Mamluk sack of Laiazzo in 1337 or the Mamluk capture of Sis in 1375, which signalled the end of the Armenian

kingdom of Cilicia. Such happenings brought streams of Armenian refugees to Cyprus and so may have induced some composition in the colophons several years afterwards. Two colophons of the years 1379 and 1426, although referring simply to Cyprus as opposed to Famagusta or any other location, possibly indicate the migration of Armenians to Genoese Famagusta in the period 1374 to 1464, a phenomenon encouraged by the local Genoese authorities wishing to re-populate the town, which entered into a period of economic stagnation following the Genoese seizure and annexation of the port city during their invasion of Cyprus in 1373-74. A number of Armenians served as mercenaries in the Genoese garrison of Famagusta.¹⁷

CONCLUSION

Looking back over the relations King Peter I maintained with the Armenians, both those of the Cilician kingdom of Armenia and those within his own kingdom, there can be little doubt that, despite tensions between the Lusignans and the Hethoumids going back to the time of his predecessor, King Hugh IV, his attitude towards them was favourable. He annexed the port of Gorhigos at the request of the city's Armenian inhabitants, maintained a corps of Armenian soldiers in his army, defended Gorhigos determinedly and successfully against the attack launched in 1367 by the emir of Karaman and tried hard if unsuccessfully later in that year to recover the former Armenian port of Laiazzo from the Turks. King Peter I's assassination in January 1369, the Genoese invasion of Cyprus that followed in 1373, and the permanent enfeeblement of the Lusignan kingdom in the wake of these events made the kingdom powerless to offer further help to the embattled Armenians of Cilicia, whose own kingdom was destroyed by the Mamluks in 1375.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹³ Catherine Otten-Froux, "Un Notaire Vénitien à Famagouste au XIVe Siècle," Thesaurismata 2003:33, nos. 6, p. 46 and 83, p. 77.
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ԿԻՊՐՈՍԻ ՓԻԹԸՐ Ա. ԱՐՔԱՆ ԵՒ ՀԱՅԵՐԸ (Ամփոփում)

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Լուսինեան Կիպոոսի ամենեն հանասական թագաւողներին Փիթող Ա.ո. (1358-69) նշանատոուեցայ 1365ի խաչակումը արշայանքը Արեքսյանդրիա ուղղորդելով ել հետաանդելով իսյամներու դեմ այատեղազմական այելի մեծ տարածք (իարա-լային Անատոլու, Սուրիա եւ Եգիատոս)։ Այս պատճառալ այ Կիլիկեան Հայկական Թագալորոթեան իայերը անխուսափելիօրեն առնչուեցան այս ապտեղացմին, մինչ Կիպորսի իրոին վրալ իալ վարձկաններ արջայական բանակին մաս կազմե-գին։ Այդուիանդերձ, իակառակ իայերուն օգնելու աներկմիտ յանձնադութեան՝ Փիթոդ U.h քաղաքականութիւնը խաղն արդիւնքներ տուալ։ Իր gongton լաջողա-աէս գրաւեցին կիլիկիահայ նաւահանգիստ-քաղաք Կոռիկոսը եւ գայն Կիպրոսի Lուսինեան թագաւորութեան մաս դարձուգին մինչել 1448, բայց siwonnեցան գրաւել Ալասո, Կիլիկեան գլխաւող նաւահանգիստո՝ 1337ին մեմյութներու կորմէ անող գրաւումէն առաջ։ Փիթըր Ա. չջանաց կազմակերպել տեղական խաչակրութիւն մը՝ hայ եւ կիարացի ուժերով՝ իիւսիսային Սուրիոյ տարածըներուն դեմ, քան մո գոր Հենրի Բ, փորձեց՝ ԺԴ, դարասկիցքին, կիպրացիներու, մոնկուներու եւ հայերու միացեալ ուժերով։ Նման քայլի չդիմելը կարելի է վերագրել Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի մեջ աղթայական նեղգեղուաստանական աայքարին, որ հետելանքներ ունեցալ կիլիկեան եւ կիպրական թագաւորութիւններուն վրալ։

Յօդուածը լուսարձակի տակ կ'առնէ այս խնդիրները, ինչպէս նաեւ կիլիկիահայնրու գաղթը Կիպրոս եւ արևելամիջերկրականեան այլ վայրեր՝ Փիթըո Լ.Ի շրջանին։ Այս գաղթը որ սկիզբ առած էր ԺԴ. դարասկիզքին, թերեւս այլ ԺԳ. դարավերջին, այլ երեսակ վըն է որուն կ'անդրադառնայ այս ուսումնասիրութիւնը։