Negotiating Power and Identities
Latin, Greek and Syrian Élites in Fifteenth-Century Cyprus

Miriam Rachel Salzmann

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Introduction

In the year 1402, King Janus of Cyprus (1398-1432) attempted to reconquer the Cypriot coastal town of Famagusta from the Genoese, who had held it since the end of the devastating Cypriot-Genoese war in 1374. According to the sixteenth-century chronicler Florio Bustron, the Genoese captain of Famagusta Antonio da Guarco, desiring to help King Janus regain this important stronghold, sent him a set of keys of the town. Janus prepared his army in secret, hoping to surprise the Famagustans, and appointed two commanders over his men, the nobleman Simon de Morphou and the Oriental Christian George Billy. However, the undertaking came to nothing, as Simon de Morphou, a member of an old noble Crusader family, treacherously let the plan leak. According to Bustron, Simon did this because »he took offense to having Billy as companion, since he (Simon) was noble, and Billy was a burgess[1]«.

With his (alleged) treachery, Simon was reacting to a phenomenon that scholars have been debating over the last decades: the social rise of Greeks and Oriental Christians into the higher echelons of Cypriot society during the rule of the Lusignan Crusader dynasty.

The Lusignans had come to Cyprus in 1192 in the wake of the third crusade. Richard the Lionheart had conquered the island, formerly a province of the Byzantine empire, on his way to the Holy Land during the crusade and later sold it to Guy of Lusignan. The latter was king of Jerusalem in this period but had lost the support of his subjects after the battle of Hattin in 1187. Guy and after him his brother Amaury built a new Crusader realm in Cyprus that was accepted as an independent kingdom in 1196.

On the island, the Lusignans and their aristocratic crusader followers met with a diverse society. Most of the population was Byzantine, Orthodox, and Greek speaking. Additionally, significant Oriental Christian minorities, called *Syrianoi* or *Sirici* (›Syrians‹[2]) in fifteenth-century Cyprus, such as Melkites, Maronites, Nestorians, and Syrian Orthodox, came to the island, especially after the fall of Acre in 1291. There was also a sizeable minority of Armenians, along with few Jews and groups of Western merchants such as Venetians, Genoese and Pisans[3].

Contacts between these various population groups occurred from the beginning of Lusignan reign on, and scholarship has focused primarily on the study of interactions between Greeks and Latins in the thirteenth century. According to Angel Nicolaou-Konnari's seminal work, many Greeks who worked in the Lusignan state administration rose socially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and became prominent brokers between the Latin élite and the Greek population[4].

From the end of the fourteenth century onwards, Cyprus experienced a series of disturbing events with catastrophic outcomes: a war with Genoa (1372-1374) which led to the exilation of many nobles and to economic decline, a Mamluk invasion from the South in 1426, constant threats by the Turks from the East, various bouts of the plague, and a civil war in the 1460s[5]. These critical events brought suffering to Cyprus, but also opportunities and social mobility for some sections of society. Social mobility increased in the troubled fifteenth century and benefited not only Greeks, but also many Oriental Christians, who became state officials as well as merchants, though the extent of this development is still unclear. At the same time, the upheavals brought crucial changes to the noble Crusader families. Many disappeared entirely from the history of the island, while others enhanced their power[6].

The social changes that occurred during the fifteenth century, the fate of the noble crusader families and the rise of Greeks and Oriental Christians are the subject of this study. It investigates the living conditions and social structures of the Cypriot élites, the chances of social mobility that the historical situation offered to members of diverging élite groups, and the identities that members of the élite constructed for themselves in connection with these social processes.

1 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354: *s'haveva sdegnato d'haver per compagno il Billi, conciosiache lui era nobile, et il Billi era borghese*.
2 In order to reflect these source terms, Oriental Christians will be called *Syrians* in this study, cf. the detailed discussion in ch. 1, pp. 38. 46.
3 Hill, History II 1-5.
4 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 59; cf. also Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 230-235.
5 The standard descriptions of the history of Cyprus under the Lusignans stem from George Hill (Hill, History) and Peter Edbury (Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus; Edbury, Hē Politikē Historia, Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi). For the mentioned events, see especially Hill, History II 38-39. 48-49. 382-385. 407-413. 476-487. 548-579; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 11. 151. 155. 207-209; Irwin, Hoi Eisboles 166-175; Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi 178.
6 See esp. ch. 2.1.

The rise of Oriental Christians and Greeks in Cyprus is part of a phenomenon that scholars have studied throughout Europe: the social mobility of urban élites during the late Middle Ages, their interaction with and aspiration to become part of the nobility. These processes were sometimes, but not always, connected with shifts in noble social structures, culture and identities during the Late Middles Ages and the fifteenth century in particular. In many European regions, merchants, notaries and other professionals climbed the social ladder through their service for state authorities, which they often owed to their professional training in universities across the Latin world. Some of them subsequently acquired noble estates and even titles, and aspired to a noble way of life[7].

Nobles in turn were dealing not only with the growing importance of these urban societies and with their role in them but also with significant economic changes. Scholars have attributed these developments to changes in agricultural production rates after the great plague that made it more difficult for lesser nobles in particular to uphold their living standards. As a result, some nobles seem to have acquired more land, while others invested in commerce and other business. And finally (in the case of Western Europe, as opposed to Byzantium), according to the established historiographical narrative, the growth of the state compelled the nobility to service, at the same time strengthening its privileges and consciousness of superiority[8]. Scholars have found both similarities and differences in Europe with regard to these general developments. A study of Cypriot fifteenth-century élites and social mobility should thus be evaluated within this European context, probing for similarities to other societies across Europe.

However, the case of Cyprus is also unique, owing to its very own social characteristics. Most importantly, the difference between the nobility and other élite groups in Cyprus was not only social, but also cultural and ethnic[9]. The professionals and merchants that climbed the social ladder and interacted, cooperated and competed with nobles, came almost exclusively from Greek and Oriental Christian families, while the members of old noble families on Cyprus were usually Frankish, that is Western European Latins, who had often come from the Levant but had their origins in France and Italy.

Studies on Cyprus must take these ethnic and cultural differences into account. Consequently, cultural difference, contacts and conflicts have been a focus of Cypriot studies. Older works have often focused on the relationship between the Greek and Latin Churches and the question of religious identities. Generally, they discussed the enmity between the two religious communities and the oppression of the Greek Church by the Latins. Historians have also tended to adopt stances more or less directly connected to their own origin. Greek historians in particular emphasized the suffering of the Greek Church[10]. Later, the discussion opened up to encompass other levels of contact, such as language and culture in general. Many newer works, which are greatly influenced by methodology acquired from the various cultural turns, emphasize the peaceful interaction and acculturation between the two groups, although there are still critical opinions[11]. Theodoros Papadopoullos was the first to coin the cultural processes in Cyprus in anthropological terms. He concentrated on the acculturation which succeeded despite the religious, ethnic and social frontiers existing on the island[12]. In more recent times, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari published various articles on matters such as identity construction in the Cypriot chronicles and alterity and identity in Medieval Cyprus in general[13]. Gilles Grivaud and James Schryver have similarly worked on questions of cultural contacts[14]. The former in particular has published extensively on the origins of the Cypriot nation between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, common pilgrimage points, the protection of local cults by the Lusignan family and minorities in Cyprus in the medieval period[15]. Peter Edbury, too, has written on the relations between Greeks and Latins in Cyprus, while Alexander Beihammer has discussed the identity and self-perception of the Greeks in the early Lusignan period[16].

7 For the ennoblement process of urban élites and literature on this phenomenon, see ch. 1.1, p. 35.

8 For the development of noble groups in Europe in the fifteenth century in general, see Contamine, European Nobility; Dewald, European Nobility; Aurell, La noblesse en Occident; as well as various regional studies, for which see ch. 1.1, p. 33, n. 2. Following the influential work of Guy Bois from 1976 (Bois, Crise du féodalisme), scholars until the 1980s perceived these challenges as a crisis of the nobility. As a reaction to this interpretation, research in recent time has focused on the continuity of noble society in these centuries. Whether or not one designates these developments as crisis, the nobility's reaction to them merits special attention, as Buylaert, Crisis of the Nobility 1-2, points out.

9 For a discussion of the use of the term »ethnic« in this study, see p. 136.

10 See Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I x, xvi; Iorga, France de Chypre 204. 209. 214; Hill, History II 6-8; Hackett, History 2 and passim; Zannetos, Historia tēs Nēsou Kyprou; Gill, Tribulations; Magoulias, Study in Relations; Efthimiou, Greeks and Latins; Englezakis, Cyprus as a Stepping Stone; Kyrris, L'organisation; Pardos, Ideologiko. For a concise summary of this research, see Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 36-44.

11 In a new study on Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, Chrysovalantis Kyriacou calls these two research movements the ethnocentric and the revisionist group, see Kyriacou, Orthodox Cyprus xv-xx.

12 Papadopoullos, Frontier Status; Papadopoullos, Domē kai Leitourgia; Papadopoullos, Chypre: frontière éthnique.

13 Nikolaou-Konnarē, Glōssa; Nicolaou-Konnari, Ethnic Names; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Alterity; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Scheseis. In 1999, Nicolaou-Konnari submitted her as yet unpublished doctoral thesis on *The Encounter of Greeks and Franks in Cyprus in the Late twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. Phenomena of Acculturation and Ethnic Awareness* (Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter). She has kindly shared her thesis with me.

14 James Schryver's thesis was entitled *Spheres of Contact and Instances of Interaction in the Art and Archaeology of Frankish Cyprus, 1191-1359* in 2005 (Schryver, Spheres of Contact), while Gilles Grivaud wrote his habilitation on *Grecs et Francs dans le royaume de Chypre (1191-1474): les voies de l'acculturation* (2001) (Grivaud, Grecs et Francs). Neither have been published, and unfortunately, I have not been able to access either of both works.

15 Grivaud, Les Lusignans Patrons; Grivaud, Éveil; Grivaud, Minorités; Grivaud, Pèlerinages.

16 Edbury, Latins and Greeks; Beihammer, Identität. Thomas Devaney has recently published an article on Peter Thomas' policy of unifying the Christian confessions in the face of the Mamluks, see Devaney, Spectacle. Generally, the interest in identity questions has also resulted in the publication of three collective volumes, two of which are the result of conferences, see Fourrier/Grivaud, Indentités croisées; Papacostas/Saint-Guillain, Identity/Identities; Grivaud, France de Chypre).

The newest work on questions of religious identity in particular has been published very recently by Chrysovalantis Kyriacou, who takes a balanced stance between a focus on cooperation and boundary maintenance and traces the multiple ways of Orthodox religious identity construction under the Lusignans[17].

Research on Medieval Cyprus, which was long a marginal subject[18], has boomed in the last three decades[19]. However, most of the recent works examine the contacts and conflicts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries until 1374, the period that has traditionally been perceived as the heyday of Lusignan reign, when the island prospered both economically and culturally[20]. The fifteenth century, in contrast, has received much less attention, as this period is traditionally seen as a time of decline that was defined by Genoese economic oppression and by the loss of the important city Famagusta in 1374 and subsequently of the entire kingdom's independence to the Mamluks after their invasion in 1426[21].

However, the social ascension of Greeks in the fifteenth century has given rise to some marginal debates that scholars have mostly mentioned in passing. In general, scholars have asked how broad the phenomenon of ascending indigenous families was, and whether these families became part of the Frankish crusading nobility. Moreover, scholars expressed their opinion as to how social mobility influenced the culture of the groups concerned, as well as the culture of Cypriot society as a whole, and have chosen to postulate a strengthening of Greek, Italian or Frankish culture in Cyprus[22].

Discussion of these topics is especially cursory in older works and, in line with the general research at the time, scholars emphasized separation. The great nineteenth-century expert on Cypriot history Louis de Mas Latrie did not express a detailed opinion on this matter, since his analysis hardly extends beyond the fall of Acre in 1291. He merely mentions that Greeks only attained access to the privileges of the Latins in later periods[23]. Nicolae Iorga, in the last chapter of his *France de Chypre*, which he entitled *L'Avènement des Grecs* ('The Advent of the Greeks'), openly lamented the end of the *raffinée* French noble society at the close of the fifteenth century. In his opinion, noble society on Cyprus was a *belle chevalerie francaise* which preserved the old chivalric traditions and ceremonies – an unalloyed knightly French society. This idyllic society endured until the reign of John II and was only destroyed by James II's usurpation and his policy of favouring indigenous families over the nobles. By 1489, when Caterina Corner had to leave Cyprus, there were almost no French knights left who would have been able to follow her into exile. According to Iorga, the dying

17 Kyriacou, Orthodox Cyprus. For a newer critical opinion which emphasizes the conflicts between Greeks and Franks on the religious level, see Chotzakoglou, Holy Virgin.

18 Cyprus remained marginal until the 1980s. The most important scholar in the nineteenth century to write about Lusignan Cyprus, whose work has maintained its relevance until today, was Count Louis de Mas Latrie (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire [1861], II [1852] and III [1855], Mas Latrie [ed.], Nouvelles preuves I/II/III; Documents nouveaux [Mas Latrie]). Later Nicolae Iorga published both studies and sources of Cyprus (Iorga, Notes et extraits IV/I and II; Iorga, France de Chypre), and John Hackett wrote a history of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus (Hackett, History). However, the first great general history of Cyprus was written by George Hill between 1940 and 1952, covering not only the medieval but also the ancient and later periods (Hill, History). This standard handbook on Cypriot history was only updated by newer research by Peter Edbury and later in the 1990s. In the decades after World War II, especially Jean Richard and Peter Edbury have written on the history of Cyprus. Richard published a range of essays on the administrative history of Cyprus (Richard, Psimolofo; Richard, Révolution; Richard, Royaume; Richard, Aspects du notariat), as well as some important source editions (Documents chypriotes [Richard]; Richard, Une famille; Livre des remembrances [Richard]). Peter Edbury submitted his doctoral thesis on the Cypriot nobility in the earlier Lusignan reign in 1974 (Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus). He published it in an abridged form in 1991 (Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus), and it has become a standard study on Lusignan political history. Edbury has published extensively on Cyprus ever since. Count Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg has published various, mostly prosopographical works on late Medieval Cyprus, which will be discussed below (Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie; Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai Proeleusē; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro; Rudt de Collenberg, Le royaume; Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux).

19 The first comprehensive work to appear in the 1990s were the fourth and fifth volumes of the *Historia tēs Kyprou*, which enlisted the contributions of various specialists (Papadopoullos, Historia). E. g. Gilles Grivaud wrote a detailed synthesis of Cypriot Medieval literature, later republished twice (Grivaud, Pneumatikos Bios; Grivaud, Literature; Grivaud, Entrelacs). Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Michalis Pieris contributed to the understanding of the chronicle of Machairas. As well as publishing various articles on this important fifteenth century chronicle (Nikolaou-Konnarē, Chronique; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Diaskeuē; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Glōssa; Pierēs, Gyrō), they prepared a diplomatic edition in 2003 (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Konnarē/Pierēs]), while Natia Anaxagorou published a substantial literary analysis in 1998 (Anaxagorou, Narrative Structures). Other texts, both chronicles and documents, were re-edited and/or translated in the same years (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou], Boustronios, Narrative [Coureas], Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie], Machaut, Capture [Shirley], Cartulary of the Cathedral [Coureas/Schabel], Synodicum Nicosiense [Schabel], Schabel, Bullarium Cyprium I-III [III with Charles Perrat and Jean Richard]). Christopher Schabel and Nicholas Coureas worked on the history of the Latin Church in Cyprus. While the former produced a number of articles concerning the Latin church, monasteries and the Mendicant orders (i. a. Schabel, Elias of Nabinaux; Schabel, Inquisition; Schabel, Unpublished documents; Schabel, Myth of Queen Alice; Schabel, Who's in Charge Here?), Coureas published two syntheses on the history of the Latin Church in Cyprus (Coureas, Latin Church I [1998]; Coureas, Latin Church II [2010]). Coureas also wrote a number of articles on the island's economy in Lusignan times (Coureas, For Pleasure and Profit; Coureas, Provençal Trade; Coureas, Profits and Piracy; Coureas, Trade Cyprus Sicily; Commercial Relations Chios). In 1998, Gilles Grivaud submitted his doctoral thesis on deserted villages on Cyprus between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries (Grivaud, Villages désertés), thus also covering an important topic of the island's rural life. Alexander Beihammer edited a highly revealing fourteenth-century formula collection by a royal secretary (Griechische Briefe [Beihammer]). In 2005, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel in collaboration with Gilles Grivaud, Peter Edbury and Nicholas Coureas published an extensive synthesis of research of the preceding fifteen years (Schabel/Nicolaou-Konnari, Cyprus. Society and Culture). Cf. also the discussion of research on cultural contacts and identity questions above.

20 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 151.

21 Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi 177. Scholars have only very recently addressed this lacuna. Consequently, some source editions such as two volumes of notarial registers from Famagusta and Hospitaller documents concerning fifteenth-century Cyprus have appeared (Actes de Famagouste [Balard et al.]; Folieta, Actes [Balard et al.]; Hospitaller Documents [Luttrell et al.]). At the International Medieval Congress 2014 in Leeds, a whole panel encouraging further research was dedicated to fifteenth-century Cyprus (see https://www.imc.leeds.ac.uk/imcarchive/2014/sessions/ [12 October 2020]). Some studies on individual aspects have appeared, such as Christina Kaoulla's publications on Helena Palaiologina and King Janus' divorce (Kaoulla, Queen Elena; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride, the latter being Kaoulla's Phd-thesis), as well as Thierry Ganchou's well-informed study on Jacques de Fleury's opposition against Queen Helena and Cathérine Otten-Froux's article on Genoese enfeoffments in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Ganchou, Rébellion; Otten, Féodalité). However, more comprehensive studies on Cypriot society and culture in the fifteenth century are still missing.

22 An exception is Schryver, Monuments of Identity esp. 386, who emphasizes that Cypriot society was fragmented and did not have one general culture or identity.

23 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 135-140. For an assessment of Mas Latrie's ideological framework, see Nicolaou-Konnari, France de Chypre.

»agony« of this *brillante chevalerie* had already preceded the Queen's exile[24].

George Hill agreed with Iorga that no »general fusion[25]« between the Frankish noble class and the Greek population of the island ever took place, but he conceded that many Greek Cypriots »rose to positions of importance in commerce, the army or the administration, and even to noble rank«. Nevertheless, »the ruling class in the Frankish period consisted of the royal house and the nobles, who, it was said, all came to Cyprus with Guy of Lusignan, being mostly French barons who had lost their lands in Palestine[26]«. Again, for Hill the real change took place under James II, who dispossessed the old nobles and substituted them with Italians.

Count Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg chose a quite different approach. In various articles published between the 1980s and early 1990s, which rely on a wide range of prosopographical material, he postulated that the old nobility, comprised of crusading families, declined from the second half of the fourteenth century and was eventually substituted by Greeks and Oriental Christians, as well as by Italians and Catalans. The reasons for this decline were the troubled events of the end of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, such as the war with Genoa in 1372-1374, the waves of plague and the Mamluk invasion of 1426 that all debilitated the Frankish nobility. These traumatic events made it possible for indigenous and immigrating families to attain power. According to Rudt de Collenberg, these newcomers constituted about 75 % of the Cypriot nobility at the end of the fifteenth century[27]. He based this hypothesis on the assumption that every person or family who held a landed estate or had any higher function in society, such as for example holding church office, must be seen as part of the *noblesse*, or, in his texts equal to this term, *la classe dirigeante*[28]. As a result, in his view, noble culture changed significantly during the fifteenth century: the few still existing Frankish families adopted Greek culture, as did the immigrating Italian and Catalan families. Thus, the Cypriot nobility attained a Greek, »Oriental« outlook[29]. Collenberg's research must be approached with caution. Not only did he lack a clear definition of nobility: his work is also rife with mistakes and often lacks references. It is thus impossible to ascertain the veracity of many of his assertions.

In 1989, Benjamin Arbel argued against Collenberg's hypothesis in an article entitled *The Cypriot Nobility from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century: A New Interpretation*. Using sources such as alleged lists of nobles (see the discussion below) and information from chronicles, he focused on knighthood as an important criterion for nobility. Arbel considered only social status, and did not openly discuss cultural identity, although he saw the Frankish nobility as a relatively closed group of families until the end of Lusignan reign. However, Arbel did not negate social mobility. He acknowledged that indigenous families succeeded in attaining wealth and eventually also estates from the crown, and thus constituted »a kind of gentry, which was never officially recognised as such[30]«. But he believed that the social demarcation line between social climbers and nobility was such that »at any given moment until the end of Latin rule in Cyprus, contemporaries could quite easily distinguish a nobleman from a Cypriot of elevated status who had not yet acquired all the necessary requisites for nobility[31]«. According to Arbel, the only formal way to become a nobleman was to be dubbed a knight. He cites the example of García de Navarra, a Catalan, who came to Cyprus under the rule of James II and was given an estate and married a Cypriot noblewoman. Only after James' death was García dubbed a knight. Arbel argues that he had not belonged to the nobility before[32]. Arbel relies on Florio Bustron's sixteenth-century chronicle to argue that only families who had one or more knights in their ranks should be considered noble, and families who had a landed estate but did not attain the status of knighthood should not. Therefore, in contrast to Rudt de Collenberg, Arbel arrives at a very narrow definition of nobility for the fifteenth century that equates nobility with knighthood. According to Arbel, only five or six families attained nobility during the fifteenth century[33], a striking contrast to the figures provided by de Collenberg.

Arbel's view is confirmed by Nicholas Coureas in his recent article *How Frankish was the Frankish ruling class of Cyprus? Ethnicity and Identity* (2015). Coureas does not explicitly define the nobility, but implicitly follows Arbel's definition. He generally uses offices that constituted certain proof of knighthood, such as that of viscount, as criteria to ascertain an individual's status. While other scholars think of nobility in terms of families, Coureas perceives it as an individual status. In his view, it is possible for one individual to be a noble while other members of his or her family were still burgesses. Like Arbel, he concludes that the nobility closed its ranks against newcomers and maintained its Frankish culture until the end of Lusignan rule[34].

In contrast to the scholars mentioned so far, Jean Richard, Gilles Grivaud and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari have adopted a different perspective that shifts the emphasis away from a narrow analysis of the nobility. Jean Richard and Gilles Grivaud analyse Cypriot society and culture as a whole, and Nicolaou-Konnari concentrates on the development of the

24 Iorga, France de Chypre 204. 209. 214. For a new appraisal of this work and its ideological implications, see Mureşan, France de Chypre.
25 Hill, History II 6.
26 Both quotations from Hill, History II 8.
27 Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 814; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 55.
28 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 524.
29 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 553; Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai Proeleusē 825-826.
30 Arbel, Nobility 177.
31 Arbel, Nobility 178.
32 Arbel, Nobility 178. For García de Navarra, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 228. 242-244. 280. 304.
33 Arbel, Nobility 184. 187-188.
34 Coureas, Ethnicity and Identity, esp. 71-72. 77-78.

ascending Greek families[35]. All three scholars see the Greek families as a defined group with a special relationship to the old nobility. Their designations of the group and its social standing, however, differ.

In his analysis of Cypriot society, Jean Richard makes a clear cut between the unfree serfs and the upper classes of society. He divides the latter into three groups: the Frankish aristocracy or nobility, the Latin, Greek and Oriental Christian burgesses and the group which he calls *hē taxē tōn axiōmatouchōn*[36] ('the class of officials'), or, in French, the *bourgeoisie d'office et de finance*[37]. He defines the nobility as a group based on feudal tenure for which genealogy was crucial, and which was hierarchized according to the importance of the familial estates and of crown titles. A very probable prerequisite for membership in this group, so Richard argues, was being a part of the Latin Church. In his opinion, this group was defined by its Frankish culture until the end of Lusignan reign[38]. The *bourgeoisie d'office*, on the other hand, recruited Greeks, Oriental Christians and Latins who worked in the financial administration and ascended into the high Frankish community by attaining important offices. According to Richard, they penetrated the *classe dominante* by forging marriage alliances with noble families and by gaining access to fiefs and ecclesiastical benefices. Culturally, they adapted to Frankish customs: »elles font leurs les traditions de l'aristocratie franque[39]«. Nevertheless, Richard maintains that, regarding society as a whole, this process promoted a strengthening of Greek culture[40].

Grivaud and Nicolaou-Konnari essentially agree with Richard's social analysis, but they view the Greeks in a slightly different way. While Jean Richard designates this group as essentially burgess, Grivaud speaks of a *noblesse d'office*[41], a term which has been used to designate groups ascending into the nobility in Western Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari has analysed the encounters between Greeks and Franks in the thirteenth century in her doctoral thesis[42]. She maintains that social mobility »led to the formation of a new kind of Greek aristocracy, some of whom climbed the ranks of the Frankish nobility in the fifteenth century[43]«. She stresses the group's role as cultural brokers: »this Greek elite assumed thus the role of an intermediary group between the Frankish aristocracy and the Latin burgesses, on the one hand, and the Greek lower classes, on the other, that facilitated cultural exchanges[44]«. Nicolaou-Konnari has therefore set a new focus on the ascending Greek families who played an important role in the cultural contacts between the groups. However, neither she nor Grivaud have studied these groups during the fifteenth century in detail.

In general, scholars maintain that there was some degree of social mobility in fourteenth and fifteenth century Cyprus, that a certain group of families ascended the social ladder, and that the nobility remained an identifiable group. However, they disagree about the designation of the ascending group, how to define its social standing, the degree of integration between élite groups and the boundaries of nobility and its identity. The cultural consequences of the social transformation highlighted are also open to debate – they range from the belief that Greeks and Oriental Christians adopted Frankish customs, to arguing for the nobility's unchanging Frankish culture to the complete loss of Frankish identity postulated by Rudt de Collenberg. Moreover, apart from Rudt de Collenberg, who was notoriously unreliable and used dubious methodologies, no one has studied the history of the fifteenth century systematically on the basis of the sources and the prosopographical material available.

The present study intends to follow up on these discussions by presenting new research on the Cypriot élites and by placing their development into the European context. It will be concerned with two main questions: the social developments and social mobility among the Cypriot élite, and the processes of identity construction that were intertwined with these social changes. The study will span the period between the year 1374, which marks the end of the Genoese-Cypriot war, a crucial moment for the Cypriot nobility, and the 1460s, when the last Lusignan King James II came to power and introduced new policies that altered the structure and outlook of Cypriot society. The basis of the analysis is a prosopographical database that registers every known member of the élite during this time span.

To ground the investigation, I will first discuss which élite groups existed in Cyprus and how we may define and grasp them in **chapter one**. I will examine both the Frankish nobility and the group of ascending families that was part of the aristocracy, as were various Western immigrants who integrated into Cypriot noble society. Crucially, not only Greeks but also many Oriental Christians were part of the ascending aristocracy and played an important role in the government of the state. They will therefore also figure prominently in this study.

On this fundament, I will build a social analysis of these groups in **chapters two and three** that intends to answer some of the questions posed in former research on social mobility, such as who and how many members of Greek and Oriental Christian families actually became part of the nobility. However, my analysis goes beyond these questions by asking in general how the nobility and other aristocratic

35 See Richard, Politikoi kai koinōnikoi thesmoi; Richard, Culture franque; Grivaud, Ordine; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter.
36 Richard, Politikoi kai koinōnikoi thesmoi 364.
37 Richard, Culture francque 403.
38 Richard, Culture francque 405.
39 Richard, Culture francque 414.
40 Richard, Politikoi kai koinōnikoi thesmoi 355-356. 364; Richard, Culture franque 403. 414.
41 Grivaud, Ordine 536.
42 See esp. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 224-235.
43 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 58-59.
44 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 59; cf. also Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 230-235.

groups developed in the fifteenth century: who was part of these groups? How did they develop demographically (**chapter two**)? Moreover, I will ask in how far the different aristocratic groups were in contact with each other. Can we discern any integration between these groups, both on a legal level (inclusion of Greek and Oriental Christian aristocrats into the nobility) and on the social level? Did nobles and members of the ascending families intermarry (**chapter three**)?

These chapters will illustrate that there was a fair degree of social mobility among the new aristocracy that merits a more detailed discussion especially in the highest echelons of society. In **chapter four,** I will therefore examine in how far Greeks and Syrians actually became part of the Lusignan government and how much of a role they played in the highest power élite during the fifteenth century. Were they able to upset the power balance in the Lusignan government?

The last part of this study, finally, will connect the social analysis to questions of identity. In contrast to some of the scholars mentioned above, I will not attempt to search for an answer to the question of how Greek and Syrian social mobility influenced culture in Cyprus as a whole, since I am not convinced that social mobility of some élite groups and their ways of adaptation necessarily reveal anything about the whole of Cypriot society[45]. However, I will analyse how members of the distinct groups under consideration constructed their identities on various levels such as ethnicity and social status (**chapter five**) and faith (**chapter six**). I will ask how the world of thought of these people was connected to their origin, social standing and the processes of social mobility they were involved in. Did the social changes that occurred during the fifteenth century go hand in hand with changes in identity construction? How, for example, did Greeks and Syrians who ascended the social ladder view their own ethnic and religious identities? The interdependent analysis of these aspects of identity construction with the social developments will create a new perspective on Cypriot élite society in the fifteenth century.

This perspective necessarily depends on a certain set of theoretical considerations as well as a specific approach to the sources, both of which I will explain in the following pages. Those readers more interested in the study itself and less in the theoretical background may gladly skip these pages and begin this Cypriot adventure in chapter one.

45 Cf. Schryver, Monuments of Identity 386, who also emphasizes that it is futile to search for one society, one identity or one general culture in Medieval Cyprus.

Methods and Sources

Methods and Theoretical Considerations

The examination of social developments and of processes of identity construction requires a theoretical framework that covers the requirements of both paths of analysis. I will therefore draw on theoretical considerations belonging to two different movements of scholarship that have often been seen in contradiction to each other: historical sociology and culture- and identity studies. These two traditions have deviating perspectives on the »historical reality« of past societies[46], and it is necessary to discuss this problem before turning to their use for the present study.

According to historical sociology, which bloomed in the 1960s in particular, the historical reality of past societies is an externally verifiable and objective entity. It can be understood through the (mostly quantitative) analysis of social and economic structures based on careful theoretical considerations. The historian is supposed to collect social and economic data from the sources and interpret them with the help of modern heuristic tools. The history of ideas and mentalities played only a marginal role for these studies[47]. However, in the wake of the linguistic and cultural turns, scholars questioned the existence of an »objective« historical reality and preferred to analyse the way historical subjects perceived their society, context and identities[48]. Reality, they maintained, was always a subjective process of discourse and construction, negotiated between individuals and groups[49]. Therefore, such a thing as one social coherent reality in the past had never existed, and historians could only ever analyse the representation of past discourses within the discourse of their own time[50]. This perspective is strongly related to an emphasis on deconstruction, fragmentation and hybridization: reality, identities and cultures are not seen as essential, unified, unchanging entities, but rather as a conglomeration of hybrid, ever-changing discourses[51].

On first glance, these two opposites seem irreconcilable. However, some historians maintain that taking both perspectives into account can be fruitful for historical research[52]. The Byzantinist John Haldon, for example, from whose work this study takes its main theoretical basis, has recently stated that an analysis of past societies should ask how social differences were expressed and conceived by the past society itself but also examine the social structures underlying the contemporary narratives. Such an analysis should not forget the historian's positionality in modern discourse that has been so much emphasized by the postmodernists, but neither should it deny the external social reality of the past[53]. The results of the modern sociological analysis do not necessarily coincide with the perception of past observers: we may for example find common traits and characteristics in social groups which would not have considered themselves as belonging to the same social strata[54]. In this approach, therefore, a picture of »reality« arises in the tension between the two perspectives.

46 Gotter, Akkulturation 378-381.

47 Gotter, Akkulturation 379. For literature discussing this opinion, see Kocka, Sozialgeschichte esp. 74. 77. 86. 98; Hanisch, Die linguistische Wende 219-221; Wehler, Historische Sozialwissenschaft passim.

48 Haldon, Byzantium after 2000, 6. The cultural turn had its origins in postcolonial studies, which were closely connected to the political and cultural situation from the 1950s onwards, when parts of the so-called Third World were de-colonialized and a range of liberation movements questioned universalist political theories, focusing on fragmented and marginal societies and counter-discourses to the leading discourses of the »Western« world. The cultural turn and postmodernism (originating in postcolonialism) are therefore terms which encompass a number of different and sometimes contrasting movements, ranging from political to more academic discussion, see Haldon, Byzantium after 2000, 5 and Bachmann-Medick, Cultural Turns 7-8. The broadness of these movements makes it impossible to offer a comprehensive bibliographical list here. However, among the most important postcolonial and postmodern works are Bhabha, Location of Culture; Brah, Cartographies of Diaspora; Brah, Hybridity and its Discontents; Fanon, Peau noire, masques blancs; Hall, Cultural Studies; Hall, Questions of Cultural Identity; hooks, Ain't I a Woman; Mbembe, Les jeunes; Said, Orientalism. Bachmann-Medick, Cultural Turns provides an interesting theoretization and overview of all the turns in the humanities. For other introductions, cf. Jameson, The Cultural Turn; Do Mar Castro Varela/Dhawan, Postkoloniale Theorie; Ashcroft et al., The Empire Writes Back; Megill, Prophets of Extremity; Lyotard, The Postmodern Condition; Culler, On Deconstruction.

49 Gotter, Akkulturation 378-380. For discussions on (historical) reality viewed from a postmodernist perspective, see Fischer, Wirklichkeit des Konstruktivismus; Keller, Diskursanalyse; Daniel, Clio unter Kulturschock; Iggers, Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jh., esp. 124-127. For Medieval studies, see especially Borgolte, Mittelalterforschung und Postmoderne; Goetz, Moderne Mediävistik.

50 Haldon, Byzantium after 2000, 8.

51 See Bhabha, Location of Culture esp. 1-3; Medick, Missionare im Ruderboot; Heinz, Ethnizität; Lipp, Kulturtypen; Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies esp. 12-14; Hall, Who Needs Identity? 1. 4.

52 See e. g. Oexle, Aspekte; Gotter, Akkulturation 383-384; Haldon, Social Élites; Haldon, Callinicos.

53 Haldon, Byzantium after 2000, 9; Haldon, Social Élites 168-169.

54 Haldon, Social Élites 172. The divergence of the two perspectives is evident for example from Padgett and Ansell's discussion of the rise of the Medici family in the fifteenth century: while contemporaries perceived the Medici family as representing the »new men« in society, their party was actually »a heterogeneous mixture of contradictory interests and crosscutting networks«. See Padgett/Ansell, Robust Action 1262. Cf. also Carpenter's study on the gentry of Warwickshire, who warns from perceiving all the people who called themselves *gentry* as one group, since there were significant differences between families' riches and social standing (Carpenter, Locality and Polity 38).

However, considering the two perspectives as unrelated would also be mistaken. In a 1990 essay on the development of nobility in Western Europe, the German medievalist Otto Gerhard Oexle pointed out that the mentality prevailing in a society also influences its social reality, and vice versa[55]. Haldon has discussed this crucial point recently in more depth. Based on work by Alex Callinicos, he argues that human consciousness and identity construction are closely connected to social structures through identity narratives and can be responsible for social change[56].

Callinicos had thought about the possibilities and limitations of human agency itself[57]. He turned against those thinkers who see human agency as the outcome of rational decisions only. However, he also rejected the assumptions put forth above all by Althusser that human beings are basically results of the social structures[58] they live in and always act according to the constraints of the social system[59]. As a middle way between these two positions, Callinicos proposed a perspective that takes social structures into account without assigning them the absolute power over human agency. Rather, he argued that social structures limit human agency, but also facilitate action. Humans can use the prevailing social structures to further their ends, either by reasserting said structures or by using the possibilities inherent in the social system to forward social change[60].

Haldon uses these basic assumptions to think more about the relationship between perceptions of society and social structures themselves. According to Haldon, this relationship is dialectic. While society and social structures produce an awareness of self in human beings, they also set the framework and the conceptual apparatus for humans to express what they know and understand about the world, and to act back on this world according to their self-awareness[61]. This thinking offers a workable connection between the past reality that the historian unearths, and the perspective of contemporaries on their own world.

How, though, should we analyse both outside reality and contemporary thinking? For both questions, specific considerations and analytical tools are necessary. First, let us consider the terms culture and identity, both of which are crucial for understanding the contemporary perspective. I will follow up with a discussion of various sociological terms such as nobility, aristocracy, social groups and social mobility and finally consider prosopography and social network analysis as methods for the analysis of the historical reality of the Cypriot élites.

Identities and Culture

As we have just seen above, social structures can be seen as producing an awareness of self in human beings, setting a framework for their actions and at the same time enabling people to act back on the world. How, then, can we grasp both the social structures as well as people's awareness of self? According to Haldon, social realities produce a society's culture, its *symbolic universe*, »the totality of cultural knowledge and practice in a social formation, within which and through which regular everyday life is carried on[62]«. This definition, which is based on the important sociological work of Berger and Luckmann in the 1960s[63], is similar to the one by Clifford Geertz, who »believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, […] take[s] culture to be those webs[64]«. Geertz emphasized that this web of significance not only took place on a cognitive level but was also present in social practices, which according to him are connected to the various layers of meaning that depend on the semiotic structures of a society[65]. Other scholars writing about semiotics have offered similar views of culture and defined it as a communication system based on meanings that are connected to practices and to specific signs which explain the world to men. Different societies build different symbolic universes using varying discourses in which their members move[66]. These views tie in well with the conviction expressed in the various cultural turns that reality is not an unchangeable entity, but disintegrated into various perceptions, and therefore culture must be based on perceptions and discourses, and is a continuously mixed and renegotiated system[67].

55 Oexle, Aspekte 19-20.
56 Haldon expressed many of these thoughts already in Haldon, Towards a Social History, albeit without explicitly referring to Callinicos' concepts.
57 Callinicos, Making History xx. xliii. 213-225. 277-278.
58 Haldon, Callinicos 2 defines social structures as »the socially-determinate results of past human actions repeated on a regular basis sufficient to determine certain behavioural forms and social practices«.
59 Callinicos, Making History xvii, and esp. 5-16. 33-37. Cf. Althusser, Idéologie.
60 Callinicos, Making History xxii-xxxii. 85-102. Similar positions have been taken by Martschukat, Freitod and Sarasin, Subjekte, both coming from the tradition of discourse analysis.
61 Haldon, Callinicos 6.
62 Haldon, Callinicos 6.
63 Berger and Luckmann used the concept to explain the legitimation of social institutions within a society. Accordingly, »the symbolic universe is conceived of as the matrix of all socially objectivated and subjectively real meanings; the entire historic society and the entire biography of the individual are seen as events taking place within this universe« (Berger/Luckmann, Social Construction 114).
64 Geertz, Thick Description 5. Accordingly, in his overview of cultural research the historian Ulrich Gotter later defined culture as »die Summe aller Sinnbezüge und Tiefendimensionen […], die der Dingwelt und den sozialen Konstellationen zugewiesen werden» (Gotter, Akkulturation 380).
65 These layers can be analysed through an interpretative process which Geertz called »thick description«, see Geertz, Thick Description 6-12.
66 Coming from the semiotic discourse and based on the philosophy of Ernst Cassirer, Morris, Zeichen, and Eco, Semiotik, have discussed communicative sign systems as cultural formations.
67 See e. g. Bhabha, Location of Culture esp. 1-3; Medick, Missionare im Ruderboot; Heinz, Ethnizität; Lipp, Kulturtypen; Brah/Coombes, Conundrum of Mixing 9. Earlier uses of the term contrasted culture as the product of human activities that shaped the world around them, from nature. In the nineteenth century, this definition had been used to construct a hierarchy of higher, more civilized cultures, and lower cultures, which were supposed to be closer to nature. Later, cultures were thought of as equivalent, but homogeneous entities which stood side by side without mixing (Gotter, Akkulturation 376). Important ethnological works which designed cultures as homogenous entities existing parallel, without assigning any values were Kroeber, The Superorganic; Kroeber, The Nature of Culture; Benedict, Patterns of Culture; Herskovits, Cultural Relativism. However, with the cultural turn, these ideas were criticized, and the definitions that are used in this study substituted the older ideas. The definition

The concept of the *symbolic universe*, then, encompasses social structures and cultural practices as well as the meaning attached to them in a specific society, and expresses the understanding of human beings as part of an all-encompassing social and cultural context that acts on them and influences their perception of the world. I shall therefore use the *symbolic universe* to define what is understood as culture in this study.

The question remains how we are to deal with the awareness of self and to grasp its connection to culture and social structures. We have now arrived at the crucial concept of identity. Needless to say, this term has a long history of debate in the scholarly community. I shall refer to these discussions shortly, in order to contextualize the use of the term in this study.

Before the various turns, scholars largely understood identity on two, sometimes contrasting, levels. On the one hand, they saw identity as a personal project, the development of the concept of self during an individual's lifespan. On the other hand, identity was understood as a group phenomenon, that is how certain social groups determined personal identities. In both directions, scholars viewed identity as a basically stable and consistent concept of self[68]. With the arrival of postmodernism, this changed radically. Scholars now started to focus on the fragmentation and multiplicity of identities within a single individual, as well as within groups[69]. Identity was no longer a stable self-concept that *existed*, but something changeable that could be *constructed* differently according to the discourse and the context an individual or a group moved in. An important part of this shift focused on the crucial role played by language. Following an important work by Goffman (Forms of Talk, 1981), scholars now acknowledged language as the basic vehicle of identity construction and social interaction[70].

Within this general trend, scholars focused on different levels of identity construction, ranging from broad views that were influenced by historical philosophy to more minute analyses of discourse and descriptions of self in conversation. These approaches differed not only in the scale of research. The broader approach often built on the tradition of Althusser and Foucault who had found that social structures produced subjects and identities through their cultural and administrative power[71]. It therefore focussed on the influence of the social system on personal identities. The most well-known approach of this sort until today is Judith Butler's work on the performativity of sexual identities and gender[72]. In Butler's work, »an identity based on gender […] is nothing other than persistent regulatory performances materialized over time[73]«.

Small-scale research, on the other hand, concentrated more on the self-determined action of the individual. According to Stuart Hall, one of the most important scholars in this area, it is necessary to analyse why people take up one discursive position instead of another[74]. Stuart Hall's much read essay *Who Needs Identity?* from 1996 therefore analyses the construction of identity as the result of an individual's identification with a certain discourse within a given moment. This identification can vary depending on the context and the choice of discourses involved[75]. It has been stressed that it is not the discourse itself which forms identity, but that people themselves form their identities by choosing, negotiating and »speaking into shape« various discourses[76]. The individual therefore is not only hailed by discursive structures but has the possibility of choosing between various discourses and creatively shaping them. Matching this concept from a psychological perspective, Ryan and Deci have recently explained that individuals develop identities by accepting roles in order to help them secure a sense of relatedness and belonging. Thus, a person may have multiple identities, depending on the various contexts to which they relate, and not just one identity consisting of everything they believe themselves to be[77].

This last approach to identities suits the concept of this study best, since it ties in with the concept that human beings live in a symbolic universe which awards them varying discourses in order to construct their identities and interact with the social structures they encounter. Using the possibility of different discourses, people may choose to construct their identities in different ways according to the moment and situation.

How, then, are we to analyse these constructions of identity? A crucial limitation for historians is that human consciousness, and therefore self-awareness is never directly accessible. However, according to Haldon, the expression of consciousness, and therefore the connection between consciousness and social practice, is provided by narrative. According to Haldon, narrative is »a specifically socio-linguistic definition, a series of linked clauses or statements with an evaluative – and therefore structuring – element, arranged temporally[78]«. Narratives are reconstructions of experience. They function as »means of identifying the individual self within a social and

of culture as contrast between nature and human production, however, is still used in a modern way by Barzen et al., Kontakt 197. They define culture as the results of humans »being in the world«, which can be categorized into various sectors, such as religion, economy, or law.

68 Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 6-12. The most prominent scholar working on personal identity development was Erik Erikson (Erikson, Childhood and Society; Erikson, Identity: Youth, and Crisis). For group identity on the other hand, Norbert Elias did influential work (Elias, Gesellschaft der Individuen).

69 For surveys on this debate, see Hall, Recent Developments 157-162 and Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 12-18.

70 Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 13-14; Goffman, Forms of Talk.

71 Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 13-14. See Althusser, Idéologie and Foucault, Archéologie. This discussion was closely intertwined with the Marxist debates about structure and agency discussed above. However, in later works Foucault allowed for more freedom of individual action, see Foucault, La volonté de savoir.

72 Butler, Gender Trouble; Butler, Bodies That Matter.

73 Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 17.

74 Cf. Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 16.

75 Hall, Who Needs Identity? 5-6.

76 Wetherell, Field of Identity Studies 17.

77 Ryan/Deci, Multiple Identities 226-227.

78 Haldon, Callinicos 7.

cultural context, of providing a reality – they answer the question 'who am I?'[79]«. Narratives therefore construct identities, and on this basis, they are guides for future action. Narratives may act in different directions. If evaluation of social reality changes in a narrative, this may call for making changes in society. However, social change may also influence the narrative, again calling for changes in the constructed relationship between self and society[80]. It will therefore be the task of the chapters on identity construction to unearth these narratives from the various sources at our disposal.

During this analysis, we have to keep in mind that identity narratives are usually connected to various contexts and social roles. Hugh Kennedy and John Haldon as well as James Schryver (for Cyprus) offer categorizations of these contexts or roles, listing the following: religion, race and language, region, public function, perceived social origin and solidarities, as well as gender. These contexts make for sets of overlapping and mutually intersecting identities, which may even come into conflict with each other[81]. We will therefore have to ask which identity sets or discourses were important to people in fifteenth-century Cyprus[82], and if and how these identities overlapped, intersected or came into conflict with one another.

Identifying with different discourses or social roles often means identifying with different groups. Therefore, we will have to ask to which groups individuals felt they belonged. A fundamental postmodernist approach that tackles this issue is the felt difference to others. By asking who is seen as the *Other*, we may find out about the perceived boundaries between groups[83]. In the case of this study, this will be an important question for the identification of different groups within the Cypriot élite: how did they see themselves and each other? Moreover, did social changes and contact between different groups lead to new group constructions or changing patterns in group identities[84]? I shall attempt to answer these questions both while discussing the aristocratic groups themselves in chapter one and aristocratic identity construction in chapters five and six.

The examination of the various élite groups and their processes of identity construction cannot, however, do without clear sociological definitions of the groups in question. I therefore now proceed to discuss the various modern terms used for medieval élite societies, and their usefulness for the present study.

Nobility, Aristocracy, and Élite

In European history, the terms *nobility* and *aristocracy* (as well as élite) are used for the higher echelons of medieval society. Discussing these terms will help us define the Cypriot groups under consideration.

Aristocracy and *nobility* are often used synonymously[85]. However, developments throughout Western European societies from the beginning of the Late Middle ages onwards have prompted historians of this periode to differentiate between the two terms. Depending on the line of interpretation, societies in Western Europe started to define higher social groups in legal terms from about the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, but at the latest in the fifteenth century. Being noble in these societies not only meant occupying a high position with access to wealth and power but also being in possession of legal privileges inherited from one generation to the next[86]. Consequently, scholars of Late Medieval Western Europe have used the term *nobility* to denote higher social strata that were separated from the rest of society by legal privileges. This notion occurs as early as Paul Guilhiermoz's essay on the origin of the nobility in Medieval France (1902)[87]. In accordance with these thoughts, Marc Bloch defined nobility in his highly influential work *La société féodale* from 1939 as follows:

> toute classe dominante n'est pas une noblesse. Pour mériter ce nom, elle doit, semble-t-il, réunir deux conditions: d'abord la possession d'un statut juridique qui confirme et matérialise la supériorité à laquelle elle prétend; en second lieu, que ce statut se perpétue par le sang – sauf toutefois à admettre en faveur de quelques familles nouvelles la possibilité de s'en ouvrir l'accès, mais en nombre restreint et selon des normes régulièrement établies[88].

Others followed this line of thought[89]. In a research overview on medieval nobilities in 1997, Timothy Reuter opined that

> a noble is, strictly speaking, a person whose (normally privileged) status is legally defined, which means that one can be a noble without exercising power. An aristocrat, by contrast, is someone who exercises power as a result of being well-born in a socially rather than a legally defined sense: this implies the inheritance of wealth, power and social (but not legal) status, and it does not preclude some degree of social mobility[90].

79 Haldon, Callinicos 7.
80 The arguments in this paragraph are all taken from Haldon, Callinicos 6-9.
81 Haldon/Kennedy, Regional Identities 319 and most recently Haldon, Concluding Remarks 3. Cf. also Schryver, Excavating Identities 8-9.
82 Cf. Schryver, Excavating Identities 9.
83 See Brah, Non-binarized Identities, esp. 137-138; Hall, Who Needs Identity?. In 2000, a whole collected volume on the question of alterity and its influence on identity construction was published, resulting from the Sonderforschungsbereich 541 »Identitäten und Alteritäten – Die Funktion von Alterität für die Konstitution und Konstruktion von Identität«, see Eßbach, Wir/Ihr/Sie.
84 This is a question which Ulrich Gotter poses similarly in his acculturation discussion of contact between groups with different culture. However, Gotter defines groups as such only if they saw themselves as an (identity) group, see Gotter, Akkulturation 395. As exposed above, I shall approach groups both from their own view and from the view of the modern scholar.
85 These English terms are equivalent to *Adel* and *Aristokratie* in German, *noblesse* and *aristocratie* in French, *nobiltà* and *aristocrazia* in Italian, *nobleza* and *aristocracia* in Spanish.
86 Aurell, Western Nobility 264-265.
87 Guilhiermoz, Essai noblesse 1.
88 Bloch, Société féodale II 1-2.
89 Philippe Contamine for example applied Bloch's definition to his seminal work on *La noblesse au royaume de France. De Philippe le Bel a Louis XII* in 1997, see Contamine, Noblesse esp. 6.
90 Reuter, Medieval Nobility 178-179.

However, Reuter also concluded that this definition is almost never used coherently. Instead, nobility is usually described »as a set of individuals whose status is legally defined and an aristocracy as that same set perceived as a sociologically defined group[91]«. David Crouch has recently used Reuter's strict definition and concluded that »as a group, (the aristocracy) is usually wider than the nobility in any generation, and its nature is more often evident to historians than to the contemporaries[92]«. Thus, according to Crouch, the aristocracy is not the same set of individuals as the nobility, but a broader group of people with political and economic influence who were not necessarily part of the nobility[93].

The terminological differentiation between aristocracy and nobility can also express the differences in social realities between Western Europe and the Byzantine Empire. As has been widely discussed, the Byzantines never developed a legal separation between the upper social classes and the rest of the population. Scholars therefore nowadays avoid the term *nobility* for the Byzantine upper social strata. In his recent study on the representation of the Byzantine higher classes, Michael Grünbart for example uses the term *aristocracy*[94]. John Haldon abandons this term altogether and speaks of *social élites*, which he separates from *power élites*. According to him, the former

> notion has historically been applied to an economically distinct group, whose access to and greater degree of control over the basic means of production in a society ensures their exercise of political power and implies also an increasing exclusiveness and inaccessibility with respect to those with restricted or no such access at all. The definition of power élite requires, in contrast, that while remaining exclusive in its control of political authority, it needs to remain open to the influence of other groups and even recruit new personnel therefrom, in order to safeguard its dominant position[95].

Haldon thus distinguishes between the élite as a broad socio-economic group and the power élite as the small circle of persons who wield executive power[96]. He adds that, while we can generally distinguish the élite from other parts of society by its culture and values, it »usually comprises a number of separable elements or factions. […] There are generally layers or levels of élite status and identity, involving also vertical as well as horizontal solidarities[97]«. Members of different élite groups may not perceive themselves as belonging to one and the same élite, but »see themselves rather as independent, autonomous groups in competition with other similar groups[98]«. Haldon's definition of élite is thus very close to Crouch's *aristocracy*, in terms of the socio-economic distinction as well as the group's perception by its contemporaries[99].

This insistence that contemporaries may not see themselves as members of the same group but perhaps even as members of competing groups is an important point. However, it also provokes a question concerning the definition of *social group* itself. In sociology, the most important criterion for the definition of a *social group* is that its members be aware that they belong to a defined group, be it a club, an informal group of friends, a political party or a whole society[100]. By identifying social groups according to their common traits and not only by their shared identity, historians depart from the sociological definition. In this study, I will use both sociological notions of self-definition and the outside perspective of the historian. I will discuss which of the various terms describing social groups are effective for the Cypriot upper strata in more detail during the description of Cypriot élite groups in chapter one.

Social Mobility

Until now, we have thought about social groups in a static manner, trying to discern which terms are effective to describe social structures. However, this study will be very much about social change and the dynamics between social groups[101]. It will be especially concerned with *social mobility*, that is with the movement of actors (or social objects or values) from one social position to another[102]. The term was first introduced into sociological thinking by Pitirim Sorokin, a Russian-American sociologist, in his monography *Social Mobility* in 1927. Sorokin examined social mobility in general, with regard to objects or values as well as individuals and

91 Reuter, Medieval Nobility 179.
92 Crouch, Birth of Nobility 3.
93 Some scholars have transferred this differentiation to the earlier Middle ages and have argued that there was no nobility in the strict sense in these times, because the upper classes had no legal privileges. Others, such as Karl Ferdinand Werner, have argued strongly against this claim, opining that it is not possible to negate the existence of a nobility when the sources themselves continually mention nobles. Nobility in the early Middle ages should instead be connected to the ruling class character of the group who represent the power of the state. According to Werner, transferring a definition of nobility derived from the later Middle ages to earlier periods is anachronistic, see Werner, Naissance 126. 135. We shall therefore keep in mind that the definition of the term is closely connected to the period under study.
94 Grünbart, Inszenierung 15. For other references, see e. g. Cheynet, Aristocracy 2; Magdalino, Court Society and Aristocracy 219. Other scholars, especially in older studies, have not differentiated between nobility and aristocracy, such as Každan, Social'nyj sostav; Kazhdan/Ronchey, L'aristocrazia bizantina or Weiss, Kantakuzenos.
95 Haldon, Social Élites 170-171.
96 Haldon's concept of power élite goes back to the important US-American work by C. Wright Mills, Power Élite. Cf. Haldon, Social Élites 172 and n. 10.
97 Haldon, Social Élites 171.
98 Haldon, Social Élites 172. This notion can also be found in Contamine, Noblesse 7, who sees the nobility as one of these élite groups. Cf. also Burkhardt, Der hansische Bergenhandel 32.
99 Its similarity to the use of aristocracy in other works such as Kazhdan's well-known study on the Byzantine aristocracy is explicitly mentioned by Haldon himself, see Haldon, Social Élites 171, n. 9; cf. Každan, Social'nyj sostav, passim.
100 Macionis/Plummer, Sociology 126; Korte/Schäfers, Hauptbegriffe der Soziologie 154-159.
101 Cf. Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 279, who emphasizes that a society is never static, but is always involved in processes of change.
102 Sorokin, Social Mobility 133 and Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 280.

groups[103]. However, this study is interested in the movement of persons between social groups and within the hierarchical structures of society, examining social upwards and downwards movements. Sociologists call this type of movement *vertical social mobility*[104], as opposed to *horizontal social mobility*, which describes for example a change of profession between two hierarchically equivalent sectors. According to Rössel, these movements not only concern the individuals involved, but the whole social structure, which develops through the changes made in individual positions[105].

Sorokin considered seven channels through which individuals or families could achieve social mobility: the army, the church, school (or education), governmental groups or political organizations, professional organizations, wealth-making organizations and family[106] or »marriage with a person of another social stratum[107]«. He also differentiated between three independent levels of vertical social mobility: economic, occupational and political[108]. For example, individuals who rose on the economic level by enhancing their yearly income might not make gains on the political level[109]. Other sociologists instead examine status or prestige, economic position and military or political power as the three levels of inequality on which social mobility can occur[110]. With these differentiations in mind I shall examine the levels and channels through which Cypriot families or individuals climbed or descended.

Nowadays, a vital sociological distinction is drawn between *intra-* and *intergenerational social mobility*[111]. *Intergenerational mobility* describes the social mobility of children with respect to their parent's social position. A typical example of this in German post-War society would be the farmer's son who goes to university and becomes a doctor, thus moving up the social scale as far as prestige and probably income are concerned. This is the most classical type of social mobility and formerly the only social movement included in the term *social mobility*. However, today, *intragenerational social mobility* is also part of the social mobility concept. This term describes the social movement of an individual within their own lifespan. It is therefore connected with the concept of career, and compares an individual's standing during different phases of their life[112]. I will consider both these aspects of social mobility. While intergenerational social mobility will play an important role in the analysis of the various groups and their social development in chapter two, intragenerational mobility will stand in the foreground in the analysis of power élites in chapter four. However, the latter is obviously connected to intergenerational social mobility, as the careers analysed here are exceptional compared to the parent generation[113].

Prosopography and Social Network Analysis

Now that the theoretical framework of the social analysis is set, the methods of the analysis deserve some consideration. Timothy Reuter postulated in his research survey on medieval nobility in 1997 that a detailed examination of nobility must begin with genealogy and prosopography, »for these supply historians with their raw material[114]«. Prosopography will accordingly figure as the basic method adopted by this study, though some genealogy will also be involved.

Prosopography is a method often implemented by historians today[115]. However, several modern definitions of prosopography exist. In an introductory essay to the most well-known prosopographical lexicon of ancient history, the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (PIR), Marietta Horster points out that

> prosopography is a modern word for the study of individual persons in a larger context. Although no agreed definition exists, in classics and ancient history it is often used to give a name to a lexicon, or a study, that includes all persons relevant to a specific and fixed period, or to a political structure or other entity. Prosopography is also used to denote the prosopographical method, which arranges and discusses persons according to their names and aims to establish the social contexts of groups, such as their ethnic and regional origin, family connections and careers[116].

Horster introduces prosopography as a dual method, consisting of two steps: first, prosopography is a collective bi-

103 Sorokin, Social Mobility. See especially 133. Already in 1959, when his study was reprinted, the sociological community had frequently used Sorokin's concept, as he proudly mentioned in his foreword to this second edition. The concept is still widely accepted and used today. Newer introductions to the concept may be found in Kerbo, Social stratification 12-14. 325-366; Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse (ch. four) as well as in Groß, Klassen, Schichten, Mobilität (chs four and five). For surveys on sociological research in this field, see Ganzeboom et al., Comparative Intergenerational Stratification Research and Breen/Jonsson, Inequality of Opportunity.

104 Sorokin, Social Mobility 133 and Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 281.

105 Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 279.

106 Sorokin, Social Mobility 164-181.

107 Sorokin, Social Mobility 179.

108 Sorokin, Social Mobility 136.

109 This difference of standing on different levels is usually coined as *status consistency*. If an individual has the same rank concerning wealth, power and prestige, their status is comparatively consistent. If, on the other hand, an individual has e.g. an advanced university degree and therefore a high social standing, but receives a modest income, their status is inconsistent. See Macionis/Plummer, Sociology 184. Cf. Grusky/Weisshaar, Questions about Inequality 2-3.

110 See Kerbo, Social Stratification 50-51. Grusky and Weisshaar in Questions about Inequality 3 even set up a table of eight levels or assets for social inequality (and therefore, mobility): economic, power, cultural, social, honourific, civil, human and physical assets. However, many of these assets are not visible in our sources and I shall therefore not use this model.

111 Kerbo, Social Stratification 328-329; Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 281.

112 Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 281.

113 Sociological studies often use so-called *social mobility-matrices*, tables listing for example parents' and childrens' social positions in matrix, which allow to calculate the percentage of social mobility in a given sector of society, see Rössel, Sozialstrukturanalyse 284; Erikson/Goldthorpe, Intergenerational Inequality 31. I will not use this method, as there are not enough data to provide a statistically sound analysis.

114 Reuter, Medieval Nobility 184.

115 The term prosopography itself already existed in the sixteenth century, although then it meant the study of personal appearance. Either in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, it first appeared in its modern meaning. See Beech, Prosopography n. 1.

116 Horster, The Prosopographia 231.

ography[117]. It researches all available biographical data for members of a specific group, such as date and place of birth, family origin, friends and acquaintances, wealth, career or religious faith, in an attempt to, second, »explore and explicate the lives of people who, when treated as individuals, often remain obscure[118]«. Other definitions of prosopography differ from this description. Sometimes the second, analytical step is left out and data collation remains the focus, while at other times agreement on the nature and limits of the group of people under consideration cannot be reached. However, scholars usually agree that prosopography investigates groups of people along biographical lines and uses the data to suggest social explanations for historical phenomena that transcend the mere information about the life and careers of individuals[119].

Nevertheless, prosopographical research has attracted some critics. Historians from various fields lament that prosopographical studies often do little more than collecting data. The Byzantinist Dion Smythe points out: »one major fault of prosopographers is their belief that the completion of the prosopography marks the completion of their work; in fact it marks the start of their analytical work[120]«. The reverse phenomenon also exists: sometimes historians forget the importance of diligent work during the first phase of data collection and simply focus on the special methods of computing the data[121].

However, if the historian manages to avoid both pitfalls, prosopography is an effective method of historical research. I intend to implement it using the collection of data on families, individuals, careers, values and religious affiliations to highlight social structures and social change within the Cypriot élite. To this end, I have created a database and collected all the data available on members of aristocratic groups in Cyprus between 1374, the end of the Genoese-Cypriot war, and the 1460s, when James II's reign began. The database registers every member of the élite mentioned in the sources more than once[122]. It comprises ca. 800 individuals[123]. The analysis officially ends before James II came to power, since many changes in the ruling classes occurred during his reign, posing altogether different questions. Nevertheless, I shall also use data and sources pertaining to James II's reign to develop a picture of the preceding years. The database itself will not be published here, as this would exceed the frame of the study[124]. However, its publication is a project to be undertaken in the future.

The database registers data such as name (and therefore family connection), ethnic origin, social standing[125], an individual's contacts with other people on both business and private levels, and all other relevant biographical information. In this way, I hope to gain a more systematic insight into the development of Cypriot aristocratic groups than previous studies which used selective sources such as lists of nobles for the analysis of the Cypriot élite[126]. It is obvious that even with this method I am still far from recording every aristocratic individual or family in Cyprus at the time. Data always remains partial and incomplete, even without considering individuals who I may have failed to register, so I will approach any kind of statistical analysis with care[127]. Moreover, the sources all have their own characteristics and limitations, which I will discuss later[128]. Despite all this, this systematic overview reveals some interesting tendencies in the development of the various groups during the fifteenth century[129].

As may be expected, family will play an important role in this analysis. When George Beech wrote a first survey on prosopography in medieval studies in 1976, he reminded the reader that prosopography is based on the assumption that family and interpersonal relationships in general played a crucial role in medieval societies and are usually important for the explanation of personal careers and advancements[130]. Padgett and Ansell in their study on Florentine élites in the

117 Cf. Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 4-5. 15-16.

118 Website of the Journal *Medieval Prosopography*, published by Medieval Institute Publications at Western Michigan University. https://wmich.edu/medievalpublications/journals/prosopography (01 December 2020).

119 For other definitions of the method, see Verboven et al., Short Manual 39, with many references to other works, and cf. Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 18-24. Bulst/Genet, Medieval Lives, first page of the introduction (unnumbered) leave out the analytical step of prosopography and rather contrast it to biography, stating that in contrast to the latter it does not aim to describes personalities. Ridder-Symoens in turn speaks of a well-defined group of people while Bulst just talks about persons from a specific milieu, see Bulst, Zum Gegenstand 3 and Ridder-Symoens, Prosopografie 96.

120 Smythe, A Whiter Shade 129-30. The Romanist T. F. Carney shares the same opinion, cf. Carney, Prosopography 174 and Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 6. Cf. also Reuter, Medieval Nobility 184; Nelson et al., Medieval Prosopographies 157.

121 Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 7.

122 However, members of known families who are mentioned only once are taken into consideration, while individuals who are found in the sources only once, and whose family is otherwise unknown, are usually excluded from the database. Individuals without a last name are also not included.

123 For the database, I have used Microsoft Access, a well-known database computer programme which scholars frequently use for such purposes, cf. Padgett, Open élite 360 and n. 7.

124 The study therefore follows an approach often taken in prosopographical research. Only some publications actually include the database, see Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 8.

125 I usually use emic terminology in the database.

126 For the lists, see the discussion on the sources, p. 29. The only exception is the work by Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg, which I have discussed in the research overview, see p. 12. Rudt de Collenberg actually collected a lot of data on the Cypriot upper classes, but his work methods were unreliable, so that his work has to be approached with care. Cf. also p. 25 on the notarial documents which Rudt de Collenberg collected. – Scholars of other regions have pointed to the usefulness of systematic studies for data on the nobility. Both Christine Carpenter, Locality and Polity 35-36, for Warwickshire, and Mario Damen, Knighthood in Brussels, esp. 258, for the district (*ammanie*) of Brussels, have for example used documents that provide cross-sections of the respective groups under consideration, thus providing a »full« picture of the groups in the respective moments of time.

127 This is the case with most historical prosopographical studies, cf. Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 12. Bruneau, Toward a New Collective Biography 67 calls this the »statistical modesty« of historical research, which according to him does not deny its historical value.

128 See p. 23.

129 Cf. also Kazhdan/Constable, People and Power 177 who discuss the pitfalls of statistical analysis, but come to the conclusion that »despite its many limitations and restrictions, statistical evidence provides better, clearer, and more reliable conclusions than the accumulation of occasional and separate examples«.

130 Beech, Prosopography 185-186. For the importance of family in Byzantine society, cf. Haldon, Towards a Social History 13.

early 1400s offer an effective definition for *family* in this period. They conceive of family as a clan subsuming people with a common last name (and therefore a common male ancestor), rather than a household, thus tying together members of numerous nuclear families[131]. This also seems the best perspective on Cypriot élite families, judging from the way family and lineage are represented in the sources: Isabelle Ortega has recently shown how the sense of lineage reaching back to a common ancestor characterizes the well-known *Lignages d'Outremer*, a genealogy collection on Cyprus and the Holy Land which is preserved in different versions from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[132]. A source from fifteenth century Cyprus illustrates that this perception did not change during the period under consideration: when Philippe Podocataro petitioned the pope so that Latin churches might be erected on the Podocataro family estates in 1472, he requested this licence for all the members of his family, male and female. In this instance, Philippe intended as family all those who were descendants of his father Jean, as well as their partners:

> and so this same petition applied to himself and to the others mentioned above, and to their brothers and sisters and to their spouses from the family Podocataro of Podoris and to the descendants of the late Jean Podocataro, the same Philippe's father, of either sex[133].

The text explicitly mentions descendants of either sex, and indeed, one of Philippe's co-petitioners was Gioffredo Babin, the son of his sister Marie, who had married a certain Jean Babin. The families daughters married into should therefore not be forgotten[134]. An important part of chapter three will consider the marriage alliances of important aristocratic families. However, for practical reasons, the basic prosopographical analysis will be structured around family members with the same surname. This does not mean that I will not consider individuals as well. Though families remain central to my study, individual careers will contribute greatly to the analysis, and illustrate how social mobility worked.

The more traditional concept of prosopography and research of family histories will be accompanied by a newer method of representing and analysing prosopographical data: *Social Network Analysis* (SNA). This method originated in social sciences and allows the systematic registration and graphic representation of contacts within a group. Therefore, it is even mentioned as a constitutive part of a »new-style« prosopography: »traditional prosopography links individuals to a variety of objects – offices held, for example – whereas ›new‹ prosopography is equally concerned with the networks of which each individual forms a part[135]«. Social Network Analysis is based on the assumption that relationships between people matter[136] – for the analysis of social structures within a group, but also for identities or careers and social mobility. In their introduction to Social Network Analysis and PAJEK (a computer program employing this method), De Nooy and his fellow editors specify: »the *main goal* of social network analysis is detecting and interpreting patterns of social ties among actors[137]«. Interpreting relationship patterns in fifteenth-century Cypriot élite groups is one of the major goals of this study, and I shall make use of Social Network Analysis to illustrate these patterns graphically.

Social Network Analysis uses computer programs such as ORA, PAJEK or Node-xl to compute graphs representing the connectedness within groups. A graph usually consists of a number of so-called *nodes* (points, or vertices) representing individuals or groups which are connected by lines (in some cases called *edges*[138]) that symbolize relationships between the group members (see e. g. **fig. 5**)[139]. In this way, a graph illustrates a *network*, which can be understood as a group of actors and their social relationships with each other[140].

Additionally, the graphs may be fed with certain measurements, mathematical processes that analyse various aspects of the group. For example, they can compute and visualize the density of a network, i. e. how tightly people within a group are connected to each other, by taking the average of the node's *degrees* (i. e. the number of edges connecting a node to other nodes[141]). The graphs may furthermore pinpoint individuals with multiple connections within a group (one way to do this would again be to compute a person's degree). Social Network Analysis presupposes that those individuals with many contacts also have a special standing and importance within the group[142]. Depending on the measures

131 Padgett/Ansell, Robust Action 1267; cf. Perroy, Social Mobility 27, who uses the same definition.

132 Ortega, Réflexions 352-353. For the Lignages, see Lignages d'Outremer (Nielen).

133 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 173-174: *Et sicut eadem peticio subiugebat sibi et aliis supradictis eorumque fratribus et sororibus ac consortibus huiusmodi de familia Podocatora de Podoris et ex quondam Ioanne Podocataro ipsius Philippi genitore descendentibus utriusque sexus.*

134 Ortega, Réflexions 353 also emphasizes the importance of the marriage alliances of daughters.

135 Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 13. Cf. Smythe, A Whiter Shade 132-133.

136 De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 3.

137 De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 5. The term *actor* is usually used in SNA to denote an individual (or group) involved in a social network, see Burkhardt, Der hansische Bergenhandel 43, n. 39.

138 Lines can be directed or undirected (in the second case symbolizing reciprocal relationships). Undirected lines, which will interest us here most, are called *edges*, see De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 7.

139 De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 1-7. This is a useful textbook explaining SNA and its practical application with the computer programme PAJEK. For further introductory literature, see the classical Wasserman/Faust, Social Network Analysis, but also Jansen, Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse; Jackson, Social and Economic Networks; Vega-Redondo, Complex Social Networks.

140 Burkhardt, Der hansische Bergenhandel 43. Cf. De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 7.

141 De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 62-64.

142 Some scholars even go as far as attributing more importance for successful agency to the position occupied within the network than to personal attributes, see Keats-Rohan, Chameleon or Chimera 23. As has been exposed above, I shall not follow this approach, but rather conceive of agency as balanced between identity construction and social structures in the way explained by Haldon.

computed in the graph, it can also render information on subgroups within a larger group, or on an individual's *betweenness*, the measure in which a person connects other individuals within the group[143]. These measurements assign certain mathematical values to the nodes and edges, which are then visualized by varying both the colour and size of the edges and nodes (see e. g. **fig. 6** for a network showing the centrality of its members by their degree).

Medievalists and other historians have successfully applied Social Network Analysis in a wide range of topics[144]. Despite these successful studies, Social Network Analysis has also been criticised – and rightly so – for its various pitfalls, such as valuing the aesthetic qualities of a graph above the actual information presented or comparing relationships which are in fact not comparable. Similarly, scholars have sometimes treated the relationships described by the graphs as unchangeable and have forgotten that such ties are always renegotiated over time and depend on the roles, identities and beliefs of the actors. Some studies have also used so much information for their graphs that they become unintelligible[145]. Therefore, I shall try to apply Social Network Analysis carefully. I will use it for two purposes, firstly for visualizing marriage alliances between aristocratic families, and secondly for the visualization and, partly, computation of the structures of the Cypriot power élite in the fifteenth century. For each graph, I shall use appropriate sets of information: the graphs on the power élite, for example, will compare only sources pertaining to a certain set of relationships, such as sessions of the Haute Court and official state acts, which refer to the same professional context of statesmen acting as witnesses for important transactions[146].

The aim of the graphs is foremost to visualize the information contained in the sources. In general, the sources are too scarce and chronologically too far between, especially for the end of the fourteenth century, to compute measurements such as an individual's centrality. This changes slightly in the middle of the fifteenth century, where more sources have been preserved from a shorter period. I shall therefore use some of the measurements, such as degree centrality, there. Even considering these restrictions, my study benefits greatly from the use of network graphs, because they help present complicated sets of prosopographical information lucidly and clearly. Each graph will be associated with an analysis that considers its actors' cultural identities and social roles.

I will make use of timelines as a complementary tool to illustrate the development of the groups under analysis by visualizing the periods in which we can grasp certain families and individuals in the sources (chapter two, see e. g. **fig. 1**)[147]. Moreover, in chapter four I will analyse the composition of the Cypriot power élite in various periods by registering the time spans in which certain men were members of the power élite (see e. g. **fig. 13**). However, the timelines do not show how many sources concern a family or individual and how many years lie in between the sources. A family mentioned only two or three times in the whole century will have the same line as a family mentioned more than twenty times in the same period. Therefore, the text commentary will complement the graphs and discuss these differences. For the chapters on the various foreign groups, such as Venetians or Catalans, I have not provided graphs, as information is generally too fragmentary to make a visualization of these groups sensible.

The Sources

The sources on fifteenth-century Cyprus are fascinating, manifold, and at the same time, quite fragmented. The Lusignan state archives in Cyprus were lost during the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1570[148]. Scholars of the Lusignan period therefore must rely on sources that were preserved in other archives, above all in Venice, Genoa and the Vatican. Louis de Mas Latrie made a substantial effort to publish many of these sources at the end of the nineteenth century. Scholars took up his work particularly in the second half of the twentieth century and have published modern editions of the essential sources on the Lusignan period during the last decades[149]. Nevertheless, some sources still lie unpublished in the Italian archives. The present study therefore builds on various ex-

143 De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 131.

144 M. Burkhardt for example has used SNA to describe the network of Hanse-merchants in Bergen (Norway) in the fifteenth century (Burkhardt, Der hansische Bergenhandel). R. Gramsch has recently thought about the German empire in the thirteenth century as a network of princes (Gramsch, Netzwerk der Fürsten). As early as 1993, J. Padgett and C. Ansell published a now classical study on the rise of the Medici in Florence, using SNA to demonstrate how the Medici faction differed structurally from their opponents. Padgett wrote a more general study on social mobility in the Florentine élites in 2010. He successfully applied SNA as well as other statistical tools, creating a broad overview of Florentine élites on the basis of a dataset including 60,000 individuals (Ansell/Padgett, Robust Action; Padgett, Open Élite?). Moreover, G. Christ and F. Apellániz have recently studied Venetian merchant trading and information networks in Alexandria and have examined how these networks profited Venice by breaking the very rules imposed by the republic (Christ, Beyond the Network; Apellániz, Venetian Trading Networks). In Byzantine studies, M. Mullett presented a pioneer study in 1997 on Theophylactos of Ochrid's ego-network by examining his letters with the help of network theory (Mullett, Theophylact). J. Preiser-Kapeller has presented a number of studies over the last years employing SNA. For example, he studied the politics of the patriarchate of Constantinople by analysing the members of the synod participating in its sessions. In more recent studies, he has used network analysis to explain the connectivity of harbours, not only in the Byzantine empire, but also reaching out to Southeast Asia, and has studied border networks between actors from various cultural groups (Preiser-Kapeller, Der Mehrheitsbeschluss in der Synode; Preiser-Kapeller, Harbours and Maritime Networks; Preiser-Kapeller, Harbours and Maritime Mobility; Preiser-Kapeller, Webs of Conversion; Preiser-Kapeller, Complex Historical Dynamics; Preiser-Kapeller, Großkönig, Kaiser und Kalif). Most recently, Niels Gaul has written about networking strategies at the court of Andronikos II Palaiologos (Gaul, All the Emperor's Men).

145 See e. g. Malkin, Small Greek World 18-19; McLean, Art of the Network 16; Mische, Relational Sociology 81; Emirbayer/Goodwin, Network Analysis 1446.

146 The only exception will be lists of adressees of state letters, which can be seen as equivalent in analytical function to the lists of witnesses, see ch. 4 and p. 106 for the letters in particular.

147 I have used the standard Microsoft programme *Office Timeline* to visualize the graphs.

148 Grivaud, Literature 226.

149 Cf. p. 11 ns 18. 19.

cellent source editions as well as on unpublished documents particularly from the Venetian archives.

Though fragmentary, the sources for fifteenth-century Cyprus are rich in comparison, for example, to those on the Byzantine empire, where notarial documents and particularly privileges granted by the authorities have often not survived. However, compared to other cases such as medieval Florence, Venice or Genoa, our collection of sources is very small. In 2010, John Padgett published a study on the élites in Renaissance Florence between 1282 and 1494. His dataset comprised economic, political and kinship information on over 60,000 individuals. He was able to access information on the location of family homes in specific neighbourhoods as well as political office and marriage alliances. Padgett could link 76,1 % of the individuals directly to their fathers, a high percentage of certainty on genealogical connections[150]. In comparison to these data, the information on the aristocracy in Cyprus is much more limited. Some Cypriot families appear in the sources only twice in the century under consideration with a long interval in between the mentions. In these cases, we cannot be sure that the individuals belonged to the same family at all, and we will have to treat this information with care[151]. Other families, in contrast, are very well documented.

In general, the distribution of the sources is a crucial factor for the possibilities of studying social developments among the Cypriot élite. The sources for prosopography are unevenly distributed and offer more details on some groups and periods than on others. Members of the aristocracy generally appear in the sources either in their relationship to the king or to the Church. We discern the private level of aristocratic society less clearly, since the sources in this section are limited. The higher echelons of nobility are better documented than the lower strata, since they feature in sources concerning state affairs as well as other, more personal documents, such as testaments. However, fief privileges and other transactions of the Haute Court, as well as tombstones, provide information on individuals and families of lesser aristocratic circles. Chronologically, the end of the fourteenth century is well documented, while the first two decades of the fifteenth century lack substantial sources. The 1430s to 1450s, in contrast, feature the densest collection of notarial documents, though the chronicles have next to no information at all on this period.

The study will naturally focus particularly on the groups and periods which provide the most information. For example, chapter four will attempt a comparison of the power élites at the end of the fourteenth century and the 1430s to 1450s. The general prosopographical analysis in chapter two, however, will cover the whole period, using all information available, while keeping in mind that the scarce documentation of some periods must be taken into account.

As is common for prosopographical studies, the present analysis builds on a great variety of sources that range from archival documents such as state treaties, fief privileges or testaments, to chronicles and other more specific text sorts, such as lists of nobles. The sources present particular characteristics and problems that are crucial for their interpretation, especially in the case of the chronicles and the lists. I will therefore provide an overview of the sources and discuss their particularities in the following pages.

Archival Documents

Archival documents are crucial for prosopographical analysis, as they allow us to collect data about individuals and families. Under this category, I consider a wide variety of documents that we may roughly divide into four groups. First, they may be state treaties or other documents of importance for the Lusignan kingdom, such as appointments of royal procurators, which were usually witnessed by high state officials or the Haute Court[152]. These documents provide insight into the kingdom's power élite. Many of them were published as early as the nineteenth century in Louis de Mas Latrie's extensive collections[153]. Where he summarizes information which he considered less important, I have sometimes been able to counter-check this information in the Italian archives[154].

A second group of documents comprises privileges awarded by the Haute Court or the king himself. They offer information on the composition of the Haute Court, but also on royal vassals, buyers and sellers of land, or the king's creditors, and illustrate everyday relations between the king and his subjects[155]. Jean Richard has published a great number of them in the last decades, including the *Livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre* from the years 1468-1469. This crucial source contains the largest collection of administrational documents from the Lusignan court preserved until today, ranging from orders concerning secretarial salaries to fief privileges and tax payments. It allows insights into the workings of the Lusignan court under James II and is a treasure mine of prosopographical information both on James II's reign and the preceding decades[156].

A third group consists in documents of a personal nature, such as testaments or procurations between members of the

150 Padgett, Open Élites 360-361.
151 Cf. ch. 2.1, p. 56 and 2.2, p. 63.
152 Mas Latrie edited many of these documents, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II, e. g. 371-372. 420-423. 434-436 and the further explanations below.
153 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II, III; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie).
154 Mas Latrie, Histoire II 436, n. 3, for example, only summarizes a treaty between Cyprus and Venice from 18 October 1397 and the ambassadors involved. I have been able to counter-check the contents and the ambassador names and titles in ASVen, Commemoriali, Commemoriali, Registri 9 fol. 38^{v}.
155 We find these documents in Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157; Richard, Une famille; Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet). A busta in MCC, PDc 2669.2 contains various fief privileges, unedited until now.
156 Livre des remembrances (Richard); cf. the older edition in Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 184-306.

aristocracy[157]. These documents contain valuable information about marriage networks, families and their religious affiliations. Jean Richard has published some documents of this type concerning the Syrian Audeth family, which stem from a larger collection of documents in the Venetian state archive that regard the family's inheritance. I have been able to examine this collection and have discovered additional information besides that which Richard rendered available[158]. Even so, the number of testaments in general is rather small in comparison with other sources at my disposal.

In addition to these documents, which pertain directly to affairs of aristocrats under Lusignan jurisdiction, there are very good editions of notarial documents from Genoese Famagusta that offer information both about Genoese and about Cypriot aristocrats who dealt with them[159]. Moreover, a new edition of documents concerning Cyprus from the Hospitaller archives has been meticulously prepared by K. Borchardt, A. Luttrell and E. Schöffler[160]. Although the documents mostly concern Hospitaller business, they are useful for studying the Order's relations to the kingdom.

Finally, a fourth group of documents is preserved in the papal registers. They concern papal privileges such as absolutions and marriage dispensations, and benefices such as canonries. Count W. Rudt de Collenberg collated many of these documents, doing pioneer work in the Vatican Archives[161]. However, Rudt de Collenberg made some mistakes, and he often does not refer to his sources, so that it is sometimes impossible to cross-check his information. Fortunately, C. Perrat, J. Richard and C. Schabel have recently published the papal letters concerning Cyprus up to the year 1378[162], and A. Kouroupakis has submitted his dissertation on Cyprus and the Great Papal Schism in 2018, which edits all papal letters concerning the island between 1378 and 1417[163]. Thanks to these laboursome and diligent efforts, the papal letters until 1417 are now easily accessible. For the period between 1417 and 1471, I have made use of Rudt de Collenberg's *Études de prosopographie*[164]. I have been able to cross-check part of this information in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* by controlling samples of the entries. About 90 % of the samples proved correct. Thus, a certain trust can be placed in this publication. However, I shall still use all Collenberg's information with caution.

Complementary to the notarial documents, the collection of Cypriot medieval tombstones published by Brunhilde Imhaus is useful for information on the lesser nobility in particular, since lesser nobles are not well documented in other sources[165].

As a supplement to the edited documents, I have been able to use some as yet unpublished archival material. The most important of these sources is a folder with documents pertaining to the Corner family from the *Museo Correr* in Venice (Manuscript MCC, PDc 2669.2). Inter alia, it contains a compilation of Haute Court documents from the middle of the fifteenth century in an Italian translation by Florio Bustron, which concern estates that were either part of the Corners' possessions or were to become theirs later[166]. Another collection of documents from the Venetian state archive concerns the legacies of a certain Antonio de Bergamo, a Venetian resident in Cyprus, along with his wife's testament[167].

The Chronicles

The contemporary and near-contemporary chronicles constitute an important source for the history of Cyprus in the fifteenth century, and especially for Cypriot society, culture, and identity narratives. They may be used as complementary sources for the collection of prosopographical data, although this information must be handled with care, since all chroniclers in question sometimes confuse people and dates.

The two most important chronicles for our discussion are the chronicle of Machairas and a chronicle that is attributed to Georgios Bustron. Both were written in fifteenth-century Cyprus and merit a detailed discussion, since the perspective from which their authors wrote is crucial to determining how we may use these sources, particularly where identity narratives are concerned.

The Greek chronicle attributed to Leontios Machairas is entitled *Exēgēsis tēs glykeias chōras Kyprou, hē poia legetai Kronaka toutestin Chronikon* ('Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled ›Kronaka‹, Which Is to Say Chronicle'[168]). It is a dynastic and political history of the Kingdom of Cyprus under the Lusignans and at the same time a kind of memoir[169].

157 Testaments can be found in Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 26-30 (Berenger Albi). 22-24 (Pinadeben de Ferrare, see also ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9); Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro (Hugo Podocataro); ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore 22/19. 53/10. 56/3 (Antonio de Bergamo); Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396-400 (Jean de Brie).

158 Richard, Une famille; ASVen, Procuratori d San Marco, Citra, Commissaria Audet Antonio da Cipro, b. 132.

159 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.); Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.); Bliznyuk (ed.), Genuesen auf Zypern; Ganchou, Rébellion.

160 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 245-368 for Giovanni Bardi; Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.). For a review of this edition, see Wright, Mediterranean World.

161 For the period until 1385, Rudt de Collenberg registered the marriage dispensations in Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales. Until 1378 he registered clerics in Cyprus in Rudt de Collenberg, État et origine, and for the time of the great schism, he collected first of all the bishops concerning Cyprus, see Rudt de Collenberg, Le royaume et l'église.

162 Bullarium Cyprium III (Schabel et al.).

163 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma. The dissertation is as yet unpublished.

164 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie.

165 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae.

166 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^{v}-32^{v}. 42^{r}-44^{r}.

167 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai bb. 22/19. 53/10. 56/3; for Antonio's wife, see ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9.

168 For the title, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) 2-3 and Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 65. There is an Italian translation of this chronicle which is known under the name of Strambali chronicle (Strambaldi, Chronique [Mas Latrie]). However, since this translation was made in the sixteenth century and does not have any new information of its own (see Grivaud, Entrelacs 186. 251), it will not be used for this study, apart from interpretation concerning the Machairas chronicle in this chapter, see below.

169 Nicolaou-Konnari, Diplomatics 297.

The chronicle focuses on four kings of the Lusignan dynasty: Peter I (1359-1369), Peter II (1369-1382), James I (1383-1398) and Janus (1398-1432). A short appendix collects notes on the reign of John II up to 1458[170]. The chronicle has come down to us in three manuscripts and has been edited several times[171]. In 2003, M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari published a diplomatic edition of all three Greek manuscripts, which makes it possible to compare the different versions[172].

The three manuscripts contain roughly two versions of the chronicle. The first version is presented by the manuscript *Codex Venet. Marc. Gr. cl. VII, 16, 1080* today in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (in the following MS V), which is usually seen as the version nearest to the chronicle's original form[173]. The other version, represented by *Codex Oxon. Bodl. Selden supra 14* in Oxford (MS O) and *Codex Raven. Class. 187* in Ravenna (MS R), is less complete than the V version, although the versions do not differ substantially in the events they narrate[174]. MS V is the reason why scholars attribute the greatest part of the chronicle to Leontios Machairas, since he reveals himself as the author on folio 282^{v}, and also refers to members of his family throughout the text[175]. It is, however, common opinion that the short notes on John II's reign from 1432 until 1458 are a later addition by an anonymous author[176].

Leontios Machairas came from a Greek family that worked in the Lusignan administration. He was born between 1360 and 1380. Together with his brother Nicholas, Leontios worked as secretary (Gr. *grammatikos*) to the noble Jean de Nores around 1402. His brother Peter was in royal service and their eldest brother Paul was a squire[177]. During the Mamluk invasion of 1426, Leontios was responsible for the provisioning of wine to the soldiers, and as such was likely in royal service in this period. In 1432, he went as royal ambassador to the Grand Caraman in Asia Minor. Since he does not mention this embassy himself, scholars have deduced that he must have written his chronicle before 1432[178].

However, even if the original form of the chronicle is attributed to Machairas, Gilles Grivaud sounded a note of caution: while in his opinion Machairas was one of the constitutive authors of the chronicle, he argues that the version of the chronicle existing today took shape in the sixteenth century[179]. This question is of importance for an adequate interpretation of the chronicle, especially when it voices opinions of cultural, ethical, and religious nature. If the text was fundamentally reworked in the sixteenth century, then it would be difficult to ascribe its world view to Machairas himself as a representative of the Greek aristocracy.

However, the text preserved in MS V in my opinion does not seem to have undergone a major reworking in the sixteenth century. Two facts support this view. First, the style of the chronicle is not typical for the sixteenth century. The text of MS V features a great percentage of direct speech. It is therefore a very lively account and was most probably composed for reading aloud. The chronicles of the sixteenth century, in contrast, are texts meant for silent reading. Florio Bustron and Amadi, for example, though they follow Machairas almost verbatim for long stretches, consistently omit the verbal speech acts contained in MS V[180].

A second crucial hint that MS V is actually a version very close to Machairas' text is that it features a consistent system of ideological comments of its own, which the sixteenth century chronicles do not reproduce. Machairas' opinions on religious matters, for example, which express his strong adherence to Orthodox faith and culture (and which scholars have consistently noticed[181]), are omitted by the sixteenth century chronicles. Machairas' negative comment on the conversion[182] of a certain Thibault Belfaradge from the Orthodox to the

170 Cf. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) 3. For a summary of the contents in headlines, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) xi-xiii. Concerning the question of the appendix, see Grivaud, Entrelacs 188 and below.

171 A fourth manuscript (MS Harley 1825, British Library, London) from the seventeenth century has been recently found that contains extracts copied from one of the other manuscripts (O, see below). However, the extracts do not offer any new information and therefore shall not concern us here. Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, New Manuscript; Nicolaou-Konnari, History of Manuscripts. The first edition from 1873 is by Sathas, see Machairas, Chronikon Kyprou (Sathas). Dawkins' edition from 1932 constituted the leading edition for a long time, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins). For the manuscripts used in this edition, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins), vol. 2 p. 1. For comments on the older editions, see Anaxagorou, Narrative Structures 27-28; Grivaud, Entrelacs 186-187; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 60.

172 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs). For a detailed bibliography concerning the chronicle, see Pierēs/Nikolaou-Konnarē, Bibliographikos Odēgos.

173 For a description of all the manuscripts, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 27-42; Anaxagorou, Narrative Structures 21-27; cf. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) 1-3.

174 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) vol. 2 p. 1-2; Anaxagorou, Narrative Structures 140; Nicolaou-Konnari, Diplomatics 294.

175 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 424-425 and Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 630-631.

176 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) 3 for Dawkin's opinion that MS V is Machairas' work and cf. Pierēs, Gyrō 35-36; Kyrrēs, Ideologia 97-98; Nicolaou-Konnari, Diplomatics 294-295. It is possible that the appendix was originally written in the fifteenth century, although it is tempting to place its composition into the sixteenth century, making it a part of a process of historical synthesis that was going on in the sixteenth century (cf. Grivaud, Entrelacs 188. 208). Dawkins' edition and translation indicate that the appendix reveals a substantial ignorance of fifteenth century Cypriot history, as they place Charlotte of Lusignan's burial in the monastery of St Dominic in Nicosia instead of in Rome (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 713). This would have been a good argument to place the composition of the appendix into the sixteenth century. But a look into the new diplomatic edition shows that only MS R makes this mistake, while MS V and MS O relate that Charlotte was announced as queen after her father's death, and do not talk about her death at all, although the phrase is a bit clouded. See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 461-462. For the question of the author of the appendix, see the summary in Grivaud, Entrelacs 188.

177 Nicolaou-Konnari, Ethnic Names 260; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 110. 475. 495. 499. 612. 630-631. 697.

178 For 1426, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 674. The embassy met with the traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière, who commented on Machairas, see Broquière, Voyage d'Outremer (Schefer) 106-107. For the family of Machairas in general, see Grivaud, Entrelacs 188-189; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Diplomatics 295-296; PLP nos 17516. 17517. 17519-17522.

179 Grivaud, Entrelacs 188.

180 See the chronicles passim, for example Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 345 and Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 401, where the herald in Machairas announces the king's will, and Bustron reproduces the same text in indirect speech. Cf. Anaxagorou, Narrative Structures 27. 140-142; Grivaud, Entrelacs 269.

181 Pierēs, Gyrō 37-38 with references to older works; Kyrrēs, Ideologia 97-99; Grivaud, Entrelacs 189; Anaxagorou, Narrative Structures 16-17.

182 Concurrent with recent literature, I will call the changing between Latin and Orthodox or Oriental rites conversion, although it is not a change between different religions. Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 312.

Latin rite, for example, is absent in both the chronicles of Amadi and Bustron, although they reproduce the rest of the story concerning this man faithfully[183]. Florio Bustron even replaces Machairas' religious comment with a moral reference to the story of Pericles from antiquity, using the typical sixteenth century Renaissance cultural system of references[184]. Together with the authorial comments in the first person mentioned above, this permits us to ascribe the opinions in the chronicle to Machairas, a Greek aristocrat from Cyprus who lived at the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries[185], even if the text itself is not an autograph and may have undergone minor changes up to the sixteenth century.

Another question of importance are the sources used by Machairas and the way they influence our interpretation of the text. A. Nicolaou-Konnari has shown that Machairas must have had access to the Lusignan state archives and that he used an impressive number of official documents to compose his narrative, in addition to many events of which he was an eyewitness[186]. This should give his account high credibility. However, Nicolaou-Konnari has also shown that Machairas made mistakes[187]. Therefore, we must treat Machairas as a source for events and prosopography with caution.

For the present study, I will use MS V in Pieris/Konnari's edition as the version which is nearest to the text composed by Machairas. I will keep in mind that it was copied in the sixteenth century, though I consider many of the ideological statements Machairas' own. I will discuss each statement during analysis. Quotations will be taken from the older leading edition by Richard Dawkins as far as their reading coincides with MS V. Where they differ, I will quote the new edition. This strategy will guarantee the readability of the quotations, since the spelling in the diplomatic edition is the medieval one and is difficult to read. As this study is not primarily interested in the linguistic properties of the chronicle, this strategy seems best suited to the interest of the reader.

The second chronicle under consideration is the *Diēgēsis Chronikas Kyprou archeugonta apo tēn echronian aynst Christou* ('A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus, Begun from the Year of Christ 1456[188]'), which is usually attributed to Georgios Bustron, a civil servant from either a Greek or a Syrian family[189]. The *Diēgēsis* will not be as crucial as the Machairas chronicle, since the period covered by it is not as central for this study, but it is still valuable for tracing the development of identity issues in the second half of the fifteenth century. The first part of the *Diēgēsis* describes the rise and rule of James II until his death in 1473, and James is the great hero of this section. The second part discusses his widow Caterina Corner's rule and the contentions over power on the island until its official take-over by the Venetians[190].

After an early edition by Sathas, Giorgos Kechagioglou published a diplomatic edition together with a traditionally edited text in 1995[191]. Its manuscripts transmit the chronicle as an anonymous text. The first person known to attribute it to Georgios Bustron, one of James II's followers[192], was his descendant Florio Bustron in his own *Historia*, who cites him as one of his most important sources[193]. It is possible that Florio Bustron had proof of Georgios' authorship, considering that he was his relative, although a certain family bias could also have been involved. The second historian to mention Georgios Bustron as the author of the *Diēgēsis* was Antonio Colbertaldo. He originated from Asolo near Venice, where Caterina Cornaro had spent the last years of her life, and he wrote her biography in the years between 1586 and 1592[194].

183 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 394-430, esp. 430 for the comment; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 486-487; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 339-346.

184 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 346. Bustron reflects that Thibault, who was executed for murder on the same gallows he himself had erected, recalled the classical story of the Athenian Pericles. Pericles had given a huge bronze bull to the tyrant Phalaris as an instrument for torture, whereupon Phalaris had Pericles himself burnt in it. Another episode is Machairas' comment on the languages of Cyprus, where he deplores the 'barbaric' use of Greek under Lusignan rule. Both the Amadi chronicle and Florio Bustron omit this comment, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 158; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 262; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 414.

185 Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Diplomatics 295.

186 Nicolaou-Konnari, Diplomatics passim.

187 For example, he confused the ambassadors' names when describing a peace treaty between Genoa and Cyprus from 18 April 1365. The men he names as ambassadors really witnessed the renewal of Genoa's privileges accorded by Peter I in 1363, see Nicolaou-Konnari, Diplomatics 320-321. Konnari's impression is confirmed by other mistakes found during this study. For example, Machairas presents Jean Soulouan as Antonio de Bergamo's direct successor in the office of chamberlain after 1393. However, a document from 1395 shows that Hodrade de Provane was chamberlain in that year. Soulouan may have taken over the office in 1397, when he is attested as *ordinatus sub officio camere* in a treaty between Venice and Cyprus (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 625; Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 428. 436 n. 3; ASVen, Commemoriali, Commemoriali, Registri 9 fol. 38^{v}).

188 See Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou), and Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 67 for the English translation of the title.

189 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 30; Grivaud, Entrelacs 204; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 25; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 255*.

190 For a summary of the contents, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 201*-220*; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 48-53.

191 For Kechagioglou's edition, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou). For Sathas' edition, see Boustrōnios, Chronikon Kyprou (Sathas). A newer edition prepared by Papadopoullos was never finished. There is an edition by Paulidis from 1982 (see Boustrōniou, Diēgēsis [Paulidēs]), which is a reprint of the Sathas edition with a translation into Modern Greek. Cf. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 269*-275*; Kechagioglou, Paratērēseis 15-18. Like the chronicle of Machairas, the *Diēgēsis* has come down to us in three manuscripts which contain two versions of the chronicle. According to Kechagioglou, the oldest manuscript *Codex London. Arund. Gr. 518* (in the following MS A) differs from the other two manuscripts (*Codex Venet. Marc. Gr. VII, 17, 1268*, in the following MS B, and *Codex Venet. Marc. Gr. VII, 16, 1080*, in the following MS V) in its phrasing and sometimes even in the content, although the latter differences are marginal. All three manuscripts were copied roughly in the middle of the sixteenth century. For a detailed analysis of the manuscripts and their differences, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 45*-60*. 107*-120*. Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) also gives an overview of the manuscripts, but it is based on Kechagioglou's description, see Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 13, n. 1. Sathas in Boustrōnios, Chronikon Kyprou (Sathas) ρμθ'-ρνα' also described the manuscripts which had been found when he made his edition.

192 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 98. 251*; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 27-28.

193 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 8-9. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Florio's text and the Diēgēsis, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 120*-126*.

194 Sathas in Boustrōnios, Chronikon Kyprou (Sathas) ρμς' and Kechagioglou in Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 247* place Colbertaldo and his work at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which would have been quite an early identification of the author. But the new edition of the text by Perocco (2012) proves that his biography dates from the end of the sixteenth century (Colbertaldo, Storia [Perocco] 18). For Colbertaldo's comment on Bustron, see Colbertaldo, Storia (Perocco) 108.

Colbertaldo does not seem to have known Florio Bustron's work. He identified Georgios Bustron as the chronicle's author independently from Florio[195]. Thus, Georgios was certainly seen as the author of the *Diēgēsis* in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The text of the chronicle itself does not give any direct clue as to its authorship. Georgios appears in the chronicle various times, but he is referred to in the third person and the text's perspective does not change when he is involved[196]. However, Georgios was well versed in the proceedings at the Lusignan court and appears in the chronicle as James II's faithful servant with insider information during the same period in which the historical Georgios served the king[197]. Georgios' later function as *chevetain* of Larnaca and his sojourn in Nicosia accord with the perspective in the second half of the chronicle, which describes events from a Nicosian view even when Famagusta became the centre of events in the early 1470s[198]. There is no conclusive evidence for Georgios' authorship, but many signs suggest that the sixteenth-century identification was correct. This identification has consequences. If Georgios Bustron was the author of the chronicle, we have a second fifteenth-century source written by a representative of the group of ascending Greek and Syrian families. But even if the author was not Bustron, he came from the world of the royal court and therefore his opinion is relevant to our analysis.

The *Diēgēsis* was written between 1489 and 1522[199], when Cyprus was already under Venetian domination, and this may have influenced the ideology present in the chronicle. According to Nicholas Coureas, Bustron »may have chosen a generally dispassionate and annalistic manner of recording events to keep himself out of trouble[200]«, given the fact that some of James II's most ardent supporters had been exiled by the Venetians. However, Bustron reported many arrests executed by the Venetian republic, as well as for example the replacement of the Cypriot palace guards with Venetians, events which were symptomatic for the Venetian takeover[201]. He does not conceal these developments. Furthermore, the annalistic style probably also has textual reasons[202]. In any case, the direct political events and opinions do not seem to affect the expression of identity and culture this study is interested in.

As in the case of Machairas, the *Diēgēsis* needs to be treated with caution where prosopographical information and events are concerned. Although it is probable that the author described a time of which he was an eyewitness, he made many mistakes[203]. Even at the end of the chronicle, the time nearest to its composition, the author confuses whole years[204]. Therefore, prosopographical information from the chronicle should generally be treated with the utmost care[205].

Both the *Exēgēsis* and the *Diēgēsis* are especially useful for this study, since they contain clues to their authors' world of thought and social mental maps. Both authors were probably members of Greek or Syrian families studied here, and they were connected to the Lusignan court. Their opinions are therefore of the highest interest for the analysis of these circles.

During a movement of historical synthesis in the middle of the sixteenth century, scholars used both Machairas and Bustron in order to reconstruct Cypriot history under the Lusignans, and created collations of the two chronicles as well as other material[206]. Three of these chronicles, the so-called chronicle of Amadi, Florio Bustron's *Historia* and the *Description/Chorographia* by Stephen of Lusignan will figure to a lesser extent in this study[207]. They reflect society and worlds of thought from almost a century later, but are able to add information in a few cases.

195 He does not mention Florio Bustron nor follow him concerning the contents of his work (Colbertaldo, Storia [Perocco] passim). Perocco, who edited his work, does not mention Florio among Colbertaldo's sources. Colbertaldo, Storia (Perocco) 43-44.

196 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 30. 46. 60. 64. 250*. For the third-person perspective, cf. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 220*.

197 Cf. Tivčev, Bustron 60. 79-80.

198 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 98. 251*; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 27-28 for Bustron's functions. For the perspective in the second half of the chronicle, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 154. 178. 180. 182. 212. 218. 258.

199 This is the earliest possible date for the copying of the first manuscript A, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 48*.

200 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 48.

201 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 278. 282-288. 308-310.

202 Generally, the *Diēgēsis* is constituted by a mixture of longer episodes and shorter, annalistic passages, duly noted by Grivaud, Entrelacs 205. However, annalistic passages appear not only under the new Venetian domination, but also much earlier in the chronicle, when the author describes James II's invasion of Cyprus. Longer episodes characterise the very beginning of the chronicle, which describes James' rise to power (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 2-98), but are also to be found in between, e. g. when the chronicle describes the Catalan coup d'état, and at the end of the chronicle after the Venetian takeover, when disputes between nobles are described (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 180-194. 242. 270-272. 280-282. 294-310). It is therefore very unlikely that the author used the annalistic passages to veil his opinion. Rather, he wrote longer episodes when a good story could be told, such as the coup d'état or scandalous conflicts between nobles.

203 See the argumentation in Hill, History III 589. For example, Bustron places the conquest of Famagusta on 29 August 1464, although it must have taken place at least eight months earlier, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 134 and in comparison Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 415.

204 For example, Caterina Corner's mother visits her to try to convince her to abdicate and to return to Italy in 1487, although we know from other sources that the conspiracy which is cited as the reason for the visit only took place in 1488 (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 316; Hill, History III 741).

205 It is not clear which kind of sources the *Diēgēsis* relied on. Contrary to Machairas and Florio Bustron, the author did not explicitly comment on his sources, but he probably used archival documents. He cites a list of Charlotte of Lusignan's followers and gives a detailed account of the goods which were pillaged from Nicosia after James II's ascension to the throne (Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86. 104-108. See also Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 47 and Grivaud, Entrelacs 206). He also seems to have seen the document reinstating James as archbishop of Cyprus, as he knows the names of the witnesses (Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 24). The chronicle mentions numerous letters, but it is not clear which letters the author had seen, and which he invented or borrowed from other sources. As far as I know, none of the letters mentioned by the author is extant today. Thus, direct control of their contents is not possible. For comments on the letters, see also Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) 47 and Grivaud, Entrelacs 206. It is also possible that he relied on other narrative texts. Florio Bustron mentions that there were numerous narratives about the time of James II, but they are lost today and a comparison is therefore impossible (Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 8-9). Only a short chronicle is still extant, but it is very brief and presents dates which differ from the *Diēgēsis*, see Naoumidēs (ed.), Symmeikta 383.

206 Grivaud, Entrelacs 248-249.

207 See Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie); Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie); Lusignan, Description/Chorographia.

The anonymous chronicle of Amadi is a sixteenth-century compilation of historical works on Cyprus[208]. It was probably written around 1520, but certainly before 1566, and treats Cypriot history in Lusignan times up until 1442. For the period under consideration, it relies heavily on Machairas. It digresses in a few cases from the latter, especially for the time after Janus' captivity, but does not offer any interpretation of historical events of its own[209]. I will therefore use this chronicle in some rare cases where it differs from Machairas.

Florio Bustrons' chronicle is more interesting for this study. Dating to between 1560 and 1567[210], it seems to rely on the same source as Amadi or even used the Amadi chronicle itself extensively[211], and therefore also follows Machairas almost verbatim in many passages[212]. For the later period, Florio expressly follows his ancestor Georgios Bustron[213]. However, Florio Bustron worked as a clerk for the Venetian administration of Cyprus for many years. He therefore has some information of his own, which he gained from the study of original Lusignan administrational documents such as the *Livre des remembrances*, which he explicitly mentions in his preface[214]. I therefore use his chronicle complementary to Machairas and Georgios Bustron.

Stephen of Lusignan's (1527/1528 - ca. 1590[215]) works, in contrast, are notoriously unreliable[216], and I do not use them except in rare cases, such as the discussion of the lists of nobles below. This sixteenth-century member of the Lusignan family published his encyclopedic work on Cyprus[217] after the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1570 in Italian exile, following it up by an extended French version of the work seven years later[218]. His work is valuable for an analysis of Cypriot Renaissance identities[219]; however, it is marginal for the analysis of the fifteenth century and only of interest because it provides information on the genealogy of the Lusignans in the second half of the fifteenth century[220]. Since Lusignan's work is full of obvious mistakes, this information, too, must be treated with the utmost care.

Lists of Nobles

Lists allegedly enumerating nobles are a special source for the analysis of the Cypriot nobility in particular. Count Rudt de Collenberg, but also Benjamin Arbel have used them to assess the composition of the nobility[221]. Some of the lists are part of the chronicles I have just discussed, others have been passed down separately, others again were created as part of administrative processes during Venetian rule. Three such lists have come down to us from the end of the fourteenth century, while four lists were compiled in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They merit detailed discussion since some of the lists are problematic.

The lists pertaining to the beginning of our period are quite clear. Machairas has enumerated the Cypriot knights who were exiled to Genoa or other places after the Genoese victory over the Cypriots in 1374, and the knights who stayed on the island, in two lists[222]. Judging from their designation as knights, these men must have belonged to the nobility[223]. Benjamin Arbel has taken Machairas' lists to »presumably represent the entire Cypriot nobility in the 1370s[224]«, though we will have to discuss this during the definition of nobility in chapter one. A second list is contained in a sixteenth-century manuscript, now in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München*. It designates as its author Hugh de Montolive, brother of two exiled noblemen. The list enumerates all »the Cypriot knights and squires whom the false Genoese have taken [captive] and put in prison[225]«. If Hugh de Montolive really was the author

208 Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie). Cf. Grivaud, Entrelacs 252-255.

209 For the dating and a detailed analysis of Amadi's sources and its connection to Machairas, see the introduction to the new translation of this text, Amadi, Chronicle (Coureas/Edbury) xiv-xix. xxv-xxvi. For the time after Janus' captivity, see Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 514-515; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 698-702. Cf. Grivaud, Entrelacs 255; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) 9-11: Dawkins shows how Machairas and Amadi (and Florio Bustron) are often verbally identical, although the later Italian chronicles leave out some episodes which had been of special local interest to the Cypriots in the fifteenth century but had lost significance a century later.

210 Grivaud, Entrelacs 260 and n. 124.

211 Grivaud, Entrelacs 261-262 does not mention Amadi among Florio's sources, but Dawkins was convinced that Florio had actually »paraphrased and abridged the work of Amadi« (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] 8), though he does not give a reason for his argument. However, a look into the works shows that Florio Bustron and Amadi must actually either have followed the same source, or Florio must have used Amadi among other sources. Edbury in Amadi, Chronicle (Coureas/Edbury), xxvi, makes quite a convincing argument that the latter was the case. For the years between 1426 and 1441, when Amadi's chronicle ends, Florio Bustron and Amadi have an almost identical text, which digresses from Machairas, see Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 369-371; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 514-515; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 698-702. Cf. also Edbury, Machaut, Mézières 351.

212 See e. g. Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 268-269. 349-352; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 234-241. 599-610.

213 See Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 9 and esp. 373-405.

214 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 8-9; Grivaud, Entrelacs 261-262.

215 Grivaud, Entrelacs 288. 290.

216 Arbel, Nobility 179; Grivaud, Entrelacs 287-288 gives an overview of the bad press Lusignan has enjoyed because of his frequent mistakes in facts and tries to rehabilitate him as an important source for the sixteenth century.

217 Lusignano, Chorographia. The full title is *Chorographia, et breve historia universale dell'Isola di Cipro principiando al tempo di Noé per in sino al 1572*.

218 Grivaud, Entrelacs 287-290. 292-293. For more general information on Stephen and his works see Grivaud, Entrelacs 287-299. For the French version, see Lusignan, Description.

219 Grivaud, Entrelacs 288. 298-299.

220 For the passages on fifteenth-century Cyprus, see Lusignano, Chorographia fols 48^{r}-75^{r}. For Lusignan genealogy, see Lusignano, Chorographia fols 76^{r}-80^{r}; Lusignan, Description fols 189^{v}-208^{v}.

221 See Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai Proeleusē 813; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 550-551; Rudt de Collenberg, Le déclin 71; Arbel, Nobility 178-179. 185. The lists in discussion here all stem from the end of the fourteenth century onwards. I have also used the *Lignages d'Outremer* in the new edition by A. Nielen (Lignages d'Outremer [Nielen]) in order to determine the existence of noble families in Cyprus before the period under analysis, see ch. 2.1, p. 51. However, this source is different from the fourteenth to sixteenth century lists and is used only very ephemerally, therefore it will not be discussed here.

222 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 542. 563; cf. Strambaldi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 229-230. 238. Machairas numbers some of the knights again in § 548, when he describes their attempt to flee from Genoa, including two names the former lists lack, see below.

223 For the discussion of the nobility vis-à-vis the aristocracy, see ch. 1, esp. from p. 42.

224 Arbel, Nobility 185.

225 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 72-76, quote on 72: *les chevaliers et escuers chipriens que les faus Jenevois ont pris et mis en prizon*.

of the Munich list, it was drawn up much nearer to the events than Machairas' list, perhaps even by an eyewitness.

A comparison of the lists yields interesting results. First, Machairas did not copy Hugh's list. His enumerations lack fourteen names from Hugh's document[226], and he does not follow Hugh's order of names. Moreover, Machairas has nine extra names in his list of exiled sent to Genoa and nine men exiled to Chios which Hugh's list lacks. Finally, Machairas enumerates nine men who went to Genoa on their own accord, six of whom Hugh included in his list. However, the two documents do not necessarily contradict each other. Hugh only specifies that he enumerates those knights who were taken captive in Famagusta, while Machairas offers a more general list. Many names are mentioned in both documents, and Machairas does not include anyone in his list of remaining knights or squires whom Hugh numbers among the exiled. The only contradiction is that Machairas calls Eudes de Milmars the marshal of Cyprus, while in Hugh's document Thomas de Montolive holds this position – probably Machairas' mistake[227]. The comparison supports the credibility of the sources, although we should still be careful with the names in Machairas' list not corroborated by Hugh.

Whereas the two early lists hence discussed raise only minor concerns, the later lists from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that allegedly name nobles pose graver problems. Benjamin Arbel has rightly warned that they do not exactly specify social status and can therefore be misinterpreted easily [228]. Such is the case with Florio Bustron's list of people holding estates from James II. Since individuals who held estates from the crown were not automatically noble, it is of limited use for ascertaining members of the nobility, although it is of course interesting to see who obtained estates from the king[229]. The same is true for a list of estate-holders from the early Venetian time, which George Hill has convincingly dated into the first decade of the sixteenth century[230]. This is an interesting source for the transition from Lusignan to Venetian rule, but it is not useful for determining which families possessed noble status under the Lusignans. However, it hints to potential holders of estates in Lusignan time, as many estate holders are mentioned as heirs, suggesting that their ancestors must have possessed an estate earlier[231].

Another list which Rudt de Collenberg used for the end of the Lusignan period comes from the papal registers and enumerates all of Queen Charlotte's followers who were granted absolution of sins in the year 1467[232]. Collenberg used this list to argue that many Italian, Catalan and Greek families had by then become part of the Cypriot élite[233]. However, we cannot be sure that all Charlotte's followers were noble. More importantly, none of the Italian families on the list (Amadora, Bardo, Bertrandi, Chianibra, Foya, Pernessini, Sansali, Venatico) apart from three (Pelestrini, Scarama, Bernardini) appear anywhere in Cypriot sources before 1467[234]. Thus, most of the Italian families must have joined Charlotte's entourage only in Italy (or perhaps Rhodes, which was her base until about 1474[235]), and never lived in Cyprus. The same applies to the Catalan Barets family.

The last list in question is by Stephen of Lusignan. He enumerates all those »noble families, old and new, that sat in the great council in our time[236]«. Scholars have used these lists for establishing nobility in Venetian times, but also for discussions of Lusignan reign[237]. Benjamin Arbel has approached this problem and proven that families belonging to the urban council which Lusignan refers to were not automatically noble[238]. Moreover, Lusignan explicitly refers to all those families extant in his own time, and therefore the lists do not make any statement whatsoever on nobles in the fifteenth century.

Therefore, we may indeed use the fourteenth-century lists, although we must be careful with information transmitted solely by Machairas' lists. The lists from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in contrast, are highly misleading and should be treated with the utmost care.

Spelling of Names

The overview of the sources has shown that texts on Cyprus at the end of the middle ages were composed in many languages. Consequently, personal names appear in Latin, Old

226 The list in Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 542 actually even lacks sixteen names of Hugh de Montolive's list, but Machairas mentions two of the knights, Guy de Milmars and Raymon Visconte, later in his description of knights who attempted to escape from Genoa, Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 548; cf. Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 208 and n. 40.

227 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 542 and Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73.

228 Arbel, Nobility 178-179.

229 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 417-424; cf. Arbel, Nobility 178.

230 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 498-501; Hill, History III 765, n. 1. Livre des remembrances (Richard) xxi designated the persons on the list as *fieffés*, which is criticized by Arbel, Nobility 179, because they were not all royal vassals.

231 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 498-501.

232 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.

233 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 551-552.

234 The Pelestrini and Scarama had long been established in Cyprus: the Scarama at least in the beginning of the fifteenth century (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 679. 685), and the Pelestrini family already in the fourteenth century (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 665; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 114; Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 357. 360. 377. 388; Documents nouveaux [Mas Latrie] 380; Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 16; Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 436; Documents chypriotes [Richard] 140-141. 151; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 525. 541; Boustronios, Narrative [Coureas] § 11 and n. 31). The Bernardini are not as well known, but one Jean Bernardin, probably one of Charlotte's later followers, received a stipend from the Caffran foundation in 1446 (Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126-128).

235 Hill, History III 597-598.

236 Lusignan, Description fol. 83^{v}: *noble familles tant anciennes que nouvelles, lesquelles entroient de nostre temps au grand conseil*. Cf. Lusignano, Chorographia fols 82^{v}-83^{v}.

237 See for example Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 262; Rey, Familles de Ducange 592. Both refer to the Scaface family (whose status is not clear even in the fourteenth century) missing from Lusignan's list – which is no wonder, because Lusignan registered only the families still living on the island in his time, while the Scaface family does not reappear in the sources after 1408, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 37.

238 Arbel, Nobility 179-181. Lusignan himself knew that, too. He states during the explanation of the list: *or, n'ay-ie pas voulu, en nombrant toutes ces races, dire […] ceste maison est noble, celle-là ignoble, & roturiere […] afin que ie ne face rougir, & entrer en colere plusieurs Cypriots, ou plustost blesmir & pallir: pource qu'il y en a beaucoup pour le iourdhuy, qui se glorifient estre descendus des plus anciennes races de Cypre* (Lusignan, Description fol. 82^{r}).

French, Middle Greek, or various Italian forms. The Syrian viscount of Nicosia in the 1440s/50s for example is called *Jacques Urry* in French notarial documents, *Giakoumo Gourē* in the Greek Bustron chronicle, and *Jacobus Urri* or *Urrius* in Latin sources[239]. Spelling can even vary in one and the same source. In a privilege issued to her in 1432, Jacques de Caffran's wife is first spelled Ysabeau and then Ysabiau[240]. The scholar therefore has to decide which spelling to follow.

It is of course possible to unify name forms into English. However, I have decided to do justice to the multi-cultural character of the people in this study by rendering names in the version which appears most frequently in the sources. If there are hints on the form of name a person would have used themselves, such as signatures, I will follow these versions. This means that the same name such as Peter may appear in the French forms of *Pierre* or *Perrin*, but also in the Italian form *Piero*. I will render French names in modern French spelling, which is more agreeable to the reader's eye[241]. Syrians or Greeks will be described by the French or Italian version of their first names, which, as we will see in chapter five, they used themselves (or if the Greek version is indeed more common in the sources, in transliterated Greek) and the transliterated Greek or Arabic version of their last name. The transliteration of these surnames is generally in French spelling, which conforms to the majority of the sources. I will render Venetian, Genoese or Spanish names in the version appropriate for their respective language. For the readers' convenience, an exception will be made for the members of the royal family. The English version of their names is so widespread in modern literature that to spell John II as *Jean II* in an English text would be confusing. I shall therefore use English first names and the designation *of Lusignan* for all the members of the royal family[242]. The multi-lingual names among the aristocrats of Cyprus give a taste of the complex multi-cultural environment which will be the subject matter of this study. Following this thread, the next chapter will discuss the various aristocratic groups in Cyprus, their origins and social standing.

239 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152. 154; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 153. 158; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 291.

240 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-140.

241 The Old French spelling also differs often, so that there is more than one form for each name. The name *Jean* for example can be found as *Johan* or *Jehan*, but the second form is more frequent. See e. g. Documents chypriotes (Richard) 141-157, esp. 155; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 400; for *Johan*, see e. g. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 129 (p. 66): *ci git le noble chevalier monseigneur johan de tabarie* as well as Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396 (*Johan de Brie*) or Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 736 (*Johan dou Morf*).

242 Similar to names of persons, I will render place names in English, when they are well-known, and in the spelling of the sources, where they are less well-known. I have generally used Plechl, Orbis Latinus for the identification of Latin place names.

Chapter 1 – Latins, Greeks and Syrians: the Élites of Fifteenth-Century Cyprus

An analysis of Cypriot social élites at the end of the Middle Ages must necessarily start with a discussion of the structures and hierarchies of Cypriot high society during this period. Which groups belonged to the upper classes? What were their characteristics, and how were they differentiated from each other? Cypriot élite society developed in a specific way from the installation of Lusignan rule at the end of the twelfth century until the period that is under consideration here. I will therefore begin this chapter with a short overview of the social structures that the crusaders brought with them when they settled on the island, and the mechanisms of society that evolved from the occupation (ch. 1.1). I will then examine the élites of the fifteenth century in detail. Considering first the perspective of the contemporaries themselves on their society (ch. 1.2), I shall investigate which social groups would have numbered among the élite (and the nobility) in contemporary Cypriot opinion, and how they regarded ascending elements of society. I will then present the modern scholarly approach taken by this study (ch. 1.3). The peculiarities of Cypriot society cannot be understood in a clear and comprehensive manner without considering the context provided by other, related, societies. I therefore generally consider the structures of the Cypriot élite within their European context, and end the chapter with a comparison of Cypriot society with élites in Western European countries and the Byzantine Empire (ch. 1.4).

1.1 Cypriot Society in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

When the Lusignans and their followers settled in Cyprus, they brought with them notions of rule and society that had developed in Western Europe in the preceding centuries and had undergone some changes during the crusader occupation of the Levant[243].

Traditionally, the defining features of Western Europe's upper classes in this period were the possession of large estates and the vassal ties that bound them to their superiors. Land and social status were usually passed from one generation to the next[244]. In the High Middle Ages, however, knighthood appeared as another element that characterised the élite: originating from the Peace of God movement in France, and fuelled by the crusades, knighthood became an important social marker for nobility and resulted in the merging of various social groups into a heterogeneous class of noble knights[245].

With the establishment of the Crusader states, this knightly class introduced its Western European ideas of social order into the Levant, creating fiefs and a new nobility[246]. However, the Holy Land added its own characteristics to the social system. The heterogeneous population, which consisted in Muslims and Oriental Christians as well as Latin immigrants, called for new forms of social regulation. Thus, the crusader states developed a system which was based on

243 Cf. Edbury, Franks 65-66. 77.

244 Werner, s. v. Adel 121; Oexle, Aspekte 27; Contamine, Noblesse 21-45. The literature on the nobility in Medieval Western Europe and its development is vast. I shall therefore indicate only a selection of titles focusing on the Late Medieval period that were mostly published from the 1980s until the present. As the subject concerns a geographically very broad field, most studies have a regional focus. For France, see the classic work by Marc Bloch cited in the introduction, p. 18 (Bloch, Féodalité), as well as Contamine, Noblesse; Caron, Noblesse; Flori, Chevalerie; Aurell, Famille provençale; Courts, Weaving Legitimacy. For England, Scotland and Ireland, see McFarlane, Nobility; Carpenter, Locality and Polity; Doran/Lyttleton, Lordship in Medieval Ireland (collective volume); Grant, Extinction; Johnston, Romance and the Gentry; Mercer, Medieval Gentry; Tscherpel, The Importance of Being Noble. For the regions of the German and Habsburg empire, see Dannenberg/von Richthofen, Adel in der Oberlausitz; Hechberger, Adel; Heimann, Adelige Welt (collective volume); Morsel, Die Erfindung des Adels; Niederhäuser, Adel und Habsburg; Nolte, Familie, Hof und Herrschaft; Paravicini, Besonders adlig; Paravicini et al., Noblesse (collective volume); Pope, Nuremberg's Noble Servant; Rogge, Herrschaftsweitergabe; Spieß, Familie und Verwandtschaft; Stephan, Der märkische Adel; Vogtherr, Adel und Herrschaft; Zmora, State and Nobility in Germany. For the Low Countries, see Buylaert, Crisis of the Nobility; Buylaert/Dumolyn, Nobility and Prosopography; Damen, Knighthood in Brussels; Damen, Nobility in Brabant; Janse, Ridderschap in Holland: Janssens, De la noblesse médiévale; Van Steensel, Edelen in Zeeland. For Italy, see Carocci, La nobiltà romana (collective volume); Keller, Adel in den italienischen Kommunen; Padgett, Open Élite; Padgett/Ansell, Robust Action; Castelnuovo, Ufficiali (on Savoy). For the Iberian peninsula, see Branco, Nobility of Portugal; Devaney, Loyalty; Gerbet, Noblesses espagnoles; Gomes, Making of a Court Society; Leroy, Royaume de Navarre; Rodríguez-Velasco, Order and Chivalry; Rucquoi, Être noble en Espagne; Sánchez Saus, La nobleza andaluza. – For works on noble (court) culture in general, noble representation as well as noble warfare, see Auge, Ausdrucksformen adeliger Kultur; Keen, Chivalry; Keen, Origins of the English Gentleman; Andermann, Ritterliche Gewalt; Althoff, Nunc fiant; Barbero, La cavalleria medievale; Blockmans, Showing Status (collective volume); Boulton, Knights of the Crown; Bubenicek, Marquer la prééminence sociale; Flori, L'essor de la chevalerie; Frieling, Sehen und gesehen werden; Kaufmann, Fehde; Morsel, L'aristocratie médiévale; Oexle, Aspekte; Paravicini, Colonna und Orsini; Paravicini, Ritterlich-höfische Kultur; Paravicini/Babel, Grand Tour; Radulescu/Truelove, Gentry Culture; Ramírez, Solidaridades nobiliarias; Zotz, Adel und Innovation. – For social mobility in the upper classes, see Perroy, Social Mobility; Wood, Demographic Pressure; Autrand, Naissance; Gauvard, Les élites urbaines (collective volume); Aurell Cardona, Els mercaders catalans; Dutour, Société de l'honneur; Payling, Social Mobility; Schena, Social Mobility in Sardinia; Silvestri, Social Mobility in Sicily. For research surveys, see Aurell, Western Nobility; Reuter, Medieval Nobility, and for research on the upper classes in Byzantium, see below p. 35 n. 262.

245 Reuter, Medieval Nobility 192; Werner, s. v. Adel 122-123.

246 For older, classic works on the Crusader states and their social developments, see Prawer, Histoire du royaume Latin, esp. I 463-503; Prawer, Crusader Institutions 20-45; Prawer, Latin Kingdom 60-93; Prawer, Social Classes;

social as well as religious differences. The nobility in these Crusader states developed from the contingents of the First Crusade and other nobles who came to the East later[247]. It was a military élite, and soon the kingdoms and duchies in the Levant were divided into fiefs issued to the great lords' and to royal vassals that provided them with the means to supply military service. In contrast to the West, these fiefs were not always landed estates, but could also consist of money payments. This was a result of the urban character of the Levant – most knights lived in the towns and could therefore easily be payed a monthly rent instead of being awarded an estate[248].

From the reign of Amalric I (1163-1174) onwards, all vassals had the right to take part in the Haute Court, the High Court, which had a double function: it acted as royal council and as court for nobles at the same time. The nobles were thus judged by their own peers. This separated them from the rest of the population, who had their own courts[249]. An important prerequisite for becoming a knight was to belong to the Latin rite. Christians of other rites, or Muslims, could not attain this status. In this way the nobility was not only based on social, but also on religious difference. Latin knights ruled over a population of Muslims and Oriental Christians[250]. Thus, at the end of the twelfth century the Crusader states possessed a strong nobility which was legally separated from other groups of the population. Notions of knighthood were in full flower in this period. When Guy of Lusignan lost the support of the nobility in the Holy Land and bought Cyprus from Richard the Lionheart, he brought with him these Crusader notions of social order, as well as many of the barons who had supported him in the struggle for the throne of Jerusalem[251].

The medieval founding narratives of the Lusignan state describe these barons as part of the newly developing Cypriot ruling class; however, they also include other settlers into the core of the new nobility. According to Cypriot as well as Crusader narratives, at the beginning of his reign Guy of Lusignan invited settlers to the island to help him rule the land and provide a balance to the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population, who had already risen against the Templars a year earlier. William of Tyre's Continuators report that Guy sent messengers to all the Levantine Crusader states in order to encourage settlers to join him[252]. Machairas relates that the king sent messengers to France, England and Catalonia[253]. He also makes very clear that these settlers were expected to rule the island together with the king:

> Send and bring from among your friends and those of your religion good knights to hold your fiefs, and appoint officers, and share your kingdom between you and them, and give them heritages in which they will be at rest. They will be at good heart to order your kingdom[254].

Thus, fifteenth-century Cypriot narratives place the origins of Cypriot nobility in the fiefs awarded after 1192. Modern scholarship essentially confirms these narratives[255]. According to Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, the names of knights and their families found in Cyprus at the beginning of the Lusignan reign suggest that the majority came from the crusader states. The only document still extant from Guy of Lusignan's reign shows that indeed most of the barons who had supported him in Jerusalem (Bethsan, le Bel, Soissons, Giblet, Mayre) accompanied him to Cyprus, although others came from Western France, in particular from Poitou[256].

As in the Crusader states, these fief-holding families constituted a distinct social group which exercised authority over the rest of the population. The notions that, according to Peter Edbury, defined this nobility were the same as in Jerusalem: a noble was a Latin knight, who held a fief in return for military service, paid homage and fealty to the king, and could claim noble ancestry. Again, as in the Crusader states, these principles formed an impermeable barrier that separated the nobility from the indigenous population, but also from the Latin burgesses[257]. Subsequently, according to Peter Edbury, »to preserve their exclusivity knights would find their marriage partners in those families they considered their equals, and this resulted in the emergence of a fairly small group of closely interrelated families that dominated noble society[258]«. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari confirms that there are

Richard, Royaume latin, esp. 88-90; Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility; Mayer, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge; Setton, History of the Crusades; Hamilton, Latin Church; Holt, Age of the Crusades, esp. 33-35. Newer works include Gervers/Powell, Tolerance and Intolerance (collective volume); Hunyadi/Laszlovszky, Crusades and Military Orders (collective volume); Jotischky, Crusading; Barber/Rist, Challenge of State Building (collective volume); Barber, Crusader States; Murray, Ethnic Identity; Yolles, Latin Literature; Jacoby, Economic Function; MacEvitt, What Was Crusader?. Nader, Burgesses has offered a study of the formerly neglected field of the burgesses in both Jerusalem and Cyprus.

247 Lock, Companion 426.

248 Lock, Companion 423; cf. Edbury, Franks 77; Holt, Age of the Crusades 33-35.

249 Lock, Companion 427; Pahlitzsch/Weltecke, Konflikte 122-123. The book of John of Ibelin, written around 1265, confirms that knights and liegemen as well as the *haus homes*, literally the 'high men', probably meaning the barons, had certain legal privileges. Cf. Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 53: »because the great men and those who are bound to the *seigneur* by liege homage, and the *seigneur* to them, and their liegemen and knights, should not be treated like burgesses…« (*por ce que haus homes et ceaus qui sont tenus au seignor de foy, et le seignor a iaus, et lor fiés et chevaliers ne doivent pas estre ensi menés come borgeis…*) (Cf. Assises de la Haute Court [Beugnot] 23-24).

250 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 45; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 290-291. 316; Hamilton, Latin Church 162.

251 Edbury, Franks 65-66. 77; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 18-20; cf. Hill, History II 8; Papadopoullos, Frontier Status 19-20.

252 Eracles (Academie des Inscriptions) 191-192.

253 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 26.

254 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 25: πέψε φέρε ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους ψουμάτους καὶ ποῖσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες, καὶ μοίρασε τὸ ρηγάτον σου εἰς αὐτόν σου καὶ εἰς αὐτόν τους, καὶ ποῖσε τους κληρονομίες ὅπου νὰ ἦνε ἀναπαμένοι. θέλουν ἔχειν καρδίαν νὰ δηγοῦν τὸ ρηγάτον σου.

255 For the classic account, see Hill, History II 39-40. More recent accounts are found in Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 16-19; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 190-191; Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien 158-161.

256 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 190-191; cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 43-52; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 18-19 and Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien 158-161, who find the same.

257 Edbury, Franks 77-78; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 11-13. 59.

258 Edbury, Franks 78.

no signs of intermarriage between nobles and the indigenous population during the thirteenth century, although marriages between nobles and Latin burgesses cannot be ruled out[259].

The social system implanted into the island was therefore a logical continuation of the system in place in the Holy Land. However, as early as the thirteenth century this system developed distinct Cypriot characteristics. In contrast to the Holy Land and other Western European states, the Cypriot nobles were a relatively egalitarian group: none of the noble estates in Cyprus, called *casalia*[260], had a castle that could have enhanced the owner's status vis-à-vis other nobles. Also, nobles did not have judicial powers. Public justice was an affair of the royal courts. Gilles Grivaud, among others, has attributed these centralizing tendencies to the influence of the Byzantine system governing the island before 1192. He states that the centralization of the state suited the Lusignans after their experience of noble resistance in the Holy Land[261].

The Crusader settlers and the social system they imported into Cyprus met with a society that had been part of the Byzantine Empire for several hundred years. In Byzantium, legal separation between the upper classes and the rest of society did not exist, nor did Byzantine society develop a system of feudal tenure based on vassal ties. However, social differentiation of course existed also in the Byzantine Empire, which possessed powerful élite groups both in the capital Constantinople and in the provinces. Belonging to the *eugeneis* (Gr., ›well-born‹) was based on a family's or individual's access to economic resources and wealth, and especially on family connections or ancestry[262]. Cyprus as a Byzantine province had possessed a strong élite group of so-called *archontes* (Gr., 'rulers, lords'). The fate of these families after the Latin conquest is, however, rather unclear. Some are said to have fled to Constantinople. In any case, no powerful Greeks – or *Rhomaioi*, as the Byzantines called themselves[263] – seem to have persisted in early Lusignan society. The élite consisted only of the new noble Latin settlers.

However, the majority of the population to come into contact with the newcomers was still Greek-speaking and Orthodox, and had until recently considered themselves subjects of the Byzantine emperor[264]. These Greeks lived in the towns as well as in the countryside and constituted most of the peasant population of the island. Greek peasants could be unfree serfs (Gr. *paroikoi,* ›neighbours‹) or freemen (Gr. *lefteri* or *eleutheroi*, ›free‹, Fr. *francomati*). Greek burgesses (Gr. *perpyriarioi*[265]) had to pay the *chevage*, a poll-tax, although this seems to have been the only limitation to their personal freedom[266].

The Armenian Christians, Western merchants from Venice, Genoa or Pisa and the small Jewish community that also inhabited the island were considered free burgesses. Moreover, Oriental Christians (Melkites, Nestorians, Syrian Orthodox, Maronites) who had already lived under Latin rule in the Holy Land also moved to the island in the course of Latin immigration from the Levant after 1192, and especially after the fall of Acre in 1291[267]. The Oriental Christians settled for the most part as merchants in the trading town Famagusta, but they also lived in Nicosia and in some cases even in the countryside, where they specialized in sugar production[268]. Their social status was generally that of burgesses[269].

Through the fourteenth century, this diverse Cypriot society developed in ways that were in some points similar to other regions in Europe, and in others unique to the island. In Western Europe in general, huge social differences existed within many noble groups. In the kingdom of France, and even more so in the Iberian Peninsula, the social division between lower and higher nobility was immense[270]. This situation was complicated by strong processes of social mobility. In many places, whole urban élites, many of them coming from the trading sector, pushed into the nobility. These urban élites, consisting of merchants, notaries and other professionals, usually ascended via state offices, and sometimes just as-

259 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 191-192.

260 *Casale* was the term for a village in the countryside and was used to describe fiefs. A *prasteion* (pl. *prasteia*) in turn was a small village dependent on a casale. *Prasteia* could also be given out as smaller fiefs. See the appendix to the chronicle by Florio Bustron in Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 462 and Livre des remembrances (Richard) 232. Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 108 traces the origin of the differentiation between casalia and prasteia to the Byzantine administration that differentiated between *chorion* ('village') and *proasteion* ('hamlet, estate'). For the use of both *casale* and *prasteion* for fiefs, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs. I-XII; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 29^{v}. For detailed information on *casalia, prasteia* and fiefs in Cyprus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 380-403.

261 Grivaud, Les Lusignan 369-370; cf. Edbury, Franks 79; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 20-21; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 14-16; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 207. 212-213.

262 See e. g. Laiou, Palaiologoi 813-814; Gomez, Ottomans 196; Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 15-17. 26; Weiss, Kantakuzenos 6-7. Oaths of allegiance indeed existed, but they differed from feudal oaths in the West, see Angelov, Imperial Ideology, chapter 10: Manuel Moschopoulos, Plato, and government as social covenant. Studies on the Byzantine aristocracy are numerous. I will mention only a compact selection here: Každan, Social'nyj sostav (Italian version: Kazhdan/Ronchey, L'aristocrazia bizantina); Angold, Byzantine Aristocracy (collective volume); Cheynet, Aristocracy (a collection of his studies on the Byzantine aristocracy); Magdalino, Court Society and Aristocracy; Haldon, Social Élites; Kiousopoulou, Emperor or Manager; Grünbart, Inszenierung (for a recent bibliography on the subject, see the latter 226-249).

263 Following common practice in modern historiography, I shall refer to the subjects of the Byzantine emperor as *Greeks.* For the Greeks, cf. e. g. Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks passim.

264 For the traditional basic account of these population groups see Hill, History II 1-5.

265 According to Hill, History II 9, their name derived from the poll-tax, which they paid in hyperpers.

266 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 31-41; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 216. 218-219. 222; Hill, History II 8-10.

267 Grivaud, Minorités 51-57; cf. Hill, History II 1-2, who expresses the opinion that those Oriental Christians who had come to Cyprus before the Latin conquest had entirely fused with the Greek population. For the Jews, see especially Balletto, Cross-Social Contacts 37-39.

268 Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 74.

269 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 41.

270 For the Iberian peninsula, see Leroy, Le royaume de Navarre; Aguado, El ascenso. For France, see Contamine, Noblesse esp. 82-84 and below. For Rome, see Carocci, Dominazioni.

sumed a noble lifestyle which the central government later legalized. This was the case for example in France, but also in Aragonese-held Sicily and Sardinia and in the Low Countries, to name just some few examples[271].

In some regions, a new *noblesse de robe*, i.e. a group ennobled by the tenure of a certain office, thus started to develop, though it is difficult to distinguish clearly between the traditional military (knightly) nobility and this new form of nobility until the sixteenth century[272]. Guido Castelnuovo's analysis of the duchy of Savoy, for example, has shown that the social mobility of new professional groups working in the administration was still deeply rooted in the old power structures of the seigneurial domain. Under Amadeus VIII of Savoy (1391-1439[273]), attempts were made to introduce some sort of order into these new processes by categorizing offices and individuals according to their status in the traditional noble hierarchy[274].

In Byzantium, the beginning of the fourteenth century witnessed a flourishing of the aristocracy. The big aristocratic magnate families connected to Constantinople were a close-knit interrelated group that possessed vast estates and assets all over the empire, as shown by the well-known example of John Kantakouzenos[275]. This situation changed radically due to the great civil war of 1341-1354. The civil war itself, and the following Ottoman invasion of the Balkans, deprived most of the magnate families of their estates and their income. A crisis of the aristocracy ensued, and many aristocratic families started engaging in trade in the first half of the fifteenth century, an occupation that had not been considered worthy of an *eugenēs* before. This phenomenon also allowed some wealthy trading families to ascend into the highest echelons of society and to blend in with the *eugeneis*[276].

Everywhere in Europe, therefore, mostly urban élites were pushing into the highest echelons of society. Cyprus is no exception, though its ethnic diversity makes this process even more interesting. Recent research has shown that contact between the newly immigrated Latin settlers and especially the Greek population took place quite early on[277]. In the long run, these contacts were to produce fundamental social changes. From at least the early fourteenth century, Greeks worked in the administration of royal and noble households and came to constitute a group of cultural brokers between the Frankish nobility and the Greek population[278]. Over the next century and a half, this group ascended into the higher echelons of society. This process was probably furthered by the massive enfranchisements of the Greek population under Peter I: the king decreed that the *perpyriarioi*, the Greek burgesses, who had been submitted to the *chevage,* the poll-tax, should be allowed to buy themselves out of paying this tax. He hoped to refill the emptying state treasuries with this measure[279].

On the verge of the fifteenth century, therefore, social change was already in progress. This poses the question how members of the élite in Cyprus saw themselves and their social order at the end of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth century. How was nobility defined, and who was seen as part of the élite? Were nobles still equated with knights of the Latin faith, or had social perceptions changed?

1.2 Cypriot Élites in the Fifteenth Century: Contemporary Perceptions

Contemporary perceptions of nobility in Western Europe at the end of the fourteenth century are relatively clear. In France[280], for example, we find a clearly defined notion of nobility. Several French texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries document the conception of society as being divided into the well-established three estates: the clergy, the nobility and the labourers. Frequently, the nobility is assigned the task of defending the crown and the *chose publique*[281]. Treatises from Castile as well as Italy confirm this image of a well-defined nobility[282]. In France, letters of ennoblement, issued from the reign of Philippe IV (1285-1314) on, prove that nobility was also conceived very practically as a legal status, a concept

271 For the ennoblement process of urban élites see e.g. Aurell Cardona, Els mercaders catalans; Gauvard, Les élites urbains; Silvestri, Social Mobility in Sicily; Schena, Social Mobility in Sardinia; Damen, Knighthood in Brussels. In other regions, the phenomenon seems to have been less pronounced, such as in Warwickshire, England, where the high aristocracy recruited rather among the land-owning gentry than among merchants and other city dwellers, see Carpenter, Locality and Polity 138-152. For an assessment of these processes in Europe in general, see Contamine, European Nobility, esp. 92.

272 Contamine, Noblesse 67-76; Werner, s.v. Adel 126; cf. Autrand, Naissance.

273 Cf. Demotz, Amadeus VIII 502.

274 Castelnuovo, Ufficiali, esp. 17-18. 345-348.

275 Laiou, Palaiologoi 813-815; Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 26. For Kantakouzenos and his vast number of estates and cattle, see Weiss, Kantakuzenos 12. 21-22.

276 Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires 120-123; Kiousopoulou, Emperor or Manager 36-38. 167-170; Gomez, Ottomans 196-201; Matschke/Tinnefeld, Gesellschaft 55-62. 158-160.

277 See esp. Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 40-41. 58-59 as well as Weyl-Carr, Art in the Court 239-243; Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 55-62.

278 See Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 41-59; Griechische Briefe (Beihammer), esp. 55-62, for the example of Konstantinos Sekretikos, an important officer in the royal secrète who compiled the well-known manuscript Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367.

279 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 157; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 147-148; cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 40-41. 58-59.

280 Another point of comparison which easily suggests itself could be the principality of Achaia/Morea, a Frankish territory on the Peloponnese, which was conquered by Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffrey Villehardouin after the fourth crusade and subsequently ruled by the princes of Achaia from 1205 onwards (Talbot, Achaia 11). The Morea was therefore a Latin-ruled Greek land, just like Cyprus. However, the heyday of the principality was long over by the fifteenth century. The fourteenth century saw many conflicts about the claims to the throne, and the ruling dynasty indeed died out by the end of the fourteenth century, even if a fragment of the principality nominally existed until 1430 (Lock, Franks in the Aegean 134; Furon, Entre mythes et histoire 148-149). Therefore, a comparison between the kingdom of Cyprus as a fully functioning state in the fifteenth century with the fragments of the principality does not seem expedient, though a general comparison between structures in Cyprus and the Morea in earlier centuries would be a promising undertaking.

281 A text by Jacques d'Ableiges, the Grant coutumier (ca. 1388), for example, makes this point very clear, see D'Ableiges, Grand Coutumier (Dareste) 210; Contamine, Noblesse 3-7.

282 See Contamine, European Nobility 90-91.

that is usually connected to the growing power of the state in this period[283]. According to Martin Aurell, »the growing state turned the nobility into an estate[284]«, and controlled noble groups more and more by turning nobility into a privileged juridical status which only the king or prince could bestow[285].

In contrast, there are no fifteenth-century Cypriot texts that provide explicit statements about the concept of nobility on the island. No letters of ennoblement or even more general descriptions of the upper classes exist, and neither does central state power seem to have grown significantly. However, chronicles, as well as other documents, offer some hints about terms and categories that can help us discern the Cypriot mental map of society.

The events surrounding Peter I's murder (January 1369) have provided us with documents that scholars have often approached to discern the reasons of the regicide[286]. However, these sources also reveal social categories. On the day of Peter's death, the *coumunauté des homes liges*[287], the community of the liegemen, came together to deliberate on various matters. Amongst other things, they nominated a committee from among their ranks and tasked it with revising their laws. The committee was supposed to find the best version of John of Ibelin's book, an important law book which was to be used as future reference during lawsuits. It was to be kept in the cathedral of Nicosia[288]. This was done to protect the liegemen from further legal abuse such as they had suffered from King Peter I. In the preface to the new law code, the community of liegemen explicitly identified themselves as a social group in contrast to the rest of the population: »and this is done for the common profit of the *seigneur* and the liegemen and all the people[289]«. This statement from the centre of power makes clear that the liegemen considered themselves separate from the rest of the population on the grounds of their status – they constituted their own *coumunauté*, their own community.

The chronicle of Machairas, written about fifty to sixty years later, allows for the construction of a far more elaborate mental map, in which ethnic-religious and social categories overlap to a certain extent. For Machairas, *Latins* were generally members of the ruling class, even if he sometimes mentions *Latin* burgesses. His above-mentioned description of the settlement of the early Lusignan state sets the foundation for this idea: the settlers invited by Guy of Lusignan constitute the Lusignan upper classes[290]. Right from the beginning, they are set apart from the *Rhomaioi*, the Orthodox Greek speaking population mentioned above. In the second half of the foundation myth, the new settlers beg their king to grant them legal privileges, so they would »not […] be judged like the men of the land[291]«. This legal separation is based on the status of knighthood as well as on the religious difference. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari has recently pointed out that Machairas describes members of the ruling class as *latinos kaballarēs*, or knight of the Latin faith, and the ruling class as a group of *kaballarēdes* (›knights‹)[292]. Social ascension into the group of knights and religious conversion from one rite to another go hand in hand: for example, Machairas characterizes Thomas Barech, an important statesman at the end of the fourteenth century, as: »Sir Thomas Barech, a Greek burgess who became a Latin knight[293]«.

The knights themselves are depicted as a strong and exclusive community which acts together and governs the kingdom[294]. Their function as the king's liegemen plays a great role in this conception. In a well-known episode, Peter I asks his vassals for advice, because there are rumours that his wife, Queen Eleanor, has had an affair with one of the nobles. However, the nobles decide to try to convince the king that the affair had not taken place. If it had, the nobles could have been treated as traitors who had failed to fulfil their oath to protect the queen's honour. In Machairas' account, the knights collectively state: »And our king is one body with ourselves; he is an eagle and we are his wings […] so the king can do nothing by himself without us, nor can we do anything without him[295]«. The bond between king and knights is clearly emphasized here as an important element of the groups' identity[296].

Although most instances of Machairas' chronicle designate members of the ruling class as knights (and never as nobles), he seldom also mentions *Latins* who were not knights. In his enumeration of the men who fell at the battle of Chirokitia, he groups together squires and *hommes d'armes* with the knights and the members of the royal family. All these are separated from »the common folk, by which I mean the men of the people[297]«.

283 Crouch, Birth of Nobility 3; Contamine, Noblesse 65-72; Caron, Noblesse 44.
284 Aurell, Western Nobility 264.
285 The period in which this change occurred is disputed. While Marc Bloch had argued that the change took place in the thirteenth century with the first laws restricting the access to knighthood to the sons of knights, further research has estimated the beginnings of this process much later, in the fourteenth or even fifteenth centuries. Bloch, Féodalité II 58-69; Contamine, Noblesse 329 n. 1; Morsel, Crise 17-42.
286 See Edbury, Murder; Richard, Révolution.
287 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 733.
288 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 734; cf. Grivaud, Literature 256-257.
289 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 737: *et ce est fait pour le coumun proufit dou seignour et des homes liges et de tout le peut*. Cf. also 733, where the same distinction is made.
290 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 25.
291 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 27: νὰ μὲν κρινίσκουνται κατὰ τοὺς τοπικούς.
292 Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 337; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 129. 255. 257. 259. 261. 269. 270. 277.
293 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599: τὸν σὶρ Τουμᾶς Παρέκ, ῥωμαῖος πουρζέζης καὶ ἐγίνην λατῖνος καβαλλάρης. The translation is my own. Dawkins translated: »Sir Thomas Barech, a Greek citizen who became a Latin and a knight«. Judging from his name, Barech must have been of Oriental descent, but he is called a *Greek/Rhomaios* probably because he was a Melkite, and therefore Orthodox.
294 See for example the episodes around Peter I's murder, Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 261-281.
295 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 255: ὅπoῦνε ἕναν κορμὶν δικόν μας, ὁ ποῖος εἶνε ἕναν ὄρνεον, καὶ ἐμεῖς τὰ πτερὰ του […] καὶ ὁ ρήγας μοναχός του δὲν φελᾷ χωρίς μας, οὐδ' ἐμεῖς φελοῦμεν χωρίς του.
296 For a more elaborate analysis of this episode, see ch. 5, p. 128 on concepts of honour.
297 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685: τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ λαοῦ, τουτέστιν ποπλάνους. For the term squire, see pp. 42. 45.

Nevertheless, we can also observe a social stratification within the *Latin* noble group. While the knights, squires and *hommes d'armes* constitute the base of the social group, a powerful group of barons (Gr. *parounides*) make up its upper echelons. The king asks these barons, who are also called *afentes* (›lords‹) and usually take part in the royal council as *archontes tēs boulēs*[298] ('lords of the council'), for advice, and they are therefore very close to the centre of power[299]. They constitute the faithful group nearest to the king, especially in times of war[300].

Machairas describes the »common folk« that was separated from the knights as merchants, shoemakers, and cooks, but also freedmen and strangers[301]. They usually include above all the *Rhomaioi*. Other discernible groups are the *Armenians* and the *Syrianoi*, who both possess burgess status and are mostly mentioned as merchants or soldiers[302]. While Machairas' term *Armenides* identified, as it does today, an ethnic group generally originating from Armenian Cilicia[303], the term *Syrianoi* is more difficult to place. This difficulty stems from a difference of use in early sources of the Holy Land on the one hand, and the Cypriot Machairas chronicle and later Crusader sources, on the other. In the thirteenth century Holy Land, *Syri, Suriens,* or *Suriani* was generally a designation for Melkites, Arabic speaking Christians who belonged to the Byzantine Orthodox Church and celebrated their liturgy in Syriac. They were distinguished from other groups of Oriental Christians, for example *Nestoriani* (›Nestorians‹) or *Maroni* (›Maronites‹)[304]. The Melkites of the Holy Land had a better juridical status than other Oriental Christians[305]. The assizes of the burgess court, a law book written in the middle of the thirteenth century for Jerusalem, specifies for example that a Melkite (*Syrian*) had to pay only half of the dues for assault[306].

Machairas as well as later Crusader sources, in contrast, use the term to describe not only the Melkites, but all Oriental Christians[307]. Machairas, for example, includes a certain Francis Lacha, a Nestorian, among the *Syrianoi* in Famagusta[308]. In another case, he enumerates a range of *Syrianoi* families, including the Urri family, some of whom from the 1420s on had converted to the Latin rite[309]. Other episodes confirm this picture[310]. Machairas therefore regarded all Oriental Christians as members of one *Syrian* group, regardless of their religious iaffiliation.

For Machairas, the differentiation between the knights and the burgesses is not necessarily connected to wealth or even political influence. *Rhomaioi* and *Syrianoi* burgesses could be very wealthy and even have influential administrative offices, such as the *bailli de la secrète*[311]. They play an important role in Machairas' society and can even be called *archontes* (›lords‹) if they are wealthy[312]. Machairas even explicitly contrasts the riches of a *Syrianos* merchant with the destitution of the knights: when King Peter I and his knightly entourage visited the merchant Sir Francis Lacha in Famagusta, their host had a huge tray of pearls and precious stones brought before them. Every guest was allowed to take whatever they wanted to have, »and many of the knights were greedy and poor, and reached out their hands, and every one snatched what he pleased, and they took from him great store; and all that they took seemed to him as nothing[313]«. In this episode, the knights cannot compete with the merchant's incredible wealth, but they are nevertheless the king's closest followers.

298 Normal knights are also sometimes designated as *archontes*, see e. g. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 147. This seems to be a more general term for members of the upper echelons of society, cf. below.

299 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 101. 108. 118. 119. 192. 268. 411.

300 See e. g. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 119: Καὶ ὁ ῥὲ Πιὲρ μὲ τοὺς καβαλλάριδὲς του καὶ μὲ ὅλην του τὴν παρουνίαν ἀπάνω εἰς το καπετανίκιν ('And King Peter with his knights and with all his barons embarked in the flagship'). The stratification is also apparent in other sources. In a peace treaty between Cyprus and Genoa from the year 1411, the Genoese notary described how the king stood in for all socials, writing: *Dominus Ianus Dei gratia Hierusalem, et Cypri, et Armeniae Rex, pro se et successoribus suis in dictis Regnis, Baronibus, Nobilibus, complicibus et adhaerentibus suis, et pro universa Gente, et populo dictorum Regnorum suorum* (Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 142). The barons form their own sub-group, representing the high nobility.

301 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685.

302 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 111. 257. 377. 411. 433. 437. 654. 681. 685. 696.

303 See Grivaud, Minorités 44-45.

304 Pahlitzsch/Weltecke, Konflikte 121 and Pahlitzsch, Suriani in Lusignan Cyprus (forthcoming).

305 Cf. Pahlitzsch, Graeci und Suriani 14-15; Suttner, Melkiten 499-500; Hamilton, Latin Church 159-160.

306 Assizes (Coureas) codex I no. 279, codex II no. 277.

307 For the later Crusader sources, see Richard, Le peuplement Latin et Syrien 166. For Machairas, see below. Grivaud, Minorités 51 generally mentions that the designation *Syrian* is a difficult term, as the Franks did not know the Oriental Christians well and therefore used the term for all confessions. This confusion is also discernable in his own article, which seems to use the term sometimes for Melkites and sometimes for all Oriental Christians. Cf. also Nikolaou-Konnarē, Holos ho topos 153.

308 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 92.

309 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 375.

310 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 111. 411. 437. 654. 681. 685. In another episode, Machairas designates a man with a distinct Arab name, Thomas Barech, as *Rhomaios*, as Orthodox. Perhaps he was referring to his confession as Melkite in this way. See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599 and cf. also below. In Arabic, the Melkites also used the term *rūmī*, cf. Pahlitzsch, Graeci und Suriani 14. – Machairas also tells us that the Syrians in Cyprus possessed more extensive privileges than the *Rhomaioi*, just as the Melkites had been privileged in the Holy Land. The Syrians in Cyprus were only expected to pay half of the taxes which the locals had to pay (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 26). It is unclear if this meant that all Oriental Christians had an elevated status in Cyprus. Although Machairas usually numbers all Oriental Christians among the Syrians, he might have used an older source for this passage which still distinguished between the Oriental confessions. This distinction is maintained for example in the fifteenth-century Greek copy of the assizes of the burgess court, see Assizes (Coureas) codex I nos 59. 60. 279, codex II nos 60-62. 277. However, this does not necessarily mean that Melkites and other Oriental Christians were still practically distinguished in Cyprus. Riley-Smith and Mayer have proven that the assizes did not necessarily reflect the current juridical situation even when they were first written in the thirteenth century, see Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility 58-61; Mayer, Register 166, cf. Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 109. Moreover, no other sources confirm an elevated status of the Syrians in Cyprus, cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 208.

311 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 704.

312 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 91; cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 337 .

313 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 92: καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς καβαλλάριδες ἀχόρταγοι καὶ πτωχοὶ ἐβάλαν τὰ χέρια τους καὶ πασαεῖς ἐπίασεν ἀππόθεν τοῦ φάνῃ καὶ ἐπῆραν του μίαν μεγάλην καντιτάν· καὶ ὅ, τι τοῦ πῆραν δὲν τοῦ ἐφάνην τίποτες.

The classification of knights versus burgesses is still found in the later chronicle attributed to Georgios Bustron. Again, similar to the chronicle of Machairas, the upper classes are not designated nobles, but are almost solely identified through their status as vassals and knights. Only in one instance does the chronicle use the term *zintilarchontes* for men representing the government in the face of the people, combining the French or Italian *gentil(e)* and the Greek *archōn* (›lord‹)[314].

Like Machairas, Bustron frequently describes the knights as the most prestigious social group. They act collectively and on behalf of the government. In numerous instances, *all the knights* come together to discuss a problem and are described as counterpart to *the people*. On the occasion of Queen Charlotte's coronation, for example, the author states: »all the knights and all the common people conducted the queen to (the cathedral of) Holy Wisdom[315]«. And when James the Bastard (later James II) had the viscount of Nicosia murdered, a rumour stating that he also wanted to kill *all the knights* spread through the island[316]. Many more examples could be cited for this social categorization[317]. On one occasion, the *Diēgēsis* even includes women into this group: in the description of Caterina Corner's exodus from Cyprus, the queen is accompanied by the *kaballaries kai oi kaballarēdes* ('knightly women and knights')[318]. Here, knighthood is clearly a marker of status, rather than a reference to the male military profession[319]. However, in contrast to Machairas, the religious connotation of this social difference is lost; Georgios Bustron never mentions it and generally does not seem interested in religion as an identifying marker[320].

Bustron emphasizes the importance of knighthood when he describes the integration of newcomers into the upper classes. He uses fixed phrases to describe this process: a newcomer favoured by the king was knighted and given a fief, and sometimes also an office. Concerning Thomas of Morea, Queen Helena Palaiologina's milk brother who had relocated to Cyprus with her, the author states: »the king had honoured him and had given him many revenues, making him, moreover, a knight and the chamberlain of the kingdom[321]«. Other descriptions of foreigners integrated by James II follow the same pattern[322].

Knight is the first identity label adopted by the *Diēgēsis* to describe members of the upper class, even before mentioning other personal traits. When James flees onto a ship in Famagusta after murdering Thomas of Morea, Bernardo Riosec, the admiral, is sent after him to convince him to return to Nicosia. The text reads: »they ordered a knight, Sir Bernard Rouset, who was the admiral of Cyprus, to go at once as a messenger to the skipper so as to have the postulant brought down from the galley[323]«. The fact that Riosec was the admiral of Cyprus is used only as secondary identification. Above all, he was a knight. It is the knights who are listed by Georgios Bustron when he enumerates Queen Charlotte's followers in the castle of Keryneia in 1460. He states, »and there were also many other burgesses and valets (i. e. squires[324]), whom I have not written down[325]«. The burgesses, and even the squires are not important enough to be mentioned by name.

Just as in Machairas' chronicle, the knights' personal relationship with the king is an important component of their group identity. This becomes apparent when John II summons his son James the Bastard before the Haute Court after the latter had murdered the viscount of Nicosia. In his answer to the summons, James, who had been given the archbishopric of Cyprus as fief, emphasizes his status as his fathers' liegeman. He is ready to die in his father's service, since he has sworn fealty to him[326]. When John II assembles the high court, he calls together all the knights and liegemen (Gr. *omilizíoi*) to assist him in judging his son[327]. Thus, even after the end of Lusignan rule, the author still perceived the body of liegemen as a special group, who retained their power to pass judgement over their peers. Moreover, he placed great importance on the oath of fealty itself. An episode from the civil war between James and his sister Charlotte points to this fact. When he captures some of Charlotte's followers, James concedes them the possibility of serving him as king instead. Some comply, but one Gualtier de Nores declines, explaining that he had only one oath to give, and has already given it to Charlotte. James stripped him of his fief, but later awarded him a small annuity, probably because he admired his steadfastness[328].

314 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 300; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 270.
315 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 28. For the Greek text, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 56: έφεραν την ρήγαιναν ούλοι οι καβαλλάρηδες και όλος ο λαός εις την Αγίαν Σοφίαν.
316 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 18-20: και εσκότωσεν τον μισέρ Γιάκουμο Γούρρην, [...] και θέλει να σκοτώσει όλους τους καβαλλάρηδες. For the English translation, see Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 10.
317 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 14. 20-22. 44-46. 54. 62.
318 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 316; my own translation. Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 280 rightly translates »the ladies and the knights«. Cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 337.
319 The social significance of knightly titles has naturally been noted by scholars for other regions, see e. g. Damen, Knighthood in Brussels 261-262, who describes both the military and the social importance of a knightly title in fifteenth-century Brabant.
320 Cf. ch. 6.3, p. 156 for a more profound analysis of this aspect.
321 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 3. For the Greek original, see Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 6: ο ρήγας ετίμησέν τον και έδωκέν του και πολλές ρέντες και έποικέν τον και καβαλλαρήν και εποίκεν τον και τσαμπερλάνον του ρηγάτου.
322 See e. g. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 170. 228.
323 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 7. For the Greek text, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 14: μοναύτα ορδινίασαν έναν καβαλλάρην, τον μισέρ Μπερνάρδο Ρούσε, ο ποίος ήτον αμιράλλης της Κύπρου, να πάγει μοναύτα μαντατοφόρος εις τον καραβοκύρην, να τον κατεβάσει τον αποστολέ από το κάτεργον.
324 For the explication of the Greek word *bachliotēs* and its various translations, see p. 42 n. 362.
325 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 50. For the Greek text, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86.
326 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 22-24; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas), § 12.
327 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 20; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas), § 11.
328 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 114; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 70.

Both chronicles characterise knights as the leading element of society[329]. Within this knightly upper class, the authors use state offices as a further method of creating hierarchies, and sometimes only refer to individuals by mentioning their office. This practice is common for the holders of prestigious offices, such as the viscount. While relating an incident in Peter I's reign, Machairas states: »And the sheriff (i. e. viscount) went out with a strong force[330]«. The same holds true for the *Diēgēsis*, e. g. when fief holders are requested to do homage liege to Queen Caterina Corner: »the viscount went to the house of Marietta Bragadin on the same day[331]«.

This picture of a knightly society is confirmed by other sources. However, in contrast to the chronicles, many archival sources use the term noble, and thereby confirm that this concept existed in fifteenth-century Cyprus. Benedict de Ovetariis, one of King John II's notaries, described how a comet appeared over Cyprus in 1456 and brought calamity to the »princes and knights« (*principum et militum*), and how in the two subsequent years many knights and nobles died (*in quibus duobus annis multi milites et nobiles sua morte perierunt*)[332]. This double designation suggests that knights were part of the nobility, but that there could be nobles who were not knights. These individuals appear rarely in the documentary sources, but more frequently in funereal epigraphic inscriptions. The majority of these are written in French and always use the term *noble* to describe a member of the nobility. Men's tombstones are usually comprised of the standardized text »here lies the noble knight/squire (of the king)« (*ici git le noble chevalier/escuier [du roi]).* In contrast, burgesses are sometimes explicitly designated as such, e. g.: »here lies Brother Johan Zaist who was burgess of Famagusta[333]«. Interestingly, on the few tombstones of female nobles, the women are often not designated as noble themselves, but as madam, spouse/daughter of the noble knight (*madame/dame, espouse/fille dou noble chevalier*)[334]. Only »the noble dame Marguerite Carel (?) [sic!], spouse of the king's noble squire sir Pierre Fardei[335]« is called noble. Thus, noblewomen can mostly be identified via their husbands and fathers. Tombstone inscriptions confirm that nobility and knighthood were closely related, but that simple squires were also regarded as noble.

Documents such as protocols taken in sessions of the Haute Court, state treaties and testaments describe individuals by using combinations of the terms noble, knight and eventually the individual's office. Latin state treaties from the end of the fourteenth century are especially revealing. They designate important witnesses and members of the Haute Court by their titles and as *dominus* of their estates. The men who appeared in these lofty documents were members of the high nobility, the most important men of the kingdom. They were not only knights, but also great lords. These men are therefore often designated as either *miles* (›knight‹), *magnificus dominus* (›magnificent *dominus*‹) or *nobilis vir* (›nobleman‹), or varying combinations of these, sometimes adding *spectabilis* (›glorious‹) or *egregius* (›honourable‹). The document instituting Pierre de Caffran as royal procurator in 1391 for example mentions the witnesses as *nobilibus et egregiis viris dominis Johanne de Nevillis domino de Azoto, Monteollivo de Vernino domino de Sageta*[336].

The contract between the Cypriot king and Venice from 2 October 1389 calls the members of the Haute Court *magnifici domini* (*ratificantes […] ut alta curia, magnifici domini: Petrus de Caffrano amiratus regni Cypri, et dominus Johannes Gorab dominus Cesariensis auditorque regni Cypri*[337]). In opposition to *spectabilis* and *egregius*, the adjective *illustris* was reserved for members of the royal family. In 1432, for example, King John II, *princeps serenissimus et illustrissimus dominus dominus Johannes, Dei gratia Jherusalem, Cipri et Armenie rex* made his uncle his procurator in Western Europe, the document calling the latter *illustrem dominum dominum Hugonem de Lucignano, divina miseratione episcopum Penestrinum*[338].

The consistent mention of offices, just as in the chronicles, gives ample proof of the importance of titles and offices for the leading groups of society.

Non-nobles are sometimes designated as *burgensis*. In a document concerning the estate of Vrechia, Antonio Audeth is called *dominus Antonius Audeth, burgensis Nicosiensis*, while Philippe de Grenier, who had held Vrechia as fief, is designated as *spectabilem militem dominum*[339]. This fragment also shows that *dominus* itself was not a special designation for nobles. The same accounts for the designation for young persons, *domicellus/domicella*, as can be seen from a certain Antonio de Bergamo's legacies. Some money from his inheritance is given to the burgess Simon Jason in order to marry off his daughter (*pro matrimonio domicele dare filie*[340]), because he cannot afford the wedding himself.

329 They therefore offer a similar perspective for example to Brabant, where knighthood was the main, if not the only indicator for nobility, see Damen, Knighthood in Brussels 257, who even decided to study only knights, thus avoiding any confusion among various criteria for nobility.

330 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 111: Καὶ ἐπῆγεν ὁ βισκούντης μὲ λᾶς πολλοὺς.

331 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 109. For the Greek text, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 160: Την αυτήν ημέραν επήγεν ο βισκούντης εις το σπίτιν της Μαριέττα Περγαντή.

332 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 391-392.

333 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 281: *Ci git frere Johan Zaist qui fu bourges de Famagouste*. One tombstone in the collection designates the defunct as *nobilis merchator*, but it belongs to a Florentine merchant, thus explaining the combination of the two terms. See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 7.

334 See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 260. 569.

335 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 6: *la noble dame marguerite carel (?)* [sic!] *espouze dou noble escuier dou roi monseigneur pierre fardei*.

336 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 420-421.

337 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 417.

338 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 2.

339 Both quotes Richard, Une famille 109.

340 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3. This use of *domicella* is contrasted by the chronicle of Georgios Bustron, who uses the term to designate the Queen's female company: »his wife was one of the Queen's damsels« (Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 15; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 30: η γυναίκα του ήτον μία από τες ταμιτζέλλες της ρήγαινας). In Savoy in contrast, *domicellus* was the designation for nobles who had not been knighted (yet), see Castelnuovo, Ufficiali 348.

In contrast to the Latin state treaties, the documents concerning proceedings of the Haute Court were recorded in French, and some of them have been preserved in Italian translations. Interestingly, these documents do not designate nobles as knights, as *chevalier* (Fr.) or *cavalier* (It.), which would be an equivalent to the Latin *miles*. Instead, nobles are consistently called *cher, bien amé et feaul sir/dame* ('dear, well-beloved and loyal sir/dame'), followed by their name and their office. In these documents, which admittedly all come from the same context of vassalage, the focus is on the nobles' status as liegemen, in contrast to burgesses who are sometimes *cher* and *bien amé*, but not *feaul*, loyal[341]. The members of the Haute Court testifying in the documents are referred to in the same manner, thus reducing the various forms in the Latin texts to one formula. Similar to the Latin *dominus*, *ser* or *miser* is not reserved for nobles, but used for everybody except serfs[342]. The same holds for (Fr.) *dame/madame* and (It.) *donna/madonna*[343].

Only one of these documents explicitly uses the French term *gentilhomme*, which it connects to the status of vassalage. In 1448, Zoi Catacouziny, Jacques de Fleury's second wife, was awarded the privilege of choosing herself a new husband, should Jacques die. Usually, noble widows had to select a husband from three candidates chosen by the king. Zoi was allowed to choose for herself, the one condition being that her future husband had to be one of the king's liegemen, without question a *gentilhomme* (*mais qui soit home lige et nostre subget et de nos hoirrs, et qu'il soit gentilhome sans nul debat ni contredit*[344]).

All in all, the various contexts of the sources afford a focus on different aspects of noble life and functions. While contemporary chronicles perceived knighthood as the most prominent aspect of the leading class, administrative documents depict nobles above all as the king's loyal vassals. In general, the frequent occurrence of the term *noble* or *nobilis* proves that a concept of »being noble« existed, and its almost continuous combination with the term *knight* suggests that in the eyes of the contemporaries being noble was connected to the status of knighthood until the end of Lusignan reign, even if technically it was not necessary to be a knight in order to be noble.

Cypriot nobility was recognized as such in other regions of Europe[345]. Papal registers, for example, describe Cypriot nobles as *miles, nobilis vir* or *nobilis generis*, while non-nobles are designated as *civis* (*Nicosiensis* etc.)[346]. Moreover, Cypriot nobles could be integrated into knightly orders of other kingdoms, and vice versa. In 1453, the Aragonese king Alfonso V awarded Hugo Podocataro the right to select ten Cypriot nobles of either sex as new members of the Catalan order of knights[347]. Conversely, foreign knights traveling through Cyprus were sometimes received into the Cypriot order of knighthood founded by Peter I[348]. In fifteenth-century Cyprus therefore, as in many other regions of Europe, nobility was perceived as an »international« phenomenon[349]. A Catalan noble would be recognised as such in Cyprus, as would French, or Byzantine nobility. This fact is also demonstrated by various stories of integration into Cypriot noble society. Machairas, for example, mentions the Byzantine aristocrat Joannes Laskares Kalopheros who befriended Peter I and married the Cypriot noble woman Marie de Milmars. After Peter's death, Joannes was imprisoned in 1370, but eventually left Cyprus when he was set free. He ended his life in the principality of Morea, again as part of the aristocracy there[350]. Queen Helena Palaiologina and her entourage, as well as Jacques de Fleury's Byzantine wife Zoi Catacouziny, are also excellent examples for this kind of integration. In the second half of the fifteenth century, even a couple of Mamluk officers received fiefs from James II as a reward for helping him to conquer the island. Their families still lived in Cyprus during the Venetian period[351].

Thus, in the eyes of its contemporaries, Cypriot society possessed an upper social class, the members of which were designated as nobles both by the Cypriots and by other Europeans. Being noble was frequently connected to the status of knighthood and vassalage, although there were also noble squires. For the chronicler Machairas in particular, nobility was connected to status and Latin religious-ethnic origins. Other groups or individuals, such as Greek or Syrian burgesses, may have been wealthy and even influential, but they were not seen as part of the nobility.

341 See e. g. Richard, Une famille 105; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}.

342 Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 287, who finds the same for the thirteenth century. This practice is also to be noted in documents drafted in other parts, for example in Venice. In 1398, a Parisian merchant and burgess is called *ser*: *circumspecti viri ser Dinus Rapondi burgensis Parisiensis* (Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 442). However, Mario Damen has noticed that in fifteenth-century Brabant, *messire* was reserved for knights and bannerets alone (Damen, Knighthood in Brussels 263).

343 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 287-288 states that the term *dame* was usually only used for nobles in the thirteenth century, and in Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 344, she confirms the same use for the chronicle of Machairas. This term therefore seems to have experienced a broadening of meaning in other fifteenth-century sources.

344 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151.

345 This had been the case also in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Edbury, Franks 82-83 and Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 33, where he points out that the Cypriot feudal class kept pace with the West and did not take a course of its own.

346 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 1-228 passim.

347 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 810.

348 Boulton, Knights of the Crown 245.

349 Cf. Duggan, Introduction; Contamine, European Nobility 90-91, and 95, where Contamine shows how even social terms for élite groups, such as *noblesse* etc., were translated into different languages.

350 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 167. 190. 194. 200. 563; Jacoby, Jean Lascaris Calopheros 190-195.

351 See Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151 for Zoi; Ganchou, Rébellion passim for Helena; MCC, Dandolo Prov. Div. C. 992/21 fols 6^{v}-7^{r}; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 418; Pahlitzsch, Mamluks and Cyprus 117-118 with further literature concerning the Mamluk officers.

1.3 Cypriot Élites in the Fifteenth Century: Modelling the Present Study

On the basis of the contemporary view as well as the existing research, it is now time to model the approach of the present study. I have shown in the introduction how other scholars have thought about the Cypriot élite[352]: while older works did not define the Cypriot nobility and vaguely spoke of social mobility in the Greek population, newer literature has focused on various aspects of the topic and come to different conclusions. Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg used a very open and implicit definition of nobility, numbering among it every family that was more or less wealthy[353]. Benjamin Arbel, on the contrary, followed the view of the sources and postulated that only families with knights in their ranks belonged to the nobility[354]. Jean Richard, Gilles Grivaud and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari took a broader view on society as a whole: Richard postulated that there was a basic distinction between the free and the unfree. Among the free population, he distinguished between the nobility, which according to him was based on lineage and feudal tenure, the burgesses and a so-called *bourgeoisie d'office*, a group of burgesses working in the financial administration. Grivaud called this latter group a *noblesse d'office*, while Nicolaou-Konnari defined it as a new aristocracy[355].

The present study follows some of these ideas, while others are rejected on the basis of the source material. Fundamentally, it appears sound to ground the following analytical steps in the conception that indeed two broad social groups composed Cypriot society: the free and the unfree. As far as the further division of the upper classes is concerned, I will argue that the division into two aristocratic groups, a nucleus of old noble families and a group of ascending families, is basically correct. Using the differentiation between aristocracy (or élite) and nobility explained in the introduction – aristocracy being a high socio-economic group with access to resources and power and nobility being an aristocracy with legal privileges[356] – I will consider both the old nobles and the ascending families aristocratic but will designate only the old families (plus a few ascending families who attained knighthood and liege homage) as nobility, even if their legal privileges in the fifteenth century were disputable. I postulate a grey zone between nobles and aristocrats consisting of persons whose exact place in society could not easily be discerned because of their social mobility. Finally, as is visible from the title of this study, I also use the term *élite(s)* as synonym to the Cypriot aristocracy as a whole.

Let us begin with the old nobility. Its members came from well-known Levantine, Western French or even Italian families that had thrived in Cyprus for many generations and that possessed smaller or larger estates[357]. Many among them also performed important functions within the Lusignan state. Its contemporaries saw this group as the ruling class of the kingdom and considered knighthood as its most salient characteristic. However, was this the case? Was this group a nobility in the sense attributed to the term by Marc Bloch[358], i. e. did it still possess legal privileges which other social groups did not have? And were these connected to knighthood?

Although knighthood may have been the most visible characteristic of nobility, it was not a legal criterion for membership in this group. Noble squires (Old Fr. *noble escuier*) mentioned on Cypriot tombstones prove this very clearly: one did not have to be a knight in order to be noble[359]. Moreover, squires were not only young sons of knights who had not been knighted yet. Some squires in the sources were certainly not young anymore: in 1468, for example, Jean Chappes had a fief as an écuyer, and the document explicitly states the liege homage he and his heirs had to pay to the king[360]. Two squires in particular cannot have been adolescents, since they played important roles in politics: one écuyer du roi, Pierre de Montolive, became one of the 12 regents of the kingdom after Peter II's death, and another, Simonin du Puys, negotiated the marriage contract between Anne of Lusignan and Louis of Savoy[361]. It seems therefore that in Cyprus, nobles could decide if they wanted to be knighted or not[362]. This phenomenon is similar to developments that can be detected in the Kingdom of France, where knighthood played a less pronounced role as early as the fourteenth century, as many nobles preferred to remain squires in order to avoid the additional costs related to knighthood[363]. Thus, Arbel's hypothesis that knighthood was a decisive criterion for identifying a member of the Cypriot nobility is only correct in part[364]. While

352 See p. 11.
353 Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 814; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 55.
354 Arbel, Nobility 177-180. 184. 187-188.
355 See Richard, Politikoi kai koinōnikoi thesmoi 355-356. 364; Richard, Culture franque 403. 414; Grivaud, Ordine 536; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 224-235; Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 58-59.
356 Cf. p. 18f.
357 Cf. ch. 2.1, p. 51.
358 See p. 18.
359 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 6. 62. 114. 288. 361.
360 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 170.
361 For Pierre de Montolive see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 392. 599. 602-603. 605. 607. 610-611 and Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73 as well as Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 306. 350-351. For Simonin du Puys, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 525-526 and III 14.
362 Cf. p. 37. The Greek equivalent of *écuyer/squire* in the Cypriot chronicles is *bachliotēs*, a term which is derived from the French *valet*. *Bachliotēs* is a rather problematic term, since it can signify a (noble) squire, but also just any servant (cf. for example Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 28, where an unfree servant is called a *bachliotēs* and therefore cannot have been noble, and Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 392, where the noble squire Pierre de Montolive appears). This is probably due to the meaning of the French term, which originally designated a knight's servant, but later also servants at the court and from the fourteenth century onwards also influential persons at the French court (see Lalou, Valet). The Greek term can therefore not automatically be used in order to ascertain an individual's status. Cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 337, who only mentions the meaning of noble squire.
363 Contamine, Noblesse 82-84; Contamine, Écuyer 1554-1555.
364 Arbel, Nobility 178. Cf. p. 12.

knighthood was central to noble culture, and a knight would certainly always be noble, being a knight was not an exclusive criterion for membership in the Cypriot nobility.

At the same time, it is not entirely clear to what extent traditional legal privileges were still exclusive for nobles in the fifteenth century. Two centuries earlier, the nobility's legal privileges were first and foremost the right to be judged by the Haute Court, as opposed to other parts of the population, and tax privileges. In order to enjoy these privileges, one had to be a royal vassal and to profess the Latin faith[365]. In the fifteenth century, the question is more complicated. The system of vassalage itself existed until the end of Lusignan rule. Fiefs were awarded in return for liege homage and military service. Entry no. 169 of the *Livre des remembrances* for example specifies the details of a fief which James II awarded to Henry of Lusignan on 15 July 1468: »we, representing ourselves as well as our heirs, […] have given, granted and conceded as a permanent fief the casale of Quit (Kiti) […] to our well-beloved and loyal Henry of Lusignan […] in return for his service as knight and of liege homage[366]«.

Many other examples could be mentioned. In 1475, Caterina Corner awarded the *casale* of St Armolo with the *prasteio* (a small dependent of a *casale*[367]) Fachi to Blesim Moustazo, with the usual requirements of liege homage and military service[368]. Even Louis of Savoy, Charlotte's husband, in his function as titular king of Cyprus distributed fiefs to his supporters[369].

The chronicles assume that legal privileges were still attached to this procedure. Machairas considered the liegeman's privilege to be judged by the Haute Court valid. He tells us, for example, about a certain Nicolo de Naou, a foreign notary, whom Peter I had made his (Gr.) *lizios*, his liegeman, and had subsequently promoted to *bailli de la secrète*, the head of the royal financial administration[370]. Nicolo was sentenced to death in 1370, because he tried to help Peter I's widow Eleanor to take revenge on her husbands' murderers. However, since he was the king's vassal, the Haute Court was summoned to judge him according to the assizes[371]. The later chronicle by Georgios Bustron confirms Machairas' picture. Various episodes, such as James the Bastard's judgement by the Haute Court after his murder of the viscount of Nicosia cited above[372], show the Haute Court fulfilling its function as court for the king's liegemen.

Other sources shed a more ambivalent light on the nobility's presumed legal rights. Royal estate transactions are particularly revealing. The Haute Court was not only responsible for the liegemen's affairs in penal law, but also for matters of civil law such as issuing fiefs and other transactions concerning estate properties[373]. However, in the 1430s, those burgesses who bought estates from the crown also conducted their business in the Haute Court. The crown sold estates to burgesses, such as the Audeth family, sometimes in repayment of debts[374]. These transactions were witnessed by the Haute Court, probably because they concerned estates which had hitherto been issued as fiefs. Just as fief documents, they start with the formula stating that the king, in the presence of his men (*in presentia di nostri homini*) has concluded a transaction[375]. Burgesses were involved with the Haute Court because they had acquired estates with a privileged status – this element, and not the purchaser's social status, seems to have been the crucial point for the choice of legal forum.

Moreover, burgesses who bought estates enjoyed the same tax privileges and conditions as liegemen in relation to their estates. The transaction conditions in the texts are almost identical. This can be seen from a comparison of documents dating between 1435 and 1452: in 1435, King John II gave the *prasteio* Tragovouni as fief to Piero Podocataro and his heirs. In 1443, the *casale* of Marathassa was sold to the brothers Audeth and to Thomaso Mansel. In 1444, Piero Podocataro obtained another estate. This time he bought the *casale* of Paralimni together with Thomas Urri and Isabella Salah. In 1452, the royal counsellor Odet Boussat bought the *prasteia* Pano and Cato Mauromaria[376]. All these documents use almost identical formula and word order to confer possession of the estates and all the rights and customs associated with them in regard to worked and non-worked land, planes, woods, mountains, or gardens. The landowners are also exempt from any taxes other than Church tithes, with the exception of Piero Podocataro, who has to make a yearly payment to the royal *secrète* for his fief. Compare for example the sale to Odet Boussat:

> We […] have sold […] to you […] Odet Boussat, […] without any royal tithe or any other tax, with exception of the tithe of the church alone, […] the two prasteia Apano and Cato Mauromaria with all their rights, properties, usages and other things pertaining to them, in worked and unworked fields, in plains, woods, mountains, and gardens[377].

365 See ch. 1.1, p. 33 f.

366 Livre des remembrances (Richard) 88, § 169: *nous, pour nous et pour nos hers, […] avons donné, otroié et consenty en fié perdurable à nostre bien amé et feaull Harion de Luzenian […] le cazaul dou Quit […] pour le servize dou cors conme chevalier et de lige omage.* – A document from the end of John II's reign (1457) shows that sub-enfeoffing fiefs was also still in practice. Odet Boussat is given a fief of two *prasteia* with the permission to pass it on to one of his children, who in spite of holding the fief from their father will still have to render liege homage to the king, as was established custom: *et celuy de tes dis anffans à cuy ledit fief sera donné, comme dit est, et ses dis hoirs doivent faire lige homage à nos et à nos hoirs* (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 156).

367 For a more detailed explanation of *casale* and *prasteio*, see p. 35 n. 18.

368 MCC, Dandolo Prov. Div. C. 992/21 fol. 46^{r}.

369 Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 73.

370 For a more detailed explication of this office, see pp. 104. 171.

371 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 311-315.

372 See p. 39.

373 See e. g. Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157.

374 See Richard, Une famille doc. I; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}.

375 Richard, Une famille 101.

376 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 28^{v}-29^{v}. 29^{v}-31^{r}; Richard, Une famille doc. I; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153-154.

377 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153: *nous […] avionns vendu […] à toy […] Odet Boussat, […] sans nul disme real ne autre avarie, reservé le disme de l'iglize tant seullement, […] les deux presteries de Apano et Cato Mauromaria o tous leurs drois, raisonns, husages et apartennances, en terres laborées et non laborées, en plains, en bois, en montaignes, en jardins.*

and the issuing of a fief to Piero Podocataro:

> We have given and give, granted and conceded in permanent and free fief to you […] Piero Podocataro […] the prasteio of Tragovouni, […] with all its rights, properties, usages, and other things pertaining to it, in fields worked and unworked, in plains, woods, mountains, vineyards, […] in running and spring waters, in gardens […] and that you […] and your said heirs […] may not be held to pay a royal tithe, assignment, nor anything else […] other than the tithe of the church alone, and similarly to pay to our royal secrète for the police of said secrète six hundred and one besants in kind every year according to the statute of our secrète[378].

All holders are allowed to sell, donate and do as they wish with the estate in their possession. Both types of documents are witnessed by members of the Haute Court and sealed with the royal seal. The only difference lies in the type of transaction itself: when an estate was issued as a fief, the documents state without exception that it was »given, granted and conceded as permanent fief« (Fr.: *donné, otroié et consenti en fié perdurable*[379]; It.: *havemo donato et donemo, concesso, et consentito, in rendita perpetua*[380]). In some cases, as in Henry of Lusignan's privilege, the document specifies the services rendered in return: the liegeman must render military service and the liege homage[381]. On the other hand, when an estate is sold, the verb *vendere*, to sell, is used, as for example concerning the sale of Paralimni: »our most cherished and beloved consort Queen Helena Paleologo […] has sold […] the casale of Paralimni to our well-beloved named below« (*la nostra carissima et amantissima compagna la Regina Helena Paleologo […] vendete alli nostri ben amati, li sottonominati […] lo casal d paralimni*[382]). Moreover, the crown could buy back the estates in question for the same amount of money as had been paid for them.

In all cases, although the conditions of purchase differ, the rights and exemptions granted were the same, which confirms the hypothesis that the privileges were tied to the estate itself rather than to the purchaser's social status. It was not only nobles anymore who discussed matters of civil law in the Haute Court, and tax privileges could be gained by burgesses, too.

Unfortunately, there is no information on the exertion of penal law by the Haute Court in the fifteenth century other than the episodes from the chronicles mentioned previously. Therefore, no statements can be made on vassals' privileges in this respect. But small insights into the development of the right to take part in the sessions of this institution, i. e. to be a judging member of the Haute Court, can be gleaned. Originally, this was a vassals' right. But from 1445 onwards, a certain Philippe Salah was a regular member of the Haute Court in his function as the *bailli de la secrète*. Until at least 1442, he had been a normal secretary in the *secrète*, but we do not know if he had acquired the status of the king's liegeman before 1445. His relative Jean Salah had been made *bailli de la secrète* in 1432, and he was explicitly called a burgess by Leontios Machairas[383]. It is possible, therefore, that Philippe was part of the Haute Court without possessing the status of liegeman.

Moreover, it is not conclusively proven that in the fifteenth century, adherence to the Latin rite was still a prerequisite for vassalage. But as will be seen later, it is striking that all individuals of the Orthodox and Oriental rites who attained fiefs and the status of knighthood at some point converted to the Latin rite[384]. Thus, this element very probably was still a strong social marker.

In the fourteenth century, other social markers of noble society were connected to various practices, such as hunting, especially with falcons, and the reception of chivalric literature such as the tales of the Arthurian cycle[385]. Though we have no sources on these practices from the fifteenth century, we may assume that these markers could still be used for social differentiation. Again, Cyprus strongly tied into Western European noble culture in this respect, though we know less details about these practices than for example in France, where nobles besides bearing heraldry and hunting i. a. had special status at universities and the permission to carry weapons even inside towns and cities[386].

To conclude, in several aspects the nobility's legal privileges were no longer exclusive in fifteenth-century Cyprus. However, noble families still consisted of knights and squires who were royal vassals and obtained fiefs, which were inherited by their heirs. They enjoyed the same privileges as in the preceding centuries, even if some of these privileges were partly also enjoyed by others. They officially all adhered to the Latin rite. Many families could trace their ancestors for generations, and the sources mentioned above prove that they saw themselves and were seen as nobles[387]. Therefore, they will feature as nobility throughout this study.

378 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^{v}-30^{v}: *havemo donato et donemo, concesso, et consentito, in rendita perpetua et francha a ti […] piero podochataro […] il prastio di tragovuni, […] con tutti sui dretti, rason, usanze, et pertinentie, in terreni lavorati, et non lavorati, in piani, in boschi, in montagne, in vigne, […] in acque corrente et sorgente, in giardini […] et che ti […] et toi ditti heredi […] non siate tenuti pagar decimo regal, assegnamento, ne alcuna altra cosa […] altro che il decimo della giesia tanto solamente, et similmente pagar alla nostra secretta real per pollice della ditta secreta (sic) ogni anno, in robe secondo il stato della nostra secretta bisanti seicentouno*.

379 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 169. See also other fief documents e. g. in Documents chypriotes (Richard) 143. 146. 149. 156.

380 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 29^{v}. See also fol. 31^{r}.

381 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 169. See also Otten, Féodalité 90-91.

382 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 28^{v}. For other examples see e. g. Richard, Une famille 101.

383 For Philippe, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 141-153; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380. For Jean, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 704.

384 See ch. 6.3, p. 150.

385 Edbury, Franks 84-85.

386 See Contamine, Noblesse 21-45; Caron, Noblesse 45. Cf. Mourier, Nobilitas.

387 For the adherence to the Latin rite, see ch. 6.2; for the nobles' ancestors, see ch. 2.1; for the view of the sources, see ch. 1.2.

Just as in other European countries[388], there were further social differences within this nobility, although these are not easy to discern. Machairas differentiated between barons and other nobles, though the practical meaning of this differentiation remains unclear. In the kingdom of Jerusalem, there had been four important baronies, the holders of which at least theoretically possessed certain legal privileges that differentiated them from the rest of the nobility. According to Peter Edbury, this was not the case in Cyprus. Though the Cypriot kings bestowed certain titles belonging to counties of the kingdom of Jerusalem such as the count of Edessa, the count of Jaffa or the prince of Galilee[389], on their greatest followers from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, these men did not have any legal privileges, nor is there any sign that they possessed the fiefs that belonged to their titles[390]. Nevertheless, these titles and the subsequent designation as baron were a sign of the highest royal favour: apart from members of the royal family, they were only awarded to the most important statesmen who served the Lusignan state in high positions over many years[391].

However, these titles are not the only way to identify members of the high nobility. Social prestige can also be deduced from office. Holders of high state offices such as the seneschal, the chamberlain, or the constable of Cyprus had great influence and were therefore first and foremost part of the power élite[392]. However, their political influence brought with it a high degree of social prestige, which can be used to discern the families and individuals who were members of the highest circles.

Below this level, it is more difficult to assess social differentiation. However, social prestige was surely connected to the value of the fief held from the crown. This is illustrated by an episode in Machairas, where a noble complains that in spite of being one of the bravest and strongest knights of his community, the king only awarded him a small monthly wage (Gr. *mēnion*) instead of an estate[393]. We might assume that a monetary fief was usually less prestigious than a landed estate, but in fact *mēnia* could be worth more than a small estate (see below).

However, there were great differences between fiefs in general. John II's most influential advisor Jacques de Fleury, for example, possessed a series of villages, which together were worth about 4,000 Venetian ducats[394]. His son in law also called several villages his own, but these were worth less than a quarter of that sum (900 ducats)[395]. A certain Louis de Verny, on the other hand, seems to have held just one *casale* worth about 1,050 besants, the Cypriot currency. A ducat was worth between six and seven besants[396]. De Verny's fief was therefore worth around 170 ducats, less than a twentieth of Jacques de Fleury's income. However, it was still a fortune. In comparison, a slave who wanted to free himself from labour service had to pay 24 besants annually in recompensation in the 1440s. A whole year of labour therefore was worth a fraction of a small fief[397]. Squires held fiefs similar in income. The squire Jean Chappes for example held a monetary fief which was worth 1,500 besants, 100 *modii*[398] of wheat, 200 *modii* of barley and 100 metres of wine[399]. Thus, in terms of wealth, there were immense differences between the members of the nobility, though all nobles were wealthy compared to lesser members of society[400].

Beyond the office hierarchy and the size of fiefs, the question arises as to whether the difference between knights and squires played a role for social differentiation. In the kingdom of France for example, this status difference was an important means of social stratification based on financial power. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the number of knights in France dropped significantly, because squires could not afford the costs of knighthood[401]. Philippe Contamine has estimated that écuyers and modest *nobles hommes* were by far the largest group within the French nobility at roughly 84 % in the middle of the fourteenth century, while the knights amounted only to about 15 % and the high nobility (*la grande noblesse*) to 1 % of the nobility[402].

It is unclear if Cyprus experienced a similar development. Usually, squires seem to have been inferior to knights on the island, but the sources do not allow a real assessment of their social status. They certainly payed less military service than knights and possessed smaller fiefs. However, a few squires were influential in Cypriot politics, as seen above. Pierre de Montolive was even part of the regency council after Peter II's death[403]. Nonetheless, these were probably exceptions, as there are no other squires in notable positions.

388 Cf. e. g. Contamine, European Nobility 97-99.
389 Jacques de Fleury e. g. was count of Jaffa in the 1440s and 1450s, while Jacques de Caffran was prince of Galilee, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 142. 148-157 for Fleury; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 40^{v} for Caffran.
390 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 17-32.
391 Cf. Richard, Politikoi kai koinōnikoi thesmoi 356; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 22.
392 Cf. chs. 4.1 and 4.2.
393 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 79.
394 In the following, ducats are usually Venetian ducats, unless otherwise specified.
395 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 124-125.
396 In 1423, one ducat was worth about 6 besants, in 1468 about seven, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 18.
397 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) xxxvii-xxxviii.
398 A *modium* was a dry measure for grain and other cereals that was used in Cyprus and Rhodes, but also for example in Spain and Sicily. One *modium* of wheat in Cyprus probably equalled around 32 litres, while a *modium* of barley equalled 34 litres, see Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) xli.
399 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 145. 170.
400 This phenomenon is of course known from other regions in Europe. E. g. in the *ammanie* of Brussels, the smallest fiefs were worth about 1/100 of the great lordships held by only a handful of nobles, see Damen, Knighthood in Brussels 272. Damen has been able to calculate the percentages of fiefholders with a certain income, e. g. 53 % of nobles had an income of less than 100 pounds. Such a detailed calculation is unfortunately impossible for Cyprus.
401 Cf. p. 42. A similar phenomenon seems to have occurred in England, see Carpenter, Locality and Polity 39-40.
402 Contamine, Noblesse 82-84. Cf. Batany, Les débats 137. For more information on the high nobility, see Caron, Noblesse 45-53.
403 For Pierre de Montolive see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 392. 599. 602-603. 605. 607. 610-611 and Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73 as well as Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 306. 350-351. Cf. above, p. 42.

The numbers of squires in Cyprus are not clear. Perhaps, however, the decline of knighthood was not as pronounced as in Western Europe, since many more tombstones for knights than for squires have been preserved from Cyprus[404]. This could of course be a coincidence of transmission. But squires are also found rarely in other sources. Machairas mentions a few squires who fell in the battle of Chirokitia[405], and there are the occasional fief documents for squires as mentioned above. But all in all, there are many more knights in the sources. If knights actually played a more pronounced social role, then this could at least partly account for the invisibility of squires. But the latters' relative absence from the sources still suggests that their number at least did not greatly exceed that of the knights, as was the case in France.

Hommes d'armes pose an even more complex question. Machairas mentions them together with knights and squires as opposed to simple men during the battle of Chirokitia, but they are never mentioned in connection to other nobles anywhere else. In 1468, James II changed the income of two *hommes d'armes* from a salary to a fief[406]. Its sum lay between that of a squire and the salary of secretaries. However, whether this technical inclusion into the group of royal vassals actually made them part of the nobility in the eyes of the contemporaries is doubtful, and it is unclear whether this was a new phenomenon under James II.

In conclusion, we can deduce social stratification within in the nobility from offices and titles, from the size and nature of the fief, and finally more vaguely from the status of knighthood. Notwithstanding these social differences, the nobility as a whole was distinct from the ascending indigenous families. In the following pages, I will discuss the social standing of this second group and its relationship with the nobility.

The problem of defining the social status of ascending families derives from their very nature as a socially mobile group, but also from the differing approaches adopted by scholars. Richard called them a burgess group since most of them probably possessed the legal status of burgess. By designating them aristocracy, Nicolaou-Konnari has described their function in society[407]. This latter approach is also the one taken in this study. For if we employ the sociological definitions outlined in the introduction[408] and maintain that an aristocracy is defined through its access to senior positions in state (and church) as well as to economic resources, this includes all those families and individuals who worked as clerks in Lusignan administrative institutions, as well as those wealthy merchants who influenced events by their economic power.

The sources show that almost all men in these positions in the fifteenth century came from either Greek or Oriental Christian families. While the Greeks were a rather homogenous group, the Oriental Christians belonged to various Christian confessions[409]. Nevertheless, Machairas and other contemporary sources encompassed all Oriental Christians in the terms *Syrianoi* (Greek) or *Sirici* (Latin)[410]. Moreover, the social situations of all these Oriental Christians were very similar, as we will see in chapter two, and some of them intermarried[411]. I shall therefore refer to all individuals originating from the various Oriental Christian communities as *Syrians*, following the designation of the sources and, if other information is lacking, judging by Arabic family names[412]. Though the English term *Syrian* might be a bit confusing at first, since here it does not denote inhabitants of what we today call Syria, its use seems important to me to emphasize the existence of this concept in the contemporary sources. The term is an external designation, and it does not mean that all these *Syrians* would necessarily have considered themselves as part of the same group. However, others clearly perceived the members of the various Arabic-speaking denominations as belonging to one *Syrian* group. The analysis will show, moreover, that many Syrians and even Greeks and Syrians were highly interrelated, suggesting that it is actually reasonable to speak of them as one aristocratic group[413].

The new aristocracy had a different social profile from the old nobility. In contrast to the old noble families, Syrians and Greeks mostly earned their keep through the offices they held. They worked as secretaries to nobles and in the financial administration or as *baillis* or *chevetains* (two often synonym terms meaning head officials) who governed the districts of the Lusignan state. *Baillis* also headed institutions such as the (Gr.) *comerchion*, which controlled commerce and collected taxes on commercial transactions, or they worked as doctors[414]. Moreover, we find Greeks and Syrians as canons of the Latin Church.

The salaries of all these offices seem to have been rather homogeneous. This is evident among others from the *Livre des remembrances* from 1468/1469. Thomas Petropoulos, for example, newly installed as secretary of the *secrète* and analogous to other secretaries, earned 600 besants and 90 *modii*

404 Sixteen tombstones from Imhaus' collection designate the defunct as chevalier, while only seven squires are registered. Of these, three are called the son of a knight, and therefore probably died young. See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 1. 63. 64. 129. 166. 177. 181. 260. 267. 283. 291. 366. 386 for the knights and nos 6. 62. 87. 114. 288. 361 for the squires. Cf. also Imhaus, Société 204.

405 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685.

406 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 177.

407 Cf. p. 13 and above, p. 42.

408 Cf. p. 18 f.

409 Cf. ch. 6.3.

410 See e. g. a Venetian source that calls them *Sirici*, Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 140.

411 See chs. 2.2 and 3.3.

412 Other scholars also use this designation, see e. g. Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 67-69; Jacoby, Citoyens 168-169; Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien passim.

413 Cf. ch. 3.3.

414 For the terms *bailli* and *chevetain*, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 810-811; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 65. For the *comerchion*, see Grivaud, Sur le comerc passim, but esp. 134-136. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 209-211 also mentions Greeks who worked in Greek ecclesiastical and in burgess courts. I have not found many members of the new aristocracy working in these specific sectors in the fifteenth century, but this is surely only due to lack of sources.

of barley per year[415]. Dimitri Sgouropoulos, a physician in James II's service, received 500 besants, 40 *modii* of wheat, 40 meters of wine and 90 *modii* of barley. Cosma Gonem, *bailli* (and therefore head official) of the *comerchion* of Nicosia, in turn earned a bit more: he received 50 *modii* of wheat, 50 metres of wine, 90 *modii* barley and 400 besants, but additionally had a right to the victuals which all the *baillis* received, and the takings of the *rente du comerc*. Other officials, whose tasks are not specified, earned about 500 besants plus victuals, or 600 besants without victuals[416]. All officials earned between a third and a half of a squire's fief, which lay at ca. 1,500 besants plus victuals, as we have seen above[417]. Although these numbers all come from the years 1468/1469, there is no reason to assume that they differed greatly from those of the preceding years. In 1435, for example, the secretary Piero Podocataro earned 400 besants a year[418]. Although Piero's income was slightly less than that of later officials, it is quite close especially if we consider inflation.

The men who became members of the Latin clergy in the chapters of the Cypriot dioceses, too, possessed revenues from their prebends that were comparable to the officials' salaries, though there were differences between various canonries and offices. According to the papal registers up to 1417, a canon in Nicosia or Paphos earned around 100 ducats (the lowest, rather exceptional, pay being 40 florins, the highest 150 ducats, both for canonries in Paphos). Since a ducat was worth between six and seven besants, this salary is very similar to the earnings of officials in the state administration. However, the dioceses, which had between 6 (Limassol) [419] and 16 (Nicosia) canons, also possessed at least a treasurer, a cantor and an archdeacon, who earned some extra money additionally to their canonries. In Nicosia, the archdeacon earned 50 ducats extra, and in Famagusta the treasurer earned another 25 ducats. Usually, the archdeacon was the bishop's second in command, but in Nicosia, the highest cleric after the archbishop was the dean (*decanus*), who received 250 ducats[420]. Since it was possible to combine up to two different prebends, the members of the Latin chapter clergy must often have lived on sums between a secretary's salary and a squire's fief. Lay officials of the Church, such as notaries (the office was usually called a *scriptoria* or *scribania*), however, earned considerably less. Simeon de Baliano earned 20 florins a year as scribe of Famagusta in 1420[421].

In addition to their salaries as state officials or clerics, we must not forget that the families in the new aristocracy often had some sort of landed estates, which would have enhanced their income. In 1468, Pierre Bibi, secretary in the *secrète*, owned land which was part of the royal estate of Psimolophou as well as an estate with the name Pison[422]. In most cases, we unfortunately do not know how much these estates were worth. But we may assume that these men and their families lived comfortably and that combining their estates and salaries they were probably at least as wealthy as royal squires. However, we shall see in chapter two that differences in social status and economic position within these ascending families existed[423].

Parallel to this differentiation of wealth and status, another distinction is important. Within the aristocracy, many families were traditionally involved in the administration. However, members of merchant families could also be directly involved in the civil administration or influence state affairs more indirectly through financial and social ties with the royal family and other leading figures. Moreover, such families were sometimes interrelated with civil officers. The merchant family Audeth are a good example. Not one family member seems to have had a position in the civil administration, even though there was one bishop in their family[424]. They possessed immense wealth, probably acquired through trade, which might have even surpassed the important noble Jacques de Fleury's income[425]. Together, Antonio and Gioan Audeth had obtained two thirds of the *casale* Marathassa in 1442, which were worth around 9,300 ducats. Three years later, they rounded off their acquisitions with other estates, all in all worth another 5,300 ducats[426]. The king, as well as some members of the high nobility, were their debtors. In 1451, John II owed Gioan Audeth 100 ducats, for which Gioan had *una zara de arzento et uno bossolino d'arzento et un zaretta granda et una piccola* ('a silver jar and a silver ointment box and a big jar and a small one') in deposit[427]. Likewise, Gioan held some *canapi d'arzento con le groppi sie* ('silver cords/threads with their knots/or: with six knots[428]') in turn for 50 ducats which he had lent to Marie, the countess of Rouchas. Other members of the nobility, such as Francois de Montolive, also owed him or his brother money[429].

The Audeth's riches seem to have been paralleled for example by the case of Francis Lacha, a Syrian merchant who had lived almost a century earlier during the reign of Peter I and used to invite the king and his followers to banquets according to Machairas[430]. These merchants influenced affairs without directly visible political involvement. Some of them

415 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 1.
416 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 71. 92. 119. 12. 131.
417 Cf. p. 45.
418 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 30^{v}.
419 Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari/Schabel, Limassol under Latin Rule 278.
420 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma 150-151. 171.
421 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma 114.
422 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 31. 162.
423 Cf. ch. 2.2.
424 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 82. 158; Richard, Une famille doc. V.
425 Jacques de Fleury's estates seem to have been worth around 4,000 ducats, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 124. However, it is unclear if we have complete information about his possessions.
426 Richard, Une famille docs I-II.
427 Richard, Une famille doc. V 115.
428 These must have been silver threads, possibly for weaving into clothing, held together with knots for safe-keeping. If we read *sue* instead of *sie*, this would translate to 'their knots'. However, *sie* could also mean *sei*, six.
429 All debtors are mentioned in Richard, Une famille doc. V 115.
430 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 92.

had the status of either White Genoese or White Venetians in addition to being Lusignan subjects. This meant that they profited from the sea republics' protection and enjoyed the same economic and fiscal privileges as Venetians or Genoese in the Eastern Mediterranean, though not in the republics themselves. Their status was profitable both for the merchants and for the republics, who increased their trade volume and influence through this means, though conflicts with the Lusignan crown over jurisdiction rights were frequent[431].

We do not know if the Greek and Syrian merchants considered themselves as belonging to the same group as the civil officers, since they possessed a much higher level of wealth. In any case, according to our definition, they were certainly aristocrats. We shall therefore keep in mind that there may have been people within the new aristocracy who did not feel that they necessarily belonged to the same group.

The designation of all ascending Greek and Syrian families, be they merchants or civil servants, as aristocracy is functional and does not refer to their legal status. Many members of this group were burgesses in the legal sense but had obtained offices or riches important enough to justify their inclusion in the aristocracy. This designation makes it possible to differentiate this group from others who enjoyed the status of burgesses but had neither wealth nor connections in the circles supplying the Lusignan state with officers. Employing the term aristocracy also seems more appropriate than Grivaud's *noblesse d'office*. This latter term is usually used in the context of societies such as France, where certain offices automatically ennobled their holders from at least the sixteenth century onwards[432]. This is not the case in Cyprus. Thus, I consider this group to be part of the island's aristocracy from a functional perspective.

The functional role of these Greeks and Syrians in Cyprus is similar to that of other ascending urban élites in Western Europe as well as the so-called *mesoi* (Gr., ›middles‹) in Byzantium. The latter group consisted of low-level officials, bishops and other clerics, schoolmasters, merchants, or traders. Its members were part of the élite, but not of the highest echelons of society, and they were not considered as part of the same group as the *eugeneis*, the high aristocrats[433].

Ascension from the aristocracy into the Cypriot nobility was possible. As we shall see, some members of Greek or Syrian families became part of the nobility. They attained high state office, became royal vassals and gained the status of knighthood. They achieved this rise mostly through working in the administration and through the wealth they acquired in trade[434]. This is a similar process to the way social mobility worked in Byzantium. Ennoblement in France, however, worked through a broader array of channels. Men could rise through the military, since one of the crucial functions of the nobility was to supply the state with warriors. Moreover, Françoise Autrand has shown how some officers from the French royal household and the administration also achieved ennoblement[435], although this was not always the case[436]. Another route of social ascension in France from the late fifteenth century on was the collective ennoblement of certain urban élites. In 1470, King Louis XI ennobled all Normans who had possessed noble estates for at least 40 years without possessing noble status[437]. Such a process is not visible in Cyprus, perhaps because Cypriot society was too small for people to »usurp« a noble way of life without direct control from the crown.

Nevertheless, some cases of social mobility in Cyprus fell between the traditional social categories. I would therefore like to use the image of a »grey zone« between the old nobility and the new aristocracy in which socially mobile new aristocrats, whose social status was ambiguous, moved.

One example of such a career was the Syrian Philippe Salah, who started out as a simple secretary in the *secrète* and who later became *bailli de la secrète* and a regular member of the Haute Court[438]. We do not know if he became the king's vassal, or how he was seen by his contemporaries. This could of course just be a matter of lacking information. In other cases, however, not even the contemporaries knew exactly how to categorize an individual. The Syrian George[439] Billy, for example, was an important counsellor to King Janus. In 1402-03 he was involved in negotiations with the Genoese. George was Leontios Machairas' nephew, and the only high state official in his family. In a letter from King Janus to marshal Boucicault, the French governor of Genoa, the king describes George as a *nobilis vir* and royal counsellor[440]. However, another incident supplies a different perspective. This incident is the same episode from the year 1402 with which the introduction to this study started out: according to the chronicler Florio Bustron, George Billy was responsible for an attempt to recapture Famagusta from the Genoese together with Simon de Morphou, a member of an old noble family. Simon, however, was offended because he had to work together with a burgess, and thwarted the undertaking. Bustron concludes that King Janus appreciated Billy's competence despite his burgess status and made him *proveditore* of the kingdom[441]. One could conclude that Florio Bustron just did not know that Billy had risen to noble status. However, he channelled a

431 Jacoby, Citoyens 159-161; Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 69.
432 Cf. pp. 13. 36, as well as Grivaud, Ordine 536.
433 Gaul, All the Emperor's Men 245 n. 1. 247. 256.
434 Cf. ch. 2.2, from p. 67.
435 Autrand, Naissance esp. 177-190; 245-257.
436 Contamine, Noblesse 72-73.
437 For the ennoblement of 1470, see Rois, Ordonnances XVII (Pastoret) 337; Contamine, Noblesse 75-77.
438 See Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157.
439 A reference in a manuscript belonging to this man (*de moi Jorge Billy*) as well as Machairas' name for for him, *Tzortze/Tzortzou*, indicate that he actually used the French version of this first name. See Paschke, Klementinen-Epitomen 135-136 and Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 425.
440 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 630. 633; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 471-472. 473-475.
441 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354.

tradition which considered Billy to be burgess and not noble. Generally, we may conclude that social mobility is a difficult phenomenon to analyse because of lacunae in the sources but also because the social status of individuals is ambiguous in the sources that are available[442].

The two Cypriot aristocratic groups described thus far were complemented by a certain influx of families and individuals from Western Europe, notably Genoa, Venice, Catalonia and France. As we shall see[443], these families or individuals came to Cyprus in different contexts and for different reasons. While many Venetians came for the sake of trade, individuals from France migrated mostly due to networks within the Latin Church. Catalan individuals came as corsairs and served the Lusignan kings with their ships. Their integration into Cypriot society followed different purposes and therefore its nature also differed. Our analysis will have to discern how these newcomers related to the Cypriot aristocracy and whether their integration allows us to consider them a real part of the Cypriot élite.

In conclusion, this study will examine three groups within the Cypriot élite – the nobility, the new Syrian and Greek aristocracy (with a grey zone between these two groups), and the groups of Western immigrants who integrated into this society. Although this approach, as all historical models, offers only a limited perspective on past reality, nevertheless it is a perspective that promises valuable results for research on Cypriot society in the fifteenth century.

1.4 Conclusion

Let us finally widen the perspective once again to locate the developments of the Cypriot aristocracies within their European context. Cyprus had many similarities with other European societies, but its exact characteristics constitute a unique case in the development of European societies in the Late Middle Ages.

Being based on a system of feudal tenure, Cypriot noble society partook of Western European social structures, and was accepted as such by its Western European neighbours. This is discernible from the mutual integration into the various orders of knighthood. Just as in Western Europe, nobles in Cyprus often possessed estates as fiefs, and their wealth and status were inherited by their heirs. Lifestyle markers, such as hunting and falconry, were enjoyed by nobles in Cyprus just as in France or in Spain. However, as has been noticed by scholars, Cypriot society was more centralized than societies in Western Europe, judicial authority lying with the king at a time when the power of the state had not yet risen in Western Europe[444]. Just as the Holy Land, Cyprus was more urbanized than for example France. Its nobles lived in towns, and some of them even drew on monetary fiefs instead of estates[445]. As it was a small kingdom, direct contact to the king must have been a much more common and important phenomenon even for smaller nobles than in huge countries such as France. However, in Cyprus the great power of the state did not result in a stronger legalization of the noble estate. On the contrary, Cyprus seems to have lacked a discussion about the nature and functions of the group as it is found in the kingdom of France or in Italy. Perhaps Cypriot society was small enough to render such a discussion unnecessary. Although Cyprus experienced social mobility, there seem to have been no explicit attempts at ordering the upper echelons of society by creating an ideal system in which social climbers were consciously integrated, such as happened in the duchy of Savoy. This is all the more interesting as relations between Cyprus and Savoy were rather strong. Several Cypriots worked and lived at the court of Amadeus VIII and must have come into contact with the ideas that were present there[446].

Social stratification within the nobility existed in Cyprus just as in other countries. Barons and high officers had an elevated status, differentiating them from a normal knight. Fiefs could be of varying value and surely represented their holders' social status. But whether these differences were as pronounced as in Spain or in France, is difficult to say. The gap between knights and squires was certainly not as blatantly visible as in France.

However, processes of social mobility were prevalent in Cyprus just as in the kingdoms of France, Spain, Savoy or in Byzantium. Urban élites pushed into the nobility in all these regions, although the routes of ascension and integration may have differed from one society to the next. While rise into the nobility in the kingdom of France according to Contamine was primarily possible via the military, in Cyprus the royal administration was the best possibility, at least for indigenous families. In this point it was very similar to places such as Aragonese-held Sardinia and Sicily, which offer stories of social ascent that are amazingly similar to Cyprus[447]. Mass integration of whole urban élites into the nobility via the acquisition of seigneurial estates and successive official recognition did not occur in Cyprus. The insular society was probably much too small for such a social process to arise. However, just as in other regions, social mobility had to be processed by society and social climbers were partly integrated into the old system of feudal tenure, while in other

442 Moreover, it is unclear if noble status conceded to one man applied to his whole family accordingly, or if they remained burgesses as Coureas, Ethnicity and Identity 77-78 has postulated. Noble status must have been transferred to children. A new noble's siblings may have stayed burgesses, but they certainly profited from the rise in terms of prestige.

443 Cf. ch. 2.3.

444 Cf. Edbury, Franks 79; Grivaud, Les Lusignan 369-370.

445 Cf. Edbury, Franks 81.

446 For the attempts at creating an ideal social system in Savoy, see Castelnuovo, Ufficiali 345-348 and cf. p. 36. For the Cypriots living in Savoy, see Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 100-101; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 18. 21.

447 Cf. Silvestri, Social Mobility in Sicily, esp. 293-296; Schena, Social Mobility in Sardinia, esp. 311-315.

cases their place in society was difficult to define. Despite the island's idiosyncrasies, the social characteristics and processes found there resembled Western European societies in such a measure that they were well compatible and considered part of the same European nobility.

However, this was also the case with Byzantium. Apart from the legal privileges and the developed system of feudal tenure which we do not find in Byzantium, the two states shared similar ideas about who was considered ›noble‹. Both in Cyprus and Byzantium, the combination of ancestry and wealth played an important role for the ruling élite. The importance of the relationship to the emperor or king was another shared feature. Finally, the fact that nobles did not have the right to exercise justice in their own fiefs in Cyprus further underlines the similarities.

One could argue that the reality of life for nobles in the two societies differed quite substantially. While Cyprus was a small island community with little room for independent developments, the turbulent events in the Byzantine empire and its successive fragmentation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought parts of the Byzantine nobility a certain independence. Aristocrats in the Morea, for example, had enjoyed great freedom after 1204 and were not willing to yield their power to the commanders coming from Constantinople in the second half of the fourteenth century[448].

However, the processes of social mobility in Cyprus and Byzantium were to a certain extent similar. Both these societies had a strong aristocratic group that occupied mid-level state and church offices, and that in some cases rose to become part of the higher aristocracy (or in Cyprus, the nobility). However, while the Byzantine aristocracy reacted to the prolonged crisis in the second half of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century by engaging in trade directly, noble families on Cyprus acted differently. In Cyprus, despite the financial difficulties evoked by the wars with the Genoese and the Mamluks, the nobility in general seems to have kept up the traditional way of living off their estates[449]. Even so, these differences should not hide the fact that there were similarities in social structures and thought which made these societies compatible.

The Cypriot upper classes in the fifteenth century operated within a distinctly European context of which they considered themselves an integral part. However, they also possessed numerous idiosyncrasies that were part of their very own regional identity. In the following chapters, we turn to the social and demographic development of these Cypriot élites during the fifteenth century.

448 See Necipoğlu, Byzantium chapters 9 and 10 on the Morea (235-284), but especially 248-255.

449 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 402-403, remarked that fiefs and therefore agricultural revenues were still the principal source of noble income in Cyprus at the end of the fourteenth century. As far as I can see, this did not change in the fifteenth century.

Chapter 2 – Noble Knights and Aspiring Secretaries: Social Profiles and Demographic Developments among Fifteenth-Century Cypriot Élites

In chapter one, we discussed the nature of the different aristocratic groups in Cyprus in the late Middle Ages and touched upon the question of social hierarchies. We have seen that various groups were in a socio-economic position that can be characterized as aristocratic. These groups included the nobility stemming from the Crusader families which had settled on Cyprus in the thirteenth century, several Greek and Oriental Christian families, and various groups of foreign immigrants who eventually integrated into the Cypriot aristocracy[450].

In the following chapter, I will discuss the character and development of these groups during the fifteenth century as well as the question of social mobility. As shown in the introduction, research on society in the fifteenth century has been rather one-sided and has often focused only on the composition of the nobility[451]. If instead we think about each of the aristocratic groups separately, a more differentiated perspective on the social and economic situation of the Cypriot élite can be gained. I will therefore attempt a separate prosopographical characterization of each group: the nobility (ch. 2.1), the new aristocracy (ch. 2.2) and the Western immigrants (ch. 2.3). Who were the people that composed them? Where did they come from, and what were their living conditions? What was their financial income? These basic prosopographical data will then allow us to analyse other aspects of these groups, such as social organization and mobility. How were the various groups structured, and what kind of social dynamics did they follow throughout the century? Did they flourish or decline? Who climbed socially within the groups, and how was this achieved?

For the discussion of these data, I will use timeline-graphs visualizing the periods in which families appear in the sources (see e. g. **fig. 1**). This will afford an overview of the composition of the groups in different periods. It must be said in advance, however, that the data is rather patchy in places. Not all families are documented well over the period, and some appear only very rarely in the sources. Therefore, all quantitative data should be read with caution, and I will discuss uncertain cases and the pitfalls they entail when appropriate.

2.1 The Nobility

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Cypriot nobility was a powerful social group with a long history. However, Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg was convinced that the Genoese war of 1372-1374 and the expulsion of many nobles from Cyprus in 1374 that resulted from the Cypriot defeat had a great impact on the demography and strength of this group[452]. In order to re-examine this question, it is necessary to analyse the composition of the Cypriot nobility before 1374 and compare it to the situation resulting from these crucial events[453].

In the years before 1374, the nobility was a rather heterogeneous but stable group, consisting of older lineages and newer noble families in close to equal parts, plus some few (mostly foreign) individuals who had integrated into this highly respected élite. About half (50 %) of the noble families had come to Cyprus as early as the thirteenth century[454]. Examples are the well-known Ibelin, Giblet, Caffran, Nores and Montolive families[455]. Some of them, such as the Soissons and the Giblet, had come to Cyprus directly after Guy's acquisition. They had been Guy's supporters in the Holy

450 Cf. esp. ch. 1.3.

451 Cf. p. 11 ff.

452 See Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 814; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 55 and cf. p. 12.

453 The analysis draws on a range of sources, including the lists of nobles exiled at the end of the Genoese conflict in 1374, as well as the *Lignages d'Outremer* (Lignages d'Outremer [Nielen]), which lists family lineages in the Holy Land and Cyprus, the contemporary chronicles, and various notarial documents.

454 The calculation includes all families of the nobility which were only mentioned in the exiling lists and are therefore rather uncertain, see below for a more detailed analysis. If we left these families out of the calculation, the percentage of old families would be even higher, at 63,6 % (35 of 55 families). For the sources recording these families and their residence in Cyprus, see **tab. 1**, p. 173 ff.

455 A full list of the families is as follows: Ibelin, Brie, Milmars, d'Antioche, Montolive, Verny, Chappes, Fleury, Bon, Grenier, Malembeq, Beduin, Visconte, Caffran, Picquigny, de la Blanchegarde, de la Baume, Tiberiade, Montgesard, Dampierre, Soissons, Scandelion, Amar, Le Buffle, Gaurelle, Four, Le Moine, Nevilles, Villiers, Nores (for a short early history of this family, see Edbury, Murder 226. Nicolaou-Konnari, Francesco Patrizi; Nicolaou-Konnari, L'identité en diaspora and Nikolaou-Konnarē, Kyprioi tēs diasporas has traced the family history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.), Morphou/de Plessie (this is the same family, once called by the surname of their ancestor, Lorence de Plessie, and once by the name of their important fief Morphou, see Lignages d'Outremer [Nielen] 125), Babin (for a short history of this family, see Edbury,

Land. Some families also came from Poitou in France, where Guy's family originated. Other Levant families immigrated to Cyprus after the conflict over the minority of King Henry I of Lusignan around 1232. They intermarried with the already established families[456]. The reconquest of great parts of the Holy Land by the Muslims from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards then led to a steady influx of Frankish Levant families into Cyprus. Moreover, many Westerners, e. g. from Italy, joined the nobility during the thirteenth century[457]. According to Peter Edbury, »they were eventually to transform the original predominantly French-speaking ruling class into a more heterogeneous, cosmopolitan group[458]«.

The Cypriot nobility was therefore already heterogeneous at the beginning of the fourteenth century. However, this century saw other families integrating into the group that made up the other half of the nobility. They were either foreigners or Latin Cypriot burgesses who climbed the social ladder and became noble, though many of them are only mentioned in one source and their history is unclear. The Camardas and the Coste families are examples for such lineages. Both are said to have been Armenians, although the case of the Coste is unclear[459]. The Conches and Antiaume in turn had certainly been Latin burgesses before the fourteenth century[460], just like the Colée family. The latter is first known in 1302, when a member of the family represented the countess of Tripoli Marie de Jerusalem. A certain Jean de Colée played a role during the Genoese conflict (1372-1374) though, when he was sent to the Genoese as a hostage, they told the Cypriot king to send members of important families instead, illustrating how this family was still on the rise[461].

Some noble lineages appear in the sources only as late as the 1350s. The most important are the Crolissa and the Moustazo. The Crolissa seem to have been former Latin Cypriot burgesses. They took their name from a village on the Carpas peninsula[462]. In contrast, we know nothing about the origins of the Moustazo family[463]. Most of the newer families mentioned above seem to have been well integrated into the nobility by the end of the century, bearing office (Thomas Mahe, for example, was *bailli de la secrète* in 1395/6) and marrying into other noble families (Philippe Coste e. g. was married to Alice de Giblet[464]).

Murder 226-227), Nephin (according to Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 607, this family had got their name from the place Enfe near Tripoli. When Tripoli was taken in 1288, they transferred to Cyprus), Prevost (according to Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 362 n. 1, the Prevost are in the *Lignages d'Outremer*. I have not been able to find them there, but they are counted amid the oldest families on Cyprus also by Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire I 138), Nevaire (this family probably had as their ancestor Philippe de Navarre, who according to the *Lignages d'Outremer* married Stephanie de Morphou, but [if it is the same Philippe] also Stephanie de Milmars, and had children with both, see Lignages d'Outremer [Nielen] 125-126. 239. Not much is heard of this family in the fourteenth century, but the tombstone of a certain Eudes de Navarra has been preserved, probably from the fourteenth century [Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 153] and Jacques de Nevaire was exiled in 1374 [Mas Latrie [ed.], Nouvelles preuves I 74). A certain Barthelemy fell in the battle of Chirokitia (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 685; Machairas, Exēgēsis [Konnarē/Pierēs] 452, MS V: δε νεβερία]. Whether Juan de Navarre, one of James II's supporters, came from the same family, or was rather a Catalan immigrant, is unclear (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 166: Τζαν Ναβάρον. 228: Τζουάν Αναβάρρον; Boustronios, Narrative [Coureas] §§ 118. 191 and n. 347; Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 422: Gioan Navarro. For the statistical analysis, I have opted to count him as a Catalan.), and finally Giblet (this family name is a bit complicated, as the family branched out considerably in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Rey, Seigneurs de Giblet treats all branches as of one family, although one branch came to Cyprus already in the 1190s [p. 418], while members of the other four branches only took refuge in Cyprus at the end of the thirteenth century [esp. p. 407]. The relationship between the four branches on the one hand and the other branch which came to Cyprus early on the other hand cannot be established [p. 417]. This made Edbury, Murder 226 consider them as two families. The sources at the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century do not disclose to which family (branch) the mentioned individuals belonged. However, as their number is relatively few, I consider them as part of one wider family. Another family with the name Giblet among the Syrian families of Cyprus is distinct from the noble family, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 174.).

456 Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien 160. Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 190-191 and Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 18-19.

457 Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien 159-161.

458 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 22.

459 For the Camardas, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 182, n. 1. – Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 139 suggests that the Coste were Armenians. A Hector de Costa is mentioned as an Armenian knight who fell in the conflict with the Mamlukes in 1426 (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 657; Machairas, Exēgēsis [Konnarē/Pierēs] 434; Strambaldi, Chronique [Mas Latrie] 270), but this is the only connection between the family and Armenia that I have found. A Petrus Costa signed a document issued in Acre as early as 1182, an Adam Costa did the same duty in 1197 (Pauli [ed.], Codice diplomatico 71. 89). Later, one Philippe Costa de Accon, who was living in Cyprus, received a marriage dispense *post matrimonium contractum* on 8 October 1318 (Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 66, n. 44). If indeed all these men belonged to the same family, this would relate them to Acre rather than to Cilicia. While editing the chronicle of Strambali, René de Mas Latrie postulated that a later Philippe Coste, who was exiled from Cyprus in 1374 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Nouvelles preuves I 75) and had married Alice de Giblet, had come from Armenia to Cyprus himself, but he gives no proof for this (Strambaldi, Chronique [Mas Latrie] 222, see also Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 332 for this man). The question again is whether Hector de Costa actually belonged to the same Coste family as the members in the fourteenth century, cf. Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 204, n. 1 (if his designation as Armenian is at all correct). If that was the case, perhaps Hector's designation as Armenian was a long-standing memory of the family's origin, but it is impossible to be certain. Other members of the Costa family are mentioned in 1468/1469 in Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 150. 204. 230, but again it is unclear whether this is actually the same family.

460 In 1274 for example, a certain Gile de Conches was burgess in Acre (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 677), while Raymon de Conches was counted among the knights in 1329 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 725). Cf. also Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 259. For the Antiaume family as burgesses in Acre, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 169 (1205). 330 (1243). 457 (1277); cf. also Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 4; Rey, Familles de Ducange 606. In the MS Marciana, Francese app. 20, according to Lignages d'Outremer (Nielen) 42 written partly around 1280 and partly at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a certain Balian Antiaume was married to a noble woman of the family Maugastiau, and registered as still living (Lignages d'Outremer [Nielen] 76). We can thus assume that their ascendance must have taken place around that time. – The name Chivides also appears for the first time in this period. This family took their name from the homonymous *casale* in the diocese of Limassol. A *seigneur de Chivides* appears at the end of the fourteenth century. According to the *Lignages*, this individual, who may have been an ancestor of the later Chivides, was a grandson of a Nevilles. In this case, the Chivides would have been of old noble descent, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 120, n. 1; Lignages d'Outremer (Nielen) 75.

461 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 91 and n. 5; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 285. 317. 318. 361 (passage about the hostages). 362. Another new noble family were the Mahe. One family member appears to have known Arabic, which has led to speculation that this family might have been of Syrian origin: the priest and canon of Tarsus Jean Mahe translated for the Jacobites, Maronites and Nestorians during the Nicosia synod in 1340, see Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio (Mansi) XXVI, c. 376; cf. Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195 n. 4.

462 For Crolissa or Acrolissia, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 154, n. 4.

463 Cf. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 88, who speculates about an origin from Sicily, but without any further information.

464 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423-425; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 529.

The status of some families, however, remains unclear: the Langlais family for example appear in Cyprus from the beginning of the fourteenth century, but we do not know if they were noble then. The first to be mentioned as knight as far as I know, is Raymon Langlais in the Munich list of exiled knights in 1374[465]. The same is true for the Yzaq family. While a certain Pierre served as an ambassador to the Templars in 1307, the first (and last) knight to be known from this family was Hamerin from the 1374 list[466]. The case of the Scaface family is even more difficult. They resided in Cyprus from the beginning of the fourteenth century[467] and intermarried with the Langlais before 1331. Bartholomeo Scaface, canon in Nicosia and later also treasurer and canon in Limassol, testified to a treaty in 1378[468]. According to Machairas, Bartholomeo was even sent on a diplomatic mission to the pope to appease the tensions created by the murder of Peter I[469]. Thus, the family seems to have played an important political role in the middle of the fourteenth century[470]. However, in 1338, two members of this family who witnessed a treaty with Genoa were registered as witnesses for the Genoese and not on the part of the Cypriot nobility[471].

Moreover, several families mentioned in one of the lists of exiled nobles in 1374 are otherwise unknown (comprising a substantial 22,5 % of all nobles in the period). These are difficult to classify: were they less well-known families, immigrants, or social climbers? Some of these names appear connected to locations in Cyprus. This is the case for the Mora, the Sunda, the Limnat and the Finie families[472]. Perhaps they were social climbers similar to the Crolissa, who took their name from their hometown. For others we cannot infer anything apart from a possibly French family name[473].

In this period, some few individuals who had either recently immigrated to Cyprus, or were social climbers, may also be counted as noble. These men usually integrated into the nobility owing to their professional positions. Among the foreigners was Antonio de Bergamo, a *doctor artis et medicinae* from Northern Italy who probably came to Cyprus in the 1360s[474]. He later rose to importance in the Cypriot state, as I discuss below. Another Italian, Jean Salazins, was a jurist from Padua. He first appears around 1367. Jean was exiled to Genoa in 1374 and stayed there until 1383 at least. He must have returned eventually to Cyprus because he died on the island, probably in 1387[475]. Both Antonio[476] and Jean are labelled as nobles on their tombstones and must have been part of the group of foreign jurists and doctors on whose professional knowledge the Cypriot kingdom depended during the fourteenth century[477].

465 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74. A Simon Langlais had married Marguerite Scaface who died in 1331, but he is not called noble. See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 262; cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 605; Mas Latrie, Inscriptions de Chypre 514.

466 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 109; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74.

467 Mas Latrie, Inscriptions de Chypre 514 and n. 27; Rey, Familles de Ducange 592; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 557; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 262.

468 For the treaty, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. For the marriage alliance, see Rey, Familles de Ducange 592. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 262, p. 136 states that they also forged a marriage alliance with the Conches family, but I have not been able to identify the source for this information. For Bartholomeo's position as canon and treasurer of Limassol, see Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-12, pp. 26-28 (Clemens VII), β-42, pp. 300-302 (Benedict XIII).

469 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 310.

470 Cf. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 262, pp. 135-136. Imhaus discusses their membership in the nobility and argues that Stephen of Lusignan does not count them among the noble families. But as has been seen while discussing the various »noble« lists, this is completely irrelevant, especially for a family of the fourteenth century, cf. p. 29 ff.

471 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 167. Three other families which are even more unclear are the Fresenge, the Roussiau and the Scolar. A Jacques Fresenge was tenant in the district of Limassol in 1367 (see Documents chypriotes [Richard] 83. 90. 91. 100). Kechagioglou equals the name Fresenge with Frases (see the index of persons in Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 516). A Simon Frases married a member of Charlotte de Bourbon's entourage according to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 642. A Balian Frases commanded soldiers against James II in 1458 (cf. Lusignan, Description fol. 83; Lusignano, Chorographia fol. 83; Hill, History III 551 and n. 3) and later played an important role during James II's reign according to Bustron (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 64. 66. 194. 206). However, nothing allows us to establish whether this family (if indeed it is one family and not two) was noble or not. I therefore do not number them among the nobility. – The Roussiau family is very difficult, too. A certain Alice Roussiau died in 1382. She had been married to a member of the Prevost family (Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 25). A Simon Roussiau was priest in the diocese of Limassol in 1367 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 86. 93. 94). It is entirely unclear whether a certain Arnaou Rous who had a fief from James II in 1468, belonged to the same family (Livre des remembrances [Richard] no. 184; cf. Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 421). As the sources are very difficult to interpret, I have not included this family into the database of the nobility, although Alice was married to a Prevost. As it is so unclear whether Arnaou belonged to the same family, inclusion into the database could distort the data in one or the other direction. – The Scolar are also mysterious. Reinier and Daniel Scolar both lived on Cyprus in the 1370s. Machairas mentions Daniel among the knights who were not exiled from Cyprus in 1374, while Reinier played an important role in politics in the decades to come (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 563; Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 405-406. 412. 420. Cf. ch. 4.1, p. 112.) However, it is unclear whether they belonged to a family resident in Cyprus or if they were immigrants. They disappear after Reinier's death. As their situation is so unclear, the Scolar will be included in the analysis as individuals, but not as (disappearing) family.

472 Mora, Sunda and Finie appear in Machairas' list of knights who stayed in Cyprus (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkin] § 563), while the Limnat are both in the Munich list (Mas Latrie [ed.], Nouvelles preuves I 73-74) and in Machairas' list of exiled (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 542). *Sunda*: this could mean the casale Sinda/Sinta 6 km south of Yenagra in the Measoria (Livre des remembrances [Richard] 154 and n. 3), which is mentioned by Machairas various times (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 32. 454. 455. 654). See Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 53. *Mora*: according to Dawkins in Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563 a place name short for Morabit. See Menardos, Toponymikon 405. *Finie*/*Finune*/*Finue*: the version Finio which Dawkins uses in his translation (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 563), is not in any of the MS, which have the three versions above (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Konnarē/Pierēs] 393). Fini or Phini could be meant which is a village near Platres (cf. Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 241, n. 3). This place could be the origin of the family name. *Limnat*: Limnati is a village about thirteen miles northwest of Limassol, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 659, n. 4.

473 I. e. the families Candoufle, Poret, Roze, Beves, Jassoulin, Lengo, de la Villa, Reties, Suar, Poitiers, de l'Olives/Lolives, Pi, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 542. 563; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 72-76.

474 For this personage see p. 76.

475 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 83; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73 and n. 10; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 611, p. 320 has his tombstone: *Ci git le noble et sage doctour des lois et decres messire Johan de Sarazins, de Padoua, honourable juge de […] XXVII, que Dieu ait l'arme* ('Here lies the noble and wise doctor of laws and decrees sir Johan de Sarazins from Padua, honourable judge of […] XXVII, may God keep his soul'). Concerning the date of his death, Richard opines that he must have died either in 1377 or in 1387, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 83, n. 5. But as he was still alive in 1383, the date must without doubt be the latter one.

476 For Antonio's tombstone, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 147.

477 For these officials who were often notaries, see Richard, Aspects du notariat 211-212, and cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 184-186.

Guillaume de Charni, on the other hand, seems to have been a French knight who went on various embassies on behalf of the Lusignans and who remained in Cyprus after 1374[478]. As he is only mentioned by Machairas, we should take care with this information. The same is true for Peter Cassi, a follower of both Peter I and Peter II[479], and a certain Piero Pisani, who is mentioned among the knights in Cyprus after 1374[480] – perhaps he was another Venetian immigrant. Another unclear case is Guillaume Fort. He is among those exiled in 1374 but reappears in the Haute Court in 1391. His origins and family connections are unknown[481].

Two Byzantine immigrants are well-known. Joannes Laskares Kalopheros had become friends with Peter I, and married Marie de Milmars around 1367. But in 1370 he was accused of having conspired with Peter I's widow Eleanor and deprived of Marie's estates which he had – unlawfully – inherited. He was imprisoned and probably only released late in 1372, after which he left Cyprus for ever[482]. The second well-known Byzantine immigrant, Georgios Monomachos, played an important role in the conflict with the Genoese[483].

There were also some social climbers from Syrian or Greek families: Thomas Barech, Thibault Belfaradge and Jean Gorab are well-known cases, but there was also Nicholas Billy, whom Machairas designates as *bailli de la secréte* (Gr. *praktoras*) and numbers among the knights staying on Cyprus in 1374[484]. However, almost none of these *homines novi* founded enduring families within the Cypriot nobility, at least not that I know of. Apart from Antonio de Bergamo, whose daughter married a Morphou[485], and Nicholas Billy, whose family is still found in later sources, all these names disappear again with the death of their bearers.

The evidence suggests that at our point of departure in 1372/1374 the Cypriot nobility was by no means a completely homogeneous group. Newcomers from Latin Cypriot burgess families, as well as Armenian and Western foreigners and some few Syrians and Greeks were part of its ranks. However, around half of the noble families could still look back on a long history in the Lusignan kingdom, and even back to the time of the crusades. Such families generally furnished the Lusignan state with high officials (see chapter four), while many of the younger or less well-known families, such as the Limnat, Sunda or Candoufle, were never involved in ruling the state.

During the eventful fifteenth century, the composition of the nobility changed dramatically. Until 1469, during James II' reign, almost two thirds of the families registered around 1372 disappear from the sources, and in contrast to the preceeding century, almost no new Latin families entered the nobility. This is visible in the timeline presented in **figure 1**, where I show all the families of the nobility with the dates on which they were last recorded in Cyprus[486]. The end-date 1469 of the calculation results from the choice of the last source: the *Livre des remembrances* from 1468-1469 is an important source for many of the surviving families[487].

Depending on the calculation, the percentage of disappearing lineages varies. If we follow a conservative approach and only consider the families whose origins and standings are certain, then the nobility in 1373 was comprised of 55 families[488]. 35 of these families disappear from the sources before 1473, a drop of 63,6 %. If, on the other hand, we include in the calculation those families from the 1374 exiling lists which we cannot otherwise identify (marked in italics in **fig. 1**; for these families, see above), the percentage is even higher. In this case, the total of noble families in 1373 would be 71, with 51 families disappearing (71,8 %). The percentages are illustrated in **figure 2** and **figure 3**. Even the conservative calculation manifests an exceptionally high turnover, especially if we compare it to other nobilities in Europe: studies have shown that the extinction rate of noble

478 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 310. 342. 352.

479 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 119. 163. 190. 290. 393. 407. 432. 448. 449. 469; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 278-279. 306.

480 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.

481 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423. The name Fort/Forte has to be distinguished from the Four family, which disappear after 1374, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 380, who registers both Four family members and Guillaume Fort among the exiled.

482 Jacoby, Calophéros 191-194. During Peter I's rule, an influx of foreigners from the West might have challenged the composition of the nobility, too. Peter had invited these Westerners to join his crusade and had awarded them fiefs. However, most of these men left the island after Peter's murder and did not play any further role in the demographic processes within the nobility (see Edbury, Murder 229).

483 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 362. 446. Only one other aristocratic Byzantine immigrant in Cyprus is known to me until the end of the fourteenth century. Therefore, Byzantine immigrants will not receive a chapter of their own during the analysis. The immigrant in question is Manuel Rhaoul, who was in Cyprus from at least 1396 until 1402. Rhaoul was a probably pro-Latin Anti-Palamite and is said to have been influential at the Cypriot court in the letters of his Byzantine correspondents, see Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus (Dennis) li-lii. 86-89 (no. 32); Correspondance de Manuel Calecas (Loenertz) 77-78. 231-233. 249-254. 266-267. 275-278.

484 For Barech, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 563. 599. 607-608; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 350. For Belfaradge, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 69-70; Coureas, Latin Church II 378-379; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 214. 403-404. 556-579. 581; Otten, Féodalité 91; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 629; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 341-346. For Billy, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563. For the office of *bailli de la secrète*, see A1.2.5, p. 171.

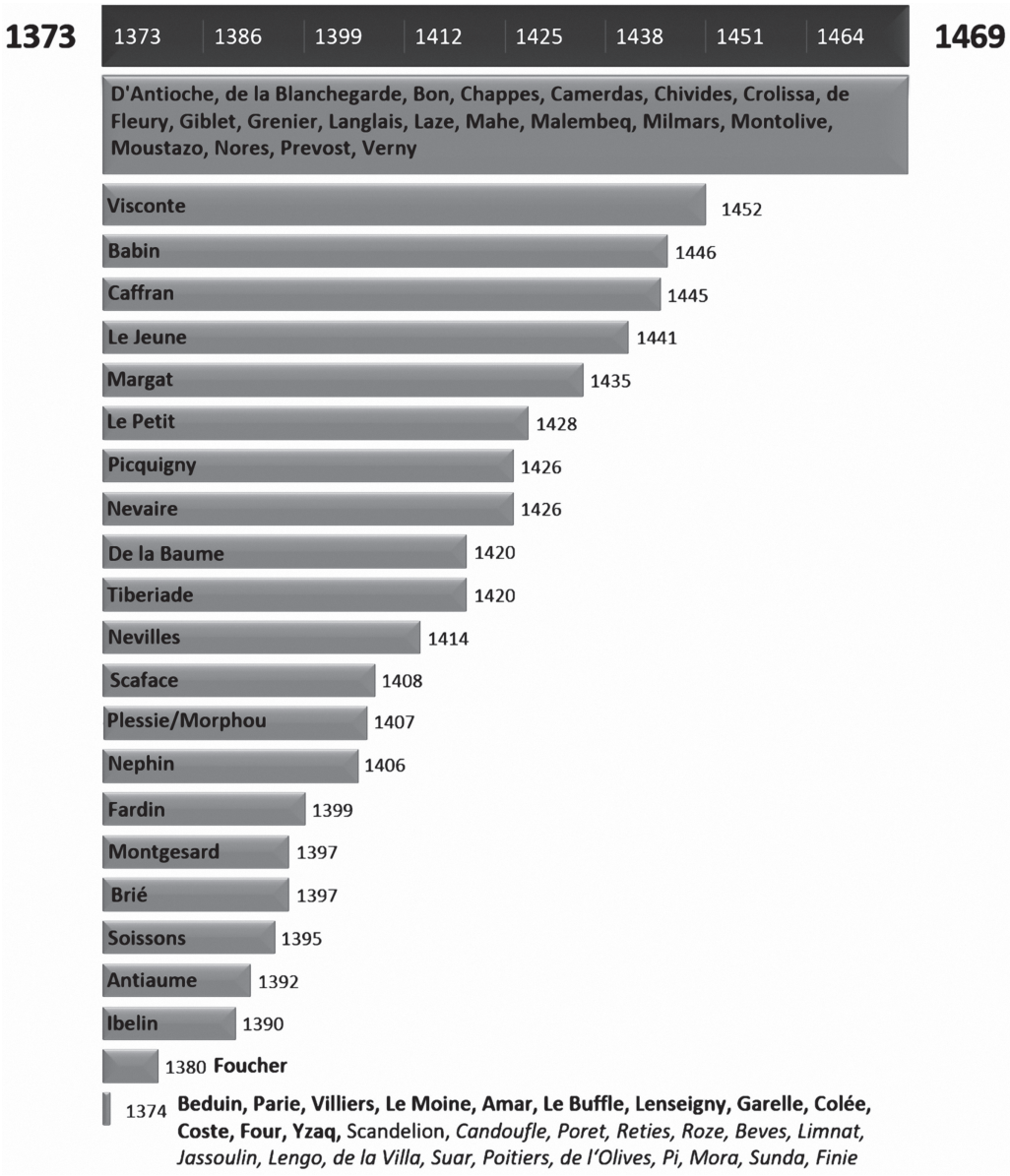
485 See ch. 3.3, p. 92.

486 An overview of the families and their sources can be found in **tab. 1**, p. 173 ff.

487 See Livre des remembrances (Richard) passim. I have included all the families in the calculation who went into exile with Charlotte of Lusignan as »existing« on the island in the 1460s, since my main interest lies in the period before their exile, when they were still in Cyprus, and not on the changes during the civil war (for the source on these exiled families, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209).

488 I count the Dampierre family into the disappearing families, too, although they are technically last mentioned ca. 1372, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 400. However, they were an important family and do not appear in later sources. Nevertheless, they do not appear in **fig. 1**, since they had already disappeared by 1373. Moreover, the Sur family is not considered in the calculations, since it is very unclear if the Sur family which was extant in the fifteenth century is the same family as the Sur of the fourteenth century. It is possible that the Sur family in the fifteenth century were Syrian, and therefore not the traditional noble Crusader family. See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 285. 341 for the family of the fourteenth century, and Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 150. 161. 176. 184. 191. 204. 212; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526 for the family in the fifteenth century. Most of the latter sources show family members in positions which were typical for an ascending Syrian family (see ch. 2.2).

Fig. 1 Noble families between 1373 and 1469.



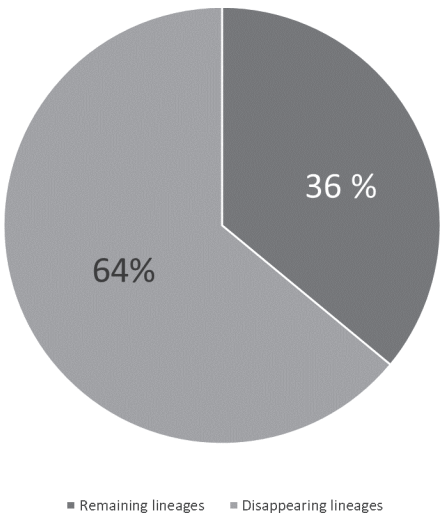


Fig. 2 Disappearing lineages 1374-1469, conservative calculation.

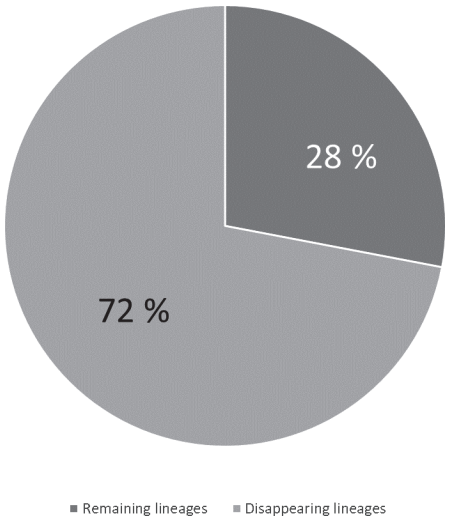


Fig. 3 Disappearing lineages 1374-1469, calculation with uncertain families.

lineages in France, Scotland, Flanders or Germany usually lies at ca. 50 % per century[489].

However, we should keep in mind that the numbers only offer a rough outline of the development. A few families which I have numbered among the surviving lineages are only mentioned twice in the whole century, such as the Malembeq who, according to Jean Richard, had lived in Cyprus since 1233. In 1367, they possessed Kophinou as fief and one Guy Malembeq was exiled in 1374. But then we do not hear anything about this family until a certain Philippe appears as the owner of a fief in the *Livre des remembrances* in 1468[490]. It is therefore possible that we could attest the survival of more lineages if we had more sources. However, it is likewise impossible to verify that these men actually belonged to the same families by relying on the name alone. In any case, some families disappear from the sources very suddenly after having played important roles in Cypriot society. In these cases, we can be rather certain of their disappearance. This phenomenon concerns at least ten families. Five more families do not drop out quite as obviously, but still go from relatively prominent to unmentioned[491]. Therefore, we can assume that the numbers of disappearing families indeed mirror the tendency of the development, despite the estimated number of unknown cases. Even if we allow for a miscalculation of for example 10 %, the number of disappearing families would still be higher than half the nobility (52,5 % with the conservative calculation, 63 % otherwise). Rudt de Collenberg was therefore right to postulate the disappearance of a great number of noble families[492].

Three questions arise from the numbers above. Firstly, why and in which context did families disappear? Secondly, what consequences did their disappearance have for social mobility within the nobility? And thirdly, does the extinction of lineages point to the diminishment of the nobility as a whole?

Let us begin with the first question. The extinction of lineages is a classic phenomenon in every nobility. It is usually tied to the system of primogeniture, and is influenced by cases of child-less marriages and of marriages that produced only daughters[493]. However, the reasons for the decline of the nobility in fifteenth-century Cyprus are traditionally attributed to the exiling of nobles after the Genoese war of 1372-1374, the Mamluk invasion in 1426, and various waves of the plague which devastated the island in 1348, 1419-1420, 1438-1439 and 1449-1451[494].

After the murder of King Peter I by his own vassals in 1369, his son Peter II was proclaimed king. During Peter II's coronation as king of Jerusalem, a brawl between Genoese and Venetians became ugly. The Cypriots took the side of the Venetians, and war with Genoa, with whom relations had been bad for a considerable time, broke out. The Genoese purported to revenge the late Peter I, but probably aimed to gain at least part of Cyprus as a stronghold for their trade in the Eastern Mediterranean[495]. Two years later the war ended badly for the Cypriots, and at least seventy Cypriot noble hostages were exiled to Italy and Chios[496].

The lists of exiled nobles that have come down to us[497] illustrate that the events in 1374 had indeed a substantial impact on the nobility. If we use the conservative calculation, 13 of 56 (23,2 %) family names do not reappear in Cypriot sources after 1374 (see the names at the very bottom of **fig. 1**[498]). If we include the uncertain families mentioned above (noted in italics at the bottom of **fig. 1**), 29 lineages,

489 For the province Forez in France, see Perroy, Social Mobility 31: between 30.7 % and 55 % of all lineages disappeared there each century between 1200 and 1500. For Bayeux in North France, see Wood, Demographic Pressure 8: between 1463 and 1666 (thus, more than one century), 63 % of the noble lineages in his study died out. Grant, Extinction 225-231 has analysed the Scottish nobility in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Padgett, Open Élite n. 25 has computed an extinction rate of 51.2 % for 1325-1424 and 37,1 % for 1400-1500 from his study. Buylaert, Crisis of the Nobility 7-9 has calculated an extinction rate of 58.4 % for the nobility in Flanders between the third quarter of the fourteenth century and the turn of the sixteenth century. Counting 125 years, this rate also seems to be in the normal range. McFarlane, Nobility 144-145 has found extinction rates of ca. 66 % for both centuries between 1300 and 1500, but he used not just the mere survival of a lineage as criteria, but the extinction in the direct male line (McFarlane, Nobility 172, cf. Padgett, Open Élite n. 25), which makes the margin of surviving families much smaller. Damen, Knighthood in Brussels 264-265, however, has also calculated a rather high turnover of two thirds of the knightly nobility in Brabant between 1406 and 1475. Padgett, Open Élite 368 in contrast has found that élite families in Renaissance Florence had a much higher survival rate – only between ca. 17 % and 27 % of lineages died out in the centuries between 1325 and 1480.

490 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166 n. 13; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 84; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166. In two cases, I have decided to count a family as extinct although people of that name appear again in the fifteenth century. One is the Coste family. Philippe Coste was part of the company of exiled according to Montolive. Nothing more is known of the family. However, in 1468, one Paou Cost appears in the Livre des remembrances. He was married to one Catelina Miral, and this together with the spelling of his name suggests that he should rather be seen as a Catalan immigrant (see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 204 and n. 1, no. 230). The second case is the de la Baume family. The de la Baume disappear from the sources after 1420 (see Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 643 for the last mention), but a certain Thierry de la Baume was chaplain in the Hospitaller order and acquired a priory in Cyprus in 1462. As the de la Baume were an important family in France, too, we cannot be certain at all whether this man came from the same family, so I have opted for not counting him. See Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 86-87.

491 The ten obvious cases are the Dampierre, Beduin, Le Jeune, Ibelin, Brie, Montgesard, Plessie/Morphou, Tiberiade, Caffran, Babin. The Brie family for example disappears very suddenly after Jean de Brie's death just before 1400. Jean had been one of the most important statesmen of his time, acting as main regent after Peter II's death (see ch. 4.1). He seems to have died without offspring (cf. Mas Latrie, Historie II 398-400), and we do not hear anything of the family anymore (see below). The five other families are Margat, Le Petit, Visconte, Nevilles, Soissons. For the sources on all these families, see **tab. 1**, p. 173 ff.

492 Cf. p. 12.

493 Cf. Contamine, European Nobility 100-101.

494 Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 814; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 55; Hill, History II 307 for the pest in 1348. For the pest in 1419/1420, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 643, for the one in 1438, § 707 and for all waves, see Edbury, The Last Lusignans 160.

495 Hill, History II 382-385; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 155.

496 Hill, History II 407-413; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 207-209.

497 Cf. p. 29 ff.

498 I have not counted the Dampierre into these calculations, as they are last mentioned already in 1372, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 400. However, they were one of the most important and of the eldest families in the nobility, so they are counted into the disappearing families in general. See Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 137; Rey, Familles de Ducange 535-538. The Four family is also counted among those disappearing after 1374, although Machairas mentioned Simon de Four among the knights staying in Cyprus. However, there is no other mention of this family afterwards. See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.

40,8 % of the nobility, left the island and never appear in our sources again.

Perhaps the exile also had an impact on other families who remained in Cyprus but died out before 1400. The Soissons family is a case in point. In 1374, three of their male family members were exiled, Philippe, Balian and Arnaud. Philippe and Balian never returned, while Arnaud probably came back to Cyprus with James I[499]. Other members of the family remained on the island, but they seem to have been struck by bad fortune as far as their offspring were concerned. A certain Pierre married Louisa Babin in 1387, but no children from this marriage are known. Arnaud probably did not have any children, either. A certain Jean Soissons had two sons who died as infants. Jean's two sisters married into the Lusignan and Nores families[500]. The name Soissons vanished after 1395. This was not a direct consequence of events in 1374, but perhaps Philippe and Balian would have had sons to continue the family name, had they stayed in Cyprus. However, other families which disappeared before 1400 did not possess any exiled family members (that we know of). This is true for the Montgesard family, which had been influential in the nobility for a long time, but also for the Fardin[501] family.

The Genoese war may have also had consequences for the social status of nobles owing to economical difficulties, since the defeat was also a financial catastrophe. The Genoese claimed 2 million Florins indemnity and an annual tribute of 40,000 Florins, as well as 90,000 Florins to cover the expenses for the expedition. Peter II also had to hand over the important trade town of Famagusta as a security[502]. The payments and the loss of trade tax from Famagusta drained Cypriot finances, and all this probably also reduced noble estate revenues[503].

However, the sources offer no information on nobles losing their estates for financial reasons, such as we know them from other regions of Europe. Neither do we possess much information on the way nobles may have adapted to the economic changes, for example by acquiring more estates or engaging in business[504]. Nobles did use the services of such men as the Audeth to borrow money, and the social rise of some Greeks and Oriental Christians was certainly due to their financial assets, as we will see later[505]. This may have corresponded to a despondency of parts of the nobility, but it is impossible to trace for lack of sources. However, less well-known disappearing families in Cyprus, the Fardin for example[506], may have been victims of financial and social decline.

The Mamluk invasion in 1426 is usually said to be another crucial moment for the nobility. Conflicts with the Mamluks in Egypt had increased after 1410. Catalans using Cyprus as a base frequently raided Mamluk territory. Moreover, Egypt and Cyprus were competitors in sugar production and in trade with the Turks, and tension between the protagonists grew in the 1420s, with raids by the Catalans and retribution by the Mamluks[507]. In 1424, 1425 and 1426, sultan Barsbay finally launched expeditions against Cyprus. Having suffered substantial losses during the first two expeditions, the third conflict in 1426 turned into a catastrophe for Cyprus. Cypriots and Mamluks met for battle near the village of Chirokitia on 7 July, and the Cypriots suffered a crushing defeat. King Janus was taken captive and between 1,000 and 2,000 Cypriots were killed in battle. Janus was transferred to Cairo, where he remained a prisoner until 1427. Cyprus was enforced to pay a ransom of 200,000 ducats for the king and a yearly tribute of 5,000 ducats[508].

As an eyewitness, Machairas describes the invasion in devastating tones[509]. The battle of Chirokitia must have been a great shock for the whole kingdom. However, the impact of this conflict on the demography of the nobility was not nearly as crucial as the Genoese war had been. Another look at **figure 1** illustrates this. It shows that, by 1420, almost half of the families known in 1374 had already vanished (25 of 55, conservative calculation). Only eight families disappeared between 1426 and the end of our time span. Of these, only two, the Babin and the Nevaire, mourned losses in Chirokitia, if we can believe Machairas[510]. And only the Nevaire disappear directly after 1426. All the other names in Machairas' list of fallen men belonged either to families which remained active until the end of Lusignan reign, or to people unknown from any other Cypriot sources. The Mamluk invasion therefore does not seem to have had grave consequences for the nobility. Instead it played a more important role on the financial level, as the ransom paid for Janus opened possibilities for many social climbers[511].

We know very little about the consequences of the waves of bubonic plague[512]. Machairas mentions that a member of

499 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-75; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423. 428.

500 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-113, pp. 188-189 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 14. 564-565; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 26.

501 The Fardin are known in Cyprus until 1399, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 6. 64; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 301; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 279. A bishop of Cerenza Johannes who was sent to Cyprus in 1382 bore the same surname, but I have not been able to find out whether he belonged to the Cypriot family in the first place, or not. See Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 675.

502 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 208.

503 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 233.

504 See for example the discussion in Buylaert, Crisis of the Nobility 6-13, which follows the development of noble investments in Flanders.

505 See pp. 47. 72.

506 See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 6. 64; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 301; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 279; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 675. 680.

507 Irwin, Hoi Eisboles 159-165.

508 Irwin, Hoi Eisboles 166-175, for Chirokitia esp. 173-175; Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi 178; Hill, History II 476-487.

509 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 672-692.

510 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685.

511 Cf. ch. 2.2, esp. p. 73.

512 For the discussion on the impact of the plague on the nobility in other regions of Europe, see exemplarily Buylaert, Crisis of the Nobility 10, who among other things points out that in Flanders the economic decline after the great plague did not result in a higher extinction rate of noble families than usual.

the de la Baume family (possibly Hugh, an important statesman in the 1390s, see ch. 4.1) died from the plague in 1419/1420. Charlotte de Bourbon, King Janus' wife, had the same fate in 1422[513]. One of these epidemic waves possibly also wiped out the Tiberiade family[514]. However, there is no other evidence that the plague ravaged the nobility.

In general, the reasons for the disappearance of a lineage were varied. Some lineages simply died out. We know this of three families explicitly. Jacques de Caffran, marshal of Cyprus and son of the famous admiral Pierre who founded the endowment for Cypriot students in Padua, died without male heirs after 1445. The endowment procedures, which were supposed to lie in the hands of family members, fell to the Nores and Crolissa families, who must have been relatives of the Caffran[515]. The Le Jeune lineage was closely related to the Caffran family. Boulogne Le Jeune, married to Jacques de Fleury, died without heirs in 1441. Her husband took her death as a pretext to acquire all her estates for himself[516]. Finally, Jean de Brie, Peter II's second in command, left all his immobile property to the church of Nicosia in 1391. The priests were supposed in return to sing masses for him and his wife. Even if his is not a complete testament, it appears that Jean did not have any children, as his houses are designated as »his heritage« (*son heritaige*[517]). Moreover, he stipulates that the church should only acquire the buildings after the couple's death. Should Jean die first, his wife was to remain in possession of the buildings until her own death[518].

In some cases, the last known member of a disappearing lineage was a cleric. These clerics were often the only family members registered in the sources for decades, and the family name disappears from the documents with their death. Although we cannot know whether other family members unknown to us existed, this process is rather striking. Guy de Nephin for example was archdeacon in Nicosia and received the revenues of canonries both in Nicosia and in Famagusta in 1385 and became *capellanus papae* in the same year. He is the last member of that family to be known for the decades between 1380 and 1400. He died before 1406, when his canonry was given to a successor[519]. The Le Petit, Scaface and Foucher families share similar stories[520].

These stories of extinction lead us to our second question: the social development of the noble group. Since economic information is rare, we may ask which social status the disappearing families possessed in order to assess the degree of decline among the nobility. Did they belong to the margins of the group, or were the great lineages in danger? This question is directly connected with the impact of the disappearance of lineages on the surviving group: did the demographic changes result in social mobility among the remaining nobility?

As seen in chapter one[521], social standing within the nobility depended on wealth and marriage connections, title, office and membership in the High Court. Some families positioned members in high office frequently, while others never held office at all. It seems that the former were also the wealthiest families[522]. If we take these criteria into account, we can conclude that most of the disappearing families were former leading members of the high nobility[523]. The last scions of these families were often high statesmen (e. g. Caffran, Brie, Soissons[524]). In other families, important politicians feature until about one or two decades before the family vanishes from the sources. Here, we can tentatively speak of a decline prior to the disappearance of the male line. Examples are the Babin, the Visconte, the Tiberiade, the Ibelin, and the Nevilles families[525]. Over the century, very few families of the lesser nobility drop out of the sources[526]. An exception are the families that disappeared as a result of Genoese exile, which concerned all echelons of nobility.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate the disappearance of important families. The Ibelin had been the most influential family after the royals as long as Lusignan rule existed. Philippe de Ibelin, sire of Arsur, was an extraordinary personality in his day, and one of Peter I's most important advisors. After his execution by the Genoese (officially as revenge for Peter's assassination), only two other family members are known: Jacqua de Ibelin, who was married to Hodrade Provane, appears in the papal registers in 1382. Her relative Johanna had married Lancelot Babin and received a dispense *post matrimonium contractum* in 1390[527]. These two women were the last Ibelins, and their children no longer bore the family name. The Tiberiade are a similar case. Jean de Tiberi-

513 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 643. 648.

514 Nicholas de Tiberiade had married Margarita Soulouan in 1411, but we do not know of any children from this match, and later we do not hear anything from this family any more, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 52; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-24, pp. 433-434 (John XXIII); cf. **tab. 3**, p. 179 f.

515 Caffran made his testament on 10 April 1445, see Ganchou, Rébellion 113 and 106 for his relationship to the Fleury family. This is the last we hear of him. For the endowment procedures after his death, see Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126.

516 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 148-150.

517 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 398.

518 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 398-399.

519 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-69, α-70, α-71, pp. 114-120 (Clemens VII), β-24, pp. 261-263, β-34, pp. 279-281 (Benedict XIII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 10. 12. 26.

520 For the sources on these families, see **tab. 1**, p. 173 ff.

521 See ch. 1.3, from p. 45.

522 Cf. for example the wealth of Jacques de Fleury, King John II's chef de conseil, during the 1440s (Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157 and ch. 1.3, p. 45).

523 These families were the Caffran, Brie, Soissons, Babin, Visconte, Tiberiade, Ibelin, Nevilles, Le Jeune, de la Baume, Morphou, Montgesard, Antiaume, Dampierre.

524 Cf. their careers in chs. 4.1 and 4.2.

525 For the sources concerning these families, see **tab. 1**.

526 Among them I number the Foucher, Fardin and Scaface families, as well as the Margat and possibly the Nephin and Picquigny. Although the Picquigny are mentioned often in the *Lignages d'Outremer* (see Lignages d'Outremer (Nielen) 76. 84. 114. 117. 118. 121. 123. 125. 127. 159) by the beginning of the fifteenth century, they did not hold office very often. Not one member of this family sat in the Haute Court between 1374 and 1426.

527 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 5. 16; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-26, p. 50, α-132, p. 217 (Clemens VII).

ade, marshal of Armenia and an important politician, died in 1402[528]. After him, we know of three marriages: Nicholas de Tiberiade married Margarita Soulouan (*Sulivanis*) in 1411. His relative Bella had married Raymon Albi in 1407, and in 1420, a certain Paul de Tiberiade was Alice Prevost's husband[529]. However, neither Nicholas nor Paul appear in politics. Moreover, the families with which the Tiberiade became connected were newcomers, the Albi from France, the Soulouan perhaps Syrian[530]. We may therefore ask if these matches were cases of »marrying down«. In any case, we do not hear anything of this family after 1420. As has been suggested above, they were perhaps victims of the plague.

In contrast, the surviving families were of mixed social status. The database counts twenty-one surviving noble families. Thirteen of these lineages were likely members of the lesser and middle nobility[531], judging by their participation in political power and wealth, while eight families were clearly members of the high nobility[532]. Of the high nobility, five[533] families managed to retain or even enhance their positions during the century, while three[534] declined. The Milmars family renders an example for the latter case. They were a well-known and active family in the fourteenth century. Several members played important military roles under Peter I and in the Genoese conflict. Raynald de Milmars was marshal of Cyprus and one of James I's most trusted advisors until at least 1403. In 1420, a certain Jean sat in the Haute Court for Alice Prevost's business matters[535]. After that, however, there are no further records of Milmars in government circles. They reappear in the 1450s, when they entered into a match with the Mistachiel family. This was an unusual match, for, though the Mistachiel had ascended to the highest honours, they were of Syrian origin. A range of Milmars family members went into exile with Charlotte, proving that the family was still numerous, but their influence at court seems to have diminished after ca. 1420[536].

The Nores family, in contrast, positioned members in influential posts consistently. Jacques de Nores was *turcopolier* and an influential royal advisor under Peter I and Peter II[537]. Between 1430 and 1440, Badin de Nores belonged to the inner power élite of the kingdom (see ch. 4.2) and his son Louis was chamberlain in 1446 at the latest. They controlled the Caffran's educational foundation and married into various other important families[538]. In the later fifteenth century, we know of many Latin church men from this family (one even temporarily bishop of Limassol), and a certain Sasson de Nores was *principal pourveour* of Cyprus under James II[539].

The de Fleury family was even more successful. They had been part of the high nobility in the fourteenth century, but they had just been one among many important families. In the middle of the fifteenth century, in contrast, Jacques de Fleury acquired an extraordinary position as King John II's chief counsellor (see ch. 4.2.2). The de Fleury maintained their influence until Jacques went into exile under Queen Helena Palaiologina in 1455. Later, the de Fleury were again exiled during the conflict with James II[540]. Similarly, the Caffran family held high position, probably gaining in importance until it died out in the 1440s: after admiral Pierre de Caffran, his son Jacques was an important statesman until his death after 1445[541].

The high position of these families is also evident from their estates. They owned or held as fief many *casalia*, even the noble women. Jacques de Caffran's wife Isabeau Visconte for example had the *casalia* Simou (South of Chrysochou), Estraquez, Pilez (Pyla, North-East of Larnaca), Apalestres (West of Famagusta), and Fotada as part of her dowry, and her allodial possessions were Cato Triguiti and Linbra (perhaps Limbia, West of Larnaca), Evrihou (South of Lefka) and Vouny (perhaps South of Kilani), Cordomeno (South of Keryneia), Quissofanou and Quivisile (both East of Larnaca), Saint George du Finiquime, Trimitho and Armenochory (though her step brother Jacques de Fleury administered the last two in 1432)[542]. It is unclear how many revenues these *casalia* brought, but their sheer number points to great wealth. Jacques de Fleury's documents in particular illustrate how he gained ever more estates during his career. In 1436, the documents report his possession of Mesre (probably in the Paphos region). In 1438, he also held Vouny and in 1440, the king added the *prasteio* Eftericoudy to Jacques' *casale* Evrihou[543] and gave him Epifanie near Keryneia and another casale which had belonged to a certain Raymond de Keryneia.

528 See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 129; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 405. 412. 423. 428. 436.

529 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 30. 52; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII), β-24, pp. 433-434 (John XXIII); Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612).

530 For the Albi family, see p. 83. For the Soulouan family, see p. 72. Cf. ch. 3.3 about marriage connections.

531 These were the Moustazo, Malembeq, Langlais, Chivides, d'Antioche, de la Blanchegarde, Bon, Chappes, Camerdas, Crolissa, Laze, Mahe, Prevost.

532 These were the Grenier, Pelestrini, Nores, Montolive, de Fleury, Verny, Giblet, Milmars.

533 Grenier, Pelestrini, Nores, Montolive, de Fleury.

534 Verny, Giblet, Milmars.

535 For the Milmars in military excursions under Peter I and II, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 119. 163. 190. 333. 392. 500. 542. For Arnaud de Milmars, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 542. 609. 620; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428. 467; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 355. For Jean in 1420, see Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet). 3 (612).

536 For the match with the Mistachiel, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de Prosopgraphie no. 219. For the Milmars under Charlotte, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.

537 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 129. 147. 607; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 771; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 292.

538 For Badin de Nores, see ch. 4.2.1 passim. For Louis, see Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126. For the marriage alliances, see ch. 3.3 and **tab. 3** and for the Caffran foundation, see Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 125-133.

539 For the churchmen, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 122. 123. 127. 137. 146. 147. 163. 171. For Sasson, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 69; cf. A1.2.5, p. 172.

540 See Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209 and Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789 and cf. ch. 4.2.2.

541 See ch. 4.2.2, p. 118.

542 Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. I.

543 Jacques seems to have inherited both the latter *casalia* from Isabeau Visconte.

A year later, John II left Jacques in possession of the fiefs formerly held by Jacques' wife Boulogne le Jeune, who had passed away. These were Monagra (probably near Trikomo on the Carpas peninsula), Coutrafa (South-East of Lefka) and Elisy, probably on the Carpas[544]. Jacques' son in law, Hugh Boussat, later additionally recorded Saint George tou Sporou, Cato Triguiti, Linbia (probably Limbia), Calopsyda (near the military stronghold Sivouri that was 20 km west of Famagusta), and Polemidia among Jacques' possessions. According to Hugh, Jacques' estates were worth 4,000 ducats per year[545]. Though these examples are few, we may assume that other powerful families, such as the Nores, amassed similar fortunes[546].

In contrast to the high nobility, most families in the lesser and middle levels of nobility seem to have maintained their social status without changes either to their profit or detriment. Four families[547] are almost constantly marginal. The Langlais, for example, noble from at least 1374, were not part of the high circles of power until the end of Lusignan rule, when Hugh Langlais became Queen Charlotte's chamberlain and Hector Langlais married into the de Fleury family during Italian exile[548]. Before that, a Langlais was captain of Keryneia in 1406 and in 1449 a Jean Langlais bought himself out of the taxes that fell on his estate for 4,000 besants, attesting to a certain wealth[549]. Nevertheless, during most of the fifteenth century, this family moved on the margins of noble society.

Other families remained at a middle level of the nobility. They sometimes provided officials, but they did not participate in the government regularly. The Prevost family, for example, were one of the oldest families in Cyprus, but only a certain Thomas moved in government circles during our period. In 1410, he went on an embassy to Genoese Famagusta and he was viscount of Nicosia from 1414. According to Machairas, Thomas partook in various other embassies in the early 1420s. His relative Philippe Prevost led a small military excursion on the Cypriot coast in 1425, but he was taken captive and decapitated by the Mamluks[550]. Apart from these two men, no outstanding careers are known in this family.

The Crolissa family, in contrast, has an exceptional story of social ascent. Around 1374, the Crolissa were very new in the nobility. A certain Nicolo became chamberlain of Jerusalem according to Machairas[551], but apart from that we do not hear anything about this family for a long time. Then, in the 1420s or 1430s, they made at least one fortunate match: before 1432, Maria Crolissa had married Badin de Nores, one of the most influential men of his time. Perhaps on account of this connection, Jean Crolissa became *maître de l'hotel* and royal counsellor in 1452 at the latest and sat in the Haute Court on various occasions[552].

To conclude, the surviving noble families were mostly able to maintain their social position during the fifteenth century. A few members of the high nobility actually lost influence, while others seem to have used the power vacuum left by the extinct lineages to enhance their power. Families of the middle and lesser nobility usually maintained their status, with the exception of the Crolissa, who climbed the social ladder in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Let us proceed to the third and last question concerning the nobility. We must ask whether the massive extinction of lineages during the fifteenth century involved a diminishment of the nobility as a whole. This is an interesting question, as it is linked to the reasons for social climbing. Historians have traditionally interpreted social ascension into the nobility as a necessary consequence of families dying out – the group had to be replenished in order to survive[553]. However, in 1977 James Wood was able to prove for the region of Bayeux in Normandy that extinction of lineages and social ascension into the nobility were not connected. Rather, although some lineages died out, others grew at the same time, enhancing the size of the nobility as a whole[554]. Social ascension was not so much influenced by empty social spaces in the region as by the crown's attempts to cope with its financial shortages by selling letters of ennoblement[555].

Unfortunately, we cannot reproduce these findings in Cyprus, since we lack data on the exact size of families (size being measured by the number of nuclear households within a family). We can only roughly estimate the size of a family in a few scattered cases.

The Nores family, for example, registers five individuals between 1374 and 1407, while eight family members are known in the twenty-five years between 1443 and 1468. Their exact relationships are not always clear, but the increase suggests a small growth of the family. However, many of the

544 Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs II, III, IV, V, VI. For the location of the estates, cf. Richard's notes.

545 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 124-125. Cf. ch. 1.3, p. 45 For the location of Sivouri, see Vaivre, Sur les sites des châteaux 1007-1008.

546 For all those *casalia* that have been located, cf. the map on p. 182. The map builds strongly on the map in Documents chypriotes (Richard) 161, where Jean Richard tried to locate many of these fiefs. A more profound analysis of the development of *casalia* in fifteenth-century Cyprus in general would be desirable, but this would surpass the scope of this study.

547 Moustazo, Malembeq, Langlais, Chivides.

548 See Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 73. 95.

549 For the captain, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 22-23. For Jean, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152.

550 For Thomas, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 75; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 636. 646. 653. 661. 677. 685; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 142. For Philippe, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 652; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 357; Grivaud, Petite chronique 324; Strambaldi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 268; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 500. – In this chronicle Philippe was also the *bailli* of Limassol, a position assigned by the other chronicles to Philippe de Picquigny, cf. Amadi, Chronicle (Coureas/Edbury) § 1047, n. 2.

551 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 326.

552 For Maria, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 109. For Jean, see Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 154-155; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126; cf. also ch. 3.3.

553 See e. g. Perroy, Social Mobility esp. 31-36; Goubert, Beauvais I 220-221; Drouot, Mayenne et la Bourgogne I 30-46; Wood, Demographic Pressure 4 with more literature in n. 2.

554 Padgett, Open Élite 367 also discusses the size of families and how this was connected to social class.

555 Wood, Demographic Pressure passim, but esp. 13-15.

later known family members are mentioned as clerics in the papal registers, so perhaps the family was simply entering into the clergy more frequently than before. In the Chappes family, only two members are known from the end of the fourteenth century, while seven men and women feature between 1461 and 1472. However, most of these are numbered in the list of Queen Charlotte's followers, which is an exceptionally detailed source. Again, it is not clear if this really means that the family had grown. Other families, such as the Milmars and the Montolive, survived until the end of the period, but with less members than before (twelve individuals in the Montolive in the fourteenth, and eight in the second half of the fifteenth century, the Milmars seven and two, respectively[556]). This last process is visible despite the better source situation in the fifteenth century, which could hint to an actual diminishing of these families. Nevertheless, reliable information on the actual size of the noble families is not often available and if so, it is tied to fragmented sources.

Concerning the reasons for social ascensions, we shall see later that some of the new aristocratic families which ascended into the nobility in the middle of the fifteenth century probably managed this step not because of the nobility diminishing but as a result of the dire financial situation of the crown, since they must have been the king's creditors[557]. This was a process similar to James Wood's findings for Bayeux.

In conclusion, after the first hard blow in 1374, the group of established noble families in Cyprus steadily diminished until the end of Lusignan rule, proving Rudt de Collenberg's postulations right in this point. The reasons for this decline should probably be sought first of all in the extinction of lineages, and less in social decline, even if a few surviving families experienced a social downward movement during the fifteenth century. Most of the surviving families across all levels of noble society more or less maintained their social status. However, some lineages of the high nobility such as the de Fleury and the Nores enhanced their influence compared to the fourteenth century and amassed state offices and wealth. We shall see this more clearly during the analysis of the power élite in chapter four.

2.2 The New Aristocracy

In chapter one, I defined the new aristocracy as a set of Oriental Christian and Greek families who climbed the social ladder by working in the state administration and in trade[558]. At the end of the fourteenth century, this social rise was not a new phenomenon. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari has shown that Greeks worked as scribes, *baillis* or secretaries in the royal *secrète* as early as the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries[559]. However, the rise of Greeks and Syrians took on new dimensions at the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century. More non-Latins gained higher offices, and even reached the top echelons of society. Moreover, in contrast to evidence from preceding centuries when Greek families occupied administration posts, about half of the fifteenth century ascending families were of Syrian origin (see **fig. 4**). Also, Syrians were by far the majority among the families who rose into the highest echelons of society in this period (see below).

In contrast, Latin burgesses showed almost no upward social mobility. Only two families, the de la Gride and a Boussat family, appear as new members of the nobility during the fifteenth century. Their Latin origin is not entirely proven. The background of the Boussat at least seems to have been similar to that of many Syrian and Greek families. Odet Boussat, a royal counsellor in the 1450s, was the son of a certain doctor (*fixicus*) Jacques Boussat – and many Syrians and Greeks pursued studies and became doctors (see below). In 1449, Odet is attested as a burgess, but he is designated as a royal vassal as early as 1452, again a career path which we find repeatedly in the new aristocracy. Odet married his son into the important de Fleury family, thus attesting to a high social rise within two generations[560]. However, apart from the Boussat and the de la Gride, the new aristocracy was almost entirely of Syrian and Greek origin.

It is noteworthy that those important Greek (and Syrian) families which Nicolaou-Konnari mentions in the thirteenth century were by no means the most successful in the fifteenth century[561]. Moreover, those lineages who were to become important players in the sixteenth century generally did not exhibit any spectacular social rise in the fifteenth century[562].

556 For the members of all these families and their sources, see **tab. 1**.

557 See p. 73.

558 See ch. 1.3, from p. 46.

559 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 231-233.

560 A de la Gride first appears in Henry of Lusignan's entourage in 1413. Later, one Thomas de la Gride was commander of the military stronghold Sivouri and died in the battle of Chirokitia (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 640. 685). In the 1440s, Guy de la Gride served in the Haute Court twice (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 148. 150), while perhaps the same Guy had an arrière fief at the casale Piscopi in 1468 (Livre des remembrances [Richard] no. 166). The Boussat family first appears with a certain Nicola who brought the news to James I that the Cypriot nobles had elected him as king. James gave him an allowance in return – perhaps the basis for the family's climb? See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 612; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 351. In the 1450s, the royal counsellor Odet Boussat had some 5,000 pounds in the bank of Genoa (Otten, Investissements financiers 116) and possessed land in Famagusta (Balard, Hoi Genouates 291). According to Florio Bustron, John II sent him to Savoy to negotiate Charlotte's marriage with Louis of Savoy, together with Jean de Montolive, see Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 387. Odet's son Hugh married Carola de Fleury, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153. 155; Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 72. See also Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 400. However, a source concerning later marriage alliances suggests that Odet and Hugh may even have stemmed from a Syrian family, see below ch. 3.3, p. 96. For the other, probably also Syrian Boussat family, see below p. 66.

561 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 231 numbers the Capadoca, Bustron and Sincritico as families extant in the thirteenth century. We will see that these families existed in the fifteenth century, but they were not among the most powerful, see below.

562 We will see this in the course of the analysis, see especially the case of the Sozomenos, p. 65.

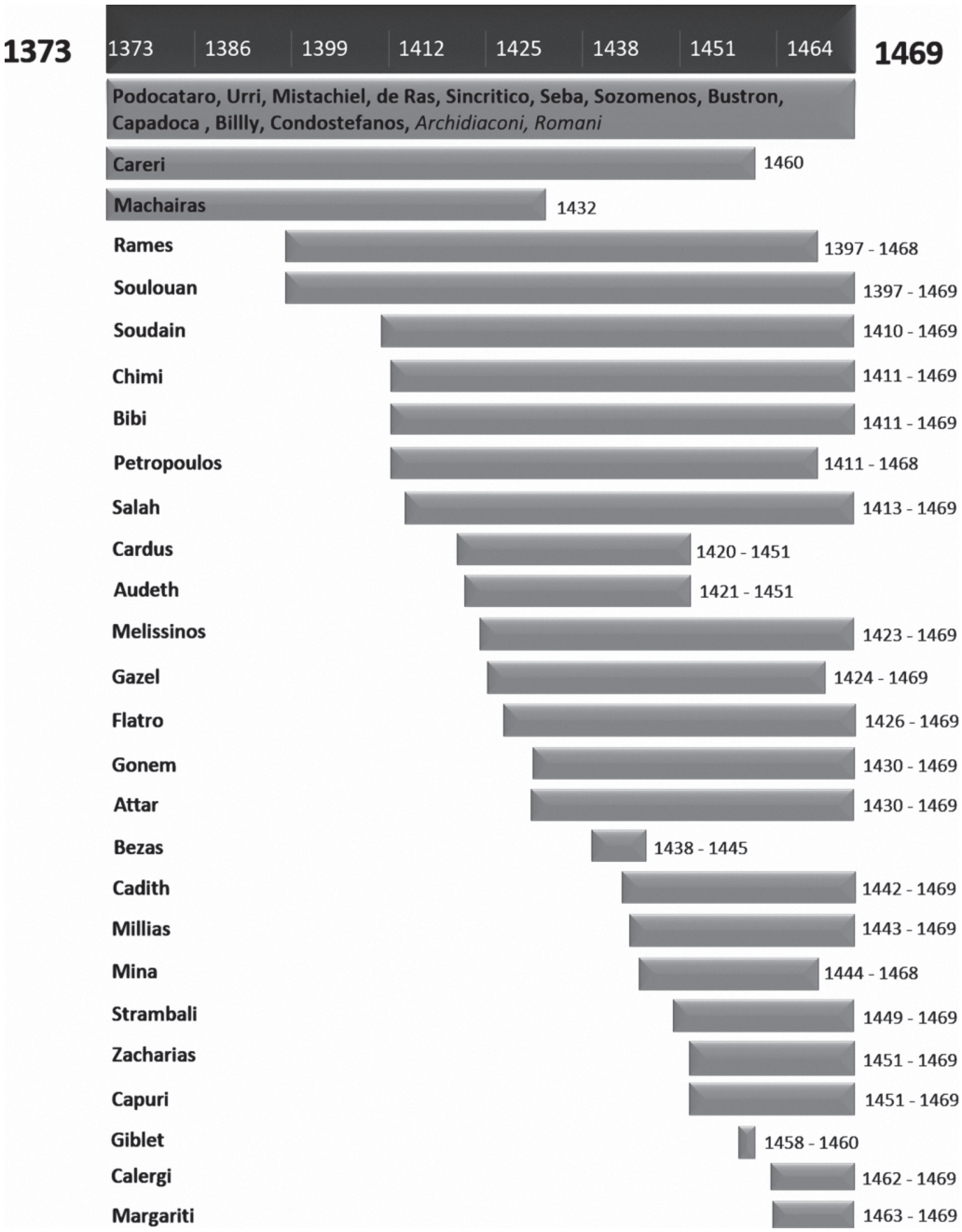


Fig. 4 New aristocratic families, 1374-1473.

Therefore, the new aristocracy in the fifteenth century was a very specific group of families with their own social dynamics.

Let us consider the prosopographical data concerning the fifteenth-century new aristocracy. Figure 4 registers all Syrian and Greek families belonging to this group between 1373 and 1469[563]. It gives the impression of a steady growth during the period under examination. In 1373, fifteen families appear in the sources (with two uncertain cases, discussed below). The number of families then grew continuously to 39 families in the 1460s. However, we cannot simply conclude that the aristocracy almost tripled its numbers during the century (as Rudt de Collenberg did in his works[564]), since we have to take into account that sources are much more numerous for the fifteenth century (particularly the middle of the century) than for the fourteenth century. Significantly more Haute Court privileges as well as papal registers are extant, which shed light on Syrians and Greeks who worked e. g. as scribes or secretaries. Such men worked perhaps in the state administration in similar numbers in the fourteenth century, although they left no paper trail. This is evident in particular

563 An exception are those families which only appear in the *Livre des remembrances* from 1468/69. They are not included in the figure, for reasons which I will discuss below.

564 Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 814; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 55.

from the *Livre des remembrances* for the years 1468-1469. The *Livre* registers twenty-two Syrian and Greek family names which are unknown before 1468[565]. Even if we assumed that James II employed many more Greek and Syrian men than before, these families could not have come from nowhere. It is more probable that we would find many more Syrians and Greeks working in the administration if we had the *Livre des remembrances* from other, preceding, years.

Moreover, as in the nobility, we know very little about the history of some of these families. The Mistachiel and the de Ras families, for example, are prominent in the 1370s, but then are only mentioned from the 1450s on. This situation, which is probably due to the fragmentary sources, makes it impossible to assess if all the individuals named Mistachiel or de Ras really belonged to the same family. Therefore, the exact growth and size of the group during the fifteenth century is difficult to assess[566]. However, we can establish that some individuals and later whole families from the new aristocracy acquired an unprecedented social standing during our period. This evidence, which I will discuss during the following analysis, suggests that the group as a whole enhanced its power and standing.

Let us now examine the new aristocratic families and their appearance between 1374 and 1469 more closely. Around 1374, we have records of thirteen to fifteen families that served in the royal administration: the Podocataro, Urri, Mistachiel, de Ras, Sincritico, Seba, Sozomenos, Capadoca, Billy, Bustron, Careri, Condostefano, Machairas and perhaps the Archidiaconi and Romani. Most of these families are well-known. Only the Archidiaconi and the Romani are rather mysterious, and it is unclear if the early sources relate to the same families as the later records[567]. They are therefore rendered in italics in **figure 4**. Apart from these families, three Syrians, Jean Gorab, Thomas Barech and Thibault Belfaradge played important roles in Cypriot politics from the 1370s on. However, in contrast to the other men mentioned, the latter three individuals did not sire durable aristocratic or noble families[568]. I will therefore not discuss them here but their interesting careers will be examined further in chapter four[569].

The stories of these early families differed at the end of the fourteenth century. The history of the Sincritico, Bustron, Urri and Capadoca families reached back into the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century[570]. In the middle of the fourteenth century, a scribe with the surname Urri could look back on three generations of family history. He noted that his family had originally transferred to Cyprus from Jerusalem[571]. A George Capadoca had been a bilingual scribe in the royal *secrète* in 1318, while a certain Jean Poutrou, whom Nicolaou-Konnari supposes to be a Bustron, was probably *bailli* of Knodara between 1317 and 1320. The Sincritico family in turn was mentioned in 1261 and had a long history of serving the royal *secrète*, which probably gave it its name. We cannot be sure that all the Sincritico belonged to the same family, but it is probable[572].

The rest of the above families had only recently appeared in the 1360s and 70s: the first mention of the Greek families Podocataro and Archidiaconi is found in Bernard Anselm's count in 1367[573], while the Mistachiel, a Syrian family, appear in 1361, when a certain Aylis Mistachiel married Andreas, son of Ioannis of Beirut. The Mistachiel were also engaged in serving the royal family: a certain burgess Badin Mistachiel went on an embassy to Antalya for Peter II. Similarly, two members of the de Ras family were ambassadors to the Mamluk sultan, Guillaume in 1366 and Thomas in 1370[574]. The first mentions of the Seba, Sozomenos, Careri and Billy families belong together, as Machairas records that a Seba married the daughter of Nicholas Billy in 1374, who was *bailli de la secrète* at the time. Billy in turn was married to a woman from the Sozomenos clan. A Careri is mentioned in the same passage. Rumours were that he had a bastard son called Simon, although Machairas believed it was instead Nicholas Billy's son[575]. Machairas mentions his own family as early on as 1360, when his brother Paul was a young squire at arms, while his father Staurinos was a priest[576]. In general, the social profile of these men was typical of the new aristocracy: they were scribes, secretaries, or *baillis,* and served as ambassadors. Nicholas Billy even occupied the prestigious office of *bailli de la secrète*, while his brother-in-law Jean

565 See **tab. 2**, nos 1. 5. 17. 20. 22. 24. 25. 27. 28. 29. 30. 32. 37. 40. 47. 48. 50. 55. 57. 63. 64. 67.

566 A number of Greeks and Syrians who were tenants in the diocese of Limassol in 1367, but are not numbered among the aristocracy, because there is no other information on them, also show that there were more Syrian and Greek families around than we can usually discern, see the names Bourboul, Cafas, Salamon, Mihalichi, Azapi or Alexi in Documents chypriotes (Richard) 78. 84. 86. 93. 95. 97. 106. For the de Ras and the Mistachiel, cf. below, pp. 71-72.

567 Persons with the surnames Romani and Romain are mentioned in the count of the diocese Limassol in 1367 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 85) and some men with the surname Romaniti appear in accounts from 1325 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 41. 42). It is unclear whether these are actually the same family name and the same family as the Romanus and the Romaniti whom we will discuss later. Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 647 and Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 237-238.

568 A certain cleric Guido Orab died in or before 1451, but whether he belonged to the same family as Jean is unclear, and we do not know if he was a nobleman, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 158. The other names disappear without trace as far as I know.

569 Cf. chs 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

570 The Kinnamos family also belonged to this group of older Greek and Syrian families, which according to Nikolaou-Konnarē may even have stemmed from the old Byzantine aristocracy. However, the last Kinnamoi to appear in the sources were Jean, who was tenant in the Limassol district in 1367 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 79) and another Jean who was candidate for the episcopal throne of Paphos in the second half of the fourteenth century (Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 182-184; Darrouzès, Évêques inconnus 99-100. 102). The family will therefore not figure in this study. The same is true for the Chartofilaca family. A Nicole Chartofilaca was tenant in the diocese of Limassol in 1367 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 83), while a certain Thomas was *bailli des casaux de la reine mère* ('administrator of the casalia [belonging] to the Queen mother') in 1376 according to Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 487. However, nothing more is heard of this family.

571 Gardthausen/Vogel, Griechische Schreiber 348.

572 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 231-232; Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 55-62.

573 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85. 154-157.

574 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 184. 301. 366; Boateriis, Atti (Lombardo) no. 70; cf. Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 74.

575 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.

576 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 110. 566. 608.

Sozomenos is said to have been a knight. These men had therefore risen high[577].

This early group of visible families expanded until the 1460s with the appearance of new families dedicated to state or church administration (seven new families between 1397 and 1413, seven between 1420 and 1430, and seven between 1438 and 1463, cf. **fig. 4**). However, we have already discussed that there may have been many more families not revealed by the sources. Interestingly, most of those Syrians and Greeks who really became powerful in the fifteenth century are among the group already visible in the 1370s. Others, such as the Soudain or the Audeth, appear until ca. 1420[578]. None of the new families after this date, such as the Millias, Mina or Strambali, achieve any importance during the Lusignan period. We may conclude that social rise took some time, even if some lightning fast ascents (such as that of Thibault Belfaradge[579]) took place.

The great majority of new aristocratic families are attested until the end of the period under analysis and in some cases well into the sixteenth century. Few names (Cardus, Romani, Bezas, Archidiaconi, Giblet, Careri, Machairas, Audeth) disappear again during our period. The reasons for this are not always clear. Some men are only visible in the papal registers (Bezas, Cardus, Giblet[580]). They obtained canonries and in one case even the bishopric of Tortosa (Salomon Cardus). It is possible that these men only moved in clerical circles and might have been the only members of their families to obtain office. This would explain their fleeting appearance in the sources. Other cases are more complex. The Audeth family were extremely rich, as we shall see later. They were creditors of the crown and held an important estate. If we had not found a conglomeration of testaments in the Venetian archives, we would not know anything about them at all, apart from the information that one of them served in the Latin church. The later history of the Audeth shows that they must have died without male heirs to continue their name[581]. The Machairas family in turn is well-known due to Leontios' chronicle. We would know almost nothing about his family if it were not for the chronicle. Therefore, the disappearance of a family may be due to extinction, but it may also just be connected to the lack of sources. In any case, very few families from the new aristocracy disappeared again, whereas most new aristocrats seem to have flourished until the end of Lusignan reign and beyond.

Within the new aristocracy, social profiles differed. As has been mentioned in chapter one[582], many positions in the Lusignan administration provided similar salaries. The officials in the administration were a homogeneous group of people in terms of income. However, some aristocrats even managed to attain higher positions beyond simple secretaries, and some possessed wealth acquired in trade. If we trace the development of Greek and Syrian families over a longer period, these differences emerge more clearly: some families remained on the lesser aristocratic level of simple officers and clerics. Others, whom I will number among the middle aristocracy, either exhibit members in higher positions before falling back into the more basic ranks, or remain stable in middling positions. However, some families obtained the highest offices and managed to secure high social positions for their offspring, making them part of the upper aristocracy. In the following section, I will analyse these varying routes and degrees of social ascension and explore the reasons for these developments.

Judging from their positions as secretaries, *baillis* and simple clerics, about a third of the new aristocratic families belonged to the lesser aristocracy. The Condostefano family are an interesting case. They are included in Stephen of Lusignan's list of important families in the sixteenth century, but they appear only very marginally in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Thodre Condostefano wrote the count of the diocese of Limassol in 1367. Lampertos Condostefanos and his wife Loze Capadoca are mentioned in some manuscript notes from the late fourteenth/early fifteenth centuries, after which there is no information about the family until the 1460s, when Alissandro Condostefano received a fief from James II[583]. Compared to other families, the Condostefano had a very low-key profile during the fifteenth century. Other families who belonged to a lower level of the aristocracy were the Petropouloi, Romani, Bezas, Strambali, Millias, Gazel, Attar, Archidiaconi and Giblet[584].

About another third of the new aristocracy also began with positions such as secretaries or scribes but had greater social success later[585]. I will therefore count these families to the middle aristocracy. There is no typical pattern for their social climbing. Some families came to prominence and then lost it again. Other families feature an increasing number of good careers and seem to have climbed the social ladder steadily. All these families positioned their men in various sectors. Some became important doctors, others worked their way up in the *secrète*, again others were churchmen in higher positions or even military (see below). These choices were only partly connected with family traditions. In the Sincritico family, for example, we find two important doctors, but then also a military captain of Sivouri[586].

577 Cf. chapter 2.1 on the nobility.
578 See below from pp. 69-70.
579 See ch. 4.1.2, p. 109.
580 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 131. 139 (Bezas); 74. 76. 77. 154 (Cardus); 173. 174. 177. 178 (Giblet).
581 See from p. 70.
582 See ch. 1.3, p. 46.
583 Lusignan, Description fols 82^{v}-84^{v}; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 12 and n. 2. 61. 88. 94. 99. 101. 102; Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 169; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 47-48; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 421; Rudt de Collenberg, Héraldique 121. 123 was convinced that the family came from Constantinople before 1367, but there is no proof for this.
584 For the sources concerning these families, see **tab. 2**.
585 I number among this group the Sozomeno, Bibi, Bustron, Gonem, Cardus, Seba, Boussat, Sincritico, Machairas, Capadoca, Chimi, Careri, Flatro, Billy and Rames.
586 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 11. 12; Ganchou, Rébellion 143; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 665; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 360; cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 232.

Let us consider some more closely: the Sozomenos clan is an example of a family which became prominent but lost its social status again later. In the beginning of our period, the family belonged to the social climbers, if we can believe Machairas. MS V of the Machairas chronicle mentions a Jean Sozomenos among the knights who attained enfeoffments from James I. If this was really the case, Jean was a noble knight. Jean's sister was married to Nicholas Billy who was related to the Machairas family. It is not clear whether this information is therefore especially reliable or tendentious[587]. However, Jean's sister had also made a good match: Nicholas Billy was *bailli de le secrète* at the king's court and occupied a high office[588]. Nevertheless, apart from these two cases the family does not show any prescinding social status in our period. Sava Sozomenos had served the bishop of Limassol before 1367. Theodoros was *bailli de comerchi* ('administrator of the comerchion') in Nicosia in 1409. His sister was married to a Rhodian burgess[589]. Then the family disappears from the sources entirely until 1468, when a certain Pierre is installed as *bailli* of Chrysochou for a year. Meanwhile, a Jacques Sozomenos had an assignment of 50 besants from the *casale* of the Corner family[590]. Thus, if we believe Machairas, this family experienced a blossoming in the 1380s, only to fall back into the lower-level aristocracy. This is all the more interesting as the Sozomenoi, too, were to become one of the most important Cypriot families in the sixteenth century[591].

Other families like the Rames, the Billy and the Flatro[592] have similar stories. The Rames do not seem to have occupied any important positions at all until about 1430, although two members of the family were important enough to be commemorated in the records of the Hodegetria church, the residence of the Orthodox bishop in Nicosia, in the 1390s. Then, in 1432, a Mateo Rames was royal counsellor[593]. After that, a certain Petrus was procurator of the Latin bishopric of Nicosia until 1456, but no further family members seem to have held office[594]. The Billy family in turn features two important members: in the 1370s, Nicholas Billy was *bailli de la secrète*, and George Billy was a prominent royal counsellor around 1403[595]. In 1411, two younger relatives, Leo and Perrinus, perhaps sons of Nicholas, studied in Padua. Nothing more is heard of this family until 1469[596].

Some families were more continuously successful. The first indication of the Chimi family[597] for example comes from the papal registers and concerns two scribes in the year 1411 who are explicitly designated as burgesses. However, Georgino Chimi was a squire and part of Hugh of Lusignan's personal retinue as early as 1431[598]. In 1446, Nicholinus Chimi was *bailli* of Paphos, and Alice Chimi was buried in the cathedral of St Sophia, an exceptional burial place for a member of a Syrian or Greek[599] family. Under James II, Carceran Chimi was the squire responsible for the organization of Pedro d'Avila's military troops. He was married to Jean Mistachiel's daughter, a good match, as we shall see later[600]. His relative Jean received a fief from James II according to Florio Bustron, while a certain Jacques obtained a full papal absolution in 1469 on the same day as various members of the Mistachiel[601]. They had surely petitioned together. Thus, this family did not acquire highest honours, but it seems to have been quite successful. The Machairas and Capadoca families illustrate similar trajectories[602].

587 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 420; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 620. 563 and n. 7 for information on the Billy family and the difference between the manuscripts already noticed by Dawkins. Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 352 follows the information in MS V.

588 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563; cf. also Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 234 for the Sozomenos family.

589 Richard, Un évêque 132; Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) no. 7.

590 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 161. 195.

591 Lusignan, Description fols 82^{v}-84^{v}; Arbel, Nobility 187-190.

592 The Flatro were probably Syrian. In 1426, a Juan Flatro seems to have worked in the royal *secrète*, as he offered his knowledge of »all the incomes of Cyprus« (*tutte le entrate de Cipro*) to the Mamluk invaders (Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 368). A certain Balian received a *scribania* in 1438 (Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 114. 118. 182). Bartholomeo Flatro was involved in a business transaction with Marco Corner concerning wool from Marathassa. He bought the right to one sixth of the taxes concerning the wool for 1,050 ducats (MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}). Under James II, Badin Flatro was *bailli* of Enba and Lenba (Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 123. 205). Thus, they all occupied posts in the lower or middle stratum of administration. The only family member to have exceeded the rank of these positions according to Georgios Bustron became an emir in Cairo and worked against James II when he tried to gain the sultan's support for his usurpation of the Cypriot throne (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 70).

593 Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 89-90; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16.

594 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 164. This might be the same man as Piero de Rames, who witnessed Hugo Podocataro's testament (ASVen, Notarile, Testamenti 14; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142).

595 For Nicholas, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563. For George, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 630. 633; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 471-475; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354. Paschke, Klementinen-Epitomen 135-136 mentions that Georgios possessed a manuscript of the Orthodox metaphrastic menologion for January and November in which he registered his possessorship both in French and in Greek.

596 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 2,3.

597 Imhaus, Société 205 puts their rise into the fourteenth century, but I have not been able to find any evidence for this.

598 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 42. 43; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-27-28, pp. 438-439 (John XXIII); Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 525.

599 Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 644 puts the Chimi down as a Greek family, but he does not give a reason for this statement. I assume that he must have deduced it from the family name. However, this name could also be Arabic.

600 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 76; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 110. 140-142.

601 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 419; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 222.

602 The Machairas are known mostly from Leontios Machairas' chronicle. They had a tradition of military service in the fourteenth century. A Kosmas Machairas is mentioned as soldier in 1374 (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 56) and Leontios' elder brother Nicholas was an archer at the same time (§ 475). Another brother, Paul, is even mentioned as a young squire in 1360 (§ 110). Later, Paul served as secretary to Jean de Nevilles (§ 612). The aforementioned Nicholas and Leontios himself were secretaries to Jean de Nores in 1402, and the last brother Peter and Leontios were both in royal service in the 1420s, Leontios being responsible for provisioning the king's army with wine (§§ 679. 697). He went on an embassy to the Grand Caraman in 1432 (Broquière, Voyage d'Outremer [Schefer] 106-107). The siblings therefore were all involved in royal or noble service, be it in the military or the civil sector. Their father Staurinos was an Orthodox priest and according to Leontios, he was highly estimated by the members of the Haute Court, who asked for his advice when they considered who should be Peter II's successor (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 608). Cf. p. 26 and Grivaud, Entrelacs 188-189; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Diplomatics 295-296; PLP nos 17516. 17517. 17519-17522. – The Capadoca were probably even better situated. One Philippe Capadoca was tenant in the diocese of Limassol in 1367 and had to pay a great amount of taxes for his rent [2,900 besants], suggesting that he had a substantial estate (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 79). A George Capadoca was royal counsellor in 1411

The Sincritico family was even more fortunate. They were known from the thirteenth century on and already possessed some wealth at the beginning of the fourteenth century. We cannot be sure that the thirteenth century Sincritico belonged to the same family as the later ones, but it is at least a good hypothesis[603]. The Sincritico's good position in the fifteenth century was therefore probably a logical continuation of their good standing. On the other hand, it was not as high as their exceptional position in the sixteenth century might suggest – they were not nearly as successful as for example the Podocataro in the fifteenth century. In the 1420s, Jean Sincritico was *doctor artium et medicinae* and was obviously wealthy enough, since he acquired twenty Genoese *luoghi*[604], thus investing a great sum of money worth almost 2,000 Genoese pounds[605]. His son Jacob rose to some prominence. He followed the same career as his father and studied in Padua. In the 1450s, Jacob was Helena Palaiologina's and eventually also John II's doctor and is said to have been one of the queen's most influential advisors[606]. This was the most important position obtained by a Sincritico during the century. Perhaps this strong relationship with the queen was also why Elena Sincritico followed Charlotte into exile some years later[607]. However, other members of the family remained in Cyprus and worked as secretaries. Nicolas Sincritico was a secretary in the royal *secrète*. Antonio Sincritico (*antōnios sinkritikos*) also worked as a scribe: he signed one of the Greek manuscripts for the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois.* Philippe Sincritico, in turn, held a more important office. He was the captain of Sivouri in 1469; he also seems to have held the *casale* Terres as well as the *prasteio* Androlico as fiefs. Philippe had married Marie Boussat sometime before 1468[608]. The Sincritico therefore were rather successful. Their success was not only a result of their administrative office, since they were active in the academic sector and in the military. The Careri family experienced a similar development, although they disappear again before the end of the century[609].

Although very little is known about the Boussat family, they also seem to have had success at the end of Lusignan rule. This family is a difficult case, since two families with the same name existed. We can only hypothesize who belonged to which family. One of these families is usually considered to be a Latin noble family that had intermarried with the influential de Fleury family in the 1460s[610]. The other Boussat seem to have been a Syrian family. In the 1460s, these Boussat were probably connected with the Sincritico, as seen above, as well as with the Urri, and thus displayed a certain amount of social prominence[611]. Much earlier, a Nicolas Boussat, son of Salamon, had acted as a witness for a Famagustan burgess from the Sozomenos family[612]. The first name Salamon hints at a Syrian background, perhaps even to Jewish converts[613], although we clearly cannot be sure that he was a member of the same family[614].

The last family to be mentioned in this group are the Bibi. They are interesting insofar as they are usually connected with the well-known Bibi monastery, although it is unknown whether they actually founded this Orthodox monastery, which was situated in Nicosia[615]. The family's first known member, Nicholas, is mentioned as *scribarius* of Famagusta in papal registers from 1411. In 1423, a certain Jacques represented the Pallouriotissa monastery concerning financial business, and in 1429 Thomas Bibi studied medicine in Padua[616].

(Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 142; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 41), and therefore a powerful man. In 1440, a certain Vagliantin Capadoca was murdered by two Catalans, a fact which is protocolled by an Italian short chronicle, suggesting that he probably had some social standing (Grivaud, Petite chronique 330). An Alissandro Capadoca lost his estates under James II, while another of his family was later among the attacked group surrounding Andrea Corner during the Catalan coup d'etat (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 132. 188).

603 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 14, n. 1; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 231-232; Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 55-62; Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 170; Chatzipsaltēs, Ekklēsiastika dikastēria 32.

604 The *luoghi* were part of a Genoese debit system. Since the finances of Genoa could not be covered any more by the usual taxes from the fourteenth century on, Genoa took refuge to acquiring private debts. Revenues from various public taxes functioned as securities for these debts. In 1408, these debts were organized in the *banco di San Giorgio*. From then on, the capital collected in the bank was divided into so-called *luoghi* (Lat. *loca*), each worth 100 pounds (these pounds were a special currency, worth less than the usual Genoese pound; for the relation to the Genoese pound see Otten, Investissements financiers 110). Investors could buy *luoghi* and received an annual interest of 4 % (called *proventi* or *paghe*). For a good explanation of the system, see Otten, Investissements financiers 110.

605 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 134; Otten, Investissements financiers 112; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 30; PLP 27016; Ganchou, Rébellion 148; Arbel, Nobility 187; Rudt de Collenberg, Héraldique 122.

606 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 125. 134; Codex Diplomaticus (Gudenus) 309-310 (no. CXLI); Ganchou, Rébellion 128-129. 143.

607 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.

608 For Nicolas, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 14. 175. 221. 231. 233. For Antonio, see Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 187; Richard, Psimolofo 129. 151; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 644-645. 665; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 360; Constantinidis/Browning, Dated Manuscripts 239-240. For Philippe, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 115. 133 and n. 2. 156. 195.

609 The Careri probably appear for the first time in the 1370s (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 563). They have an important member in Jean Careri who was member of the royal council in 1407 and had probably been so as early as 1399 (Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 322. 331/§§ 566. 572). John travelled to Pavia, Italy, before 1399, for unknown reasons (Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 343/§ 620). The family sent as many as five men to study in Padua between 1409 and the 1430s (Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 4-8), the first three sons of Jean Careri. One of the students, Peter, later became canon and archdeacon in Paphos, while a certain Philippe received a *scribania* in 1460 (Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 172. 179). Another family member stands out from the rest: Thomas Careri studied in Padua in the 1430s and became *legum doctor* (Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 8). In 1455, he was royal *auditeur* and represented John II vis-à-vis the Genoese on various occasions (Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 119. 122. 123. 133).

610 Hugh Boussat, member of the probably Latin noble family, explicitly stated in a marginal note in his version of the assizes that there were two families with the same name. Hugh himself was proud of having married into the de Fleury family, so it is possible that there was also some disdain in his explicit differentiation between the two families. See Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 66-68.

611 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195.

612 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 276-277.

613 I would like to thank Max Ritter for this suggestion.

614 I will discuss the implications of these family connections further during the analysis of marriage alliances, see ch. 3.3, p. 96.

615 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 217 n. 2 suggests that they did found the monastery, which was very active at the end of Lusignan rule, see ibd. nos 187. 195. 217. 218.

616 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 28; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 45; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 10.

The same Thomas, by now a doctor, received several temporary assignations on fiefs for modest amounts between 1431 and the 1450s. But he also invested 6,000 ducats in Venice in 1436-1437, attesting to his wealth[617]. His relatives André and Pierre were secretaries in the royal *secrète* in 1468[618].

The families of the middle aristocracy were generally involved in state administration as well as in the church[619]. They seem to have gained their income and their social prestige from their office. However, the family histories were quite diverse.

It is possible to distinguish a small group of families within the new aristocracy from the rest. In comparison with others, these families achieved a greater and more enduring social rise, although we cannot necessarily say that the entire family was powerful or wealthy; some members were in high positions, while others held lesser office e. g. as secretaries. Among this high aristocratic group, I include the Podocataro, the Urri, Mistachiel, de Ras, Soudain, Soulouan, the Audeth and the Salah. In order to analyse the rise of these intriguing families, I will outline all their family histories. This will enable us to discern differences and similarities in their social context and development.

The Urri were the oldest family in this group. As has been mentioned, the first Urri to appear in the sources was the scribe Nicolas who copied various works by John Chrysostom in the middle of the fourteenth century. He identified himself as »Nicolas, son of Jacobos son of Georgios son of Joannis son of Urri from Jerusalem[620]«. Nicolas could trace his ancestry back four generations to an ancestor from Jerusalem. Machairas confirms that the family was of Syrian origin and counts them among the White Genoese: according to Machairas, during the conflict with Genoa in the early 1370s, Peter II also imprisoned »those Genoese who were from Syria, the Urri, the Bibi, the Danieli[621]«.

In 1392, the Orthodox Hodegetria church in Nicosia recorded the death of Simon Urri, suggesting that he was of some importance for the community there[622]. However, it is not clear whether the family was Melkite and therefore adhered to the same creed as the Byzantine Orthodox. But the fact that Nicolas copied Chrysostom's works suggests that they may have been Melkite. Another Urri is perhaps mentioned witnessing the payments from Antonio de Bergamo's testament in 1393, although the name is spelled *Gucis*[623].

In 1406, another Nicolas Urri became notary of the Latin Church of Nicosia after the death of his predecessor Jean Urri. In 1415, probably the same Nicolas, now designated as *civis Nicosiae* ('citizen of Nicosia') and Jean's son in the papal registers, had business with the monastery of St Mary of Lagrotimotheo[624]. However, a certain Jacobus Urri enrolled at the university of Padua between 1417 and 1419 is called *miles* (›knight‹) in their registers[625]. I cannot prove it, but I am inclined to identify this Jacobus with the famous Giacomo Urri who pursued an important career at the Lusignan court, becoming chancellor, *auditeur*, royal counsellor and later viscount of Nicosia. He was one of the most influential statesmen of his time. How and why he was elevated to the rank of knighthood in his youth we cannot say. The statesman Giacomo Urri, in any case, was the most important member of his family in the fifteenth century. He was influential under John II, but later he became Helena Palaiologina's particular favourite. Giacomo was murdered by James the Bastard (II) in 1457. His career and the circumstances of his death will be analysed in detail in chapter four[626]. Giacomo was the only member of the family to pursue a high state career, but his relatives were nonetheless wealthy. A certain Thomas Urri, probably Giacomo's brother, possessed the sum of almost 6,000 Genoese pounds in the bank of San Giorgio in 1454. Their relative Perrin invested 2,000 pounds in the same year[627]. Giacomo and his brothers were made Genoese citizens in 1441, just as their father had been[628]. This also hints at good financial circumstances.

Although none of Giacomo's relatives achieved his status, they too worked for the Lusignan administration. It is not clear if they were also traders. Giacomo's brother Thomas was partly active in Famagusta, although he lived in Nicosia. We have no proof of his engagement in trade, but it is possible. In any case, Thomas was later *maître de l'hotel* for James the Bastard before the latter became king, if we may believe Georgios Bustron[629]. Perrin (the same as the investor in Genoa?) was secretary in the *secrète* in the late 1440s[630].

The Urris also remained in the administration later. In 1468, Jacques was *bailli* of Chrysochou and Jean was *bailli* of Avdimou. A certain Thomas (probably not Giacomo's brother) is registered as a scribe in the papal registers in the 1460s. At about the same time, Philippe Urri was a cleric, and from 1465 three sons of a certain Thomas (the scribe?) studied

617 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 38; Müller, Venetian Money Market 632; Otten, Investissements financiers 112.
618 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 107. 112. 162. 186. 199.
619 In 1468, for example, Philippe Seba was *bailli de la secrète*, while his son, a cleric, studied in Italy (Livre des remembrances [Richard] no. 175). The Bustron family featured various secretaries and *baillis*, but the family could also proudly present an abbot of the Bibi abbey (Livre des remembrances [Richard] nos 78. 124. 126. 136. 230. 152. 163. 176. 205; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 139. 140). The Gonem and the Cardus also featured men in high clerical positions, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 59. 74. 76. 77. 105. 154. 204. 225. 226.
620 Νικόλαος υἱὸς Ἰακώβου υἱοῦ Γεωργίου υἱοῦ Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ τοῦ Οὔρρη τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου, see Gardthausen/Vogel, Griechische Schreiber 348 and n. 2.
621 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 375: τοὺς Γενουβίσους, ἐκοίνοι ὅπου ἦσαν Συργιάνοι, οἱ Γουρρίδες, οἱ Πίππιδες.
622 Darrouzès, Notes pour servir I 89.
623 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3.
624 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-21, pp. 257-258 (Benedict XIII), β-81, pp. 527-528 (John XXIII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 46.
625 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 29.
626 See ch. 4.2, esp. 115. 122.
627 Otten, Investissements financiers 115.
628 Ganchou, Rébellion 145, n. 145.
629 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) X; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 28.
630 Otten, Investissements financiers 115.

in Padua, while Philippe's own son went there in 1480[631]. Finally, in 1489 an Urri was captain of a ship, while another, Serenus, must have lived in Venice as early as 1475, when he served as witness in a case involving Janus Podocataro[632]. Though none of the Urris rose as high as Giacomo, they were evidently a large wealthy family in the middle of the fifteenth century and positioned themselves successfully in various administrational offices, while also taking advantage of the chance to study in Padua. Giacomo's influence was surely connected to the family's prominence in the administration from the 1440s on.

The Podocataro similarly flourished from the 1440s on. Although they were first mentioned in 1367, when a certain Michael Apodicator was tenant of the estate of Vavla[633], the sources are silent on the family until a Jean Podocataro appears as a wealthy merchant in the 1420s[634]. Jean must have laid the basis for the family's later wealth. Machairas mentions that Jean had business in Syria around 1426. Among other things, he seems to have been responsible for supplying the king's army with wine. Florio Bustron believed that Jean went on an embassy for Janus in 1424, but Machairas is not entirely clear on this point. The chronicler mentions Jean in Syria together with Thomas Prevost, who was the king's envoy, but Jean is not designated as an ambassador himself[635]. The sixteenth century tradition also has it that Jean sold everything he had in order to free King Janus from captivity in Cairo after 1426, though unfortunately Machairas does not report this, either[636]. If Jean actually payed part of the ransom, this would have been a good possibility of social ascension, as the king often paid his debts with estates. Jean is called *nobilis*[637] in the inscription lists of the University of Padua, where his sons were enlisted[638], but it is uncertain whether he was considered as such in Cyprus. In any case, Jean paved the successful careers of all his children. One of the most interesting aspects of the Podocataro family history is that all siblings of one generation achieved high social success.

Piero Podocataro, perhaps the eldest of the siblings, worked his way upwards as a secretary in the *secrète*. In this position, he obtained a fief from John II in 1435[639]. By 1442, Piero had risen to the position of *maître de l'hotel*. Later, he went on various embassies and played an important role during the civil war. Much later, Padua University registered Janus Podocataro as son of the auditeur of Jerusalem Piero (*Podocatarus de Podoris Ianus de Cypro, eques f. q. militis ac regni Hierusalem auditoris d. Petri*[640]). Therefore, Piero must have become *auditeur* of Jerusalem, probably a representative office without real functions. He died before 1468, when his widow Agnes Salah is mentioned together with their son Jaco in the *Livre des remembrances*[641].

Piero's brother Hugo followed a different path. He studied in Padua around 1439[642] and helped to negotiate a treaty in Genoa, probably travelling there directly from Padua. Hugo testified to the ratification of said treaty together with his brother Piero in 1442, when he is designated as royal counsellor. From that time on, he went on various embassies. He was ambassador at the Roman curia in 1443, 1447, 1451, 1453 and 1454[643]. Hugo must have been knighted before 1451, when he is called *miles* in the papal registers[644]. Like his brother, he later obtained an honourific title, that of *bouteiller* of Cyprus. Hugo is the only one of the brothers who to my knowledge was a White Genoese. He died rather young in 1457[645].

The next brother, Giorgio, was a master in the 1450s and therefore must have studied in Italy, too. He pursued a high career in the church. In 1443, he received canonries in Nicosia and Paphos. In 1451, Giorgio was cantor in Nicosia and notary, and was then appointed one of the seven protonotaries of the Latin Church, a high office that usually led to the cardinalate. The oath of the office was sent to the bishop of Ferrara and the Patriarch of Grado, suggesting that Giorgio sojourned in Italy in this period[646]. He is mentioned as *prothonotario* in his brother Hugo's testament in 1452 (»[my] brother Zorzo the protonotary«[647]).

From this same testament we know that the siblings' father Jean had married twice. His second wife was Ioanna Urri, whom Hugo calls his stepmother, a sister of the Perrin

631 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 154-157; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 192. 196. 199; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 30. 48; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 318; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 30-33; Bliznuyk, Genuesen no. 85.

632 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 87, esp. p. 334.

633 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 80; see also Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 233.

634 Rudt de Collenberg insists that a certain Nicolas, Jean's father, was one of king James I's counsellors between 1385 and 1398. But unfortunately, as so often, he does not state his sources, and I have not been able to find any information on this person in other sources. See Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 135.

635 Machairas, Exēgēsis § 661. 678; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 359.

636 Lusignano, Chorograffia fol. 60^{r}; Lusignan, Description fols 155^{r}-155^{v}. Hill, History II 489, n. 1 reports that the *Relatione* by Francesco Attar from the beginning of the sixteenth century also offers this information, though it is not in Mas Latrie's edition of the *Relatione* (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 519-536). See also Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 52; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 136.

637 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 137.

638 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 134.

639 Piero acquired the *prasteio* of Tragovuni as fief on 3 December 1435. See MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 29^{v}.

640 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 18. For the embassies see Imhaus, Lacrimae 374.

641 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 197.

642 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 134.

643 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 139-141.

644 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 158. Both Piero's and Hugo's careers will be discussed in more detail in ch. 4.2.2.

645 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 124. For his status as White Genoese, see Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 86.

646 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 130. 160. I would like to thank Chris Schabel who checked this document for me in the papal registers. It was issued on 12 August 1451 and can be found in ASVat, Reg. Vat. 396 fol. 218^{r}. The abridged text is as follows: *Nicolaus etc. dilecto filio magistro Georgio Podochator, cantori ecclesie Nichosiensis, notario nostro, salutem etc. Pii Patris altissimi Qui prout vult dispensat etc. in forma. Conceditur eidem officium prothonotariatus, et in eadem littera committitur forma iuramenti patriarche Gradensi et episcopo Ferrariensi uni illorum etc. Sub datis Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo primo, pridie Idus Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.*

647 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 146: *fradello Zorzo lo prothonotario*.

Urri who had invested in the bank of San Giorgio in 1454[648]. Which of the siblings were born from this second match is unclear[649]. However, a much later source from Genoa tells us that Ludovico was Ioanna's son[650]. Ludovico, probably the most well-known member of the family, also studied in Padua, pursued a successful career in the Latin Church, and later worked as Pope Alexander VI's secretary. He became a cardinal in 1500[651], thus spending most of his life in Italy.

Two other siblings could also be Ioanna's sons, as they appear in the sources later than their older brothers. In 1464, a certain Carolus, perhaps Hugo's brother Carlo mentioned in his testament, became canon in Nicosia and Paphos as well as cantor in the latter town. He was also the treasurer of Famagusta in 1468 or 1469[652]. Philippe, the last brother, studied in Padua in 1458. He is later consistently called *legum doctor*. In 1464, he received a *scribania* in Nicosia. In 1469, he witnessed a treaty between James II and Venice, together with Juan Perez Fabriguez, and was also involved in domestic administrational affairs. By 1471, he was married to Maria Calergi[653]. His connection to the Catalan party, who wanted to seize power after James II's death, seems to have been good. Philippe probably became vice-chancellor after the Catalan coup d'état and was sent to Venice to negotiate. However, the republic exiled him from Venetian territory and he was only pardoned when he could prove that he had not been involved in the murder of Venetian citizens[654].

Thus, five of the six brothers pursued important careers, and at least three of them studied in Padua. The only sister known by name, Maria, married Jean Babin, offspring of an old noble family, while another sister (or perhaps the same in second marriage?) wedded a certain Jacques de Nores, again from an important noble family, at an unknown point in time[655]. Professional and social success was therefore very high in this group of siblings.

They were also very wealthy. Hugo possessed the estates of Pathna, Pelendria/Stremata, Sancto Euresio, and Fandia. He had also inherited a part of the Limassol saline from his father. Hugo possessed two town houses, one of which he had bought or recently built, »la picola mia nova[656]«. His big house had previously belonged to the *amiralessa*, the admiral's wife. We cannot be entirely sure, but this woman could be identified as Carceran Suarez' wife. Suarez had been admiral at least until 1448, and he was married to Cathérine of Lusignan, one of Janus' illegitimate daughters[657]. Therefore, Hugo may have possessed a house which had formerly belonged to a member of the royal family. It was probably accordingly grand. Since he does not even seem to have been the eldest of the brothers, the houses were probably not inherited possessions. Moreover, Hugo possessed 110 *luoghi*[658] in the bank of Genoa in 1454, worth about 11,000 Genoese pounds. Hugo had likewise opened accounts of fifteen and 68 *luoghi* respectively for his sister Maria and his brother Philippe. Maria's money was meant as an inheritance for her daughters, Philippe's money as financial support for his studies. Therefore, considerable sums of money were divided between various family members[659].

Following generations were similarly rich. In 1471, Philippe along with his nephews, Jacobo and Janus, Piero's sons, and Maria's son Gioffredo Babin, requested permission to build churches on their *casalia*. Jacobo was in possession of Quistophane and Saint George, while Janus had St Tarappi and Vouny, and Gioffredo possessed Trimithussie and Facli. They therefore possessed some of the fiefs which had formerly belonged to Jacques de Fleury. They must have acquired them after Fleury's and later his family's exile in the 1450s and 1460s[660]. Philippe had Doro, Vassilaqui and Vasse, which was in Afdimou[661]. Later, between 1475 and 1480, Janus, the late Hugo's son, was involved in a law suit against his uncle Ludovico concerning his paternal inheritance, the 100 *luoghi* in the St George bank in Genoa[662]. The family therefore maintained their wealth in the following generations.

Like the Podocataro, the Soudain family (lat. *de Soldanis*[663]) experienced a rapid social rise. In contrast to the Podocataro, we only know of a few family members. The Soudain were White Genoese, and therefore perhaps of Arabic descent. The family name likewise suggests an Arabic origin. Its underlying Arabic form may be *Sawdan*[664]. Ligier Soudain is the first known member. He sat in the Haute Court in 1410 and 1411[665]. His son (?) Hugh was to become one of the most influential men of his time and held the office of chamberlain from at least 1432. He is first attested as ambassador to Genoa in 1426[666]. Hugh seems to have had strong ties to

648 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 144; Otten, Investissements financiers 115. 121.
649 Otten, Investissements financiers 113-114 knows that Marie and Philippe were both Ioanna's children. However, I have not been able to verify this.
650 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 88.
651 Parlato, Memorie romane 69-70; Otten, Investissements financiers 121.
652 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 193. 194. 214.
653 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 196. 227. 228; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 320; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 155.
654 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 198. 258. 260-262. 268. 282; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 451; Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 160 n. 301.
655 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 173. Jason de Nores speaks in one of his texts about his grandmother, a sister of Cardinal Podocataro, see Nores, Apologia (Guarini) 327.
656 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 162.
657 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151; Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II; cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 163, who also suggests this, adding out of unknown reasons that the Brunswick line can't have been meant because they had already died out. There was an admiral from the Brunswick family, but he lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, see Dal Campo, Viaggio (Brandoli) 210. 231.
658 For the term *luoghi* and its meaning, see p. 66 and n. 604.
659 Otten, Investissements financiers 113-114.
660 Cf. p. 59.
661 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 173.
662 A number of documents concerning this conflict and preserved in Genoa have been edited by Svetlana Bliznyuk in Bliznjuk, Genuesen nos 84-91. 93-94. Another document, an agreement from 1477, still lies unedited in the Venetian State Archives.
663 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495. 498-499.
664 I would like to thank Alexander Beihammer for this information.
665 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495. 498-499.
666 Iorga, Notes et extraits IV/I 321; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 521. 526. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 361 records a tombstone which might have belonged to his wife or a daughter, since it depicts a woman, but the highly damaged text mentions an *escuier. Hugue […] Soudan*.

the Genoese. Apart from financial dealings[667], Hugh's natural daughter Iana lived in Famagusta and married into Genoese families twice[668]. Iana's dowry of around 45,600 besants[669] as well as her brother Philippe's investments of ca. 11,509 Genoese pounds in the Genoese bank of San Giorgio in 1455[670], allow us a glimpse of the family's riches. After Iana, the family disappears from the sources for three decades. Only in 1480, a certain Lodovico Soudain studied in Padua, where he had been sent with the Caffran stipend[671].

The Audeth family, which we have already met in chapter one[672], was likewise very rich. The first mention of this family clearly designates them as Syrians, since Machairas explicitly groups them among the men who knew Arabic. The chronicler relates how the brothers Raymon and Bechna invited the Mamluks into Nicosia after the battle of Chirokitia in 1426. They clearly hoped to be spared for their collaboration with the enemy. But to no avail: they were taken into captivity[673]. Despite this incident, the family was still rich and influential in the 1450s. We know this because the Audeth were White Venetians, and their record has been kept in the Venetian archives[674]. The documents concern a legacy by Antonio Audeth. They are kept in the acts of the *Procuratori di San Marco*, who were responsible for legacies related to the Venetian state. From the documents, which have been edited by Jean Richard, we know about various members of the family[675].

Antonio, married to a certain Giaca, had a nephew called Gioan, with whom he conducted many financial dealings. In 1442, they had bought the huge *casale* Marathassa together with Thomaso Mansel from King John II for a sum of 13,000 ducats. Three years later, uncle and nephew bought the estates of Aglangia and Knodara for another 5,300 ducats. Antonio additionally possessed the *casale* Vrechia worth 5,500 ducats, which he had obtained as debt repayment from Philippe de Grenier and Jean de Nores. In 1449, he sold it again to Thomaso Mansel[676]. These sums testify to incredible riches in the family.

As has been mentioned in chapter one[677], and in contrast to the other families in this section, the Audeth did not use these riches to gain official positions in politics. The only member of the family to obtain an important office was Andrea, who became bishop of Tortosa in 1451[678]. However, this is not to say that the Audeth did not have any relationship with the royal family or the nobility. As we have seen in chapter two, the king as well as other powerful nobles were indebted to either Gioan or Antonio Audeth, who had various of their silver objects in deposit[679].

We hear of the family until the 1470s, when Antonio's wife Giaca was still alive, but during the civil war James II's men confiscated all the family's goods, and Antonio's heirs had great difficulties regaining their possessions. However, these heirs did not have the surname Audeth any more, since the male line seems to have died out with Antonio and Gioan, and the correspondence with Venice was taken over by Giaca's son in law Cadith and his family. They lived in Cyprus until the first half of the sixteenth century at least[680].

In contrast to the Audeth, the Salah family had a long tradition of serving the royal family in the administration, and they kept to this sector for the whole period under analysis[681]. Machairas mentions a certain Perrin Salah in the year 1413, when he supposedly accompanied the young Henry of Lusignan on an unauthorized trip to Western Europe[682]. Machairas later mentions that a member of the family was a sergeant to the admiral and died during the conflict with the Mamluks in 1426. He numbers him among the *poplanoi*, whom he differentiates from the nobility[683]. The first official document to mention a Salah comes from 1432, when Jacques Salah was *bailli de la secrète*. The Machairas chronicle confirms this information and calls Jacques a burgess[684]. Philippe Salah also worked in the *secrète* at least from 1435, when he signed Piero Podocataro's fief document. In 1442 Philippe still fulfilled the same function, but by 1445, he, too, had become *bailli de la secrète* and sat in the Haute Court. He was still an active member of this committee in 1454[685]. Philippe's position as secretary in the *secrète* was taken over by his relative Nicolas, who signed documents from at least 1448 on[686]. Their relative Babin Salah was involved in royal service on a different level. He accompanied Phoebus of Lusignan on an embassy to the Roman curia in 1447, where he received a full absolution, testifying to his adherence to the Latin rite. Twenty years later, in 1468/1469, Andreas Salah in contrast was abbot of the Orthodox Bibi monastery, while a certain Archony was a priest (Gr. *papa*) there[687].

667 Otten, Investissements financiers 115.
668 Both children appear quite often in Antonio Folieta's acts, as Iana's second marriage and her first husband's testament were arranged. See Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 173. 177. 178. 181. 188. 190. 192. 193. For proof that Iana was Hugh's natural daughter, see Otten, Investissements financiers 115.
669 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 192.
670 Otten, Investissements financiers 116.
671 Tselikas, Diathēkē 271; cf. Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 48: he studied in Padua probably from 1474 on.
672 Cf. ch. 1.3, p. 47.
673 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 693-694.
674 Cf. Richard, Une famille 95.
675 Richard, Une famille.
676 For Marathassa, see Richard, Une famille doc. I. For Aglangia and Knodara, see doc. II, and for Vrechia, see doc. IV.
677 Cf. ch. 1.3, p. 47.
678 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 154.
679 See Richard, Une famille docs V, VII and cf. ch. 1.3, p. 47.
680 Richard, Une famille doc. X 97-99.
681 Coureas in Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 32 n. 64 states that the Salah were White Genoese, but I have not been able to find any proof for this.
682 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 640.
683 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685.
684 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526 n. 2; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §.
685 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 31^{r}. 32^{v}; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 141-153; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380.
686 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 60 calls a Nicole Salah one of the chancellors (*kantzilieres*) in 1456. He probably means secretary of the *secrète* by this, which would suggest that Nicole was still working in the *secrète* ten years later.
687 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 144; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 195. 217-218.

However, the family also maintained its position in the royal administration in this period. Thomas Salah is recorded as a secretary in 1468. His relatives Jacques and Balian were in royal service too, although we do not know in which position[688]. Generally, the family seems to have got on well with James II. Balian had a short-lived success when James II granted him some villages as a reward for bringing good news but, true to the nature of such favouritism, Balian lost the villages again some days later. Another Jacques, on the other hand, had decided to go into exile with Queen Charlotte and was in Italy in 1467[689]. The only two females of this family known by name are Agnes Salah, who married Piero Podocataro, and Isabella, who was Piero di Constantinopoli's wife[690]. It is conspicuous that the Salah followed a strong tradition of royal service in the *secrète*. They were especially successful in this sector and used it for social ascension.

The Mistachiel and the de Ras families are different from the aforementioned families in so far as they appear in royal service as early as the 1370s but then disappear from the sources until the 1450s, when they reappear as knights with important careers. In the second half of the fourteenth century, the sources mention a merchant family Mistachiel of Syrian descent living in Famagusta. In 1361, Aylis Mistachiel married Andreas, son of Ioannis of Beirut, a White Venetian. She brought a dowry of almost 1,000 besants into the marriage. This is a fraction of the 50,000 besants Iana Soudain had, but the family was still affluent[691]. Jacoby has noted that the Mistachiel were already engaged in royal service in that period[692]. According to Machairas, a certain Badin Mistachiel went on an embassy to Antalya for Peter II[693].

After this incident, we only hear of a Mistachiel again in the 1450s. If indeed these are members of the same family, then some Mistachiel had converted to the Latin rite by this time[694]. Two men, Philippe and Jean, achieved high offices under James II. In August 1448, Philippe went as ambassador to Rhodes and then to the Grand Caraman. A Hospitaller document calls him »nobleman Philippus Mistael, squire and [his] majesty's envoy[695]«, thus testifying to his status as noble squire. In 1469, he was King James II's counsellor. According to the *Diēgēsis*, Philippe went to Venice to negotiate James' marriage with Caterina Cornaro, and in 1472 he was marshal of Cyprus. Philippe was married to the noblewoman Petrina de Milmars in 1469. At this point, Philippe is called *miles* (›knight‹)[696]. Presumably, his brother Jean was captain of Paphos in the 1460s and first supported Charlotte. However, he went over to James II and was knighted in 1473. According to Richard, Jean became viscount of Nicosia in 1489. He seems to have married a daughter into the Chimi family[697].

Thus, the Mistachiel brothers not only ascended into highest office and knighthood, but even integrated into the nobility by marrying into an old and successful noble family, the Milmars. However, we should note that they were only invested with the highest offices and honours under James II. In 1448, Philippe was still only a *scutifer*, a squire. Similarly, George, another Mistachiel, was appointed *bailli* and procurator to the archbishopric of Cyprus in 1456. He is designated as of noble origin (*nobilis generis*) in the papal registers, but in a Hospitaller document from 1459 he is called »burgess of Nicosia« (*burgensis Nicossie*[698]). If this is actually the same person, this could be a case of an individual in the grey zone between social groups. The Mistachiel were on their way up the social ladder in the 1440s and 1450s. But they only reached the top echelons of society after the civil war.

The De Ras family is a complicated matter. In the second half of the fourteenth century, their status is not clear. The only information on the first two family members is that they were ambassadors to the Mamluk sultan, Guillaume in 1366 and Thomas in 1370, but the former fell ill before leaving Paphos, and the latter died before he could embark[699]. A Pericoun de Rasa died in 1390. His tombstone does not designate him either as knight or squire, but he is depicted as a knight in armour with a sword, which would strongly suggest that he was a knight. A certain P. Dares, perhaps the same person, was royal treasurer in 1367[700]. The status of all these men is unclear. Imhaus, following Rudt de Collenberg, called them a Syrian family[701]. The two embassies to the Mamluks could hint in this direction, as it would have been useful for the ambassador to speak Arabic. Also, Ras (Ar. *Ra's*) is an Arabic sounding name[702]. If they were indeed Syrian, their process of Latinization and social ascent started very early, as Pericoun's tombstone from 1390 is in French and represents him as a knight.

After Pericoun's death, we do not hear anything of this family for a long time[703]. A Vasili Rasa was *chevetain* of

688 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 37. 227.
689 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 132; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.
690 For Agnes, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 197. 199. 200. Agnes had assignments on various *casalia* together with her son Jacques. For Isabella, see MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 28^{v}-29^{v}.
691 Boateriis, Atti (Lombardo) no. 70.
692 Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 74.
693 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 366.
694 See e. g. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 164. 219. 220. 221, where members of the family obtain papal privileges.
695 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) no. 237: *nobilis vir Philippus Mistael scutifer ac orator maiestatis*.
696 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 219; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 6 and n. 1.
697 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 6 and n. 1; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 124-132. 140. 174. 282; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir IV 45; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 421-423.
698 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 164; Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) no. 330.
699 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 184. 301. Even in 1321, a priest called George de Rassa is known, but I do not know if this was a member of the same family. See Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 346 (no. X. 38. 5).
700 Imhaus, Lacrimae no. 331; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 78.
701 Imhaus, Lacrimae 176; Rudt de Collenberg, Graces papales 241.
702 I would like to thank to Alexander Beihammer for this linguistic information.
703 There was a certain James de Razé in Queen Charlotte de Bourbon's retinue when she came to Cyprus in 1411, whom Dawkins counted under the de Ras, but as he probably was a foreigner, he shall not interest us here. Cf. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) vol. 2, 305.

Genagra in 1423[704]. He might have belonged to the family. Then, like the Mistachiel, the de Ras reappear in the 1450s as members of the nobility. A certain knight Guillaume de Ras witnessed a donation by Giaca Audeth in 1454 (»in the presence of the noble knight sir Vielmo Deras[705]«). This same Guillaume and his son Jean started important careers under James II. Although they first supported Charlotte, they are among the people who were assigned fiefs by James in 1464 according to Florio Bustron. Their fiefs are later confirmed by the *Livre des remembrances*. Jean de Ras even served as a member of the Haute Court in 1465, when a treaty with Genoa was signed. He witnessed many other proceedings of the Haute Court in 1468/1469. His father was viscount of Nicosia from 1469 onwards. Georgios Bustron names both among the important men who controlled the situation directly after James II's death. However, Guillaume was divested of his office in 1473 by Queen Caterina Cornaro, who gave him an annual income of 100 ducats instead. Guillaume seems to have stayed in Cyprus[706]. His son, however, was exiled to Venice together with the Catalans and Sicilians on the island after the Catalan coup d'état. The Venetians probably regarded him as one of the important players in Cypriot politics at the time. In the Venetian Senate's documents concerning his exile, he is always named together with Morphou de Grenier, the count of Rouchas. Morphou was possibly Jean's father in law, as Jean had married a certain Helene de Grenier in 1455[707]. If indeed the de Ras family was of Syrian origin, this marriage would have been of great importance, as the Grenier family were influential in the nobility. But even if they were a Latin family, this was a very high social rise, comparable to that of the Mistachiel family.

The last family in this group, the Soulouan, are a rather odd case based on sketchy evidence. Nevertheless, I include them here. Jean Richard assumed from their name that they had a Syrian background[708]. If this is true, it is a fascinating case of social climbing, which is all the more interesting because it took place rather early in the period under analysis. The Soulouan should not be confused with the Soudain family. Both families had similar names, but their Latin versions (lat. *Silvanus*/*Suluanus*/*Sulivanus* for Soulouan, lat. *Soldanus* for Soudain[709]) strongly suggest that these were indeed two different families.

The Soulouan family appears for the first time on 18 October 1397, when Jacques Soulouan witnessed the confirmation of a treaty with Venice together with Jean de Tiberiade and Jean de Brie. He is named the *ordinatus super officio camerae*, which Mas Latrie interprets as chamberlain of the kingdom of Cyprus[710]. However, chamberlains are, to my knowledge, always designated as such. Perhaps Jacques held this office only provisionally? In any case, he had not been knighted yet: his two fellow witnesses are designated as knights, while he bears no title[711]. Jacques' son Jean is not referred to as noble in the papal registers, either. On the other hand, a certain Margarita de Sulivanis obtained a marriage dispense of the fourth and fifth degree of consanguinity[712] with Nicholas de Tiberiade in 1411[713]. If she really was a member of the Soulouan family, this would presuppose that the Soulouan had intermarried with the same or other noble families before. This extraordinary piece of information is followed by another, even stranger one. According to Collenberg, Hugh of Lusignan called Antonio Soulouan, who followed a career in the Latin Church from the 1430s on, his nephew. If this really was the case, one Soulouan must have married one of Hugh's sisters[714]. However, both pieces of information come from Collenberg and are therefore unreliable. Even so, if the Soulouan were actually a Syrian family, and if one of them did marry a member of the royal family, this would reveal a high degree of social mobility in a very short time.

The comparison of these eight family histories proffers highly interesting results. First, we may note that all these successful families, with the exception of the Podocataro, were Syrians. This first point is closely connected to a second observation: apart from the Salah, none of these families had a background of service in the administration. On the contrary, most of them appear in high positions, although no member of the family had ever held an administrative position before. Their success must have relied on a different basis, likely their wealth. Although I cannot prove it, there are reasons to believe that their riches came from trading activities. This would explain why mostly Syrian families rose so high: they built their careers on money made in trade, since most Syrian families had settled in Cyprus as merchants, and trade had flourished[715].

704 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 23.

705 Procuratori di San Marco, Misti, Misti 132, loose leaf: *Impresentia del nobili cavalgier ms vielmo deras*.

706 For Guillaume, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 22. 86. 154. 158. 160. 172. 198. 226. 230. 232. 236. 242. 274. 294. 296. 300; Livre des remembrances (Richard) 155. 182 Ap. I; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 494-495; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 124-125; Hill, History III 686, n. 1.

707 For Jean, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86. 154. 182. 198. 212. 216. 218. 222. 232. 234. 242. 250. 258. 260. 274. 294. 300. 302. 319; Livre des remembrances (Richard) § 145 and n. 1. 148-154. 156-158. 163. 166-167. 170. 172-179. 181. 183. 197 Ap. I; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 172. 396-397; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 423. 494-495; Hill, History III 686, n. 1.

708 Livre des remembrances (Richard) § 167, n. 1. Grivaud even mentions them among the well-known Syrian families, see Grivaud, Entrelacs 31. Mas Latrie, on the other hand, had assumed they were Greek, see Strambaldi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 261.

709 Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 52. 71 (Souluan); Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495. 498-499 (Soudain).

710 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436 n. 3.

711 ASVen, Commemoriali, Commemoriali, Registri 9 fol. 38^{v}; cf. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436, n. 3.

712 For the meaning of the various marriage dispenses, cf. ch. 3.3, p. 90. Consanguinity of the fourth degree means that the spouses were related, they must have been third-degree cousins.

713 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 52. 71; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-24, pp. 433-434, β-78, pp. 523-524 (John XXIII).

714 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 99 and n. 67. Collenberg cites papal registers for this information which I unfortunately have not been able to check. Antonio eventually became archdeacon of Nicosia. For information on his career, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 104. 105. 108. 132. 169. 207. 215.

715 Cf. ch. 1.1 and Grivaud, Minorités 51-57 and cf. Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 80-84.

I cannot prove that the Soudain or the Urri were merchants, but they were certainly both White Genoese and the Soudain maintained good ties with Genoese Famagusta. We do not know anything about the Mistachiel in the middle of the fifteenth century, but if they belonged to the same family as those in the fourteenth century, they had been merchants. The only family certainly involved in merchant business is the Greek Podocataro family. However, even if we cannot be sure about the exact source of their wealth, it is very clear that it was not those families with the longest tradition in serving the state that rose the highest, but those with the greatest riches which they could place at the disposal of the state and the royal family. A similar mechanism is visible in the relationship between the royal family and the Venetian Corner family, as we shall see later[716]. This fact may also explain the period in which most of these families climbed the social ladder. The Podocataro, the Urri, Salah, Audeth and Soudain all came to prominence between the 1420s and the 1450s, when the Cypriot economy was very weak, especially in the aftermath of the Mamluk invasion and the huge ransom Cyprus had had to pay for King Janus in 1427. Their money was direly needed, and perhaps they had even contributed to the ransom itself.

Wealth was in many cases connected with the advantages of a good education. Giacomo Urri and Hugo Podocataro had studied in Padua. Hugh Soudain, although not in the Padua lists, was the chamberlain, and therefore must have possessed financial skills. The same is true for Jacques Soulouan. Piero Podocataro, Jacques and Philippe Salah, working their way up in the *secrète*, were obviously also specialized officials. From the 1420s on, there seems to have been enough social space for them to follow their careers. The Mistachiel and the de Ras family are different in that respect. Although they became part of the nobility as early as the 1450s, they achieved their important careers solely through James II's favouritism.

Another probable reason for the rise of these families, and perhaps also for the maintenance of their social status afterwards, were their family networks. As we shall see in chapter three, at least some of these families were highly interrelated, and could therefore rely on a network of recommendation and support[717]. Smaller families, such as the Soudain or the Audeth, who seem to have run out of male heirs in the 1450s, did not retain their status as long as the larger families such as the Podocataro or Urri.

In conclusion, the families of the new aristocracy generally moved in the same social milieu of state and church administration and military service. However, differences in their social positions were significant. While some families remained on the level of lesser or middle office and wealth, others rose to occupy highest state positions. They possessed incredible riches as well as strong family networks which provided them with the means for a high social ascent.

2.3 Western Immigrants

In the fifteenth century, Cyprus saw varying flows of immigration from Western Europe according to the political situation. In the following pages, I will try to assess the dimensions of the immigration process and ask in how far the Western newcomers integrated into Cypriot high society. Most Westerners came from the maritime republics of Genoa and Venice or from the Iberian Peninsula, but there were also some Frenchmen. A certain number of foreigners came into contact with Cypriot society through the Hospitaller state on Rhodes, which I will analyse separately. I have not provided graphs for the chapters on foreign groups, as information here is generally too fragmentary to make visualization sensible.

2.3.1 Venetians

The history of the relations between Lusignan Cyprus and the Venetian republic has been thoroughly treated[718]. I shall therefore only give a short outline of the developments and concentrate instead on the question if and how Venetians integrated into Cypriot high society.

Venetians had settled in Paphos, where they possessed several houses and other properties, before Lusignan times. However, when Guy of Lusignan came to Cyprus, he confiscated all Venetian property. Venetian presence on the island then declined for some years, but soon recovered, especially with the new waves of immigration after the fall of Acre in 1290[719]. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Venetians were particularly involved in the sugar trade. A century later, they had more or less monopolized the sugar and salt trade on the island, two of the most lucrative resources in Cyprus[720]. Despite the inhibitions for Venetian trade created by the Genoese settling in Famagusta, Venetians became extremely influential in the Cypriot economy and had surpassed Genoa in the Levant trade by 1430[721]. They were among the greatest creditors of the Cypriot crown. Venetians were so powerful in Cyprus that in 1447 there were rumours that Marco Corner, the most influential Venetian on Cyprus at the time, intended to take control of the island on behalf of the Venetian republic[722].

716 Cf. p. 74.
717 See ch. 3.3, from p. 94.
718 See e.g. Jacoby, Citoyens; Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus; Balard, Les Vénitiens en Chypre; Skoufari, Cipro veneziana; Richard, Chypre du protectorat; Bliznjuk, Venezianer; Bliznjuk, Che bello; Wartburg, Venice and Cyprus.
719 Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 61-65; Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 24-25; Balard, Les Latins en Orient 244.
720 Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 25-26; Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 75. For the Corner, see also below.
721 Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 77. 79-80.
722 Thiriet, Délibérations du sénat III no. 2753; cf. Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 28 and n. 74.

This raises the question of the consequences of Venetian economic power on the social level. David Jacoby has mentioned that most of the Venetian merchants active on Cyprus in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries did not live there and only stayed temporarily[723]. How then, did this situation develop in the fifteenth century? How can we describe the contacts between successful Venetians and Cypriot aristocratic circles?

Let us first consider the most well-known example: the famous Corner family[724]. The Corners, who were highly influential in Venice, had acquired the important estate of Episkopi near Limassol[725] in 1367 at the latest, after Federico Corner had lent King Peter I 60,000 ducats for his expedition against Alexandria. Episkopi housed one of the great sugar plantations in Cyprus, and the Corner were to hold it until long after the Venetian takeover in 1489. Their trade made them one of the richest families in Venice[726]. The Corners had an exceptional relationship with the Cypriot kings. Federico Corner not only lent Peter I a fortune, but also received him twice in his Venetian palazzo during the king's sojourns in Europe. He later acted as Peter II's procurator in foreign affairs, and negotiated the treaty between Milan, Venice and Cyprus in 1378 as well as Peter's marriage with Valentina Visconti, whom he personally escorted to Cyprus[727]. Marco and Andrea Corner from the second branch of the Corner family (later called *Corner della regina* after Queen Caterina Corner) entertained similar ties with the Lusignans in the fifteenth century. In the 1430s and 1440s, Marco Corner was one of the most important creditors of the Cypriot crown[728], and the relationship culminated in the marriage between Marco's daughter Caterina and James II[729].

However, these close relationships did not result in the Corner's social integration into the Cypriot nobility until the famous marriage between the last Lusignan king and the Corner scion. Neither Federico Corner, nor his son Giovanni, who took over Episkopi, nor later Marco Corner resided in Cyprus[730]. Instead, they pursued substantial careers in Venice and had procurators who dealt with their business on the island[731]. Moreover, Peter I had given Federico Corner the rights on Episkopi as recompensation for his debts; the Corner family therefore did not enter into a vassal relationship with the king[732].

However, this is only part of the story. Some of the Corner lived in Cyprus for a considerable time. Federico's brother Fantin, for example, resided on the island, probably managing his brother's estates[733]. He was the tenant of Pelendrakia in the district of Limassol in 1367[734]. Fantin certainly entered into commercial relations with Cypriot nobles. He had a contract with Philippe de Bon over 2,500 oil jars in 1396[735]. It is unclear, however, how far he forged other contacts in Cypriot aristocratic circles.

Richard suggests that Fantin might have been the same person as a certain Francesco Corner, who also lived on Cyprus[736]. Francesco witnessed the ratification of the treaty against Genoa between Venice, Milan and Cyprus in 1378, together with his relative Janachi Corner as *cives Veneciarum habitatores Nicossie* ('citizens of Venice living in Nicosia[737]'). However, Francesco died in Cyprus on 25 January 1390, while Fantin was still active in trade in 1396[738]. Therefore, they must have been two different men, though their relationship remains unclear. Francesco's tombstone with inscriptions in Latin is preserved in today's Arab Achmet mosque[739]. This former church also houses other Venetian tombs, which suggests that Francesco was part of the Venetian community in Nicosia which seems to have used this location as their communal church[740]. In how far he and Janachi were also part of the Cypriot élite community remains unclear. Some clearer information in this respect concerns another Corner who had lived on Cyprus: a certain Lodovico, who made his testament in Famagusta on 14 April 1363, does not seem to have had any special attachment to the island. He decided to sell all his possessions on the island and transfer the money to his brothers, wife, and brothers-in-law in Venice[741].

The two family members in the sources with the closest contacts in the Cypriot nobility, however, were Bernardo from the Episkopi branch, who was another of Federico's sons, and Marco's brother Andrea from the *della regina* branch. Bernardo seems to have lived in Cyprus. His wife Eleonore at least lived in Cyprus after his death, when she took the Cypriot André de Tiberiade as her second husband. In 1401, the

723 Jacoby, Citoyens 159-161.
724 For the Corner family in Cyprus, see Arbel, Royal Family; Arbel, Reign of Caterina Corner (for the della Regina branch); Hunt, Caterina Cornaro; Ravegnani, Corner, Federico; Gullino, Corner, Marco; Gullino, Corner, Andrea; Colasanti, Corner, Caterina; Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 25. 30.
725 For the location of Episkopi, see Grivaud/Cavazzana Romanelli, Cyprus 1542 fig. 25.
726 Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 25-26; Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 75.
727 Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 26; Ravegnani, Corner, Federico.
728 King John II owed him 20,000 ducats, see MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 1^{r}-1^{v}. Cf. Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 139; Arbel, Royal Family 135.
729 Hill, History III 632-634; Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 86.
730 Marco did stay in Cyprus for two years though, as a punishment for not having denounced his brother Andrea's criminal activities, see Arbel, Royal Family 136.
731 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 435; Arbel, Royal Family 136-138; Ravegnani, Corner, Federico (15 October 2020).
732 Skoufari, Cipro veneziana 26, following Ravegnani, Corner, Federico (15 October 2020), wrongly assumes that Federico acquired Episkopi as a fief. However, a text from 1397 in a collection of documents concerning the Corner family in MCC, PD 83c clearly indicates that the Corner had received Episkopi in return for lending Peter I 60,000 ducats, since in 1397, the Corner wanted to resell Episkopi to James I.
733 He was not, as Richard has suggested, seigneur of Episkopi himself, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 79 n. 4.
734 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 79. 84.
735 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 435.
736 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 79 n. 4.
737 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 328 mentions a certain Giannakis Corner who was involved in the Genoese-Venetian brawls during Peter II's crowning in Famagusta in 1372. This might have been the same person.
738 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 435.
739 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 141.
740 See ch. 6.4, p. 158.
741 Otten, Un Notaire vénitien nos 11. 12.

Venetian senate complained that Eleonore did not want the children from her marriage with Bernardo to join the rest of the family in Venice[742]. Perhaps Eleonore was Cypriot herself? If this was the case, Bernardo was the only Corner of the Episkopi branch to have married into the Cypriot nobility. Andrea in turn went to Cyprus in 1456, because he had been exiled from Venice, accused of misconduct during elections for the Zonta[743]. In the following years, he must have integrated into the Cypriot court well. Georgios Bustron mentions him as *auditeur* of Cyprus under Queen Charlotte in Keryneia[744]. However, Andrea's moment came under James II, to whom he defected some time later. James appointed him as one of the executors of his testament and a regent after his death. As Queen Caterina's uncle, he played a crucial role in the difficult time after James II's death, until he was murdered in the Catalan coup d'etat in November 1473[745].

The example of the Corner family reveals some typical structures of Venetian life abroad despite their special standing with the Cypriot royalty: acquiring estates and businesses overseas as well as exploiting their relationship with the crown without necessarily moving from Venice. However, as we have seen, some lesser family members spent at least some time in Cyprus. They probably connected with the Venetian community on the island and acted as the republic's official representatives, thus clearly maintaining their affiliation with the Venetian state. Andrea Corner was an exception, as he entered the Cypriot administrative apparatus and made a career there. However, his loyalty seems to have been primarily to Venice, as his murder by the Catalan party suggests. If Bernardo Corner actually married a Cypriot noblewoman, he probably was the most important broker between the Cypriot nobility and the Corner family in his time.

Structures are similar in other Venetian families: they were prominent in commerce, but they did not usually integrate into Cypriot noble society through intermarriage. In 1406, the Morosini were involved in the conflict concerning the waters of Kythrea that supplied the sugar plantations near Episkopi with water. This suggests that they, too, must have engaged in the sugar trade. A certain Marco Morosini witnessed the treaty of 1378 together with Francesco and Janachi Corner as *habitator Nicossie* ('inhabitant of Nicosia[746]') and a Daniel Morosini was Venetian bailo in Famagusta in 1391[747]. Similarly, the Martini brothers were very prominent in Cyprus in the 1440s, engaging in the sugar trade. In 1445, they purchased the rights to all the sugar from Hospitaller estates in Cyprus for the following five years. The contract was later extended to 1459[748]. They also had business with the Genoese and were among John II's creditors, as were Victor Valaresso and Angelo and Pierre Michiel[749]. Perhaps Iohannes Martini even lived on the island with his wife. Both brothers had assignations on the *casale* of Episkopi, which they farmed out to Thomas Bibi in 1450 and 1451 to repay some debts[750]. However, no contacts with Cypriot nobles that transcend business issues are known, and their economic connections did not make the Venetians part of the Cypriot aristocracy, even if they lived on the island.

However, there were some exceptions to this rule beyond the aforementioned Bernardo and Andrea Corner. The Bragadin family are a case in point. Up until the 1440s, their story does not differ significantly from others: they were involved in sugar plantation and trade[751]. In 1447, a Nicolo Bragadin lived in Nicosia and referred to himself as a Venetian citizen. When Nicolo was away from the island, he appointed other Venetians as his procurators to negotiate with King John II because the king owed him money, and he wanted to be put in possession of the *casale* Achelia[752]. However, by the 1460s, a branch of this family had become vassals of the crown. The *Diēgēsis* relates how Simon Bragadin and his brother Juan sided with Charlotte in the civil war and how Simon's house was pillaged. Later, Lucas Bragadin was summoned to appear before Queen Caterina Corner to represent himself and his sisters Marietta and Claira. He took his fief privileges with him to prove his status[753]. Some family members also appear in the *Livre des remembrances*. Marietta received 15 besants a day additionally to her fief from 5 September 1468 on, almost 5,500 besants a year – a large sum of money. Lucas, as well as a certain Carlo, worked as financial clerks for James II. Lucas even appears as »well beloved and loyal« (*bien amé et feaull*) in the tradition of the king's liegemen[754]. I have not been able to establish the exact connection of this family branch to others in Venice. However, they were clearly integrated into the vassal system in Cyprus and even worked for the crown.

742 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 456.

743 Gullino, Corner Marco (20 November 2018); Arbel, Royal Family 136. Cf. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 820.

744 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86.

745 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 150. 182-186. 236. 240. 246. 254. 262. 264. 266. 306; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 353-362.

746 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372.

747 Balard, Hoi Genouates 291. On 1 July 1402, another Morosini, a certain Gaspar, died and was buried in the Arab Achmet mosque. However, his last testament from 1401 preserved in the Venetian state archives does not reveal any connection to Cyprus, suggesting that Gaspar was perhaps on a trading venture in Cyprus when he died and did not reside there. For the tombstone, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 138. The tombstone specified Gaspar's origin as *de Veneciis*, a specification which is not used for other tombstones of Venetians in Cyprus. For the testament, see ASVen, Atti Gibellino 571/182. The testament specifies Gaspare fu Bellelo, while the tombstone writes »sepulchre of the nobleman dominus Caspar Mauroceno, the son of the deceased dominus B'lelus of Venice» (*sepultura nobilis viri dni casparis mauroceno filii qdam dni b'leli d'ven'ciis*). As the name of son as well as father seem to be rather rare, I think we can be quite sure that the testament and the tombstone concern the same person.

748 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxxvviii.

749 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 139, III 147; Jacoby, Venetians in 83; Richard, Chypre du protectorat 664; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 123.

750 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 38.

751 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 25; Thiriet, Délibérations du sénat III no. 2753. In 1397, a Victor Bragadin had witnessed the contract between the Corner family and King James I as the republic's representative (Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436 n. 3). The Bragadini's own trade interests were safeguarded by the republic in negotiations with the Lusignan crown in 1406 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Nouvelles preuves II 95-96; cf. Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 83).

752 MCC PD C 1299/6 (15). For the negotiations, see also Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 140.

753 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86. 108. 160.

754 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 21. 48. 62. 153. 171.

A branch of the Bernardin family may also have integrated into Cypriot society. Andrea Bernardin exported sugar from Cyprus in 1437, but more importantly, a Jean Bernardin from Cyprus went to study in Padua in 1446[755], and a family of that name was also among Queen Charlotte's followers in exile in 1467[756].

Two other Venetians who integrated into Cypriot society and even pursued careers in Cyprus are known from the end of the fourteenth century[757]. They were Antonio de Bergamo and Thomas de Zenariis. However, they differ from all the cases mentioned above in one important aspect: both Antonio and Thomas were not born Venetians. They were only granted Venetian citizenship when their careers in Cyprus were already well underway (see below).

Antonio de Bergamo built an important career in Cyprus between 1378 and the 1390s. We can only assume that he had come to Cyprus from Italy; there are no sources to confirm this. He is first mentioned as »Antonio of Bergamo, professor of medicine, canon of Paphos[758]« when he witnessed the ratification of the treaty between Cyprus, Venice and Milan against Genoa from 6 March 1378. The treaty places him among the Venetian citizens living in Nicosia who served as witnesses for the Serenissima. The privilege granting him Venetian citizenship dates from 1 October 1378, half a year later. Maybe he was granted the official citizenship because he had served well during the negotiations. In any case, the privilege specifies that he was not only a canon educated in medical studies, but King Peter II's personal doctor (*phisicus del re di Cipro*)[759]. Then there is a lacuna of ten years in the sources, but on 2 October 1389 Antonio again witnessed a treaty between Venice and Cyprus concerning Venetian privileges on the island. However, this time he figures not as a Venetian citizen, but as a member of the Haute Court[760]. He must have integrated well into the Cypriot court in the ten years lying between the two documents. A year later, on 12 November 1390, Antonio is even called *regni Cipri provisore*[761], although it is not entirely clear what this position entailed. Antonio's tombstone dates to 19 April 1393. By the time of his death, he was *camerarius* of Cyprus, thus occupying one of the great state offices[762]. The tombstone's inscription also titles him *famosus magister*[763], suggesting that he was indeed an important personality by the time of his death. However, the inscription is written in Latin, following the example of other Venetian tombstones on Cyprus. Tombstones from established Frankish nobles on Cyprus were usually written in French[764].

Fortunately, the Venetian state archive preserves some documents concerning Antonio's last will. The testament itself does not exist, but a conglomerate of four documents preserves several receipts testifying to the execution of his legacies[765]. The two executors of the testament, Thomas de Zenariis and Clemens de Aretio, issued parts of the inheritance to various parties and protocolled this process minutely, with the legatee witnessing the receipt of the goods. Most of the receipts record minor sums, such as various legacies granted to mendicant orders to say masses for Antonio's soul. Some concern private persons and range from 10 besants left to his slaves to 300 besants for a certain Paganinus de Vigano.

The relationship between the testator and the legatees is unclear in most cases. However, with Antonius de Negris, Paganinus de Vigano, Bella Pelegrina and Simon de Aretio (who was the king's confessor and was assigned 50 besants), most of them have Italian-sounding names. Two interesting legacies of 100 besants each went to George Billy and Janot Sincritico, a Syrian and a Greek[766]. The connection between these men and Antonio is not clear. Perhaps they had worked together in the financial administration. However, the most important legacy concerns Antonio's daughter Bertolina. It tells us that Bertolina had married Robert de Morphou, member of a well-known and powerful noble family. This suggests a successful integration not only on a professional, but also on a social level.

We have to treat the information gained from the legacies with caution, since we know from a different document that the legacies are by no means complete. For in 1405 Antonio's widow, a certain Pinadeben de Ferrare, also wrote her testament. She modified the document a year later and both versions of her testament are extant. The first lies unpublished in the Venetian state archives, while the second has been ed-

755 Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 81; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126-128.
756 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.
757 A third case is very unclear: a certain Domenico de la Palu was an important statesman in Cyprus in the 1420s and 1430s, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 659; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 358. I am not sure where he is from. The name could refer to Paullo, a place in the province of Milan (OL III 98). However, there is a Patriarch of Jerusalem in Cyprus in the fourteenth century with the same name, who seems to come from France, see Schabel, Elias of Nabinaux 125. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86. 128. 130 mentions a Pier Embalo, whom Coureas in Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 85 and Index translates as Palu or Palol, but it is unclear where he comes from. Therefore, it is very unclear if all these men came from the same or from different places and which these were.
758 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372: *Antonio de Pergamo artis medicine professori canonico Paphensi*.
759 Cives Veneciarum, de Bergamo.
760 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 416-418.
761 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 421. For the position of provisore, see A1.2.5 p. 172.
762 Cf. ap. I, p. 166.
763 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 147.
764 For tombstones of Venetians, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 138. 141. 147. For tombstones in French, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae passim, e. g. nos 5. 6. 12. 13. 15. 25. 26.
765 The documents are in ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai bb. 22/19; 53/10 (two documents); 56/3. The document in 56/3 is quite extraordinary. It consists of two pieces of parchment glued together and is thus more than a meter long. Written on 12 September 1404, it lists 14 receipts one after the other. Two of the other documents (ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 22/19 and the first document in 53/10) actually contain texts which are also on the big parchment. Only the last document (53/10, second document) has a receipt which is not contained in ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3. All the information mentioned in this paragraph therefore stems from the above documents, but especially from Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3, which has been cross-checked with the other documents.
766 This is the first reference to George Billy, a well-known royal counsellor in 1403, if indeed this is the same person, see pp. 9. 48. 65.

ited by Mas Latrie[767]. Both documents reveal that Pinadeben had inherited a large sum of money from her late husband Antonio, which she had first intended to bequeath to her second husband Nicolo de Assono and to Thomas de Zenariis in equal parts. Later, however, she decided to use it in order to build a chapel in Venice to commemorate Antonio's soul and her own. This is interesting in various respects. Above all, we do not know to whom Antonio may have bequeathed other portions of his possessions, including the estates he presumably possessed. Secondly, his wife was Italian as he was, and she also took an Italian as her second husband, while her daughter Bertolina married into the Cypriot nobility.

The information garnered on Antonio and his family shows us a man who must have immigrated to Cyprus at some point and integrated into Cypriot society well, above all on a professional level. As the king's doctor, he must have been close to the royal family and possibly to other nobles, too. On the other hand, his work in the financial administration as a *camerarius* may have placed him in contact with Syrians and Greeks. Antonio himself married a woman from his home country, but his daughter was married into the Cypriot nobility, attesting to a successful integration.

The information on the *legum doctor* Thomas de Zenariis is not quite as abundant. Thomas came from Padua[768]. He first appears in 1393, when he acted as executor for Antonio's testament. Thomas fulfilled this function together with Clemens de Aretio, another Italian[769]. However, Thomas is not only known as Antonio's and Pinadeben's friend. He also pursued a career in the Cypriot administration. In 1397, he accompanied John of Lusignan on an embassy to France, where they brokered an alliance between Cyprus and the French kingdom on 7 January 1398. In the document, Thomas features as *judex cancellarie regni Cipri*. He was therefore one of the three judges of the royal chancellery[770]. In 1399, he went to Milan as royal procurator in order to contract the marriage between Anglesia Visconti and King Janus. When the king was not content with his wife, Thomas seems to have devised the legal argument in order to annul the marriage. The divorce trial presents him as a well-known man, highly involved in matters of the royal court[771]. Thomas was still *judex* in 1410, when he was sent to negotiate a peace treaty with the Genoese in Famagusta[772].

At some point during his career, Thomas seems to have turned in a petition in order to become a Venetian citizen. On 4 July 1395, he was granted Venetian citizenship[773]. We do not know if Thomas died in Cyprus, but his illegitimate son Francesco certainly lived there until the early 1430s. Francesco acquired a papal privilege *super defectum natalium de soluto et soluta gentium* in 1408, as well as a canonry and the post of archdeacon in Paphos. King Janus himself petitioned the pope for the young man. Francesco is called the king's *dilectus* in the document, and must therefore have in some way been connected to Janus. Perhaps he even belonged to the royal household. Francesco was studying in Padua at the time[774]. In any case, this same Francesco witnessed a document on 8 July 1432 in Nicosia[775], in which he is designated as *legum doctor*.

The cases of Antonio da Bergamo and Thomas de Zenariis clearly differed from those of other Venetians analysed above. Antonio and Thomas did not come as merchants with a strong Venetian background to Cyprus, but rather as individuals seeking a career, be it as *phisicus* or as jurist. Although from places more or less close to Venice, they only acquired their Venetian affiliation later. They therefore belonged to a different milieu than the Venetian merchants, and their access to Cypriot society was consequently of a different nature. This said, the Venetian republic probably assented readily to their Venetian citizenship, as both Thomas and Antonio could be important brokers for Venice at the Cypriot court.

The cases discussed thus far show how Venetians in Cyprus usually aimed at controlling the lucrative sugar and salt trade and also at acquiring estates to further their aims. The Corners also had an exceptional connection with the royal family and were important creditors of the crown. However, real social integration on the level of marriage connections was an exception, only sought by few members of merchant families and by civil servants such as Antonio and Thomas.

2.3.2 Milanese and Florentines

Though not many Milanese are known in Cyprus, the marriage between King Peter II and Valentina Visconti, the daughter of duke Bernabò Visconti of Milan in 1378 brought a whole group of Milanese men and women to Cyprus in the Queen's entourage[776]. According to Machairas, some ladies who accompanied Valentina married Cypriot knights: Joanna de Aragón became Jean Soissons' wife, a Giacomina married a certain Gioan Spinola and an anonymous lady married Jean de Montolive[777].

More importantly, a newly edited document from 1407 concerning King Janus' divorce trial sheds light on two more people who had come to Cyprus with Valentina, and who

767 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 22-26.
768 A Zenarii family is attested in the lesser nobility of Ravenna in the fourteenth century, see Schoolman, Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy 75, n. 50. However, I have not been able to find the Zenarii in Padua, other than in connection with Thomas' documents.
769 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3, passim.
770 Cf. Richard, Aspects du notariat 209.
771 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 328. 334-335/§§ 567. 586-589.
772 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 441. 495.
773 See Cives Veneciarum, de Zenariis.
774 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-41, pp. 296-300, β-43, pp. 302-305, β-46, pp. 309-310 (Benedict XIII), β-52, pp. 473-476 (John XXIII) – the last document records how Francesco freely relinquished his office for unknown reasons in 1412; cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 39.
775 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 3.
776 For the marriage, see Edbury, Hē Politikē Historia 131; Hill, History II 422-423; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 14. 95; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 370-372.
777 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 580 (Machairas, Exēgēsis [...] 403-404).

still lived in Cyprus thirty years later. A certain Apollonia de Crivellis was called as witness to the trial. Another of Valentina's dames, she had married the Cypriot knight Jean Babin[778]. Together with Apollonia, a certain Simon de Pelestrin from Florence was called as witness. Simon states that he came from Florence, but his testimony illustrates that he lived at Bernabó Visconti's court and must have left it together with Valentina[779]. He seems to have stayed in Cyprus the rest of his life. Simon's marital status is unclear, but other men with the surname Pelestrin played a role in Cypriot politics in later years. It is probable that they were his offspring. A Thomas Pelestrin died in Cyprus in 1431. His tombstone was written in French, the usual custom among noble families on Cyprus[780]. A certain Jacques Pelestrin was a knight hospitaller and died fighting in the Lusignan army in 1425. And finally, Perrin Pelestrin became an important statesman between the 1430s and the 1450s. He was first viscount of Nicosia and later turcopolier of Cyprus[781]. If, indeed, these men were Simon Pelestrin's sons or grandsons, they probably grew up on the island and were integrated into Cypriot society.

The last witness called to testify in 1407 was Francisco de Castagerola. Just as Simon Pelestrin, he was a Florentine who had served Bernabó Visconti in the late 1360s. However, he had left Milan before Valentina went to marry King Peter II, and it is unclear how and why he ended up in Cyprus. Nevertheless, he is designated as living in Nicosia (*habitator Nicossie*[782]). Generally, the men and women who came to Cyprus in Valentina's entourage seem to have integrated into Cypriot noble society well.

2.3.3 Genoese

The Genoese in Cyprus in the fifteenth century are a special case because of the harsh peace terms forced on Cyprus after the war with Genoa in 1372-1374[783]. Though Peter II had only farmed out Famagusta to the Genoese, his uncle and successor James I, captive in Genoa until 1383, was forced to agree to give full possession of Famagusta and a territory of two miles around the town to the Genoese[784]. Michel Balard has shown that the percentage of Genoese citizens in Famagusta increased by half after the war, going up to about 75 % of the town's population. Merchants of other origins decreased significantly in number and Famagusta became a Genoese town[785]. However, the economic problems caused by the Genoese trade monopoly in Famagusta led to emigration from the town during the following decades. Genoese as well as others preferred to settle in other places in the Levant. They took their trade with them[786]. Nonetheless, Famagusta remained a Genoese town until it was recaptured by James II in 1464[787]. This raises the question of how far the Genoese spread out from this stronghold and forged contacts with the Cypriot aristocracy in the fifteenth century. Did they take care to preserve their social autonomy, or did they integrate into the aristocracy?

In 2011, Cathérine Otten asked this question in connection with an analysis of Cypriot fiefs issued to Genoese citizens[788]. Otten has found several fief privileges and references to fiefs in the Genoese archives. The first privileges were issued to Giacomo Grillo and Clemente de Prementorio in 1374[789], some months before the peace between Cyprus and Genoa was concluded. James I and Janus also issued fiefs to Genoese[790]. Some privileges state explicitly that the Genoese citizen had to pay military service like every other vassal when in Cyprus [791]. A sign of integration?

An examination of the Genoese citizens who received these fiefs and their presence in Cyprus is revealing. The kings issued fiefs first and foremost to important Genoese citizens: Giacomo Grillo was a military leader in the 1372-1374 conflict, and Clemente de Prementorio later became part of the Genoese Mahona. Others were the admiral Pietro de Campofregoso and his brother Domenico, who was then doge of Genoa. Again others might have been acquaintances of James' and Janus' from the time of their exile in Genoa. In 1441, Hugh of Lusignan seems to have promised fiefs to those Genoese who helped to negotiate the peace treaty between Cyprus and Genoa[792].

Apart from the fief for the doge and his brother, which amounted to 14,800 besants, the fiefs usually consisted of smaller amounts of money, between 1,000 and 3,500 besants[793]. These figures are close to those of a squire's fief. Many of the fiefs were *mēnia*, money payments, and there-

778 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 313-317/§§ 526-544.
779 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 309-310/§§ 506-507. In 1397, he had witnessed a treaty between Cyprus and Venice in Nicosia, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436.
780 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 114.
781 For Jacques, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 655; for Perrin, see ch. 4.2.1, p. 116.
782 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 318-322/§§ 545-565.
783 For literature concerning the history of the Genoese and Cyprus in the fifteenth century, see e. g. Balard, Hoi Genouates; Edbury, Cyprus and Genoa; Balletto, Les Génois dans l'île; Otten, Investissements financiers; Otten, Féodalité; Bliznyuk, Diplomatic Relations.
784 Balard, Hoi Genouates 263.
785 Balletto, Les Génois dans l'île 29 actually maintained that the Genoese took care to send Genoese immigrants into the island's inland, too, in order to gain influence in Cyprus. However, she does not have any proof for this, and although Genoese did live in Nicosia (see below), there is no evidence for a substantial augmentation of their numbers.
786 Balard, Hoi Genouates 289-295.
787 See Hill, History III 590.
788 Otten, Féodalité esp. 69.
789 Otten, Féodalité 73.
790 In some cases, it is not clear whether the estates in question were actually treated as fiefs, or if they were just compensations for debts. This is the case after 1427 in particular, when many merchants had lent great sums to the crown in order to free King Janus from captivity. See Otten, Féodalité 70.
791 Otten, Féodalité 70-74. Otten suggests that some estates were actually fiefs (although they do not state their sort of contract explicitly), because the documents are called *privileges*. However, I have found some documents of estate sales which explicitly designate themselves as privileges, complete with a seal, although they are not fiefs, see p. 43. A privilege therefore is not necessarily a fief.
792 Otten, Féodalité 74-75. 77-79. 81-82. 85 and esp. 86. 88.
793 Otten, Féodalité 74-75. 77. 90-92. 94.

fore not estates which had to be looked after. Moreover, in many cases the fiefs were never actually paid out, and the recipient's heirs often tried to claim them twenty years later, mostly unsuccessfully[794].

These fiefs cannot have been important for the substinance of their recipients, who were otherwise wealthy. Cathérine Otten concludes that their aim must have been to honour the individuals in question and to integrate them into the Cypriot aristocracy and into a circle of families who supported each other through various services such as acting as procurators[795]. It is certainly plausible that one aim of these procedures was to honour the Genoese in question and to secure their loyalty to the Cypriot crown. However, their integration is a more complex question. Almost none of these men or indeed their heirs ever lived in Cyprus. As is the case with the Venetians, they administered their possessions through procurators on the island. Otten, indeed, mentions that none of these individuals ever sat in the Haute Court or fulfilled any office at the Cypriot court[796].

However, there are other Genoese who behaved differently: in 1432, the Genoese government wrote to the king of Cyprus asking him to favour the heirs of Vincenzo Vivaldi who had taken care to renovate his estate on Cyprus. Vincenzo must certainly, therefore, have stayed in Cyprus for some time[797]. The Guarco family is a second case. An Isnardo de Guarco must have received a fief before 1392, when his heirs divided it between three family members. Some of them must have lived permanently on Cyprus. Another Isnardo de Guarco became the Genoese doge in 1436 and wrote a letter to John II in which he stated that, for the sake of politics, he would have to take a neutral stance towards Cyprus from now on. However, he promised that privately he would be eternally grateful to the Cypriot kings for their beneficence to his family during the long years in which he had lived in Cyprus[798].

In 1432, a certain Lyachin Castrisio went to the Grand Karaman as ambassador for the Cypriot king together with Leontios Machairas. Bertrandon de la Broquière, who met the two ambassadors in the East, calls Lyachin a gentleman from Cyprus (*un gentil homme de Cypre*) and records that both spoke good French[799]. Lyachin might have belonged to the Genoese Castrisio family. Machairas himself mentions two Genoese Cypriot vassals in 1372. He calls them two of the king's men (Gr. *anthrōpoi tou rēgos*)[800]. One of these was Raf Carmain/Carmadino who is also known as a tenant in the district of Limassol in 1367[801].

The Spinola family also seems to have integrated into Cypriot noble society well. A Genoese captain Spinola is mentioned in the chronicles in 1360, working for Peter I[802]. One of Queen Valentina's damsels married a Spinola after 1378[803] and in 1387, Maria de Spinolis, daughter of Lombard, married Jean de la Baume. They required a dispense in the 4th degree of consanguinity[804], suggesting another, preceding match. Machairas mentions another Spinola in 1414, when he received the Sultan's ambassador in his house in Nicosia. In 1426, Machairas refers to two »Spinolas«, Estiene and Francesco, who went on an embassy to Cairo. However, in this case it is very unclear if he actually meant the Genoese Spinola or the French Pignol[805].

Other than the Genoese vassals, there were of course those Genoese who came to the island for trade and lived in Famagusta or even Nicosia. The registers of the notary Antonio Folieta and some additional documents edited by Svetlana Bliznyuk inform us about one group of such Genoese citizens who lived in Cyprus in the early 1450s. Their example suggests that most Genoese merchants were involved above all in their own circles and businesses. They often acted as procurators, witnesses or testament executors for one another and seem to have been a tight-knit group[806]. However, these Genoese also fostered relations with Cypriots and especially with the aristocracy. Those relationships seem to have swayed between friendships and amicable business relationships and conflicts resulting from infringements of the peace treaties between Cyprus and Genoa[807].

Some examples may illustrate the point. Benedetto de Vernazza was an important member of the Genoese community in Famagusta. His father had been the captain of Famagusta in 1433 and Benedetto already resided in the town at that date. More than twenty years later, he was involved in official negotiations with the Cypriot crown about the latter's debts to Genoa[808]. In 1453, he witnessed a document registering the claims of the White Genoese Thomas Bibi against the Cypriot crown[809]. At the same time, Benedetto was the tenant of several royal *casalia* and seems to have enjoyed a special relationship with Jacques de Caffran, one of the most important Cypriot statesmen until the 1440s. Benedetto represented Jacques in Genoa after the latter's death and defended his interests against claimants such as Hugo Podocataro[810]. Ben-

794 Otten, Féodalité 86.
795 Otten, Féodalité 85. 89.
796 Otten, Féodalité 88.
797 Otten, Féodalité 83.
798 For Isnardo's letter, see Iorga, Notes et Extraits IV/II 371; for the fief, see Otten, Féodalité 79-80.
799 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 3. 6.
800 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 361. 363. Another Genoese who might have been in Cypriot royal service in 1426 was Antonio Mari, whom Machairas mentions during the battle of Chirokitia, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 683 and n. 1.
801 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85.
802 Strambaldi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 40; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 103. 139-141.
803 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 580; cf. p. 77.
804 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-112, pp. 187-188 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 13.
805 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 646. 687.
806 See Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 23. 48. 52. 72. 110. 111. 126. 127. 128. 150. 151. 180.
807 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 28. 29.
808 Bliznyuk (ed.), Genuesen auf Zypern no. 50; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 48. 122.
809 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 38.
810 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 124. 128. For Jacques, see ch. 4.2.1.

edetto's wife even inherited a substantial annual rent of 100 Venetian ducats from Caffran[811]. In 1455, this connection was expanded to Jacques de Fleury's family (closely related to the Caffrans), who fled to Famagusta after the latter's failed coup d'état. Zoi Catacouziny, Jacques de Fleury's wife, noted that Benedetto and a certain Georgius Condomiri were the best neighbours one could have (*duorum ex melioribus vicinis, quos habere potuit*[812]), and that they had her best interests at heart. Benedetto and his wife faithfully represented Genoa on official occasions. However, this did not hinder them from entertaining business and amicable relationships with Cypriot nobles. When Benedetto later went to Genoa and to the duke of Savoy as an emissary, he did so in the interests of both the republic and Jacques de Fleury himself[813].

Jacobo Centurione was similarly involved in Cyprus. Jacobo was a Genoese citizen and a merchant in Nicosia, where he lived[814], but he was also active in Famagusta. In 1452, he witnessed a document drafted there by Folieta[815]. Jacobo probably had relatives in Famagusta, since a certain Cipriano Centurione (born in Cyprus, hence the name?) witnessed some documents in the town[816]. Jacobo had business with King John II, who owed him money in 1440[817]. Most interestingly, in 1452 he is among the witnesses of Hugo Podocataro's testament, which suggests that he had a good connection to the latter[818]. Three years later, Jacobo acted as Hugo's procurator in Genoa, representing his interests against the heirs of Antonio Grillo and of Jacques de Caffran[819]. Considering that the White Genoese Hugo Podocataro was responsible for the relations between the Cypriot court and the Genoese, this is a likely connection.

Good relationships also existed between the White Venetian family Audeth, the Cadith/Capuri and a burgess of Famagusta, Thomaso Mansel. Thomaso had been living in Cyprus at least from 1435 on, when he shipped sugar from Cyprus to Alexandria[820]. In 1443, he bought the third part of the estate of Marathassa. He shared this part with Georgios and Daut Cadith as well as Cadith Capuri, although all three only contributed smaller sums between 200 and 300 ducats. The three men were related to Gioan and Antonio Audeth, who had bought the other parts of the estate[821]. Marathassa was worth 13,000 ducats and Thomaso must have possessed a considerable fortune to buy even a third of it. Later, he acquired the *casale* Vrechia for 5,500 ducats, also from Antonio Audeth[822]. He therefore had good business relationships with the extended Audeth family. In an unspecified moment, Thomaso had also lent Peter of Lusignan 4,500 besants. Peter had assigned him the revenues of his three *casalia* Lapati, Stilli and Colote for six years in order to return his debt[823].

A last example[824] is Antonio Cigala, who was prior of the *officium de moneta*[825] in 1456[826]. Like the other men, he was well integrated into Genoese society in Cyprus[827]. He was part of the Famagustan court and represented the republic in business with the Lusignans[828]. However, he also had considerable private connections in Cyprus. Antonio had a wife and sons in Genoa, but he also had a mistress in Famagusta, with whom he had three children. Another daughter living in Famagusta seems to have been the child of another woman. In his testament, Antonio left his property in Genoa to his wife, but he also provided for his mistress and the children in Famagusta, suggesting a strong attachment there[829]. He even bought his elder daughter a house in Famagusta[830]. However, Antonio also dealt with Cypriots. He had business with Philippe Soudain, and Zoi Catacouziny owed him money in 1455[831].

Despite these many connections with Cypriots, marriage alliances between the two groups were rare. There are only two known cases of intermarriage between Genoese and the Cypriot aristocracy in these years, and both involve the same woman. About 1440, Iana Soudain, Hugh Soudain's daughter, married Johannes Carmadino. Judging by his name, Johannes was possibly a member of an old Genoese family[832], although in the Cypriot sources he is always referred to as a burgess of Famagusta[833]. One document designates him as *nobilis*[834]. In any case, Johannes Carmadino was an influential member of Famagustan society in the early 1450s. He witnessed several notarial deeds between 1452 and 1456[835]. He was viscount of the Syrian court in 1456, occupying an important post connected to the non-Genoese population of Famagusta[836].

811 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 39.
812 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 130.
813 Ganchou, Rébellion 150.
814 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 58; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 29.
815 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 20.
816 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 48. 49. 58. 68.
817 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 55.
818 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro142; ASVen, Notarile, Testamenti 14.
819 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 124.
820 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 165. For his designation as *burgensis Famaguste* see also Richard, Une famille doc. IV.
821 Richard, Une famille doc. III.
822 Richard, Une famille doc. IV.
823 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 46.
824 Other members of this group in Folieta's registers are Petrus de Nigrono, Badasale Lercario, Lazaro Lercario, Johannes Vento, and Johannes Carmadino, see Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 15. 28. 29. 45. 47. 48. 55. 63. 72. 110. 116. 119. 122. 127. 133. 134. 136. 143. 157. 158. 171. 172. 185. 195. 216.
825 This was the financial administration of Famagusta, see Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) 103.
826 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 143. 158. 171.
827 For Antonio's business with other Genoese, see Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 23. 48. 52. 126. 127. 141. 146. 148. 153. 160. 165.
828 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 133. 134.
829 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 179.
830 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 156.
831 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 130. 173.
832 Cf. Epstein, Genoa and the Genoese 75. A man of the same name witnessed an accord between two merchants about a debt of twelve Venetian ducats in Rhodes in 1435 and is designated as Genoese citizen, see Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 181-182. Albeit, we cannot be sure this was the same person as the Johannes Carmadino active in Famagusta in the 1450s.
833 A certain Rafe Carmain was a vassal of Peter II in 1372, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 361. 363. However, no relationship between these two men can be established.
834 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 136.
835 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 15. 110. 116. 136. 157.
836 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 143. 158.

Johannes had four children with Iana. In 1453, he acted as procurator for the late Hugh Soudain, and worked together with Thomas Urri[837]. It is noteworthy that Johannes married the daughter of one of the most important Cypriot politicians of the time. This was probably an important connection between the Cypriot court and Genoese society in Famagusta. When Johannes died between May and July 1456, Iana married a Genoese of the same circle, Antonio de Fervante, who later served as her brother's procurator in Genoa. She lived in Famagusta during both marriages[838].

To conclude, many Genoese lived in Cyprus after 1374 and interacted with Cypriots in various ways. Relationships were influenced by the problematic situation resulting from the war in 1372-1374, but the animosities did not hinder Genoese to receive fiefs from the Cypriot kings, or to foster good business relationships with Cypriot nobles. Some few Genoese were indeed in royal service. However, most of the Genoese who became royal vassals did not live on the island but used the services of procurators to administer their business. Nevertheless, there was an active Genoese community in Famagusta as well as in Nicosia. Its most powerful members often entertained business connections and even friendships with Cypriot nobles, but they did not usually integrate via office or marriage. The only known marriage connections integrated the Cypriot noblewoman Iana Soudain into Famagustan society rather than the other way around, although this connection was probably important for the relationship between the two communities.

2.3.4 Catalans and Aragonese

At the end of the fourteenth century, the Lusignans had a long history of marriage connections with the royal house of Aragon, which was in dynastic union with the principality of Catalonia[839]. The connection between Cyprus and Aragon had begun in 1315 with the marriage between James II of Aragon and Maria, King Henry II's eldest daughter, after which no less than five marriages were contracted between members of the Lusignan family and cadet branches of the Aragonese royal house[840]. The connection between the future Peter I of Cyprus and Eleanor, the daughter of the infante Peter of Ribargoza, was the greatest success of this policy. The Lusignans had good reasons to forge relationships with the Aragonese: as one of the most powerful kingdoms in the Western and Central Mediterranean with wide-reaching contacts into the East, the Aragonese were an ideal partner for the small kingdom threatened by its Muslim neighbours[841].

The alliances must have had an impact on Cypriot aristocracy, too, especially when their Aragonese allies came to live in Cyprus. Constance of Sicily, who married first Henry II and later John prince of Antioch, Hugh IV's third son, was one of these Aragonese immigrants. The same is true for Eleanor of Aragon[842]. Both women must have brought retinues with them, who likely forged contacts with the Cypriot nobility. Unfortunately, Machairas does not provide information on Eleanor's retinue, as he did for example with Charlotte de Bourbon[843]. Therefore, almost no information has come down to us for the end of the fourteenth century, although there must have been some Aragonese in Cypriot noble society. Only one Pithone de Giffo from Napoli is attested in the sources before 1400. He witnessed the ratification of the treaty between Venice, Milan and Cyprus in 1378, which took place in Nicosia[844]. We do not hear of him again, and it is unclear if he actually lived in Cyprus.

Mentions of Catalans/Aragonese become more frequent in the fifteenth century, and from the 1450s onwards they were common among the Cypriot aristocracy. This is consistent with the development of Aragonese politics under Alfonso the Magnanimous: while the Aragonese had long been interested in the Eastern Mediterranean, their focus on this region became much more intense under Alfonso, especially after his conquest of Naples in 1442. The Aragonese king invested in relationships with the East in order to forge his empire and protected Cypriot waters against Muslim attacks with his fleet[845].

Only a few Catalans/Aragonese are attested in Cyprus at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the early 1400s, two men with the surname Cosesage or Casasaje lived in Nicosia. In 1411, a Guillermo Cosesage witnessed a testament for Berenger Albi, a Frenchman who was of some importance at the Cypriot court (see below)[846]. In 1421, a *p. de casasaje* served as procurator for the newly appointed Catalan patriarch of Jerusalem. A letter from Casasaje to the patriarch suggests that he had already been living in Cyprus when the patriarch appointed him as procurator. Casasaje discussed the possessions of the patriarchate with Hugh of Lusignan and Étienne Pignol, but no further information on his relationship with aristocratic circles exists[847]. The Catalan Ferrer family played an important economic role in Cyprus in the 1420s. They possessed several sugar plantations near Kolossi, some of which the Mamluks destroyed during their raids against

837 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 55. 143. 177. 190.
838 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 177. 188.
839 See Salrach Marés, Aragón 857. This is also the reason why Aragonese and Catalans are treated together here.
840 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 137-146.
841 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 146. Literature on the connections between Aragon and the East comprises Ryder, Eastern Policy; Cerone, La politica orientale; Coulon, Un tournant; Otten, Chypre, un des centres; Balletto, Presenze catalane; Coureas, Trade Cyprus Sicily; Coureas, Zaplana; Coureas, Profits and Piracy.
842 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 146.
843 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 642. When Eleanor sought vengeance for Peter I's death, Machairas mentions some of her followers, but they consist of a foreign notary, a Genoese merchant, and just one Catalan merchant named Alfonso Ferrand, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 311. 315. 342.
844 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372.
845 Ganchou, Rébellion 124.
846 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 30.
847 Puig y Puig, Pedro de Luna 600-601; cf. Richard, Casal de Psimolofo 125-126 and n. 1.

Cyprus in the middle of the 1420s[848]. It is unclear, however, if the Ferrer lived in Cyprus or if they had procurators who dealt with their business.

In contrast, we have more information about men from the Iberian peninsula who immigrated to Cyprus after 1426, particularly in the 1450s. They appear to have been well integrated into the highest levels of the Cypriot aristocracy. The first and most well-known of these immigrants is also an exception in this development, since he was actually a Castilian, Carceran Suarez. According to Pero Tafur, Suarez came from Segovia[849]. He integrated into Cypriot society remarkably well. Suarez came to Cyprus in 1426 and fought in the battle of Chirokitia, where he saved King Janus' life. He was taken prisoner with Janus and later organized the king's ransom. Janus subsequently rewarded Suarez, marrying him to his bastard sister Cathérine in 1427 and appointing him admiral of Cyprus[850]. Despite an incident of illicit piracy in 1436 that cost him a one-year exile from Cyprus, Suarez still served the crown in the 1450s, by then as constable of Cyprus[851]. Chapter four will show that he was one of the key statesmen in Cyprus in this period[852].

Although less well-known, a certain Nicholas de la Torre was just as well integrated. It is unclear how Nicholas came to Cyprus, but we know that he married a certain Andriola, one of Janus' former mistresses, before the 1450s. Nicholas witnessed a privilege issued by the Haute Court in 1441, but he does not otherwise appear in Cypriot politics[853]. His stepdaughter Marie, an illegitimate member of the Lusignan family, would become the cause for a major political crisis involving the Catalan Juan de Naves in the early 1450s, which has been brilliantly traced by Thierry Ganchou[854]. Marie had married Jacques de Grenier, count of Roucha. Jacques had died by the early 1450s, and the widowed countess fell in love with Juan de Naves, who had come to Cyprus as one of Alfonso V's military commanders.

For some years, Juan de Naves tried to marry Marie, but King John II was against the match. He seems to have feared Juan might gain too much influence at the Cypriot court, which would cause problems with the Genoese in Famagusta, since Genoa and the kingdom of Aragon were continuously competing for hegemony in the Mediterranean. In Genoese eyes, a marriage alliance between de Naves (described in Genoese correspondence as their arch enemy) and a member of the royal house would have been a catastrophe. The issue assumed such importance that Alfonso V himself wrote to Queen Helena and urged her to work towards the match. In the end, the opposition won. Juan married Anna de Verny, a damsel from Helena's retinue, instead of Marie. Ganchou suggests that this match, which at least enabled de Naves to enter the Cypriot nobility, was due to the influence of the queen, who was Alfonso V's cousin and was friendly with the Aragonese[855]. Juan de Naves died as early as 1456, but other members of his family, Sor and Petro de Naves, had followed him to Cyprus and would play a role in the civil war of the 1460s[856].

Juan de Naves was not the only Catalan favoured by Helena Palaiologina. From at least 1449 on, she also planned a marriage between John of Coimbra, who was prince of Portugal and Alfonso V's nephew, and her daughter Charlotte. Ganchou has shown that probably most of the king's council favoured Louis, the duke of Savoy, as a match for Charlotte. This choice would have been more in line with the Cypriot policy of avoiding conflict with the Genoese[857]. But Helena won out, and John of Coimbra came to Cyprus to marry Charlotte in 1456. He died soon afterwards[858], but he brought with him a retinue from which at least one other match would ensue: one of his knights, Vasco Egidio Moniz, wedded Eleonore, daughter of Phoebus of Lusignan, before 1459. He lived in Cyprus with Eleonore until both went into exile with Charlotte and moved to Lisbon, Vasco's home[859].

Another man who profited from the Catalan-friendly politics at the Cypriot court was Bernardo de Rivesaltes. In 1453, Bernardo was the castellan of Castellorizo, a small island east of Rhodes that Alfonso V had acquired in 1450. In 1459, however, he was Queen Charlotte's counsellor. Bernardo was still among Charlotte's followers in 1467, and Georgios Bustron reports that he went on an embassy to the Mamluk sultan for the Queen in 1473[860].

The men described above all integrated into the high Cypriot nobility, in opposition to most Genoese and Venetians analysed above. The Catalans either married Cypriot noblewomen or occupied important positions in the Lusignan state, or both. They were few in number, but their influence should not be underestimated, as the Genoese reaction to Juan de Naves' wedding plans shows. However, they were not the only Catalans who mixed with the Cypriot nobility. Others

848 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lii and n. 40; Coulon, Barcelone et le grand commerce 54-55; Bonneaud, Els Hospitalers Catalans 141-158. 191-201; Coureas, Zaplana 147. Some members of a family Ferreres were among Queen Charlotte's followers in 1467, but I do not know if this was the same family, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.

849 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12. 26. Cf. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 683, n. 4.

850 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 366. 370; cf. Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.

851 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 51; Hill, History II 490-491 and n. 7; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10.

852 See ch. 4.2.1, from p. 113.

853 Ganchou, Rébellion 123 n. 81; 130 n. 102; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 150.

854 Ganchou, Rébellion 123-125. 130-131, with all references.

855 Ganchou, Rébellion 130-131.

856 See Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 395. 400-408; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 179; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86. 88. 118. 120. 128-132. 134.

857 Ganchou, Rébellion 132-133.

858 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 6; Pius Secundus, Commentarii (Göbel) 323; Hill, History III 535.

859 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 94. 146; Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II; Binayan Carmona, Una princesa 136 and n. 9; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; cf. Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 95.

860 Ganchou, Rébellion 125-126; Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) no. 330; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 168.

were less visible, but they lived in the orbit of the nobility, pursuing careers later under James II. Some of these men were in James II's retinue when he was still very young. This is true of Rizzo di Marino from Naples and the Sicilian Nicholas Morabit[861]. Both were very successful under James II but had lived in Cyprus as early as the 1450s.

However, this group of individuals is small compared to the numbers of Catalans who arrived in Cyprus under James II. The *Livre des remembrances* from 1468/69 registers numerous Catalans who received fiefs from James II or worked for him as *hommes d'armes* or in the administration[862]. The sources before 1468 are less ample, and we do not know if the picture drawn by the *Livre des remembrances* is applicable to the decades before the 1460s. However, James II's favouritism to foreigners, particularly to his Catalan followers[863], suggests that the contrast between his reign and the preceding years may be genuine, if somewhat exaggerated.

Connections between Aragon and Cyprus had a long history, at the level of royalty as well as on lesser levels. But in the middle of the fifteenth century, the presence of Catalans among the Cypriot aristocracy, and especially the high nobility, increased significantly. With the support of Alfonso V, Catalans married into the nobility and gained influence at court. This influence grew even more under James II and finally led to the conflict with the Venetians in 1473 over the Cypriot crown.

2.3.5 Frenchmen and Savoyards

French noble immigrants are scarce in the sources at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In fact, I know of only two men who transferred to Cyprus and integrated into Cypriot noble society before the arrival of Charlotte de Bourbon and her entourage: the first, Sclavus de Asperch, is an enigmatic figure. He served as Janus' ambassador to Venice in 1403 and sat in the Haute Court when peace between Cyprus and Genoa was negotiated[864]. Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg was convinced that Sclavus was married to Echive of Lusignan, one of James I's daughters. There seems to be no proof for this assertion, other than the fact that Asperch's wife was named Echive[865]. Sclavus' origins are also unclear. His sister Violante might have married into the Sant'Angelo branch of the well-known French Joinville family. She is called countess of Sant'Angelo in the papal registers[866]. Sclavus therefore probably immigrated to Cyprus from the South of France.

The second case is simpler. A certain Berenger Albi wrote his testament in 1411, which Mas Latrie edited in the second volume of his *Nouvelles preuves*[867]. Berenger was probably a Frenchman who had migrated to Cyprus before 1400. Berenger's testament tells us that he was related to the Gregorii or Grégoire family from the region between the Gévaudan and the Vivarais, nowadays in the *départements* Lozère and Ardèche in the south of France[868]. This family had important connections to clerical circles in Cyprus as early as the 1370s. Berenger Gregorii, who was probably the testator's great uncle, had been abbot of a monastery in the diocese Rieux near Toulouse. He then became dean in Nicosia in 1363, was papal collector until 1374 and died before March 1380[869]. Two of Berenger Albi's uncles were also important clerics in Cyprus: in 1411, Berenger Gregorii (not to be confused with the older Berenger) was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross (Stavrovouni), and Petrus was dean at St Sophia[870]. We cannot exactly tell when Berenger Albi himself came from France. But the testament suggests that he indeed migrated from France to Cyprus and did not grow up on the island. Firstly, he had substantial property in France, which he calls *paternalem hereditatem meam*[871] ('my paternal heritage'). Secondly, he is mentioned as *in civitate Nicosie morans*[872] ('living in Nicosia'), a phrase which is normally used for non-Cypriots living on the island. Also, to my knowledge there is no information about any members of the family Albi in Cyprus prior to Berenger's testament. Berenger probably came to Cyprus in the wake of his clerical relatives.

By the time of his will, Berenger was King Janus' *maître de l'hotel*, which was an important office[873]. Both his children were connected with important Cypriot noble families: his son Raymon was married to Bella de Tiberiade, his daughter Marguerite to Jean de Verny[874]. The testament informs us that Berenger's own possessions on Cyprus were to be inherited by his son Raymon, while his fiefs from the Cypriot crown were passed on to Marguerite. Berenger therefore had become a royal vassal and his children inherited this position and were part of Cypriot noble society. Berenger bequeathed his substantial estates in France to one of his nephews[875], as his

861 At least if we can trust the information in Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 56.
862 See e. g. Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 4. 8. 29. 131. 148. 168. 185. 204.
863 Cf. ch. 4.2.2, p. 124.
864 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 456. 467.
865 Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 632. 688; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-18, pp. 253-254, β-20, pp. 256-257, β-23, pp. 260-261 (Benedict XIII). Cf. Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.
866 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-23, pp. 260-261 (Benedict XIII); Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 688. Delaborde, Jean de Joinville 236 unfortunately does not mention Violante as wife of Amelio, then count of Sant'Angelo.
867 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 26-30.
868 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 29 and n. 1.
869 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-11, pp. 23-26, α-54, pp. 87-89 (Clemens VII); PLP 21578; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 680. It was thought that Berenger also became archbishop of Nicosia after 1376, since the holder of this office was also called Berenger, but Jean Richard has shown that they were two different men, and this is also confirmed by the documents edited by Kouroupakis. See Richard, La succession (with more information on Berenger Gregorii and his failures as papal collector) and cf. Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma 124, n. 326.
870 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 27-28.
871 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 29.
872 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 27.
873 See A 1.2.6., p. 172.
874 For Raymon see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 30; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII). For Marguerite see Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 29.
875 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 28-29.

children do not seem to have been interested in inheriting – and upholding – those estates. This fact, too, points to an intense and successful integration into Cypriot noble society.

This rare case of migration and successful integration was followed by the arrival of Queen Charlotte de Bourbon. When Charlotte married King Janus in 1411, she brought a substantial entourage with her. According to MS V of the Machairas chronicle, they ranged from ladies, squires and maids to goldsmiths, saddlers, priests and even a wise man. The other two manuscripts only describe the most important personalities and then postulate that Charlotte brought with her 60 people[876]. All three manuscripts inform us that some of Charlotte's more important followers married Cypriots: a certain Moutzetta married the *auditeur* Simon de Morphou, a Cecilia married a certain Hamerin de Villerba, and Lusietta, called the Virgin, married Sir Simon Frases. Unfortunately, nothing much is known about any of these people other than the fact that Simon de Morphou came from an important family and held a high position[877]. His match must have been a politically important act. We may assume that these alliances entailed integration into Cypriot noble society, even if information on these people is scarce.

One family which may have come to Cyprus with Charlotte are the Frugières. Two members of this family are known in the early 1430s, both connected to the royal family. A certain Jean was archdeacon of Nicosia in 1432 and was involved in Anne of Lusignan's marriage agreement. An Ulna de Frugières was married to the Cypriot Simon Babin and was Anne's nurse. Perhaps Ulna had come to Cyprus with Charlotte and served as the nurse for her children and as a member of her household. In any case, she accompanied Anne to Savoy[878]. However, no other information about this family exists in the sources.

We are more fortunate with another member of Charlotte's entourage. One of her followers, Étienne Pignol, came to some prominence. We do not exactly know where Étienne came from originally. He first appears accompanying Charlotte to Cyprus in 1411[879]. No Pignol family is known in Cyprus before Charlotte's arrival on the island[880]. However, the papal registers of 1411 know a canon Guillaume Pignol who came from the diocese of Lodève in Hérault (South of France)[881]. Guillaume is called »favourite of the Queen Charlotte« (*dilectus reginae Carlottae*), and was therefore directly connected to the Queen, as was Étienne, who served as her personal *bailli* in the following years[882]. We can conclude that both men were French and only came to Cyprus with the Queen.

Étienne pursued a career in Cyprus that has been traced by Brunhilde Imhaus[883], and which I will only summarize briefly. Pignol's career began as Queen Charlotte's personal *bailli* in 1413 at the latest. By then, he must have possessed some capital, as he rented the *casale* of Psimolofo. Over the next three decades, he went on various embassies to the pope, Venice, France and even the Mamluks[884]. It is not entirely clear which role he played during the Mamluk invasion in 1426. Florio Bustron records that Hugh of Lusignan put him in charge of transferring the royal household to Keryneia after the battle of Chirokitia in 1426, while Machairas assigns this task to a certain Estiene Spinola. According to Machairas, this same man went on an embassy to Cairo to visit King Janus. The first translators of the chronicle, Miller and Sathas, thought this Estiene Spinola was Étienne Pignol, but it is unclear whether Étienne or a member of the Spinola family is actually meant[885]. In any case, Pignol acquired great riches in the course of his life. In 1436-1437, he invested between 6,000 and 8,000 ducats in Venice and in 1454 he possessed a vast sum of money in Genoa, 220 which were worth about 22,000 Genoese pounds[886]. He also seems to have been influential politically until late in life. In 1440, Étienne sat in the Haute Court, and witnessed a privilege for Jacques de Fleury[887].

Sometime after 1454, Pignol must have died in Florence, where he possibly went on an embassy, since his tombstone was erected there[888]. Interestingly, his tombstone appears to have designated him as Cypriot. Bartholomeus Fontius described it in his *Liber monumentorum romanae urbis et aliorum locorum* as »epitaph of the most famous Stephan Pignol the Cypriot in Florence« (*Stephani Pignoli Cyprii viri clarissimi epitaphium Florentiae*[889]).

In 1449, Étienne had been called »dominus Stefanus Pignolus, knight of Nicosia[890]« in the Genoese registers of the banca di San Giorgio. Does this mean that he actually came from Cyprus after all? Or was he perceived as Cypriot simply because he had lived on the island almost his whole adult life? Did he perceive himself as Cypriot? It would be highly

876 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 428-429.
877 For the position of *auditeur*, see A 1.2.2.
878 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16 (for Jean) and 22 (for Ulna).
879 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 638.
880 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 206 suggests that Étienne had come to Cyprus already under James I, but there are no indications for this in the sources.
881 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 50 (*Lodovensis diocesis*).
882 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 504; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-21, pp. 430-432 (John XXIII).
883 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 205-206 (no. 386).
884 Richard, Psimolofo 125-126; Puig y Puig, Pedro de Luna 610; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 206; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 504.
885 For Estiene Spinola, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 687. 699 (in one case wrongly translated by Dawkins as the seneschal Spinola) and Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 453, MS V, which clearly writes *spinola*, and 457, where all three MS have *spinola*. For the translation as Pignol, see Machairas, Chronikon Kyprou (Sathas) 391-392. From this interpretation, even an alleged new member of the Pignol family was born, Francis, whom Machairas records as Francesco Spinola, and who went on the embassy, too. This confusion still permeates the newer literature, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 206, who takes Pignol's embassy to Cairo as well as Francis Pignol for granted. It is, however, very unclear which family name is actually meant.
886 Otten, Investissements financiers 112. 117. For the term *luoghi* and its meaning, see p. 66 and n. 604
887 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 145.
888 Saxl, analysing the *Liber monumentorum romanae urbis et aliorum locorum* by Bartholomeus Fontius thought Étienne must have died in 1443, when he went on an ebassy to Florence, see Saxl, Classical Inscription 43. However, Étienne's investment in 1454 shows that this cannot have been the case.
889 Saxl, Classical Inscription 43.
890 Otten, Investissements financiers 117: *dominus Stefanus Pignolus, miles nichosiensis*.

interesting to know, since it could tell us a lot about the possibilities of integration into island society and how people felt about belonging. We shall come back to this question in chapter five[891].

In any case, Étienne probably had great social standing in Cyprus, since it seems that the Cypriots erected a tombstone for him on the island, too. A stone preserved in the castro of Limassol quite certainly belongs to a Pignol. It is difficult to read, and Mas Latrie interpreted the name on it as *Nobilis Johannis Guilhelmi Pignoli*, while Jean Richard has read *Nobilis […] Stephani Pignoli*. The text is rather long, and it records various stations of the defunct's career, such as an embassy to the pope[892]. It is therefore probable that it indeed belonged to Étienne. If he was indeed a French immigrant, Étienne integrated exceptionally well, like Antonio de Bergamo.

Beyond the relationships with people from the kingdom of France itself, connections between Cyprus and Savoy were strong in the fifteenth century. Anne of Lusignan married Louis of Savoy in 1433, and Charlotte of Lusignan then married Anne's son, again a Louis, in 1459[893]. We will see in chapter six that both Hugh and Lancelot of Lusignan had a strong connection with the Savoyard court[894]. However, not many Savoyards seem to have immigrated into Cyprus. Louis of Savoy surely brought an entourage with him when he married Charlotte in 1459, but the couple went into exile a few years later, and the impact of this group therefore must have been small.

Apart from this case, I know of only one Savoyard who integrated into Cypriot society at the end of the fourteenth century, but this man rose to some prominence in Cyprus. Hodrade Provane came from the diocese of Turin[895]. He is first known in Cyprus in 1382, when he and his wife Jacqua de Ibelin received an absolution of sins. Over a decade later, Hodrade had risen to chamberlain of Cyprus, a position he still held in 1399[896]. Hodrade therefore must have had a good standing in Cypriot society, having married into the most important family after the Lusignans and holding high office. His offspring probably was not as successful, but in 1468 a certain Yblin Provane held a fief in Comy near Paphos[897]. Yblin's given name suggests that the memory of the Ibelin family was still held alive in the Provane family almost a century later. Regardless, French and Savoyard noble immigrants are rare in the sources, but in the known cases they took care to integrate into Cypriot noble society.

2.3.6 The Hospitallers

After 1312, when the Templars were dissolved and their Cypriot estates passed over to the Hospital, the Hospitaller Order became the second greatest landowner in Cyprus after the crown[898]. How far did this great economic power entail their integration into Cypriot society and power structures? Since Hospitallers did not marry, they obviously did not integrate into Cypriot society on this level. However, considering their enormous economic potential, the sources also reveal little Hospitaller integration into the Cypriot power circles. Hospitallers travelled to Cyprus frequently, mostly on business, and some brethren lived there permanently, administrating the preceptory and the Order's other estates[899]. The Convent on Rhodes often sent ambassadors to the court in order to negotiate financial matters or even to mediate between the crown of Cyprus and its enemies, for example the emir of Scandelore, with whom the Hospital negotiated a peace in 1450[900]. On these occasions, the brethren were normally instructed to greet not only the king himself, but to speak with the queen and the king's council, too[901]. These instructions are frequent during John II's reign. The brethren were therefore certainly in contact with the power élite of the kingdom. However, in contrast to other countries in Western Europe, the Hospitallers did not integrate into these power structures themselves. They did not hold crown office or sit in the Haute Court[902]. They usually remained in their role as ambassadors and subjects of the Hospital. Contacts on an economic level are also rarely visible. The Hospitallers' great sugar business was conducted with Genoese and Venetian merchants and not with Cypriot nobles, and from the 1440s on almost exclusively with the Venetian Martini brothers[903].

However, there were some exceptions. The most well-known is Fr. Raymon de Lescure, who is reported to have been King Janus' close friend. He served as Janus' ambassador and arranged his marriage with Charlotte de Bourbon. He was also related to the bishop of Limassol at the time, Antoine Lescure[904]. A few other brethren held office in Cyprus: in 1459 Fr. Michele da Castellaccio became bishop of Paphos, and Fr. Angelino Muscetulla served as *bailli* in Paphos in 1426, while Fr. Jacques de Milly was captain of Limassol in 1441[905]. According to Anthony Luttrell, another exception was Fr. Antonio Tebaldi, who lived on Cyprus as administrator of the Hospitaller estates for many years, and therefore knew

891 See ch. 5.2, p. 139.
892 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 205-206.
893 Hill, History 544; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 15-23.
894 See ch. 6.1, from p. 144.
895 This is visible from the full absolution Provane received, see Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 680: his relatives, who also benefited from the papal privilege, still lived in this region.
896 Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 680; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-26, p. 50 (Clemens VII); Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428. 454. For his tombstone, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 177. For the mention as chamberlain in 1393 (and not only in 1395, as visible in Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 428), see the legacies of Antonio de Bergamo, ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3.
897 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 174.
898 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) xliv-xlv; for their possessions on Cyprus cf. Documents chypriotes (Richard) 111-113. For an account of the official history between Cyprus and the Hospitallers in the fifteenth century, see Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) xliii-xcii. Cf. also Borchardt, Documents.
899 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxiv, nos 171. 206. 230. 250. 273. 277.
900 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) no. 271.
901 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxiii, nos 206. 230. 250. 273. 277.
902 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxiv.
903 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxxvii-lxxxix, nos 194. 251. 265. 315.
904 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) xlv.
905 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxiv.

Greek and the Cypriot customs (*qui praticus est et linguam grecam et modos Ciprios novit*[906]). Antonio is the only Hospitaller reported by the sources as knowing this language.

Contact to Cypriot nobles or other aristocrats is seldom mentioned, although this does not necessarily mean that there were no contacts at all on an everyday level. In ca. 1421, Étienne Pignol leased a garden at La Cava from the Order, which had belonged to Lescure until his death in 1412. In 1447, the Grand Master Fr. Jean de Lastic was asked to become a godfather to Jacques de Fleury's unborn child[907]. However, this did not necessarily mean that his relationship with the count was close, as children in this social milieu sometimes had more than ten godparents. Moreover, noble visitors from the West for example would be asked spontaneously to become godparents[908]. In 1459, Eleonore of Lusignan, daughter of Phoebus of Lusignan, sold some houses in Rhodes which her late husband had possessed, to the Order[909]. However, apart from these very few instances no further direct contacts between nobles and Hospitallers have been preserved[910].

2.4 Conclusion

There was indeed a lot of movement among the Cypriot élite of the fifteenth century. Changes were eminent in the circles of the nobility, which lost almost two thirds of its members in comparison with the 1370s. The exodus of nobles in 1374 as well as the eventual extinction of family lineages furthered this process. Since most of the disappearing families had been politically prominent, the impact on the group must have been significant. Consequently, the remaining families of the high nobility filled this gap at least in part, enhancing their power and wealth. However, the social dynamics within the remaining lesser nobility do not seem to have changed fundamentally. Most known families maintained their social status.

In contrast to the nobility, the new Greek and Syrian aristocracy seems to have expanded continuously. This was a group with a considerable upward social dynamic. Many of its members appear from nowhere in the fifteenth century, working in royal or church service, and occupying posts such as secretaries and *baillis.* While many families remained on this basic level of lesser aristocracy, some men rose to occupy higher office and even became royal counsellors. Indeed, the analysis has identified a small group of families which differed from the rest of the new aristocracy because of their capacity to reach the highest aristocratic echelons. These families possessed considerable wealth, which was probably the most important reason for their ascendance. In the wake of the Mamluk invasion in 1426, they were thus able to obtain high state offices as well as legal integration into the nobility[911].

The basic demographic processes described show that some of Rudt de Collenberg's calculations were not altogether wrong: the nobility indeed diminished in size, while the number of new aristocrats visible in the sources grows significantly over the fifteenth century[912]. However, Rudt de Collenberg failed to distinguish between the two groups of nobility and new aristocracy as well as between lower and higher levels within the groups, and therefore erroneously postulated a complete takeover of the nobility by Greek and Syrian families.

Finally, aristocratic circles also reached out to various foreigners, without whom our picture would be incomplete. Western immigrants integrated to varying degrees into Cypriot aristocratic society. Genoese and Venetians were mostly interested in economic ties to Cyprus and made contact with Cypriots on a business level, though more Genoese than Venetians lived in Cyprus, especially in Genoese occupied Famagusta, and made everyday contacts with Cypriot nobles. Some Genoese, but very few Venetians integrated into the feudal system of the Cypriot nobility. Their economic influence, however, was significant. They were among the most important creditors of the crown and possessed large estates on the island. The Catalans are a different case. Catalan noble immigrants consciously connected with the Cypriot nobility, especially from the 1440s on. While Genoese and Venetians dominated the Cypriot economy, the Catalans gained power by marrying into Cypriot noble society. According to the sources, the French rarely came to live on the island. Those who feature in the sources were well-integrated, however. The Hospitallers in turn maintained good and important connections with the Cypriot crown but did not often integrate into noble society itself, for example by occupying Lusignan state offices.

Various aristocratic groups, each with its own history and particularities, took their share in ruling the Lusignan state and in the riches it generated. They occupied differing roles within this social fabric – roles which changed constantly within the dynamic process of social mobility. Their administrative positions and their economic importance brought the nobility and the new aristocracy together, posing the question whether and how these groups indeed integrated and interacted. What effects did social mobility have on the relationship between the nobility and the new aristocracy? I shall examine this question in the following chapter.

906 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxvii nos 171. 250 (quote).
907 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) lxxiv. lxxxi nos 74. 227.
908 See Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 367 for Jacqua of Lusignan's thirteen godparents, and Dal Campo, Viaggio (Brandoli) 230 for the Italian count Nicolo d'Este, who was asked to baptise a child spontaneously when he was visiting Cyprus.
909 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) nos 330. 335. 336.
910 Under James II, Cypriots acquired some of the Hospital's important positions in Cyprus. A Jean Rames, perhaps from the Syrian Rames family, was Grand Commander of Cyprus in 1468, and Jean Langlais was the Hospital's seneschal, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 146. 147. However, this process seems to have begun only under James II.
911 The relationship between this new power group and the rest of the (noble) power élite will be analysed in ch. 4.2.
912 Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 814; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 55. Cf. p. 12.

Chapter 3 – Trying to Marry Up: Contacts and Integration between Latins, Greeks and Syrians

The Cypriot aristocracies came into contact on various levels. Brought together by their economic and social situations, members of different aristocratic groups must have interacted on a daily basis, taking part in various processes of administration, government and business. However, members of the old nobility and Syrians and Greeks came from different backgrounds and varied in their social standing. These differences had to be negotiated, and it is therefore crucial to distinguish between contexts in which the boundaries between the two groups were strong and those situations which in contrast offered space and possibilities for integration. This chapter will therefore analyse the paths for integration as well as the boundaries between the different aristocratic groups. Which situations did aristocrats meet in, and how can we describe the hierarchy of these contexts? What implications did this have for social interaction? In which situations did the different groups mix easily, and on which levels do we find strong boundaries?

Our sources do not allow us to cover every aspect of social life. Some levels of interaction are visible, however, and offer interesting insights, particularly when compared with each other. Therefore, in this chapter I will investigate interaction and integration on three relevant levels: first, I will ask how far members of the new aristocracy integrated into the nobility on a legal level. Did they receive legal privileges and officially become nobles? If so, how broad was this phenomenon and which significance for social inclusion can we attribute to it (ch. 3.1)? Secondly, I will examine every-day contacts between the nobility and the new aristocracy. On which levels did they come into contact and communicate with each other (ch. 3.2)? Finally, I will discuss in how far families from the nobility and the new aristocracy integrated on a social level. Marriage alliances provide the best source of information on this topic. Did families from the different groups intermarry at all (ch. 3.3)? What significance did this have for mutual acceptance, social mixing and the power constellations between the groups?

3.1 Inclusion in the Nobility by Status

The social ascension of Syrians and Greeks raises the question of whether and how these men were legally included in the nobility. I have discussed the preliminaries in chapter one[913]. Now I want to investigate how many members of the new aristocracy were actually involved in this process. An overview of the sources reveals that very few men obtained an unambiguously noble status. These cases generally concern men in very high positions. Hugo and Piero Podocataro as well as Giacomo Urri were dubbed knights and were certainly accepted as noble. The Mistachiel and the de Ras brothers were all knights in the 1450s, even before their careers as statesmen began. The captain of Sivouri in the 1460s, Jacques Sincritico, possessed a fief and was therefore probably also noble. A century earlier the Syrian statesmen Thibault Belfaradge, Thomas Barech and Jean Gorab gained noble status[914]. These particular cases, however, only concern influential men and the list is relatively short. Benjamin Arbel was therefore right in stating that only very few Greeks and Syrians visibly became nobles during the fifteenth century[915]. However, many unclear cases render the picture more complex.

Inclusion on lower levels, for example, is less clear. The 1468/1469 *Livre des remembrances* calls some *baillis* and secretaries »well beloved and loyal sir« (*bien amé et feaull sir*). This is the case for the *bailli* Pierre Sozomenos, the secretary Pierre Bibi and the officer of the »new office« (*nouvel office*) Philippe Bustron, among others[916]. This designation was used solely for royal vassals. It is possible that these men became vassals only under James II, when social change was particularly prevalent. On the other hand, the secretary Piero Podocataro had received the *prasteio* Tragovouni as fief as early as 1435[917]. A secretary therefore could be a royal vassal even in the 1430s, technically making him part of the nobility. It remains unclear, however, whether the rest of the nobility accepted these men as noble. Piero Podocataro's fief privilege does not specify any military service. It is possible that the kings created a different class of non-military fiefs which

913 See chs. 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.
914 For the stories of all these men and for further references, see ch. 2.1, p. 54 and 2.2, esp. from p. 67.
915 Cf. p. 12.
916 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 152. 161. 162.
917 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^{v}-31^{r}.

were not seen to entail membership in the nobility, but we do not know. In any case, the examples of secretaries who became royal vassals are few, particularly before 1468. These men therefore belong to the grey zone postulated in chapter one[918]. We do not know if they were considered noble or not.

This problem also concerns men in higher positions. Mateo Rames for example was a royal counsellor in 1432, but we do not know if this entailed an inclusion in the nobility. The *bailli de la secrète* Philippe Salah poses the same problem[919]. Did Philippe's office and his membership in the royal council and the Haute Court make him noble in the eyes of his contemporaries, or not? Was he a royal vassal? We do not know. The case of George Billy has already shown that his position was unclear even to contemporaries: as a royal counsellor, the king called Georgios *nobilis*, but others perceived him as a burgess[920].

There are only very few examples of men who obtained unambiguous noble status without occupying a high position: the royal squire Georgino Chimi, for example, must have been an ordinary member of the nobility in the 1430s. He was a squire alongside other nobles such as Paulin Chappes[921]. However, in terms of real power a squire such as Georgino was probably much less influential than the *bailli de la secrète* Philippe Salah or the counsellor George Billy. Much later, a notarial document from 1463 mentions a certain Phoce Gonem as well as a Pierre Bustron as noble witnesses[922]. Unfortunately, we do not know anything else about them.

Legal inclusion of Syrians or Greeks into the nobility therefore remains often unclear. Cases of unambiguous inclusion are quite rare, at least until the reign of James II. They mostly concerned men in very high positions. Moreover, where men achieved legal inclusion, we must ask if this was followed by social acceptance. Secretaries who attained enfeoffments were possibly not accepted as noble on the same level as others, even if they were technically nobles. George Billy's example shows that even powerful men in high state office were not always accepted[923].

3.2 Everyday Contacts between Aristocratic Circles

In contrast to legal changes in group affiliation, everyday contacts between the aristocratic groups in Cyprus were numerous and frequent. Aristocrats came into contact above all on a professional level. Members of the new aristocracy working in the Lusignan administration interacted frequently with members of the nobility who were either their superiors or their clients. The secretary Perrin Urri for example drew up and signed various Haute Court privileges in 1452[924]. He must have interacted with the men to whom the privileges were issued and also with the members of the Haute Court themselves. This is true for all the other secretaries of the *secrète* and the *baillis*.

Moreover, the Machairas chronicle is full of episodes in which men from different backgrounds interact and work together. The brothers Leontios and Nicholas Machairas, for example, worked as secretaries for Jean de Nores in 1401, while their brother Peter was a royal servant. Machairas tells us that the king sent Peter to Famagusta along with a young Catalan to try out some keys they had made for the town doors in order to reconquer Famagusta. When the story was leaked, Jean de Nores took care to rescue Peter Machairas from Famagusta, lest they should hang him. Machairas even calls Jean de Nores Peter's friend[925]. This intense contact between secretaries and their employers is therefore characterized by mutual respect.

Another interesting example is the secret excursion overseas undertaken by Prince Henry of Lusignan in 1413. Machairas records the members of his entourage: Jotin de Caffran, Perrin Salah (and probably his son Paul), an Italian called Zollou, Bertili of Savoy, Jotin de la Gride, Nicolas of Kalamouni and his anonymous falconer[926]. Henry's entourage was therefore very mixed. A member of the important noble Caffran family, a man from the upcoming noble family de la Gride, but also a Syrian from the Salah family, an Italian and a Savoyard were all part of it. The hierarchy within this group is of course unknown to us, but if Machairas is right, these people must have spent a lot of time together.

In one case, a young noble even seems to have worked for a Greek: according to Machairas, Perrin Pelestrin was Jacques Sincritico's *bachliotēs* (Gr. 'servant, squire') in 1426[927]. Finally, Machairas' father Stavrinos allegedly played an important role in the discussions concerning Peter II's succession in 1382. The Syrian regent Thomas Barech had asked Stavrinos for his opinion, which he gave in front of the complete Haute Court. Machairas adds that the Haute Court and Barech in particular respected his father very highly[928]. Although this last episode is probably biased by Machairas' own regard for his father, his chronicle presents a picture of frequent and mostly respectful interaction between the groups.

Frequent working contacts are also confirmed by other sources. The Greek Hugo Podocataro served as financial procurator in Genoa for many nobles in 1454[929]. Chapter four will

918 See ch. 1.3, p. 48.
919 For Mateo Rames, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16. For Philippe Salah, cf. ch. 1.3, p. 44.
920 See ch. 1.3, p. 48.
921 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 525.
922 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 152.
923 For reactions to social mobility and acceptance of new aristocrats, see also ch. 5.1.3.
924 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153-157.
925 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 630-631.
926 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 640.
927 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 665.
928 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 608.
929 Otten, Investissements financiers 118 and n. 48.

show that the Syrians and Greeks who became part of the power élite in the fifteenth century were in close everyday contact with the nobles in power[930]. Moreover, the Audeth family served as pawnbrokers for the king himself, as well as for other nobles[931]. However, the role of pawnbroker does not necessarily point to amicable relations.

Generally, the source situation becomes more difficult when it comes to personal trust and relations such as friendships. Some instances point to friendships within the groups. Thierry Ganchou relates that Jacques de Caffran bequeathed his exemplar of the *assizes* to his brother-in-law Jacques de Fleury in the 1440s. This is a case of family relationship, but the two men might have been at least esteemed colleagues, since they worked together for many years[932]. The same is true for Jean Podocataro and Giacomo Urri. Giacomo gave Jean, who might have been his brother-in-law, some books which the latter then sent to his son Hugo for his studies in Padua[933]. Both cases hint to friendship within wider family relations in the same group. However, Machairas also reveals two – alleged – friendships between members of different groups. Jean de Nores' friendship with Peter Machairas has already been mentioned. The second case concerns the famous Syrian merchant Sir Francis Lachas and King Peter I. Sir Francis is said to have made King Peter a large gift of money, and the two men even forged a blood brotherhood[934]. Whether or not this is true, Machairas believed that friendships and trust between Syrians, Greeks and nobles were possible.

A different picture emerges in testamentary matters. Here we can observe the relationships people relied on in crucial matters of life and death. Lists of witnesses in testaments are particularly revealing, although evidence is again rather fragmentary. Three testaments are of interest. First, the Greek Hugo Podocataro called on Babin and Nicole Salah, Perrin Urri, Piero de Rames, Perrin Bustron, Thomas Careri, J. Strambali, Pol Zacer and Jacobo Centurion as witnesses for his testament[935]. Most of these men were either Syrians or Greeks in important administrative positions: the Syrian Perrin Urri was Hugo's relative via Hugo's stepmother Joanna Urri, and he was also a secretary of the royal *secrète* at the time, just like Nicole Salah. They possibly witnessed the testament in this function, too. J. Strambali could be the same person as Jean Strambali, who was a royal secretary in 1468[936]. A Piero de Rames (probably also a Syrian) was *bailli* and procurator of the archbishopric of Nicosia before 1456, while the Greek Thomas Careri served as royal procurator in 1455[937]. If Pol Zacer is identical with a certain Paulinus Zacharias mentioned in papal registers, he was Queen Helena Palaiologina's personal *bailli* and an Orthodox Christian[938]. Jacobo Centurione alone stands out from this circle of Syrians and Greeks in royal service. As we have seen[939], he was an influential Genoese citizen and later served Hugo as procurator. Almost all the men Hugo trusted with his testament came from his own milieu.

The same is true for the testament made by the Frenchman Berenger Albi in 1411. Both executors of Berenger's testament were foreign clerics: one of his French cousins called Guillermo, a Benedictine prior, and Bertrand de Cadoanie, who came from the diocese of Nîmes in France and had been appointed to the bishopric of Paphos in 1408. Bertrand was therefore a recent newcomer, just like Berenger himself[940]. Most of the witnesses were also Latin clerics. Jean de Laneva from the diocese of Castres in the region Midi in France, and brother Agoy de Lozaco, prior of the Hospitallers, were certainly foreigners. Others, such as Jean Trecomessac and Pierre Lamee, are only designated by their dioceses in Cyprus. We therefore cannot be sure about their origin. However, they certainly do not belong to any known Cypriot families. Lay witnesses were the Catalan Guliermo de Cosessage, whose family is known in Cyprus at the time[941], one of the king's soldiers called Nano de Florencia, and Durando Laurencii, the latter two otherwise unknown to Cypriot sources[942]. If we assume that some of these individuals at least were called to testify because they entertained a special relationship with the testator, we can say that Berenger Albi, in the hour of death at least, related above all with other foreigners from the same Latin clerical milieu in which his family moved.

The Venetian Antonio de Bergamo's testamentary matters are less clear, since we do not know the witnesses of his testament, but some information can be gained. We have seen in chapter two that, though his will was lost, the executors of his testament, Thomas de Zenariis and Clemens de Aretio, were both Italian. It seems that Antonio trusted people from his homeland with his legacies, just as the other testators mentioned above. However, we also know that

930 See ch. 4.2.
931 See Richard, Une famille 115 and cf. ch. 1.3, p. 47.
932 See ch. 4.2.
933 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 145.
934 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 92. 94.
935 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142. Cf. ASVen, Notarile, Testamenti 14 for the spelling of the names, which Rudt de Collenberg has rendered wrongly in some cases.
936 For Perrin and Nicole, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152-157; Otten, Investissements financiers 121-122 and for Jean Strambali, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 1.
937 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 164; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 119. 122. 123. 133.
938 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 160 reasonably suggests that Pol Zacer and Paulinus Zacharias were the same person. For Paulinus, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 157.
939 See ch. 2.3.3, p. 80.
940 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 28: *Item, eligo comerssarios meos reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Bertrandum de Cadoanie, miseratione divina episcopum Paphensem, et venerabilem dominum Guillermum Gregorii, priorem prioratus Chameteriarum, ordinis sancti Benedicti, concebrinum meum germanum*. Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 28 n. 2 commented on *Chameteriarum* that the word was not very legible, and thought it could mean *Cherinarum* = Keryneia. Chris Schabel has suggested in personal communication that it could also be an error for *Cemeterii*, which could mean a Benedictine priory in Nicosia. For Bertrand de Cadoanie, see Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 644 and 690; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-48, pp. 313-316 (Benedict XIII).
941 See ch 2.3.4, p. 81.
942 For all witnesses, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 30.

his legacies went inter alia to a certain Janot Sincritico and George Billy, who were both members of the new aristocracy. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the connection between Antonio and these men. Perhaps they worked together. In any case, Antonio respected (or owed) them enough to leave them 100 besants each, which was a significant sum of money[943].

To conclude, contacts between the new aristocracy and the old nobility were very frequent in work life. Members of both groups often worked together, and this points to a high degree of acceptance between the groups within public relationships. Machairas in particular creates a picture of mutual respect and trust in these situations. However, it is of course more difficult to discern how far members of the two groups actually trusted each other and if friendships were possible. Machairas seems to have believed this. However, in the crucial matter of testaments at least two of the three analysed testators relied on members of their own group rather than on others, while this might have been true for the third, Antonio de Bergamo, too. Perhaps trust would therefore be found rather in the own group than outside it. However, where boundaries in friendships and trustworthiness may be speculative, connections on a family level are easier to interpret. Here, we can see a clear separation between the nobility and the new aristocracy.

3.3 Marriage Connections

A marriage was a strong social tie. It bound together lineages and embodied family politics and social status. Marriage alliances were arranged by the family patriarchs and were expressions of interfamily rather than interpersonal relations. They forged strong alliances between families and furthered the integration of the families involved[944]. Therefore, analysing marriage connections may supply crucial information about networks within and between various groups, as well as about social hierarchies. I examine marriage relations by comparing two periods: the 1370s-1420s and the 1420-1470s. This comparison will trace developments in the cohesion of the nobility as well as the aristocracy, the relative importance of certain families, and, crucially, the integration between the old nobility, the new aristocracy, and Western newcomers.

Marriage alliances have come down to us in various sources, such as tombstones, testaments, fief privileges, and even the *Livre des remembrances*, which sometimes mentions women's spouses. Papal registers also recorded marriages that required a dispensation because the two parties were too closely related to marry normally. In the fourteenth century, the papacy had framed rules for all members of the Latin church which prohibited parties from marrying if they were related by the fourth degree, i. e. if they were third-degree cousins with the same great-great-grandparents. Moreover, so-called spiritual relations (*cognatio spiritualis*) were also inhibited. If the bride's father was the bridegroom's godfather, for example, marriage was forbidden. The same was true for *affinity* relations: affinity existed between families when the individuals who wanted to marry had been either married or had had extra-marital sexual relationships with any member of the other family until the fourth degree[945]. These rules made it difficult for small societies such as the Cypriot nobility to find suitable partners within their own group. Many parties therefore asked the pope for marriage dispensations, which were often conceded.

As explained in the introduction[946], I will use Social Network Analysis to visualize marriage alliances. Social Network graphs illustrate connections between families by relating nodes (which show the families) to each other through so-called edges. In general, I use the graphs for visualization. However, in one case I also conduct a mathematical analysis, measuring the degree of centrality of the intermarrying families (see below). I will compare two graphs (**fig. 5** and **fig. 7**) which contain all recorded marriages between members of the nobility, the new aristocracy, and Western newcomers between 1382-1420 and 1425-1470. The year 1425 marks the beginning of several interesting marriage connections within the new aristocracy. The graphs show the background of the involved families by colouring the nodes: blue nodes refer to members of the old nobility with Frankish origins, orange nodes stand for new aristocrats (i. e. Greeks or Syrians; two red nodes stand for Byzantine families), green nodes describe Western newcomers. Finally, families with unclear origins are coloured in dark brown. Both graphs list marriage alliances between ca. 30 families.

The first graph concerns eighteen noble families, about a third of the old nobility. The Lusignans are counted as one of these families, though especially the kings' marriages naturally had a stronger focus on external politics than other nobles', which adds another contextual dimension. Five Western newcomers and six Syrian or Greek families complete the picture. No double connections between any two families exist. We must therefore be careful with our interpretation, as the data captures only a fragment of the marriages contracted during the period under examination. Nonetheless, some observations are still possible. **Figure 5** shows the mar-

943 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3. Cf. ch. 2.3.1, p. 76.

944 For the social significance of marriage, see Duby, The Knight, the Lady and the Priest 19 and Padgett/Ansell, Robust Action 1265 n. 13. 1274 and cf. Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 1. Padgett and Ansell in their analysis of Florentine élites considered marriages to be strong social ties according to Granovetter's theory from 1973. This much-read sociological work suggests that »the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie« (Granovetter, Strength of Weak Ties 1361). Strong ties are the basic relationships holding together small nuclear groups, while weak ties such as loose acquaintances forge connections between nuclear groups (see Granovetter, Strength of Weak Ties 1361-1366).

945 Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses 11. 15-17.

946 See p. 22.

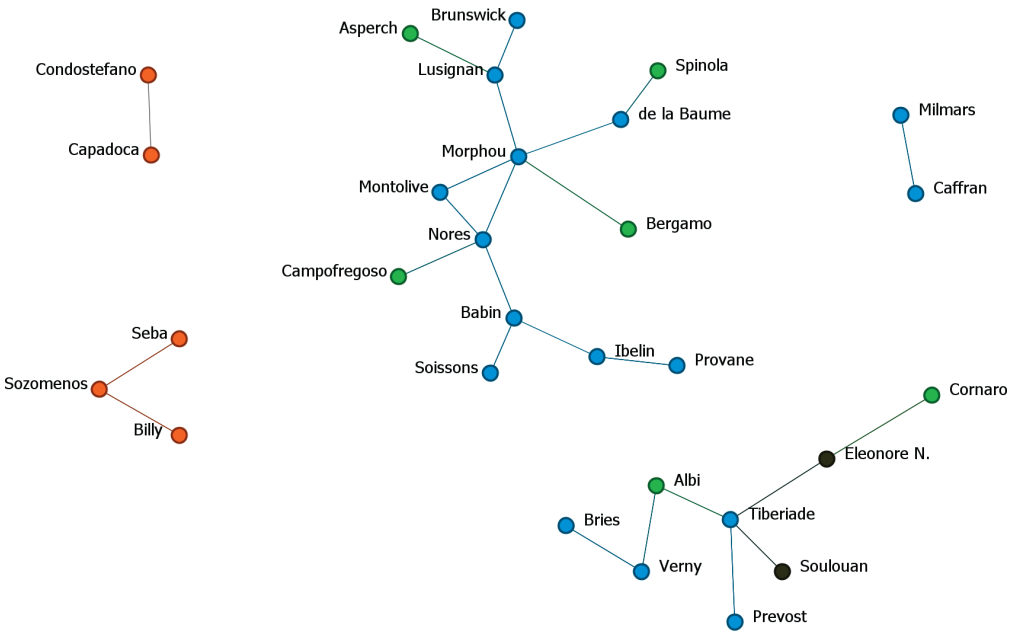


Fig. 5 Marriage alliances, 1382-1420.

riage alliances between 1382 and 1420. For the most part, it records marriage relations between important noble families. This seems to be connected with the nature of the sources: important and wealthy families were more likely to request marriage dispensations or full absolutions than others and would therefore appear in the papal registers; many other sources also concern important political players.

The families in the graph build a cluster of strongly interrelated powerful nobles. If we can believe Machairas, one of the earliest matches concerns the well-known Nores and Montolive families – a certain Margarita de Nores married Barteleme de Montolive in about 1382[947]. The influential Soissons and Babin clans intermarried in 1387, and in 1390, the Babin were connected to the Nores as well as the Ibelin family[948]. The Soissons, Babin and de Nores families needed dispensations in the fourth degree of consanguinity. They must have been already related. As early as 1382, the Morphou family, one of the most important families of the period, married into the Lusignan family itself. The chronicles state that Jean de Morphou had actually hoped to marry his daughter to Hugh of Lusignan, Peter I's nephew, and to then put Hugh onto the throne, thus becoming a father-in-law to royalty. Machairas even insinuates that Jacques de Nores rivalled him in this claim[949]. Though the plan failed, Jean de Morphou's daughter was still able to marry John of Lusignan, a man from a side branch of the royal family, thus connecting the Morphou to the royal house[950]. The sources show that these two small groups connected ten years later with a marriage between the Montolive and Morphou (1392), and again fifteen years later, when a certain Jean de Nores married Echive de Morphou (1407). However, they needed a dispensation of the second and third degree of affinity in order to marry[951]. The families must have been already well connected by then.

Thus, we see a strong cluster between the de Nores-Montolive-Morphou-Babin and Ibelin families, especially during the reign of James I. This is also visible in **figure 6**. This figure measures the 'total-degree centrality' of the represented families. This measure computes the number of edges connecting a node to other nodes, called its *degree*. The more connections a node has to others, the more central it is, and the bigger the node which represents it[952]. Thus, the families with most marriage connections to other families display the biggest nodes.

Figure 6 shows how the Nores and the Morphou were the most well-connected families. Incidentally, they were also two of the most important political players at the time[953]. Families were also strongly connected in general. Although we must consider our interpretation carefully because of the small number of sources, this result ties in with the situation at the time: during the reign of James I, Cypriot noble society tried to regain strength by establishing strong ties with each other. This strategy was a belated reaction to the Genoese-Cypriot war in 1372-1374 and the ensuing power vacuum[954].

947 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 607. For the sources of the mentioned marriage alliances, see also **tab. 3**, p. 179.
948 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-113, pp. 188-189, α-132, p. 217 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 14. 16. 17.
949 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 349; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 292.
950 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 615.
951 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 19. 29; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).
952 Freeman, Centrality in Social Networks 219-221.
953 A third central family were the Tiberiade, whose marriage connections I will analyse later.
954 We will also see this in the analysis of power élites in ch. 4, see esp. p. 113.

It is conspicuous that the royal family itself did not really take part in these marriage schemes at the very end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. After the marriages into the Brunswick and Morphou families in the 1370s and 1380s, only one connection with a noble perhaps took place around 1400: one of Janus' sisters, Echive, may have married a certain Sclavus de Asperch, a foreigner from France. This assumption, however, is based solely on Rudt de Collenberg's conjection that Asperch's wife Echive was James I's daughter Echive of Lusignan[955]. This development is all the more intriguing, as the royal family counted many heads in this period. King James I had had twelve children with Heloise of Brunswick, and the grandchildren of John, the prince of Antioch, James I's brother, were also numerous[956]. The papal registers inform us about the path that at least some of these royal family members took: in March 1406, pope Benedict XIII issued four marriage dispensations for sons and daughters of the late James I, who were supposed to marry their cousins once removed, all of them sons and daughters of James of Lusignan, son of John, prince of Antioch[957]. James of Lusignan's children would probably have inherited at least part of the substantial estates that John, prince of Antioch, had once possessed[958], and so it seems that the Lusignans were trying to keep royal estates in the family during this period by intermarrying their numerous offspring. As the royal finances were dire since the Genoese war, this must have seemed a practical solution and fits well into King Janus' general financial strategies of the time, since the king also actively tried to secure Church estates and revenues for members of the royal family (see chapter six)[959]. The aforementioned marriages are of course not visible in the graphs, as they occurred within one and the same family. King Janus himself married first Anglesia Visconti, sister of the duchess of Milan, in the hopes of receiving valuable assistance from Milan, and when these hopes turned out to be false, he got divorced and married Charlotte de Bourbon, the daughter of John I of Bourbon-La Marche, instead, thus strengthening the ties with France once again[960].

Other nobles, however, also formed marriage alliances with foreigners. Certain Western newcomers were allowed into their ranks, and they married into powerful families. In 1382, Hodrade Provane, who came from Piemonte and embarked on an important career in Cyprus, married Jacqua de Ibelin. After the royal family the Ibelin had been the most influential family in Cyprus for centuries. Provane's predecessor as chamberlain, Antonio de Bergamo, married his daughter Bertolina to Robert de Morphou some time before 1393[961]. Before 1401, Bernardo Corner had married a certain Cypriot noble woman called Eleonore (if she really was Cypriot, see above p. 74). Eleonore married André de Tiberiade, who also came from an influential noble family, after Bernardo's death. This suggests that Eleonore herself must have been of high social standing[962]. Marriages between the French Albi family and the Verny and Tiberiade families have already been treated in detail[963]. Berenger Albi's daughter Marguerite was married to Jean de Verny, while his son Raymon wedded Bella de Tiberiade[964]. Berenger had thus successfully managed to integrate his children into the highest Cypriot society.

The connections known between Western foreigners and Cypriot noble families all follow the same pattern: rich and politically successful foreigners who lived on Cyprus married into influential noble families. In some cases, this integration took place in the second generation, with daughters and sons of foreigners marrying Cypriot nobles. An exception is the marriage between Janot de Nores and Andriola de Campofregoso, the daughter of the Genoese General Campofregoso who had won the war against Cyprus in 1374. This political marriage between enemy parties was part of the peace treaty between Cyprus and Genoa, and it took place in Genoa[965]. However, later sources show the couple living in Cyprus many years after the marriage. They were involved in treason against the Lusignans when Janus tried to recapture Famagusta in 1402[966]. In any case, Cypriot noble families only welcomed into their ranks very influential individuals from the West, for whom the marriage alliance was not necessarily a social rise but an integration into the island society at eye level.

Marriage alliances between the old nobility and the new aristocracy, which would have represented a real social rise, are almost non-existent. An exception to this rule may have been Margarita *Sulivanis'* wedding with Nicholas de Tiberiade in 1411, as has been mentioned during our discussion of the Soulouan family[967]. They required a dispensation in the

955 See Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 632. 688; cf. Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.

956 Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.

957 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β 12-15, pp. 246-250 (Benedict XIII). At least one of these marriages might not have taken place, or the bridegroom may have died, since Isabella, daughter of James I, who was supposed to marry John, son of James of Lusignan, count of Tripoli, received another marriage dispensation in 1415, in order to marry John, son of Peter of Lusignan, constable of Jerusalem (Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β 79, pp. 524-526 [John XXIII]). The strategy of marrying within the royal family was therefore still followed some years later.

958 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 419; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 80-81. 88-89; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 181.

959 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 180, had remarked with regard to the large families of Hugh IV and James I that in the fourteenth century »the higher nobility became increasingly the province of the members of the Lusignan family«. This development was certainly perpetuated into the fifteenth century, reaching a peak under Janus.

960 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 638; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 40. 52; Hill, History II 466.

961 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 5; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-26, p. 50 (Clemens VII); ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3. For the Ibelin, see Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 39-73, who devotes a whole chapter to the family.

962 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 456.

963 See ch. 2.3.5, p. 83.

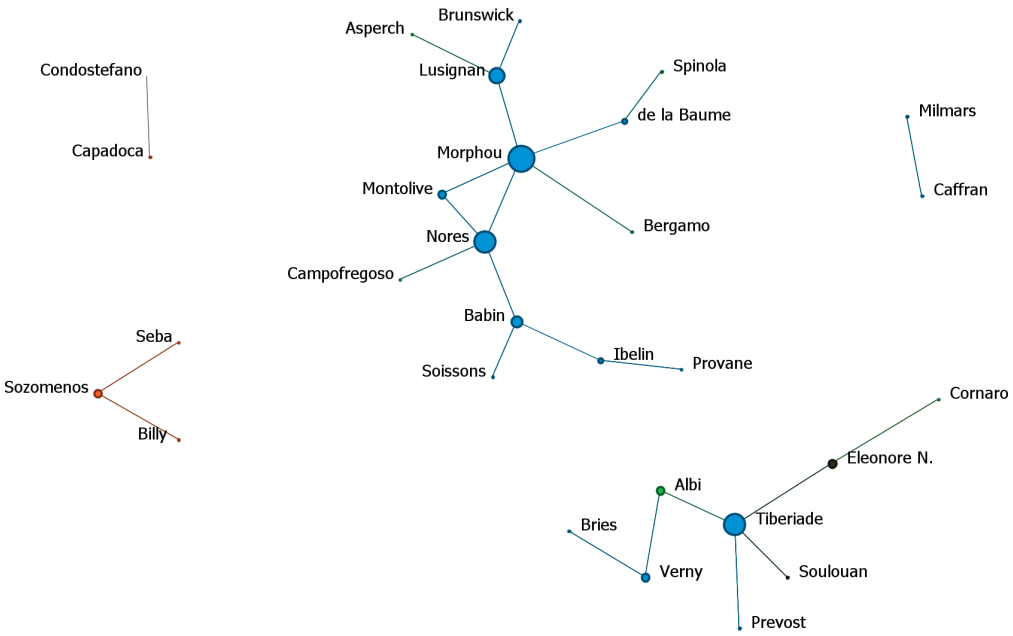
964 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 30; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII); Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 29.

965 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 771.

966 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 631; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354.

967 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 52; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-24, p. 433-434 (John XXIII); cf. ch. 2.2, p. 72.

Fig. 6 Marriage alliances, 1382-1420, total-degree centrality.



fourth and fifth degrees of consanguinity for their marriage. Therefore, their families must have been connected before. If Margarita was a member of the Soulouan family, and if the Soulouan were Syrian, this would be the first known marriage between Syrians and a noble family before 1420. A marriage alliance between the Soulouan and the royal family, which must have taken place at about the same time, would have been even more crucial[968]. If the Soulouan were indeed Syrians, this would be a very early and very high social rise, sealed by an alliance with the royal family. Another exception could be a marriage between a certain noble squire Pierre Fardin and a Syrian called Margarita Gazel, but this is only known through a tombstone which is barely legible, and the woman's name is especially blurred[969]. Therefore, the evidence on this marriage is poor, and it is difficult to say if there were actually some – exceptional – alliances between nobles and social climbers, or not.

Some few marriages within the new aristocracy itself are known during this period, however. A first conglomeration concerns relatives of Leontios Machairas, as mentioned in chapter two[970]. Machairas informs us that his uncle Nicholas Billy was married to Jean Sozomenos' sister in the 1370s and 1380s. Their daughter then married a Seba[971]. Independent of these matches, a certain Lampertos Condostefanos married Loze Capadoca before 1405[972]. These alliances show a first nucleus of successful Syrian and Greek families at the end of the fourteenth century. Nicholas Billy was *bailli de la secrète* and Jean Sozomenos probably a royal knight[973]. Interestingly, Syrians and Greeks intermarried, as is suggested by the match between the Sozomenos-daughter and the Seba family member. We will see later that this was no exception. It is unclear if these matches were facilitated because the Syrians in question were Melkites and therefore of the same rite as the Greeks, as we do not have any information about their religious affiliation. Matches between Syrians and Greeks fifty years later, however, took place when at least some members of all families concerned had already officially converted to the Latin Church, which must have further blurred the boundaries between them (see below)[974].

It remains to be said that many marriage alliances are known for the Tiberiade family between 1400 and 1420. In **figure 6** they appear almost as central as the Nores or the Morphou two decades earlier. Like these latter families, the Tiberiade were connected to other Cypriot nobles, but also to Western foreigners, such as the Albi – and to the Soulouan. This is all the more interesting, as the Tiberiade completely disappear from the sources after 1420. Did the last male descendants die without offspring? Were they victims of the plague in 1420? Or are the sources which might reveal the fate of their children simply missing? We do not know. If it is the first case, the downfall of the Tiberiade would illustrate how fast a well-connected family could cease to exist. In the second case, it would once again illustrate the problem of source transmission. In any case, and despite scarce sources, we observe a well-connected noble society between the 1380s and the 1420s. Though this group was not afraid to connect with influential Western newcomers, it was uninter-

968 See ch. 2.2, p. 72.
969 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 6. This information is so uncertain that I have not included it in the graphs.
970 See ch. 2.2, p. 63.
971 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563 and n. 7.
972 Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 47
973 See ch. 2.2, p. 63.
974 For the conversions, see ch. 6.3, p. 150.

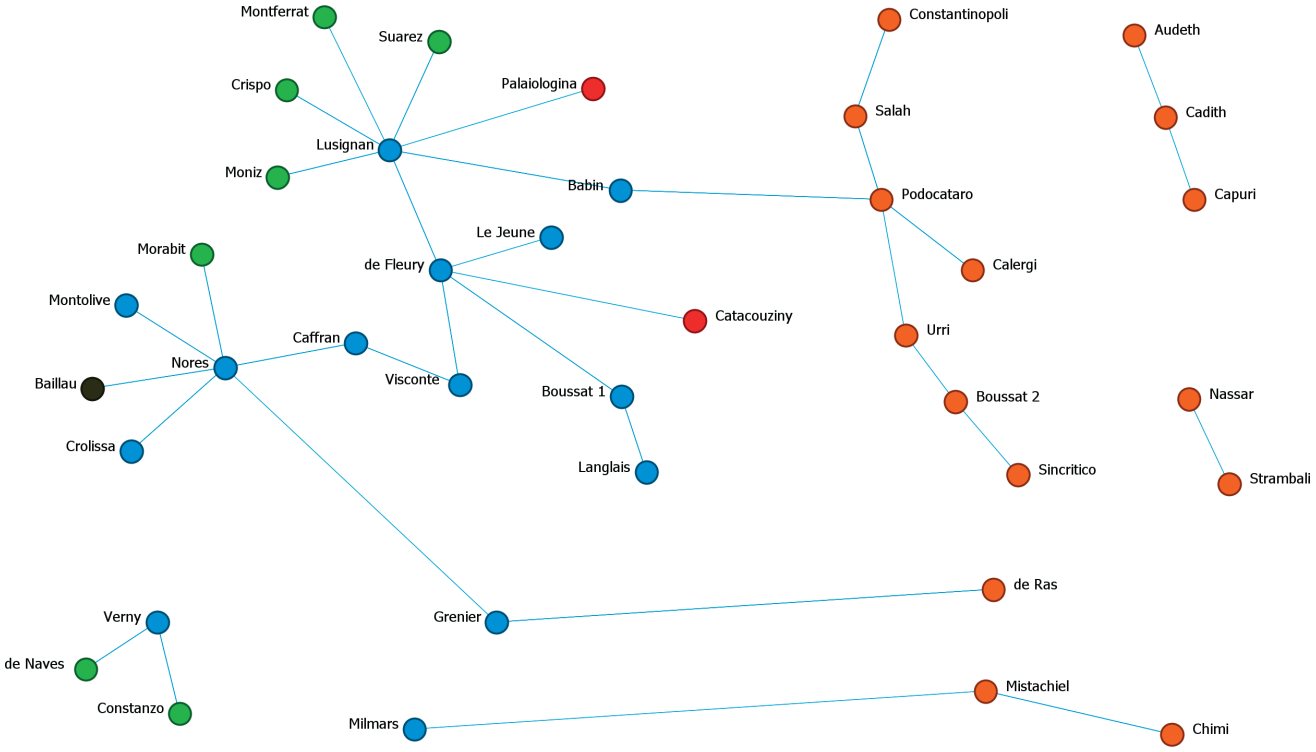


Fig. 7 Marriage alliances, 1425-1470s.

ested in creating alliances with social climbers from within Cypriot society.

Let us proceed to the second graph. **Figure 7** shows a range of interesting developments between 1425 and 1470 which build a contrast to many of the above observations. More Syrian and Greek families (twelve families) appear here than in **figure 5** (six families). This figure is above all caused by the greater availability of sources: many more notarial documents, fief privileges and testaments exist from the second period, in particular for the new aristocracy. However, it is also lileky that a greater number of documents exist from this second period precisely because the new aristocratic families were influential and were by now well connected, particularly with the republics of Venice and Genoa and even with the Lusignan family. This phenomenon resulted in a greater preservation rate for their documents. Therefore, the density of information in itself already suggests that an important development in the new aristocracy had taken place.

The Syrian and Greek families included in the graph were well connected with each other. The Podocataro, the Salah and the Urri families, by then converted to the Latin rite, were all related by marriage in the 1430s: Piero Podocataro, Jean Podocataro's son, had married Agnes Salah. Jean himself had wedded a certain Ioanna Urri, who was his second wife[975]. This core of connections between wealthy Syrians and the Greek Podocataro family is highly interesting, as it runs parallel to the high social rise which all three families experienced at the same time. It seems that they supported each other's social ascendance with these connections.

More families became connected to this important core by the 1460s. The Urri were related to the Boussat, who in turn forged a connection with the Sincritico[976]. Philippe Podocataro married Maria Calergi before 1471, thus connecting with another Greek family[977]. Later the Urri also linked with the Syrian Rames family[978]. As early as the 1440s, the Salah family was related to a certain Piero di Constantinopoli[979]. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about this man, other than that Isabella Salah was his widow in 1444. Other important aristocratic families forged their own relationships parallel to this hub of connections. We know from the Audeth testaments that this family was related to the Cadith, who in turn were connected to the Capuri[980]. Moreover, Elia Strambali and a certain Roma Nassar were married before 1452[981]. Syrian and Greek families intermarried in more than one case (Boussat – Sincritico, Salah – di Constantinopoli,

975 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 197; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 144.
976 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195.
977 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 227.
978 The exact date of this connection is not clear, but in 1481 Marguerite Urri was Piero de Rames' widow, see Otten, Investissements financiers 121.
979 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 28^{v}.
980 Richard, Une famille docs V, VII.
981 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}.

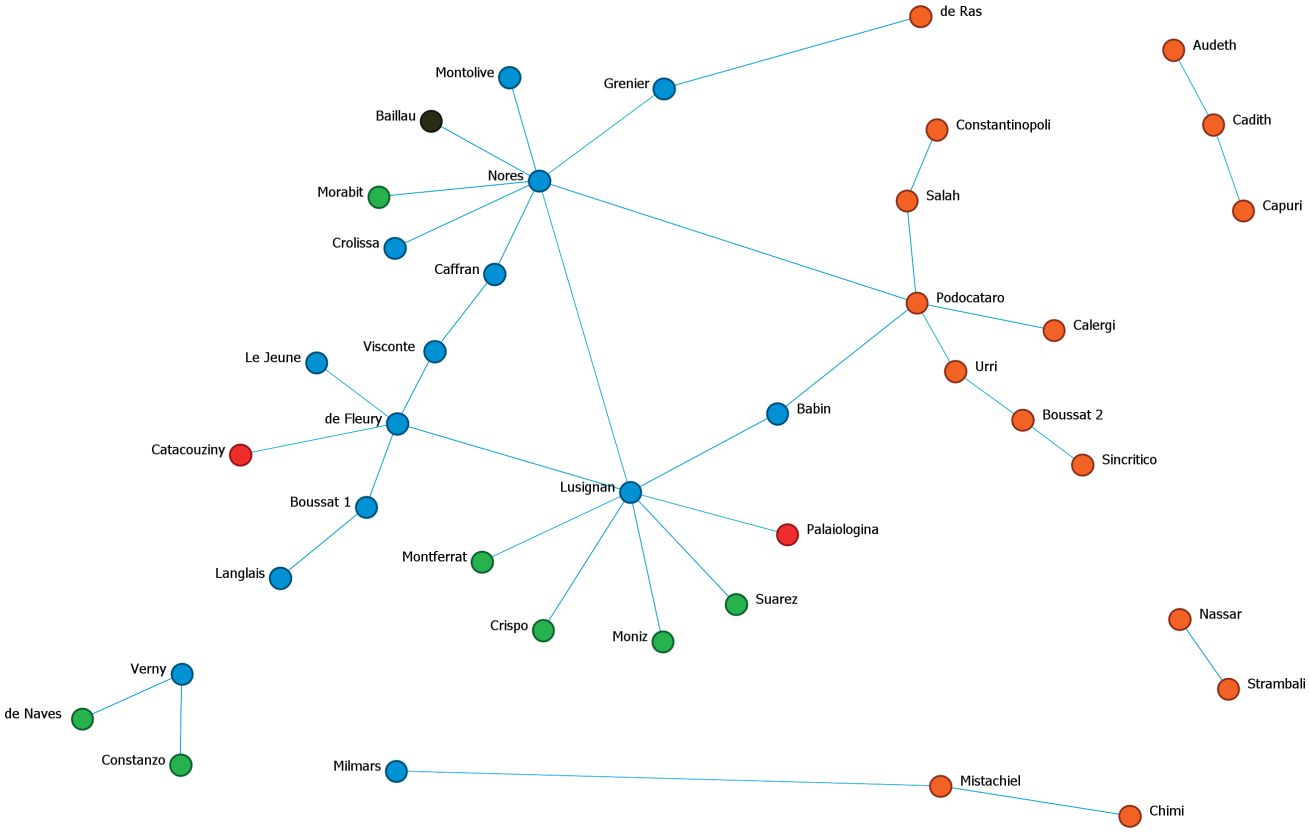


Fig. 8 Marriage alliances 1425-1470s, with the Podocataro-Nores connection.

Podocataro – Urri). The boundaries of their groups appear therefore to have been relatively permeable.

The same cannot be said for the boundaries between the new aristocratic families and the nobility. On the contrary, connections between the two groups were rare. However, in contrast to the earlier period, both groups occasionally intermarried in this period. All these interesting matches seem to have taken place in the 1440/50s or later and accompanied social climbing. Jean de Ras married Helen de Grenier in 1455[982]. As we will see in chapter four, the Grenier family was politically influential in this period, which must have made this marriage an extremely good match for the de Ras family, especially as Jean's career only took off some years later under James II. Unfortunately, we do not know when the Syrian Philippe Mistachiel married Petrina de Milmars. They received full papal absolution in 1469[983], but whether they married when Philippe was already marshal of Cyprus and therefore occupied an important political position[984] is unknown. In any case the Milmars, too, were a family of important standing in noble society.

The most interesting case displayed by our Network Analysis is that of the Podocataro family. Hugo, Piero and Philippe Podocataro's sister Marie married Jean Babin, and bore him at least one son, Gioffredo. In 1472, together with his uncle Philippe and his Podocataro cousins, Gioffredo sent a petition to the pope, thus attesting an obviously normal relationship between the families[985]. This must have been an extremely important alliance, as the Babin were also related to the Lusignan family: Guy of Lusignan, one of John II's brothers, had married Isabelle Babin before 1432, and Phoebus' son Hugh of Lusignan had wedded a woman from the Babin family before 1463[986]. Some years later, another daughter of Jean Podocataro married a certain Jacques de Nores. We can unfortunately only guess that the marriage took place sometime at the end of the fifteenth century, since the information stems from a text by Jason de Nores a century later[987]. The marriage may have taken place already under Venetian rule and therefore be irrelevant to the period under analysis, and I have chosen not to present this match in **figure 7**, though I include it in **figure 8**. In any case, connections with the Babin and the Nores families must have accompanied as high a social rise as the Podocataro could hope for. With these matches, the Podocataro became perhaps the most important linchpin between the old nobility and the new aristocracy. Together with the de Ras and the Mistachiel, they must have been important brokers between the two groups.

982 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 145, n. 1; Richard, Privilège 131.
983 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 219.
984 See ch. 2.2, p. 71.
985 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 173.
986 Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.
987 Nores, Apologia (Guarini) 327.

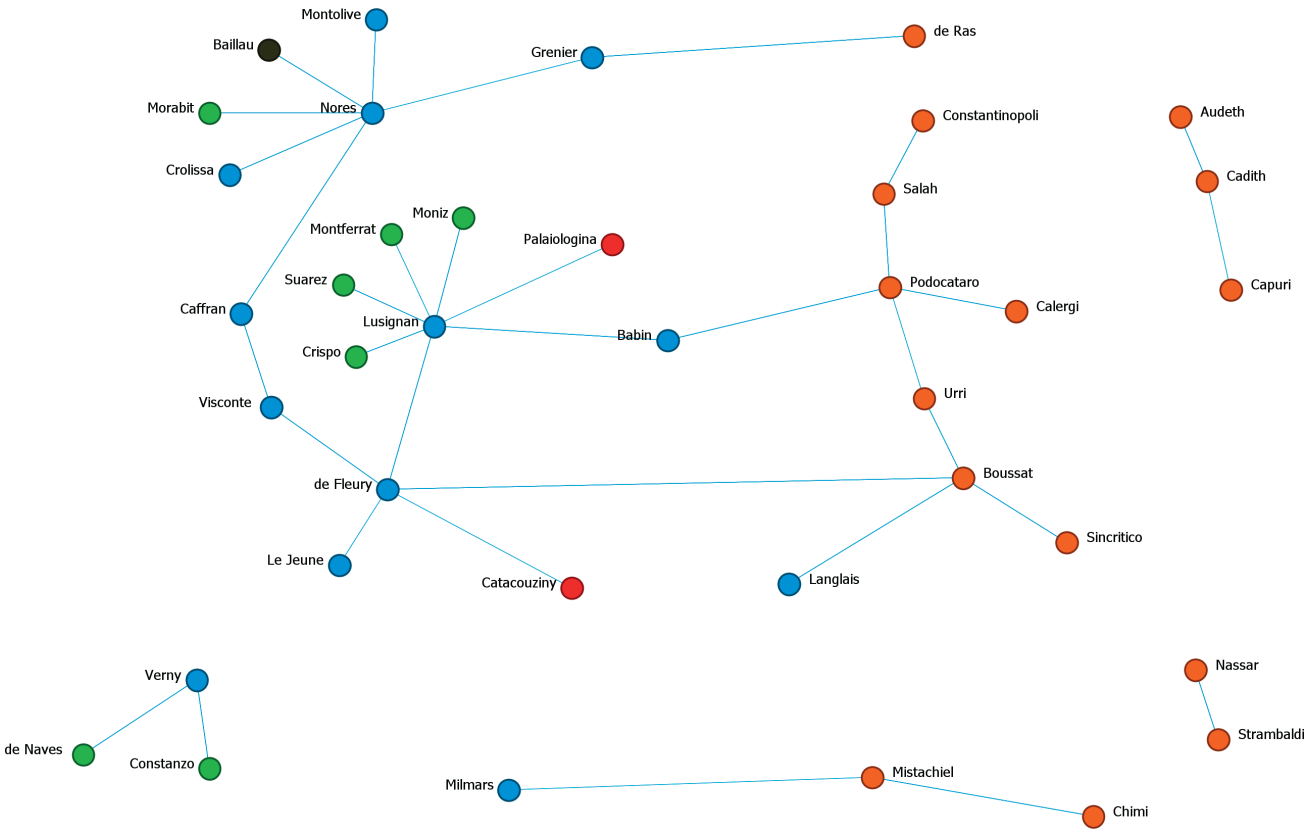


Fig. 9 Marriage alliances, 1425-1470s, Boussat family case 2.

Two marriage connections are rather unclear, and they pose some interesting questions. Both involve the Boussat families. As we have seen earlier, there were certainly two distinct Boussat families in Cyprus. We know that the Hugh Boussat who married one of Jacques de Fleury's daughters was the son of Odet Boussat, the royal counsellor in the 1450s[988]. But did they belong to the same family as the Boussat who were related to the Urri in the 1460s? The graphs that we have been using for the analysis until now suggest that this was not the case. They follow the hypothesis that the Boussat related to the de Fleury were actually a Latin family from the beginning, and distinct from the probably Syrian Boussat family which was related to the Urri. **Figure 9** follows the other option. If indeed both the Boussat involved in these marriage connections came from the same family, this would result in an interesting constellation. Then Jacques de Fleury would have married his daughter into a family which – perhaps a bit later – would also connect with the Urri, who were his enemies in the attempted coup d'état in 1454. One hint that this might be the case is that in 1481 a certain Perrin Urri left ten Genoese *luoghi* to Carola de Fleury, who was married to Hugh Boussat[989]. Perhaps he did so because of a family connection between the Urri and the Boussat? This hypothesis remains unclear, and we unfortunately do not know when Charlotte's marriage with Hugh Boussat took place. If she married him when they were already in exile in Italy, this blurring of the boundaries between the Syrians and the old nobility could have been caused by the experience of exile. If they married before, this would be a crucial integrating alliance at the end of the 1450s, a crowning success to the Syrian ascendance in the preceding decades. It would have given the Boussat as important a broker position as the Podocataro. Finally, if the marriage alliance between the Podocataro and the Nores families also took place in this period, as suggested in **figure 10**, then the number of connections between Syrian/Greek and old noble families in the highest circles would have been substantial indeed.

Be this as it may, these alliances show that the huge wealth and political influence wielded by these new aristocrats by the 1440s/1450s made it possible for them to integrate into the nobility through marriage. Albeit, these marriages suggest that this was only possible for the most powerful families and an exceptional phenomenon in general.

The old nobility itself also manifests interesting developments. The number of noble families registered is almost constant – eighteen families appear in the first graph, fourteen

988 See ch. 2.2, p. 61 and Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 72.

989 Otten, Investissements financiers 122. For the term *luoghi* and its meaning, see p. 66 and n. 604

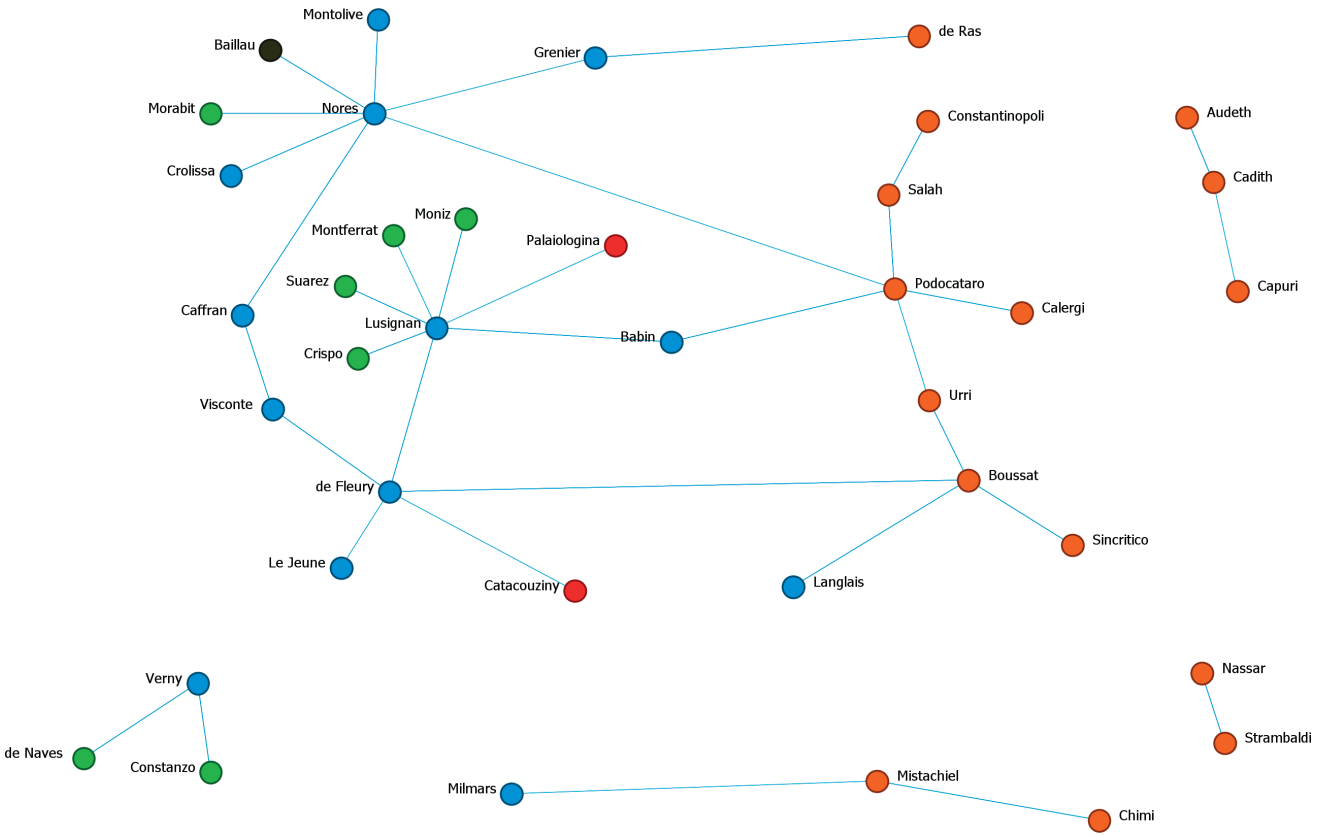


Fig. 10 Marriage alliances, 1425-1470s, Boussat family case 2 with the Podocataro-Nores connection.

in the second. However, only some of the prominent families in **figure 5** also appear in **figure 7**, while many others are exchanged for other well-known families[990]. This is above all a result of the dire source situation. In some cases, however, it also hints at social movement within the nobility. As is the case for the new aristocrats, the marriage alliances between members of the nobility reflect hierarchies of power to a certain extent. Those in power took care to connect themselves, and marriage alliances could sometimes elevate men into powerful positions.

The Nores, Caffran, de Fleury, Le Jeune, Montolive and Crolissa were all part of a nexus that was connected to the royal family through more than one marriage alliance. The Nores successfully maintained their web of marriage relations from the 1380s on. They were influential in the reigning power élite in the 1430s and 1440s, as we shall see in chapter four. This is reflected in their marriage relations. The Nores were related to the Caffran family, who were also important political players at the time. We do not exactly know who had married whom, but when Jacques de Caffran died in the 1440s, members of the de Nores family took over the task of administering Pierre de Caffran's legacy of stipends for Cypriot students in Padua, suggesting that they must have been closely related to him[991]. The Nores also managed to connect themselves directly with the royal family by 1450 at the latest: a certain Echive de Nores married Philippe, Henry of Lusignan's illegitimate son (Henry was Janus' brother, who had died during the battle of Chirokitia in 1426). Apart from this important match, the Nores had probably intermarried again with the Montolive[992].

The Nores were not the only ones to be well connected, however. The Babin family even married into the royal family twice[993]. The Babin did not act directly as members of the power élite. However, others whom the Lusignans connected to were certainly in the centre of power. Jacques de Fleury, King John II's right-hand man for many years, married his sister Isabelle de Fleury to Peter of Lusignan's illegitimate son Phoebus, probably between 1435 and 1440[994]. Jacques'

990 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 551 postulated that the decreasing number of marriage dispenses in the fifteenth century hinted at the decline of the nobility itself. However, we can see here that there were still marriage alliances within the nobility between families which had already connected before (e. g. the Nores-Montolive matches, see below). We just do not have any dispenses for them.

991 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126.

992 For the royal family, see Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II. Marie de Montolive is called the *marchelece* in 1469. In Jean Richard's opinion she had probably been married to the marshal Louis de Nores, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 182 and n. 1. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 571 was convinced that a certain Jean de Nores was also married to Marie de Grenier, but as so often there is no proof for this. Cf. Richard, Privilège 133 n. 23, who reports this information uncritically.

993 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 366-367; Phoebus' son Hugh married an anonymous Babin woman before 1463, see Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.

994 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 185.

half-sister Isabeau Visconte was married to Jacques de Caffran, who, as we have seen, was connected with the de Nores family[995]. We do not know if this was the same Jacques who had married Margarita de Milmars in 1412, but it is possible. Jacques de Fleury in turn was married to Boulogne Le Jeune, the last offspring of the important Le Jeune family[996]. The last of the power élite to be mentioned here is Carceran Suarez, the Spaniard who had saved King Janus' life during the battle of Chirokitia. As a reward, he had not only become the kingdom's admiral, but had also married Catherine of Lusignan, Janus' illegitimate daughter[997].

Thus, the members of the power élite between 1430 and 1450 were tightly interrelated – with each other and with the royal family, which did not follow the strategy of marrying cousins anymore, as it had at the beginning of the century. In the absence of a plethora of children, the royal family rather seems to have sought to bind important nobles in this period. However, it is interesting to note that two members of the power élite, the Syrians Hugh Soudain and Giacomo Urri, are conspicuously absent from this marriage network, and were strongly integrated into their own group. Hugh Soudain and Giacomo Urri were very powerful men, but they were not yet integrated by marriage into the nobility. Integrating matches between the two groups only appeared later, as we have seen above. However, one family was new in the network of nobles: the Crolissa family were a much younger family than most noble families, but they achieved a great feat of social climbing and became part of the power élite in the 1440s[998]. Their connection with the powerful Nores family attests their social mobility. Badin de Nores had married Maria de Crolissa before 1432[999].

The core of nobles also intermarried with foreigners. The Lusignan family in particular figures prominently in such matches. Anne of Lusignan was married to Louis, duke of Savoy, and thus initiated a strong connection between the two houses that should result in her niece Charlotte, John II's daughter, marrying Anne's son, another Louis, in 1459[1000]. But also John II followed up on this tradition and married Medea of Montferrat, who was his first cousin from the Savoyan part of the family. When she died, he married Helena Palaologina, a famous match with a woman part Italian and part Byzantine, who came from the Imperial Palaiologan family[1001]. The Lusignans therefore do not seem to have seen any problem in marrying into the Byzantine aristocracy, especially into the Imperial family. Jacques de Fleury's second marriage with Zoi Catacouziny is also an important match in these policies, binding the powerful statesman to a member of Queen Helena Palaiologina's retinue[1002].

However, the matches with foreigners later also concerned other allies: Phoebus of Lusignan's daughter Eleonore married first Soffredo Crispo, lord of Nisyros, who came from the Venetian Crispo family, and later the Catalan Vasco Egidio Moniz[1003]. Cathérine, one of Janus' bastard daughters, had married Carceran Suarez from Seville[1004], as mentioned above. Most famously, King James II married the Venetian Caterina Corner in 1468[1005]. Moreover, according to Stephen of Lusignan, two of Henry of Lusignan's illegitimate children married. Helvis is said to have wedded the Cypriot Hector de Chivides, from a family which appears to have been marginal until then. Helvis' sister Mariette married the Catalan Onofrio de Requesens[1006]. We must be very careful with this information, however, as Stephen is the only one to record it. Stephen was also convinced that James I was married to Echive de Giblet, who bore him all his sons and daughters, including King Janus, a fact that is clearly untrue[1007]. This information is therefore only included in **figure 11**.

However, in general, the information on the Lusignan family is very revealing: in addition to binding the high nobility to their family, the Lusignans also took care to cultivate relationships with wealthy and politically important foreigners. They forged alliances with families from all over the Mediterranean, the Byzantine empire included, though Lusignans from lesser branches of the family seem to have married Catalans particularly frequently from the 1450s onwards. Especially in comparison with the first period, the percentage of Catalans marrying into the Cypriot nobility increased greatly, clearly connected with Alfonso V's expansion politics into the Eastern Mediterranean. The Genoese resistance to the marriage between the Catalan Juan de Naves and Marie of Lusignan and his subsequent decision to marry Anne de Verny instead illustrate how crucially these matches influenced the power balance between the actors in the Eastern Mediterranean[1008].

Catalan involvement became even stronger under James II who favoured the Catalans greatly. The noblewoman Anne de Verny, by then widowed, married Muzio di Costanzo, one of James II's most important Sicilian followers, while the Nores family integrated Nicholas Morabit, again a very influential Sicilian[1009]. However, James II's own marriage with Caterina Corner and its aftermath showcases how the Lusignans were torn between their Venetian and Catalan allies. After the marriage had taken place by proxy in Venice, it seems that

995 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139.
996 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 149.
997 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28.
998 Cf. ch. 2.1, p. 60.
999 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 109.
1000 Mas Latrie, Histoire III 12-23; Hill, History III 554.
1001 Cf. ch. 6.1, p. 144.
1002 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151.
1003 See Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II and Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 185.
1004 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28.
1005 Hill, History III 634.
1006 Lusignan, Description fol. 203^{v}.
1007 Lusignan, Description fol. 203^{r}.
1008 For these matches, see ch. 2.3.4, p. 82.
1009 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 415; Rey, Familles de Ducange 686.

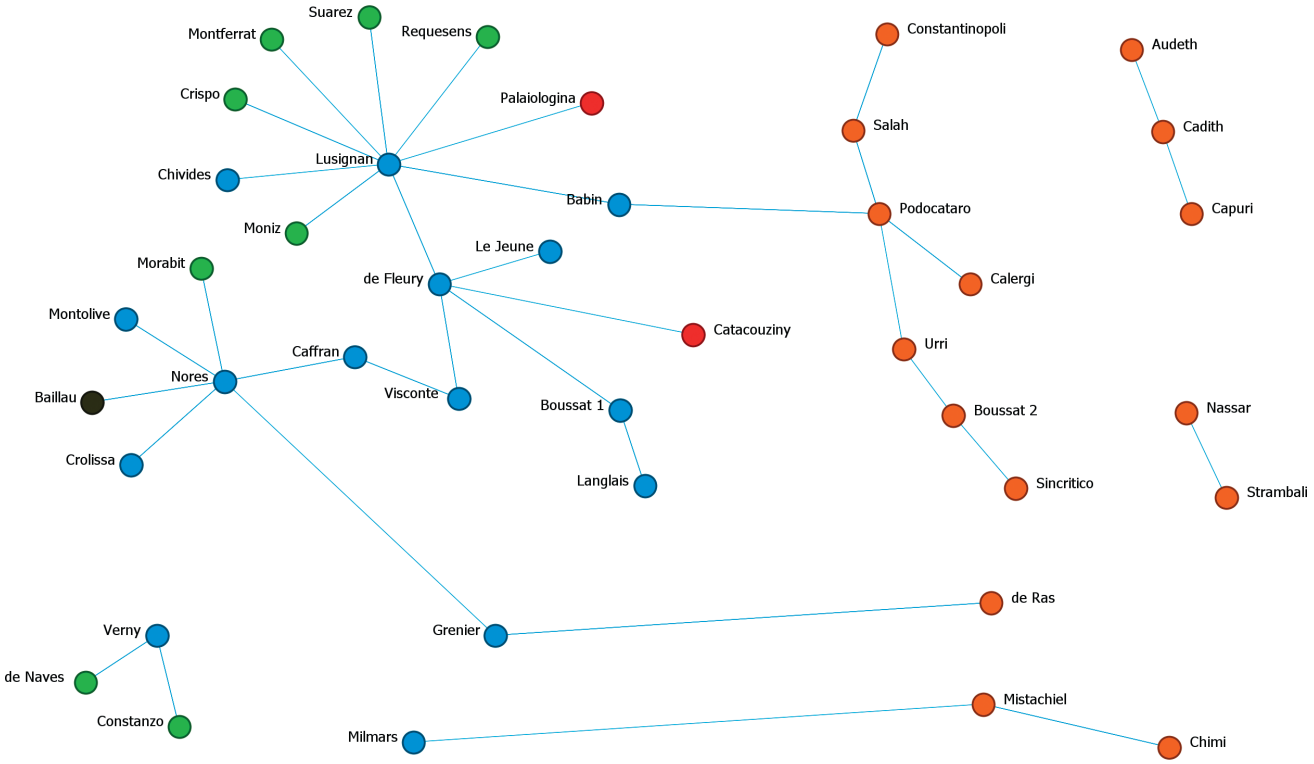


Fig. 11 Marriage alliances 1425-1470s, with uncertain information on the Lusignans.

King Ferdinand of Naples and Sicily tried rather successfully to dissuade James II from the match, and Venice had to remind the king to honour his agreement[1010].

In general, important foreign players did not often marry into Greek or Syrian families, but instead took care to relate to old noble families, thus clearly illustrating how they perceived the power balance on the island. Only two matches between a Syrian family and foreigners are known: the two subsequent marriage alliances between Iana Soudain, daughter of the important Syrian statesman Hugh Soudain, and Genoese men in Famagusta (for a detailed analysis, see chapter two, pp. 80-81). However, since these marriage alliances technically took place in Famagusta and not in the kingdom of Cyprus, I have not included them into the graphs.

The results of the Network Analysis are therefore quite clear: we observe clusters of marriage alliances within the old nobility throughout the century, which preserved and strengthened their networks. In the 1430s/1440s especially, the power élite was strongly interrelated. However, while the nobility was open to marriages with foreign nobles – at the end of the fourteenth century mostly Italians and some French, later almost exclusively Catalans, though the royal family also connected to Byzantines and to Venice via Caterina Corner – they rarely contracted marriage alliances with Syrian or Greek families from the new aristocracy. However, powerful new aristocratic families managed to progressively integrate into the nobility: while no marriage alliances between nobles and Greeks or Syrians are registered up to the end of the fourteenth century (excepting the strange case of the Soulouan family), after this period the most important Syrian and Greek families managed to contract few but important marriages with nobles. At the same time, these Greek and Syrian families were highly interrelated and forged strong networks on which to ground their social aspirations.

1010 Hill, History III 636-638.

3.4 Conclusion

Members of the nobility and the new aristocracy worked together frequently, mixing on a professional level. Friendships between members of the various groups probably existed, although the analysis of two testaments has shown that the testators tended to rely on their own in-groups at the crucial moment of death. Regardless, boundaries on the social level were not very permeable. Marriage alliances between the two groups seem to have been exceptional. These structures are similar to the phenomena which John Padgett found for the Florentine élite in the late middle ages. There, too, families were socially mobile as far as economic status and professional position were concerned, but had a harder time integrating into the marriage networks of older aristocratic families[1011]. Despite this pattern, some highly important matches took place between a few powerful Syrian and Greek families and nobles from the 1450s onwards. These unions hint at a successful integration between the two groups at the highest social levels.

Cypriot high society forged contacts with many different groups of foreigners. The nature of these contacts varied, however, according to the foreigners' origin and the political situation. Many Venetian and Genoese merchants were important economic protagonists on the island, and the Genoese occupants in Famagusta were in continuous contact with the Lusignans. However, few of them actually married into Cypriot high society. French and above all Catalans were quite the opposite, marrying into the (high) nobility wherever possible. Catalans in particular used this method to achieve political influence. However, almost all Westerners took care to integrate with the old nobility instead of the new aristocracy, illustrating effectively how they perceived the power balance on the island.

1011 Padgett, Open élite 369-370.

Chapter 4 – Climbing the High End of the Ladder: the Ascension of Syrians and Greeks into the Power Élite

When Pero Tafur, a Castilian travelling in the East[1012], visited Cyprus in 1436, he witnessed the outcome of a court intrigue against one of King John II's favourites, Giacomo Urri. In the event, the Cypriot court took collective action to curtail Urri's influence. Tafur relates:

> The morning of the next day, there was a great murmuring among all the people, and everyone armed themselves, especially the Cardinal and Lady Agnes, his sister, against the King, [wanting] to kill or arrest a favorite that he [the King] had, whom they called Jacobo Guiri [James Gurri], a judge by profession. The King fled to a fortress which they call the Citadel, which is at the end of the city, and there they laid siege around him and held such resolve with him that he should set his favorite aside from him, and that he [the favorite] should not enter his court for a year; and so the King swore to it and it was immediately accomplished, and they lifted [their siege] from over him[1013].

This episode delves deeply into the topic we shall discuss in this chapter: the ascendance of Syrian and Greek newcomers into the Cypriot power élite and their influence on the power balance in the highest government circles. Giacomo Urri was a Syrian, a member of the new aristocracy, who had come to wield influence with King John II. Was his influence resented because of his origins? How did he reach this influential position? And, more importantly, how powerful were the newcomers, be they Greeks, Syrians or Western foreigners, in relation to the old nobility? Was Urri rather an exception, while the old nobility was still in control, or did the ascendance of men from the new aristocracy actually change the power constellations?

An examination of the Cypriot power élite and its development during the fifteenth century is necessary in order to answer these questions. For the purpose of the analysis, I will understand power élite as defined by John Haldon[1014]: a »›power élite‹ or ›ruling group‹ [means] a leading fraction of the economically dominant social strata, those who shared a situation in respect of access to political/ideological power and influence[1015]«. The power élite, therefore, comprises the small group of people who wielded executive power. In this chapter, I will ask who these men in power were, how they reached their positions, and if the newcomers actually managed to tip the power balance or change government structures.

In order to conduct such an analysis, however, an overview of the power structures and hierarchies within the Lusignan government is necessary. We can discern the importance of individual statesmen only if we know which role certain decision making organs and offices played in the ruling of the state. I will therefore provide a short introduction of power structures at the Lusignan court before turning to the analysis of the power élite itself.

The power structures at the Lusignan Court consisted in a complex web of administrative state institutions and their head officials, the great crown offices and the personal relationships between the king as the centre of power and his followers and advisors. Documents registering decisions taken in the kingdom of Cyprus unveil two power circles that assisted the king in crucial matters: the royal council and the *Haute Court*, the High Court. These are two distinct institutions[1016]. However, it is not always easy to distinguish them, and in some cases they even seem to conflate. The royal council consisted of advisors whom the ruler trusted. They played a significant role in government; they advised the king in matters of importance and witnessed treaties[1017]. The

1012 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 1-8.

1013 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 19. Cf. 38 for the original: *Otro dia de mañana levantose un grant rumor en todo el pueblo, e todos se posieron en armas, el Cardenal prinçipalmente, e Madama Ynes su hermana, e algunos de los grandes del Reyno contra el Rey por le matar, o prender un privado que llamava[n] Iacobo Guiri, e por ofiçio auditor. El Rey fuyo a una fortaleça que esta enc abo de la çibdat, que llaman la Cibdadel, e alli lo çercaron, e tovieron tal Partido con el, que echase de si el privado, e que no[n] entrase en su corte por un año e ansy lo juro el Rey, e luego se cumplio, e levantaronse de sobrel*.

1014 Cf. p. 19.

1015 Haldon, Social Élites 172. A rather more uncouth definition can be found in Mills, Power Élite 283: »the power elite is composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences«.

1016 Edbury, Franks 75 has rightly stressed that the Haute Court should not be confused with the royal council.

1017 During Peter I's rule, the council's importance is illustrated by its mobility: members of Peter I's council accompanied him on his travels to Europe. Two documents drawn up in Rome on 20 May 1368 designate the assembled witnesses as *consiliarii nostri*, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 302. 308. For the role of the royal council during Hugh IV's and Peter I's reign, cf. Grivaud, Le roi Pierre Ier (forthcoming).

Haute Court, on the other hand, theoretically constituted the assembly of all royal liegemen. It possessed the authority to decide about enfeoffments and other transactions regarding crown estates, but it also administered justice for the nobility, and in some cases, it witnessed treaties. Although all the king's liegemen could participate, the Haute Court often only consisted of a few men who generally belonged to the most influential men on the island[1018]. Since the Haute Court was newly constituted every time it convened, its members could vary from one day to the next[1019]. Membership in the royal council, on the other hand, seems to have endured as long as the counsellors enjoyed the king's favour.

The workings of the council emerge in a particularly pronounced way from a source that was discovered only recently: a protocol concerning King Janus' divorce trial from the year 1407. This document lies in the archives of Padua, and Christina Kaoulla has recently edited it as part of her doctoral thesis. She has kindly shared her as yet unpublished work with me[1020], so that I am able to draw on this source here.

The document in question (*Perg. 5685 part. 7*) protocols the statements of the witnesses summoned to provide information on Janus' marriage with Anglesia Visconti, which the king wished to annul. The interviews were held in August 1407 and the witnesses were called on to remember the preparational proceedings for the marriage[1021]. Even if we must assume that the witnesses rendered a biased version of the story of the marriage[1022], their statements shed light on the dealings and the importance of the royal council from various perspectives.

Membership in the royal council was an official status. This becomes clear from a statement by Johannes Cristali, who was the prior of the king's chapel during this period. On being asked a particularly detailed question of the proceedings, he responded that »he is neither a member of the king's council, nor does he know what men discuss with the king in the council[1023]«. The council members were the king's most trusted followers and at least the young king Janus, in 1399 sixteen years of age, usually followed their advice[1024]. However, because of their knowledge, others addressed them if they wanted to know what was going on at the court, and the council seems to have been a good source for rumours. Johannes Vasageri, another cleric, on being asked from whom he knew that the king had been duped with the wrong bride in his marriage, answered, »by someone who is in the royal council, who must have known well his [i. e. the king's] secrets[1025]«. This was also the reason why the most secret deliberations concerning the marriage included only some few handpicked councilors. Three of the witnesses declared that the Lord of Beirut John of Lusignan, who was the regent for the young king in 1399, had especially asked them to a secret session early in the morning in the king's personal chambers[1026]. When the admiral Jean Babin mentioned that it would be appropriate to include also other councilors, John responded:

> You have seen a lot of the royal council's decisions that are made public, prior to the right time, of which we others are astounded from where the publication came. And finally, if the affair touched the kingdom, they could be called. However, this affair touches only the person of the king and he may well accept a wife out of his own will and not out of the will of others[1027].

It is possible that other factors played a role for John's decision of secrecy, such as that the other council members might have contradicted his advice, but the passage still shows the importance of the councilors on the intersection between the king and the population.

In general, the protocol creates the picture of familial and intimate situations of deliberation between the king and his councilors who each influenced the proceedings with their own opinion and personality. The regent John of Beirut stands out as the most influential personality by far. The conversations are ridden with intrigues and the councilors do not hesitate to make jokes in between, even at the expense of the king[1028].

In addition to these situations behind the scenes, counsellors acted as ambassadors and took part in the sessions of the Haute Court[1029]. Moreover, a member of the council possibly had to preside over the Haute Court in the king's absence. The assizes indicate that originally the constable or the seneschal should have filled this position. They were also supposed to rule the court when matters had to be discussed apart, that is, without the king[1030]. Indeed, when the Haute Court met after Peter I's murder, this rule was still intact[1031].

1018 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xxiv; Edbury, Franks 75-76; Edbury, Kingdom 186. For a detailed description of the tasks of the Haute Court, see Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 281-287.

1019 Thierry Ganchou in Ganchou, Rébellion 132 n. 106 suggests that the Haute Court had a fix member constellation, but this is not confirmed by the sources, see for example two documents from August 1452 in Documents chypriotes (Richard) 154-155. Different men took part in each session.

1020 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride.

1021 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 9.

1022 Cf. Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 91.

1023 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride § 489: *ipse non est de consilio regis, nec scit, quid loquantur homines cum rege de consilio*. English translations by Kaoulla.

1024 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 106, §§ 9. 68. 178. 195. 328. 354.

1025 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride § 449: *respondit ab uno, qui est de consilio regis, qui deberet scire bene secreta sua*.

1026 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride §§ 133. 249. 566.

1027 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride §136: *Vos vidistis multa facta in consilio secreto, que fuerunt publicata, ante tempus, de quibus nos alii mirabamur unde processerat publicatio. Et ulterius, si factum tangerit regnum, ipsi possent vocari. Sed, factum hoc tangit personam proptiam regis et bene potest accipere uxorem ad voluntatem suam et non ad voluntatem aliorum*.

1028 See e. g. Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride §§ 135. 136. 327.

1029 E. g., in 1390, Pierre de Caffran went to Genoa for negotiations with the Mahona (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 420-421). Counsellor Pierre Le Jeune acted as a member of the Haute Court in 1410, when ambassadors were sent to Famagusta in order to negotiate with the Genoese. The same counsellor witnessed a tax dispense for the Hospitallers in 1411 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 498-499. 495). A treaty with Genoa in 1414 designates all Haute Court members as royal counsellors (Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 142).

1030 See below A 1.1.1, pp. 165-166 and A 1.1.3, pp. 167-168 and Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 202.

1031 Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 202 and n. 8.

In 1420, however, this had changed. Other members of the royal council now took pride of place. Pierre Le Jeune, then admiral of Cyprus, presided over the Haute Court when it met concerning the affairs of the noblewoman Alice Prevost. Similarly, the Haute Court decided on the legitimacy of an estate purchase made by Odet Boussat in 1452. Then, Jacques de Fleury presided in his function as *chef de conseil*. In both cases, the king had appointed the liegeman to act as his lieutenant. Both men were royal counsellors[1032]. Council members therefore quite naturally fulfilled important roles in the workings of the Haute Court.

The Haute Court in turn experienced a changeful history during the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The institution acquired particular importance in the decades after Peter I's death. When Peter I was murdered by his vassals in January 1369, the Haute Court convened to decide about the future of the kingdom. In this case, the Haute Court was indeed a gathering of all the royal liegemen, as prescribed by the assizes. The vassals determined the kingdom's new course collectively. The Haute Court reacted explicitly to Peter I's authoritarian regime by confirming the rules which Cypriots kings had to follow: inter alia, the Haute Court had to be convened at least once a month[1033]. In the next decades, and particularly under James I, the importance of the Haute Court certainly grew. In this period, the Haute Court decided on foreign affairs as well as fiefs and estate transactions, which were more every-day matters. Foreign affairs were conducted by a circle of Haute Court members numbering between three and eight men, and usually two or three witnesses[1034]. Fief issues, on the contrary, were usually organized by the minimum number of two or at the most three members of the Haute Court[1035]. This phenomenon is still perceivable in the middle of the fifteenth century[1036].

However, the importance of the Haute Court diminished by the 1430s at the latest, as it became more and more intertwined with the royal council during John II's reign. It is conspicuous that in eleven of the sixteen Haute Court documents preserved for the period 1432 to 1457, royal counsellors alone acted as the Haute Court. Moreover, an Italian document from 1439 designates the royal council as *secreta corte*[1037]. If this is a direct translation from the original French text, the designation suggests that the Haute Court and the council actually conflated in these years, the council taking over the affairs of the Haute Court almost entirely. This process must have been connected to the strengthening of the council during John II's reign. It has been stated that John II was probably mentally not able to reign independently[1038]. The development of the royal council under his rule supports this claim strongly.

The council was already important at the beginning of John II's reign. This is evident from the influential role it played during the negotiations for Anne of Lusignan's marriage in 1432[1039]. In the following years, the council not only took over all the proceedings of the Haute Court, but even achieved some sort of institutionalization: the new office of *chef de conseil*, who was the king's right-hand man, was created. Jean Richard has interpreted this as proof of the beginning of a »véritable conseil« in Cyprus[1040]. The council's official position is confirmed by sources from abroad: in 1453, Alfonso of Aragón wrote a letter »to the respectable, magnificent nobles, beloved and devoted to us, the [members] of the council of the most illustrious King of Cyprus[1041]«, and the instructions to Hospitaller knights who went as ambassadors to Cyprus regularly include the royal council explicitly as negotiation partner[1042]. The Haute Court therefore still existed in the 1440s and 1450s and it had to be convened for certain decisions, but its personnel consisted almost entirely of John II's counsellors. The council's designation as *secreta corte* even hints that the names of the institutions themselves might have merged, leaving the council in control of the kingdom.

The above discussion suggests that the decision makers in the kingdom could be found among the members of the royal council and the Haute Court. However, we must keep in mind that other influential personae at court might not have appeared in official decisions. Female members of the royal family, for example, could be influential without ever appearing in Haute Court sessions. King Janus' sister Agnes of Lusignan, for instance, was very powerful at the beginning of John II's reign[1043].

Many members of the royal council and of the Haute Court held office. Some counsellors, however, apparently lacked such honours. Pierre Le Jeune for example is mentioned simply as *consiliarius regis* in 1410 and 1411. He seems to have become admiral of Cyprus only in 1415[1044]. Hugh Soudain, too, was just a counsellor in 1427. He became

1032 Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612); Documents chypriotes (Richard) 155.

1033 The meeting and the reestablished rules are described in two documents: an ordinance drawn up on the day of Peter's death, and the preface of the new edition of the assizes prepared as a reaction to Peter's actions before his death, which describes the meeting of the Haute Court on that same day. See Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 733-737; Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 202-206. 206-208 (Peter Edbury's translation of the ordinance).

1034 See Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 420. 428.

1035 See the enfeoffments in 1374 in Otten, Féodalité 91-92.

1036 See for example Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166-169. Jean Richard has argued that the Haute Court had lost its importance under James II, as only ever two members of his council, acting as Haute Court, assisted him in every-day duties, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) xxvi. But in the light of the above information, this was no new development.

1037 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 40^{v}.

1038 Hill, History III 527-528; Ganchou, Rébellion 104. 109; Kaoulla, Queen Elena 124-125.

1039 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 15-23. For a more detailed discussion of these negotiations, see below, ch. 4.2.1.

1040 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 129.

1041 Cerone, La politica orientale 787: *als spectables magnifichs nobles amats et devots nostres los del Consell del Ullustrissimo Rey de Cipre.* Cf. Ganchou, Rébellion 124.

1042 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) nos 230. 250. 273.

1043 See ch. 4.2.1.

1044 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 55. 69; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-35-36, p. 447-448; β-83, pp. 529-530 (John XXIII); Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612).

the kingdom's chamberlain as late as in 1432[1045]. It was therefore not necessary to hold an office in order to become part of the royal council. Men who had attained the status of royal counsellor, however, were often later appointed to an influential office.

However, this does not necessarily infer that offices were only an empty hull, expressing the holder's prestige without any additional meaning. In contrast, most offices at the Lusignan court and in the administration had a great import on the kingdom's power balance.

The Lusignan kings appointed crown officers, such as the seneschal, constable, marshal, chamberlain and butler. In the first half of the fourteenth century, King Hugh IV even revived the same offices for the kingdom of Jerusalem[1046]. Jean Richard and especially Peter Edbury have suggested that these crown offices were merely a means to honour the powerful, void of any executive meaning by the fourteenth century[1047]. This is only true in part for the fifteenth century. The seneschal for example lost its importance between the 1370s and the 1420s. After this time, the kings did not award this office anymore, and other officers took over its tasks. The butler underwent a similar development, though this office was at least awarded honorary during the middle of the fifteenth century. The constable is not often visible in the sources but seems to have retained his executive function as army commander. The chamberlain and the marshal, in contrast, were important offices that comprised distinct executive tasks. The chamberlain was responsible for the kingdom's finances, while the marshal undertook the upkeep of the army[1048].

In addition to the traditional crown offices, the Lusignan government system possessed officials who led crucial administrative institutions that had developed in the Levant or even in Cyprus. For this reason, the chronicler Machairas called these the *offices of Cyprus*[1049].

Finances in the public (as well as the private royal) domain were the responsibility of the so-called royal *secrète*, which derived its name as well as part of its working structure from its Byzantine predecessor institution[1050]. Its head official was the *bailli de la secrète*. The division of tasks between the chamberlain and the *bailli de la secrète* is not entirely clear, but they always exist parallel to each other. The police forces in turn were headed by the viscount of Nicosia. He was governor and royal lieutenant of Nicosia, and therefore represented royal power[1051]. The viscount was responsible for the upkeep of social order and presided over the court of the burgesses[1052]. The auditeur also counted among the most influential officials. He was the state prosecutor, though his exact responsibilities remain rather unclear during the fifteenth century. In any case, men with considerable power occupied it[1053]. Various institutions collected in the *hotel du roi* administered the royal household and its estates[1054]. The *maître de l'hotel* or *bailli de la court*[1055] was the head of the royal household and therefore took over tasks that had formerly pertained to the seneschal[1056]. In addition to the constable and the marshal, two officers *of Cyprus* were concerned with the military: the *turcopolier* must have commanded the *turcopoles*, who were originally troops of light cavalry and archers recruited probably among Oriental Christians and Muslims who had converted to Christianity[1057]. His responsibilities remain in the dark during the period under consideration[1058]. The admiral commanded the kingdom's fleet, though from the reign of Peter II on we never find admirals executing tasks at sea. Perhaps the Cypriot fleet declined in those years[1059]. Nevertheless, admirals still seem to have been important officers until the end of Lusignan times.

All the aforementioned officials participated in the ruling of the state in differing degrees, though a hierarchy between the offices can be discerned only tentatively. In many cases the exact power of an office also depended on its holder's personality. This enabled the importance of an office to change. The *turcopolier* Jean de Brie, for example, was king Peter II's second in command and became head regent after the king's death, while his predecessor Jacques de Nores was an important member of the power élite, but by far not the first man in the kingdom. Perrin Pelestrin on the other hand, *turcopolier* between 1432 and the 1450s, moved at the margins of the highest power circles[1060]. The influence of an office therefore depended to a certain degree on the personality of its holder and his relationship to the ruler.

However, the viscount for example was a crucial post until the end of Lusignan rule, providing its holder with extensive executive power. The viscounts usually belonged to the

1045 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 518-521, III 15-16, n. 1.
1046 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 88; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 181.
1047 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 184; Edbury, Franks 70-71. 85; Livre des remembrances (Richard) xix.
1048 For a detailed analysis of the development of the various crown offices and their importance in the fifteenth century, see appendix I.
1049 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 88.
1050 Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 104-117; Coureas, Economy 118-119.
1051 At the beginning of Lusignan rule, there was also a viscount in Famagusta. However, later on officers with the same duties were called *bailli* instead of viscount in all towns except the capital, see Edbury, Franks 76; Edbury, Kingdom 193-194.
1052 For the court des bourgeois, see Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 21-26. 29-30.
1053 Mas Latrie interestingly does not mention the *auditeur* in his analysis of the history of Cyprus (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire I), although he appears in the documents.
1054 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xi-xvii, xviii-xix and n. 44; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 443; Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 21-26. 29-30.
1055 See e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 18; Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs II, X.
1056 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xviii.
1057 Richard, Les turcopoles 261-264. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 133-134, merely says that the *turcopolier* was an officer separate from the marshal and commanded indigenous troops.
1058 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 536; cf. Richard, Les turcopoles 266-267.
1059 Coureas, Admirals 128. Coureas also states that Cyprus did not have a regular fleet any more.
1060 For Jacques de Nores, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 129. 147. 607; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 771; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 292. For Jean de Brie, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 563. 599. 610. 620; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. 396-398. 412. 420. 428. 436; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 346. 350. 352. For Perrin Pelestrin, see Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380. Cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 692.

nucleus of the power élite; they were royal counsellors and prominent members of the Haute Court. The *auditeur* similarly seems to have been awarded to powerful men. These men were part of the power élite, as were the chamberlains and marshals. The *maître de l'hotel* and the *bailli de la secrète*, on the other hand, seem to have been spring boards for social climbing[1061]. Therefore, although the influence wielded by a certain office holder was a flexible matter, a tentative hierarchy of office can be ascertained. Generally, the *maître de l'hotel* and the *bailli de la secrète* can be considered to be on a level beneath offices such as the viscount, the *auditeur*, the chamberlain, *turcopolier,* and marshal. Importantly, the type of office held was not arbitrary: men held either military or civil office. Interchange of personnel between the two sectors does not seem to have occurred often[1062], suggesting that men with a certain expertise were wanted for both areas.

In general, the power centralized in the royal council and the Haute Court and the executive power concentrated in the offices were highly intertwined. Men who held influential office were often also royal councillors and frequent members of the Haute Court. A search for the powerful and the shifts in the power balance will therefore have to take account of the members of the royal council and the Haute Court as well as of officials undertaking important executive tasks, without forgetting the men and women behind the scenes who wielded the most informal power within the power élite.

How, then, did the power élite at the Lusignan court develop in the context of the fifteenth-century social changes? Since a detailed examination of the whole period under consideration is impossible, I will conduct a comparison between two thirty-year intervals: the 1370s to 1390s and the 1430s to 1450s. These two intervals exemplify the social changes arising in the fifteenth century in a particularly marked way. Moreover, they feature a good availability of sources; the middle of the fifteenth century in particular reveals a high density of documents. I analyse both intervals chronologically, divided into smaller time periods. Finally, I will sum up the results in a comparison of both intervals.

The sources concerning the power élite are above all official documents recording treaties between Cyprus and the trading republics or other important proceedings of the Haute Court, as well as letters to royal counsellors and state officials (see below). However, we have to distinguish between extraordinary diplomatic proceedings and every-day business conducted in the Haute Court, since they relate to political power on different levels. The structure of the documents varies, but they always mention the statesmen acting as witnesses, usually together with the date and the place[1063]. All documents meticulously mention the witnesses' office and/or title. They therefore enable us to trace the careers of high state officials and their involvement in state matters[1064]. Information from the chronicles of the period will supplement the documents.

Just as during the analysis of marriage alliances[1065], I will use Social Network Analysis to visualize the structures. The participation of individuals to various political events will be mapped by way of two-mode networks, i.e. graphs with two sorts of nodes. The graphs visualize the Haute Court sessions or ratifications of state treaties as one node sort (the event, shown as dark grey squares), and the persons taking part in these events as the other node sort (the agents, shown as light grey spots). The analysis will generally remain on the level of the two-mode-network, as the information garnered from the sources does not allow either the transformation into a one-mode-network or a sensible use of measures such as *centrality* or *betweenness*, which mathematically calculate an individual's status within the group[1066]. An exception are the sources between the 1430s and 1450s. Being much more numerous, these sources sometimes allow for mathematical analysis, which I will demonstrate below (see ch. 4.2). Complementary to Social Network Analysis, I use timelines to visualize who was in power over which period, and at which moments we find power vacuums and breaks in the power élite.

4.1 The 1370s to 1390s

4.1.1 From Peter I to Peter II

Our analysis begins with a fascinating power constellation, as the early 1370s were shaped by the consequences of King Peter I's murder. The regicide led to a power struggle that resulted in the Genoese-Cypriot war (1372-1374), which is usually interpreted as the beginning of the decline of Lusignan rule[1067]. I will analyse this period in detail, since the upheavals in these years offered space and possibilities for social mobility and the first Syrians appeared in highest power circles at the end of this period[1068].

1061 For a detailed description of these offices, their functions and hierarchies, see appendix I.

1062 To my knowledge, the only two men who changed from one sector to the other were Jean de Brie, who was first *turcopolier* and later seneschal, and Thomas of Morea, who was appointed chamberlain and soon after marshal. However, Thomas was an exceptional case, anyway, and Jean could have been promoted to show that he actually was the king's second in command. For Jean de Brie, see ch. 4.1.2. For Thomas of Morea, see ch. 4.2.2.

1063 E.g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 307-308: *Datum et actum in Roma, anno Nativitatis Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo octavo, mense Maii, die vicesima, presentibus dilectis et fidelibus […] consiliariis nostris, testibus ad premissa vocatis.*

1064 The protocol for the order of names is not entirely transparent – present members of the royal family are certainly mentioned first, see e.g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 289. 420. 428. Then probably the most prestigious men follow. However, we do not know if every document follows this rule, nor whether the protocol in fact mirrored the actual power balance. Thus, we will have to interpret the order of names with care.

1065 Cf. ch. 3.3.

1066 Cf. De Nooy et al., Exploratory Analysis 103-108 and p. 22.

1067 Edbury, Franks 85; Rudt de Collenberg, Domē kai proeleusē 810-811.

1068 I have outlined the following argument recently also in Salzmann, Stability or Chaos.

The basic story is well-known and quickly told: Peter I had been murdered by a group of his most important supporters, probably even including his own brothers James and John. The reasons for this collective regicide have been discussed[1069]: the nobles probably feared Peter would drive the island state into ruin with his never-ending taste for war. He had also favoured Western foreigners who had come to take part in his crusade. This probably made the Cypriots fear for their property. Moreover, Peter may have gone out of his mind in the time preceding his murder. Machairas relates some strange incidents in which Peter treated his vassals outrageously[1070], but it is unclear how many stories like these we should attribute to official propaganda after the murder. Be this as it may, on the day of the murder, Peter's brother John was proclaimed regent for the late king's small son Peter II, who was to succeed his father on the throne once he came of age[1071]. However, John was opposed by Peter I's widow Eleanor, who wanted to avenge her husband's death. By siding with the Genoese, who invaded Cyprus on the pretext of taking revenge for Peter I, she obtained her goal: her late husband's murderers were executed, and in 1375 she had John killed, which left her in control of her son Peter and the kingdom[1072]. But who were the people supporting John and Eleanor? And who ruled the kingdom after Peter's death? Do we find any significant instances of social mobility in this period?

Let us turn back to 1369 and the aftermaths of Peter's murder. John then was the head of a powerful group of men who had been active in Cypriot politics for many years[1073]. The Haute Court assembled on the day of Peter's murder to decide about the fate of the kingdom. A protocol of this session informs us about the men who were prominent in these decisions[1074]: the Haute Court chose Philippe de Ibelin as lieutenant for the seneschal James, Peter's second brother, who had gone immediately to Famagusta to secure the population's oath on behalf of the new king. Philippe de Ibelin had been prominent in Cypriot politics from the beginning of Peter I's reign[1075]. As an Ibelin, he was a member of the most important family of the kingdom after the Lusignans. Jacques de Nores, *turcopolier* of Cyprus, in turn fulfilled the important function of spokesman for the community of liegemen[1076]. He, too, had been one of Peter I's most important advisors during the entirety of his reign[1077].

The nobles not only decided about the succession in the kingdom during this session. They also assigned a commission to revise their laws, the *assizes*. This measure was supposed to protect them from royal abuse such as Peter I had committed. The commission comprised sixteen members. It featured some of the most important statesmen of the previous years. Peter Edbury has pointed out that all the king's murderers took part in it. They were Philippe de Ibelin himself, Jean de Gaurelle and Henri de Giblet[1078]. Raymon Babin, Thomas de Montolive, Jean de Morphou and Simon Tenouri also took part. They had all been members of the inner power élite under Peter I, serving as advisors, ambassadors, and military commanders[1079].

Thus, almost all the prominent statesmen from Peter's rule held on tightly to the reins of power after his death. All those men, that is, who were of Cypriot descent. In contrast, with the king's death the foreigners who had been Peter's favourites lost their stance in Cypriot politics[1080]. Philippe de Mézières and Guido da Bagnolo, two of Peter's most well-known foreign advisors, were not in Cyprus at the time and never returned to the island[1081]. Jean Monstri, a Genoese who had been chamberlain of Cyprus under Peter I, was arrested under the pretext of his affair with Philippe de Ibelin's wife, and later came to death during an attempt to escape from prison[1082]. Others, such as Bremond de la Voulte, had long before left Cyprus of their own accord and their estates on the island were confiscated. An exception was Piero Malocello, who was still chamberlain in 1373[1083].

The men of John's inner circle were the true power holders on the island during the following years. This is evident among other things from a letter of congratulation sent from Pisa for Peter II's crowning on 15 May 1372. Apart from the king, the letter was sent to John, »the regent of the island of Cyprus, brother and dearest friend[1084]« as well as to Philippe de Ibelin, Raymon Babin, Jean de Morphou and Thomas de Montolive. It was also addressed to a certain Jacchetto the marshal and to Jean de Montolive, the bailo of Famagusta[1085].

1069 See e. g. Richard, Revolution 108-123; Edbury, Murder 219-33.
1070 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 259-281.
1071 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 734.
1072 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 311-316. 355-357. 551-554.
1073 In his dissertation on the Feudal Nobility of Cyprus (1192-1400), which has recently been made accessible online, Peter Edbury has also thought about the men and women who were in power in this time, though in his work these developments are the end of the analysis of the Cypriot nobility in the first centuries of Lusignan reign, see Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 208-210. 214-219.
1074 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 733-734; cf. Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 202-206.
1075 See e. g. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 100.
1076 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 733-734.
1077 See e. g. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 119. 123. 126. 127. 147. 162. 163. 190. 193. 202-205. 214; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 289-290. 292. 307-308.
1078 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 732.
1079 Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 205-206; Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 734. 736-737. For the history of these men during Peter I's reign, see e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire, II 289-290. 230. 233. 292. 307-308; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 108; Schabel, Bullarium Cyprium III, no. u-281. I have also discussed these men's role during Peter I's reign in Salzmann, Stability or chaos.
1080 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 190. 209-220, has also pointed to this development.
1081 For Philippe, see Mézières, Songe du viel Pelerin (Blanchard) LXVII-LXIX; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 218. For Guido, see Bacchelli, Guido da Bagnolo.
1082 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 180. 190. 283. For his position as chamberlain, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 291. 308. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 218.
1083 Edbury, Murder 229; Edbury, Feudal Nobility 214. 217; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 425.
1084 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 7: *bailo insule Cipri, fratri et amico karissimo* [sic!].
1085 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 7-8. I have not been able to identify Jacchetto.

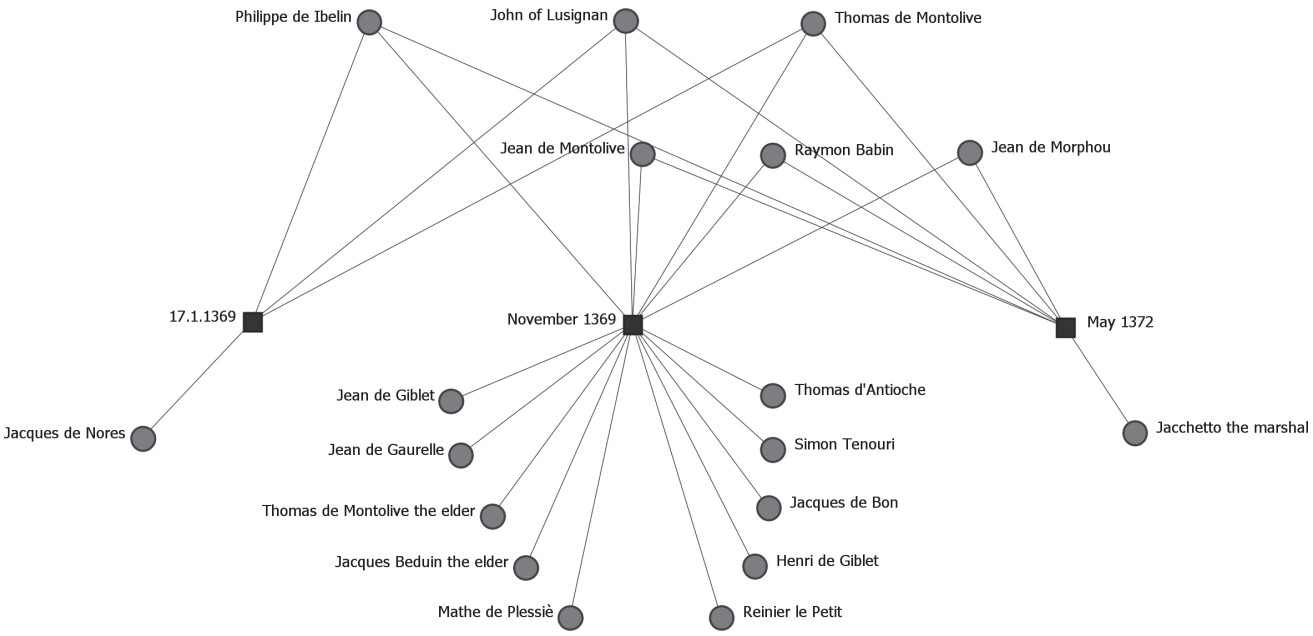


Fig. 12 Power élite 1369-1372.

This list shows clearly that the men in charge were mostly the same as three years before and, indeed, the same men who had already been in power at the beginning of Peter I's reign.

This situation is visualized in **figure 12**. It depicts the men who were party to the three crucial events and sources we have just discussed: the Haute Court session on the day of Peter's death, the commission on the assizes and the Pisan letter to Cyprus in 1372. Men who took part in only one of the events are shown beneath the line of square event nodes, while men party to more than one of these events are depicted above the line. The graph therefore collects the small group of the most powerful men above the line of square nodes. Those men who took a prominent part in the described events and received correspondence from foreign powers were clearly controlling politics on the island. The stability of this group and the loss of power on the part of the foreigners is illustrated in the timeline in **figure 13**. It shows clearly how most of the power élite from Peter I appear continuously in the sources until 1372, while the foreigners, apart from Piero Malocello, disappear one by one after 1369.

This situation seems to be quite stable if we believe the documents. However, John and his group were not unopposed. The chronicles tell us that supporters of Queen Eleanor, Peter I's widow, tried to gain aid from the pope and other Western rulers to oust John from power as early as 1370. On the occasion of Peter II's coronation as king of Jerusalem in 1372, Machairas mentions how Eleanor tried to influence her son to issue fiefs to her supporters. However, the Haute Court pressured the young king into relinquishing his ability to dole out fiefs until his twenty-fifth birthday, thus preventing him from giving freely to his mother's followers[1086]. Peter Edbury has shown that at least a great part of Eleanor's supporters were foreigners, such as a Catalan named Alfonso Ferrand, the Byzantines Joannes Laskares Kalopheros and George Monomachos, the Lombard Giacomo di San Michele, Francis of Marin, a Genoese, and another Catalan named Francis Saturno. In contrast to John, Eleanor therefore did not enjoy the support of any of the Cypriot nobility[1087]. She did not have any success in the power struggle during these first years, and John and his group of supporters were firmly in power.

The war with the Genoese changed this situation radically. Machairas' chronicle describes the usual figures undertaking important actions at the start of the war: John and James of Lusignan led military expeditions, and Jean de Morphou acted as ambassador[1088]. However, the occupation of Famagusta by the Genoese was not only the turning point of the war,

1086 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 311-15. 327. 354-355. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 224 has interpreted this episode as a milestone of the conflict between John and Eleanor, since John lost his official power as regent with Peter II's accession to the throne, and Eleanor could finally attempt to exert some influence over her son. However, this influence was evidently directly curbed by John's followers in the Haute Court.

1087 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 228-229. During the war with the Genoese, the Chronicle of Amadi also mentions Eleanor's confessor Glimin de Narbonne acting in her interests, see Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 467; The Chronicle of Amadi (Edbury/Coureas), § 953. Ferrer i Mallol, La reina 314-315. 318, shows that other Catalans, such as Luis and Ramón Resta as well as a certain Joan Desbosc, were all part of the royal household in these years, though we do not know if they took the Queen's side. Ferrer i Mallol also offers a detailed analysis of other Catalan supporters to Queen Eleanor, though most of them only travelled to Cyprus intermittently, such as for example her procurators in Catalonia, Jaume Fiveller and Lleó Marc. The former fetched Eleanor from Rhodes when she had been exiled by Peter II, and acted as her advocate at the Cypriot court, see Ferrer i Mallol, La reina 312. 315. 317-320.

1088 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 377. 382. 388-389. 391. 434. 468. 509.

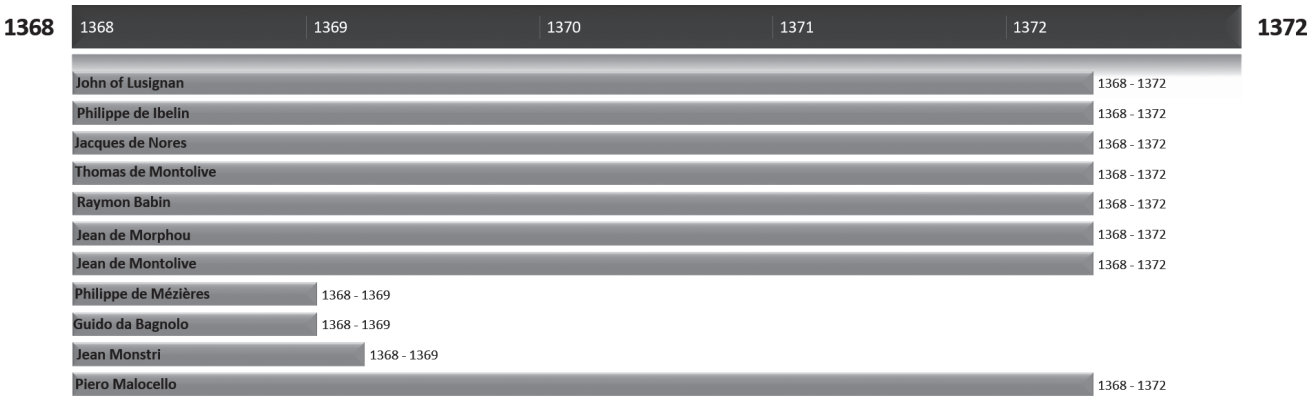


Fig. 13 Power élite 1368-1372, timeline.

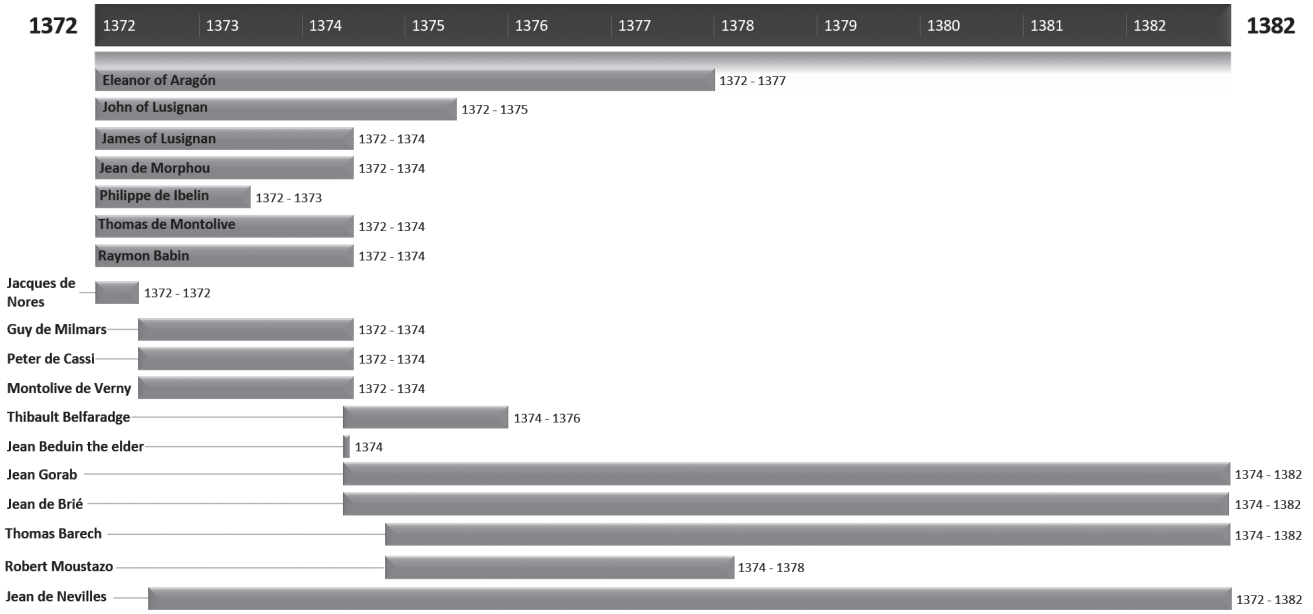


Fig. 14 Power élite 1372-1382, timeline.

but also heralded the breakdown of the power structures that had characterized the preceding years. Above all, the Genoese executed Henri de Giblet, Jean de Gaurelle, and even the powerful Philippe de Ibelin for murdering King Peter I[1089]. By the end of the war many other power holders had been removed. The Genoese exiled James of Lusignan and Thomas de Montolive, who was marshal of the kingdom of Cyprus by then[1090]. Machairas records Jean de Morphou and Raymon Babin as other prominent exiles, in their case to Chios[1091]. Jacques de Nores, the *turcopolier*, who by that time must have been an old man, is last heard of in 1372[1092]. Other powerful men, who had not been part of the highest power circle before the conflict, but who had played major roles during military operations in the war, were also expelled from the island: Guy de Milmars, who was the Cypriot admiral, along with Peter de Cassi and Montolive de Verny[1093].

The only person to remain in power after the war was John of Lusignan himself. However, in 1375 John was soon killed on behalf of Queen Eleanor[1094], who was seemingly left in triumphant control of the situation. This complete demise of the old power élite is illustrated in the left part of the timeline in **figure 14**. The timeline shows the development of

1089 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 423.
1090 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73. In 1383, a Thomas de Montolive was *bailli de la secrète* and marshal of Jerusalem, but whether this is the same man as the *auditeur*, is impossible to say, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396.
1091 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 542. We have no other confirmation for this event, apart from the indirect evidence that both stop appearing in the sources after 1374. For Jean de Morphou cf. Hill, History II 395.
1092 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 349.
1093 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 72-74. The Genoese had made the exile of both Peter de Cassi and Montolive de Verny an explicit presupposition for peace in the treaty of 1374, see Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 105.
1094 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 554.

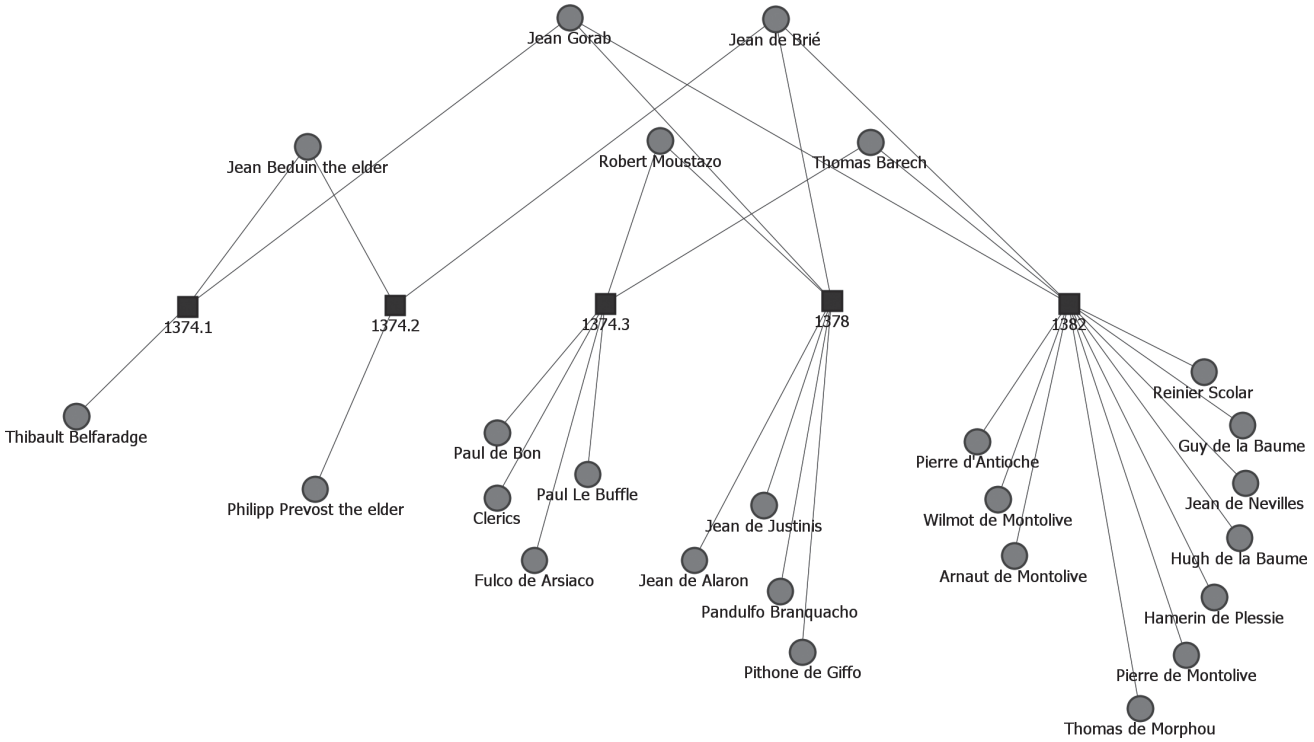


Fig. 15 Power élite 1374-1382.

the power élite in the decade between 1372 and 1382. The abrupt end of the old power structures in 1374/1375 can be seen very clearly.

How was this power gap filled, we may ask? Did Eleanor try to place all her supporters into high positions? How strong was her influence on the young Peter II? Unfortunately, very few sources remain from the years directly after the war. Even the chronicles are largely silent. The only detailed episode they recount is the rise and fall of Thibault Belfaradge, a Melkite burgess who had been already in Peter I's service[1095]. Thibault had risen to some prominence during the war with the Genoese, and had provided numerous services to the king and his uncles. He is said to have gained permission to recruit men of arms in Venice in order to besiege Famagusta, which he did without success. But apparently, the king's favour was such that he knighted Thibault and granted him various estates as fiefs. Indeed, Thibault was part of the Haute Court in a fief granting as early as 1374[1096]. According to the chronicles, at this point Thibault became overly greedy and desired to become lord of the castle of Korykos. Peter II refused. Thibault then took revenge on the king's confessor, who had advised Peter on the matter, killing both the confessor and the viscount of Nicosia, who happened to be accompanying him. Consequently, Thibault was himself put to death[1097]. Though we have no way of confirming the veracity of this account, the story of Thibault's quick rise and fall hints to the fact that the power vacuum created by the war allowed room for newcomers to rise to the top.

Indeed, very gradually, we see a new group of nobles emerging to take up important positions, though the limited information at our disposal does not permit us to discern if they were Eleanor's supporters or not. Their group is illustrated both in the timeline in **figure 14** and the graph in **figure 15**. The sources which let us glimpse the careers of these men are two enfeoffments from 1374 (square nodes 1374.1 and 1374.2 in **fig. 15**), the peace treaty concluded with Genoa in 1374 (square node 1374.3), similarly the treaty against Genoa between Cyprus, Milan and Venice in 1378 (node 1378), and finally Machairas' list of the twelve men who reigned Cyprus as regents after Peter II's death (node 1382). Again, men who took part in more than one of these events are shown above the dark grey, square line of nodes.

The group emerging from these sources is interesting. At least two, if not three men were newcomers like Belfaradge[1098]: Thomas Barech testified to the peace treaty with the Genoese in 1374. Machairas calls him a Greek burgess, probably because he was a Melkite, but his name suggests a Syrian origin[1099]. After Peter II's death, Thomas became one

1095 Bullarium Cyprium III (Schabel et al.) no. v-200.
1096 Otten, Féodalité 91; for the men at arms and the fiefs given to Thibault, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 564-565; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 481-482; Amadi, Chronicle (Coureas/Edbury), § 985.
1097 For Thibault's story, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 556-575; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 339-346; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 481-486.
1098 Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 232.
1099 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 108. For this phenomenon, see p. 37.

of the twelve regents who administered the kingdom until James I arrived in Cyprus[1100]. Jean Gorab in turn came from a new, undoubtedly also Syrian family. He had been *maître de l'hotel* under Peter I and became *auditeur* of Cyprus in 1378 at the latest. He had been part of the Haute Court in 1374, when the Genoese Giacomo Grillo received a fief[1101]. One Robert Moustazo witnessed both the peace treaty in 1374 and the treaty against Genoa in 1378[1102]. Unfortunately, we know nothing else about him and he does not appear in later sources. Considering his family appears only from the 1350s onward[1103], we might speculate that he too was one of the fortunate winners of the power struggle which followed the war. Another man probably belonged to this group, although he is not visible in the Haute Court sources: the Syrian Nicholas Billy according to Machairas was *bailli de la secrète* in 1374[1104].

However, the most important person who appears on the scene in the years after the war came from one of the oldest noble families on Cyprus: Jean de Brie, first attested as *turcopolier* of Cyprus in the peace treaty in 1378. On that occasion, Jean swore on the bible as Peter II's lieutenant. Just like Jean Gorab, Jean de Brie is attested as member of the Haute Court during fief issues as early as 1374. After Peter II's death, he would be the first of the thirteen regents of the kingdom, the other twelve acting as his advisors[1105]. Jean de Nevilles was another important figure. He, too, came from an old family and was viscount of Nicosia perhaps as early as 1369 or, more likely, by the early 1370s. He is visible in **figure 15** only once, as regent after Peter II's death, but together with the other men mentioned, he would play a leading role in the times to come[1106].

All these men, apart from Thomas Barech, had already started their careers under Peter I – Jean de Brie as naval commander, Jean Gorab as *maître d'hotel*, Jean de Nevilles probably as viscount of Nicosia. Therefore, though they were newly ascended into the highest power élite, they had been in Cypriot politics for a considerable time. It is noteworthy that four, if not five of these men (Thomas Barech, Jean Gorab, Robert Moustazo, Thibault Belfaradge and Nicholas Billy) were newcomers. This testifies to the possibility of social rise within the power vacuum created by the end of the Genoese war. The new men mostly seem to have followed career paths within the administration. Apart from Thibault Belfaradge, they were not concerned with military matters, a phenomenon that persisted into the fifteenth century (see below ch. 4.2.2). Despite the careers of *homines novi*, however, the king's second in command, Jean de Brie, was still a progeny of an old Cypriot family.

Whether these men were Queen Eleanor's supporters is impossible to say, except for Belfaradge who, at least in Machairas' version, was King Peter II's favourite and certainly not the Queen's[1107]. One point stands against the assumption that these men were close to the queen: when Peter II emancipated himself from his mother and had her sent back to Aragón in 1380[1108], all the aforementioned men remained in place. Their period of power is especially well visible from the timeline in **figure 14**, which illustrates how the old power élite disappeared in 1374/1375, while these new men slowly appear in the sources from 1374 on, staying in power at least until 1382. Many of them should hold the reins even much longer than that, as we shall see shortly.

4.1.2 The Reign of James I

Just as his father, Peter II was more short-lived than his power base. When he died without heirs in 1382, all the men of the new power élite were part of the regency council, which according to Machairas consisted of thirteen knights headed by Jean de Brie. The composition of this group is rather interesting. Some were members of the power élite of the preceding years, such as Jean Gorab, Jean de Nevilles, and Thomas Barech. Five of the men (Guy de la Baume, Perrot and Wilmot de Montolive, Hamerin de Plessie and Thomas de Morphou) seem to have been exiled to Genoa and to have returned to Cyprus before 1382[1109]. Apart from Gorab and Barech, all members of the council came from old families (Pierre d'Antioche, Thomas de Morphou, Hamerin de Plessie, Wilmot de Montolive, Pierre de Montolive, Arnaut de Montolive, Hugh de la Baume, Guy de la Baume, cf. **fig. 15**, square node 1382)[1110]. The only council member not identifiable as a member of an old family is Reinier Scolar[1111]. It is striking how few families were represented – the Montolive play a great role with three representatives, Hugh and Guy de la Baume were brothers, and Thomas de Morphou and Hamerin de Plessie probably stemmed from different branches of the same family[1112]. Thus, it seems that after Peter II's death, the island was in the hands of a rather small power elite, the

1100 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599.
1101 Edbury, Murder 220. 227; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372; Otten, Féodalité 91.
1102 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 108; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372.
1103 Cf. ch. 2.1, p. 52.
1104 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
1105 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. 420. 428. 436; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599; Otten, Féodalité 92. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 231-232.
1106 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 277 says he took over the office from Henri de Giblet, when Peter I quarreled with him and had him put into prison. But he later wants him to have taken over the office only in 1376, after Thibault of Belfaradge had killed his (nameless) predecessor, see 345. In Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 436 he turns up as viscount during the conflict with the Genoese in 1372.
1107 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 556-575.
1108 Hill, History III 426.
1109 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 240-241.
1110 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 231, who also points out that the men of old noble families dominated the regency council.
1111 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599. Reinier's origins are very unclear. His family does not appear in the usual Cypriot sources, such as the *Lignages d'Outremer*, and there is only one other man with the same surname mentioned by Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563: Daniel Scolar was one of the knights who were not exiled from Cyprus after the Genoese war in 1374.
1112 Cf. ch. 2.1, p. 51 and n. 455.

members of which had either been in power for a long time or represented powerful old families. This fact is all the more interesting considering that this group chose to reject James of Lusignan as their new king.

According to Lusignan tradition, James was the rightful heir to the throne, being the defunct king's nearest relative. However, at the time of Peter II's death, he was still a captive of the Genoese, who had forced him into exile after 1374. The Cypriot chronicles relate that the council wanted to accept James as king nonetheless but was worried about the concessions he would have to make to the Genoese to secure his release. Those worries were exploited by the brothers Wilmot and Pierre de Montolive, who convinced the council to let them handle negotiations with the king. According to the deal they brokered, the council would accept James only if the Genoese should release him without conditions. If that was not the case, Peter II's sister Margaret would succeed him and marry a Cypriot noble – according to Machairas, Pierre secretly hoped he would be the fortunate husband[1113].

However, by studying the acts of the Genoese notary Giovanni Bardi, Cathérine Otten and especially Chris Schabel have proven that James' rejection must have had a much broader base than described by the chroniclers[1114]. Bardi accompanied the galleys which brought James to Cyprus in summer 1383, and he records that they were greeted by projectiles when they tried to land in Paphos. At the same time, peasants in the countryside reported that the powerful in Paphos had threatened to hang them should they acclaim James as king[1115]. Later on, Bardi relates that negotiations were taken up between the »governours« (*gubernatores,* also called *rebelles* ›rebels‹) or *inimici* ›enemies‹) at other times[1116]) and James and the Genoese. These negotiations failed. Unfortunately, the »rebels« are not further identified. The only names mentioned are those of Pierre de Montolive and Jean de Tiberiade who went to James as ambassadors[1117]. But the whole situation illustrated by Bardi suggests that most of the Cypriot élite must have supported the so-called rebellion. Some of James' friends and supporters are occasionally mentioned in the sources, but they are fleeting references. The only exception was the commander of Keryneia, Luke de Antiaume, who openly supported James[1118]. The Genoese certainly estimated the support for king James as rather feeble, as they decided soon not to release him and to take him back to Genoa[1119].

Nevertheless, a year later the situation had changed. The power élite decided to accept James as king and sent for him to be brought from Genoa, despite the harsh terms he had agreed to: Cyprus lost the town of Famagusta permanently to the Genoese and would have to pay huge reparatory sums to Genoa for decades. Again, the chronicles present this as a direct decision of the knights who had repented their actions. However, Machairas also mentions that James sent Arnaud de Milmars from Genoa to promise estates and money to those who should support him. It is therefore likely that James bought his kingdom from his future vassals as well as from the Genoese. The aspirant king surely chose to grant amnesty to all the rebel faction, except for Pierre and Wilmot de Montolive and a small group of their supporters. These men, who are said to have staunchly refused to accept James, were eventually beheaded[1120]. Thus, apart from a small group of rebels who probably served as scapegoats, the Cypriot power élite mostly survived King James' coronation unscathed. If we believe Machairas, they were even richer than before, as James honoured them with fiefs and titles[1121]. Drawing on these powerful and experienced men instead of opposing them was probably the easiest way for James to build and secure his power base. The situation was to solidify in the long run: we find many of the council members from 1382 in high offices or as part of the Haute Court even in the 1390s[1122].

The development between 1382 and the 1390s is visualized in **figure 16**, which shows the five Haute Court documents preserved from James I's reign (again in dark grey, square nodes), and the nobles who sat in these parliamentary sessions (in light grey spots), as well as the regency members from 1382 (related to the square node 1382) and the knights involved in the negotiations in summer 1383 (related to node 1383). The Haute Court surely made many more important decisions in these years, but the only existing documents concern the conclusion of a new treaty with the republic of Venice on 2 October 1389, admiral Pierre de Caffran's embassy to Genoa in 1390 where he negotiated new conditions for the payments due to the Genoese, the ratification of this new Cypriot-Genoese treaty on 9 November 1391, John of Lusignan's appointment as James I's procurator for foreign affairs on 16 August 1395, and the ratification of another contract with Venice from 1396 on 18 October 1397[1123]. Thus, they are all related to important decisions concerning foreign policy, and we can assume that the members of the Haute Court who were present belonged to the most important men in the kingdom.

The graph reveals that at least half of the regents from 1382 were still in power: Jean de Brie above all was still part of the Haute Court in 1390, 1395 and 1397. He was then prince of Galilee as well as *turcopolier*[1124]. Jean Gorab and Jean de Nevilles sat in the Haute Court, too. Gorab continued to be *auditeur*, but had acquired the title of Sire of Caesarea,

1113 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 599-612.
1114 Otten, Retour manqué passim; Schabel, Like God from Heaven, especially 382-383. 386. 389.
1115 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 293-294.
1116 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 262-264. 294.
1117 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 295.
1118 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 263. 296-297.
1119 Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 333.
1120 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 607-612.
1121 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 620.
1122 Cf. Edbury, Hē Politikē Historia 138.
1123 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 416-418. 420-421. 423. 428-429. 436 n. 3.
1124 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 420. 428. 436.

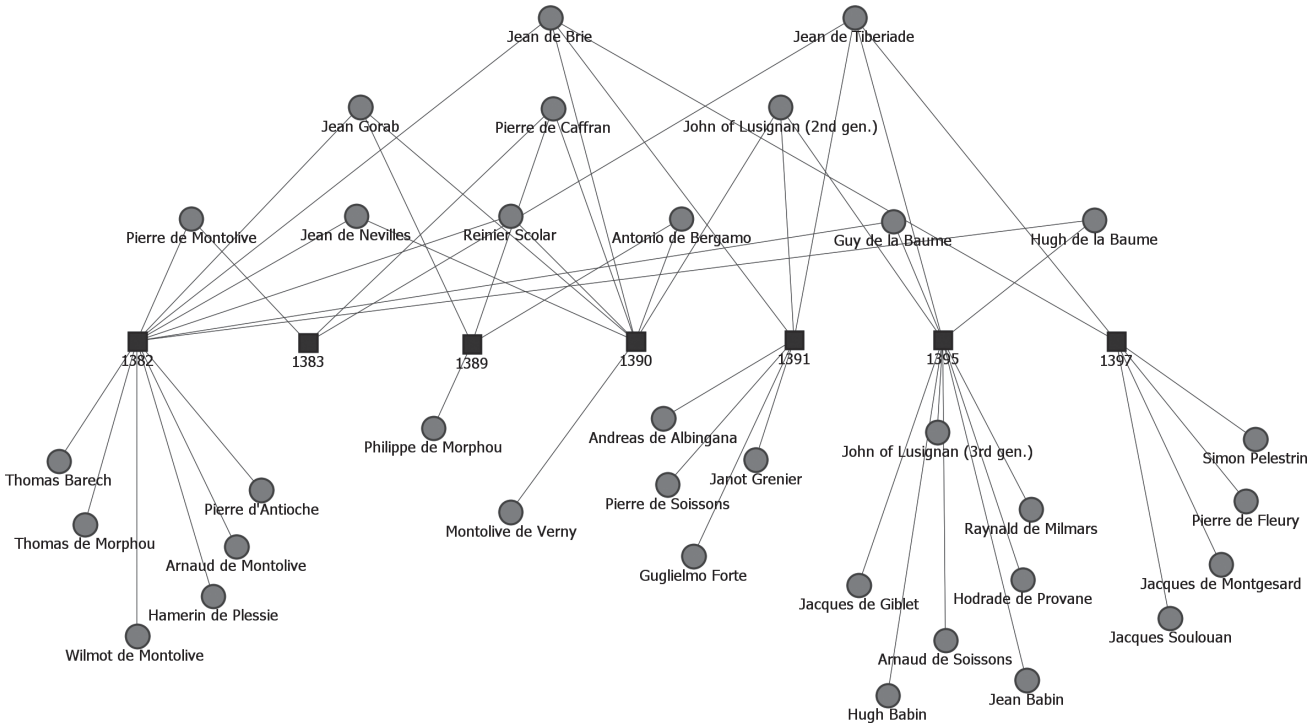


Fig. 16 Power élite 1382-1397.

while Nevilles is recorded as Sire of Arsur[1125]. Perhaps he had grown too old to fulfil the office of viscount. He died on 11 January 1391[1126]. Others of the 1382 council held important positions: Reinier Scolar was *bailli de la secrète* and Sire of Bethsan in 1390, while Hugh de la Baume and his brother Guy bore the honourary titles of constable and marshal of Jerusalem and sat in the Haute Court in 1395. We cannot say what role they really played in politics, but their titles show that James strove to honour them[1127]. The list shows that James generally awarded several titles in these years, though these do not seem to have been hereditary, a fact that would emphasize their honourary character[1128].

Apart from the former regents, others who had been involved in the events of 1382 also acquired positions of power, seemingly without consideration for the different sides they had taken: Pierre de Caffran, the admiral, who had already been James' valuable advisor in 1382, went on embassies to Genoa twice (1387, 1390) and witnessed the new contract with Venice in 1389[1129]. Jean de Tiberiade, on the other hand, who had represented the rebels in 1382, was sent as ambassador to Genoa only one year before Caffran's first voyage in 1386 and sat in the Haute Court as marshal of Armenia in 1397. James I's nephew John of Lusignan, seigneur of Beyruth, went on an important embassy to Western Europe for him in 1395 and sat in the Haute Court both in 1390 and 1391[1130].

Some men are recorded by the graph only once as members of the Haute Court. But this should not deceive us – they could be important politicians all the same. We know that some of them had important offices: Arnaud de Soissons had obviously succeeded Jean Gorab as *auditeur* and Raynald de Milmars was marshal of Cyprus when they sat in the Haute Court in 1395. Both seem to have been exiled to Genoa in 1374[1131], and would thus belong to the old élite, who had probably returned to Cyprus with James I, like Pierre de Caffran. Strangely, Luke de Antiaume, who had so openly supported James in 1383, does not appear in the later sources at all.

Conversely to the 1370s, all the men mentioned came from old Cypriot families[1132], except for two foreign functionaries, Antonio de Bergamo and Hodrade Provane, who both came from Piemonte and occupied the office of *cam-*

1125 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 416. 420. 428. 436 and n. 3.
1126 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 398 complements a lacuna in a document concerning the viscount of Nicosia from 13 February 1391 with the name Nevilles, but this is not possible, because Nevilles died on 11 January 1391, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 283.
1127 For Reinier, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 412. 420; for the de la Baume brothers, see Mas Larie, Histoire II 428. A similar case is that of Jean Babin, who is designated as *camerarius* of Armenia in 1395, when he was part of the Haute Court, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428.
1128 Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 246-249 and esp. Edbury, Franks 85, who thinks that the titles were meant to return to James I's court a glamour it had lost after the Genoese war.
1129 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 413. 418. 420.
1130 For both men, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 412. 423. 428. 436. 438-439.
1131 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74. A certain Renaut de Milmars was among the exiled. He could be our Raynald. This is perhaps also the same person as Arnaud de Milmars, who came to Cyprus on behalf of James in order to promise the nobles new estates.
1132 Cf. Edbury, Hē Politikē Historia 141.

erarius[1133]. It seems, therefore, that in contrast to the 1370s, when there was space for social mobility, the ranks of the power élite closed under James I, restricting access to the old and faithful families of the nobility. Those newcomers who had climbed the social ladder in the seventies remained in their position until their deaths but, except for Nicholas Billy, none of them managed to establish a noble family that lasted over the next decades[1134]. Only at the end of the period, some newcomers appear. The 1397 agreement records Pierre de Fleury as viscount of Nicosia (the office formerly occupied by Jean de Nevilles) and Jacques Soulouan as *camerarius* of Cyprus, both influential offices. We can assume that they belonged to a new generation of officials[1135]. While Pierre belonged to an old noble family, Jacques Soulouan perhaps was a Syrian[1136]. About other witnesses and members of the Haute Court such as Guillaume Fort or Andreas de Albingana (see **fig. 16**) we cannot say anything except that they must have been prestigious enough to be invited to those crucial sessions.

All in all, then, James I's reign was characterized by a stable and sizeable power élite. This élite had astonishingly far-reaching roots, partly into the 1360s and 1370s. Some of its members had been the king's antagonists in 1382 and had been in power long before these events. They stayed in politics for several decades, despite all the upheavals. Others had accompanied James I into exile in Genoa and had then acquired positions of power during his own rule. Whether there were any animosities between these men with very different histories unfortunately cannot be discerned. But it is noteworthy that so many of these men, whether exiled or not, played crucial roles in Cypriot politics for many decades in a time which saw great disruptions. Stability under James I also existed in the sense of social mobility: while some newcomers of Greek or Syrian ascent had attained power in the 1370s, only very few are found in the highest circles of power in the 1380s and 1390s. This seems to have been a restrictive conservative reaction to the chaotic situation and the shooting star careers during the 1370s.

4.2 The 1430s to 1450s

4.2.1 From Janus to John II

I shall now proceed to analyse the period between roughly 1430 and 1455. This stretch of Cypriot history is particularly suitable for analysis since we have many documents, even if the chronicles have little to say. The documents illuminate the proceedings of the Haute Court above all. In comparison to the period previously under examination, they are much more numerous: 31 documents for the time between 1427 and 1457 were found in various state archives, some of which are as yet unedited[1137]. The documents can be roughly divided into three categories: the largest group (eighteen documents) concerns every-day matters of the Haute Court, such as bestowals of fiefs, the transfer of slaves and money between the crown and its vassals or matters of inheritance[1138]. Eleven documents are comparable to documents from the fourteenth-century period: they relate to official state acts such as the appointment of Hugh of Lusignan as the king's procurator (both under Janus and John II) or negotiations towards a treaty with the Venetian republic in 1454. There is also an official letter from the Genoese republic to various notables that is similar to the Pisan letter from 1372[1139]. The third category encompasses only two documents concerning events which demanded for a highly representative function from their witnesses: Anne of Lusignan's marriage agreement and the notification of her engagement on 1 January 1432[1140]. Though these events resemble other state acts, the participants here were not necessarily statesmen involved in practical politics, but also church dignitaries and other notables. According to their nature, the sources shed light on different aspects of the power élite.

Our starting point is the last years of King Janus' reign. These years, and the first years of John II's reign, saw a stable power élite which guided the kingdom through the period of uncertainty after the devastating battle of Chirokitia. Even so, one of its most prominent members was not regularly based in Cyprus: Janus' brother Hugh de Lusignan. According to Machairas, Hugh ruled the kingdom when Janus was taken captive by the Mamluks in 1426. Having been appointed cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426, Hugh transferred to Rome as soon as Janus returned from Cairo in 1427[1141]. Before

1133 For Antonio, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 416-418. 420-421. Mas Latrie, Prise d'Alexandrie 283 n. 34 suggested that Antonio already served as Peter I's ambassador in 1366 based on the mention of a certain clerk Antonio in Machaut, but this identification has been doubted by Edbury who argues that Antonio only appears on Cyprus at the end of the 1370s, see Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 99 and n. 14. For Hodrade, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428-429. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 93 makes Hodrade Provane the son of a certain Balian Provane, who was supposed to have had the fief of Comy according to Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 50-51. But the MS cited by Darrouzès calls him *Embalin* and very probably refers to Yblin Provane, who lived in the fifteenth century and had the fief of Comy, as can be seen from Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 174. For his origin from Piemonte, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 558. Cf. chs 2.3.1 and 2.3.5.

1134 See ch. 2.1, p. 54.

1135 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436 n. 3.

1136 See ch. 2.2, p. 72.

1137 See **tab. 5**, p. 181.

1138 See e. g. Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^{v}-31^{r}. 40^{v}-42^{r}.

1139 See e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 518-521; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 1-3; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Otten, Féodalité 71.

1140 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526 n. 2; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 15-16, n. 1.

1141 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 83; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 687. 697-699.

Hugh left, Janus appointed him as his official procurator in foreign affairs, just as James I had done with his nephew John[1142]. Hugh was then absent from Cyprus for many years. He seems to have influenced Cypriot politics nonetheless (see below).

Other members of the power élite were more involved in current every-day politics, although sources on these routine interactions are scarce. Hugh's appointment as royal procurator was witnessed by three influential men, who were to play crucial roles in Cypriot politics for the following fifteen to twenty years: Jacques de Caffran, Badin de Nores and Hugh Soudain. Jacques was admiral Pierre de Caffran's son. Pierre himself had been influential under James I (see above). Jacques had married Margarita de Milmars in 1412[1143]. He is therefore a classical representative of an old noble family, married to the scion of another such clan. In 1427, he must have been middle-aged, and he was already marshal of Cyprus. Badin de Nores, in turn, was marshal of Jerusalem. According to Machairas, Badin had served as Henry of Lusignan's advisor in the battle of Chirokitia. A few years later, he was sent on important missions to Poland and Italy[1144]. As with Jacques de Caffran, Badin was a member of an old, influential noble clan. He married Maria de Crolissa before 1432[1145], and thus forged a connection to a newer, but rising line of nobles. Hugh Soudain, in contrast, very probably came from a Syrian family. He was a White Genoese and seems to have wielded his connection with the Genoese and with Famagusta actively for his personal affairs[1146]. Hugh Soudain was the only social climber in this circle that we distinguish from Hugh of Lusignan's appointment as procurator in 1427. Though this is only a single document, and there are no other sources for the last years of Janus' reign, the documents from the early 1430s reveal that these three men, together with some others, must indeed have played important roles at the end of Janus' reign, as they were still in power during John II's rule.

The beginning of John II's reign reveals a confusing source situation as far as the members of the royal council were concerned. Jacques de Caffran, Hugh Soudain and Badin de Nores were certainly part of it. However, the other constitutive members of the royal council in these years are unclear, since the sources reveal diverse information[1147]. When John II was proclaimed king after his father's death in 1432, he was still considered a minor at eighteen and required a regency council. Machairas tells us that John's second cousin Peter of Lusignan became the head regent, while eleven other men constituted the council (Philippe of Lusignan, Carceran Suarez, Jacques de Caffran, Jacques de Fleury, Hugh Soudain, Giacomo Urri, Perrin Pelestrin, Hector de Balion (Palu?[1148]), Mateo Rames, Francis Tzarneri and Jean Salah). Machairas then states that Badin de Nores was added to the group of *forty* counsellors when he returned from his embassy to Poland[1149]. This figure does not seem to have been questioned, although none of the other contemporary sources mention forty counsellors. Moreover, none of the chronicles based on Machairas replicate this figure[1150]. A closer look at the Machairas chronicle reveals that this passage is contained only in MS O[1151], so that we might question if the manuscript was mistaken. The Greek numeral for forty, μ', can be very similar to β' (two) in minuscule handwriting[1152]. Probably the scribe misread ιβ' (twelve) for forty, as the number of counsellors he numbered just before this passage is exactly a dozen. This number would also make much more sense than forty since it had tradition in Cypriot regencies, as for example in the council after Peter II's death[1153].

This corresponds much better to the evidence of other sources, too. The number of witnesses to Anne of Lusignan's engagement contract for example is thirteen with Peter of Lusignan, and the enumeration ends with the mention that they were the king's councilors[1154], although it is not clear whether all participants are meant or only the last group which consisted of lay persons (or even only the last two witnesses who were the only ones without a title). However, the two groups from the chronicle and Anne's marriage agreement do not exactly coincide. The agreement mentions five clerics[1155] and eight laymen. The latter mostly coincide with the men named by Machairas, excepting the *maître de l'hotel* Henri de Giblet. Instead of the five clerics, Machairas has Jean Salah, Francis Tzarneri, Philippe of Lusignan, Carceran Suarez and Jacques de Fleury. The overlap of the two enumerations is illustrated in **figure 17**. Perhaps the Machairas chronicle is mistaken in its enumeration of the council members. This is in fact probable, since the passage marks the beginning of the later appendix to the chronicle and cannot be securely dated, although it must have been added considerably later[1156]. However, even if the marriage agreement indeed mentioned

1142 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 518-521.
1143 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 61.
1144 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 658. 679. 681 705. In § 705, Machairas wrongly suggests that Badin was sent to Constantinople to find a bride for John II, instead of Poland. See Hill, History II 494.
1145 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 109.
1146 See ch. 2.2, p. 69.
1147 Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi 193 refers to some of the counsellors, but not all of them.
1148 The text in MS O reads *dampalio*n, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 460.
1149 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 704-705; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 460.
1150 Neither Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 515-516, nor Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 371 nor Strambaldi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 287, and n. 4 have this episode – Strambali notes that there was a lacuna in the text he translated (and there is actually the same remark in MS R in Machairas, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 36).
1151 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 460.
1152 Cf. Gardthausen, Griechische Paläographie Taf. 11; Harrauer, Handbuch Paläographie, Textband 148-149. 160-161.
1153 See above, p. 110. Documents chypriotes (Richard) 129 has a council of six persons, referencing Hill, History III 497. But Hill also has the forty counsellors, although he mentions only six men by name.
1154 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16: *ipsius serenissimi principis consiliariorum*.
1155 Antonio, bishop of Paphos, Nicolay, bishop of Famagusta, Bartholomeus, bishop of Hebron, Jacques de Margat, deacon of St Sophia in Nicosia, and Jean Frogerius, archdeacon of the same church.
1156 See p. 26.

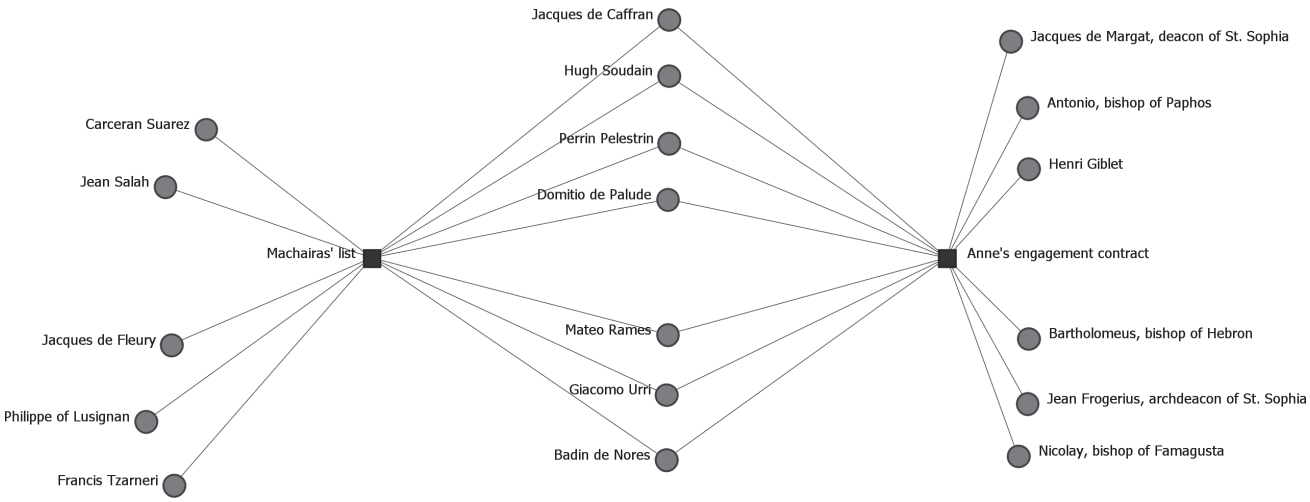


Fig. 17 Council at the beginning of John II's reign.

all twelve advisors correctly, they were not all active in politics over the next years, while others mentioned by Machairas certainly were.

Of all the men mentioned above, Peter of Lusignan was the most important figure to leave politics. Peter was the head regent according to Machairas, but he took part in very few events after Janus' death. He witnessed Hugh of Lusignan's second appointment as procurator in 1432 and was party to Anne of Lusignan's engagement agreement as well as one of the recipients of her engagement notification (cf. **fig. 18**)[1157]. Afterwards, however, Peter disappears without a trace. He did not die until many years later (1 February 1451[1158]). George Hill suggested that he withdrew from politics after his cousin's successful accession to the throne[1159]. This would be a strange move, however, given that he could have pursued a career as royal advisor. Perhaps an unknown intrigue lies behind these data. In any case, Peter of Lusignan was no longer a member of the power élite after 1432. Moreover, none of the clerics mentioned in the marriage agreement played any role in politics.

The Haute Court documents, however, illustrate very clearly who pulled the strings. Seven documents – the transmission of the *prasteio* Tragovouni to Piero Podocataro in 1435 (cf. **Tab. 5**, doc. (and node) 1435), a privilege awarded to Isabeau Visconte (doc./node 1432.2), and official matters such as Hugh of Lusignan's two appointments as royal procurator (docs/nodes 1427, 1432.3), the report on the marriage negotiations for Anne of Lusignan in 1433 (doc./node 1433), her engagement contract (doc./node 1432.1), and its notification (doc./node 1432.2) – reveal information about the period until 1435[1160].

The report on the marriage negotiations for Anne of Lusignan is particularly revealing. Anne was to marry Louis of Savoy, and a Savoyard embassy visited Cyprus from September to November 1433. The ambassadors wrote a detailed report for their lord, the duke of Savoy[1161]. They describe how they were received by the Cypriots and who led the negotiations. On their way to Nicosia, they were welcomed by Jacques de Caffran and Badin de Nores, the two marshals (of Cyprus and Jerusalem), and eventually lodged in Giacomo Urri's house. Later, the king and his council received the ambassadors. The council then conducted the actual negotiations, albeit without the king. It consisted of Jacques de Caffran, Badin de Nores, the chamberlain Hugh Soudain, Jacques de Fleury, *auditeur* and *maître de l'hotel*, and Giacomo Urri[1162]. These are exactly the five men (along with Carceran Suarez) who appear most frequently as decision makers in the other sources until the group changed in a certain sense in 1436, when Giacomo Urri fell victim to an intrigue and had to leave the court for at least a year, as has been mentioned above. This situation is visible in **figure 18**. It depicts all the participants in the events between 1427 and 1435 in a two-mode network (the events are again in dark grey square nodes, the participants in light grey spot nodes). As in the graphs analysing the 1390s, individuals who participated in more than one event are depicted above the line of event nodes, and individuals present at only one event are below the square nodes. The more events a person took part in, the higher their node is located.

Jacques de Caffran clearly participated in most events in **figure 18** (five events), closely followed by Badin de Nores and Hugh Soudain (four events), Giacomo Urri, Jacques de Fleury, Carceran Suarez and Peter of Lusignan (three events).

1157 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526 n. 2.; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 1-3. 15-16, n. 1.
1158 Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.
1159 Hill, History III 534, n. 6.
1160 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526, n. 2; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 1-3. 15-16 n. 1. 17-18; Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. I; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^{v}-31^{r}.
1161 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 17-23.
1162 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 17-18.

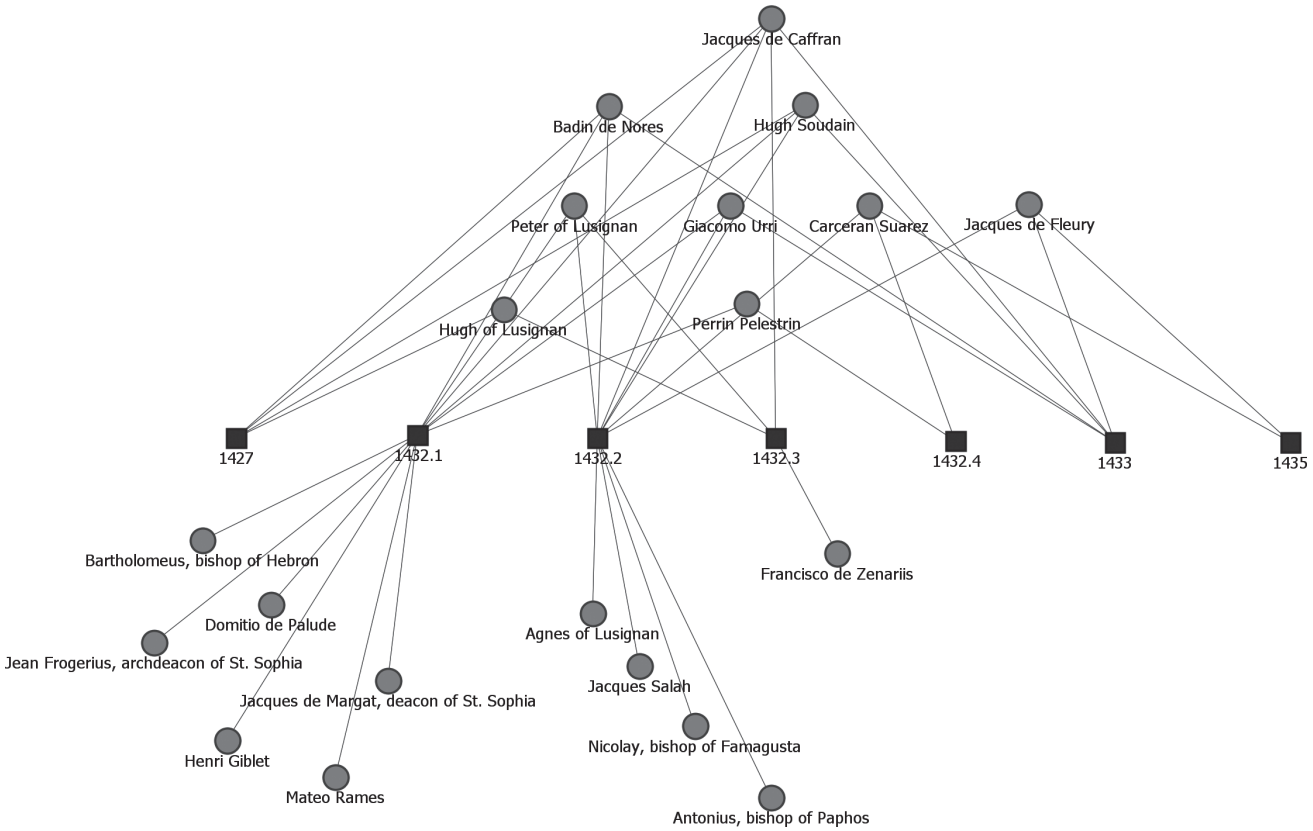


Fig. 18 Power élite 1427-1435.

Hugh of Lusignan and Perrin Pelestrin also figure in more than one event. Peter of Lusignan took part in Anne's engagement contract in 1432, while Jacques de Fleury and Giacomo Urri both only appear in the sources from 1432 on, which is why they are not as well represented as the others. Nonetheless, they can be seen as members of the inner circle of powerful men. Carceran Suarez apparently played just as central a role as Urri or Fleury, but we will see below that this was not actually the case. Suarez was a Castilian who had come to Cyprus in 1426 and saved King Janus' life in the battle of Chirokitia. He was rewarded with marriage to King Janus' bastard daughter and became admiral of Cyprus[1163]. The case of Perrin Pelestrin is a strange one: Perrin was present at the engagement contract and witnessed the privilege awarded to Isabeau Visconte in 1432 as viscount of Nicosia, which was usually a powerful office (see **fig. 18**). He then, however, disappears completely from the sources until 1448, when he emerges as the *turcopolier* (see **tab. 5**, doc. 1448 and **fig. 19**). If we can believe Machairas, Perrin was still quite young in 1426, when he is mentioned as *bachliotēs*, as squire[1164]. The man in 1432-1433 could therefore certainly be the same as the one in 1448, but his long absence from the sources is still noteworthy. Nevertheless, both Suarez and Pelestrin should be numbered among the power élite in the early 1430s, even if they were not as close to the inner nucleus as the five men mentioned above.

In contrast, all others involved in Anne's engagement agreement and as addressees of her engagement notification did not participate in the usual political decisions of the day. This is the case for Antonius, the bishop of Paphos, for example, or Henri de Giblet. This can be seen from **figure 18**, but also from **figure 19**, which gives an overview of all the documents/events and their participants between 1427 and 1457. This figure is slightly more complicated than the other graphs, but it provides a more comprehensive view of the developments. I will come back to it in due time.

The inner circle of five powerful men (Jacques de Caffran, Badin de Nores, Hugh Soudain, Jacques de Fleur and Giacomo Urri) is also visible in **figure 20**, which illustrates the situation as a one-mode network: the men taking part in one and the same event are linked to each other here. The nodes representing them are weighted according to their *total-degree centrality*. This measure computes the number of edges connecting a node to other nodes, called its *degree*[1165]. The more connections a node has to others, and the greater the value of these edges, the more central it is. I have

1163 See ch. 2.3.4, p. 82.
1164 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 665.
1165 Networks with directed edges count in-degrees and out-degrees. Our edges here are not directed, which is why I use the total-degree, which counts every connection between the nodes.

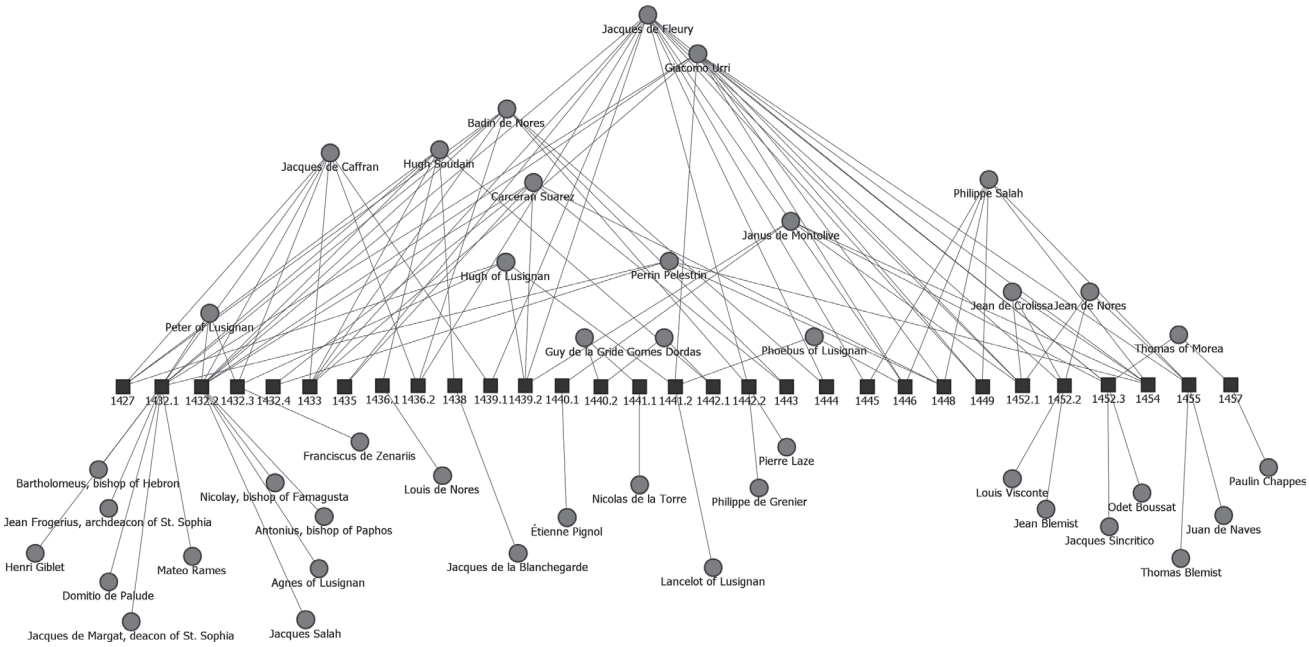


Fig. 19 Power élite 1427-1457.

already used this measurement in the analysis of marriage alliances in chapter three. It is based on the assumption that a person who has many connections to others and is even multiply connected with them (for example by taking part more than once in the same events with the same person), is a central figure in a social group[1166]. Therefore, the men who participated in the greatest number of interactions with other actors[1167] are depicted with the biggest nodes. The five counsellors with Peter of Lusignan are certainly the most central, because in general they participated together in the same events.

The visibility of this close nucleus of five counsellors is even clearer in the next graph (**fig. 21**). It shows the same situation as **figure 20**, but omits Anne of Lusignan's marriage documents, including only the Haute Court decisions until 1435. As a result of this computation, Peter of Lusignan loses his central position, because he did not take part in any of the Haute Court sessions after 1432. Only the actors who influenced every-day politics remain. This figure also reveals that Carceran Suarez was certainly not as central as Urri or de Fleury, although he took part in as many events as they did according to **figure 20** (which includes the marriage documents): Suarez never sat in sessions together with the other five counsellors (apart from one joint session with de Fleury).

We should not, however, forget other powerful actors who may not appear in the Haute Court documents. The Savoyard ambassadors, for example, related how they visited the king's aunt Agnes and princess Anne herself twice in the course of the negotiations. Agnes promised to do everything in her power to conclude the marriage, because it was dear to her heart[1168]. The ambassadors do not describe how far Agnes' influence actually extended, but Tafur also mentions her among the most influential people at court[1169]. We may therefore safely conclude that her word was of high account, although she never took part in Haute Court sessions and is not usually visible in our graphs (apart from the margins of **fig. 18** and **fig. 20**, because she was a recipient of Anne's engagement notification).

Hugh of Lusignan is another such case. Hugh's situation was singular since he was absent from Cyprus most of the time. He appears to have been influential, nonetheless. When he indeed sojourned in Cyprus in 1436, Tafur mentioned him as one of the most powerful people at court, together with Agnes of Lusignan[1170]. Moreover, the Hospitallers included him in their negotiations with John II in this period without hesitation[1171]. A Genoese document from 1441 even called him the main administrator of the royal court[1172]. Hugh therefore took pride of place when he was in Cyprus. However, he also actively pursued Cypriot politics when he sojourned in Western Europe. He led negotiations with Venice and Genoa and in 1440 he negotiated John II's first marriage to Medea of Montferrat[1173].

1166 Freeman, Centrality in Social Networks 219-221.
1167 The links to men with whom they participated in more than one event are computed to count twice or three times, etc.
1168 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 18: *et lors respondit ladite dame Agnès qu'elle y feroit toute sa puissance, car estoit la chose du monde qu'elle desiroit plus*.
1169 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 11. 19.
1170 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12. 19.
1171 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) no. 132.
1172 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 60.
1173 Hill, History III 526; Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 86-91.

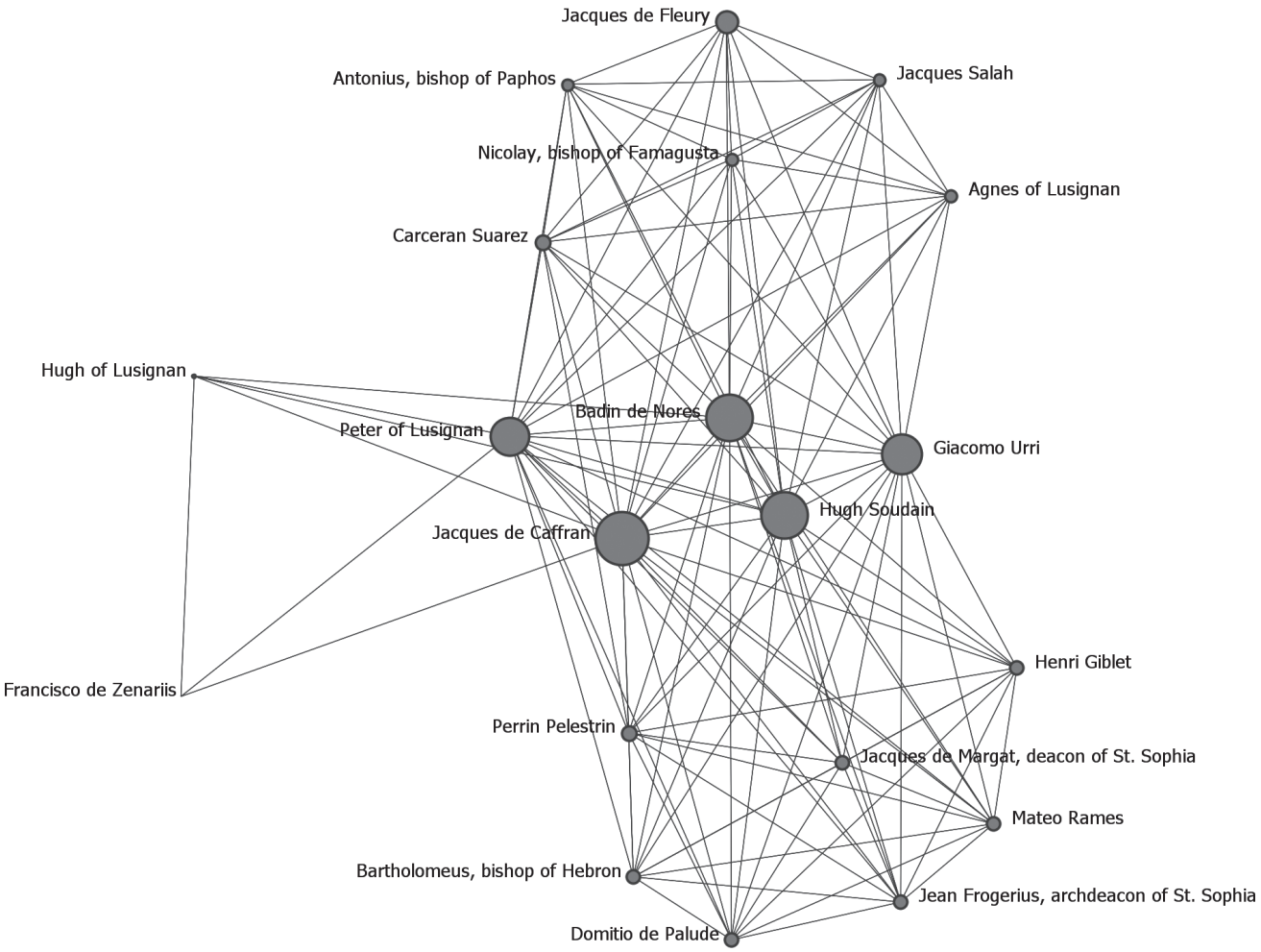


Fig. 20 Power élite 1427-1435, total degree-centrality.

The review of the power élite in the early 1430s permits some interesting conclusions. It was a stable and tightly knit group, probably highly influenced by two members of the royal family, Agnes and Hugh. Three of its members (Jacques de Caffran, Jacques de Fleury and Badin de Nores) came from established noble families, while Giacomo Urri and Hugh Soudain were more or less recent social climbers. The Syrian and White Genoese Hugh Soudain was probably a second generation noble – a relative of his, Ligier Soudain, had sat in the Haute Court as early as 1410[1174]. The Syrian Giacomo Urri in turn seems to have been the first in his family to attain high office. Perhaps his position as new man caused the intrigue to which he fell victim in 1436. As has been mentioned above, the court gathered to have him expelled from the king's presence for at least a year[1175]. Unfortunately, Tafur does not relate any reasons for this antipathy, other than that Urri was the king's favourite. Did disdain concerning his ethnic origin play a role? We do not know. Fact is that Urri disappears from the sources until 1441, when he witnessed a treaty in Genoa[1176]. The exile therefore does not seem to have harmed him in the long run. Urri's later temporary downfall notwithstanding, the power constellation in the 1430s illustrates that some newcomers were able to achieve power, although the greater part of the power élite was still firmly in the hands of important members of the old nobility.

4.2.2 The 1440s and 1450s

The power élite of the 1430s maintained its stable constellation until the beginning of the 1440s, when a generation change occurred, as three old members of the council disappear from the sources. Jacques de Caffran appears for the last time in 1440. His testament is dated 10 April 1445[1177],

1174 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495. 499.
1175 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 11. 19 and cf. p. 101.
1176 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166; cf. Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 90.
1177 Ganchou, Rébellion 113.

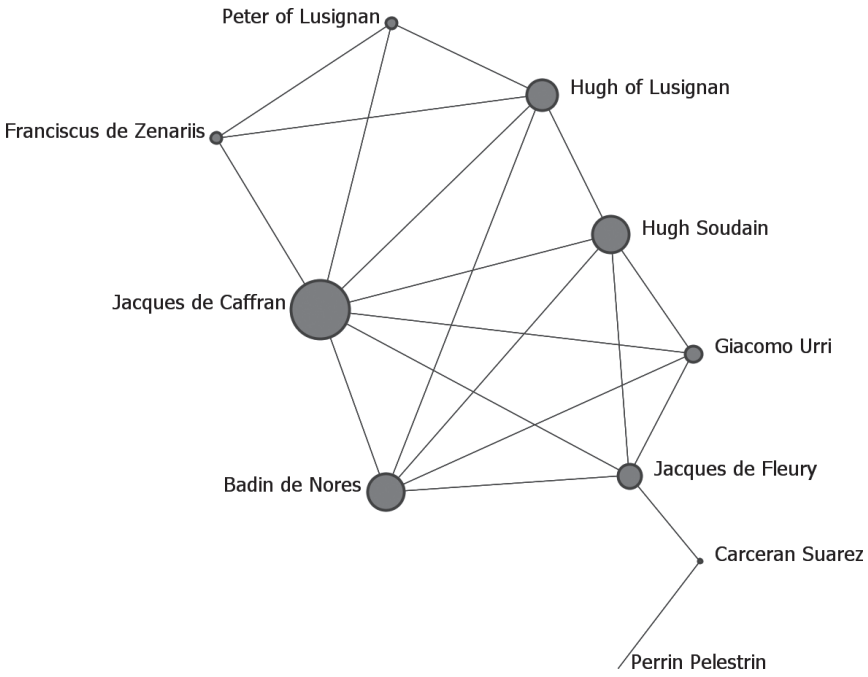


Fig. 21 Power élite 1427-1435 without Anne of Lusignan's marriage documents, total degree-centrality.

so we may assume that he died soon after. Hugh Soudain vanishes after 1442, and Badin de Nores after 1444[1178] – both must have been quite old at the time (cf. **fig. 19**). With their disappearance, the power structures changed. The ruling group was not as stable as it was in the 1430s. Men like Carceran Suarez and Giacomo Urri remained in power, but many others joined the group more or less fleetingly, making for a less densely connected power élite. This de-centralization was accompanied by the rise of several Syrian and Greek newcomers (see below).

The decentralization of the power élite can be illustrated through a comparison of **figure 18**, **figure 21** and **figure 22**. **Figure 18** and **figure 21** show the men of the power élite in the early 1430s. They reveal the small power élite that I have analysed in the preceding subchapter. **Figure 22** in turn shows a two-mode network of all the men taking part in decisions between 1440 and 1449: there is no such close-knit group of decision makers as in the 1430s. More men take part in just one or two sessions of the Haute Court[1179]. It would not be sensible to convert this two-mode network into a one-mode network, such as has been done for the 1430s in **figure 21**, since there are not enough strong relations to constitute a significant graph.

The most important phenomenon of the 1440s, however, is best visible in **figure 19**: Jacques de Fleury, already powerful in the 1430s, became by far the most powerful man of the kingdom. He took part in the greatest number of decisions and therefore dominates the graph. If we believe that John II had a weak personality and administered his kingdom badly – and the sources indeed point in that direction[1180] – then de Fleury was probably even more powerful than the king and wielded great influence over him.

Thierry Ganchou has recently studied Jacques' career in great detail[1181]. I will therefore outline only the most important points to illustrate his power. Jacques' extraordinary rise can be discerned from around 1438/1439, and therefore some years before the retirement of his distinguished colleagues from the Haute Court. John II made Jacques de Fleury *count of Jaffa* probably in 1438, but in 1439 at the latest, reviving this old title from the kingdom of Jerusalem[1182]. The title, however, was only the symbolic expression of his influence. In terms of power, he held the important – and hitherto never heard of – position *chef de conseil*, which has been discussed in the introduction to this chapter[1183]. Jacques held this position at least from the summer of 1439, and not from the 1450s onwards, as edited sources until now suggested[1184]. He remained in this position until his retreat from power in ca. 1454.

1178 Hill, History III 497 cites a document that attests to Badin de Nores' influence even at that date: the Venetian government recommended to its ambassador to Cyprus to get in touch with Badin, because he was all-powerful with the king.

1179 This is the case for Guy de la Gride and two Catalans, Gomes Dordas and Nicolas de la Torre (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 148. 150-151).

1180 Cf. e.g. Ganchou, Rébellion 151, and especially n. 165, who cites instructions to the Genoese ambassador Vernazza to Savoy in 1456. Vernazza was supposed to press the duke to open marriage negotiations with the Cypriots for his son Louis, and one reason the Genoese gave for the urgency of the request was the bad administration the island had been submitted to for many years.

1181 Ganchou, Rébellion, passim, but especially 105-109. 119-123.

1182 Ganchou, Rébellion 106-107.

1183 See p. 103.

1184 See MCC, PDc 1669.2 fol. 40^{v}: a document from 1439 mentions Jacques as *civitan di nostra secreta corte* ('chief of our secret court'). Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. X mentions his office for the first time in 1452. Grivaud, Petite chronique 328, n. 65, already noticed that he was called governor of the kingdom (and therefore, member of the council) in 1438 and 1441.

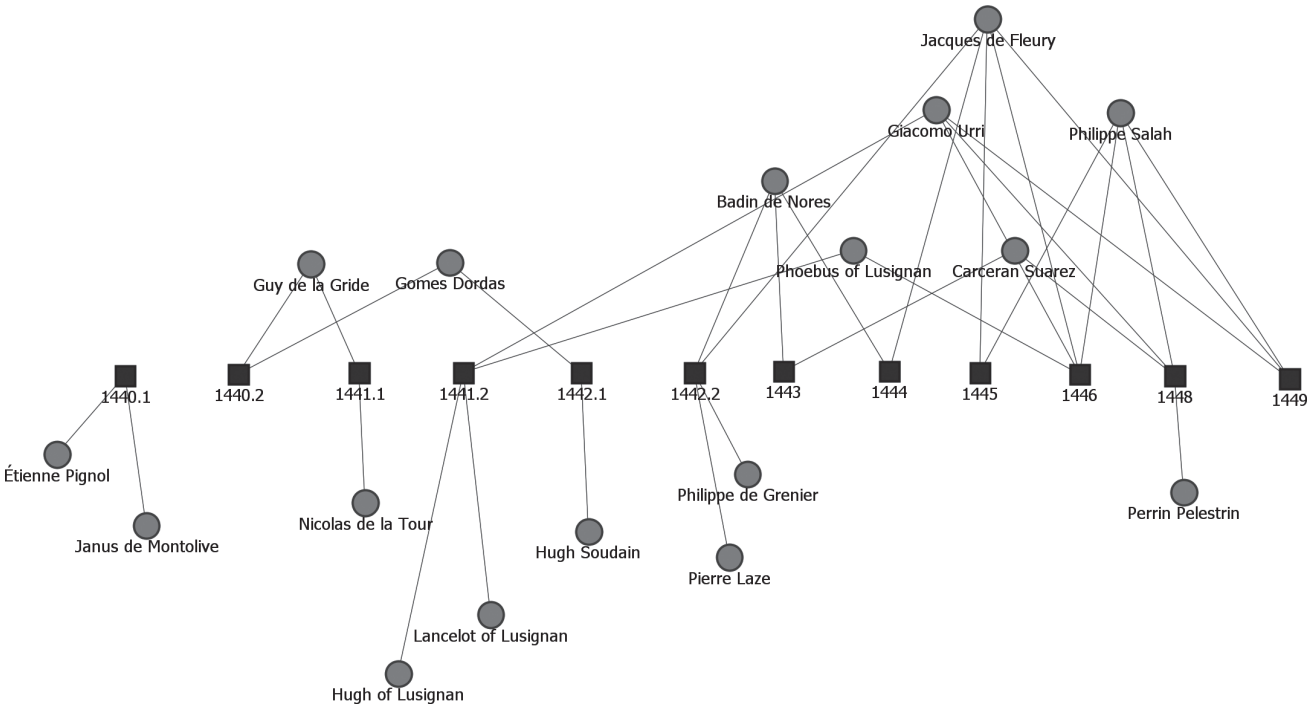


Fig. 22 Power élite 1440-1449.

Jacques' all-powerful influence on the king is also visible in the formulae used in the documents. The procuration for Hugh of Lusignan from 1439 calls him »the most illustrious Dominus Jacques de Fleury, count of Jaffa« (*illustrissimo Domino Iacopo de Flori, comite Ioppensis*[1185]). The designation *illustrissimus* was usually reserved for members of the royal family[1186]! Other documents in the following years confirm that de Fleury used it regularly, however. The ratification of a treaty with Genoa on 28 February 1442 not only mentions Jacques as the first man after the king, as Ganchou has noted, but also calls him »*illustrious* dominus dominus Jacques de Fleury, count of Jaffa, and governour of the Cypriot kingdom« (my emphasis; *Illustris Domini Dni Iacobi de Flori Comitis Ioppensis, et Regni Cypri Gubernatoris*). The rest of the Haute Court, in contrast, follows as »*magnificent and glorious* knights […] councellors, and his present liegemen, who constitute his royal high court« (my emphasis; *et Magnificorum, ac Spectabilium Militum […] Consiliariorum, et Homiligiorum suorum praesentum, et eius altam Curiam Regiam facientium*[1187]). Jacques is most decisively separated from the other members of the Haute Court, who are designated in the usual way. Moreover, Richard and Ganchou have shown that de Fleury's special position is confirmed by the extraordinary privileges accorded to him in these years by John II[1188].

In the face of de Fleury's power, the influence of other men pales, but there are nonetheless some interesting developments. New personalities gradually appear, overlapping with the retreat of the older men from power. Some of these new men remained in power until the late 1450s. The first was Janus de Montolive, a member of an old noble family. He was *auditeur* as early as 1439, when he witnessed Hugh of Lusignan's newest appointment as the king's procurator (cf. **tab. 5**, doc. 1439.2). He confirmed a privilege for Jacques de Fleury in 1440 (doc./node 1440.1). Then we do not hear anything about him for some time. He only reappears in 1452, when he contributed to a fief privilege for Odet Boussat (doc./node 1452.1), and then stayed active until 1454 (see **fig. 19**, which shows his involvement in the long run, and **fig. 23**, which illustrates his activities in the 1450s)[1189]. Janus' relative Galesius de Montolive was influential in the Latin Church in the same period. He became archbishop of Nicosia in 1442. Two years earlier, Galesius had gone to Genoa as Cypriot ambassador[1190]. Perhaps both Montolive advanced each other's careers, although Janus enjoyed the king's favour more than his brother, whom John II did not accept as archbishop[1191].

Janus and Galesius were the only members of the old nobility whose career flourished in the early 1440s[1192]. Newcomers from Syrian and Greek families, on the other hand,

1185 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 165.
1186 Cf. ch. 1.2, p. 40.
1187 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166; cf. Ganchou, Rébellion 107.
1188 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 128-130; Ganchou, Rébellion 107. 119-123.
1189 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 164-165; Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs IV, X; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380.
1190 Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 89.
1191 See ch. 6.1, p. 144.
1192 Two other nobles appear in the sources, but they were not particularly influential. The bouteiller of Cyprus Philippe de Grenier was sent as ambassador to Genoa along with Galesius in 1439/1440, and even witnessed the ratification of said treaty in 1442 as part of the Haute Court (doc. 1442.2), but

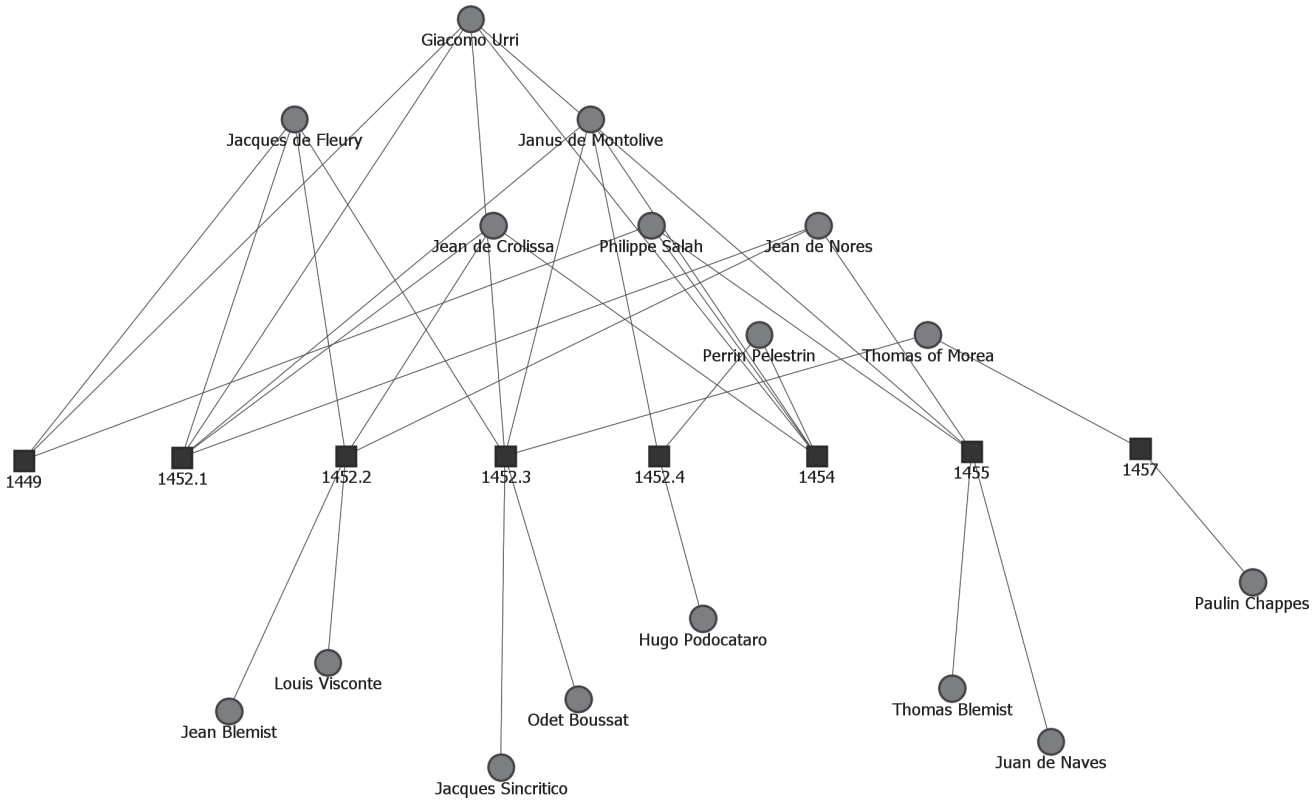


Fig. 23 Power élite 1449-1457.

seem to have risen especially in the early 1440s, even if they are only partly visible in the documents of the Haute Court. An interesting case is Philippe Salah. Philippe had worked as a secretary in the royal *secrète* for many years, inter alia drafting fief documents[1193]. In 1445, however, he not only functioned as the secretary during the confirmation of Piero Podocataro's fief privileges, but also witnessed the document as a member of the Haute Court and as *bailli de la secrète*[1194]. Later, he relinquished the drafting of documents to others and concentrated on his function as a member of the Haute Court[1195].

Parallel to Philippe's career was that of Piero Podocataro himself. One of Jean Podocataro's sons, Piero is attested as a royal secretary in 1435 when he obtained a fief from John II. He was therefore a royal vassal as early as the mid-1430s. By 1442, Piero had risen to the office of *bailivio curiae regis*, i. e. *maître de l'hotel du roi*. He witnessed the ratification of the Genoese treaty in February 1442 in the exercise of this office[1196]. In 1444, Piero bought one half of the *casale* Paralimni and is also mentioned in the sales contract as *maître de l'hotel*[1197]. In the following years, we do not hear anything about him, but he was sent on an embassy to the Mamluks in 1453 and played an important role as an ambassador in the civil war in the 1460s[1198].

Piero witnessed the 1442 ratification of the Genoese treaty together with his brother Hugo Podocataro, who is designated as royal counsellor on the occasion. Hugo was probably younger than Piero and he seems to have started his career by serving as an ambassador in the negotiations for this same treaty in 1440. He was still enrolled as a student in the university of Padua in 1439, reading *ius civile*[1199]. If he really was in Genoa in 1440, he probably went there directly from Padua. Hugo is not otherwise visible in our graphs, since he did not act as a member of the Haute Court. This is strange, since he was a royal counsellor. However, he went on a number of embassies to Europe in the following years, so perhaps he

he probably died in 1444 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 22; Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 166; Iorga, Notes et extraits IV/II 421; Grivaud, Petite chronique 330; Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 89). Another noble, Pierre Laze, witnessed the Genoese treaty ratification, but did not hold an office, and does not appear in later sources either. A man of the same name had been viscount in 1427, when he is mentioned in a manuscript marginal note, but if this was actually the same person, he did not manage to keep the office, as it was given to Perrin Pelestrin in 1433 at the latest, see Darrouzès, Notes pour servir III 225; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 15. 16 n. 1.

1193 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 141-151.

1194 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 32^{v}.

1195 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152-157.

1196 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 32^{v}; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166. He was, though, not member of the Haute Court, but a simple witness.

1197 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 28^{v}-29^{v}.

1198 Hill, History III 522; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 72-78.

1199 For his studies, see Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 134. According to Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 113, he was part of the negotiations in Genoa from November 1440 on, together with Domenico de la Palu. But as so often, Rudt de Collenberg does not prove his point, and I have not found any information about this in other sources. Clarification could surely be found in the Genoese archives. For the ratification in 1442, see Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166.

was not often present in Cyprus. Hugo became *bouteiller* of Cyprus only in 1455[1200], one of the offices that indeed were merely empty hulls. It simply expressed the holder's prestige and was not attached to executive power[1201]. Perhaps Hugo's influence was therefore restricted to the realm of foreign affairs. He certainly was not a regular member of the inner circle of counsellors, in contrast to Philippe Salah.

All the new men in the government between the 1430s and the 1450s came from families who were strongly interrelated, as we have seen in chapter three. These families were to maintain their power and social status in some cases into the sixteenth century[1202]. As at the end of the fourteenth century, most new men in power were civilians. They were connected either to administrational issues of the court or followed the new career path of studying at the university, and therefore offered the crown valuable expertise.

Conspicuously, all the men in question, including Hugh Soudain and Giacomo Urri (and except perhaps for Philippe Salah), were White Genoese. This is an interesting development, since Genoa had great influence on the island from 1374 onwards. The stance adopted by the Cypriot government towards Genoa was therefore of great significance. Moreover, it was of vital importance how Cyprus positioned itself between the two arch enemies Genoa and Aragon, in particular from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as the kingdom of Aragon increased its activities in the Eastern Mediterranean[1203]. The question arises, therefore, whether the affiliation with Genoa played a role for the rise of these Syrians and Greeks, and whether they pursued politics which suited the republic.

The first influential statesman in question, Hugh Soudain, unfortunately keeps to the shadows as far as his political connections with Genoa are concerned. However, Hugh's daughter lived in Famagusta and had married into Genoese families twice. Moreover, Hugh himself had invested money in Genoa[1204]. This hints at a good relationship between Hugh and the republic, even though nothing is known on the official political level. Giacomo Urri provides us with more information. Firstly, although his father was a White Genoese, Giacomo and his brothers acquired this status only in 1441[1205]. Giacomo was already an influential member of the royal council in 1433. His position as royal counsellor did not therefore arise directly from his official association with Genoa. Instead, Genoa probably took care to associate with the wealthy and powerful for its own advantage[1206]. This was supposed to be a win-win situation – the wealthy White Genoese profited from the republic's tax and jurisdiction privileges, while the republic seems to have expected at least friendly relations and at best political support. When Giacomo Urri became Helena Palaiologina's close confident and party to her anti-Genoese policy (see below), the Genoese captain of Famagusta denounced him as a traitor: »one of our Genoese, Giacomo Urri, who betrayed us[1207]«. Although he was a White Genoese, Giacomo had not pursued a policy favorable to the republic, and this made him a traitor in the eyes of the latter.

Hugo Podocataro, on the other hand, seems to have been more closely intertwined with the Genoese and their politics. His first visible action on the political level was his participation in the negotiations with the republic from 1439 to 1441 (see above). Hugo travelled to Famagusta as the king's procurator in order to confirm Genoa's jurisdiction over the White Genoese in 1450, and in 1452 he again represented the king before the Genoese and listened to their complaints about Cypriot infringements of the 1441 treaty[1208]. In 1454, Hugo went on an embassy to Genoa, where he stayed for more than half a year and concluded many business transactions for his fellow nobles[1209]. During his stay, he exchanged permissions of procuracy with the Genoese Jacopo Centurione[1210]. On 3 November 1455, Hugo gave the same Jacopo, who was on his way to Genoa, another license to act as his procurator. The document was drawn up in Famagusta[1211]. Centurione also took official letters from the king to Genoa – perhaps Hugo had gone to Famagusta in order to give him these letters. At this point, Jacques de Fleury had already tried to usurp the throne (see below)[1212]. Jacques was in exile in Famagusta, conspiring with the Genoese about the next steps to gain power. Thierry Ganchou has suggested that Hugo Podocataro went to Famagusta to meet Jacques de Fleury. This is possible, but there are no direct indications in this direction. If Podocataro did meet Fleury there, this would confirm and enhance Hugo's pro-Genoese stance. In any case, he was in Famagusta again on 22 November to supervise the payment of royal Cypriot debts to Genoa[1213]. The frequency of Hugo's interactions with the Genoese strongly indicates special relations with the republic. Hugo Podocataro seems to have been *the* man in the Cypriot kingdom for negotiations with Genoa. Hugo's brother Piero, on the other hand, who was just as influential in Cypriot politics as his brother, did not participate in these events at all.

1200 For the embassies, see Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 93; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 139-141. For Hugo as bouteiller, see Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 124.
1201 See A 1.1.5.
1202 See ch. 3.3, pp. 94-95 and ch. 2.2, pp. 67-72.
1203 See below, and for Aragon's activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, see ch. 2.3.4.
1204 See ch. 2.2, p. 70.
1205 Ganchou, Rébellion 145, n. 145.
1206 Otten-Froux mentions this strategy also in connection with the possibility of investments in the Genoese banco di San Giorgio, see Otten, Investissements 118.
1207 The document is in ASG, SG, Primi Cancellieri, busta 88, doc. 285. The quote is taken from Ganchou, Rébellion 143: *uno traditore nostro zenoveize Jacobo orri.*
1208 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 60-64; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 28.
1209 Otten, Investissements financiers 118 and n. 48.
1210 Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 94.
1211 Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 124.
1212 See p. 124.
1213 Ganchou, Rébellion 140-141 and n. 130; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 133. 134.

Therefore, the status of the ascending men as White Genoese does not seem to have been a direct cause for their rise in Cypriot politics. However, it did not impede their careers, either. Instead, the new mens' rise depended on their personal affairs and wealth. In some cases, their careers may have been based on their families' loans to the crown for the ransom of King Janus, for which the crown was indebted to them[1214]. Unfortunately, no sources confirm this explicitly. In any case, riches were also conducive to being accepted as Genoese citizens. However, the Genoese republic expected a friendly stance towards its policies as a reward for this privilege. In how far the Cypriot men fulfilled these expectations was up to them: while Hugo Podocataro was heavily involved in Genoese connections, Giacomo Urri decided to pursue a policy contrary to Genoese expectations.

Let us return to the power élite of the 1440s and examine another important event in these years: the arrival of Queen Helena Palaiologina[1215]. It has long been known that Helena, who married John II in 1442, played an important role in politics[1216]. However, her influence is most strongly felt in the 1450s. A crucial conflict arose between the queen and the greatest statesman of the last twenty years, Jacques de Fleury, in this period. Thierry Ganchou has recently studied this conflict minutely, aiming to clarify the circumstances of Jacques de Fleury's rebellion against the queen in 1455[1217]. I will therefore only discuss the facts that illustrate the power balance around the queen and the workings of the power élite until the end of John II's reign.

Helena married John II in February 1442. She was then 14 years old. Her presence seems to have been felt in the same year in church circles. There are some hints that she was the cause for John II's refusal to accept Galesius de Montolive as the new archbishop, an affair with repercussions in church politics[1218]. Helena acted as John II's proxy in administrational matters as early as 1444, when John consented to her sale of the Paralimni estate to Piero Podocataro, Thomas Urri and Isabella Salah[1219]. In the following years before 1450, Helena seems to have formed her own power base, as she gathered strong supporters about her in order to pursue her own politics.

These supporters came from various contexts. In 1451 at the latest, her milk brother Thomas of Morea, reportedly of low descent, became chamberlain of Cyprus. We may suppose that Helena was the driving force behind this promotion. It has been surmised that Thomas additionally held the post of marshal, an exceptional honour, as men usually did not hold more than one office at a time. This would have added even more savour to this quick promotion, but it seems to me that Thomas did not hold both positions simultaneously[1220]. In any case, the Genoese captain who reported on the queen's politics in 1455 numbered Thomas among the Queen's most ardent supporters. In addition, he mentioned Jacques Sincritico, the Queen's – and later also the King's – personal doctor, and Giacomo Urri[1221]. Urri must have been an important man to win over. From 1448 at the latest, he was viscount of Nicosia and, in contrast to Jacques Sincritico and Thomas of Morea, he had been in Cypriot politics for many years. Giacomo was even called »one of the greatest [men] at court and very close to the Queen[1222]« shortly before his death in 1458[1223].

Queen Helena needed these supporters to further her own ends. Helena obviously thought that the Cypriot kingdom should seek strong alliances with the Aragonese, Genoa's arch enemies. She probably hoped to reduce Genoese influence in Cyprus, which had been oppressive since 1374. In order to further her aim, Helena strongly supported the marriage plans of the Aragonese Juan de Naves. The notable de Naves, well-known to King Alfons V, had come to Cyprus in 1450 because he had fallen in love with the countess of Roucha, one of the late King Janus' illegitimate daughters[1224]. Genoese reports on Cyprus show that this marriage was of great political significance: the captain of Famagusta deplored the match and saw it as a hostile act against Genoa[1225]. The match probably met with opposition at court, too, because Juan de Naves finally did not marry the countess, but instead Anna de Verny, scion of a well-known Cypriot noble family. Anna's parents, Thomas de Verny and his wife, were Helena's avid supporters. Anna herself was chamber woman to Helena's daughter Charlotte while her mother fulfilled the same function for Helena. Thomas de Verny is not visible in

1214 See ch. 2.2, esp. pp. 68. 72.
1215 Ganchou, Rébellion 109.
1216 Christina Kaoulla has refuted this claim in an essay from 2006 (Kaoulla, Queen Elena), but Thierry Ganchou, Rébellion, has been able to show convincingly that Helena indeed possessed influence at court and pursued her own politics, see Ganchou, Rébellion, passim.
1217 Ganchou, Rébellion.
1218 Hill, History III 527. For the church affair, see ch. 6.1, p. 144.
1219 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 28^{v}-29^{v}.
1220 For the latest example of this common opinion, see Ganchou, Rébellion 127. The chronicles designate Thomas as chamberlain (see Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 374; Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 4-10 and Grivaud, Petite chronique 332). The most exact date given for this office is in the small Greek chronicle edited by Grivaud, which reports him leading the military excursion against Anamur on 1 June 1451. Later sources register him as marshal, such as Paulin Chappe's appointment as ambassador to Europe in January 1452 and the list of *luoghi*-holders in Genoa from 1454 (Codex Diplomaticus [Gudenus] 309-310; Ganchou, Rébellion 141 n. 130). None of the sources mention both offices together. If Thomas had actually held both at the same time, this would surely have been registered, as the documents are always very precise concerning offices. Therefore, it seems to me that he must have changed office before January 1452.
1221 The document is to be found in ASG, SG, Primi Cancellieri, busta 88, doc. 285. For a discussion of the passage, see Ganchou, Rébellion 143.
1222 Otten, Une enquête 251: *unus ex maioribus curie et multum astrictus Regine*.
1223 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151-152. The chronicles also attest Giacomo's great influence in these years. According to Bustron, when King John's bastard son James (later James II) had been deprived of the archbishopric after murdering Thomas of Morea, he sought Urri's advice, who was supposed to find a remedy for his situation. Although this did not come to pass, the incidence shows Urri's influence. When James returned from his self-sought exile in Rhodes, he had Urri murdered in revenge. This murder is reported in the small fifteenth century chronicle edited by Gilles Grivaud, further testifying to the importance of Urri's person, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 4-12. 16-18; Grivaud, Petite chronique 334.
1224 Ganchou, Rébellion 123.
1225 Ganchou, Rébellion 141-142.

Haute Court circles, but his connection to Helena via his wife is attested in the chronicles[1226].

The Genoese sources give the impression that Juan de Naves was the most influential person at the Cypriot court in this period, especially after his marriage in October 1454. The Genoese captain calls him the »sole ruler of their court[1227]« and reports that he started to attack Genoese ships from February 1455 onwards. The Genoese could no longer set foot on Cyprus (other than Famagusta) without possessing a safe conduct issued by him[1228]. Thus, Juan de Naves certainly seems to have wielded a high degree of executive power. It is unclear, however, how powerful he was within the Haute Court and the council, since he does not appear in many Haute Court privileges[1229].

Regardless of just how much influence Juan de Naves had, the queen certainly pursued her pro-Aragonese politics. Ganchou has shown that Helena started planning the wedding of her only daughter Charlotte with a prince from the Aragonese realm as early as 1449. Since John II did not have a legitimate son, this prince would become the ruler of the island someday. The match therefore had great political significance, and Helena intended to use it in order to strengthen relationships with Aragon. This excited the opposition of other members of the power élite, notably Jacques de Fleury, who opposed this marriage, and desired Charlotte to marry her cousin Louis de Savoy – a safe and traditional choice[1230].

Matters did not come to a head until 1455. Jacques de Fleury, by then Helena's sworn enemy, decided to do his utmost to check the queen's influence in the summer of this year. He tried to seize power in the kingdom, although it is not clear how he proposed to achieve this. But Jacques' coup d'état failed, and he had to flee to Famagusta and later to Rhodes with his family, in order to save himself. De Fleury had lost the power struggle against the queen[1231]. He had dominated Cypriot politics for almost twenty years. Ganchou suggests that Janus de Montolive and Jean de Crolissa, *maître de l'hotel* since 1452, were of Jacques' party. This is reasonable, as Janus disappears from the sources in 1455, only to reappear after Helena's death, when he is recorded as marshal of Cyprus – the same office Thomas of Morea held until his death. Jean de Crolissa ceded his office to Giacomo Urri, Helena's favourite, in December 1455 at the latest[1232]. Other than these conjectures however, there is no information whatsoever on Jacques de Fleury's accomplices[1233]. In any case, the queen had won the field.

Helena's supporters did not have much time to enjoy their power. A series of untimely deaths from 1456 on destroyed Helena's power base: Juan de Naves died in 1456[1234]. Jacques Sincritico probably died on 28 March 1457[1235]. A third incident had even more crucial consequences. In December 1456, Helena's daughter Charlotte had married John of Coimbra. However, the sources suggest that he did not get on well with Helena, and he died suddenly on 21 June 1457. Some sources accuse Helena of poisoning him. This acquires credibility from the consequences of his death: John II's bastard son James killed Helena's confident Thomas of Morea as an act of revenge for his sister[1236]. When King John II then deprived James of his fief, James asked Giacomo Urri for help, because he was influential with Queen Helena. However, this did not yield favourable results, and in April 1458, James also murdered Giacomo Urri, allegedly because he had failed to help him regain Helena's favour. It is very conspicuous that James had two of Helena's most important supporters killed within a year. Helena herself followed Urri into the grave on 11 April 1458[1237].

Although John II and the Haute Court tried to hold James responsible for these murders, this could not change the fact that the power élite which had governed the island in the mid-fifties was no more. The up-side for men such as Jacques de Fleury and possibly Janus de Montolive was that they could return to Cyprus – at least both are attested on the island in the years after Helena's death[1238]. However, the power balance had seriously shifted towards John II's bastard son James and his supporters. In the following civil war, James would eventually gain the upper hand and control the island until his death in 1473. Almost all the members of the 1450s power élite decided to support Charlotte. Some later switched over to James, but most of the power élite under his reign consisted of men of his own entourage[1239].

1226 Ganchou, Rébellion 131; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II no. 61; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 30.

1227 The document lies in the Genoese state archive, under ASG, SG, Primi Cancellieri, busta 88, doc. 740. The quote has been taken from Ganchou, Rébellion 131, n. 104: *totum regimen curie ipsorum.*

1228 Codex Diplomaticus (Gudenus) 618-620; Ganchou, Rébellion 138-140.

1229 In December 1455, however, he is indeed mentioned as the first of the Haute Court witnesses, see Ganchou, Rébellion 147; Richard, Privilège 132. But in 1457, at the time the next preserved document was drafted (doc. 1457, Documents chypriotes [Richard] doc. XII), Juan was already dead (see below).

1230 Ganchou, Rébellion 132-135. Genoese opposition against these plans or at least attempts to gain influence at court at the time may be seen in the fact that in the year 1454, the bank of Genoa especially reserved between 150 and 200 *luoghi* for various members of the power élite: Janus and Galesius de Montolive, but also Jean de Clorissa and even Thomas of Morea were considered. If the Cypriots ever took up on the offer is unclear, see Otten, Investissements financiers 118. For the term *luoghi* and its meaning, see p. 66 and n. 604.

1231 Ganchou, Rébellion 156-169.

1232 Ganchou, Rébellion 164.

1233 A certain Jean de Nores had appeared in the Haute Court documents around 1452, just as Jean de Crolissa (see **fig. 23**). But he is without office, and whether he took a stance in this conflict, and if so, on which side, is not known. See Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs X, XI; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380.

1234 Grivaud, Petite chronique 333; Ganchou, Rébellion 147.

1235 At least the Italian short chronicle edited by Grivaud registers that *el savio maestro Zacco*, the wise master Zacco, died, who knew both Greek and Latin letters. It is very probable that Sincritico is meant, see Grivaud, Petite chronique 334.

1236 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 6-10; Hill, History III 536.

1237 Ganchou, Rébellion 182; Grivaud, Petite chronique 334; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 4-12. 16-18. 34. It is unknown which stance the *bailli de la secrète* Philippe Salah took in the matter, but in any case, he, too, died in December 1456 according to the short chronicle, see Grivaud, Petite chronique 333.

1238 Cf. Ganchou, Rébellion 183-184.

1239 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86 enumerates Charlotte's supporters during James' siege of Kyrenia in 1460. Among them are Jacques de Fleury, Jean de Montolive, Perrin Pelestrin, Phoebus of Lusignan, Bernardo Riosec, Hector de Chivides, and some members of the de Nores family. Men such as Andrea Corner, Guillaume and Jean de Ras as well as Morphou de Grenier later changed sides, but at least Perrin Pelestrin, Jean de Montolive and Ber-

4.3 Conclusion

A comparison of the two periods under analysis is revealing in various respects. Generally, the basic power structures did not change between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Small groups of powerful men with knowledge of civil or military matters assisted the ruler and were rewarded for their assistance by an enhancement of their power. The power élites were small, and the same men dealt flexibly with matters of both internal as well as external politics[1240].

However, the analysis has shown that the power élites themselves were changing. Syrians and Greeks from the new aristocracy ascended into the highest echelons of the power élite and influenced the power balance considerably. Members of the new aristocracy first ascended into high positions in the power vacuum after the Genoese war. Men such as Jean Gorap or Thomas Barech held important office and were part of the regency after Peter II's death. However, in contrast to the years after 1430, these men were isolated phenomena. Apart from Nicholas Billy, they did not establish their families in the highest echelons of society[1241]. Moreover, it seems that the old nobility gained the upper hand again under James I, closing its ranks against social climbers for some years at least.

The situation was different between the 1430s and 1450s. More Syrians and Greeks became important officials in this period. All of them had a long era of influence – Giacomo Urri and Hugh Soudain in particular were active over two decades and more. Urri was not only part of the power élite, but one of the most important players of his time. Moreover, these Syrians (and Greeks) of the 1440s and 1450s were all part of the same extended group, related by blood and marriage[1242]. They therefore differed essentially from the isolated cases at the end of the fourteenth century, and their network mirrored the dense connections between old noble families, as shown in chapter three. Consequently, most of the families behind these powerful men of the 1440s remained in high circles over the next decades at least[1243]. Syrians were much more prominent in the power élite than Greeks. This is especially true for the earlier period, when all the *homines novi* were Syrians. They were still the majority in the middle of the fifteenth century. Other than the Podocataro brothers and Jacques Sincritico, only Syrians achieved important careers. As has been mentioned before, the reasons for this phenomenon can only be hypothesized, but they were probably connected to the wealth Syrians had acquired through trade. It is not clear if their political power resulted directly from their loans to the crown for the ransom of King Janus, but it is obvious that all new men in power possessed great wealth[1244].

The rise of Syrians and Greeks in the 1440s did not signify the abrupt and total disempowerment of members of the old nobility. Men such as Jacques de Fleury, Jacques de Caffran, Badin de Nores and Janus de Montolive continued to wield great influence. As before, they also constituted a group related through intermarriage[1245]. But their group was by no means as numerous as during the era of Peter I or James I, and they had to accept a strong group of newcomers occupying even highest office. Jacques de Fleury's exceptional power during the late 1430s and 1440s suggests that the corrective balance of a powerful homogeneous group of nobles controlled by the king was missing. This probably made the rise of new men easier.

Old nobles and new aristocrats not only differed in their origins and marriage relations. They also followed different career paths. Members of the old nobility in the fourteenth as well as in the fifteenth century essentially took two different routes to power. They either pursued military careers, such as Pierre and Jacques de Caffran or Badin de Nores, or they rose within the king's household, occupying posts such as the *maître de l'hotel* and the post of *auditeur*, as did Jacques de Fleury.

Syrians and Greeks, in contrast, were not connected to the military at all, except for Thibault Belfaradge, who came to power through raising military troops. Some made their careers in the civil service similar to members of the old nobility. Jean Gorab was in domestic service as Peter I's *maître de l'hotel* before he became *auditeur*, following a similar career to Jacques de Fleury fifty years later. Other Syrians and Greeks actually took the route which has come to be considered classical for their group[1246]: they worked as secretaries in the royal *secrète* before ascending to offices such as the *bailli de la secrète* (Philippe Salah) or the *maître de l'hotel* (Piero Podocataro). They were creatures of the royal court who must have been very much part of its every-day life and immersed in its networks. They therefore generally occupied the so-called offices of Cyprus in contrast to the crown offices, because the former were closely connected to the administration. The

nardo Riosec went into exile with Charlotte (see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209). Hector de Chivides and Jacques de Fleury both died in the following years. Therefore, not many of the very high officers actually went over to James. Haute Court decisions in 1468 and 1469, as well as the executors of James' testament illustrate his circle of supporters. It was comprised of some Cypriots and members of the old élite, but then mostly Catalans. See Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 150 and Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 145-185, where we find the following men: Morphou de Grenier, Jean de Ras and Andrea Corner of the élite before James II, but then Juan Tafur, Juan Perez Fabriguez, Juan Aronio, Pedro d'Avila, Rizzo di Marino, Nicholas Morabit, Geronimo Salviati, Sasson de Nores, Jaime Zaplana, and Muzio di Constanzo. Of these men, only Sasson de Nores came from Cyprus. The rest were Catalans, or, in Salviati's case, Italian. Cf. Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi 224.

1240 There was no difference between the circles involved in extraordinary events like state treaties or the appointment of procurators, and every-day matters. As can be seen from the comparison between the 1430s, 1440s and 1450s (see **figs 18-19. 21-23**), very much the same men participated in the respective events, although every-day business sometimes figured less well-known men.

1241 See ch. 2.1, p. 54.

1242 Cf. ch. 3.3, from p. 94.

1243 See chapter 2.2, from p. 67.

1244 See ch. 2.2, p. 72.

1245 See ch. 3.3, p. 96-98.

1246 Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 230-235.

case of the chamberlain Hugh Soudain, however, illustrates that they could also occupy crown offices.

In contrast to those careers which were strongly intertwined with the royal household itself, Giacomo Urri, Jacques Sincritico and Hugo Podocataro chose the new path of education open from the end of the fourteenth century: they studied in Padua. The higher education and learning of these men must have stood out, meeting the growing necessity for professional knowledge[1247]. This was a path full of possibilities, although the numbers of students suggest that by far not all men who decided on this education later occupied highest positions at court[1248]. Interestingly, nobles from old families did not choose this path at all.

In many cases, the designation to an office was simply the consequence of the power Syrians and Greeks already wielded. Thibault Belfaradge was given office after he had raised troops at his own expense. Giacomo Urri, Hugh Soudain and Hugo Podocataro all first appear as royal counsellors without a distinct office. This reveals something of the nature of these mens' careers: essentially, they gained power inofficially. It resulted from their wealth, their education and their connections. However, the social mobility of these men and their influence had to be labelled and integrated into an already existing system. They received offices, titles and also knighthood in order to maintain the existing social system. This is very much the same strategy that Guido Castelnuovo has examined for the duchy of Savoy, which faced similar developments of social mobility and professionalization in the first half of the fifteenth century[1249].

In conclusion, social mobility existed in both periods under analysis. However, it particularly upset the power balance in the 1430s to 1450s. This period differed crucially from the fourteenth century, since the newcomers created a network of successful families which supported each other's ascent. Syrians and Greeks came to power in ways differing from the old nobility, using new possibilities such as studies at Padua university. They were nevertheless successfully integrated into the old system of offices and knightly honour.

1247 The difference of their learned approach to complicated questions is wonderfully visible in the protocol of King Janus' divorce trial from 1407. During the questioning of the witnesses, the learned Syrian Jean Careri gave answers which were inspired by the laws of Cyprus (Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride § 584), while the knight Simon Pelestrin at one point even refused to answer the same question, reasoning that he was a knight, not a clergyman (*respondit quod miles est et non clericus*, see Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride § 517).

1248 See Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 134-135.

1249 See Castelnuovo, Ufficiali 17-18. 345-348 and p. 70.

Chapter 5 – A Matter of Style: Social and Ethnic Identity Construction among Nobles and Homines Novi

In the preceding chapters of this study, I have discussed the prosopographical development of the various Cypriot aristocratic groups as well as social mobility, in particular among Syrian families. I have analysed the interaction between members of the old nobility, the new Syrian and Greek aristocracy and Western newcomers. It has become evident that Syrians and Greeks indeed climbed into the highest echelons of society, especially in the middle of the fifteenth century. At the same time, the rate of intermarriage between new men and the old nobility proved to have been rather low. It is now time to ask how all these developments were related to questions of identity.

During the theoretical considerations concerning this study, I have pointed out that I will attempt to analyse identity narratives as a phenomenon connecting social structures to human consciousness, to the way people saw and constructed themselves within their symbolic universe. Moreover, I decided to discuss identities as a series of identifications with various discourses belonging to a specific symbolic universe, identifications which we can access through the narratives they generate and which may experience change in relation with social transformation. Social change and identity issues are directly related[1250].

Therefore, I will now inquire how members of Cypriot aristocratic groups saw themselves, and if and how these self-images underwent change together with the social changes we have analysed, maybe even provoking and influencing the latter. To which identity discourses did aristocrats relate? Which types of discourses can we discern, and did they change with time[1251]?

As may be expected, the sources do not offer material for a comprehensive answer to these questions. On the whole, we will have to make do with snippets of identity narratives found in the two important chroniclers of the period, Machairas and Bustron, and other selected sources such as a letter from the *chef de conseil* Jacques de Fleury to Genoa in 1454, a hitherto unknown Haute Court protocol from the beginning of the fifteenth century, personal notes in a manuscript containing the *assizes* (a collection of law books from the Levant), and several documents concerning religious affiliations, from papal letters to testaments[1252].

In spite of this rather dire source situation, I will think about identity discourses pertaining to different contexts. Since it is not possible to analyse identity on all levels of life, I will concentrate on three important aspects: social, ethnic and religious identities[1253]. To begin with, I will focus on identity construction on the social level. How was social standing conceived and perceived? An important question in this section will be the concepts of honour found in the sources, since honour is directly connected to social standing (ch. 5.1.1). I will discuss if and how ideas of honour differed between aristocratic individuals and groups. A second subchapter (ch. 5.1.2) will concentrate on other aspects of social identity, such as family lineage. I will then ask how people reacted to social mobility and the identity changes it entailed (ch. 5.1.3). The second part of chapter five focuses on ethnic identities. I will analyse how members of the aristocracies related to ethnic discourse and whether these identifications changed in the course of the fifteenth century (ch. 5.2). Finally, I will complete the analysis of identity construction with a detailed examination of religious affiliations and identifications, which will occupy the whole of chapter six. The analysis of these three foci – social, ethnic and religious identity narratives – will at least allow us to discern a tendency in our picture of identity construction among the Cypriot aristocracies in the last century of Lusignan reign, if not a comprehensive overview.

1250 See pp. 16-18.

1251 I have touched on some of these questions during the discussion of contemporary perceptions of the upper classes in chapter one. However, we will now delve more deeply into the way members of the Cypriot élite constructed their identities.

1252 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins); Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou); Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789; Ganchou, Rébellion 143; Tucci, Matrimonio 87. For the new Haute Court document, see below p. 137; for the documents concerning religious matters, see ch. 6.

1253 Language would have been another interesting aspect of identity construction, but its analysis would have transgressed the scope of this study. For a new study on the connection of language and identity in Medieval Cyprus, see Baglioni, Language.

5.1 Social Identities

5.1.1 Concepts of Honour in Fifteenth-Century Cypriot Chronicles

One way to assess social identity construction in the given period is to consider concepts of honour among the Cypriot élites. Honour is highly connected with social standing, and we shall therefore begin our analysis from this perspective. Anthropologists have shown a preference for researching honour in the context of so-called *honour-and-shame societies* in the Mediterranean, especially from the 1960s onwards[1254]. Moreover, historians have discussed honour in the context of knightly societies in the middle ages[1255]. These discussions have resulted in varying definitions of honour, some of which are valid only for the specific context of the modern Mediterranean[1256]. However, in 1966, the well-known anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers offered a general definition of honour which is appropriate for our context. According to Pitt-Rivers,

> honour is the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by society, his right to pride[1257].

For Pitt-Rivers, honour is therefore both an internal, personal, and external, social, evaluation of an individual's standing within their society. In his considerations about honour in the early and high middle ages, the historian Gerd Althoff has specified that an individual's *social worth* is determined by a set of criteria which vary from one society to the next, such as offices, possessions (e. g. estates), personal abilities and the way in which an individual embodies the ideals of their society[1258]. Hence, honour has the important function of structuring social order. The determination of personal honour integrates the individual into the hierarchy of their social group and influences how individuals conceive their social identity[1259]. Consequently, I will analyse concepts and narratives of honour in the contemporary Cypriot chronicles as well as in other sources in order to understand how members of the various aristocratic groups understood themselves and their society.

The chronicles by Leontios Machairas and Georgios Bustron are highly interesting in this respect, since their authors were members of the new aristocracy who wrote about court society. The texts therefore may reflect values prevalent in the new aristocracy as well as in the old nobility. For Machairas, honour was clearly an important subject. He was convinced that God assigned a certain honour to every human being[1260]. If someone tried to acquire more honour than was their share, they committed the sin of *superbia* (›hubris‹) and God punished them accordingly. Peter I, according to Machairas, was convinced that his wife's affair was God's punishment for his attempt to exercise rule not only over Cyprus and Jerusalem, but also Alexandria[1261].

Noble honour in particular was tied up with knighthood in Machairas' eyes[1262]. His ascription of social identity for nobles therefore depended greatly on their standing as knights. Significantly, a knight's social identity in Machairas' eyes was first of all tied to his integration into the group of royal vassals and his relationship with the king. A well-known story from the end of Peter I's reign reveals this very clearly[1263]. Machairas tells us that Peter's wife Queen Eleanor had an affair with the count of Roucha, Jean de Morphou, while Peter I was on his second trip to Europe. Rumours spread, and Jean Visconte, whom Peter had left in charge of his household, wrote a letter to the king explaining the matter. When Peter returned home, he assembled the high court to hear their advice as to how he should react. The knights discussed the matter as follows:

> some said that they should slay the count, then some were saying: 'If we slay him, the affair is made manifest, and it will be a great disgrace to us. […] [and] the story will spread and all the world will know of it. And our king is one body with ourselves; he is an eagle and we are his wings […] so the king can do nothing by himself without us, nor can we do anything without him. So therefore they will speak against our good name, and the story will be confirmed. […] Let us all say that he is a liar, and that we shall deprive him of the freedom which he has as a liege […] It is a lesser evil that a knight should die, than that [they] will hold us as traitors, because we did not guard our queen. But even if we neglected to guard her, why, becoming aware of such unseemly doings, did we not avenge our lord [on] his enemy and a traitor against his honour?'[1264].

1254 See e. g. the collected volumes Peristiany, Honour and Shame; Gilmore, Honor and Unity.
1255 See the collected volume Schreiner/Schwerhoff, Verletzte Ehre and cf. n. 1542 for a more detailed enumeration of the literature on honour in Medieval Western Europe.
1256 See e. g. Peristiany, Introduction 9-10; Gilmore, Introduction esp. 2-5.
1257 Pitt-Rivers, Honour and Social Status 21.
1258 Althoff, Compositio 63.
1259 Dinges, Ehre 30.
1260 Cf. Grivaud, Entrelacs 193-195.
1261 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 251. Cf. also §§ 153. 219. 473. 520.
1262 We have already seen that a noble was equivalent to a Latin knight in Machairas' eyes, see ch. 1.2, p. 37.
1263 I have shortly spoken about this episode, which is in Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 239-258, also in ch. 1.2, see p. 37.
1264 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 255, translation by Dawkins: Μερτικὸν ἐλαλοῦσαν νὰ σκοτώσουν τὸν κούντην· καὶ ἐλαλοῦσαν: ‚Ἂν τὸ ποίσωμεν φανερώνεται τὸ πρᾶμαν, καὶ θέλει εἴσταιν πολλὴ ἀντροπὴ εἰς αὐτόν μας.' […] καὶ ὁ λόγος θέλει ἐβγεῖν εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· καὶ ὁ ρήγας μας ὅπουνε ἕναν κορμὶν δικόν μας, ὁ ποῖος εἶνε ἕναν ὄρνεον, καὶ ἐμεῖς τὰ πτερά του […] καὶ ὁ ρήγας μοναχός του δὲν φελᾶ χωρίς μας, οὐδ' ἐμεῖς φελοῦμεν χωρίς του· τὸ λοιπονίν θέλουν μᾶς κατηγορήσειν, καὶ ὁ λόγος θέλει στερεωθεῖν. […] ἄς ποῦμεν ὅλοι πῶς εἶνε ψεματάρης, καὶ νὰ τὸν εβγάλωμεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ λιζάτου […] παρκάτω κακὸν εἶνε ν'ἀπεθάνει ἕνας καβαλλάρης, παρὰ νὰ μᾶς κρατήσουν ἐφίορκους, διατὶ δεν ἐβλεπίσαμεν τὴν ρήγαινάν μας· εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν τὴν ἐβλεπίσαμεν, ἄνταν ἐγροικήσαμε τὰ ἄπρεπα μαντάτα, διατὶ δὲν ἐποίκαμεν βεντέτταν τοῦ ἀφέντη μας ἀπὸ τὸν ἐχθρόν του καὶ παράβουλον τῆς τιμῆς του. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS V 91-93ʳ, p. 202-203.

This passage shows how Machairas perceived the feelings of honour in the knightly society in which he lived. In Machairas' eyes, a knights' honour is bound to the honour of his king. The mutual dependence is expressed in the image of the bird, the king, who would not be able to fly without his wings, who are the knights. Since the knights are connected to the king by their oath of allegiance, it is their duty to protect the king's honour, which becomes their own. To neglect this duty is a perjury and brings great shame on the whole group. A knight therefore firstly receives his honour, i.e. his social standing and prestige, through his relationship with the king. However, this relationship of mutual honour is also true for the group of vassals itself. In the context of the discussions about Peter's libels, Machairas makes the knights say: »we […] are bound by oath to the king and the king to us, and we one to the other[1265]«. Therefore, one vassal had to protect another's honour just as his own. This crucial connection integrated the individual knight into the group of royal vassals. The group is tightly knit. Its honour is so important that it is considered better to let a man die than to admit to libel and perjury.

However, this mutual dependence also means that the king must respect his liegemens' honour. For Machairas, one of the most important reasons for Peter's murder in 1369 were his frequent offences against his vassals' honour. Apart from shaming a number of knights by offending their wives[1266], he also insulted his brothers just before his death, and this incident decided the knights to choose a new king: »we give thanks to God that your brother has treated you as of no more value than peasants, and if you will not put him from his place, God will do judgement[1267]«. By treating his brothers like peasants instead of knights, Peter had committed a libel that was regarded as a perjury of the personal contract between the king and his vassals.

Apart from the group of vassals, the noble family also emerges as a unit of honour and therefore as an identity group in Machairas' text: a knight had to protect his family's honour, and revenge could be taken on the whole family for a libel committed by one family member. In a well-known episode just before Peter I's murder, a certain Jacques de Giblet did not want to give up his cherished hunting hounds to Peter I's son, later Peter II, who had taken a liking to them. Peter I became so angry about this that he imprisoned not only Jacques de Giblet, but also Jacques' father Henri and his sister, whom he even tried to marry off beneath her social standing to a tailor. This exaggerated revenge is seen as proof of Peter's insanity, but it nevertheless shows that the family as a whole was a unit of honour liable for offences committed by one family member[1268]. Another aspect of family honour is incorporated in the first episode analysed above: when Eleanor was unfaithful to her husband, she not only offended her own honour, but also King Peter's[1269].

However, in Machairas' eyes honour had many aspects. Similar to Althoff's concepts of honour in Western Europe, adhering to certain social ideals was also an important part of a knight's honour. Braveness and talent in combat seem to be the most important knightly ideals for Machairas. He writes about Jean Visconte, who had written to Peter I about the affair of his wife Eleanor: »of this knight I wish I could tell you how manly he was, and at jousting and in the use of all weapons he was indeed very valiant and manly[1270]«. C*ourtoisie*, which implies polite and eloquent conduct at court, also seems to have counted to the knightly ideals, although Machairas attributes these first of all to the French: when the constable James of Lusignan sends a French knight in his service as an envoy to the Genoese in 1372, Machairas has the Genoese admiral say to the ambassador: »since you are French, you will surely be courteous, and where there is courtesy, there is no rudeness of speech[1271]«.

Following these ideals enhanced an individuals' honour and was in its turn expected to be rewarded by an enhancement of material honours. Thus, in one episode, a noble complains that in spite of being one of the strongest and most good-looking knights of his community, the king only gave him a small monthly wage instead of a real estate as fief[1272]. The size of the fief was, therefore, a crucial sign of social standing. The importance of office in Machairas' chronicle suggests that offices were also a component of an individual's honour, and enhanced social standing[1273]. This is also illustrated by Machairas' categorization into normal knights and *parounēdes* (›barons‹). As we have seen in chapter one, the latter were clearly the top nucleus of the nobility[1274]. Thus, in Machairas' eyes, a knight's honour and therefore his social identity revolved around his position within the group of royal vassals, his own conduct and that of his family, his estate or fief and his office.

As for Machairas' own social group, it is more difficult to discover what the honour of the *Rhomaioi* or *Syrianoi* was in

1265 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 269: εἴμεστεν κρατούμενοι μὲ ὅρκον τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ κεῖνος ἐμᾶς, καὶ ἐμεῖς ἕνας πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS V 99^{r}, p. 211.

1266 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 259. 267.

1267 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 271: Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἤτζου σᾶς ἐστιμίασεν ὁ ἀδελφός σας ὡς γοιὸν χωργιάτες, καὶ ἀνισῶς καὶ δὲν θέλετε νὰ τὸν ἀλλάξετε, ὁ θεός νὰ ποίση κρίσιν. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS V 100^{r}, p. 212-213.

1268 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 261-265.

1269 Interestingly, the family honour was not damaged if a man had an affair. See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 242. Cf. Grivaud, Entrelacs 195.

1270 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 258: Ὁ αὐτὸς καβαλλάρης ἄν ἤτο νὰ σᾶς εἴπουν ποτάπος άντρειωμένος ἦτον, καὶ εἰς τζοῦστες καὶ πᾶσα ἄρματον ἦτον πολλὰ βαλέντε ἀντρειωμένος. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS V 94^{v}, p. 204-205.

1271 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 488: ἐπειδὴ εἴσαι Φράγγος, θέλεις εἴσταιν κουρτέσης, καὶ ὅπου εὑρίσκεται κουρτεχία, οὔλα τὰ λόγια εἶνε παιδεμένα. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS V 208^{v}, p. 342. Grivaud interprets this episode to show that Machairas was generally impressed by Lusignan court culture, see Grivaud, Entrelacs 196.

1272 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 79.

1273 See ch. 1.2, p. 40.

1274 See ch. 1.2, p. 38.

his eyes. As we have seen in chapter one, he calls the richest among these men *archontes*, assigning them the designation reserved for powerful men of the upper class[1275]. In one episode, the O and R manuscripts of the Machairas chronicle narrate how the Nestorian merchant Lachas defended the honour of Cypriot society. The story is that a certain Catalan merchant had come to Cyprus to sell a jewel, but since he could not find any buyers he started to defame the island. Lachas heard of this and bought the stone from him, which he then ground into thin dust and used as spice for their joint meal, in order to show the Catalan how rich the Cypriot merchants really were. Allegedly, Lachas concluded by saying: »know this: you must know that I am the poorest man in Cyprus and it was my will to do this, that you should not go away and speak against the fame of the island[1276]«. Although Lachas speaks about the whole island, it clearly stands for his own group of merchants, whose honour was based on their wealth. Since the episode is included only in the O and R manuscripts, it may not have been present in Machairas' own version of the chronicle, but in any case, it may give a hint to honour concepts among the richer members of the new aristocracy.

Moreover, Machairas makes at least one highly interesting statement that may show us his own opinion on knightly honour. While talking about the Genoese-Cypriot war from 1372 to 1374, Machairas attributes the Cypriot losses to the sins committed by the Cypriot population. Among these sins, he names the knights' decision to sacrifice the life of Jean Visconte to uphold their story that Queen Eleanor did not in fact cheat on her husband (see above)[1277]. Machairas was convinced that the decision to sacrifice one knight for the honour of all the others was a sin, and thus distanced himself from what he represented as the vassals' general opinion. Machairas explicitly criticized the precedence of (collective) honour above everything else. Although honour was important to him, he set Christian values (i. a. not to lie or commit murder) higher[1278]. However, we do not know how men like Hugo Podocataro or Giacomo Urri, who rose into highest positions and were dubbed knights, conceived their honour and social position. I imagine that they would have been supportive of knightly honour concepts.

Georgios Bustron seems not to raise any objection to these honour concepts, although his style lacks the sort of explicit comments we know from Machairas, so that we cannot really tell how far he identified with the knightly values he wrote about. Like Machairas, a noble's honour consists in Bustron's *Diēgēsis* of membership in the group of liegemen, office and a fief and, in part, also of his wife's honour[1279]. Thus, in 1471, a group of nobles conspires against James II, partly because they accuse him of offending their kinswomen[1280]. Peter I's story seems to be repeated here. However, in contrast to Machairas, the honour of the family in its wider sense – the household with its followers – rather than that of the community of liegemen has to be protected. For instance, when James breaks into the house of the viscount of Nicosia Giacomo Urri, the latter at first believes a certain Don Pedro to be attacking him, on account of one of his servants:

> The said Sir James entertained a great fear over a Catalan valet of Dom Pedro, for a certain valet of the above-mentioned sir James, called Gaves, had killed a valet of Dom Pedro, and on account of this he was in great fear. On hearing the commotion, moreover, he surmised that it was Dom Pedro and that he had come with his men to apprehend the murderer, and he did not realise that it was the postulant (i. e. James II)[1281].

Urri fears to be attacked because of a conflict between two lesser members of both households. It seems that the head of a household assumed responsibility in cases of honour affecting any member of his household. They also felt responsible for members of the family in its narrower sense. When Charlotte of Lusignan's first husband, John of Coimbra, died under uncertain circumstances, Bustron relates that she complained to her brother James. The latter, on hearing that Thomas of Morea, the chamberlain of Cyprus, was supposed to be involved in the matter, set out without hesitating to kill Thomas[1282].

In contrast to the family, the community of knights, although visible in the text, is not explicitly a community of honour. Bustron no longer constructs a noble's social identity as membership in a tightly-knit vassal community. He thus loosens a crucial aspect of collective identity construction

1275 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 91 and cf. ch. 1.2, p. 38.

1276 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 95: Ἔξευρε νὰ ξεύρῃς πῶς ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ περίτου πτωχὸς εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἐθέλησα νὰ ποίσω τούτην τὴν πρέζαν διὰ νὰ μὲν πάγῃ νὰ δισφαμιάσῃ τὸ νησσίν. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS O 41^{v}, R 27^{r}, p. 115.

1277 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 482.

1278 Machairas may therefore himself have stood more in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, which we find also in Georgios Lapithēs' writings a century earlier. Lapithēs was an Orthodox scholar who lived in Cyprus in the middle of the fourteenth century and was in contact with some well-known Byzantine scholars of his time, such as Nikephorus Grēgoras and Gregorios Akindynos. However, he also participated in theological and philosophical discussions at the court of the Lusignan King Hugh IV (see Grivaud, Entrelacs 168). In one of Lapithēs' works, his moral poem, he disapproves of the notion of *eugeneia* (Gr., 'being proud of being well-born') and strongly advises the hearer to regard *aristeies* (Gr., 'heroic deeds') and other worldly matters as nothing. Instead, one should always follow God's will and thus attain eternal life. See Lapithēs, Versus Politici (Boissonade) 1013. 1025.

1279 The fief as a basis of this honour is visible to a greater extent than in Machairas. As we have seen in chapter one, the chronicle often introduces non-Cypriots who are admitted into the Cypriot noble community by a short curriculum vitae which almost always follows the same pattern, enumerating a knightly dubbing, an enfeoffment and eventually offices, see ch. 1.2, p. 39. These elements of integration show us where the honour criteria for nobles lay.

1280 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 142.

1281 Translation in Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 9; Greek text in Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 16: Ο ποίος μισέρ Γιάκουμος είχεν έναν φόβον μέγαν διά έναν βαχλιώτην καταλάνον του τουμ Πέτρου, ότι ένας βαχλιώτης του άνωθεν μισέρ Γιάκουμου, ονόματι Γάβες, εσκότωσέν τον, και διά κείνην την αφορμήν είχεν μέγαν φόβον. Και γρικώντα την αναλοχήν, εθάρρεν και ήτον ο τουμ Πέτρος και ήρτεν με τους άνθρωπούς του, δια (sic!) να πιάσουν τον φονίαν, και δεν ήξευρεν πως ήτον ο αποστολές.

1282 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 8.

in the Machairas chronicle. This may be connected with the period in which the chronicle was written: it postdates the two great periods of strife in the 1460s and 1470s. The missing sense of mutual knightly loyalty may, therefore, have its roots in the civil war between James II and Charlotte as well as in the situation of civil strife after James II's death. These power struggles gave rise to mistrust between the nobles and disintegrated society. It is plausible that protecting one's own family became more important in this period.

Unfortunately, as in the Machairas chronicle, we do not find much information about honour concepts within the new aristocracy. However, from the way Bustron describes himself and his role as James II's servant, it seems clear that he was proud of serving the king as a secretary and later as the *bailli* of Larnaca[1283]. Again, he obviously did not conceive himself as a noble or a knight, but as belonging to a different social group of civil servants.

The important role of honour for both chronicles is also evident from their descriptions of conflict. Almost every conflict begins with a libel of honour, to which the injured party has to react. Gilles Grivaud already noticed this in Machairas' chronicle[1284], but the same structures pervade the *Diēgēsis*. The reactions to libels varied. One possibility was to apply to the public authorities for punishment[1285]. Other insults were so grave that they demanded personal revenge. Both chronicles use the Italian term *vendetta* for this process[1286].

Vendetta was practiced first and foremost as revenge for the murder of a family member (as we have seen in the episode about Charlotte of Lusignan's husband John of Coimbra), but it could also be the consequence of a serious insult. Georgios Bustron for example relates a story about a conflict between two nobles, Tristan de Giblet and a certain Guido, which took place in 1485 at the court of Caterina Cornaro. In the course of the argument, Guido punched Tristan, then they were separated by onlookers. Afterwards they were reconciled and swore not to break their peace. But Tristan felt the insult of the blow so deeply that he could not forget this injury of his honour. The chronicler writes: »besides, the insult that Guido had inflicted on him always rankled in Tristan's heart. […] And Tristan went to the hairdresser's and encountered Guido having his hair done, and he straightaway drew his short sword, [and] cut Guido's head off[1287]«.

Vendetta is also the word Machairas puts into the vassals' mouths when they discuss that they could be accused of not having defended king Peter I's honour when his wife cheated on him: »why, becoming aware of such unseemly doings, did we not *avenge* our lord (on) his enemy and a traitor against his honour[1288]?« (my emphasis, the Greek is *epoikamen bendettan*, 'we made revenge').

In both chronicles, injured persons feel a great need to take revenge. In the story from the *Diēgēsis*, Tristan even breaks an oath, since he cannot endure the shame. And according to Machairas, Peter I was so set on taking revenge on his knights that he only feared to die or to be deposed before he could avenge himself adequately: »He was much troubled, thinking that he might die without getting satisfaction from his enemies, or they might drive him out, as they had done to King Henry[1289]«.

Both authors therefore moved in a world where honour possessed immense importance, especially where knightly society was concerned. While Bustron seems to have embraced this ideology, Machairas had his own opinion on extreme interpretations of this honour codex. However, both authors constructed noble identities strictly within the honour code framed by the system of vassalage. This was clearly similar to Western concepts of honour[1290].

However, we should not forget that ideas about honour for example in Byzantium were very similar. In Late Byzantium just as in Cyprus and Western Europe, honour was very important. For the élite, being well-born and occupying certain offices was part of honour, as well as protecting one's family and following certain ideals[1291]. The Byzantine general and

1283 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 30. 46. 60. 64. 98. 250-251*.

1284 Grivaud, Entrelacs 194, with many references to the Machairas chronicle.

1285 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 232-234. 242-244. In general, the term *vendetta* could also refer to justice done by institutions. In Machairas, the king of Aragon promises the king of Cyprus to avenge him on certain pirates who had pillaged the coast of Cyprus: »He (the king of Aragon) promised them (the emissaries) that if he should get them into his hands, he would avenge the king on their bodies«. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 103: ἐπρουμουτίασέν τους, ὅτι ἂν τοὺς βάλη 'ς τὸ χέριν του νὰ ποίση τοῦ ρηγὸς βεντέτταν ἀπὲ τὰ κρίατά τους.

1286 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 255. 260 and Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 312. For the Italian term *vendetta*, see below.

1287 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 312: Και ο Τριστάς πάντα είχεν τον πόνον εις την καρδίαν του διά την ετζουρίαν οπού του εποίκεν ο Κούεττος. […] Και ο Τριστάς επήγεν εις το παρπερίον και ηύρεν τον Κουέττον πως επαρπερεύγετον και μόναυτα σύρνει την σκαρτσίναν και έκοψεν την κεφαλήν του Κουέττου.

1288 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 255: διατὶ δὲν ἐποίκαμεν βεντέτταν τοῦ ἀφέντη μας ἀπὸ τὸν ἐχθρόν του καὶ παράβουλον τῆς τιμῆς του. The text corresponds to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) MS V, 91-93^{r}, 202-203.

1289 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 260: ἤτον πολλὰ ἐννοιασμένος μήπως καὶ ἀποθάνη καὶ δὲν πλερωθή ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐχθρούς του, ἢ πὰς καὶ ἀπογβάλουν τον, ὡς γοιὸν ἐποῖκαν τοῦ ρὲ Χαρρή.

1290 For concepts of honour in Western Europe, see e. g. Schreiner/Schwerhoff, Verletzte Ehre; Burkhardt, Geschichte der Ehre; Büchert, Feud; Zunkel, Ehre, Reputation esp. 6-10. The similarity of concepts can also be seen from a comparison with the work of Philippe de Navarre. Philippe was an Italian knight who served the Lusignan crown in the thirteenth century. According to Grivaud, he was the writer of chivalric culture in Cyprus par excellence and showed no Byzantine-Orthodox influence whatsoever (Grivaud, Entrelacs 160). On the contrary, his writings were typical for Western European (honour) concepts, which according to Jacoby and Grivaud were highly dispersed among the Cypriot nobility in the thirteenth century (see Jacoby, Knightly Values; Grivaud, Entrelacs 159). This is especially evident from Philippe's moral treatise *Les quatre ages de l'homme*. For example, he writes about the ideals in knightly society: *Fame ont grant avantage d'une chose: legierement pueent garder lor honours, se eles vuelent estre tenues a bones, por une seule chose; mes a l'ome en covient plusors, se il vuet estre por bon tenuz, besoig est que il soit cortois et larges et hardiz et sages. Et la fame, se ele et prode fame de son cors, toutes ses autres taches sont covertes et puet aller partot teste levee*. ('Women have a great advantage in one thing: They can easily guard their honour by one fact, if they want to be considered as good [women]; but a man has to consider more [aspects] – if he wants to be regarded as a good person, he has to be cortois and generous and brave and wise. But if a woman is demure as regards her body, all her other faults are covered, and she can go anywhere with her head held high.' [my own translation]). De Navarre, Les quatre âges (Fréville) § 31. Philippe's ideals are almost identical with Machairas' expectations as to a knight's behavior.

1291 See e. g. Magdalino, Honour among Romaioi passim.

later emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century, in his memoirs for example reports emperor Andronikos III (1328-1341) to have said to his friends in the face of danger: »now it is time for us to show manliness and zeal and sagacity and endurance in danger […] so that we either live honourably or die gloriously […] you should show yourselves worthy of high birth and manliness[1292]«. Similar to Lusignan concepts, loyalty to the emperor was extremely important, and his followers had to protect the emperor's honour with their lives. They even swore an oath to do so[1293]. However, the oath and the relationship between emperor and nobles was not integrated into a feudal system as in Lusignan Cyprus. Instead, the family, the *genos* (›lineage‹) and the *oikos* (›household‹), was the most important unit of honour[1294]. The similarities of both honour systems could be assigned to the Western influences which seeped into Byzantine society especially after 1204, and surely, some of them can. However, many of the structures found in Kantakouzenos' memoirs are already evident in the eleventh century *Stratēgikon* by Kekaumenos, which according to Paul Magdalino does not reveal any Western influences at all[1295].

We should therefore beware of interpreting the concepts in the Cypriot chronicles as proof of the authors' breaking with Eastern Roman traditions and espousal of Western European traditions, especially since the Machairas chronicle has its own system of cultural references that differs from Western texts[1296]. Rather, traditions could have converged.

Finally, the use of the term *vendetta* in both chronicles suggests contact with the Italian *vendetta* tradition. In Italy, the term *vendetta* appears in the sources from about 1300 on[1297]. It designated conflicts which took the form of feuds, chains of revenge acts, which could exist between various factions, from antagonizing families to other interest groups[1298]. According to Andrea Zorzi, in many Italian cities, parties formed around two big antagonizing families, turning most political conflicts into *vendettas*. In some cases, *vendetta* even became explicitly legalized[1299]. The Cypriots were aware of the term's origin: Machairas quoted a Genoese saying in connection with *vendetta*, explicitly relating the term to Italian tradition[1300]. However, a specific concept of *vendetta* like in Italy did not exist in fifteenth century Cyprus. The conflicts between bigger factions are not coded in this system. Revenge rather seems to have been a personal concept of justice. Thus, the function of *vendetta* in the specific social structure was different. Moreover, *vengeance* is a term already found in the thirteenth century Cypriot writer Philippe de Navarre, who mentions that some people wait for years until they can execute their personal revenge[1301]. The Cypriots therefore probably espoused the Italian term while maintaining their own concept.

The concepts of honour present in the chronicles therefore reveal influences from various regions, in particular from Western Europe, but they had their own mixture of these concepts, which valued knightly honour very highly. The honour system was a crucial lens through which social identities were viewed.

5.1.2 Tombstones, First Names, and Family Lineage

The preceding analysis has shown that honour was a crucial way of coding social standing and social identities in the period under analysis. However, other perspectives also offer clues to the construction of social identity. Tombstones from the period, for example, offer valuable information about the Cypriots' mental map[1302]: noble tombstones from Cyprus are without exception typically Western European in style, as found mainly in France and England at the time[1303]. They generally depict the defunct as a knight (or squire) in armour (or as lady) in a standing position, sometimes under an arch, with the inscription engraved in French around the image[1304]. Only a few men, among them men who explicitly did not move in military contexts, chose to be depicted as civilians[1305]. Women, in turn, are usually depicted in garments which were fashionable in the whole of Western Europe. According to Françoise Piponnier and Pari Kalamara, who have analysed the style of garments on the Cypriot medieval tombstones, only some sorts of garments, such as a long veil and a certain

1292 My own translation. See Kantakuzenos, Historiae I 13 (Schopen p. 65-66): νῦν καιρὸς […] ἀνδρίαν ἅμα καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ καρτερίαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπιδείξασθαι ἡμᾶς […] ὡς ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν εὐκλεῶς […] ὑμεῖς δ'ἄξιοι φάνητε καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρίας. Cf. Kantakuzenos, Geschichte (Phatouros) 53.

1293 Kantakuzenos, Historiae I 1-2 (Schopen p. 16-17).

1294 Magdalino, Honour among Romaioi passim.

1295 Magdalino, Honour among Romaioi 188-190. 199-200.

1296 The system of cultural references Machairas used is very different from the system for example Philippe de Navarre used in his moral treatise in the thirteenth ct. While Machairas used first of all Lusignan administrative documents and Cypriot hagiography, as well as oral witnesses (cf. Nicolau-Konnari, Diplomatics esp. 297), Philippe referred to French romances and other chivalric literature (cf. Jacoby, La littérature française 625).

1297 S. v. vendetta/vendicare, in: Cortelazzo/Zolli, Dizionario etimologico 1796.

1298 Dean, Vendetta 136.

1299 Zorzi, Conflits 20. 23-25. Cf. also Muir, Mad Blood.

1300 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 259.

1301 De Navarre, Les quatre âges (Fréville) § 40. For differing concepts of vengeance in different medieval societies, cf. Throop, The Study of Vengeance.

1302 We have already seen in ch. 1.2 that tombstones helped to discern contemporary social classifications between knights, squires and non-nobles, see p. 40.

1303 Carbonell-Lamothe, Étude stylistique 177-178. 180.

1304 See e. g. Imhaus, Lacrimae 6. 88. 93. 139. 148. 152. 157. 160. 162. 186. 191. 193.

1305 A certain Thomas de Milmars was buried in 1390 together with his wife (Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 363). As a member of the Milmars family, he was most certainly noble, but he is not depicted as a knight (nor called noble, as a matter of fact). Rather, he features the typical garment worn in the whole of Europe in this period, a so-called houppelande, and an equally typical chaperon on his head (Kalamara, Le vêtement Byzantin 112-113). Similarly, a sir Grasien de Grasles, otherwise unknown to the sources, who was buried sometime in the fourteenth century, also wears a houppelande, although the tombstone designates him as *noble escuier* (Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 304). The third exception is Antonio de Bergamo's tombstone. Antonio had come from Italy and was first a cleric and later a chamberlain for the crown. He therefore was a financial expert. On his tombstone, Antonio is depicted standing and clad in a houppelande (Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 147). In his case, his representation as a civil person rather than as a knight is explained by his profession. He probably was not knighted at all.

sub-type of dress (developed from other European styles) are unique to Cyprus[1306]. Nobles therefore depicted themselves in highly fashionable Western European clothes, and in the mens' case mostly as knights.

Most Greek and Syrian tombstones dating from the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century follow exactly the same style as nobles as far as technique and iconography are concerned. They, too, are depicted standing (sometimes under an arch), with the inscriptions engraved around the image. Just as with noble tombstones, the image is incised into the stone[1307]. They depict men almost always with a *houppelande*, a typical garment worn in the whole of Europe in this period, marking them as civil servants or merchants. Only in a few cases, the defuncts seem to wear garments that suggest a Byzantine style[1308]. However, most of these tombstones, which date to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, are engraved in Greek instead of French.

Those Greeks and Syrians who climbed especially high in society seem to have adapted to noble customs even more. Pericoun de Ras, for example, a member of an important ascending Syrian family, is depicted as a knight (although he is not designated as such) and his inscription is engraved in French[1309]. An otherwise unknown individual, Joseph Bizas, who died in 1402 is shown in armour, holding a banner and a sword. The Greek text around the image reads »God's servant went to sleep […] the king's standard bearer[1310]«. The text itself follows the usual Greek formula for the description of death (*ekoimēthē ho doulos tou theou* – ›God's servant went to sleep‹). It is unclear if Joseph was a knight, but he certainly aspired to be seen as such, proudly referring to his position as royal standard bearer. Two other examples are again interesting linguistically. Alice Chimi from a well-known ascending Syrian family as well as a female relative of the famous Hugh Soudain both died sometime in the fifteenth century. Like Pericoun de Ras' tombstone, theirs are also in French, Alice's using the typical French formula *ici git…* [1311].

It seems therefore that members of Syrian and Greek families who could afford a tombstone (and who therefore automatically belonged to the wealthy section of the population[1312]) quite naturally erected tombstones in accordance with noble fashion, although most of them used the language native to them. However, those families or individuals who were involved in high social ascension, especially into the knightly class, actually chose to represent themselves as similar as possible to nobles, using knightly images as well as the French language to mark the fact that they belonged to the highest echelons of society.

One group of tombstones seems to contradict this interpretation, in Brunhilde Imhaus' opinion. These tombstones have an incised relief and those that can be identified are all engraved in Greek. Imhaus therefore concludes that all relief tombstones belonged to the Greek community[1313], which would give this group their own style, distinct from the nobility. However, I doubt that the Greek language is the crucial criterion here. Rather, all the known datable tombstones in this technique are from the second half or the end of the fifteenth or even the sixteenth century, and no Latin tombstones are preserved from this period at all[1314]. Therefore, this style must be connected with a Renaissance fashion of tombstones, which probably reached Cyprus at the end of the fifteenth century. Comparable aristocratic tombstones can be found in the first half of the fifteenth century e. g. in Renaissance Florence[1315].

One special tombstone, that of Giacomo Urri, supports this hypothesis. When Urri was murdered by James II's men, the chapter of the cathedral of Nicosia erected a tombstone for him in relief technique, showing an open book with a Latin inscription and beneath a wreath with the defunct's coat of arms[1316]. The chapter of Nicosia cathedral clearly chose to honour this exceptional man by erecting a tombstone in the new fashion coming from Western Europe. Urri's Syrian identity does not play any role here. On the contrary, it is again the Western fashion which Cypriot high society consciously followed[1317]. Urri is called a knight[1318], and he clearly received a tombstone just as any other important statesman of his time would have had, attesting to his integration into the nobility. Other, later tombstones show very similar techniques and iconography[1319]. Therefore, the fact that this style of tombstones is usually only connected with Greek and Syrian individuals must be a coincidence of transmission.

However, not only the human depictions and the texts on the tombstones are of interest. The coats of arms depicted in the upper corners of tombstones are also significant. According to de Mérindol, the coat of arms on the right side usually belongs to the husband, and the one on the left to the wife[1320]. Not only families of the old nobility, but also Greeks and Syrians used this code to identify their families[1321].

1306 Piponnier, Le vêtement Occidental 94; Kalamara, Le vêtement Byzantin 109. 119.
1307 See e. g. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 524. 532. 538-541. 543-546.
1308 See e. g. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 504. 514. Cf. Kalamara, Le vêtement Byzantin 107. 112. 118.
1309 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 331. For Pericoun, cf. also ch. 2.2, p. 71.
1310 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 531. Greek text: Εκοιμήθη ο δούλος του θεού [...] μάστορος της πανιέρας του ριγός.
1311 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 76. 361.
1312 Cf. Piponnier, Le vêtement Occidental 89.
1313 See e. g. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 521. 536.
1314 See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 514. 521. 522. 526-528. 537. 542. 694. 696. 699. 708.
1315 See Butterfield, Monument and Memory 141-142. 145-146; Poeschke, Skulptur der Renaissance figs 72. 78. 102.
1316 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 291.
1317 For this style of tombstone, see Butterfield, Monument and Memory 140.
1318 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 291.
1319 See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 263. 264. 527. 528. 529. 533. 708. No. 527 and 528 are the most similar to the tombstones Imhaus identifies as Greek tombstones of the fifteenth century, as they depict a standing individual in relief.
1320 Mérindol, L'héraldique de Chypre 160.
1321 See e. g. Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 514. 524. 534. 547.

Although very few of these coats of arms are still legible, this illustrates how the new aristocracy and the old nobility used the same Western European language of lineage identification. Sometimes, the coat of arms also rendered information on the origins of the family[1322]. The coat of arms of the Milmars family for example displays a big crusading cross, tracing them to the time of the Crusades and their origin as a Crusader family[1323]. Therefore, as might be expected, the coats of arms emphasize the importance of family history and lineage in social identity construction.

The crucial role of family and names to which a certain history was connected is also apparent from the given names which noble families and ascending Greeks and Syrians used[1324]. Old noble families sometimes followed the tradition of giving their children the mother's family name as first name[1325]. The mother's lineage was important to them, and they expressed the union of two families through this practice, proudly referring to the old families of which they were the heirs. Generally, noble families most often used traditional French first names such as Jean, Hugh, Guy, Philippe, Isabelle, Alice, Agnes, or Marie until the end of the fifteenth century, following the traditions which are already apparent in the earlier *Lignages d'Outremer*[1326]. Only one individual with a Frankish family name, but a Greek first name is known to me: among Charlotte of Lusignan's followers in 1467, there was a Trachanotissa Langlais[1327]. Noble families therefore placed importance on their lineage and gave their children names that identified them as members of the noble families who had come from the West.

A less traditional and very intriguing development is apparent among the ascending Syrian and Greek families: many members of the new aristocracy gave their children Latin names which they used in their French or Italian version at least in official contexts. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari has traced first tentative signs of this development already in the beginning of the fourteenth century[1328]. However, the phenomenon takes on a very different quality in the fifteenth century, where the cases of Syrians and Greeks with Latin first names are exceedingly numerous and certainly not only connected to the fact that they appeared in Latin or French sources, since many of these names did not even have a Greek or Arab equivalent[1329]. The Greek Podocataro family not only featured names like Georgios, which could be used in either language, but also Hugo, Carlo or Ludovico, which were certainly Western European. In Hugo Podocataro's testament, these names are used in their Italian form (which is only consequent, since the whole testament is written in Italian)[1330]. However, they could surely also have employed the French form in other contexts.

Syrian families in particular seem to have used mostly French first names. The witnesses in Hugo's testament almost all signed with French first names, although most of them stemmed from Syrian families. We not only find a Nicole Salah, Perrin Urri and Perrin Bustron, but even a Babyn Salah, who must have got his first name from the Frankish family name Babin, again a reference to the alliance between two families. However, there is also a Piero de Rames in the list of witnesses, who used the Italian form of Peter[1331]. And while most members of the Urri family are known by the French version of their first names, the later viscount of Nicosia is called Giakoumo by Machairas as well as by Bustron, suggesting that he was probably known under this name rather

1322 Mérindol, L'héraldique de Chypre 160. 162.

1323 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 347. 393.

1324 Cf. Ortega, Réflexions 349 who emphasizes the importance of given names as identity markers within family traditions.

1325 A certain Montolive de Verny is attested between the 1370s and 1390s (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 421; Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 396. 405. 444; Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 105) as well as a Sasson de Nores in 1468 (Livre des remembrances [Richard] nos 69. 87). For other examples, see Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 72: Catacouziny de Fluris is Jacques de Fleury's and Zoi Catacouziny's granddaughter; Morphou de Grenier was the last count of Rouchas in Lusignan times, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 178 and n. 1, no. 179; in 1468, the widow of a certain Lusignan de Giblet features in the royal administrational documents, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 200; a certain Yblin de Provane is mentioned in 1468, although the memory of the Ibelin family was older, because the marriage connection between the two families had taken place at the end of the fourteenth century (Hodrade Provane married an Ibelin) and the Ibelins had died out at the end of the fourteenth century. See Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 174.

1326 Documents chypriotes (Richard) passim; Livre des remembrances (Richard) passim; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) passim; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) passim. Many of these names, such as Jehan (Jean), Pier, Maria or Elena were compatible with Greek names, but the transliterations in the Greek chronicles (such as Pier, see Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins], §§ 90. 619-620. 331 [Tzouan for Jean]. 620. 629 [Gi for Guy]) suggest that they were used in their French forms. Other names such as Eschive, Hugh, Loys, Guy or Boulogne were only French and did not have a Greek equivalent. For the names in the *Lignages d'Outremer*, see Ortega, Réflexions 355-356.

1327 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209. For the period before the end of the fourteenth century, Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 289 has not found any conclusive examples of Latins with Greek Christian names, either. – Additionally to traditional French first names, Jean Richard has observed that Jacques de Fleury gave all the sons born from his second marriage to the Greek Zoi Catacouziny names referring to antiquity, such as Hercules and Jason. Richard concluded that the Cypriot nobility began following this Western European fashion in the second half of the fifteenth century (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 129-130). And indeed, the names Phoebus and Cleopa appear in the royal family at that time (Cleopa being called after her Italian grandmother Cleopa Malatesta), while a certain Hector de Chivides and an Amadeus de Nores are known in the 1460s, and a Hector Langlais in Italy at the end of the century (for Phoebus of Lusignan, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 144. 185; Cleopa of Lusignan, daughter of John II and Helena Palaiologina, died in infancy, see Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 373. For her Italian grandmother Cleopa Malatesta, cf. Kaoulla, Queen Elena 112. 116. For Amadeus de Nores, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 146. 163. 171. For Hector de Chivides, see Documents nouveaux [Mas Latrie] 392-393; Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 36. 40-42. For Hector Langlais, see Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 73). However, if we consider the whole ensemble of noble families, these names are an exception, while all other nobles bore traditional French names. Apart from a few families in the highest echelons of noble society, nobles in Cyprus mostly ignored the new antiquity fashion.

1328 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 288-289; cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 347, where she describes the same phenomenon for the chronicle of Machairas.

1329 See Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopogaphie passim; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro passim; MCC PDc 2669.2 passim; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157; Livre des remembrances (Richard) passim.

1330 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro passim.

1331 See ASVen, Notarile, Testamenti 14. Rudt de Collenberg, who has edited Podocataro's testament, has Nicolo Salacha and Pier de Rames instead of Nicole Salah and Piero de Rames (see Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142), but I read the latter versions.

than its French version, which was used for him in the Haute Court documents[1332]. Semitic names such as Salomon and Moyses[1333] are rather an exception amid the Syrian families who had ascended into the higher ranks of Cypriot society. In contrast, Greeks who were not involved in social mobility, e. g. serfs appearing in the French Haute Court documents, feature traditional Greek first and last names, such as Staurinos tou Yorgui or Janis tou papa Nycola, though Machairas did sometimes use the French versions of their first names[1334]. However, they seem to have been less affected by the Latin name fashion.

Consequently, only those Greek and Syrian families who aspired to become part of the old nobility regularly gave their children Latin names. Not only last names, but also first names could thus be used to construct social identities, and many Greeks and Syrians forged their social identities as similarly as possible to the nobles, presenting their children with Latin names. Since the nobility still followed Western European fashion, this process was also connected with the adoption of Western cultural characteristics[1335].

The importance of family and its representation is also apparent from a later source, written by a Cypriot in Italian exile. Although this text was written in a different context, it illustrates the importance of family and lineage for social identity and the interaction with society very clearly. The Vaticanus Latinus 4789 is a copy of the assizes which belonged to Hugh Boussat[1336]. Hugh had married Carola, the only daughter of count Jacques de Fleury and his second wife Zoi Catacouziny, who came from the important Byzantine imperial family of that name[1337]. Both Hugh and Carola went into exile with Charlotte of Lusignan and passed the rest of their life in Italy. Having inherited the volume of the assizes from his father-in-law Jacques, Hugh used the volume to note down the family history, probably for the benefit of his children who were growing up in the new context of Italy. Hugh wrote in the Greek Cypriot dialect of his time, although he used Latin letters[1338].

The notes contain a number of valuable details. The longest coherent text is a genealogy of the Byzantine Imperial Kantakouzenos family, which was spread between Constantinople, the Peloponnese and Italy, and in which Hugh situates his wife and children[1339]. Hugh took care to preserve the Kantakouzenos family memories along with the memories of the Cypriot estates he and the de Fleury family had possessed, and to which in his eyes his children had a right[1340]. His own family, the Boussat, as well as the de Fleury family, appear only marginally. Hugh only mentions his own name and that of his father when he asserts that his children should all bear the family name *Cantacoziny de Fluris*[1341]. The text is accompanied by four coats of arms, one of which is Hugh's. The second is his wife Carola's, the third belongs to Queen Charlotte of Lusignan, and the fourth to a cardinal named Ascanio-Maria Sforza, probably the family's new patron after Charlotte's death[1342]. Thus, Hugh Boussat took care to construct his social identity in the circle provided by the family connections. Since his wife's family was of a much higher social standing than his own, they took pride of place in his narrative, the Kantakouzenoi even much more than the de Fleury, since they were of imperial descent. Moreover, with Charlotte of Lusignan and Ascanio-Maria Sforza, the family's patrons, be they Cypriot royals or Italian nobles, were an important point of reference. They provided the outer circle or entourage to which the family numbered themselves and which identified them in a wider social context.

This moment of identity construction took place well after the loss of Cyprus and in a new Italian milieu. The source of social pride had clearly passed from the Cypriot Latin nobility to the Byzantine family with the higher social standing. It is also possible that the family's Byzantine heritage took a more prominent role in a context where many Byzantine refugee families established new livelihoods and Byzantine scholars such as cardinal Bessarion were well-known and influential[1343]. This is of course not representative of the social situation on Cyprus, but it shows clearly that Cypriot aristocrats constructed their social identity in reference to family lineage, and how it could be constructed consciously to show children their place in the world and in the social hierarchy.

To conclude, the analysis has shown how members of Cypriot aristocratic circles constructed their social identities. Lineage played a great role in these constructions. Nobles represented their lineage on tombstones as well as through the given names of their children. Ascending families adapted to the nobility by naming their children after Western fashion and by using the same style as noble families on their tombstones. However, the tombstones also reveal shades of adaptation according to the social situation. Many Syrians and Greeks chose to be depicted in Western style as civilians, but in their own native language. They aspired to be close to noble society while retaining their own traditions. In contrast, those men who climbed the social ladder higher in order to become knights consciously represented themselves just as all the other knights, adapting to noble knightly style as well

1332 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 704; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10.
1333 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 173. 184.
1334 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 154; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 348.
1335 Cf. also Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 312, who confirms that »social status change and cultural boundary permeability often go together«. Cf. also Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 347.
1336 V. Laurent has edited and commented on these marginal notes, see Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789.
1337 We have already talked about her in ch. 3.3, see p. 96.
1338 Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 47. 70-105.
1339 Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 70-73.
1340 Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 73: *tapia me diquion ene ton pedion mas*. ('which rightly belong to our children', my own translation).
1341 Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 72: *telo que etzi tous orizo na crazunde*. ('and like this I wish and order them to be called', my own translation).
1342 Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 50-54.
1343 For Byzantine scholars in the West, see e. g. Konstantinou, Der Beitrag der byzantinischen Gelehrten. For Bessarion in particular, see Talbot, Bessarion; PLP 2707; Labowsky, Bessarion's Library; Märtl, Inter Graecos Latinissimus.

as language. In combination with the findings on concepts of honour, this draws a picture of a society in which traditional Western European values played an important role for social standing. Knighthood and the honour attached to it as well as family lineage were important for the nobility, and many families among the new aristocracy adopted these social markers.

5.1.3 Reactions to Social Mobility

The importance of social standing in the Cypriot élite is also visible from the way contemporaries reacted to social mobility. Unfortunately, not many sources reveal these emotions. Machairas usually paints a very peaceful picture of Cypriot multi-cultural society in his chronicle[1344]. However, there are a few, consistently negative, comments on those men who rose within the Cypriot court and occupied high state offices that deny Machairas' overly peaceful image.

The most well-known source concerns Jacques de Fleury, John II's *chef de conseil*. The story of his coup d'état which we have discussed in chapter four[1345] offers intriguing information on Jacques' view of his society and on processes of social mobility. In the 1450s, Jacques had been the most powerful man of his time for about two decades. When the new Queen Helena Palaiologina tried to curb his power, he reacted by trying to seize the kingdom in the summer of 1455. However, his coup d'état was unsuccessful, and he had to flee to Genoese Famagusta, where he tried to whip up Genoese support for further plans[1346].

During his exile, Jacques de Fleury complained in a letter to the Genoese that »this kingdom […] has totally fallen into the hands of Greeks and paupers, so that day and night they do not think about anything else than how to destroy it[1347]«. At a first glance, this seems to be a clearly derogatory remark concerning members of the new aristocracy in the government, who had partly taken sides with Helena. However, Thierry Ganchou argues that this complaint was connected with Jacques' conflict with Helena Palaiologina and her milk brother, Thomas of Morea, who was of low descent and a foreigner in Cyprus, and therefore does not refer to the ascending Greek families in general[1348]. This is a good point. Most newcomers in the Cypriot government, including Helena's most influential supporter Giacomo Urri, were wealthy men of Syrian descent. It is therefore possible that Jacques was referring to Thomas of Morea, who was not only Greek, but also of low descent. Moreover, the group around Helena consisted not only of members of the new aristocracy, but also of members of the old nobility, such as Thomas de Verny and his family. Jacques de Fleury himself was married to Zoi Catacouziny, an Orthodox Greek from the Morea, so it is difficult to imagine that he took a stance against all Greeks in general[1349]. Nevertheless, the affair illustrates that social and ethnic differences could still easily be used for defamation.

Two other incidents, both of which have already figured in this study, illustrate negative reactions to social mobility. The first is the incident between George Billy and Simon de Morphou related by Florio Bustron that stands at the very beginning of this book: according to Florio's narrative, the burgess George Billy was made responsible for an attempt to recapture Famagusta from the Genoese, together with the noble Simon de Morphou. But Simon was offended, because he had to work together with a burgess, and thwarted the undertaking[1350]. Florio wrote in the sixteenth century, and we do not exactly know what his source was. However, the incident indicates that the noble Simon saw George's social ascension with critical eyes. The third incident to be mentioned is not altogether very clear: the Syrian Giacomo Urri had to leave the Lusignan court for a year in 1436, because the court had conspired against him[1351]. We do not know if this was connected with his social ascent, but it is at least a good guess.

It seems that social ascension was certainly recognized and commented on by Cypriot society, even if few of the reactions have survived. While cooperation seems to have been the order of the day, social and ethnic differences could still be used for discrimination and led to comments on social mobility.

5.2 Ethnic Identities

The complex situation of the Cypriot élite, which consisted of people from many different backgrounds, poses the question of ethnic identity construction. How did members of the old nobility and the new aristocracy construct their ethnic

1344 Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 357, has pointed out that it is unclear if Machairas' idyllic picture of the multi-cultural Cypriot society really mirrored social truth.

1345 See ch. 4.2.2, from p. 119.

1346 Thierry Ganchou has interpreted Fleury's coup d'état as the old Frankish aristocracy's last attempt to regain its old power, a reaction therefore to social mobility. Ganchou calls the coup an anachronistic endeavour on an island ridden with factions fighting for conflicting interests, including foreign powers. He concludes that this must be the reason why the chronicles do not report this incident at all (Ganchou, Rébellion 187). It is true that the episode is conspicuously absent from the contemporary chronicles, but in my opinion the reason is not its anachronistic nature. Instead, we see a gap in contemporary history writing: Machairas stopped writing about 1432, whereas the appendix to his chronicle continuing until 1458 is very short and was perhaps written in the sixteenth century, as has been discussed earlier (cf. p. 26 and n. 176). Thus, it omitted the coup d'état which was perhaps forgotten by the sixteenth century, given its failure and its non-violent nature. Later chronicles, such as Florio Bustron, draw solely on Machairas for this period. Therefore, the easiest explanation for the absence of the episode from the narratives is a lapse in the chronic tradition.

1347 Tucci, Matrimonio 87: *questo reame […] in tutto è pervenuto in mano de greci et homeni de poco per modo che de dì e de nocte non pensano in altro che a la distruction de quello*. The English translation is my own.

1348 Ganchou, Rébellion 104-105.

1349 Cf. Ganchou, Rébellion 110-111.

1350 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354. I have already mentioned this episode in the context of the grey zone of social mobility between aristocracy and nobility, see p. 48.

1351 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 19. 38.

identities? Considering the social upheavals of the time, it will be crucial to ask if the construction of ethnic identities changed in any way during this period. Before embarking on this analysis, however, I will first discuss the concept of ethnic groups and the way I will use this term briefly.

The definition of what constitutes an ethnic group provoked discussion among anthropologists and historians especially in the middle of the twentieth century. For a long time, scholars had tried to define ethnicity by objective markers such as language, culture, common territory and a common ancestry of the group in question[1352]. The scholarly debate, however, quickly revealed that none of these markers proved valid for all ethnic groups[1353]. Therefore, scholars came to agree that an ethnic group could only be defined by a subjective criterion: the members' belief that they belonged to a group with a common origin[1354]. This belief may or may not be accompanied by external factors such as a common language, territory or cultural traits. It is highly related to the differentiation between the in-group, the *We*, and the out-group, the *Others*. It is possible to investigate in- and out-groups by analysing ethnic group names[1355]. One of the first scholars to put forward this opinion was Fredrik Barth in his introduction to the collective volume of a conference on ethnic groups which took place in 1967[1356]. Other scholars followed suit, and this understanding of ethnicity is now widely accepted[1357]. I shall therefore use this concept for the following study and will ask which ethnic groups members of the élite consciously related to.

Let us begin with the members of the old nobility. The analysis of the élite groups in chapter one has shown that Machairas distinguished between noble knights, whom he occasionally designated as Latins, and burgesses, many of whom he designated as Syrians or Greeks[1358]. A more detailed analysis of these terms from an ethnic perspective reveals some interesting aspects. Machairas most often uses the term *Latin* or *Frank* in a religious sense, contrasting it to *Rhomaios*, Orthodox[1359]. When he uses *Latin*/*Fran*k in a purely ethnic sense, the terms designate Westerners in general as opposed to indigenous populations of the East[1360]. *Franks* can additionally mean Frenchmen in particular[1361]. When Machairas, in contrast, talks about nobles from Cyprus, he always uses the name *Kypriotēs,* differentiating them from the Franks in the West. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari has recently indicated this in various essays[1362]. Nicolaou-Konnari mentions that the French equivalent to *Kypriotēs*, *Chiprois*, already existed in the *Gestes des Chiprois*, a chronicle from the early fourteenth century attributed to Gerard of Monréal. This designation was used to contrast the nobles in Cyprus from the *Pouleins* in the Holy Land[1363]. Nobles in Cyprus therefore designated themselves as Cypriots long before the fifteenth century.

However, the Cypriot was not the nobles' only ethnic affiliation. The recently discovered protocol concerning King Janus' divorce trial from the year 1407, when the king wished to annul his marriage with Anglesia Visconti, illustrates this (cf. ch. 4, p. 102, where I introduce this new source). Two points are of particular interest here. First, the witnesses who testified to the proceedings of the negotiations for Janus' marriage stated that there were some discussions between members of the court, because the bride-to-be was Milanese and not French. Some knights allegedly went to the king and his mother to complain about the choice and said that the king should take a bride from France to renew the old friendship with the French, who were his ancestors[1364]. This may well be a fake fact fabricated later in order to support Janus in his trial for divorce, and Queen Helvis is actually said to have pointed out that King Peter II also had a bride from Milan[1365]. However, the argument was obviously considered as more or less convincing, hinting that a special connection to France was at least a commonplace which could still be used at the time.

The second point is even more crucial. After being interrogated, each witness was asked who they were and where they came from. The witnesses from unknown families and one Syrian who was involved just answered that they were *Cyprienses*, Cypriots[1366]. However, the members of old noble families stated that they were born Cypriots, but that their families originally came from the West. Hugh de la Baume even specified that his family had come from Savoy[1367]. The old memory of their ancestors was still kept alive, and some nobles at least saw themselves as belonging to two ethnic communities: they were Cypriots, but they were

1352 See e. g. Bromlej, The Term Ethnos; Smith, Ethnic Origins esp. 22-30; Hutchinson/Smith, Ethnicity (collective volume); Heinz, Ethnizität.
1353 See e. g. Pohl, Telling the Difference 20; Hall, Ethnic Identity 21-24.
1354 See e. g. Hall, Ethnic Identity esp. 19-26; Shirokogoroff, Grundzüge 258; Wenskus, Stammesbildung 12; Pohl, Telling the Difference esp. 20-21; Page, Being Byzantine 11-14; Barth, Introduction (passim).
1355 For the external features, see Pohl, Telling the Difference 21; Hall, Ethnic Identity 25; Page, Being Byzantine 17-18. For the Us-Them boundaries, see Barth, Introduction 13-16; Page, Being Byzantine 18-21; Konnari, Ethnic Names 259.
1356 Barth, Introduction esp. 13-15. For the collective volume itself, see Barth, Ethnic Groups.
1357 See above n. 1354.
1358 See ch. 1.2, p. 37.
1359 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 27-29. 101. 383. 566. 579.
1360 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 22. 27. 99. 113. 203. 346. 348; cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 332.
1361 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 488. 559; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 333.
1362 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 167. 310. 500. 553; Nicolaou-Konnari, Ethnic Names 263 and n. 11; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 333.
1363 Nicolaou-Konnari, Ethnic Names 262; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Holos ho topos 156; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 334. For the Gestes des Chiprois, see Monréal, Gestes, esp. 27. 96-97. 141. 143.
1364 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride § 8: *renovare amicitiam antiquam Francigenorum ex quibus ortus est*.
1365 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride § 8.
1366 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride §§ 349. 465. 501. 654. Cf. Kaoulla's interpretation on page 103.
1367 Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride §§ 128. 244. 434. The text of Hugh de la Baume's statement is as follows (§ 128): *Interrogatus unde sit et cuius generis, respondit quod a nativitate cypriensis est, sed antecessores sui fuerunt de Sabaudia, de domo illorum de la Bama*. Cf. Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 95-96.

Cypriots with French or other Western European origins. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, this inheritance was still prevalent enough to be mentioned in formal presentations[1368].

It was still possible to draw on the ethnic differences between Latins and Greeks within the aristocracy in the 1450s. We have already mentioned the discussion about Jacques de Fleury's statement that Greeks had taken over the government in this period[1369]. This complaint probably referred to Thomas of Morea and the Queen rather than to members of the Cypriot aristocracy. However, a letter from the Genoese captain of Famagusta to the Genoese central government also hints at the perception of ethnic affiliations, even if this is a statement from within another ethnic group. The captain states that all the Latin noblemen (*gentilomi latini)* were dispelled from the Cypriot court because of Helena Palaiologina, the terrible Greek (*a pisma grecha*[1370]), who was trying to seize power and to harm the Lusignan kingdom. This is highly interesting: the Genoese classified the power élite as *Latins*, and therefore as members of his own broad ethnic group, who were threatened by a *Greek* femme fatale.

We may therefore conclude that members of the old Cypriot nobility in the first half of the fifteenth century related both to their Cypriot community as well as to the broader Latin context, and to France in particular. How strong this second affiliation was in everyday life is impossible to tell but it could easily be used to project ethnic differences between these members of the old nobility and the *Greeks*.

Members of the new aristocracy seem to have related to two groups, too. Machairas reveals a double affiliation for his own ethnic group, the *Rhomaioi,* just as for the nobles. They are *Kypriotes*, Cypriots, together with the rest of the population, but they also belong to the Byzantine *oikoumenē*, the Byzantine community[1371]. Machairas keeps allegiance with the Byzantine emperor and the remembrance of the Byzantine past as well as with the Lusignan kings[1372]. Moreover, the discussion concerning religious identities will reveal that Machairas was conservative, intent on retaining the Orthodox heritage[1373]. Considering that ethnic identities overlap to a great extent with religious identities in his chronicle, Machairas clearly saw himself as a *Rhomaios*, both religiously and ethnically. He placed this ethnic identity within the broader identity of *Kypriotēs*[1374].

Other sources confirm the Cypriot affiliation of new aristocrats. When Pierre de Caffran created the foundation for studies in Padua in 1393, he stated that he wanted to create a possibility for Cypriot students, *Cyprienses*, to study in Italy[1375]. In the following years, most of the students were Greeks or Syrians. They, too, were included in the Cypriot identity even in noble eyes, since the documents explicitly call them *Cyprienses*[1376]. However, double ethnic affiliation is unfortunately not expressed in any statements by members of the new aristocracy other than Machairas' chronicle. We do not know, for example, if Oriental Christians related to a Syrian identity in addition to their Cypriot identity, or if they only identified with their respective religious communities, as can be seen from the testaments of the Audeth family, who identified with the Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) community[1377]. It is clear, however, that they were seen as Syrians by others. A Venetian source from 1448, for example, explicitly calls them *Sirici* and connects this term to the country of Syria, which includes all Mamluk territory[1378].

It is possible that members of the new aristocracy more and more emphasised the inclusive Cypriot identity in order to further their own integration with the old nobility, although there are no sources to support this hypothesis before the 1460s. In Georgios Bustron's chronicle, however, the strategy of emphasising the inclusive Cypriot identity certainly won the field. This text is the only relevant source for ethnic identity construction from the second half of the fifteenth century, and it was written after the end of Lusignan reign. We therefore have to be careful and should not assume that Bustron's opinion was representative for the whole aristocracy. However, his chronicle reveals some intriguing aspects.

Angel Nicolaou-Konnari asserted in her essay on the ethnic name *Kypriotēs* that Bustron used the designation in the same way as Machairas[1379]. This is true – *Kypriotes* are all the inhabitants of Cyprus, including the nobility as well as the rest of the population[1380]. However, other ethnic designations have significantly changed in this younger chronicle. While Machairas took care to distinguish between *Rhomaioi*, *Syrianoi* and *Latins* within Cypriot society, this differentiation is completely lost in Bustron's chronicle. Nobles as well as all other people living in Cyprus are just Cypriots, without any further variation. Bustron, for example, designates the important Syrian statesman Giacomo Urri simply as *kaballarēs*

1368 Cf. Grivaud, Introduction 330-331. The double affiliation surely made the integration of Westerners into the Cypriot nobility relatively easy. Those Westerners who integrated into Cypriot society by marriage, such as Bertolina de Bergamo (see ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3 and cf. ch. 2.3.1, p. 76) for example, could adopt the perspective of being Cypriot and at the same time remaining Venetian or French.

1369 See above, ch. 5.1.3, p. 136.

1370 The letter is in ASG, SG, Primi Cancellieri, busta 88, doc. 285. The quote is from Ganchou, La Rébellion 143.

1371 See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 22. 27. 99. 346. 348. 411.

1372 Grivaud, Entrelacs 192-193.

1373 See ch. 6.3, p. 154.

1374 Nicolaou-Konnari, Ethnic Names 264; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Holos ho topos 154. 156; cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 335. 353.

1375 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 127.

1376 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 127. 134-135; Tselikas, Diathēkē nos 2. 3. 4. 5.

1377 See ch. 6.3, p. 155.

1378 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 140; cf. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Onomatologia 351, who also mentions that Machairas connected Syria to the whole Mamluk territory. I have mentioned this also in the basic discussion of the groups, cf. ch. 1.2, p. 46.

1379 Nicoalou-Konnari, Ethnic Names 264. Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 102 follows Nicolaou-Konnari in this respect.

1380 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10. 18. 70. 140. 182. 226. 278. 282. 306. 308.

kypriotēs[1381] (›Cypriot knight‹). The name *Syrian* does not figure in his chronicle at all[1382]. Moreover, Bustron's enumeration of Queen Charlotte's knightly followers during the siege of Keryneia castle clearly only differentiates between Cypriot knights on the one hand, which include members of the Syrian de Ras family, and foreign knights on the other hand, such as Andrea Cornaro, whom he calls a *kaballarēs benetsianos*, a Venetian knight[1383].

Similar to *Syrian*, the designation *Rhomaios* is almost non-existent in the chronicle. The author uses it only in three cases: in a religious sense, when he talks about the Orthodox bishop[1384]; concerning two ship captains from the *Romania*, the former Byzantine empire; and twice to refer to soldiers whom he contrasts to Armenian and Frankish mercenaries[1385]. It is unclear whether he means Cypriot soldiers here or if these soldiers actually came from the former Byzantine empire. Even if the former was true, this ethnic designation clearly does not play a great role for Bustron.

The term *Franks*, on the other hand, appears more frequently in the chronicle, and Nicolaou-Konnari has rightly stated that Bustron used it generally for foreign Westerners, in particular for foreign mercenaries[1386]. This term therefore shifted from a general designation for all Western Europeans including the Cypriot nobility in the Machairas chronicle to an exclusive term which draws a distinctive line between the Cypriots and foreigners from the West.

This distinction raises the question where the boundary between Cypriots and foreigners was. Why would a man such as Andrea Cornaro be called a Venetian knight, while Bustron numbered his fellow Venetians from the Bragadin family among the Cypriots[1387]? From which point on would someone be numbered among the Cypriots? Bustron had an explicit answer to this question. He states that after the Catalan *coup d'état* in 1473, the short-lived Catalan government wanted to install a new captain in the castle of Keryneia. But the captain in office refused to surrender to the candidate in question, a Catalan, reasoning that he did »not wish to give Keryneia to a foreigner who has neither a wife nor children nor a fief on Cyprus[1388]«. For Bustron, the criteria for belonging to Cypriot society were to live on the island with the whole family and have a fief there. The Bragadin fulfilled these criteria and were consequently Cypriots in Bustron's eyes, while Andrea Corner did not fulfil them and therefore was a foreigner[1389].

This perspective may be confirmed by the case of Étienne Pignol. We have seen in chapter two that Pignol probably came from France and pursued an important career in Cyprus between the 1410s and the 1440s. In later years and on his tombstone, however, Pignol was designated as a Cypriot knight[1390]. If he was indeed a Frenchman by birth, then this would be an exceptional example for integration and the identity construction which accompanied it: having lived and worked on Cyprus (and perhaps had a family there?) for decades, Pignol was perceived as a Cypriot. It is unfortunately impossible to say if he shared this identification himself.

In any case, it is striking that the sources on Étienne Pignol from the 1450s, like Bustron's chronicle, identify individuals only as Cypriot instead of using the double ethnic affiliation prominent at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Bustron's chronicle in particular went a considerable step further than the sources before him in integrating the varying ethnic affiliations within Cypriot (high) society into one identity of *Kypriotēs*. We may therefore tentatively suggest that the inclusive Cypriot identity came into use as the sole identification for populations on the island during the second half of the fifteenth century, although it is impossible to say how widespread this phenomenon was in the years before the civil war. However, the emphasis on Cypriot identity in Bustron's chronicle may suggest that the civil war between James II and Charlotte of Lusignan in the 1460s and the shift in the power balance between members of the old nobility and James II's (both foreign and Cypriot) followers mentioned in chapter four[1391] played an important role in the further development of this new way of constructing identities.

5.3 Conclusion

Social and ethnic identity constructions reveal some intriguing aspects of aristocratic life in fifteenth century Cyprus. Nobles expressed their social standing through a knightly honour code which was strongly intertwined with their relationship to the ruler and their role within the knightly community. The importance of knighthood is also apparent from the tombstones, which usually depict the defunct in knightly armour. Another aspect of noble social identity was lineage – ancestry and family connections played an important role for social standing. Since many Cypriot noble families originated

1381 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10.
1382 Cf. also the indices of Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou), which do not have the lemma.
1383 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86.
1384 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 60. 154.
1385 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 180. 252. Nikolaou-Konnarē, Holos ho topos 154 states that Bustron, just like Machairas, uses *Rhomaios* for the Greek-speaking Cypriots. However, she does not take into account the low frequency of the term in this chronicle.
1386 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 130. 136. 180. 226. 234. 238. 272. 282. 284-286. 288. 298-304. 306. 308. Bustron designates a Latin bishop as Frankish in one case, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 88. Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Ethnic Names 263-264; Nikolaou-Konnarē, Holos ho topos 155.
1387 See Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86.
1388 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 158; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 194: δεν θέλει να την δώσει την Κερύνειαν αθρώπου ξένου, απού δεν έχει εις την Κύπρον ουδέ γυναίκαν ουδέ παιδιά ουδέ καμίαν ρένταν.
1389 Genoese authorities seem to have taken a similar stance. According to Balletto, Tra Cipro, Genova e Venezia 85, Genoese official documents designate all those people as Cypriots who had lived on the island for a certain amount of time, even if they may have been Genoese before.
1390 See ch. 2.3.5, from p. 84.
1391 See ch. 4.2.2, p. 124.

in Western Europe, their lineages were connected with the memory of their origins in the West. This is also expressed in their choice of children's names, which were generally Latin. Family identity was therefore connected to social standing as well as to ethnic identity, which nobles still constructed on two levels at the beginning of the fifteenth century: their Western origins as well as their Cypriot identity, which they were born into, both played a role.

This double ethnic identity was mirrored in the Greek and Syrian aristocratic families. The chronicle of Machairas shows that Greeks could perceive themselves as Cypriots and *Rhomaioi* at the same time, while Oriental Christians were designated as Syrians and Cypriots. It is unclear, however, if Syrians actually saw themselves as one group or if their religious identities were stronger than the group designation that people from outside their group used for them. Socially, Syrians and Greeks seem to have adapted to the nobility to varying degrees. Many of the ascending families gave their children Latin names, thus adapting to noble fashion. They also adapted to the Western European style of tombstones, although adaptation here is visible to varying degrees: many Syrians and Greeks used the Latin style but their own language for the inscriptions, while it seems that those men who had experienced an exceptionally high social rise also adapted linguistically and proudly presented their knightly status in French. With their adoption of noble styles, the new aristocrats also took over to varying degrees traits of noble culture, which was Western European in its origin.

Identities were not static. The manifold events of the fifteenth century and perhaps also the social mobility of Greeks and Syrians in this period, but certainly the crisis provoked through the usurpation of James II and the civil war, resulted in changes in ethnic identity construction, at least in Bustron's chronicle. The strengthening of the inclusive ethnic affiliation of *Kypriotēs* in this text suggests that the high social mobility in the 1460s at the latest was accompanied by a blurring of ethnic distinction between Latins, Syrians and Greeks, substituting the former double affiliations (*Latin* and *Cypriot*, *Rhomaios* and *Cypriot*, *Oriental Christian / Syrian* and *Cypriot*) with the Cypriot identity alone.

Chapter 6 – Choosing the Right Church: Religious Identity Construction as a Social Statement

Among the factors forming personal identities, belief is of great importance, especially in medieval societies[1392]. The Cypriot aristocracies were no exception, and the following chapter will be dedicated to the analysis of religious identity construction among the Cypriot élite. Religious identities offer vital information for understanding aristocratic identities in fifteenth-century Cyprus. They were strongly intertwined with both the social and ethnic identities that have been analysed in the preceding chapter, and will complete our picture of the intermingling levels of identity construction in Cypriot aristocratic circles.

We have been dealing with different religious groups and affiliations now and again during the preceding analysis. This has offered a glimpse of the complicated religious situation in Cyprus, where many religious groups came into contact. However, in order to arrive at valid conclusions about the significance of religious identity construction, I start this chapter with an overview of the highly complex religious situation in Cyprus in the fifteenth century. On this basis, I will examine religious identity construction among aristocrats. Since information on the royal family in particular is abundant here, and the royals were surely an important example for other noble families, I dedicate subchapter 6.1 to their religious activities, followed by the analysis of religious life among the old nobility (6.2). Chapter 6.3 discusses the intriguing religious choices of Syrians and Greeks, while chapter 6.4 is dedicated to religious identity construction among Western immigrants. The chapter ends with a conclusion on religious identity construction among the Cypriot aristocracies and its relation to other identity discourses.

At the end of the fourteenth century, Lusignan Cyprus was an extremely hybrid religious space, formed by a rich variety of different religious rites. At the same time, the island was officially governed by a strict religious hierarchy with the Latin Church taking pride of place[1393]. Religious identities were therefore constructed in the tension between this hybrid situation and the hierarchy mechanisms put into place by the Latin Church[1394].

The history of the Latin and Orthodox Churches on the island in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been variously treated[1395]. I will therefore refer to this period only cursorily before turning to the fifteenth century. Religious lives were already manifold when the Lusignans came to Cyprus. The various population groups whom we have met in the course of this study belonged to different churches. Apart from the Byzantine Orthodox, the Oriental Christians numbered Nestorians, Maronites, Melkites and Armenians. Similar to the crusader kingdoms of the Holy Land, the new Latin dynasty provided for a Latin Church hierarchy, which was set up after 1196[1396].

In the course of the thirteenth century, the Greek Church, which had had an autocephalous status in Byzantine times, was subjugated to the Latin Church of Cyprus. Following a series of conflicts, Pope Alexander IV and Germanos, then Greek archbishop of Cyprus, agreed on the so-called *Bulla Cypria* in 1260. This treaty defined the relationship between the Greek Orthodox and the Latin Churches of Cyprus. From that point on, the Greek Church of Cyprus was considered part of the Latin Church, their bishops being subordinate to the Latin bishops. At the same time, the Greek Church maintained its own rituals, thus constituting a different rite under the roof of one and the same church[1397]. In 1340, most of the Oriental Churches, such as the Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians and Jacobites (Syrian Orthodox) followed suit and agreed to a similar contract[1398]. Thus, by the middle of the fourteenth century, in the perspective of Rome at least, reli-

1392 Parts of this chapter have been published in 2018 as an article in the study volume accompanying the exhibition »Byzanz und der Westen. Tausend vergessene Jahre« (Schallaburg, 17.06.-07.10.2018), see Salzmann, (Re) constructing Aristocratic Identities.

1393 Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 311-314, who also emphasizes the importance of the hierarchical situation in the religious contact between Greeks and Franks due to the conquest of Cyprus in the thirteenth century.

1394 Cf. Coureas, Conversion passim and esp. 86.

1395 For recent literature on the subject, see Coureas, Latin Church I and II; Coureas, One Faith; Coureas, Religion and Ethnic Identity; Coureas, Conversion; Fedalto, Latinikē ekklēsia; Grivaud, Pèlerinages; Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons; Grivaud, Minorités; Kyrris, L'organisation; Kyrris, Cypriot Identity; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter, esp. 311-386; Papadopoullos, Ekklēsia Kyprou; Richard, Bulla Cypria; Schabel, Religion; Schabel, Elias of Nabinaux; Schabel, Inquisition; Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel). For relevant older literature, see the research overview in Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 36-44 and the bibliography in Coureas, Latin Church II 504-511, but especially Hackett, History (for the Orthodox Church); Hill, History III 1041-1104; Magoulias, Study.

1396 Coureas, Latin Church I 3-4; Schabel, Religion 164-170.

1397 Coureas, Latin Church I 297-301; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 316-327.

1398 Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 248-259. Cf. also Coureas, Latin Church II 444-445.

gious matters on the island were governed by a strict Church hierarchy at the top of which stood the Latin rite[1399]. However, although the *Bulla Cypria* and the subsequent treaties meant official submission to Rome, they also gave the Greek and Oriental communities some autonomy[1400]. I will therefore treat these communities as different Churches in a social and cultural sense, even though they were legally part of the Latin Church[1401].

As we have seen in the introduction to this study, the exact degree of autonomy and the balance between peaceful contact and conflict between the various religious communities, especially in the earlier phases of Lusignan rule, has been disputed. However, most recent research has focused on peaceful every-day contacts[1402]. Scholars have found that parallel to the official submission to the Latin Church, and often contrary to Church politics in Rome, contacts between individuals of the various denominations on the island thrived from the beginning of Lusignan rule, but especially from the end of the thirteenth century onwards[1403].

Latins for example commissioned icons from Greek painters as early as the end of the thirteenth century, such as an icon of St Nicholas that depicts the donor, clearly a knight, at the feet of the saint, or a votive mural icon displaying a Latin family[1404]. Latins also donated money and estates to Greek Church institutions[1405]. From the fourteenth century on, we hear of various religious processions held together by the different rites. After a great flood in 1330 for instance, the Latin archbishop John of Conti lead a procession of all denominations, which, as Machairas reported, was still repeated every year in the fifteenth century[1406].

A number of pilgrimage places were frequented by Christians of all denominations. One of the most important centres was the monastery of the Holy Cross at Stavrovouni, but there were others such as the church of Santa Maria de la Cava outside Famagusta[1407]. It also seems that Latins sometimes visited Orthodox churches and even received sacraments from Greek priests, and vice versa. The Latin archbishop of Cyprus Philippe de Chambarlhac prohibited the latter phenomenon in 1350. The same document regulated marriages between Latins and Greeks: whenever such a marriage took place, it had to be conducted in the Latin manner, and children issuing from it had to be brought up according to Latin customs[1408]. The Latin Church was concerned about losing its faithful to the Greek rite[1409]. In 1368, Pope Urban V inter alia complained to the archbishop of Nicosia about the women of Cyprus who frequented the churches of the Greeks and the »schismatics[1410]«. Greek clerics and lay persons worked in Latin religious foundations and concluded commercial transactions with the Latin Church. Such was the case with the *casale* Psimolofo, which belonged to the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem. Its scribe, overseer of the granary and *catepano* (›village overseer‹) were all Greek, and it had business with Greek priests. Nicholas Coureas offers many other examples of such economic contacts[1411].

The contact phenomena were not restricted to the rural population and lower social strata. Rather, Pope Urban V complained about noble women as well as non-nobles, and, as we shall see, the Lusignan family was not only party to such contact phenomena, but even protected Greek Church institutions at least from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards[1412]. Among others, they seem to have co-sponsored the well-known cathedral St George of the Greeks in Famagusta. This Greek-rite basilica, which was built between ca. 1349 and 1374, combines Byzantine, Gothic and Crusader traditions in both architecture and murals. Among the patrons of this church seem to have been members of the Greek and Melkite élite[1413].

This is not to say that syncretism ruled in Cyprus and religious differences were not felt anymore. Chrysovalantis Kyriacou for example has recently shown how members of the Greek clergy managed to maintain their Orthodox identities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, all while being loyal

1399 Edbury, Franks 77-80.

1400 Richard, Bulla Cypria 19-31; Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 312. 320. 324-330 argues that the submission of the Greek Church was more a matter of institutional than of spiritual submission. The goal was to cut down Greek Church institutions, but at the same time the Greek Church could organize its internal structure itself.

1401 Following usage in recent literature, I will also speak about conversion when a change between the Greek and the Latin rites is meant, see Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 312.

1402 For a summary of the discussion, see the already mentioned overview in Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 36-44. For the more recent bibliography on contact phenomena see Grivaud, Pèlerinages; Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons; Coureas, Conversion; Weyl Carr, Art in the Court. Mersch, Shared Spaces 467-476 and Coureas, Latin Church II 435-459 as well as Schabel, Religion 157-160. 182 give overviews of the research as well as contributing new ideas. Cf. also the research overview on pp. 10-11.

1403 Weyl-Carr, Art in the Court 243 emphasizes that Latin art patronage for Orthodox workshops only really appears after the fall of Acre in 1291 and proposes that a »group of practiced patrons« must have come to Cyprus at the time. For the parallel existence of religious hierarchy and everyday contacts, see first Papadopoullos, Frontier Status 22 and later the newer literature used below.

1404 Enlart, Art Gothique 158, pl. IX, X figs 66. 161. Both instances are discussed by Weyl Carr, Art in the Court 242-243, where more examples are given. Contacts on the level of religious art were numerous and more frequent than on other levels, given that art was less controlled by ideology, see e. g. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 369-375. 381-382. However, for contacts also in the heart of the Orthodox bishopric at Famagusta (St George of the Greeks) visible in the artwork, see the new article Paschali, Negotiating Identities.

1405 See e. g. Lamberto di Sambuceto, Atti (Balard) no. 82, where a Genoese leaves money to St George of the Greeks in Famagusta. Cf. Schabel, Religion 182 and Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 381 with other examples.

1406 Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 405; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 65. For a summary of the processions, see Mersch, Shared Spaces 467-468.

1407 Grivaud, Pèlerinages 71-73; Mersch, Shared Spaces 467.

1408 Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 268-271.

1409 Coureas, Latin Church II 446.

1410 Cartulary of the Cathedral (Coureas/Schabel) 313: *Quotque magna pars nobilium et plebearum mulierum de civitate prefata, fidem catholicam quam voce profitentur contrariis moribus et operibus impugnando, Grecorum et schismaticorum frequentant ecclesias*. Cf. Coureas, Conversion 83.

1411 Richard, Psimolofo 140-142. 145-148; Coureas, Latin Church II 435-437.

1412 Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons 258-260; cf. Coureas, Latin Church II 437-440.

1413 Kyriacou, Orthodox Cyprus 81-84; Kaffenberger, Tradition and Identity 164-198. Among the numerous recent studies on St George of the Greeks are also Kaffenberger, Harmonizing the Sources; Papacostas, A Gothic Basilica; Papacostas, Byzantine Rite; Bacci, Patterns; Paschali, Mural Decoration.

to the Lusignans and concelebrating with Latin prelates[1414]. The religious situation on Cyprus was therefore rather a web of contacts between different communities, riddled with interacting loyalties and hierarchies.

This multi-layered and hierarchically complex situation was complicated even further by the wider church political events of the time. From 1378 until 1417, the Latin Church suffered under the Great papal schism[1415], which had a direct impact also on the Cypriot Latin Church (see below). It was followed twenty years later by the small schism between Eugene IV and Felix V from 1439 until 1449[1416], which had its own consequences for the Cypriot archbishopric and the relationship between Cyprus and the papacy. Related to the small schism was also the important business of the council of Ferrara-Florence which declared the union between the Greek and the Latin Churches[1417]. All these events formed religious life in Europe in the fifteenth century, and although these external factors will not be the focus of this chapter, I will nonetheless ask in how far they influenced the religious lives of the Cypriot aristocracies.

Above all, however, I will analyse how the multi-religious, hierarchic Church situation on Cyprus itself influenced the religious lives of aristocratic Cypriots. In the situation of great social mobility in which many members of the aristocracy found themselves, the construction and representation of religious identities was an important issue which could be used for political and social aims. It was, however, also influenced by personal ties and backgrounds. Since I have decided to analyse identities as moments of identification with different discourses[1418], I will examine how aristocrats constructed their religious identities in a given moment by choosing from the various possibilities of identification with a certain religious rite, rather than trying to define who »had« which faith. I will especially ask if they used religious identities for social representation and ascension. I will analyse instances of aristocratic identity construction on the personal level where possible, using documents such as testaments for the interpretation. Where no personal documents exist, I use other sources such as papal registers and tombstones.

6.1 The Lusignan Family

The Lusignan royal family was not only part of the nobility but may also have served as example for other nobles' conduct in religious questions. At the same time, they are a special case, since they were public figures and the construction and representation of their religious identities would have been even more strongly intertwined with politics than other nobles'. Thus, an analysis of the Lusignans' religious identity construction will deal also with royal religious politics.

As a ruling family in a state that was recognised by the papacy and other Western kingdoms, the Lusignans firstly adhered to the Latin rite. The kings were usually crowned by the Latin archbishop, and Latin friars and clerics were often members of the royal council throughout the fourteenth century[1419]. The Lusignan family burial site was the Dominican monastery, which was adjacent to the royal palace. After some building activities in the time of Peter II, the monastery even became an integral part of the palace[1420]. At the same time, it has been convincingly shown that the Lusignans successfully styled themselves as protectors of the Greek Church and its institutions[1421]. In some cases, the dynasty protected the Greek clergy against the claims of Latin clerics, who aimed to convert them or to induce their stricter subjection to the Latin Church. It has been stated that the aim of this policy was social peace between the various population groups on the island, as an active oppression of the Greek Church would have furthered social unrest[1422].

Gilles Grivaud has gone even further and stated that from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, the Lusignans not only protected other religious groups, but even promoted certain local cults. According to Grivaud, they played an important part in the development of a mixed religious tradition located somewhere between the existing churches, which created a new, inclusive local religious identity. Such was for example the case with the cults of St Mamas and the cross of Tochni[1423].

The kings continued this policy at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. In either 1400 or 1406, King Janus awarded the little-known Greek Orthodox monastery of the Priests (Gr. *tōn hiereōn*) two more clerics, and in 1406 he reduced its taxes[1424]. In 1411, he filed a petition with the papacy to officially recognise a particular office for the Cypriot Saint Hilarion, whom the Latins had started venerating in the thirteenth century[1425]. In

1414 Kyriacou, Orthodox Cyprus esp. chs 3 and 4, pp. 81-110. 131-164.
1415 Cf. Tüchle, Abendländisches Schisma esp. 19-20.
1416 Cf. Helmrath, Basel Konzil 54.
1417 Cf. Helmrath, Basel Konzil 54.
1418 Cf. pp. 16-18.
1419 Schabel, Religion 180.
1420 Schabel, Inquisition 123-124.
1421 Schabel, Religion 181; Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons 258-260.
1422 Schabel, Religion 179. Schabel himself points out that the nobles' and the crown's missing cooperation with the Latin Church probably also had a very practical reason: they wanted to keep their revenues for themselves instead of paying tithes and were not interested in either avoiding marriages with near relatives or having their morals reformed by the Latin Church. Cf. also Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 315-316.
1423 Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons 262-269.
1424 Darrouzès, Obituaire 31. 35; cf. Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons 260-261.
1425 Acta pseudopontificum VII (Tautu) 229-231; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 695; Edbury, Hoi teleutaioi Louzinianoi 196; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-65, pp. 494-506 (John XXIII). For the saint's veneration in the Latin Church in the thirteenth century, see Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 170-173.

1412, Janus' mother Helvis de Brunswick donated an estate to the Greek Kykkos monastery in the Troodos mountains[1426]. And in 1432, the Greek bishop of Nicosia[1427] was one of the many godparents to the new born Jacqua of Lusignan, the daughter of Janus' cousin Peter of Lusignan. Thus, the Lusignans styled themselves as the rulers and protectors of various religious traditions on the island also in the fifteenth century.

In the traditional view, the arrival of Queen Helena Palaiologina in 1442 turned this development into an explicit strengthening of the Greek Church. As we have seen before, Helena, who was the daughter of the Morean despot Theodoros II Palaiologos and the Italian princess Cleopa Malatesta, herself came from a hybrid background[1428]. However, she was described as a perfidious Greek by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II), who said she favoured the Greek Church, replaced the Latin officials with Greeks and even changed the Latin rite to the Greek[1429]. Modern Greek historiography took this up and made her a Greek heroine who gave the Greek population a much-needed respite and even political power through her protection of the Greek Church[1430]. More recent research, especially by Jean Richard and Christina Kaoulla, has convincingly shown that this picture is not at all accurate. Helena adhered to the Greek rite herself – according to Georgios Bustron, her confessor lived in the Greek Mangana monastery[1431] – and she supported the same monastery financially. Inter alia, she accommodated refugee monks from Constantinople there. However, there is no evidence on her side for any hostile politics against the Latin Church and clergy[1432].

The earlier historiography relates that Helena wanted to appoint Thomas of Morea, about whom we have already heard[1433], as archbishop in 1442. However, Christina Kaoulla has proven that this hypothesis is untenable. It is true that there was an argument about the newly appointed archbishop. Helena and King John II certainly did not want to accept the candidate appointed by Eugene IV, Galesius de Montolive. The ensuing conflict lasted several years, and in the course of it, Eugene even excommunicated the royal couple for not obeying his commands[1434]. However, the contemporary sources do not say anything about Helena's alleged attempt to appoint Thomas of Morea in Galesius' place. Moreover, chapter four of this study has shown that some of Helena's most faithful followers came from old noble Cypriot families, such as Thomas de Verny and his wife[1435]. Therefore, though Helena indeed supported Orthodox institutions, there is no reason to assume that she followed anti-Latin politics, and turned the royal family's inclusion-politics into pro-Orthodox ones. However, her marriage into the Lusignan family illustrates how far hybrid religious identities were an acceptable phenomenon for the royal family at the time[1436].

While Lusignan ties to the Greek Church and its institutions were positively connoted before and after Queen Helena, the royal relationship to the Latin Church underwent some changes. These changes were mostly caused by Church political events. Between 1378 and 1417, the Great papal schism rocked the foundations of the Latin Church and influenced Church politics even in Cyprus. Though King Peter II supported Avignon, his successors James I and Janus, while officially tending first to Rome and later to Avignon and Pisa, used the chaos induced by the schism for their own ends. They took possession of the Cypriot archbishopric, and thus began a policy of appropriation of the Latin Cypriot Church which the family pursued throughout the fifteenth century[1437].

From the late 1380s onwards, an administrator chosen by the crown managed the archbishopric, and there are accusations that the crown benefited from the tithes, even if the extent of this appropriation is not clear[1438]. In 1409/1410, King Janus chose his brother Hugh as the archbishopric's administrator[1439]. In 1413, the king managed to secure the Cypriot Hospitaller commandery for his five-year-old illegitimate son Alois, although this papal decision was already reversed in 1414[1440]. In the same period, the king promoted the Church careers of other Cypriots, such as Jean Petit, who became archbishop of Tarsus in 1407 and in 1413 bishop of Paphos, when he was also the king's confessor, or Jacques de Margat, who rose from treasurer of Famagusta to the important post of deacon of Nicosia and later papal collector[1441].

1426 Grivaud, Les Lusignans patrons 259-260; cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 381 and n. 1732.
1427 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 367.
1428 Kaoulla, Queen Elena 112, cf. pp. 98. 123.
1429 Pius Secundus, Commentarii (Göbel) 176.
1430 For a detailed overview of the opinions on Helena in modern historiography, see Kaoulla, Queen Elena 109-111.
1431 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 12.
1432 Richard, Culture franque 400-404; Kaoulla, Queen Elena, passim, for the monastery especially 142-144; Ganchou, Rébellion 114-115.
1433 Cf. esp. ch. 4.2.2, p. 123.
1434 Kaoulla, Queen Elena 131-132.
1435 Cf. chs 4.2.2, p. 123, 5.1.3, p. 136 and Ganchou, Rébellion 131.
1436 An earlier attempt at a marriage alliance between Byzantium and Cyprus, initiated by the Byzantine emperor in 1372, had failed according to Machairas, because of the hatred between Latins and *Rhomaioi*, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 344-350. This suggests that attitudes had changed in Cyprus between the end of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth centuries, which would tie in with the political developments. However, Schreiner, Das vergessene Zypern 400-401 reports that an even earlier attempt at a marriage alliance in 1294, concerning the son of emperor Andronikos II, Michael, had been a Cypriot initiative.
1437 The appropriation of the archbishopric by the crown is examined by Max Ritter in a recent essay, see Ritter, Cyprus and the Great Schism, esp. 224-239.
1438 Acta Concilii Constanciensis IV (Finke) no. 548. 762-763: in 1415, John XXIII was accused of being responsible for the Latin Church's devastating situation in Cyprus. One of the charges was that the crown appropriated church tithes, see below. Cf. Kaoulla, Queen Elena 133-134 and Ritter, Cyprus and the Great Schism 238. As early as 1407, Pope Benedict XIII had reacted to a petition by Janus, who complained that the deceased bishop of Famagusta Luciano had accused the crown of appropriating parts of the revenues from the bishopric of Famagusta, see Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-25, pp. 263-265 (Benedict XIII).
1439 Ritter, Cyprus and the Great Schism 240.
1440 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-61, pp. 486-489, β-64, pp. 493-494, β-77, pp. 519-523 (John XXIII); Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 91.
1441 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-23, pp. 260-261, β-24, pp. 261-263 (Benedict XIII) (Margat), β-27, pp. 265-267 (Benedict XIII); β-58, pp. 480-483 (John XXIII) (Petit); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 25. 28. 33. 67 (both); Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II no. 44 (p. 137: Jacques Margat was nominated papal collector on 25 February 1426).

Hugh of Lusignan, too, made an important career in the Latin Church. After his confirmation as the archbishopric's *commendatarius* (›administrator‹) by John XXIII in 1411, Pope Martin V officially appointed him archbishop in 1421[1442]. It seems that Hugh was also in possession of the revenues of the bishopric of Limassol and of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having claimed the latter illegally[1443]. Out of reasons that remain unclear, Martin V made him cardinal in 1426. Hugh was therefore supposed to be present at the curia, but since the Mamluk invasion began only shortly after his nomination, he stayed in Cyprus until King Janus was released from captivity in 1427. As we have seen in chapter four, he then went to Rome not only as cardinal, but also as the kingdom's official representative in the West[1444]. Hugh was effectively called the cardinal of Cyprus, not of his designated diocese, until his death[1445]. In the following years, Hugh became an important player in Latin Church politics. He influenced various affairs such as the so-called small schism between Eugene IV and the council of Basle, where he also acted as interpreter for the Byzantine ambassadors in the negotiations for Church union. In the peace negotiations between France, the Bourgogne and England in 1435, he was especially sought after as intermediary by the king of France. At the same time, Hugh fulfilled his role as the kingdom's representative in the West, arranging the marriages between Anne of Lusignan and Louis of Savoy as well as between John II and Medea of Montferrat, or leading negotiations with the Genoese[1446]. In various instances, Hugh filed petitions for Lusignan family members and other Cypriots at the curia, such as privileges *super defectum natalium* for the illegitimate Lusignan children Lancelot, Guy and Phoebus, privileges for Alice de Margat and Marie de Vergy, and canonries for his nephew Antonio Soulouan[1447].

Before Hugh's appointment as archbishop, the Lusignans had never designated members of their family for Church service[1448]. However, now other family members followed his lead. Lancelot of Lusignan, a bastard son of Philippe, one of James I's sons, was lieutenant of the church of Limassol in 1436, and of Paphos in 1438. Thus, in the early 1430s, the Lusignans had access to the revenues of the bishoprics Limassol and Paphos. Lancelot relocated to the West some years later. After Hugh's death in 1442, he followed Amadeus of Savoy, Anne of Lusignan's father-in-law, who had become pope as Felix V. Felix appointed Lancelot Hugh's successor as abbot of the monastery of St Mary of Pignérol in 1443 and patriarch of Jerusalem in 1444, and made him cardinal of St Laurent of Damascus before August 1447, to name only some of his offices[1449]. Lancelot was not only an important cooperator for Felix V, but also for the latter's son Louis of Savoy, and thus strengthened the connection between the kingdom of Cyprus and the duchy. Moreover, he filed a number of petitions for Cypriot fellow countrymen and thus functioned as their contact to the papacy[1450]. Hugh's and Lancelot's active involvement in Church politics therefore did not only secure Lusignan control of Latin Church politics in Cyprus; it was also an extremely important opening into papal and European politics for the royal family and their retinues.

Other family members entered Latin Church service but stayed in Cyprus. Another of Hugh's nephews, Antonio Soulouan, became canon of Paphos in 1430 and treasurer of Nicosia in 1432 and was archvicar of St Sophia in Nicosia from 1457 onwards[1451]. Following Hugh's death in 1442 and the struggles between the crown and the papacy about candidates for the see, King John II appointed his own candidate in 1451, his bastard son James, who was never acknowledged by the papacy[1452]. James himself appointed another Cypriot, Guillaume Goneme, as his successor when he ascended to the throne[1453]. The last family member to enter church service under Lusignan rule was Hugh of Lusignan, probably son of Phoebus of Lusignan and Isabelle de Fleury. This is evident from a papal bull from 1463 which mentioned that Hugh had left church service and got married, leaving a canonry in Limassol vacant[1454].

Although this active involvement in Latin Church politics and the appropriation of the posts and revenues of the Latin Church in Cyprus were above all political and financial affairs, one might ask in how far they led to changes in religious identity construction. Rudt de Collenberg (and some newer studies follow him) has postulated that the appropriation of the Latin Church revenues led to a de-westernization of the Latin population and a broad spreading of Greek culture in Cyprus[1455]. This reasoning is probably based on a passage in the protocol of Pope John XXIII's condemnation and deposition as pope in 1415. Among other things, the pope was accused of having squandered »the goods of the Church of Cyprus, from which arose much scandal, which was and is a great peril for the catholic faith, because there are Greeks there and only few Latins who uphold the faith, and they

1442 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 90. 93. Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux, in general has a detailed description of Hugh as well as Lancelot of Lusignan's careers.
1443 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 94. Unfortunately, Rudt de Collenberg garners this information from unedited sources which I have not been able to cross-check.
1444 Cf. ch. 4.2.1, p. 113.
1445 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 94-97. Cf. Hill, History III 1089. Hill has only a short characterisation of Hugh as cardinal.
1446 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 102-103. 107-108.
1447 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 99. 109-111. 113. Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II nos 57. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 80. 83 (pp. 138-140).
1448 Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 86.
1449 Fedalto, Latinikē ekklēsia 715. Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 118-119; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II nos 36. 46 (pp. 146-147).
1450 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 121-123. 125.
1451 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 102; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II nos 83 (p. 140). 16 (p. 143). 26 (p. 166).
1452 Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II 80-81. Cf. Kaoulla, Queen Elena 131-132.
1453 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 78. Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II no. 13 (p. 172); Mas Latrie, Histoire des archevêques 293-297.
1454 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 192.
1455 Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 667-668; cf. Daileader, Local Experiences 98-100; Kyriacou, Orthodox Cyprus 133-134.

must lose ground because of the alienation of the goods of their churches[1456]«. Actors at the papacy were therefore afraid of loosing control over the Latin Church in Cyprus and connected this fact to the numerical paucity of Latins on the island, using it as one argument among many to depose the pope. However, this does not say anything about the situation in Cyprus itself, but rather shows how Latin Church politics worked. The sources from Cyprus do not seem to me to show an especially intense de-westernization of the Latins (which I understand to mean a weakening of the Latin faith) in this period, nor could one postulate a specific strengthening of the Greek Church and culture that would surpass the contact processes that were already in course for many years[1457].

Concerning the royal family itself, in contrast, we might ask if their appropriation of posts and revenues of the Cypriot Latin Church led to a more intense identification with their »own« Latin church on the island, matching the promotion of their »own« local cults[1458]. At least it is evident that the royal mentorship for local cults and Orthodox monasteries did not hinder the family from considering themselves as Latin as anybody else.

This seems to be true for the members of the royal family also on a personal level, though it is of course almost impossible to separate personal identity construction and political representation. While Janus, for example, probably renewed relations to the papacy in 1406 because he hoped for help against Genoa and promoted his brother Hugh to archbishop in order to keep the bishopric's revenues in the royal family, this does not reveal anything about his own relationship to the Latin church. The papal document recognizing the new liturgy for St Hilarion stresses that the king wrote the liturgy himself, because he was devoted to the saint:

> Our most beloved son in Christ Janus, the illustrious King of Cyprus, fostered and still fosters a sincere and special devotion to the glorious saint Hilarion the confessor and he (the king) has zealously and commendably composed an office liturgy of this saint to his (the saint's) glory and honour[1459].

The liturgy, of which only fragments are published, is in verses[1460]. Thus, if the king had actually taken the trouble to compose them, he perhaps indeed had a special relationship to this saint. At the same time, this was probably a politically clever move, since Hilarion was venerated by both Latins and Greeks, and it could therefore be seen as an expression of the specific Lusignan attitude towards religious politics.

Similar problems arise concerning the personal religiousness of other family members. Hugh for example served in the Latin Church his entire adult life and became an exceedingly able church diplomat, but about his personal opinion on religious matters we can only speculate[1461]. Rudt de Collenberg saw him first of all as a Cypriot patriot who represented a hellenized Cypriot identity. Inter alia, Collenberg cited Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, who allegedly described the Cypriots at the council of Basle as »more Greek than Roman«. Since Hugh was one of the important representatives there, Collenberg ascribes this characterization to the cardinal in particular[1462]. However, a look into the source in question, the *Descriptio altera urbis basileae*, shows that this is not entirely correct. Aeneas had sent this short description of Basle to Philippe, the archbishop of Tours[1463], on the occasion of the latter's imminent arrival in Basle.

Aeneas begins his description of the city with its geographical situation in the middle of Christendom, in the course of which he also mentions the Cypriots: »I will keep silent about the Cypriots who understand Greek better than Latin[1464]«. It is possible that Aeneas judged about the Cypriots from the people he knew and thus also from Hugh of Lusignan, but he speaks only about their language abilities here, and not about their religious identity. Even if he was indeed alluding to religious or cultural identity, this is still an ascription by a third party, and Aeneas was known for his passionately subjective and sometimes anti-Greek statements, as seen in the case of Helena Palaiologina. Thus this statement does not offer any information on Hugh himself.

Hugh's sister Agnes, on the other hand, seems to have been a devoted Latin Christian. She was even invited by the Latin monastery of Wunstorpen to become their new abbess[1465]. We know nothing about King John II's religiosity. In the end, however, the royals' personal feelings are of minor relevance, since it was the royal family's religious representation that counted for society.

1456 Acta Concilii Constanciensis IV (Finke) 762-763 (no. 548): […] *dilapidavit bona ecclesie bononiensis et bona Ecclesiarum Ciprie, ex quibus fuit tantum scandalum, quod erat et est magnum periculum de fide catholica, quia ibi sunt Greci et pauci Latini, qui sustinent fidem, et oportet eos recedere propter alienacionem bonorum ecclesiarum suarum*. Cf. also Ritter, Cyprus and the Great Schism 238.

1457 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma 16-17 also sounds a critical note concerning Rudt de Collenberg's conclusions on Latin faith and culture in Cyprus.

1458 The fact that especially in the second half of the fifteenth century, many members of Syrian or Greek families entered the Latin clergy (see below) may have been part of this development.

1459 Acta pseudopontificum VII (Tautu) 229: *Carissimus in Christo filius Noster Janus rex Cypri illustris, ad sanctum Ilarionem gloriosum confessorem sincerae et specialis gessit prout et gerit devotionis affectum et ad eius gloriam et honourem quemdam tenorem Officii eiusdem Sancti studiose et laudabiliter composuit*. Cf. Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-65, p. 495 (John XXIII).

1460 It begins: *Exultans in praeconio / o felix regnum Cyprium / Tono et semitonis / Patronum lauda proprium. / Puer, crescens, ingreditur / Sicut cedrus in Libano, / Nomen huic indicitur / Angeli* vaticin*io*. Acta pseudopontificum VII (Tautu) 230.

1461 Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 127.

1462 Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 126.

1463 *Thuronensis*, see OL III 529 s. v. Turonum.

1464 Pius Secundus, Descriptio altera (Hartmann) 193: *taceo Ciprios magis Graece quam Romane sapientes*. Hill, History III 1090 translates the sentence as »I say nothing of the Cypriotes, who are more Greek-minded than Roman«. According to him, this could confirm that in the eyes of the West, the Cypriot Latin Church was »somewhat lax in upholding the supremacy of the Roman Church«. But as mentioned above, the meaning here is certainly restricted to their language skills.

1465 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 367-369; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 18, n. 1.

In conclusion, the Lusignan family was involved with both the Latin and the Greek Churches and was very much part of a continually developing mixed local religious tradition. The fifteenth century saw a new, active involvement in the Latin Church and an appropriation of Church revenues and offices, which must have intensified the family's relationship with the Latin Church on the island. At the same time, the Lusignans constructed and represented royal religious identity both as protectors of Greek Churches and monasteries and of new local cults. Unfortunately, we do not know how far they also had relations with the Oriental Churches.

6.2 The Nobility

Nobles seem to have followed the royal family as concerns the identification with the Latin Church and with local religious traditions in a generally hybrid religious space. Sources, however, are rather disparate for the fifteenth century: personal documents such as testaments are scarce. Tombstones and papal registers can only partly replace this lack of evidence but are nevertheless valuable sources. They are complemented by fragmentary evidence from other sources such as monastery records (see below).

Various sources indicate that some noble families and individuals constructed their religious identities in a hybrid way. In 1368, Pope Urban V not only complained about the above-mentioned noble women visiting Greek and Oriental churches, but also about nobles celebrating masses and baptisms as well as marriages in their own houses, a custom not unusual for the Greeks[1466]. Probably in the beginning of the fifteenth century, a member of the Greek monastery of the Priests in the diocese of Paphos took note of a donation in the monastery's synaxary. He stated that a certain *archōn ho mensyr* (i. e. sir) *Tzouan te Mtoulif* and his wife had given the monastery a millstone for the benefit of their souls[1467]. The *archōn*, a term designating a member of the ruling class, must have stemmed from the well-known Montolive family, whose relationship with the monastery was obviously strong enough to make this donation[1468]. This hybrid state of affairs was seemingly confirmed by a complaint Pope Martin V had allegedly made about the Cypriots in 1418. According to Rudt de Collenberg, the pope stated that the Cypriots had abandoned Latin customs, followed the Greek rite and made no distinction between the Greek and Latin Churches. Following Rudt de Collenberg's report, recent literature has cited this complaint as an indication for religious contacts. However, Collenberg misinterpreted the sources. The document he cites turns out to be a Venetian letter addressed to Pope Martin V, not a letter by him, exhorting the pope to make sure that the Latin bishops in the overseas provinces really reside in their sees, because otherwise the Latins there would all become Greeks. Cyprus is not mentioned at all in this passage[1469]. Though this incident turns out to be a false tale, some nobles seem to have continued their hybrid devotional practices and to have fostered relationships with Latin and Greek clerics[1470], even if we have no direct personal testimonies.

Contrary to these hints, the only testamentary evidence concerning a noble that is edited until now[1471] reveals solely a strong relationship with the Latin Church: Jean de Brie, one of the most influential statesmen under Peter II and James I[1472], left the cathedral of Nicosia three assignations. The first two were drawn up by the royal *secrète* in 1383. They concerned a very specific sum of money, 300 besants of income from Jean's *casale* Piles[1473]: 250 besants should be paid to a priest who was to sing masses before Jean de Brie as long as he lived. After his death, the priest should serve Jean's wife Phelippe de Verny in the same way, and should both die, the priest was supposed to sing masses for their souls every day. The money was to be paid every three months, and the responsible for the whole affair were the archdeacon and the *maître chapelain* of the cathedral of Nicosia. Jean assigned the remaining 50 besants to the cathedral's chapter for masses to be sung for him every six months after his death. Nine years later, in 1391, Jean left the cathedral his houses in Nicosia in a third assignation. After his death, the cathedral was supposed to rent out the houses and maintain them from the income. From what remained, they should pay a priest to sing masses for the souls of the deceased couple. Again, the archdeacon and the *maître chapelain* were responsible for administering the business[1474].

Jean de Brie thus not only desired that daily masses be sung for him by a Latin priest in his lifetime, he even left the cathedral church in Nicosia a substantial legacy comprising his immobile property in the capital. This was probably allodial property, i. e. possessions that were not held as fief from the crown but belonged to Jean personally. He was concerned

1466 Synodicum Nicosiense (Schabel) 371. Cf. also Mersch, Shared Spaces 469.
1467 Darrouzès, Obituaire 39.
1468 L. Voisin has recently asked whether relationships such as these hint at Latin nobles possessing the *jus patronatus* over Greek monasteries, but she concludes that no sources allow us to confirm this idea, see Voisin, Jus patronatus esp. 397.
1469 See Setton, Papacy and the Levant II 44 for the document cited by Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 671, who then in turn is cited by Delacroix-Besnier, Dominicains 74, who is cited by Coureas, Latin Church II 453, who is cited by Mersch, Shared Spaces 469-470. I would like to thank Chris Schabel for mentioning this error to me. Cf. also Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma 16-17, who also discusses this passage.
1470 Whether this devotional hybridity was accompanied by a blurring of dogmatic differences, is unfortunately impossible to say, since we do not have any personal faith statements.
1471 Thierry Ganchou has found Jacques de Caffran's testament in the State Archive of Genoa. Once it is edited it will be very interesting to see whether this document offers any clues as to Jacques' religious life. See Ganchou, Rébellion 113 and n. 42.
1472 Cf. ch. 4.1, where I have analysed his career.
1473 This must be the same casale as Pilez/Pyla, which was in the hands of Isabeau Visconte in the 1430s, see p. 59.
1474 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396-400.

with his and his wife's salvation, and in the manner typical of his time, he had masses sung in order to ensure his soul the best possible way into heaven. Since we do not have Jean's whole testament, it is difficult to say whether this relationship with the cathedral was exclusive or whether he also maintained ties to other churches, be they Latin or otherwise.

Jean de Brie's relationship with the Latin Church is partly mirrored by another important statesman, Jacques de Fleury, two generations later. Jacques requested the papal privilege of having two priests read a private mass for him every day. In his analysis on Jacques' coup d'état, Thierry Ganchou has postulated that Jacques must therefore have been an exceedingly pious Latin Christian who detested the Greek faith[1475]. Moreover, Ganchou opines that Queen Helena Palaiologina most probably forced the count to marry his second wife Zoi Catacouziny, who was a Greek damsel in the Queen's entourage. According to Ganchou, Jacques de Fleury must have objected to this marriage at first on account of Zoi being Orthodox. Ganchou's hypothesis is based on two entries in a Greek short chronicle, which mention that de Fleury left Cyprus on 28 May 1443, and that he was married to Zoi on 8 October 1444. Since the mention of Fleury's absence in the chronicle is curious, Ganchou has taken this incident as an absence without leave[1476] and a first sign of disruption between the count and the Queen – probably on account of the projected wedding. The entry on the wedding itself is noted in the passive voice (»the count of Jaffa *was married* to the damsel who came from Morea[1477]« [my emphasis]), and Ganchou thinks this could mean that the wedding was forced rather than contracted deliberately. However, he also mentions that Jacques called his first daughter by Zoi Carola. According to Ganchou, this was the same name as Charlotte and was therefore a homage to the Queen, since Helena Palaiologina's daughter had the same name. According to Ganchou, Jacques was therefore content with his new wife in the end[1478].

The count's absence in 1443 may have been connected to discord with the royalties. However, in my opinion, it is impossible to know if the conflict was related to the marriage contracted one and a half years later, let alone if Jacques objected to the latter because his wife was not a Latin. After all, the example of the royal family shows that it was possible to be a pious Latin Christian and have good relationships with Orthodox institutions or even marry a Christian of another rite. Therefore, I would not take this information as a hint for an exclusively Latin religiousness on Jacques de Fleury's part. However, Jacques' as well as de Brie's examples illustrate that some members of the high nobility maintained intense relationships with the Latin Church and took measures for the salvation of their souls.

This Latin devoutness at the point of death is confirmed by noble tombstones. The great majority of the slabs stem from either the cathedral church St Sophia, the Augustinian church St Mary of Tortosa, or the unknown church which today is the Arab Ahmet Mosque (probably the Carmelite church), all located in Nicosia[1479]. We have seen in chapter five that all tombstones were executed in Western style such as in France and England, expressing a knightly identity[1480]. Their location in various Latin churches together with their stylistic features indicates that many nobles chose to be buried in a typical Latin manner, representing themselves as faithful Latin Christians at the moment of death.

It is impossible to rank the popularity of the churches by the number of tombstones preserved in each house. The most important reason for this is the loss of the Dominican and the Franciscan churches, which were razed by the Venetians for defence purposes at the end of the sixteenth century[1481]. Both orders were popular with the Latin population, and the church of the Dominicans was even the royal family's burial place. It may be assumed that these churches were popular with the nobility, too. With such a great part of the data lost, we cannot sensibly interpret the number of stones in the other churches. What can be said, though, is that the greatest number of slabs come from the cathedral church St Sophia. Generally, the tombstones hint to a noble burial culture that was explicitly Western European.

Papal registers are another source type to offer quantitative information. They illustrate nobles' relationships with the papacy, since they document petitions for papal privileges such as absolutions of sins and appointments to church offices. A first glance seems to suggest that the relationship between Cypriot nobles and the papacy declined during the fifteenth century. Count Rudt de Collenberg registered far less requests for absolutions at the end of the fourteenth and the entire fifteenth century than for the beginning to the middle of the fourteenth century: between 1323 and 1374, 255 absolutions were issued to Cypriot nobles, while Collenberg has found only 24 absolutions from the period between 1378 and 1467. However, Collenberg also mentions that most of the 255 dispensations were issued after the great plague in 1347 and that they should be seen as a pious reaction to it[1482]. Therefore, the declining numbers in

1475 Ganchou, Rébellion 110. For the petition, see Iorga, Notes et extraits IV/I 349.
1476 Grivaud, Petite chronique 328, n. 65 states that he was not allowed to leave the kingdom without the king's consent.
1477 Grivaud, Petite chronique 330: *fo maridato el Conte de Zapho, con la madonna che vene da Morea*. The English translation is my own.
1478 Ganchou, Rébellion 110-112.
1479 See Imhaus, Lacrimae, esp. 5-78. 153. 155. 160. 162 et al. For the identification of the Arab-Achmet mosque with the Carmelite church, see Schabel et al., Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 191-192.
1480 Cf. ch. 5.1.2, p. 132.
1481 Schabel et al., Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 191-192.
1482 I have not been able to control Collenberg's information on the fourteenth century, but the grand scale of petition numbers should be certain enough. For the numbers between 1323 and 1374, see Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses matrimoniales 45-46. For the privileges between 1378 and 1460, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 1-228. In 1467, Queen Charlotte attained full absolution for her and her many followers (Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209). I have not included this information in the data count, since they would have changed the picture dramatically.

the fifteenth century should not be interpreted as a sign for a less pious Latin noble society[1483].

In the years of the great papal schism (1378-1417), it is very difficult to make any reliable statements as to the relationship between the Latin Church and the noble families of Cyprus. There are far less petitions for papal privileges in that time, especially in the 1390s[1484]. However, this development was connected with the above-mentioned Lusignan papal policy, which changed affiliation from Avignon to Rome and back again between the 1380s and 1400 and appropriated the episcopal sees, so that it must have been much more difficult to attain such privileges (cf. ch. 6.1). We cannot therefore assume that this fact reveals anything about noble religiousness in Cyprus during this period, but rather only about church politics and Cypriot relations to the papacy. However, some nobles acquired marriage dispensations from the Avignonese Pope Clement VII in 1387 and 1390, at a time when the crown of Cyprus probably at least officially tended to Rome[1485]. It is unfortunately impossible to discern the reasons for this interesting procedure.

In contrast to the numbers of petitions during the schism, appointments to church offices in the course of the fifteenth century indeed reveal some interesting information concerning the religious culture of noble families on Cyprus. Just as the fourteenth century[1486], the fifteenth century reveals very few Cypriot nobles among the clergy: only 8 Cypriot noblemen are registered in Rudt de Collenberg's lists as having entered the services of the Latin Church between 1378 and 1470. This probably does not reflect the exact number of clergymen, since we find for example a certain priest called Louis de Verny in a document from 1383 whom Rudt de Collenberg did not register. However, Kouroupakis' new edition of the papal letters concerning Cyprus during the great schism until the year 1417 does not register any clerics from Cypriot noble families that we did not know about[1487].

Even if we assume that not all Cypriot clergymen appeared in the papal registers (or, indeed, have been found by Rudt de Collenberg), the small numbers of clergymen from Cypriot noble families is noteworthy, particularly since they had good career possibilities: those who indeed entered church service mostly achieved high offices. Guy de Nephim, member of an old family, if not of the first in the kingdom, was archdeacon of Famagusta in 1385. A certain Jacques de Margat, treasurer of Famagusta and canon in Nicosia in 1406, had risen to papal collector and ambassador to the curia in 1426. Jean Petit was appointed archbishop of Tarsus by the supplication of king Janus in 1407. And Galesius de Montolive first appears in the registers as archdeacon of Nicosia in 1428, to be appointed bishop of Limassol and later archbishop of Cyprus[1488]. Finally, in 1438, a certain Antonius Moustazou was appointed as canon of Nicosia.

These men seem to have followed very individual careers. Only the Montolive and the Nores families show a family tradition of entering the clergy[1489]. From the 1440s onwards, some members of the de Nores-family especially are known as clergymen: Jacques de Nores became bishop of Limassol *in commendam* in 1442, while his relative Amadeus, who was one of Louis of Savoy's counsellors and thus did not live in Cyprus, was made bishop of Vercelli on 20 May 1458. Another Jacques de Nores received the expectative of a canonry in either Nicosia or Limassol in 1447[1490]. Many petitions for papal privileges in these years also come from both the Montolive and the Nores clans[1491].

Thus, only very few noble families show an active involvement and perhaps also an identification with the Latin Church during and after the Great Schism. This phenomenon is all the more interesting if we compare it with the appropriation of the Latin Church by the royal family, as seen above. Old noble families only rarely followed the royal lead and took the chance of investing in Latin Church careers. Perhaps there was not enough money involved in lower Church offices in order to arouse noble interest, and the bishoprics were often taken by the royals. Nobles' relationships with Greek churches and monasteries at least cannot be adducted as a reason for their distance to the Latin Church. As the royal family's example shows, these two relationships did not exclude each other.

In conclusion, the indications for religious networks and attitudes in the group of noble families create a varied picture. Though some nobles had an intense relationship with the Latin Church, expressed through their desire to attend private Latin masses every day, and nobles generally cared to represent themselves as good Latin Christians at the time of death, their interest in serving the Latin Church was not substantial. In this respect, they reacted differently from the royal family to the events within the greater Latin Church. At the same time, we may assume that nobles continued to construct their religious identities in the hybrid space between the Churches. They cultivated relationships with Greek Church institutions, even if we do not know how far spread this phenomenon was. Thus, the attitude of noble families does not seem to have changed substantially compared to former times.

1483 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma 110, comes to the same conclusion.
1484 Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie 525-526.
1485 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 13. 14. 16. 17. For the crown's official affiliation with Rome, see Ritter, Cyprus and the Great Schism 231-232.
1486 Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien 165; Coureas, Latin Church II 181.
1487 For Louis de Verny, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 398. For the clerics during the great schism, see Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma passim.
1488 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 10 (Nephim). 24. 25. 90. 91 (Margat). 28 (Petit). 97. 112. 115. 116. 121. 122. 126. 127. 130. 131. 135. 136. 142. 143. 153. 162 (Montolive); Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-24, pp. 261-263 (Benedict XIII) (Margat).
1489 For their family traditions, see Coureas, Latin Church II 212.
1490 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 116 (Moustazo). 143. 146. 147. 163. 171. 194. 209 (Nores); Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II no. 49 (147).
1491 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 170. 175. 201. 202. 203.

6.3 Syrians and Greeks

Ascending Syrian and Greek families lived even more hybrid religious lives than the nobles. While Syrians and Greeks mostly seem to have been faithful to their own religious traditions until the end of the fourteenth century[1492], the social ascension in the fifteenth century brought about important changes within the religious lives of this group. With social rise came the possibility of conversion[1493] to the Latin rite, which could further the integration into the nobility[1494]. Families and individuals made varying decisions in this matter.

Many ascending Syrians and Greeks eventually converted to the Latin rite. This phenomenon often seems to have been connected to the last step of social ascension into the highest echelons of society. Particularly from the 1440s onwards, some of the families involved in the highest social rise appeared regularly in the papal registers or elsewhere as Latins, such as the Podocataro, the Chimi, Salah, Mistachiel, Sincritico and Urri families[1495]. However, even as early as the end of the fourteenth century, those men who rose high seem to have regularly converted to the Latin rite. Machairas commented on Thomas Barech in the 1380s that he had been a Greek (i. e. Melkite[1496]) Orthodox burgess and had then converted and become a Latin knight[1497]. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the important official George Capadoca and later Hugo Podocataro and Giacomo Urri were Latins. About others, such as Piero Podocataro and Philippe and Jean Salah, we do not know anything. However, many of their nearest relatives had converted, so probably they had, too[1498].

We have special information about George Capadoca. A papal privilege from 1411 not only proves that George adhered to the Latin rite, but also suggests that he may have been recently converted[1499]. The Capadoca family had been known from at least the early fourteenth century on[1500], but George was the first of his family to become royal counsellor. A treaty with the republic of Genoa from 1414, when he was part of the Haute Court, proves that he had also been knighted[1501]. At some point before 1411, George had rented an estate from the bishopric of Limassol. In 1411, Pope John XXIII confirmed this procedure. The privilege is addressed to »[our] esteemed son the nobleman George Capadoca, *domicellus* from Nicosia[1502]« and thus confirms George's noble status. Moreover, the pope stated explicitly that he gave his assent in order to further George's love for the Latin Church: »we therefore wish, since you are – as you say – councillor to our well-beloved son in Christ the illustrious King of Cyprus Janus, that your devotion to us and the Roman Church shall grow ever so much greater[1503]«. The pope would surely have desired to further every Latin Christian's love to the Roman Church. However, it is notable that it is explicitly mentioned here, and perhaps it indicates that George had not been a Latin Christian for long.

Only two cases seem to indicate that the men in question might have ascended the social ladder without converting, and they are very uncertain, since they are adduced by Wilpertus Rudt de Collenberg, who does not indicate his sources. Collenberg insisted that Nicolas Podocataro, one of the earliest known members of this family, was King James I's counsellor between 1385 and 1398, and that he belonged to the Greek rite. This would be a very interesting case of social ascension without a parallel conversion to the Latin rite. Jean Podocataro, whom Rudt de Collenberg mentions as Nicolas' son, also most probably adhered to the Greek rite[1504]. Jean is called *nobilis* in the inscription lists of the University of Padua, where his sons were enlisted, but it is uncertain whether he was considered as such in Cyprus[1505]. However, as we will see

1492 Examples of conversions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries exist, but they are very rare, see Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 379.

1493 Again, I shall follow literature and speak of conversion from one rite to the other, in order to emphasize the gravity of this step, although technically passing from one rite to another was not a conversion in a legal sense.

1494 Papadopoullos, Domē kai Leitourgia 778 postulated that conversion was above all connected to the better possibilities of education which Greek individuals could only find within the institutions of the Latin Church. But since the possibility of studying in Padua existed, this cannot be the most important reason for conversion during the fifteenth century. Rather, the following analysis illustrates that socio-economic rise in general must have played a role. Papadopoullos also postulated that the number of conversions was generally very low, but we will see that this is not the case in the fifteenth century.

1495 For the Podocataro family, see below. For the Chimi, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 222: Jacobus Chimi attained the privilege of full absolution on 7.5.1469, and was thus certainly a member of the Latin Church. Alice Chimi was buried in St Sophia in the second half of the fifteenth century, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 76. For the Salah, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 144: Babin Salah attained full absolution on 24.3.1447, and no. 209: Jacob Salah attained full absolution as one of Charlotte of Lusignan's followers on 18.5.1467. For the Sincritico family, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209: Elena also attained full absolution on 18.5.1467. For the Urri, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 158: Giacomo Urri was procurator at the curia for his relative Nicolas on 6.7.1451, who became canon in Nicosia after his relative Odet Urri. Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209: Petrus and Johanna Urri attained full absolution on 18.5.1467.

1496 For a discussion of these designations, see ch. 1.2, p. 37.

1497 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599.

1498 Coureas, Ethnicity and Identity 78 also observed that Greeks and Syrians who attained high state office crossed over to the Latin rite. For Hugo Podocataro and George Capadoca, see below. For Giacomo Urri, see above n. 1495. For Piero Podocataro, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 72-74. 78. 82-84 and below. For Jean and Philippe Salah, see Machairas, Exēgēsis § 704; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 141-153; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380. George Billy, who had become the king's counsellor by 1403, is an uncertain case. He possessed a copy of the Orthodox metaphrastic menologion for January and November in Greek (Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 187; for the content of the manuscript and the wording of the French owner's note, see Paschke, Klementinen-Epitomen 135-136). However, this does not necessarily reveal anything about his official affiliation.

1499 See Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 41, and ASVat, Reg. Lat. 145 fols 169^{r-v}.

1500 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 50. Cf. ch. 2.2, p. 65.

1501 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 142.

1502 ASVat, Reg. Lat. 145 fol. 169^{r}: *dilecto filio Nobili viro Georgio Cappadoco domicello Nicosien(se).*

1503 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-5, p. 419 (John XXIII): *Nos itaque, volentes te, qui – ut asseris – carissimi in Christo filii nostri Iani regis Cypri illustris consiliarius existis, ut eo amplius tua devotio ad nos et Romanam Ecclesiam augeatur* (ASVat, Reg. Lat. 145 fol. 169^{r}).

1504 For the question of Jean's religious affiliation, see below. For Nicolas as James' counsellor, see Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 135. Unfortunately, Collenberg does not state his sources either for Nicolas' office or the postulation that he was Jean's father.

1505 Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 134. Cf. Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 137 and ch. 2.2, p. 68.

below, Jean's children, who attained fiefs and knighthood, all converted to the Latin rite. Generally, the great quantity of Syrians and Greeks who converted to the Latin rite in the fifteenth century strongly suggests that it was extremely conducive to adhere to the Latin rite in order to find entry into the highest echelons of Cypriot society[1506]. The question now is how this official affiliation was conceived and lived.

Hugo Podocataro's testament, which Rudt de Collenberg edited in 1993[1507], is an invaluable source for an individual case in this respect. As we have seen before[1508], Hugo was an important statesman in the 1440s. Together with his siblings, he had reached the highest social rise imaginable at the time, being awarded knighthood, fiefs and offices by the crown. Hugo's sister had married into the well-known noble Babin family. His brothers George and Ludovico made important Church careers. Ludovico, perhaps the most well-known family member, worked as Pope Alexander VI's secretary later in his life and became cardinal in 1500[1509].

In 1452, Hugo made his testament, which he wrote himself in Italian. The autograph of the testament has been preserved in the Venetian state archives[1510]. The testament was corroborated by the notary Benedict de Ovetariis in the royal palace, as a short paragraph on the outside page informs the reader. It was testified almost solely by members of Syrian families[1511].

Hugo begins his testament with the usual formulae concerning the uncertainty of the moment of death and the will of the testator to order his affairs that we also find in other Latin Christian testaments[1512]:

> I, Hugo Podocataro, the aforementioned testator, healthy in mind and intellect, mindful of the divine decision for which everyone ignores when their life will end, how and when it must happen and that everyone must die without there being anything more certain than death and anything more uncertain than the hour of death, according [to what] is said in the Holy Evangelium through the mouth of our creator Jesus Christ himself, who says: 'keep alert, because you don't know the day or the hour' etc. Thus, I the aforementioned Hugo, considering and turning my attention to the aforementioned things, fearing that I may die without a testament and wishing to provide for the salvation of my soul and for my possessions [which] the most high creator has given me, have drafted the following testament, written by my own hand[1513].

The testament continues with the standard phrase that the testator recommends his soul to God, the Virgin Mary and all the celestial court. So far, Hugo could be just any Latin Christian. Then, however, the text becomes interesting. Hugo requests to be buried in the Greek women's monastery of *Le Femene*[1514] in Nicosia, in his father's grave. He leaves the monastery 50 besants, 25 to be given to the nuns who are each supposed to say 25 Paternoster and 25 Ave Maria for his soul, and 25 besants for the decoration of the church. Hugo continues that, since he was married *in francho*, the Latin cathedral church of St Sophia might refuse a Greek burial (»perhaps the cathedral church will make problems at having me buried in the Greek manner[1515]«), and requests all his relatives, testamentary executors and even the king and queen to intervene with the archbishop (or whoever should be in charge of the Latin church[1516]) on his behalf. He requests them to pay 200 besants for the dispensation, and if that is not enough, even up to 30 ducats[1517]. Should the dispensation be denied, Hugo desires to be buried in the Augustinian church, at the top of the stairs leading to the great altar or near the grave of St Nicholas of Tolentino[1518].

This renders the highly valuable information that Hugo Podocataro had married his – presumably also Greek – wife Theodora Melissini[1519] according to the Latin rite, a procedure

1506 Nicolaou-Konnari, Greeks 45 also asserts that it was necessary to convert to the Latin rite in order to achieve social ascension.
1507 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro.
1508 Cf. ch. 2.2, p. 68 and 4.2.2, p. 121.
1509 Cf. ch. 2.2, p. 68-69 and for Ludovico, see Parlato, Memorie romane 69-70.
1510 See Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142. I have been able to confirm from the document itself in ASVen, Notarile, Testamenti 14 that Hugo indeed wrote the testament himself.
1511 ASVen, Notarile, Testamenti 14. For a more detailed analysis of the witnesses, see ch. 3.2, p. 89.
1512 See e. g. the corpus of testaments registered at the Parisian parliament (Testaments enregistrés [Chaigne]) and Berenger Albi's testament in Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 26-27. The testaments from Venetian Crete edited by Sally McKee also feature similar contents, but use somewhat different formulae, see McKee (ed.), Wills passim.
1513 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 143: *Io Hugo Podochator testador predito, sano di mente et intelleto havendo nella memoria el divin iudicio che cadaun persona el fin di soa vita ignora, qual et quando esser debe et a cadaun conven che mora non essendo cossa piu certa che la morte et piu incerta che lora de la morte, secundo e dinotado nel sancto evangelio per bocha propria del nostro creator Jhesu Christo dicente: 'vigilate et orate quia nescitis diem neque horam' etc. Per tanto considerando et animadvertendo io Hugo predito le cosse predite temendomi di morir senza testamento et volendo proveder ala salute de lanima mia et ali mei beni ma concesso il summo creatore, ho fato questo presente mio testamento inscriptis, de lamia man propria scritto.*
1514 This Greek monastery is mentioned in various sources. According to Florio Bustron, it was situated on or near the street of the Syrians in Nicosia (Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 238). It is also mentioned in some of the documents from the Livre des remembrances in 1468 (Livre des remembrances [Richard] nos 110. 124) and in a document from 1454 published by Cathérine Otten-Froux (Otten-Froux, Investissements financiers 128), which informs us that it was dedicated to St Mary.
1515 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 143: *forse la giesia cathedrale fara dificulta a lasarmi sopellir in grego*.
1516 In 1451, John II's bastard son James had just been appointed to the archbishopric, but had not been confirmed by the pope, see above p. 145.
1517 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 143: *voglio dian al dito superiore et giesa per el quarto bisanti dusento et tanto piu quanto alor parera condecente per fin ducati XXX et non piu*. 30 ducats were around 210 besants, which is not much more than the first sum. But perhaps paying in golden ducats would in itself have given the payment more prestige and thus a better value. For the money rates see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 18 and cf. p. 45.
1518 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 143-144. Nicholas of Tolentino lived in Italy in the thirteenth century and was thus a recent saint in Hugo's times. He was known for his great charity, strict asceticism and untiring pastoral care, and was venerated especially as helper in times of need. Cf. Zumkeller, Nikolaus v. Tolentino 868-869.
1519 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 145.

which would presuppose an official affiliation with said rite. This affiliation was probably rather new, since Hugo's father was buried in the Greek women's monastery Le Femene, and one of Hugo's aunts was a nun of the Greek rite[1520]. Thus, at the representative moment of marriage, Hugo had taken care to belong to the Latin Church. However, when it came to the central and very personal matter of burial, he wanted to be buried with his father in a Greek monastery. The matter was so important to him that he was willing to spend a large sum of money on attaining this goal, and even begged for the intercession of the royal couple. Thus, in spite of being an official member of the Latin Church, he had retained an important emotional relationship with his Greek religious heritage, which became important for his identity at the moment of death. Hugo's relationship to the Greek Church is also illustrated by the fact that he knew at least two Greek nuns personally: he bequeathed 25 besants each to Deramera and Magdalini, whom he called his aunt's *compagne* (›companions‹) and requested them to say 25 Paternosters and Ave Marias for eight consecutive days[1521].

Beyond his personal ties to the Greek Church, Hugo also related to the Augustinian church, his second choice of burial, and to the cathedral church of St Sophia. To both he bequeathed 150 besants a year. In return, they were supposed to sing a mass for him every day and celebrate an *aniversal/aniversario* every year on the anniversary of his death. Finally, Hugo requested that if the »small new house« originally designated to his second son Janus should by any chance not be inherited by this son nor wanted by any of the defunct's brothers, it should be sold and ten ducats of the proceedings be given to his brother's chapel of the Cross[1522] each year, while the rest was supposed to benefit the Dominicans who should sing masses for his soul like the Augustinians. Hugo therefore left money to a number of Latin institutions. To the monastery of Le Femene in turn he gave 70 besants for singing a mass two times a week and for celebrating a (Gr.) *mnimosino* on the anniversary of his death. The money was supposed to be supplied from his income accruing from the saltlake in Limassol[1523]. The instructions illustrate how Hugo was part of both traditions. He complied with the usual rituals for the dead in both churches and used the familiar vocabulary of *aniversario* on the Latin and *mnimosino* on the Greek side for memorial services on the anniversary of a defunct's death. Although Hugo feared that he might not be allowed to be buried in the Greek monastery, his ties to the Greek Church were by no means secret. This is an important difference to former centuries, when it seems that those few Greeks who converted to the Latin rite sometimes administered Greek ceremonies in secret[1524]. In the fifteenth century, this was not necessary any more.

It is difficult to tell what Hugo's emotional relationship to the Latin Church may have been. According to Rudt de Collenberg, Hugo did not have a great opinion of ecclesiastics, as he finished his instructions to the churches with the remark that if the said churches should not comply with the requests, the money should be given to the poor instead (»it should be distributed every year […] to the poor in Christ, that is prisoners, invalids, for marrying virgins and similar pious works[1525]«). Rudt de Collenberg calls this phrase »un peu désabusive[1526]« and argues that Hugo never requested a papal privilege like his co-ambassadeurs did, in spite of having been to Rome five times. He even says that »Hugues, en tout cas, se considérait comme appartenant au rite grec et fut considéré comme tel[1527]«.

I do not think these arguments are enough to assume a negative attitude towards the Latin Church, let alone an identification with the Greek Church alone. Hugo's marriage according to the Latin rite and the requests to sing masses for his soul as well as his anxiety lest he should not be allowed to be buried in a Greek monastery show that he was certainly considered Latin by others. And he indeed identified with the Latin Church at certain points in his life like his wedding, even if this identification may have stemmed more from social and political causes than from personal pious ones. Moreover, the phrase *et simel pie cause* seems to me a normal expression: Hugo tried to include any pious cases he may have forgotten. His numerous embassies to the papal curia also suggest that his relationship to the Latin Church must have been quite good, even if that applied first of all to the political level. Collenberg reports that Hugo was even asked to serve as *custos conclavi,* as guardian of the conclave which elected the pope behind locked doors, along with Phoebus of Lusignan during the papal election in 1447, which was a great honour[1528]. It is true that no requests for papal privileges from his side have been found in the papal registers until now, while his two co-ambassadors Phoebus of Lusignan and Babin Salah each received an absolution in 1447. Perhaps the privileges have just not been found or failed to be registered. But even

1520 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 148. It could of course be possible that Jean Podocataro had been buried in a Greek monastery although he had been a member of the Latin Church, just as Hugo projected for himself, but the fact that Jean's sister Chiramarina was a Greek nun suggests that both were actually of the Greek rite.

1521 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 148. It is not completely clear from the testament whether Chiramarina and her companions were nuns at Le Femene itelf, but it seems a reasonable suggestion.

1522 Obviously one of Hugo's brothers possessed a private chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross. The Podocataro probably had a special relationship to the Cross, as their connection with the monastery of the Holy Cross (Stavrovouni) in the sixteenth century indicates. See Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 589-590.

1523 For all the legacies to the churches, see Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 144 and 146.

1524 Nicolaou-Konnari, Encounter 380.

1525 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 144: *se distribuisca ogni anno […] in poveri di Christo, zoe prisonieri, infermi, maridar verzene et simel pie cause*.

1526 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 161.

1527 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 160.

1528 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 140. For an explanation of the conclave, see Roberg, Konklave 1334.

if that is not the case, a negative attitude to the Latin church cannot have been the reason, particularly as Hugo requested privileges for his relatives on various occasions[1529]. His request to be buried in the Augustine church near St Nicholas of Tolentino on the contrary suggests that he might even have had a special relationship to this saint, and that he knew the church well.

In general, Hugo's testament depicts an individual who related to both the Latin and the Orthodox Churches, even if the nature of these two relationships probably differed. While he certainly had an emotional tie to the Greek monastery of *Le Femene*, the relationship to the Latin Church may have been mostly political, although this is not certain. Counting as Latin at the moment of marriage at least was probably necessary for social ascendance.

Other members of Hugo's family delved even further into Latin religious identity, as they decided to actively serve the Latin Church. The most distinguished was the above mentioned cardinal Ludovico Podocataro. But other family members also joined the ranks of the Latin clergy[1530]. In 1443, Giorgio Podocataro received canonries in Nicosia and Paphos. In 1451, he was appointed papal *protonotarius*, a very high honour which usually led to the cardinalate[1531]. In 1464, a certain Carolus, perhaps Hugo's other brother Carlo, became canon in Nicosia and Paphos as well as cantor in the latter town, and treasurer of Famagusta in 1468 or 1469[1532]. Undoubtedly the service in the Latin Church must have meant at least a certain degree of identification with it. At the same time, it granted the men in question an income.

Later, the association with cardinal Ludovico, who was so close to the popes, must have been another stimulus to use Latin religious identity for the benefit of the family. A papal privilege from 14 May 1472 shows that the family very consciously represented themselves as Latins, probably in order to gain acceptance both with Cypriot noble society and the papacy. The document states that Philippe Podocataro along with his relatives James and Janus, the sons of Peter Podocataro, and Gioffredo, son of Jean Babin (who had married Maria, Hugo's sister) had requested permission to build Latin churches on their respective *casalia* and to pay priests or friars to celebrate Latin masses there. They argued that unfortunately there were too few Latin churches in the countryside[1533] but on the other hand many Greek, Armenian, Jacobite and even schismatic churches. This afforded them, good Christians living according to the Latin rite, great displeasure[1534].

One would usually expect an argument of this sort for example from Latin Church officials coming from outside Cyprus or the papacy itself, and it is interesting that this originally Orthodox family appropriated such a discourse. They even went as far as suggesting to take over Armenian, Greek or other church buildings which they call »heretic«, and to turn them into Latin ones as an alternative to building new churches on their *casalia*[1535]. This would most certainly not have increased the family's popularity amongst the local population, so the socio-political benefit of installing these Latin churches must have been considerable for the family to attempt this anyway. This is also illustrated by the fact that the churches were to be built at the family's own expense and later to be endowed with proceeds from their tithes as well as additional family donations[1536]. The Podocataros put a lot of effort into this new Latin identity, styling themselves »more Latin than the Latins«, many of whom probably simply visited the Greek and Oriental churches in the countryside. The profit in terms of social prestige with their fellow nobles and perhaps with the papacy itself must have been worth it. Therefore, it seems that at least this family used their Latin identity as a strong social marker in order to underline their separation from other elements of society. It is worth noting that this still worked in the 1470s, when in 1485 Felix Faber in his travel diary would complain that he had witnessed the shocking event of one and the same priest first celebrating the Latin mass and then the Greek one[1537]. This illustrates how the context and audience of identity representations have to be taken into account[1538]. While on the everyday level, the different rites might be administered by one priest in personal union, the identity a rite entailed might still be highly important on the level of social politics.

Other Syrian and Greek families may have used their newly acquired Latin identities in a similar manner to the Podocataro. Especially from the 1440s onwards, many of them appear as Latin clerics in the papal registers, though not all of these families attained membership in the high nobility. The earliest Syrian registered as a Latin canon is Jean Cadash,

1529 At least according to Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 140, the canonry given to Giorgio Podocataro in 1443 was obtained by Hugo. In 1451, Hugo was procurator for Nicolas Urri along with Giacomo Urri and helped obtaining a canonry for him, see Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 158. Rudt de Collenberg does not register him as procurator for Giorgio Podocataro, who was promoted to *protonotarius* at roughly the same time, but it is very probable that he acted as such.

1530 Cf. ch. 2.2., from p. 68, where I have mentioned these cases of social ascension, too.

1531 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 146.

1532 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 193. 214.

1533 For the scarceness of Latin churches in the Cypriot countryside, see e. g. Richard, Peuplement latin et syrien 162.

1534 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 173: *nulle latine sed tantumodo grecorum armeniorum et iacobitarum et quorundam etiam schismaticorum ecclesie reperiuntur, ex quo dicto Philippeo eiusque consortibus huiusmodi aliisque Christi fidelibus latinis et catholico more viventibus ad displicentiam cedit non modicum*.

1535 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 174: *in quolibet ex casalibus predictis unam parrochialem ecclesiam cum offici*n*iis et ornamentis necessariis de bonis propriis de novo erigere vel grecorum seu armeniorum aut aliorum non latinorum eretis [sic!] in latinas mutare*.

1536 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 174: *et cuilibet ipsarum viginti ducatos pro redditibus annuis ex fructibus decimalibus qui in dictis casalibus et pertinenciis eorum colliguntur pro perpetuis dotibus earum. Ita tamen quod Philippeus et* […] *consortes* […] *pro qualibet ecclesiarum de bonis propriis addere et in augmentum dotis huiusmodi assignare teneantur*.

1537 Frater Felix, Evagatorium (Hassler) 177.

1538 Cf. Mersch, Shared Spaces 463.

who was canon in Famagusta and Paphos in 1375 and also received a canonry in Nicosia in 1378. He died before October 1383[1539]. One Jean Fava of Beyruth was canon of Nicosia in 1408, though we do not know if he really was a Syrian, and in 1421 we first meet Andrea Audeth receiving the expectative to canonries in Paphos and Limassol. After occupying the important post of archdeacon of Nicosia, Andrea was to become bishop of Tortosa in 1451, following the death of a certain Salomon Cardus[1540]. There is a gap of about twenty years without mention of any other Syrian or Greek individuals with canonries after 1421, but from the 1440s onwards, they become more numerous. In 1443, Nicholaos Bezas became treasurer of Paphos and later seems to have been the general vicar of Nicosia. In 1444, Isaach Abrae de Mina became a canon in Paphos. In 1445, Paul Bustron was installed as abbot of the St Mary monastery of Episkopi[1541]. As late as 1451, the famous Urri family appears for the first time. Nicolas Urri became canon in Nicosia, and this canonry, among others, seems to have belonged to his relative Odet Urri before him[1542]. Salomon Giblet, Jacques Seba, Philippe and Perrin Urri, a certain Franciscus de Leya (probably Laiazzo), and Jean Bustron all received canonries in one of the Cypriot dioceses in the years between 1458 and 1470[1543]. Petrus Careri, Moyses Giblet[1544] and Antonius Cariote even obtained the offices of archdeacon of Paphos, Antioch and Famagusta in 1458, 1459 and 1469, respectively[1545].

We cannot prove that these men followed an active strategy of representing their »Latinized religious identity« in order to attain social ascendance. However, the correlation between the occupation of church offices and social ascendance in some of these families such as the Urri, the Seba and the Bustron families is striking.

The question arises whether this development was in any way connected with the council of Ferrara-Florence and the union between the Latin and Greek Churches it had proclaimed in 1439. Did the union encourage these families to enter active service in the Latin Church, even if the Orthodox and Latin churches in Cyprus had officially been united since the thirteenth century? As is well known, the union was not accepted by the clergy and population in the Byzantine Empire. A part of the Greek Cypriot clergy, in contrast, tried to use the union in order to gain control of the revenues from Latin Church ceremonies. They complained to Pope Eugene IV in November 1441 that the Latin clergy refused to implement the union and did not let Greeks take their communion nor participate in Latin marriages or funerals (thus excluding them also from the revenues deriving from these ceremonies). Thus, at least part of the Greek Cypriot Church would have welcomed the union's implementation, but it did not take place[1546]. Other documents, most of them cited above, also clearly show that the union did not change the way the different rites were perceived on the island. In 1452, Hugo Podocataro was still afraid he would not be able to be buried in the Greek manner, and in 1471, it was still very important to his relatives to erect Latin churches on their *casalia*. Moreover, the observed parallelism of conversion to the Latin rite and social ascension in itself suggests that the difference between the rites was still felt. Thus, it is highly improbable that the union had a lasting effect on Greeks' and Syrians' decisions to convert to the Latin rite[1547]. Other, social reasons as illustrated above were probably much more important. However, this does not exclude that some people may have been encouraged in their decision to enter Latin Church service directly after the union, if they believed that the churches on Cyprus would come to grow together even more than before.

In spite of all the possibilities an affiliation with the Latin Church entailed, there were also members of the same Syrian and Greek circles who opted for other modes of religious identity construction. In 1451, for example, a certain Paulinus Zacharias, one of Queen Helena Palaiologina's followers, used the possibility of papal privileges quite differently from the afore mentioned cases. He and his sons were awarded the privilege of conducting marriages and burials in the Greek rite, although Paulinus had been married to Latin women twice[1548]. In spite of his two mixed marriages he seems to have been intent on retaining his Orthodox traditions. The same can very probably be said for the chronicler Leontios Machairas. Given the composition of the work, it is highly probable that the religious statements in the chronicle can be attributed to Machairas himself[1549]. As Jean de Nores' secretary and even ambassador to Konya in 1432[1550], Machairas

1539 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-1, pp. 4-6, α-61, pp. 99-101 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 1.

1540 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-33, pp. 277-279 (Benedict XIII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 32. 82. 154. Cf. also Richard, Une famille 90.

1541 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 131. 134. 139.

1542 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de Prosopgraphie no. 158.

1543 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de Prosopgraphie nos 173. 188. 192. 199. 205. 206.

1544 Moyses especially carries the epithet *de natione Syria* in the register, thus differentiating this family from the old noble Giblet families. See Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 174.

1545 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de Prosopgraphie nos 172. 174. 216.

1546 Eugene IV wrote to Andrew, the archbishop of Rhodes, in order to inform him of the complaint in form of a supplication he had received from some of the Greek bishops of Cyprus, and ordered him to see into the matter. Bullarium (Ripoll) 143-144. Cf. Kyriacou, Orthodox Cyprus 153-154. Hackett, History 151-152 doubted the truth of this document, arguing that the Orthodox clergy would never have wanted the union to be implemented, an argument which stemmed more from his will to protect the Orthodox Cypriot church against any charges of fraternization than from the reality of the fifteenth century. Cf. Hill, History III 1090 who also sees the argumentation as unjustifiable, and also Coureas, Conversion 84.

1547 Richard, Une famille 91 suggests that the union facilitated the interpenetration of the various rites, but then backtracks and says that at least between the Latin and Greek rites, the interreligious phenomena were already to be seen in the fourteenth century.

1548 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 157.

1549 See for example the story of the cross of Tochni, Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 67-77, especially §§ 72-73; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konarē/Pierēs) 101-107, and the story of Thibault's conversion below, and cf. p. 26.

1550 Bliznyuk, Machairas 58.

moved in the same circles as many of the individuals and families who opted for a changing of rites, but the author of the chronicle defined his religious identity as Orthodox. In a well-known passage, which is contained in somewhat differing versions in the three existing manuscripts, he commented on Thibault Belfaradge's conversion, which he made responsible for the latter's downfall and death[1551]. MS V states:

> all this happened (to Thibault), because he ceased to have his hope in God, and put his trust in his wit and in the king's love for him, and because of worldly pride deserted the faith of his fathers and became a Latin. Now I am not condemning the Latins, but what is the need for a Greek to become a Latin? For should a good Christian despise the one faith and betake himself to the other[1552]?

If it is Machairas who is speaking here, then he maintained the opinion that everyone should stick to their own tradition, and that Belfaradge did not convert out of religious conviction, but out of »worldly pride«, i. e. for social distinction – a likely opinion given the very probable connection between conversion and social ascension. It is to be expected that there were others who thought in the same way, intent on retaining their Orthodox heritage.

However, the adherence to one's original religious traditions did not prevent good relationships with other rites or churches. The Audeth family is an interesting case in point. The three testaments preserved in the Venetian state archive concerning Gioan (16 September 1451), his uncle Antonio (13 July 1453) and the latter's wife Giaca Audeth (30 May 1468) create a fascinating picture of this family's relations with various churches. It is evident that these three members of the family, in contrast to their relative Andrea, by then Latin bishop of Tortosa, belonged to the Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) church, since they mention its institutions as *nostra giesa* (›our church‹)[1553]. All three wanted to be buried in a Syrian Orthodox church. It is not clear whether the same church building is meant in every case, since Gioan and Antonio both just speak of the church of the Jacobites (»the church of the Jacobites« / »the holy temple of the Jacobites[1554]«), while Giaca designates the church as »Our glorious Lady of our Church[1555]«. However, since the Syrian Orthodox bishops ordained their priests in the Syrian Orthodox church of Our Lady[1556], we can be fairly sure that this central community church of the Syrian Orthodox is meant in all three cases. Antonio had even built a chapel in this church, in which he wanted to be buried.

Both Gioan and Giaca left the church money for its expenses, Gioan the substantial sum of 400 besants, Giaca the more moderate amount of 25 besants. All three Audeth left money to various Syrian Orthodox churches and monasteries. Giaca for example bequeathed 250 besants to the church of St Nicholas, and 10 to the monastery of St Croce, Gioan and Antonio left the same churches between 25 and 40 besants respectively. Both Giaca and Gioan bequeathed 7.5 and 15 besants respectively to every Syrian Orthodox priest on the island (Gioan in order for them to commemorate him), and Gioan instructed the executors of his testament to pay the Syrian Orthodox church 600 besants per year for the masses sung for his soul[1557]. Thus, all three members of the Audeth family exhibit an affinity for their own church community.

The Syrian Orthodox is the only church mentioned in Giaca's will. Her husband and his nephew, on the other hand, also show connections to other churches[1558]. They considered the Copts, who had the same creed, as a sister church. Both left the »four Coptic churches« 100 besants, and Antonio bequeathed the same amount of money to Coptic priests attending his funeral as to their Syrian Orthodox brethren, whereas Gioan left 25 besants to the Coptic bishop for the commemoration of his soul. They also thought of other communities. Both left little sums to the churches in their neighbourhood, in Antonio's case Maronite, Armenian and Greek communities. Gioan specified that he wanted to donate to all the Greek communities near his house. He added that he desired to have masses sung for him according to the Italian, Greek and Jacobite rites (*alla italiana et alla greca et alla covitica*[1559]), although he does not specify by which congregation. Jean Richard has suggested that *alla italiana* could be the term for the Latin Church[1560]. However, this is not the only mention of the Latin Church. While Gioan donates 50 besants »to construct the dome in Santa Sophia[1561]« (i. e.

1551 Cf. also pp. 26-27, where I have analysed this episode in the context of the discussion of text transmission and authors.

1552 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 579. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē / Pierēs) 403: MS V: οὔλον εγήνετον διατὶ ἐσύκοσεν τὴν ἐλπίδαν ἀπε τὸν θεὸν κὰι εθάρισεν εἰς το νοῦντου κὰι εἰστὴν ἀγάπην του ρυγὸς κὰι διὰ τὴν ἔπαρσην του κόσμου εγκατέλυπεν τὴν πατρικὴν του πίστην κὰι ἐγήνην λατὴνος το λυπὸν δὲν καταδυκάζω τοὺς λατήνους ἀμμὲ ἥντα χρύσι ἴναι ρομάιος ναγενή λατήνος ἐπιδὴ ὀρθόδοξος χριστιανὸς ἴναι χρύσι να καταφρονίσι τὴν μίανα μπάισι είς τὴν ἄλλην; After the first sentence, MS O and R deviate from V, saying: »and thought that the God of the Latins is different from / greater than the God of the Greeks. And if a man thinks thus and changes his allegiance, God loves him neither in this world nor in the other. Men should therefore not despise the orthodox faith«. MS O: καὶ ἐθάρισεν ὅτι ἥνε ἄλλος θεὸς τοὺς λατήνους παρὰτοὺς ῥομαίους καὶ ἥ τις πολομᾶ τίτιαν στῆμαν καὶ ἀλλάσση τὸ σέβεται ὁ θεὸς δὲν τὸν ἀγαπὰ οὐδὲ ὅδε οὐδε εκὶ καὶ διατοῦτον δὲν πρέπι να κατὰφρονοῦν τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστην; MS R only has a slightly differing version from this one. Both O and R give *souperpian tou kosmou* instead of *eparsēn tou kosmou* in the first sentence. The translations here follow Dawkins' translation apart from *eparsēn / souperpian tou kosmou*, 'worldly pride', which Dawkins translates as »because he was so much lifted up by the world«. I think the sense of the passage is better rendered by the above expression. See Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 579.

1553 Richard, Une famille 113. 127 (docs V, X): *la giesia di Acuviti / santo tempio di Acuviti*. Cf. also Richard's comment on p. 90; Antonio does not use this designation, but from the rest of his testament, it is quite clear that he also belonged to the Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) church.

1554 Richard, Une famille 112 (doc. V). 118 (doc. VII).

1555 Richard, Une famille 127 (doc. X, Giaca): *gloriosa Nostra Donna della giesia nostra*.

1556 Richard, Une famille 127 n. 1.

1557 Richard, Une famille 113 (doc. V, Gioan). 118-119 (doc. VII, Antonio). 127 (doc. X, Giaca).

1558 Cf. Richard, Une famille 90.

1559 Richard, Une famille 113 (doc. V).

1560 Richard, Une famille 113 n. 2.

1561 Richard, Une famille 113: *per fabrichar la cuba in Santa Sophya*. Cf. n. 6: Richard says that there is also a seal from the thirteenth century which seems to suggest that the transept of the Sophia church had a dome.

to restore the dome, probably of the transept in St Sophia), Antonio left the same sum to any Latin priests who paid him their last respects, as to the Syrian Orthodox priests. Both bequeathed 100 besants to their nephew Andrea, the Latin bishop[1562].

However, by far the greatest part of the money Antonio gave to Church institutions he left in the hands of procurators in Venice: half of his income of Marathassa, which amounted to 4,333.3 ducats (i.e. 2,166.65 ducats) as well as 5,000 ducats which he had invested in the bank of Venice were supposed to be used for donations to monasteries, churches and the poor for the commemoration of his soul[1563]. Thus, although Antonio had a good relationship with his own Syrian Orthodox church, where he wanted to be buried, the really important money went to Venice. Jean Richard has suggested that Antonio made this transaction because he feared King John II would claim the money for himself after his death. The Venetian republic would have been powerful enough to resist against such claims[1564]. This sounds like a good explanation. Still, at least the 5,000 ducats invested in Venice would probably be used for donations in the republic itself, and therefore in Latin churches. The second biggest sum in Antonio's testament and the greatest in Gioan's will went to the poor in general – both men dispensed about 1,000 besants to the poor and the priests on the days of their funeral and commemoration festivities[1565].

All these details suggest that although the Audeths still belonged to their traditional Syrian Orthodox community, which they saw as their own (*nostra giesa*), they took care to entertain good relationships with the other church communities of their neighbourhood, especially with the Coptic Church. They also seem to have entertained healthy relationships with the Latin Church on Cyprus, although they did not leave too much money there, inspite of their nephew Andrea being an active bishop there. However, the huge amount of money left to Venice illustrates that this cannot have been an aversion against the Latin Church in general. Rather, this could have been just a practical solution, since a lot of the Audeth's money was already invested in Venice. The great sums both Antonio and Gioan left for the care of the poor also suggest that they may have focused on exhibiting pious works in general.

In contrast to the men of the family, Giaca Audeth does not seem to have perceived the relations to other churches as her responsibility. But she had also taken care to transfer most of her money to her relatives in donations *inter vivos*, so she did not possess great sums at the moment of her death[1566]. Perhaps she saw her own instructions as the only measures which could be undertaken with the money she had left, and this minimal amount went to the congregation she considered her own. To conclude, the Audeths maintained their traditional identity, but had a wide network of contacts to other communities.

The case of the Audeth family also shows very clearly that the lines between different choices in religious identity construction were not clearly cut in circles and families. In one and the same family, there could be individuals who converted to the Latin rite and others who maintained their traditional identities. The legacies to Andrea Audeth suggest that relationships between the family members were good. Other examples hint in the same direction. Machairas for example mentions that a certain Philippe, son of one of his father's cousins, was a Latin priest, while Philippe's mother lived as a Greek nun in the St Mamas monastery[1567]. The Urri family is another case in point. While some Urri actively served the Latin church from the 1450s, a certain Perrin Urri made his testament in 1481 and bequeathed 30 Genoese *luoghi* to the Greek monastery Ai Pandes[1568]. We do not know if Perrin was officially Orthodox or if this is a similar case to Hugo Podocataro's testament. However, the fact that Urri left money only to a Greek monastery points in the first direction[1569]. Moreover, Paulinus Zacharias, who wanted to conduct his weddings and burials in the Greek rite, seems to have belonged to the circle around Hugo Podocataro, if he indeed is identical with the Pol Zacer who witnessed the latter's testament[1570]. Unfortunately, we cannot say whether some families pursued the strategy of just one member converting in order to pursue a career, while the others cultivated their traditional identities. In any case, it was certainly not a problem for different family members to pertain to different rites, although we should not forget that Leontios Machairas still complained about conversion.

Another solution for the choice between the rites can be seen in the *Diēgēsis*[1571]. Its author Georgios Bustron cannot be counted either to the traditionalizing group or to the Latinizing individuals. It is not even possible to discern which rite Georgios belonged to officially. Similar to his unifying strategy with respect to ethnic identities[1572], Georgios seems to have levelled religious differences in his chronicle. He achieved this through vagueness and disinterest in religious matters. In contrast to Machairas, there are no miracle stories in his text. Religious men such as monks, priests and bishops al-

1562 For all the above legacies, see Richard, Une famille 113 (doc. V, Gioan) and 119 (doc. VII, Antonio).
1563 Richard, Une famille 120-121 (doc. VII).
1564 Richard, Une famille 95.
1565 Richard, Une famille 112-113 (doc. V, Gioan). 118 (doc. VII, Antonio).
1566 See Richard, Une famille docs VIII, IX, X.
1567 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 566.
1568 Otten, Investissements financiers 121-122. For the term *luoghi* and its meaning, see p. 66 and n. 604 Would this be the same Perrin Urri who worked as secretary in the 1450s? Cf. pp. 88-89.
1569 It is also interesting to note that a member of a Syrian family left money to a Greek monastery. This could perhaps be a hint that the family were Melkites and therefore were of the same rite as the Greek.
1570 Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 160 reasonably suggests that Pol Zacer and Paulinus Zacharias were the same person.
1571 See from p. 27 for more information on this chronicle.
1572 Cf. ch. 5.2, p. 138.

most never appear in their religious functions in the story, but only as James II's followers, sometimes even leading military operations[1573]. James' appointment as archbishop of Cyprus is never treated in religious terms. The archbishopric only plays a role as James' fief which renders him a substantial income[1574]. The author distinguishes between Greek (Gr. *Rhomaios*) and Latin (Gr. *Fragkos*) prelates[1575], but this is not important for the story. In contrast to Leontios Machairas and Paulinus Zacharias, but also to the conscious Latinizing self-representation of families such as the Podocataro, the author of the chronicle does not seem to have been interested in religious matters at all.

Thus, the religious choices ascending Greeks and Syrians made varied. Many opted for a conversion to the Latin rite. This was rewarding in many ways. Not only does it seem to have furthered their social rise. It was also a method of accessing (monetary) resources such as church canonries and papal privileges. Other climbers chose to retain their traditional heritage, although this did not hinder good relationships with other communities. It cannot be said conclusively whether a decision for the traditional affiliation really decreased the chances for social ascension, but the fact that all those who attained high state office and fiefs as well as knighthood adhered to the Latin rite points strongly in this direction. Nevertheless, Hugo Podocataro's case illustrates that an official conversion to the Latin rite did not automatically entail a complete change in personal identity construction. Rather, Syrians and Greeks continued to construct their religious identities in a hybrid way, depending on the various contexts they moved in.

6.4 Western Newcomers

The information on the religious identities of noble Western newcomers living in Cyprus is indeed very individual. Three testaments shed light on the religious sentiments of their testators shortly before their deaths. They stem from Berenger Albi, a Frenchman from the Vivarais, Antonio de Bergamo, and his wife Pinadeben de Ferrara, all of whom we have met already in the course of this study[1576]. Moreover, we have information on one other legacy concerning the Genoese brothers Nicola and Francesco Mussi[1577].

As we have seen before, Berenger Albi had probably come to Cyprus sometime before 1400 in the wake of his uncles who were clerics on the island: Berenger Gregorii was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross (Stavrovouni), and Petrus was dean at St Sophia[1578]. Berenger Albi and his children integrated well into Cypriot society. Berenger himself was *maître de l'hotel* when he wrote his testament in 1411, and his children were both married to scions of important Cypriot noble families[1579]. On the social level, therefore, the family had adapted well. The religious sphere offers a different picture.

Berenger's testament begins with the usual formulae about the instability of life and the uncertainty of the hour of death. These phrases are followed by instructions about the funeral. Berenger desired to be buried in St Sophia, in the grave of his uncles Berenger and Petrus Gregorii. He bestowed 300 besants on St Sophia for the priests to take part in his funeral procession and to sing masses for his soul for nine days, as well as 100 besants to each of the Mendicant orders to do the same. The priests of St Sophia were also supposed to sing special masses for another nine days at the end of the year and to establish a daily mass for Berenger's and his wife's soul. This last point was to be executed »according to the customs of the homeland[1580]«. This could just mean the customs of the country, i. e. Cyprus, but perhaps Berenger referred to his own homeland France here. In this case, Berenger would have explicitly related his instructions to the customs of his homeland France.

Berenger's attachment to explicitly Latin, perhaps »French« religious customs was mirrored by his circle of acquaintances. Apart from family members, the men concerned with his testament were mostly foreign clerics[1581]. On his deathbed, Berenger Albi therefore seems to have related mostly to men from the same Latin clerical milieu, and he seems to have perceived his religious identity as expressly »French« Latin. It is impossible to say whether this identification with French customs was a protective reaction to the hybrid religious atmosphere on the island or just nostalgia.

The other two testaments by foreigners modify this picture a bit. They are closely interrelated, since they belong to Antonio de Bergamo and his wife Pinadeben de Ferrara. We have seen in chapter two that Antonio, a *doctor artis et medicinae* who originated from Bergamo in Italy, pursued an important

1573 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou), e. g. 18 (a certain brother Salpous is part of the party which pillages Thomas Urri's house). 40 (Antonio Soulouan plays check with James). 52 (Antonio Soulouan is sent as emissary to Queen Charlotte). 80 (the Augustinian friar Guillaume Goneme, who has just been made archbishop of Nicosia, is sent with a military party to secure Nicosia during the civil war). 102 (Guillaume Goneme goes on a military expedition to the Carpas peninsula). An exception is Queen Helena's confessor, to whom James turns after his murder of Thomas of Morea in order to beg him to use his influence on the queen in his favour. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 12.

1574 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 6: και έδωκεν του την αρχιεπισκοπήν με ούλες τες ρέντες και δέκατα ('And he (the king) gave him the archbishopric with all its rents and tithes'.) When James murders Thomas of Morea, his father dispossesses him of the archbishopric, a process which again is described in the way of taking away his fief: Και έρισεν ο ρήγας και εσήκωσάν του την αρχιεπισκοπήν. ('And the king ordered them to take away from him the archbishopric'.) Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10.

1575 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 88. 154.

1576 Cf. ch. .3.1, pp. 76-77 for Antonio and Pinadeben and ch. 2.3.5, pp. 83-84 for Berenger.

1577 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-5, pp. 348-350 (Boniface VIII).

1578 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 27-28.

1579 Cf. ch. .3.5, p. 83-84.

1580 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 28: *secundum usus patriae*. For the daily masses, see 27-28.

1581 Cf. ch. 3.2, p. 89.

career in Cyprus between the 1360s and 1390s. At the end of his life, he was chamberlain of the kingdom[1582]. His wife Pinadeben, also from Italy, still lived in Cyprus in 1406, when she made her last will[1583]. Antonio's daughter Bertolina was married to a certain Robert, who came from the well-known Cypriot Morphou family[1584]. Thus, Antonio and his family, too, had successfully integrated into Cypriot noble society.

Religiously, it is more difficult to garner information about Antonio than about Berenger, since we do not have his whole testament, but only a long list of receipts concerning the payments of his legacies[1585]. The lists reveal that Antonio left 25 besants to each of the four mendicant orders, a rather low sum compared to the money Berenger bequeathed to them. Furthermore, Antonio bequeathed 50 besants to a Franciscan nun called Bella Pelegrina and to the king's confessor, Simon de Aretio, both of whom seem to have been from Italy like himself. He also left money to be given to the poor, since two receipts concern sums spent for marriages of the needy. According to the receipts, the testament's executors were two Italians, Thomas de Zenariis from Padua, who also played an important role in the Cypriot Haute Court at the time, and Clemens de Aretio[1586].

From other sources, we know that Antonio was canon of Paphos before getting married[1587], though this is not mentioned on his tombstone, where he is called »famous magister […] and doctor *dominus* Antonius of Bergamo, chamberlain of the kingdom of Cyprus[1588]«. His career as a statesman was certainly more important than his service in the church by the time he died. Antonio was buried in the Arab Ahmet Mosque, which can probably be identitfied with the Carmelite church[1589]. Almost all the tombstones of Venetian citizens from that period found in Cyprus stem from this church[1590]. This could point to a special relationship between the Venetians and the church. Perhaps Antonio was buried there because he was a Venetian citizen. These snippets tell us that Antonio must have been a regular member of the Latin church, and in his younger years even a member of the clergy. However, by the time of his death, his relationship with church circles does not seem to have been as intense as that of Berenger, although we do not know how much money he left to other churches that are not documented in the receipts. Antonio's personal relationships on the religious level seem to have been mostly to other foreigners from Italy, and his burial place also points to a special relationship with a church connected with his homeland Venice.

This special connection with Venice is more obvious in the documents concerning his wife Pinadeben's testament. Two surviving documents shed light on Pinadeben's last will. On 26 April 1406, she made her last testament[1591], in which she mentions a commission to Thomas de Zenariis which she had had drawn up a year earlier on 27 September 1405. This latter document, unedited until now, lies in the Venetian State Archives among the documents of the notary Pietro de Yspania who recorded the legacy[1592]. The 1406 testament itself had been recorded in the book of the curia of Keryneia, which must have been a register similar to the *Livre des remembrances* which we know from the court in Nicosia. On 3 November 1406, the notary Marcus of Smyrna extracted the testament from the book and edited it as an official public document, because Thomas de Zenariis needed a proof of the testament's wording. This extracted document, including an extra introduction explaining the whole matter of the extraction, is now registered among the documents of the notary Antonio del Vida in the Venetian State Archives and has been edited by Mas Latrie[1593]. Both documents were entrusted to the *avogadori di comun* on 10 December 1407[1594]. Since the *avogadori di comun* were responsible for the execution of public and private affairs in Venice[1595], this indicates that Thomas de Zenariis probably realized Pinadeben's wishes.

The 1406 testament was drawn up in French. As far as religious matters are concerned, it informs us that Pinadeben wanted to be buried in the Corpus Christi chapel in the burgh of Keryneia[1596], where she lived. She left the chapel 50 besants for its expenses. Moreover, she bequeathed 5 besants each to two local clerics, one Marc of Beyruth, who was prior of Keryneia, and one Pierre, priest of the chapel of St George *du Donjon*[1597]. Finally, she ordered Thomas de Zenariis to act according to the commission she had assigned to him earlier concerning a chapel in Venice[1598].

The commission from 1405 states that Pinadeben had originally made her testament in July 1404 and had left half of the money which she had invested in Venice to Thomas de Zenariis, while her second husband Nicolo de Assono should inherit the other half. Pinadeben had inherited this money from her first husband Antonio. However, in 1405 she decided that the whole sum should instead be used for the erection of an altar and a little chapel in a church either in Venice or in Padua, for the commemoration of her first husband Antonio and herself. She explicitly stated that her present husband Nicolo agreed to this idea and that she

1582 See ch. 2.3.1, pp 76-77.
1583 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 22-24.
1584 See ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3.
1585 I have analysed these lists during the discussion of Antonio's career and integration, see ch 2.3.1, from pp. 76-77.
1586 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3. For Thomas de Zenariis, cf. ch. 2.3.1, p. 77.
1587 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372.
1588 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 147: famosus magister […] et m'dicus dns antonius d'Perguamo regno cipri camrarius.
1589 See above, p. 148.
1590 See Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 138. 141. 147.
1591 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 22-24.
1592 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9.
1593 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 22-26.
1594 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 26.
1595 See Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 832.
1596 We do not know anything else about this church.
1597 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 25. According to Tassos Papacostas and Thomas Kaffenberger in personal communication, this is probably the originally Byzantine chapel within the North-Western walls of Kyreneia castle.
1598 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 24-25.

trusted Thomas de Zenariis as an honest person (»trusting in the loyalty and goodness of said *dominus* Thomas of Zenariis[1599]«) to execute her will. She desired the altar to be dedicated to St Anthony of Vienne and a picture of her husband and herself to be painted on it[1600]. A priest should celebrate a mass for their souls every day. Half of the money left after the task was accomplished should belong to Thomas de Zenariis and the other to Nicolo de Assono. The document was drawn up in her house in Nicosia, which was next to the house of the sir of Tyre[1601].

Thus, Pinadeben still seems to have entertained a strong relationship with her homeland. She was willing to spend a great sum of money and even disinherit related parties in order to build a chapel for her first husband and herself in Venice or Padua. The undertaking was supposed to be executed by a fellow countryman who must have been a friend of the family, since he had already been the executor for Antonio's testament. At the same time, Pinadeben seems to have had good relations with the local churches in Keryneia, where she lived permanently, though she had another house in Nicosia. Not only did she desire to be buried in Keryneia but she also left money to two specific priests. Antonio's and Pinadeben's testaments reveal that they were in contact with local Latin clerics, although they were certainly not as well integrated into the foreign Latin clerical milieu on Cyprus as Berenger Albi was. More importantly, they had strong emotional and relational ties to Italy.

A letter from pope Boniface VIII addressed to the archbishop of Genoa on 2 June 1391 provides a final case, though information on the individuals involved is scarce. The pope explains that the Genoese brothers Nicola and Francesco Mussi, who had lived in Cyprus for a long time, had wished for a chapel to be built in Nicosia for their remembrance. The schism had prevented their testamentary executors Eliano de Camilio and Antonio Cancello from complying with the request, and they had petitioned to have the chapel erected in Genoa, instead. In his letter, the pope agreed with the petition[1602]. Though we do not know much about the Mussi brothers, they had clearly lived on Cyprus long enough to form an attachment to the place that expressed itself in a wish to endow a memorial chapel there. However, the relative importance of the endowment for the testators and their socio-religious ties in general remain of course unclear.

In conclusion, these individual cases indicate that the degree of integration into the Latin religious milieu in Cyprus amongst newcomers differed according to their origin, family ties and personalities. There are no indications for contact with Greek or other religious institutions, though this does not necessarily mean that there were no such contacts. Most of the individuals discussed above both integrated to some degree into Cypriot religious life and at the same time had a tendency to cling to the customs, places and persons of their homeland, a fact that in the circumstances seems very plausible.

6.5 Conclusion

The kaleidoscope of sources presented allows a glimpse of the various ways in which Cypriot aristocrats from different backgrounds constructed and represented their religious identities. In the tension between the hierarchy of the churches where the Latin Church took pride of place, and close every-day contact between various religious traditions, aristocrats found different solutions for living their religious lives. These solutions depended on their goals and interests as much as on their cultural and social background. The royal family continued its promotion of a mixed local religious tradition. It protected Greek churches and monasteries and fostered local cults. At the same time, a stringent policy of appropriation of Latin Church positions and revenues by members of the royal family is discernible throughout the century, triggered by the Great Schism after 1378. The Lusignans appropriated various religious traditions and made them their own. In this way, they presented themselves successfully as the element uniting the whole society, although unfortunately nothing is known about any relations to the Oriental Churches.

At least some noble families seem to have followed the Lusignan policy of contacts with Greek Church institutions. They, too, probably often constructed their religious identities in the space between official adherence to the Latin Church – apparent at the moment of death, when they cared to represent themselves as good Latin Christians – and every-day contact with other Churches. Strangely enough, the nobles followed the royal family's lead only to a very small extent with respect to active involvement in the Latin Church. The reasons for this development are not clear. Perhaps there were not enough revenues involved to render these offices lucrative for the old nobility.

Church offices were, in contrast, monopolized by some ascending Syrian and Greek families who had converted to the Latin rite. These social climbers actively presented themselves as Latin Christians and used this religious identity as a means for their social aspirations. Syrians and Greeks' increasingly frequent service in the Latin Church from the 1440s onwards seems to have resulted from these possibilities of social ascension rather than from the Church union of Flor-

1599 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9: *confidens de legalitate et bonitate dicti domini Thome de Zenariis.*

1600 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9: *et ibi vult quod depingatur ymago dicti magistri Anthonij quondam maritj suj et sua* ('and she desires that an image of the said magister Antonius, her deceased husband, and of herself should be painted there').

1601 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 101/9.

1602 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-5, pp. 348-350 (Boniface VIII).

ence. Nevertheless, these aristocrats lived their everyday lives in an extremely hybrid religious space, which they negotiated accordingly. The example of Hugo Podocataro reveals how an official affiliation with the Latin Church could be complemented by strong emotional ties to the Greek or Oriental churches. For some families, these traditional ties were so strong that they adhered only to their original religious values. If the correlation of social ascendance and conversion to the Latin rite is anything to go with, maintaining traditional religious identities probably meant a decision against ascension into the highest echelons of society. The tendency of upholding original religious traditions can also be seen in the few documents concerning nobles who had only recently migrated to Cyprus. Whether this was a reaction to the hybrid space they found themselves in, or just a re-enforcement of their own identity in a foreign land, is unclear.

The analyses from both chapters on identities, be they social, ethnic or religious, offer a fascinating picture of identity construction and its consequences among the aristocratic groups in Cyprus. Generally, the old nobility seems to have constructed their identities around the ideals of knighthood and lineage on a social level, within the feudal system which had been imported to Cyprus from Western Europe. On the ethnic and religious level, however, identities were more hybrid. Ethnically, nobles related both to Cyprus and to the West, and on the religious level, they related both to the Latin and the Orthodox Churches, though the affiliation with the Latin Church was connected to official representation, while the relationship with Orthodox institutions falls into the realm of everyday contacts. Nobles therefore by no means constructed their identities only in a Latin way, though the Latin heritage seems to have dominated on an official level. The religious history of the Lusignan family itself shows that they consciously played an integrating role between the various parts of the population and perhaps the aristocratic groups in particular, since the Greeks and Syrians of the new aristocracy worked to a great extent in the direct orbit of the royal family and in the state administration.

Syrians and Greeks in turn constructed their identities in varying ways, which were probably connected to their strategies of social ascension. In the hybrid space of Cypriot society with its different possibilities of identity construction, some families chose to adapt in part to Latin fashions and styles. For example, they used Latin style tombstones, but wrote the inscriptions in their own language, thus hovering in a hybrid space between traditions. Many families seem to have adopted the practice of giving their children Latin names, which must have made integration into court society easier. Whether they had other, private, names in their own language remains unclear. However, it seems that an even more complete adaptation was conducive for ascension into the highest echelons of society, especially in the religious sector, which was an important marker between the communities. Those Syrian and Greek individuals (and families) who ascended into the highest echelons of Cypriot court society all converted to the Latin rite, and they also adapted the social system of knighthood, visible among others from the tombstones, where they took care to feature as knights and write the inscriptions in French. However, we have seen that official conversion did not necessarily entail a full emotional transgression to the other tradition.

Moreover, conversion and ascension were not necessarily connected with acceptance by the old nobility. However, after the civil war of the 1460s, at least parts of society, represented by the Bustron chronicle, opted for a stronger emphasis on the inclusive aspects of ethnic and religious identities.

Conclusion

Cypriot high society experienced great social change during the fifteenth century. Different social, cultural and ethnic groups intermingled at the Cypriot court and created a society that was characterized by the rise of *homines novi* and of previously not represented social groups as well as by strict social boundaries which were not easily transgressed.

In this study, I have divided the components of Cypriot élite society into three groups: the nobility, the Syrian and Greek aristocracy, and Western immigrants. The nobility included many crusading families who had come from the Holy Land and settled in Cyprus in the thirteenth century, as well as families from Western Europe who had joined this group of knightly families later in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Within this group, a visible social disparity existed between simple squires and knights and powerful and wealthy barons. Traditionally, the nobility was the most powerful echelon of Cypriot society and the ruling élite of the Lusignan state.

However, starting from the end of the fourteenth and continuing in the fifteenth century new social elements rose to challenge this ruling group, in a process similar to what was taking place in other European regions. During this period, Syrians, i. e. Oriental Christian immigrants from the Levant, and members of Greek families from Cyprus rose through the state administration and thanks to the wealth they had acquired through trade, and began to play an important role in Cypriot high society. This new aristocracy possessed a social and professional profile similar to other urban élites that climbed the social ladder throughout fifteenth-century Europe. Like in France, the Iberian peninsula and especially Aragonese-held islands such as Sicily and Sardinia, these new men were secretaries, notaries and merchants. In my analysis, I have generally considered Syrians and Greeks as one social group because of the similar professional profiles their shared, and because they often intermarried. However, like the nobility, this group was highly stratified. It included lesser aristocratic families who served as secretaries or *baillis*, and families who were more successful in gaining important office, in addition to a small group of extremely rich and powerful families that appears in the sources only from the 1430s onwards.

Besides the old nobility and the new aristocracy, immigrants from the West also constituted the upper echelons of Cypriot society. I have analysed this group according to their place of origin. This points to the fact that, though I consider them to be the third component of fifteenth-century Cypriot élite society, they were not one cohesive social group but a collection of individuals coming from various European countries.

Men and women from all the above mentioned groups were connected to the Cypriot court. They pursued careers and interacted in various circles in which they constructed their identities by choosing from varying discourses. This process helped determine their social standing and their role in society. I have analysed the lives of these people from several perspectives. I have used prosopographical data to approach questions of social mobility and general demographic developments within the various aristocratic groups (ch. 2). The results of my analysis provided the basis for my study of the contacts between aristocratic families (ch. 3), of social mobility and careers, of the power balance within the ruling power élite, and the role of social newcomers within Cypriot high society (ch. 4). Finally, I have examined the ways in which aristocrats constructed their identities according to ethnic, social, and religious discourses, and how these identities relate to social change (chs. 5 and 6).

These distinct types of analysis provide complementing perspectives that allow me to push beyond the boundaries of former research. Research in the field of Cypriot studies had typically either not distinguished between the various élite groups and therefore come to incorrect conclusions about the nature and extent of social mobility (see Rudt de Collenberg's work), or narrowly focused on the the heyday of Lusignan rule in the fourteenth century, thus treating the fifteenth century only as an afterthought.

Specifically, the prosopographical analysis (ch. 2) has shown social developments with many interdependent facets. Above all, my study illustrates the development of lineages within the nobility and the new aristocracy and offers clues concerning the relationship between these groups. The composition of the nobility changed substantially between the 1370s and the 1460s. Close to 60 % (or, in the more uncertain calculation, above 70 %) of the noble lineages that existed before 1374 became extinct or disappeared by the end of Lusignan reign. This development suggests that the total number of nobles living in Cyprus may have decreased during our time period, though it is impossible to test this affirmation conclusively because we lack detailed information about the size of the families themselves. It is significant, however, that many of the disappearing families belonged to

the higher echelons of the nobility. Some of them, such as the Tiberiade family, had played crucial roles in Cypriot politics for a long time. The disappearance of these families caused the balance of power within the Cypriot nobility to shift towards a small group of families such as the Caffran, de Fleury and Nores (ch. 2.1).

The reasons for the exceptionally high turnover of noble families in comparison with other European countries are varied. The exile of many nobles after the Genoese-Cypriot war in 1374 was one of the primary events that ignited the social shifts. Between 25 and 40 % of noble families (depending on the calculation, see ch. 2.1) do not reappear in Cypriot sources after 1374. Other factors also contributed to these changes, such as the natural extinction of some lineages like the Le Jeune, and the recurring bouts of the plague that decimated the population of Cyprus. Some important events, however, such as the Mamluk invasion of 1426, on the contrary do not seem to have had a great impact on noble lineages. There is also no clear interrelationship between the economic decline of Cyprus after the Genoese-Cypriot war and the disappearance of lineages, though this might be due to the lack of sources.

The troubles of the nobility stand in contrast to the rise of the new aristocracy. This group appears to grow steadily during the fifteenth century though its rise during this period may be connected, in part at least, to the greater abundance of sources from the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, it is striking how in the fourteenth century there is trace of only 15 families from the new aristocracy, while by the 1460s we find 39 of them (ch. 2.2). The new aristocracy was not an entirely uniform group. Among the ascending Greek and Syrian families, we can discern more and less successful families, which I have categorised into lower, middle and higher aristocratic groups. While families in the lower aristocratic group usually held positions such as financial secretaries, some members of the middle families obtained higher positions, such as military commanders. The families of the high aristocracy achieved high state office and even became viscounts of Nicosia or chamberlains of the kingdom.

In contrast to the preceding centuries, the fifteenth century new aristocracy included more Syrian than Greek families. This is especially true among the most influential families, which were all Syrian except for the Greek Podocataro family. The Syrians were therefore the group most involved in social mobility and they accrued the greatest power during the period under examination. This dynamic must have been connected to the wealth Syrians had acquired through trade. The families who achieved the highest social rise usually did not have a background in administration, but instead used their riches to further their careers. Indeed, the huge sums that the Lusignan family owed them for King Janus' ransom in 1427 may have played a decisive role in their ascent (ch. 2.2).

A comparison between the Greek and Syrian families active in the administration during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and those active in the sixteenth century provides further insight into this topic. Only a very few fifteenth- century families, such as the Sincritico and the Bustron, played a role before the fifteenth century. Most of the families, and especially the major fifteenth- century players such as the Salah, the Podocataro, the Mistachiel or the de Ras appear only at the end of the fourteenth or even the beginning of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, very few families, such as the Podocataro, managed to maintain their influence into the sixteenth century. Many, such as the Urri, disappear from the sources at the end of the Lusignan era. The Sozomeno or the Flatro belonged to the aristocracy in the fifteenth century, but only acquired an exceptional social status much later. Therefore, the fifteenth century stands out with a strong aristocratic Syrian and Greek group of its own.

Western immigrants integrated into Cypriot society at different rates according to their policies and the historical context. Genoese and Venetians were generally interested in using the island's economic infrastructure but did not usually integrate into Cypriot high society by intermarriage. The case of the Catalans and the few known Frenchmen is different, as men from both regions took care to marry into the Cypriot nobility. With the Catalans, this process becomes especially visible from the 1420s onwards, and seems to have been part of a conscious strategy to gain political influence in the island. In contrast, the Hospitallers possessed great estates on the island and conducted regular business with the Cypriot court but did not actually live on the island (ch. 2.3).

Contact and integration between the Syrian/Greek aristocracy and the nobility varied according to context (ch. 3). Syrians, Greeks and nobles worked together on a day to day basis and generally seem to have enjoyed good relations (ch. 3.2). The chronicles even speak of friendships and brotherhoods. Members of all groups visited the same churches and entertained relations with a range of church institutions, be they Latin, Greek or Oriental (ch. 6).

These common activities did not, however, abolish the boundaries between the groups. Indeed, ethnic divisions in addition to social boundaries remained well defined until the middle of the fifteenth century at least (ch. 5.2) and make Cyprus an especially interesting case of a socially mobile society. In terms of ethnicity, at the beginning of the fifteenth century nobles could identify with their Western origins and with the inclusive Cypriot identity of *Kypriotēs*. Greek members of the new aristocracy seem to have seen themselves as Cypriots and Rhomaioi, while Oriental Christians were designated as Cypriots and Syrians. This, at least, is the picture painted in Machairas' chronicle although it remains unclear if the Syrians actually saw themselves in such a way or if their identities were more tightly connected to their various religious communities. We also do not know how widespread the differentiation between Syrians and Greeks was among the higher echelons of society. Intermarriage between Syrian and Greek aristocratic families in the fifteenth century suggests that ethnic boundaries between these two groups were not very rigid (see ch. 3.3).

Parallel to ethnic differentiation, social demarcations between the components of the Cypriot élite are also clearly visible. The old crusader nobility usually lived off their estates and other fiefs; like their fellow nobles in regions as far off as the Low Countries, they regarded knighthood as an essential part of their social identity, even if not every Cypriot noble was a knight. This characteristic is evident from the specific concepts of knightly honour found in the chronicles, as well as from tombstones depicting nobles as knights (ch. 5.1). Moreover, nobles usually did not work in the financial administration. The sources show them in traditional high state offices instead such as constable or marshal. However, nobles were not only warriors but could also work in the royal household, occupying offices such as the *maître de l'hotel* (chs 2, 4).

Nobles generally did not engage in the careers which emerged out of the new possibility of studying in Padua, even if the endowment that enabled these studies in the first place had been provided by the well-known Caffran family. Nobles also did not engage greatly in active service in the Latin church (ch. 6.3); instead, they seem to have maintained their traditional style of living a knightly life financed by their estates and family fortune. The only exceptions to this rule are the de Nores and the Montolive families, who served in the Latin church as early as the fourteenth century and later pursued studies in Padua. Interestingly, the de Nores family was one of the few Latin families to survive well after Cyprus was taken over by the Venetians. This poses the question of whether there was any connection between their will to adapt to new career possibilities and their ability to survive.

In any case, the nobility mostly pursued a different career policy and social lifestyle than the new aristocracy. Most Syrians and Greeks were burgesses and not nobles as far as their legal status was concerned (ch. 3.1). This is evident from notarial documents as well as from tombstones, which depict them with cloaks instead of knightly armour (ch. 5.1.2). Syrians and Greeks often lived from salaries earned as secretaries or *baillis* in the administration, or even as doctors. The average salary of a secretary or *bailli* usually equalled between a third and a half of a squire's fief. Though the income provided to new aristocrats through their offices was enough to allow for a comfortable life, it was nowhere near as ample as the wealth attained from a noble's estate. However, in some families, the riches attained through trade more than made up for this difference (see ch. 2.2). In general, the new aristocrats were the professional workforce of the kingdom. Consequently, they used the Caffran foundation to study in great numbers in Padua. In this respect, they followed career paths and channels of social mobility similar to other countries. Merchants and officials from Sardinia and Sicily, for example, sent their sons to the Italian universities for the same reasons.

Social mobility between the new aristocracy and the nobility certainly took place on various levels. Some secretaries – and presumably others, too, who remain invisible – became royal vassals and obtained small fiefs from the king. Receiving these grants probably made them members of the nobility in a legal sense, although we have no ultimate proof for this assertion, nor is it clear if other nobles accepted them as such. Other Syrians and Greeks carved out important careers in the state administration and even became royal counsellors. It often remains unclear, however, if they became royal vassals. In some cases, the status of these new aristocrats was unclear even in the eyes of their contemporaries. Indeed, some of these Syrians and Greeks who reached the highest echelons of the Cypriot élite occupied a grey zone between the nobility and the rest of the aristocracy. However, some high social climbers, such as Giacomo Urri, the Podocataro siblings or Hugh Soudain, clearly became part of the nobility. Their rank of office, as well as knighthood and vassalage make this claim evident (ch. 3.1).

The analysis in chapter 4 has shown that these high social climbers were actually an important factor in the power élite of the 1430s to 1450s. Based on an examination of power structures and the relative importance of various high state offices, I compared the power élite at the end of the fourteenth century with that of the mid- fifteenth century. It is obvious that Syrians occupied high offices as early as the fourteenth century, especially in the years of Peter II's reign, due to the power vacuum caused by the exile of many powerful nobles and the struggle between John of Lusignan and Queen Eleanor for power (ch. 4.1). However, the fifteenth-century social ascension within the power élite at court took on a new quality: at the end of the fourteenth century, the social climbers were isolated cases and they did not manage to establish noble families of any importance. From the 1430s onwards, however, there were many more new men in the government and they generally maintained powerful positions over long periods. Most importantly, they established a close-knit group of highly interrelated families which stayed influential for more than one generation. They were a power factor which the old nobility had to reckon with. Nobles were still powerful in this period, as can be seen from examples such as Badin de Nores and Jacques de Caffran. However, Jacques de Fleury's extraordinary position as chief royal counsellor in these years also hints that the power balance within the nobility was disturbed. It was possible for one man to become all-powerful as well as for social climbers to rise to high positions (ch. 4.2).

Despite this loss of power, the nobility still set the standard for social and cultural rules in the middle of the fifteenth century. Those families and individuals who wanted to rise into the highest echelons of society had to adapt to noble fashions, and therefore degrees of social mobility were connected to cultural choices (chs 5 and 6). As a consequence, members of the lesser and middle aristocracy often adopted some cultural traits of the nobility while rejecting others. Syrian and Greek tombstones, for example, are often made in the same style as those of nobles but are written in Greek (ch. 5.1.2). Some aristocrats chose to remain faithful to their traditional religious identities. We have seen that Machairas consciously

retained his Orthodox identity, judging others for converting to the Latin rite. However, it has also become clear that such a conversion was the (probably unwritten) precondition for the last step of social ascension into the nobility. Unlike in other European countries therefore, achieving the highest of social rises was connected to actively giving up cultural and above all religious identities, and acquiring new ones. Many Syrian families as well as the Greek Podocataro family decided to take this step in order to solidify their careers. It appears that for many, conversion was a reasonable price to pay for social ascension. The documents concerning the erection of new Latin churches on the Podocataro *casalia*, for example, show how the family focused on projecting their new Latin identity in order to secure social acceptance, representing themselves as more Latin than the Latins (ch. 6.4).

Adaptation to noble customs and culture can be found on other levels, too. Many families, such as the Podocataro, but also the Urri and the Salah, gave their children Latin names. These names often had no Greek or Arab equivalent. We do not know if these men had other, Greek or Arab names, too, but Hugo Podocataro's testament suggests that this was not the case. Hugo, at least, used only Latin names for himself and his siblings. Tombstones also illustrate the adaptation process on a social level: men such as Pericoun de Ras took care to be depicted as a knight in armour with an inscription in French, just as any other Cypriot noble would have done (ch. 5.1.2). Nevertheless, the analysis of religious identities has shown that although men like Hugo Podocataro might have given in to social pressure and converted to the Latin rite, they could still be attached emotionally to their former religious communities. Although Hugo was a Latin Christian, he desired to be buried in the same Orthodox monastery as his father. Therefore, these ascending families probably lived in a highly hybrid cultural and social space, bridging the gap between their traditional communities and the nobility they aspired to become part of (ch. 6.4).

Social ascension and adaptation, however, did not automatically mean social acceptance by the nobility. The few preserved reactions from the nobility to social mobility within the Lusignan court were negative. Social mobility was seen with a critical eye. Moreover, the analysis of marriage alliances has shown clearly that although Syrians and Greeks may have ascended into higher social positions, marriages took place almost solely within the respective groups. This is particularly clear for the end of the fourteenth century. It was not until the 1450s that marriage alliances between the most important families of the new aristocracy (Podocataro, Mistachiel, de Ras, perhaps Boussat) and nobles occurred, suggesting that their high success in politics slowly also made them eligible as marriage partners (ch. 3.3).

Real integration between the nobility and the new aristocracy was therefore a slow process for the ascending families. Immigrants from the West fared better, even though we have seen that not all Western immigrants were interested in integration into the Cypriot nobility. However, foreigners who wished to integrate were not impeded from doing so. At the end of the fourteenth century just as in the middle of the fifteenth century, foreigners who came to Cyprus and served the Lusignan kings had good chances of marrying into influential Cypriot noble families. This was true for the Venetian Antonio de Bergamo and his daughter Bertolina or the Frenchman Berenger Albi in the 1390s and for the Catalans who started coming to Cyprus after the 1420s, like Carceran Suarez and Juan de Naves (chs 2.3, 3.3).

Integrating into Cypriot noble society was probably easier for these foreigners on the grounds of shared ethnic and religious notions. Foreigners from the West were usually of the Latin rite. They also had little trouble accepting the double ethnic affiliation, for example being both Cypriot and French or Italian, that was prevalent among the Cypriot nobility (ch. 5.2). Moreover, some foreigners, such as Juan de Naves or Carceran Suarez, were already noblemen in their own countries, which made them highly eligible as partners. The same was true for Helena Palaiologina and her follower Zoi Catacouziny. Byzantine Orthodox nobles were also accepted as such and were eligible marriage partners, though in much smaller numbers than their Western European counterparts (ch. 3.3). These foreigners therefore had better chances of integration into Cypriot noble society than Syrians and Greeks from Cyprus, on account of their social standing and in the case of the Western foreigners also of their culture.

Transgressing social boundaries and integrating into the highest echelons of Cypriot noble society was therefore a more difficult process for Greek and Syrian social climbers than for Western immigrants. However, the persistence of social boundaries should not create the illusion that the nobility and the new aristocracy lived in two hermetically isolated cultural worlds. The way nobles as well as the royal family constructed their religious identities in relation to the Latin and Orthodox (and possibly Oriental) Churches shows that all involved parties lived in a hybrid space, in which various traditions were in contact (ch. 6). However, this world was riddled with hierarchical structures that effected contacts of any kind. Thus, though contacts were a matter of course in everyday life, they acquired important connotations in the context of social standing and self-representation. The social hierarchy was subject to continuous challenges during the fifteenth century, when more mobile elements in society continuously pushed and renegotiated social boundaries. However, real change in the boundaries themselves, in particular concerning ethnicity, can only be seen after the civil wars of the 1460s and 1470s (ch. 5.2). Writing at the end of the fifteenth century, Georgios Bustron no longer differentiated between Syrian, *Rhomaioi* and Latin. In his eyes, they had been substituted by the one inclusive identity *Kypriotēs*.

This constant negotiation between ethnic, religious and social difference, between Syrian, Greek and Latin, between inclusion and exclusion is what makes the Cypriot élite a special and fascinating case of social mobility in fifteenth-century Europe.

Appendices

Appendix I: Important Offices in Fifteenth-Century Cyprus

The following pages list the most important offices in the Lusignan administrational system and analyse their development in the course of the fifteenth century. This list provides a backdrop for the analysis of the power élite in chapter four and may be of interest to specialists of Cypriot history in particular, which is the reason for its inclusion here. The offices are divided into the crown offices or grand sergeanties, such as the seneschal and constable, which the crusaders had imported from the West, and the so-called *offices of Cyprus*, which developed in the Holy Land and the island itself[1603].

The assessment of the fifteenth-century offices is based on a comparison with their original functions in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century as well as with their development in Cyprus in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Peter Edbury has described the latter in detail in his doctoral thesis[1604] and I will therefore continue his analysis into the fifteenth century. Following Edbury's lead, I will provide a short comparison of the later stages the crown offices took with John of Ibelin's thirteenth-century law book, since it provides the starting point for the development of the grand sergeanties in the East. John's treatise, probably written before 1265, was one of the most important law books for the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. John lists all the important offices in the kingdom of Jerusalem. His greatest concern is their function on coronation day and at other formal occasions[1605]. John refers explicitly to Jerusalem, and therefore these offices may have had different functions from those in Cyprus. However, after Peter I's murder in 1369, the assembly of liegemen designated John's book as the official law book for Cyprus[1606]. Even if the customs described in the book were not necessarily adhered to[1607], the work was at least read in this period. It is therefore an interesting point of comparison for the developments in Cyprus.

A1.1 The Crown Offices

A1.1.1 The Seneschal

According to Louis de Mas Latrie, the seneschal was the most important crown officer in the East, although he did not have as much influence as in France[1608]. John of Ibelin indeed lists this office first. He records that the seneschal acted as the master of ceremonies: he was responsible for carrying the king's sceptre prior to the coronation as well as for the organization of the coronation feast. However, the seneschal was also responsible for all the kingdom's *baillis* and scribes. He collected the rents from the kingdom's *apauts* (tenancies), and in the king's absence he acted as his representative. Except in cases concerning vassals he could officiate as the head of the court. The seneschal also performed military functions: he inspected castles and was in charge of provision and maintenance. On military excursions, he either led part of the army or remained in the royal battalion[1609]. For John of Ibelin, the seneschal was thus the king's second in command.

According to Peter Edbury, it is difficult to illustrate the actual role of the seneschal in the fourteenth century, since the sources do not show any seneschals fulfilling their duties[1610]. In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, the seneschal indeed acted as the king's representative in the Haute Court. After Peter I's murder for example, the Haute Court first elected Philippe de Ibelin as deputy seneschal before proceeding to convene the meeting[1611]. Seneschal James of Lusignan was absent, and since the Haute Court could not function without a seneschal presiding, they had to elect a lieutenant. Later in the meeting, John of Lusignan claimed the regency of the kingdom from the deputy seneschal, identifying him as the president of the Haute Court endued with

1603 Cf. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 88 and ch. 4.
1604 See Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 302-341 (chapter 4 on The Vassals as Royal Servants) and 414-448 (list of office holders up to the fourteenth century).
1605 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 577-589 (§§ 221-224). Cf. Assises de la Haute Court (Beugnot) 407-414. Cf. also Edbury, Kingdom 181; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 307.
1606 Ibelin, Livre des assizes (Edbury) 732.
1607 For a discussion of the validity of the law book in Cyprus and Jerusalem, see Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility 58-61; Mayer, Register 166, cf. Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 109.
1608 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 132.
1609 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 577-580 (§ 221). Cf. Assises de la Haute Court (Beugnot) 407-409; and cf. Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 181-182; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 307-308.
1610 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 308-309.
1611 Cf. Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 202, n. 8; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 309.

the authority to grant John this office[1612]. Some years later, when Peter II claimed the throne for himself, seneschal James of Lusignan undertook the ceremonial task of transferring rule from John to Peter, thus fulfilling one of the seneschal's classic tasks[1613].

It is not clear how long the seneschal maintained his traditional role as deputy to the king. This was probably still the case in the 1380s: Jean de Brie, »tricoplier et lieutenant de seneschau de Cipre[1614]«, was the vice-royal in 1383. Perhaps Jean was deputy seneschal because James of Lusignan, in exile in Genoa, still held the post officially[1615]. In any case, the 1380s still saw a connection between the king's representative and the office of seneschal.

After this period, however, things must have changed, as no seneschals appear in the sources any more. Only Stephen of Lusignan records a seneschal at all after the 1380s, and he was notoriously unreliable[1616]. By the 1420s, other officers presided over the Haute Court in the king's absence, and the chamberlain and the *maitre de l'hotel* had taken over at least some of the seneschal's tasks[1617]. Since the power élites are particularly well documented in this time, this absence of the seneschal is probably not due to source transmission. The office had therefore probably declined. It seems to have been revived only under King James II[1618].

A1.1.2 The Chamberlain

The office of chamberlain (Lat. *cambellanus* or *camerarius*/Fr. *chamberlain*[1619]) developed very differently from that of the seneschal. It played an important role throughout the whole fifteenth century. However, this office is rather ambiguous, as the term was used for two posts. According to Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey in Du Cange's *Familles d'Outremer*, the *cambellanus* and the *camerarius* were originally two distinct officials[1620], though it is not clear whether this is accurate. In any case, the chamberlain was one of the five crown officers. He cared for the king's personal chambers, introduced liegemen into the royal presence, and administered the act of homage, receiving a fee for this service[1621]. Rey claims that the *camerarius* was originally responsible for the treasury and the upkeep of the palace and that the functions of the two offices as well as their designations got confused in the Kingdom of Jerusalem[1622].

In Cyprus, we find two distinct offices designated by both terms, although the functional distinction seems to have been clear. It was sometimes expressed by the additions *of the king* and *of the kingdom*. The contract between Marie de Bourbon and King Peter I from 1368 concerning Marie's dowry, for example, was witnessed by Piero Malocello[1623], *cambellano dicti regni*, as well as Jean Monstri, *dicti domini regis Petri camerario*[1624]. Antonio de Bergamo, in contrast, is designated as *regno cipri camrarius* (sic)[1625] on his tombstone.

The chamberlain of the kingdom seems to have been responsible for vassal affairs as well as for financial issues in the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1373, Marie de Bourbon's procurators gave 20 besants to the kingdom's chamberlain Piero Malocello *pour les omages*, probably paying the sum due for the chamberlain's traditional services concerning the liege homage[1626]. The chronicle of Machairas, on the other hand, reports that the people of Cyprus hated the chamberlain Antonio de Bergamo and King James I, because they invented new taxes for them every year, thus clearly relating the kingdom's chamberlain to general finances[1627]. Machairas recounts in another episode how Peter I, in need of money, appointed a Latin burgess called Jean de Stathia as chamberlain of the kingdom. This Jean »had from the king the authority to collect the irregular revenues and the old debts and everything which time brings in to the kingdom year by year, and also to discharge the extra payments which were not fixed and written down in the chancery[1628]«. Thus, at the end of the fourteenth century the office of the kingdom's chamberlain was concerned with taxes and other

1612 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 733: *ordenerent leuctenant dou seneschau dou royaume de Chipre messire Phelipe de Ibelin sire d'Arsur pour ce que le seneschau de Chipre estoit apsent*. Cf. the translation in Machaut, Capture (Shirley) 202. 204. The old edition by Beugnot stated according to a corrupt MS that Ibelin had been elected as lieutenant of the seneschal of Jerusalem, see Assises de la Haute Court (Beugnot) 3. Jean Richard, Revolution 116, n. 3, who used this edition, tried to solve this problem by stating that the seneschal of Jerusalem could probably substitute the one of Cyprus in the latter's absence. This hypothesis is not a bad idea in general, but it is not corroborated by the sources for any of the offices at all.

1613 Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 282; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 323.

1614 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396.

1615 Jean de Brie had already acted as royal representative in 1378 during the ceremonies for a peace treaty between Venice, Milan and Cyprus (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 372). However, at the time he was only designated as *turcopolier*. Probably he was just de facto the most important man in the kingdom. Perhaps his influence was later rewarded with the appointment as deputy seneschal. In 1387, de Brie was called *liutenant du royaume de Chipre*, but it is not clear what is meant here and whether the wording is correct (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 412).

1616 According to Stephen, this was Eudes of Lusignan, see Seneschaux de Chypre fol. 70; cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 688.

1617 See below, A1.1.2 for the chamberlain and A1.2.6 for the maitre de l'hotel Dawkins mistook Estiene Spinola, whom Machairas records in 1426, as seneschal Spinola, which would have made for another seneschal in this time, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 687.

1618 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 154: Paulin Chappes was then seneschal and royal counsellor. Lusignan, Description fols 81^{r}. 177^{r}, also has Onofrio de Requesens, but again this information is uncertain.

1619 See e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 291. 526; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 18; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 147.

1620 Rey, Familles de Ducange 629. I have written on the chamberlain also in Salzmann, Stability or Chaos (forthcoming); and Salzmann, (Re)constructing Aristocratic Identities 346 n. 97.

1621 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 563. 570. 577. 588-589. Cf. Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 183 for the service fee.

1622 Rey, Familles de Ducange 629.

1623 According to Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 100, Malocello was already made chamberlain of Cyprus (*tzamperlanos tēs Kyprou*) on Peter's crowning.

1624 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 291. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyrprus 312.

1625 Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 147.

1626 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 425.

1627 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 625 calls Antonio »head of the office of the king's chamber« (κεφάλιν τοῦ ἐφφικίου τῆς τζάμπρας τοῦ ρηγός), using the designation for the king's chamberlain rather than that for the kingdom. But Antonio's tombstone is quite clear in that respect, relating him to the kingdom of Cyprus. Cf. also Amadi, Chronicle (Coureas/Edbury) § 1024, n. 2.

1628 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 157.

financial affairs. The known office holders in the fifteenth century indicate that the chamberlain of the kingdom indeed continued to hold an influential office, even if he never occupied the first place in the hierarchy[1629].

In contrast to the kingdom's chamberlain, the king's chamberlain does not appear in the sources at all after Jean Monstri, who held the office under Peter I. While Jean was prominent in the Haute Court during Peter I's reign, the office seems to have been superseded by the *maître de l'hotel* later, who is often found in the Haute Court[1630]. The royal chamber of course still existed, and we know from the *Livre des remembrances* from 1468/1469 about its functions and finances. It was a part of the *hotel du roi* and concerned everything from the king's clothing to his falcons[1631]. However, the king's chamberlain himself does not feature in politics, and it is therefore the kingdom's chamberlain who was endowed with actual power and prestige[1632].

A1.1.3 The Constable

John of Ibelin defines the constable as the kingdom's highest military commander. The constable commanded military operations and oversaw army matters. He controlled equipment as well as the payment of the *hommes d'armes*. He even had jurisdiction over the latter (excepting royal vassals) and collected the defaults from those liegemen who did not engage in active military service. The marshal was his second in command and lieutenant[1633]. According to John, the constable also presided over the Haute Court in the king's absence[1634]. There seems to be some overlap with the competences accorded to the seneschal here, since the latter could also preside over cases involving liegemen if the king allowed it. However, the seneschal evidently presided over juridical cases in general, whereas the constable figured as Master of Ceremonies during parliamentary sessions of the Haute Court[1635].

The constable played a considerable role during the fourteenth century, and many constables appear in the sources acting as military commanders[1636]. Though important noblemen fulfilled the office in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, from the middle of the fourteenth century until the late 1420s, only members of the royal family held the office[1637]. The constable becomes more difficult to trace in the 1420s. The office disappears from the sources after the battle of Chirokitia in 1426[1638]. We have already seen that other officers took over the presidency of the Haute Court from both the seneschal and the constable in the 1420s at the latest. In contrast to the seneschal, however, a constable reappears in the 1450s: Carceran Suarez, the Castilian who had saved King Janus' life in 1426 and had been made an admiral as a reward, was constable in 1456[1639]. From this time on, the office seems to have been given regularly to Catalan commanders[1640]. Catalan troops probably played a role in the Cypriot armies at least from the late 1460s onwards[1641], so this fits the picture.

1629 Hodrade de Provane, *regni Cipri camerarius,* sat in the Haute Court in 1395 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 428). The *chamberlain* Hugh Soudain was a well-known member of the kingdom's power élite in the 1430s (see e. g. Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 518-521. 526 n. 2; III 15-16 n. 1; 17-18). In 1446, Louis de Nores, son of the great statesman Badin de Nores, is registered as chamberlain. We do not know anything about his political importance (Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126). Thomas of Morea, Helena Palaiologina's milk brother, became chamberlain in about 1451. He played an important role in politics, but was made marshal as early as 1452 (Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 374; Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 4-10; Grivaud, Petite chronique 332; Codex Diplomaticus [Gudenus] 309-310; Ganchou, Rébellion 141 n. 130). Hugo Langlais in turn was Charlotte of Lusignan's chamberlain in Italian exile in 1463 (Richard, Diplomatique 77). His tombstone from 1476 is said to have qualified him *regni Cypri camerarius et Beruti dominus.* The title lord of Beyruth suggests that he was an influential man (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 126 and n. 3). Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 50 already mentions a sir Odet Langlais, probably the same person, as chamberlain in about 1458. Finally, Bustron records that James II named his advisor Rizzo di Marino chamberlain of his kingdom as soon as he had been acclaimed king in Cairo. He invested a viscount at the same time. This was a crucial office, as we will see below (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 78). The joint investiture confirms the importance of the chamberlain. – In 1397, Jean Soulouan is mentioned as *ordinatus sub officio camera* in a Venetian document. Was he the chamberlain, or substituting the chamberlain? See ASVen, Commemoriali, Commemoriali, Registri 9 fol. 38^{v}. Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 625 at least saw him as chamberlain. He thinks Soulouan was Antonio de Bergamo's direct successor, but this was rather Hodrade de Provane.

1630 See below, A1.2.6.

1631 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xviii.

1632 Only under James II, a politically important officer was active who could have been the king's chamberlain, though this is by no means certain: Jaime Zaplana is registered as *regie camere regni Cypri gubernator* (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 165 – not 124, as Rey, Familles de Ducange 673 erroneously states) and as *governador della nostra reale camera* in December 1471 (Livre des remembrances [Richard] no. 214).

1633 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 581-583 (§ 222). Cf. Assises de la Haute Court (Beugnot) 409-411; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 132-133; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 310.

1634 Cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 678.

1635 Compare the passages in Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 579-580 (§ 221) (seneschal) and 582 (§ 222) (constable).

1636 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 310.

1637 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 310; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 181. The constable John of Lusignan was prominent in battles during Peter I's Alexandrian campaign and the Genoese war 1372-1374 (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 100; 119. 132. 163. 167. 190. 194. 200. 209. 214. 233. 378. 380. 381. 390; cf. Rey, Familles 680). His brother James was first seneschal of Cyprus and later constable of Jerusalem (Ibelin, Livre des Assises [Edbury] 736; Mas Latrie [ed.], Nouvelles preuves II 73; cf. Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 326. 599). The latter office was not restricted to members of the royal family: it was given to the influential statesman Hugh de la Baume before 1395 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 428). Machairas reports that one Odet (= Hugh) de la Baume was constable of Cyprus in 1382 and that he died from the plague in 1419, still holding this office (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 620. 643; cf. Rey, Familles 681). He must have mistaken his office, since Philippe of Lusignan, one of Janus' brothers, was constable of Cyprus from at least 1403 until 1414, if not even 1426 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 467 [1403] 500 [1411]; Otten, Féodalité 95 [1404]; Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 142 [1414]. – Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 683 mentions Philippe as one of the participants of the battle of Chirokitia in 1426, although the Italian short chronicle has him die in 1417, see Grivaud, Petite chronique 329).

1638 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 681. 683.

1639 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151. Lusignan, Description fol. 162^{v} calls him seneschal, but as always may not be trusted, cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 681.

1640 In 1467, the Catalan Sor de Naves was constable (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 147). After his death, Pedro d'Avila took on the office (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 180-182. 224). – In Bustron's chronicle, there are two types of constables. One is the crown office, the other seems to be a term for soldiers in general, see Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 58, where Carceran de Navarra is introduced as »another constable« (ἑτερος κοντοστάβλης κατελάνος). Cf. also ibidem p. 278.

1641 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 130. 136. 180. 226. 234. 238. 272. 282. 284-286. 288. 298-304. 306. 308.

In conclusion, this office is difficult to assess since we lack information but, in contrast to the seneschal, it survived until the end of the century. Perhaps the office was just vacant for a long period under John II. This could be a lacuna in the sources, but it is a conspicuous one, as the 1430s and 1440s are exceptionally well documented. However, under James II the office once again fulfilled military functions.

A1.1.4 The Marshal

According to John of Ibelin, the marshal was the constable's lieutenant. If the latter was absent, the marshal exercised jurisdiction over the soldiers and functioned as emcee in the Haute Court. Moreover, the marshal was responsible for the practicalities of the army: he inspected horses and armour, kept account of the vassals' defaults, held parades (*mostre*) before the king or the constable and divided booty in war[1642].

During the fifteenth as well as former centuries[1643], none of the marshals can be seen fulfilling any of these functions. The institution of the *marechaussée,* however, still had military tasks, as has been mentioned above: it registered all the royal acts concerning military service[1644]. We can therefore assume that the marshal was still the head of a fully functioning institution.

The office was generally awarded to influential statesmen. All known holders were active participants of the power élite in their respective times[1645]. Moreover, the marshal does not appear to have acted as the constable's assistant any longer. At least, we have information about marshals in the highest government circles from the 1430s, while no constable appears between 1426 and 1456. Generally, the office of marshal was numbered to the most important crown offices until the end of Lusignan reign and was endowed with real power. It seems to have been awarded to men who were already powerful, but perhaps its executive functions also enhanced the holder's power.

A1.1.5 The Bouteiller

The post of *bouteiller*, although a crown office, is not mentioned by John of Ibelin, or by any other legal treatise from the East. Edbury postulates that it had fallen out of use in the kingdom of Jerusalem by the end of the twelfth century and was only revived for Cyprus by King Hugh IV. According to Edbury, »there is no reason to suppose that […] (the *bouteillers*) ever had anything more than a ceremonial role[1646]«. Indeed, the men who held this office in the period under analysis probably did not have any special tasks. They are attested at long intervals. Raymon Babin was *bouteiller* in 1369, and a certain Nevilles in about 1393[1647]. The *bouteiller* Philippe de Grenier accompanied Anne of Lusignan to Savoy in 1433 and went on an embassy to Genoa in 1440[1648]. Hugo Podocataro, who had served as ambassador on various occasions, became *bouteiller* in 1455, and in 1463 Paulin Chappes, known for his travels through Europe to collect money for wars against the Muslims, is attested[1649]. Both Podocataro and Chappes had served the crown as ambassadors for many years but had not been part of the inner power élite. Perhaps they obtained the office as a reward for their services. This would support Edbury's hypothesis that the office did not have a real function.

A1.2 The Offices of Cyprus

A1.2.1 The Viscount of Nicosia

The previous chapters have shown that only certain crown offices played a role during the fifteenth century. They were complemented by offices which had developed in the East, and which Machairas called the *offices of Cyprus* (see above). The viscount of Nicosia was one of these officials. The viscount was endowed with considerable executive power until the end of Lusignan reign. He was governor and royal lieutenant of Nicosia, and therefore represented royal power[1650]. He was the chief of police, responsible for the upkeep of social order, and presided over the court of the burgesses. The

1642 Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 584-587 (§ 223). Cf. Assises de la Haute Court (Beugnot) 412-414.

1643 Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 311.

1644 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 443. Livre des remembrances (Richard) xi, xix and n. 44. Ibd., Richard suggests that the *marechausée* probably had at its head a *chevetain de la marechausée* (*tou martzasiou*), citing Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 391. But the MSs in Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 282-283 show that the *chevetain* of the Carpas was meant (*tzivitanos tou Karpasiou*, not *tou martzasiou*). – A certain Perrin Urri is mentioned as *marchaxerio alte curie serenissimi domini regis Cipri* in 1440 (Otten, Investissements financiers 115). It is completely unclear which office is meant by this term. Relevant dictionaries have not rendered any results.

1645 The known holders of this office were the mighty count of Rouchas Jean de Morphou under Peter I (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 229-230; Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 108); Raynald de Milmars, close confident to James I, in the 1390s (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 428. 467; Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 355); the important statesman Jacques de Caffran in the 1430s (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 658. 679. 681. 705; Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 526 n. 2; III 1-3. 15-16 n. 1; 17-18); Helena Palaiologina's confident Thomas of Morea around 1450; and after Thomas' death, Janus de Montolive, who had served the crown for many years in advance (Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 164-165; Documents chypriotes [Richard] docs IV, X; Ganchou, Rébellion 164). Nicholas Morabit first held the crucial office of viscount, then became marshal under James II (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 78. 118). Three marshals are uncertain cases: according to Lusignano, Chorographia fol. 70^{r}, Muzio di Constanzo was marshal under James II. This is not corroborated by other sources. Cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 686. Louis de Nores must have been marshal sometime between the 1430s and 1460s (Livre des remembrances [Richard] nos 151. 182 and n. 2), since probably his widow, called the *marchelece* (and thereby testifying to the social importance of this office), and his daughter feature in the *Livre des remembrances* from 1468. Louis is only attested in 1446 as chamberlain (see above). Perhaps he occupied both offices in the course of his life (cf. Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 126). Third, Lusignan, Description fol. 158^{v} registers Bernard de Rinzon as marshal under John II, but since Stephen is not reliable, this information should be handled with care.

1646 Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 183.

1647 For Reimon Babin, see Ibelin, Livre des Assises (Edbury) 737. For Nevilles, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 260.

1648 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 22; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166; Iorga, Notes et extraits IV/II 421-422.

1649 See Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 124 (329-33) for Podocataro and Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 126 for Chappes.

1650 At the beginning of Lusignan rule, there was also a viscount in Famagusta. Later, officers with the same duties were called *bailli* instead of viscount in all towns except the capital, see Edbury, Franks 76; Edbury, Kingdom of Cyprus 193-194.

assizes de la court des bourgeois give a detailed picture of the viscount's tasks in the first half of the fourteenth century: he led two companies of sergeants who maintained public order. Their commanding officer, the *mahtesep*, was his lieutenant. The viscount patrolled the streets together with the sergeants every other evening, but he was also responsible for cleaning the streets and for controlling burial places. Every day, he had to enquire about new royal promulgations at court. Apart from his police duties, the viscount presided over court hearings three times a week and received testaments. We find this duty in a document as early as 1296[1651]. As the king's *bailli*, the viscount also supervised the royal estates in the town and collected their revenues[1652].

Although not all of these duties can be traced until the end of the fifteenth century, Georgios Bustron's chronicle confirms quite clearly that most of the viscount's tasks were still the same at the eve of the Venetian takeover. Bustron reports that Queen Caterina Cornaro sent orders to the viscount Guillaume de Ras to execute various arrests[1653]. His predecessor Nicholas Morabit also received orders from the queen, confiscating property and imposing curfews. In one instance, Morabit issued a proclamation concerning Nicosia's prostitutes, who were to assemble at the camel yard and leave the city[1654]. He was the queen's direct representative. Bustron makes the population of Nicosia say explicitly: »My lord, we have you as our viscount and we are obliged to render every honour towards you, just as towards the person of our lady (i. e. the queen)[1655]«.

As the head of the *court des bourgeois*, the viscount was indeed responsible for legal transactions such as testaments. In 1391, Jean de Brie made his testament in the presence of the viscount of Nicosia. He bequeathed a couple of houses to Nicosia cathedral[1656]. The viscount still confirmed testaments in 1468: he signed Giaca Audeth's testament on 1 November 1468. Giaca's notary payed 5 besants to the viscount's court, *segondo la usanza de Cypro*[1657]. Despite the turbulent times, the viscount's court was still working as usual[1658].

In contrast to former centuries[1659], the viscounts of the fifteenth century were usually among the important statesmen of their time. They often kept their office over a long period[1660]. Moreover, viscounts often appear as members of the Haute Court in every-day issues or even as witnesses of state treaties, testifying to their influence[1661]. Some viscounts were official royal counsellors and belonged to the most important statesmen of their time[1662].

The viscount's high prestige had consequences: men were eager to acquire this post. Georgios Bustron tells the story of Hector de Chivides, who asked James to convince his father King John II to appoint him as viscount. James indeed arranged this, but when de Chivides later took Charlotte's side, he was bitterly disappointed and had the viscount murdered[1663]. Then again, when Caterina Cornaro replaced Guillaume de Ras with Nicholas Morabit in 1473, she had to pay an indemnity of 100 besants a year to Guillaume, because he had ceded the office to his rival[1664]. Generally, the viscount was one of the most important officers in the fifteenth century.

A1.2.2 The Auditeur

Similar to the viscount, the *auditeur* was not a traditional crown office, but men with considerable power occupied it. It is unclear whether they derived their power from the office or rather attained the office as confirmation of their influence. According to Jean Richard, the *auditeur* had his own jurisdiction at the beginning of the fourteenth century, probably for non-contentious cases. However, in the second half of the fourteenth century, the *auditeur* Thomas de Montolive appears only as a procurator who initiates actions in the Haute Court. Richard maintains that he is not found acting outside the Haute Court, and Edbury cautions that it is impossible to say if Thomas acted as auditeur, or just as a senior member of the Court[1665]. In 1372, it was the *auditeur* who officially claimed the kingdom for Peter II from his uncle John[1666]. The *auditeur* therefore could have had a procuratorial role in these years. Unfortunately, the *auditeur's* duties

1651 Lamberto di Sambuceto, Atti (Balard) no. 13; cf. Nader, Courts 139.
1652 Assizes (Coureas) 29-30; cf. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 134.
1653 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 152-154. 158-160.
1654 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 172. 176. 178. 182. 186. 194-198. 200. 204-206. 238. 242. 256. 258. 270.
1655 Boustronios, Narrative (Coureas) § 264; cf. Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 290-292: Αφεντή, έχομε σέν διά βισκούντη μας και είμεστεν κρατούμενοι να σου πολομούμεν πάσα τιμήν, ωσγοιόν το κορμίν της κυράς μας.
1656 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 398-400.
1657 Richard, Une famille 129; cf. Livre des remembrances (Richard) xxii, and n. 61.
1658 Richard in Livre des remembrances (Richard) xxii, also opines that the viscount retained the functions assigned to him earlier.
1659 Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 336, who shows that the viscounts did not play a crucial role for Cypriot political history until the late fourteenth century.
1660 Jean de Nevilles e. g. had perhaps been appointed viscount already under Peter I, but certainly held the office from 1372 and probably until his death in 1390 (Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 277; Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 398; Coureas, Latin Church II 378). Perrin Pelestrin is attested as viscount in 1432, and changed office only in 1448 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 151-152; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 15-16, n. 1). Giacomo Urri was viscount from at least 1448 until his assassination in 1458 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 151-152; Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 4-12. 16-18. 34; Grivaud, Petite chronique 334). – Only in times of political unrest, such as the later 1420s, the office changed hands at small intervals. In 1425, Domenico de la Palu was viscount, while in 1427 Pierre Laze was newly appointed. In 1432, Perrin Pelestrin already occupied the office (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 659; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir III 225; Documents chypriotes [Richard] 140-141). Similarly short office periods can be observed during the turbulent civil wars in the 1460s and 1470s (see e. g. Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 26. 40. 76-78; Richard, Une famille 129; Documents nouveaux [Mas Latrie] 494-495).
1661 See e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 421. 436.
1662 This is true for Giacomo Urri, Perrin Pelestrin, and Nicholas Morabit, see Documents chypriotes (Richard) 140. 152; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 152-154. 158-160; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 155. 214 (Ap. 1).
1663 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 40. 58. 110-112.
1664 See Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 494-495.
1665 Richard, Revolution 121-122; Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 329-330.
1666 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 320.

remain unclear in the fifteenth century. However, most of the known *auditeurs* played a significant role in politics and usually belonged to the inner power élite[1667].

One *auditeur* in particular was extremely powerful, but he only occupied this office until he attained even greater influence: Jacques de Fleury is mentioned as *auditeur* of Cyprus for the first time in 1432[1668]. He was to become the most important statesman of the following years[1669]. When his career really took off, he left the office of *auditeur* in order to become King John II's chief counsellor[1670]. The office of *auditeur* nevertheless must have had great significance, since influential men were invested with it.

A1.2.3 The Admiral

Louis de Mas Latrie stated in his short analysis of the Cypriot state offices that although the admiral was not one of the traditional crown offices, he must have been one of the most important ministers of the crown, because Cyprus was a maritime kingdom[1671]. According to Peter Edbury, this was the case until well into the fourteenth century. In the period of Peter I's important raids on the Anatolian and Syrian coasts, the chronicles often mention the admiral commanding Cypriot fleets[1672]. However, from the reign of Peter II on we never find admirals executing tasks at sea. Perhaps the Cypriot fleet declined in those years[1673]. Nevertheless, admirals still seem to have been important officers until the end of Lusignan times. They often sat in the Haute Court during important sessions and witnessed treaties[1674]. Admiral Pierre de Caffran went on important embassies to Genoa in 1387 and 1390. Admiral Pierre Le Jeune even presided over the Haute Court in 1420[1675].

From the end of Janus' reign onwards, this office was always given to foreigners from the Iberian peninsula. The first to receive it was Carceran Suarez, who had come to Cyprus from Castile in 1426 and saved Janus' life at the battle of Chirokitia. According to Pero Tafur, King Janus gave him the office of admiral and the hand of his bastard daughter in return[1676]. Carceran is the only admiral seen to command ships at sea in 1438, although indeed they seem to have been his own ships[1677]. Bernardo Riosec, who was Carceran Suarez' nephew according to Georgios Bustron, probably took over this office from him around the year 1458[1678]. Just as Suarez, Riosec and his Catalan successor[1679] may have brought their own ships into the bargain, and thus countered the need for a Cypriot fleet. The fact that they are not seen at sea seems to be an unhappy lacuna in the sources: surely, the office would not have been awarded to experienced Catalan seamen so regularly if it had lost its function.

A1.2.4 The Turcopolier

Machairas mentions the *turcopolier* as one of the offices introduced in Cyprus[1680]. Jean Richard, who dedicated an article to the turcopoles, confirms that there was no *turcopolier* in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The *turcopoles*, whom the *turcopolier* must have commanded, were originally troops of light cavalry and archers recruited probably among Oriental Christians and Muslims who had converted to Christianity[1681].

Some of the most powerful men on Cyprus held this office, although we do not know their exact duties other than commanding the troop of *turcopoles* in Cyprus. Peter Edbury has shown how the *turcopoliers* played important roles as military commanders, sometimes of mercenaries as

1667 E. g. Jean Gorap, who was one of the twelve regents of the kingdom after Peter II's death and later took part in important Haute Court meetings (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 372. 420; III 764-766; Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 280. 599. 620; cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 666). We don't know much about Jean's successors, but Arnaud de Soissons at least sat in the Haute Court on 16 August 1395 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 428). Simon de Morphou seems to have been *auditeur* in the first years of the fifteenth century (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 642). For the next known *auditeur*, Jacques de Fleury, see above. In 1439, the office passed to Janus de Montolive (Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 165). The last *auditeur* of Cyprus before the Venetian takeover (from 1458 on) was the powerful Venetian Andrea Cornaro (Loredan, Historie (Giblet) 702). Andrea became an important follower to James II and played a crucial role after James II's death, embodying Venetian influence (Bustron, Diēgēsis [Kechagioglou] 86. 150. 180-194). However, this was mostly due to the fact that he was Queen Caterina's uncle.

1668 For his career, see Ganchou, Rébellion 105-107; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 128-130.

1669 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526; III 18; Otten, Féodalité 71, and n. 15; Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. II.

1670 He is mentioned for the first time as the *conte del Zaffo et civitan di nostra secreta corte* in July 1439, see MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 40^{v}.

1671 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 133.

1672 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 319-321. The admiral Jean de Sur e. g. was sent as captain to Antalya in 1362 and went on a raid against Anamur in 1363, although he does not seem to have led the latter (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 127. 132. 143). When Jean was absent in the West in 1366, Jean Monstri commanded fleets under Peter I, perhaps as stand-in admiral (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] §§ 180. 190). Peter de Sur, Jean's son, is also recorded as admiral in 1372 by Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 341. Cf. Coureas, Admirals 121-125.

1673 Coureas, Admirals 128, states that Cyprus did not have a regular fleet any more.

1674 See e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495: the admiral Jean Babin sat in the Haute Court in 1410. The admiral Pierre Le Jeune was part of the Haute Court in 1414 (Sperone [ed.], Real Grandezza 142). Thus, he was admiral already at this point and not only from 1415 on, as Coureas, Admirals 129, states. Pierre de Caffran was part of the Haute Court in 1389 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 417). The admiral and royal counsellor Muzio di Constanzo witnessed decisions as part of the Haute Court under James II (Livre des remembrances [Richard] nos 159-165. 182).

1675 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 413. 420; Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612). Sometime before 1414, Jean de Brunswick must also have held the office, as his tombstone specifies him as *tres noble amirail dou roiaume de Chipre*, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 658.

1676 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28. Carceran's office is confirmed by a document from 1432 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] doc. I).

1677 Bliznjuk, Genuesen no. 51; Hill, History II 490-491 and n. 7; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10; Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. VIII.

1678 Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 14. 36. 50. 58. 62. 86. Coureas, Admirals 130, thinks he is a Cypriot from the Rubeus family, which according to him is known from a funerary inscription from the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries. But the inscription in question records a Rubeus Pesarus, rather suggesting a member of the Venetian Pesaro family, see Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 454. Also, we do not know of any Lusignan family member who married a person with this name. And Bernardo is actually called Riosec in the list of Charlotte's followers in 1467 (Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209). This name form indeed sounds Spanish, so that I think he might have come to Cyprus from Sevilla.

1679 Riosec's successor in 1468 was the Catalan Muzio di Constanzo (Livre des remembrances [Richard] nos 160-165). Interestingly, Juan Perez Fabriguez was *capitaneo triremium regie majestatis* (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 320) or *cap(itaneo) delle nostre galie* (MS Marciana It VII 2581 [12473]) in the same period. It is unclear how this office related to the admiral.

1680 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 88.

1681 Richard, Turcopoles 261-264. Cf. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 133-134.

well as the *turcopoles*, in the second half of the fourteenth century[1682]. The holders of the office played differing roles in Cypriot politics: Jacques de Nores, *turcopolier* under Peter I and Peter II, was part of the power élite and took part in Peter I's campaigns. He was influential, but by no means the first man in the kingdom. His successor Thibault Belfaradge was powerful, albeit only for a short time before he was hanged for murder. Jean de Brie, *turcopolier* from at least 1378 until 1397, in contrast, was the most powerful man in Cyprus after the king and became head regent after Peter II's death[1683]. Later office holders, such as Francois Camardas in 1404 and Perrin Pelestrin between 1448 and 1463, were again members of the power élite, although they seem to have been more marginal[1684]. The office of *turcopolier* was therefore probably important but, similar to the marshal, its exact standing depended on its holder's personality. Since no sources describe the *turcopolier*'s responsibilities, it is impossible to say how the *turcopolier* interacted with the constable or the marshal, though the responsibility for the mercenaries might have passed over to him from the latter offices[1685].

A1.2.5 The Bailli de la secrète and the Pourveours du royaume

The *bailli de la secrète*[1686] was also an office created in the kingdom of Cyprus. The *bailli* was the head of the kingdom's financial administration, institutionalized in the *secrète*. This institution had its name, and to some extent its structure, from its Byzantine predecessor, the *sēkrētikon*[1687]. In the fifteenth century, it was responsible for all financial matters of the royal domain, as well as for matters of enfeoffment, sales of estates and the lease of royal incomes. It controlled the evaluation of estates and the accounts of the royal *baillis*, but it also registered manumissions of *paroikoi*. The *secrète* seems to have worked like a council comprised of various secretaries, with the *bailli de la secrète* at its head[1688]. We receive glimpses of the *bailli's* work at the end of the fourteenth century: the *bailli de la secrète* Thomas de Montolive registered Jean de Brie's testament together with the secretaries of the *secrète* in 1383[1689]. The *bailli* Thomas Mahe in turn received the order to search for the documents concerning Marie de Bourbon's dowry in the *secrète's* archive in 1395[1690].
As Richard has mentioned, the office was occupied exclusively by members of the old nobility until the end of the fourteenth century[1691]. Moreover, the *bailli* Thomas de Montolive bore the title of marshal of Jerusalem at the same time. Both facts testify to the importance of the office[1692]. Some *baillis* also took part in Haute Court sessions and state decisions[1693].

However, if we can believe Machairas, the exclusivity of the office for members of the old nobility came to an end before 1400. Machairas mentions that the Syrian Nicholas Billy was (Gr.) *prachtoras* and therefore *bailli de la secrète* in 1374[1694]. An Oriental Christian could hold this post even at this early date, if indeed Machairas' account is true. Thomas de Montolive is the next known office holder, illustrating that both men of the old nobility and Oriental Christians could hold the office in this period. With Jacques Salah, again an Oriental Christian held the office in 1432. Machairas designates the latter explicitly as burgess[1695]. Jacques' relative Philippe Salah succeeded him in the 1440s. Philippe had been a simple secretary in the *secrète* for many years before rising to the head of the institution. As such, he took part in Haute Court decisions, just as his predecessors had done[1696]. The office therefore seems to have been held predominantly by Oriental Christians in the fifteenth century. It was one of the significant careers open to the new aristocracy within the Lusignan administration.

The office was still crucial in the 1450s[1697]. However, ten years later, this had changed: under James II, Philippe Seba was *bailli de la secrète*[1698], but he was no longer the head of this institution. Instead, the *bailli* had been superseded by the so-called *pourveours du royaume.* The office which had provided such grand possibilities for social mobility until a decade earlier had now lost its importance.

1682 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 323-324.
1683 For Jacques de Nores, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 129. 147. 607; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 771; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 292. For Thibault Belfaradge, see Bullarium Cyprium III (Schabel et al.) no. v-200; Otten, Féodalité 91; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 556-575; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 339-346. For Jean de Brie, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 563. 599. 610. 620; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. 396-398. 412. 420. 428. 436; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 346. 350. 352. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 324.
1684 For Francois Camardas, see Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 467. 495. For Perrin Pelestrin, see Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380. Cf. Rey, Familles de Ducange 692.
1685 Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 325.
1686 This is the French designation for the office, see Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 175. 187-191. 193. 204-212. 216-234; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396. 423. A Latin source from 1454 mentions the *pretor nostre secrete regalis* (Documents nouveaux [Mas Latrie] 380). The Italian short chronicle writes *practora della secreta* (Grivaud, Petite chronique 333). The usual Greek designation seems to have been *prachtoras*, which was the old Byzantine name of the office (Griechische Briefe [Beihammer] 109; Livre des remembrances [Richard] xii). However, Machairas also uses *empalēs tou sygkritou*, see Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 704.
1687 See Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 104-117.
1688 The competences of the *secrète* are especially visible from the Livre des remembrances (Livre des remembrances [Richard] ix-xvii and passim in the documents). Cf. Griechische Briefe (Beihammer) 105; Edbury, Feudal Nobility fo Cyprus 328.
1689 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396.
1690 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423-425.
1691 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xii. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 327.
1692 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396.
1693 E. g. Reinier Scolar, one of the twelve regents after Peter II's death, in 1390 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire II 420).
1694 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
1695 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 704. Ibd. § 693 (cf. Bustron, Historia [Mas Latrie] 368) relates how the Mamluks appointed another Oriental Christian, Eustache Goul, as *prachtoras* when they occupied Nicosia in 1426.
1696 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139-157; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380.
1697 See e. g. Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs X, XI, XII.
1698 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 175. 187-191. 193. 204-212. 216-234.

The *pourveour du royaume* accordingly merits some discussion. The history of this office is very patchy before the 1460s. Like the chamberlain, the (Fr.) *pourveour*/(Lat.) *provisor*/(It.) *proveditore* was concerned with financial administration. Antonio de Bergamo was *regni nostri Cipri provisore* in 1390, only three years before his death, at which time he was the *camerarius*. It is not clear whether the two offices had any connection, or whether Antonio occupied both of them because he was an expert for finances. Mas Latrie maintained that both offices were one and the same. Although he does not explain this assumption, he seems to have believed this because Antonio de Bergamo was designated with both terms shortly before his death[1699]. Unfortunately, we do not hear anything about the *pourveour* for many decades, so that at the end of the fourteenth century the exact duties of this office remain unclear. The next piece of information comes from James II's reign.

The *pourveour* and the *camerarius* were certainly not the same office under James II, since the *Livre des remembrances* from 1468/1469 reveals a whole team of *pourveours* working in the *secrète*, while the *camerarius* does not feature in the book at all. Two if not more *pourveours du royaume de Chypre* played leading roles in the *secrète* under James II. Numerous transactions in the *Livre* feature the *pourveours* working together with the *bailli de la secrète*[1700]. The head of the office was now the *principal pourveour du royaume*, in 1468 Sasson de Nores[1701]. It is clear from the documents that the *pourveours* had taken over the decision making in this institution. They ordered the secretaries to examine estate revenues, confirmed exchanges of serfs, and examined the validity of several claims to Venetian citizenship by Cypriot subjects[1702]. *Pourveours* are thus very scarce until the reign of James II, and indeed we cannot be sure which role they played before his reign. Men with this designation, however, had taken over the role of the *bailli de la secrète* by the late 1460s.

A1.2.6 The Maître de l'hotel

In Cyprus, the seneschal was substituted as head of the king's household by the *maître de l'hotel* or *bailli de la court*[1703]. Jean Gorap bears the title *embalēs tēs aulēs* in Machairas which Bustron translates as *balio della corte del re*[1704]. Piero Podocataro is called *bailo de nostra corte* in the Italian translation of a French Haute Court document and *bailivius curiae Serenissimi Regis* in the Latin ratification of the peace treaty with Genoa in 1441[1705]. *Magister hospicii* was also an alternative term in Latin[1706].

The *maître de l'hotel* was responsible for all matters connected with the royal household, which included the king's chamber, the kitchens, and stables[1707]. We do not hear about his exact duties very often. Machairas' famous story about Peter I's treatment of his *maître de l'hotel* Jean Gorap, however, gives us a glimpse of his tasks. One day at the beginning of the year 1369, Peter allegedly complained that the oil for his asparagus was missing on the table and had Jean Gorap imprisoned for having forgotten it. According to Machairas, this was the final incident which led to Peter's assassination[1708].

The *maître de l'hotel* was a creature of the court, fully integrated into the workings of the royal household. The office seems to have been a spring board for further careers: the Oriental Christian Jean Gorap held it before he became *auditeur*[1709]. Piero Podocataro became *maître de l'hotel* after having worked as a secretary for many years[1710]. He later became an important statesman under Charlotte and James II. The office offered possibilities to rise in the hierarchy to members of new or less important aristocratic families in particular[1711]. Some of these men served as members of the Haute Court while they held this office, and therefore belonged to the decision makers[1712]. Piero Podocataro and Jean Gorap, however, only moved into the highest circles and the Haute Court *after* they had held this office, which had obviously been their stepping stone to success[1713].

1699 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 904, II 421.
1700 Livre des remembrances (Richard) e. g. nos 87. 159-165. 174-176. 223-226. 229-234.
1701 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xiii.
1702 See above n. 156.
1703 See e. g. Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526; III 18; Documents chypriotes (Richard) docs II, X.
1704 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 280; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 275.
1705 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 28^{v}; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 169.
1706 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 415.
1707 Livre des remembrances (Richard) xviii. Cf. Edbury, Feudal Nobility of Cyprus 332.
1708 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 279.
1709 Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. Jacques de Fleury was *maître de l'hotel* in 1432 (Mas Latrie [ed.], Histoire III 18) and even held the office together with that of *auditeur* in 1436 (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 141). In both cases the offices of *maître de l'hotel* and *auditeur* were held by the same person. Regarding the tasks assigned to both offices, this seems to be a coincidence rather than a hint to a connection of both offices.
1710 Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 169; MCC, PDc2669.2 29^{v}.
1711 The Oriental Christian Thomas Barech held it in 1382 (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 607), Jean de Crolissa, a member of a new noble family, in the 1440s (Documents nouveaux [Mas Latrie] 380; Documents chypriotes [Richard] 154-155).
1712 Jean de Crolissa e. g. sat in the Haute Court (Documents chypriotes [Richard] 141. 154-155). Thomas Barech even belonged to the regency council after Peter II's death (Machairas, Exēgēsis [Dawkins] § 599).
1713 A certain Friar Marco Pasturana was *maître de l'hotel* in 1468, but he was not involved in politics at all (Livre des remembrances [Richard] no. 66).

Appendix II: Tables

Table 1: The Nobility

Family	Sources
Amar	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 83, n. 13.
Antiaume	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 4; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 563. 612; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 330-331; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 100.
D'Antioche	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 599. 620-621; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 350; Ibelin, Livres des assises 733-734; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 149 and n. 7; Rey, Familles de Ducange 510-512; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 82.
Babin	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 372. 375. 391. 411-413. 619. 685 (and n. 2); Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 399. 428-429. 467. 478. 495; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 22; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 16. 17; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 685; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 295. 299. 308. 351-352. 424; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 88; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond 128; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 26; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 9-10; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-113, pp. 188-189, α-132, p. 217 (Clemens VII).
Baume, de la	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428. 467; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 86. 125; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 599. 610. 620. 629. 643; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 350. 352; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 684; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 13. 29; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 84; Dal Campo, Viaggio 212; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 9-10; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-112, pp. 187-188 (Clemens VII).
Beduin	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 260; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 301. 305. 563; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 279; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 83. 85. 88. 90. 91.
Beves	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74.
Blanchegarde, de la	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 81. 85. 90. 100. 142.
Bon	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 86; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 423; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 435; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 134. 150. 221-222. 542. 548. 553. 563; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 91.
Boussat (both families)	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153. 155; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 400; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 612; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 351. 387. 435; Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 66-68. 70-73.
Brie	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 9; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 563. 599. 610. 620; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. 396-398. 412. 420. 428. 436; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 346. 350. 352; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85.
Buffle, le	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-74; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 84.
Caffran	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 61; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 413. 416-418. 420. 521. 526; Mas Latie, Histoire III 16-19; Otten, Féodalité 71; Iorga, Notes et extraits IV/II 374; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 30. 84. 88. 139-142; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond passim; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 388. 619. 620. 640; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 569; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 352; Rey, Familles de Ducange 534; Tselikas, Diathēkē 268.
Camardas	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 182, n. 1; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 467; ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 329; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves 74.
Candoufle	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 542.
Chappes	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 416; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 525; Hill, History II 86, and n. 4; Hill, History III 499. 524. 549. 671-672. 674; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses 28. 34-35. 41-42. 50. 60, nos 19. 21-22. 32. 41. 61. 62. 64. 68; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 186. 209; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 149 and n. 2. 164 n. 3. 170 and n. 1; Cartulary of the Cathedral (Coureas/Schabel) no. 40; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 362; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 387. 422-423. 438.
Chivides	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 392-3; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 36. 40-42; Grivaud, Petite chronique 326; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 380-381. 385-386. 397. 402.
Colée	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-74; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 285. 317-318. 361. 362; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 91. 100.
Coste	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire I 139; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 529 and n. 3. 542. 657. 686; Rey, Familles de Ducange 212; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 150. 204, n. 1. 230; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 366. 409. 420; Rudt de Collenberg, Dispenses 66, n. 44; Pauli (ed.), Codice diplomatico 71. 89.
Crolissa	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 154-155 and n. 4; Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois (Beugnot) 376-377; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 109; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 326. 563; Tselikas, Diathēkē 268.
Dampierre	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 400.
Fardin	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 6. 64; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 301; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 279; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 675. 680.
Finie	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.

Family	Sources
Fleury, de	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 120. 138. 185. 209; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 657; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436. 526; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 18. 32; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 140-155; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) 515; Ganchou, Rébellion passim; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 40^{v}; Grivaud, Petite chronique 328; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 389. 396. 410.
Foucher	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 2; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 79. 82; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-12, pp. 26-28 (Clemens VII).
Four	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 380.
Gaurelle	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 144. 288; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 129. 280, and n. 4. 423. 542; Rudt de Collenberg, Graces papales 231; Rey, Familles de Ducange 511. 54. 608; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75.
Giblet	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 76; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 429. 467; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 333. 392. 423; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 48. 50. 58. 62. 86. 158. 312-316; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 306. 332. 369. 397; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 35; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 83. 85. 89-91. 100.
Grenier	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 22; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 166. 178. 179; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 167. 312. 655. 658. 681; Rey, Familles de Ducange 274-275; Grivaud, Petite chronique 330-331; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 358. 364; 396. 415. 422. 433. 447. 452-453; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 28. 83. 89; Bustron Diēgēsis 86. 110. 150. 154. 166. 172. 184. 216. 218. 224. 234. 238. 248. 250. 252. 254. 272,294. 308. 310. 318.
Gride, de la	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 148. 150; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 640. 685.
Ibelin	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 283. 289. 325. 423; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 5. 16; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 685; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85. 89. 90; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-26, p. 50, α-132, p. 217 (Clemens VII).
Jassoulin	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75.
Jeune, le	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495. 499; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 572; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 55. 69; Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612); Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 142; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 148-150; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-35-36, p. 447-448, β-67, p. 507, β-83, pp. 529-530 (John XXIII).
Langlais	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 81. 84. 93. 94. 106. 126. 127. 152. 153; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 187. 209; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 22-23; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 126; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 18. 259; Richard, Diplomatique 77; Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, 73; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 386. 397.
Laze	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 361. 434; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 61; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir III 225; Tselikas, Diathēkē 271; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 314. 422.
Lengo	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Limnat	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 542; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-74.
Mahe	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423-425; Tselikas, Diathēkē 271; Grivaud, Petite chronique 331; Mansi, Sacrorum Consiliorum 376 C-D; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 79; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 401.
Malembeq	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166 and n. 13; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 84.
Margat	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 24. 25. 111; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 411.
Milmars	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 260. 363; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166, n. 16; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 58. 119. 163. 167. 190. 333. 392. 500. 542. 548. 609. 620; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 306. 327. 338. 352. 355; Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612); Darrouzès, Notes pour servir III 245; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-74; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 61. 219; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428. 467; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 88. 90; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-7, pp. 419-420 (John XXIII).
Moine, le	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 542.
Montgesard	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-74; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 82.
Montolive	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 22; Darrouzès, Obituaire 39; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 19. 97. 112. 115. 116. 121. 122. 126. 127. 130. 131. 135. 136. 142. 143. 153. 162. 170. 202. 203. 209; Mas Latrie, Nouvelle Preuves I 74; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 685; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 88; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 318. 320. 326. 360. 392. 599. 602-603. 605. 607. 610-611. 630. 685; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 281. 302. 306. 350-351. 354; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 166. 182. 195; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 100; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 28. 29. 82. 89. 91. 100. 145. 154; Grivaud, Petite chronique 326. 328; Tselikas, Diathēkē 268; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 306. 332. 350. 351. 376. 386. 387. 397. 421. 435.
Mora	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Morphou/Plessie	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 19. 29; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 285. 331. 349 and n. 1. 370. 391. 411-413. 599. 630. 642; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 277. 289. 292. 295. 304. 334. 350. 354. 358. 364; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 741; Mas Latrie Histoire II 417-418; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 685; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir I 99; Constantinidis/Browning, Dated Manuscripts 215; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir I 99; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 88-90; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).

Family	Sources
Moustazo	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 166; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 26 and n. 1. 154 and n. 26. 225; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume II 147; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves III 392; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 419.
Nevaire	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 685; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 204; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Grivaud, Petite chronique 326; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 9-10.
Nephin	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 682. 683; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 10. 12. 26; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 607; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 92. 94. 100. 105. 107. 108; Bullarium Cyprium III (Schabel et al.) w-330; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-69, α-70, α-71, pp. 114-120 (Clemens VII), β-24, pp. 261-263, β-34, pp. 279-281 (Benedict XIII).
Nevilles	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 260. 283; Rudt de Collenberg, Graces papales 234; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 68; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 386. 398. 407. 435. 563. 599. 620. 685; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 398(?). 421; Coureas, Latin Church II 378; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 277. 302. 314. 345. 350. 352; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-70-71, p. 511-512 (John XXIII).
Nores	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae 110. 143. 181; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73. 75; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 29. 109. 122. 123. 143. 146. 147. 163. 171. 175. 194. 201. 209; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 129. 147. 349. 542. 607. 631. 658. 679. 681; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 292. 338. 344. 354. 358. 364. 397. 402. 421. 422. 426. 429. 430. 432; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 415; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 33 and n. 2. 49 and n. 1. 60. 69. 73 and n. 1. 87. 94. 95 and n. 1. 130. 146. 147. 155. 174-176. 178-184. 198. 208-212. 214. 216-221. 229. 232-234; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 158. 162. 521. 526; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 10-13. 16-21. 771; Otten, Féodalité 71; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 685; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 142. 154-155; Lusignan, Description fol. 82^{r}; Rey, Familles de Ducange 573. 575-576; Tselikas, Diathēkē passim; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).
Olive, de l'	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74.
Parie	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Pelestrin	Lusignano, Chorographia fol. 65; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 655; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 114; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 357. 360. 377. 388. 389. 397; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436. 533 n. 1; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 140-141. 151; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209.
Petit, le	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 75 and n. 1; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 28. 67. 94; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 285. 342. 628; Ibelin, Livre des assises 733-734; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 291; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 373, n. 2; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 96. 481; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 82. 89. 99; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-27, pp. 265-267, β-31, pp. 273-274 (Benedict XIII), β-58, pp. 480-483 (John XXIII).
Pi	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Picquigny	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 651. 674; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 356. 357. 362; Amadi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 500; The Chronicle of Amadi (Coureas/Edbury) § 1047 and n. 2.
Poitiers	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Poret	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Prevost	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 75. 209; Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) 3 (612); Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 25. 362; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 636. 646. 652. 653. 661. 677. 685; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 357. 359; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495; Otten, Féodalité 92.
Reties	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74.
Roze	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Scaface	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 2. 37; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 679; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 310; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-12, pp. 26-28 (Clemens VII), β-42, pp. 300-302 (Benedict XIII).
Scandelion	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 82 and n. 11. 89-91; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 238. 245. 280. 515.
Soissons	Jacoby, Calophéros 193; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423. 428; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-75; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 14; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 26; Coureas, Boustronios § 150 and n. 286; Rudt de Collenberg, Royaume I 684; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-113, pp. 188-189 (Clemens VII).
Suar	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Sunda	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563.
Tiberiade	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae nos 129. 260. 267; Rey, Familles de Ducange 462; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 82 and n. 7; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 30. 52; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 405. 412. 423. 428. 436. 456; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).
Verny	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 396. 405. 444. 680; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 364; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 96; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 399. 421; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 126; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 415; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 282; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 145. 173; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 105.
Villiers	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 434. 563; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 81. 85. 89; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 314.
Visconte	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 1; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139 and n. 2. 140-141. 155; Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 73-75
Yzaq	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves I 74.

Table 2: The New Aristocracy

Family	Sources
Amarin	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 216.
Archidiaconi	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 158. 162; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85.
Attar	Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 46. 154. 226. 228. 270-272; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 385. 420. 433. 449; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 527; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no 104.
Audeth	Bliznyuk, Educational Foundation no. 28; Richard, Une famille passim; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 82. 154; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 367. 401; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 596; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 693.
Bazadelo	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 89.
Bezas	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 131. 139; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 26[1714].
Bibi	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 31. 107. 112. 134. 162. 166. 186. 187. 190. 191. 193-195. 196. 199. 200. 202. 204. 207. 208. 211. 212. 214. 216-221. 223-225. 228-230. 232. 233; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 10; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 28; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 45; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 375; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 38; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 300. 354. 367.
Billy	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 65; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 2. 3; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 220; ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 22/19; ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354. 367.
Boussat (both families)	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153. 155; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 400; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 612; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 351. 387. 435. 444; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 94; Brayer et al., Vaticanus Latinus 4789, esp. 70-73; Tselikas, Diathēkē 270. 271; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291.
Bustron	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 78. 124. 126. 136. 230. 152. 163. 176. 205; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 139. 140; Grivaud, Ordine 533. 536; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 30 and n. 10; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 152; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 382. 384. 385. 388. 389. 399. 407. 419. 426. 431.
Cadith	Richard, Une Famille 108-109. 114. 119-121. 123-129; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 360. 395.
Capuri	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 190. 209; Richard, Une Famille 115; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 46.
Calergi	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 166; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 45; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 209. 227; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 448.
Capadoca	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 41; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 79. 81; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 132. 188; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 142; Grivaud, Petite chronique 330; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-5, p. 419 (John XXIII).
Cardus	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 74. 76. 77. 154; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 371; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 78.
Careri	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 87. 172. 179; Bliznyuk, Education Foundation nos 4-8; Tselikas, Diathēkē 268; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 119. 122. 123. 133; Kaoulla, Quest for a Royal Bride 9-10, §§ 566-657; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 401. 402. 415. 419; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 172. 197.
Cazoli	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 54.
Chalif	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 67; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 106. 296. 298.
Chimi	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 42. 43. 222; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 68. 110. 112. 140-148; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 76; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 525; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 402. 419. 426; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-27-28, pp. 438-439 (John XXIII).
Cofiti	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 25.
Condostefano	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 12 and n. 2. 61. 88. 94. 99. 101. 102; Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 169; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 47-48; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 421. 424; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 501.
David	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 210.
De Coron	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 51. 60. 105; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 128-130; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 410. 422; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 202. 215. 224. 238.
De Jerusalem	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 147. 201.
De Livant	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 113; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 421.
De Ras	Machairas, Exēgēsis § 184. 301; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 331; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 23. 78; Rudt de Collenberg, Graces papales 241; ASVen, Procuratori di San Marco, Misti, Misti. 132, loose leaf; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 22. 86. 154. 158. 160. 172. 182. 198. 212. 216. 218. 222. 226. 230. 232. 234. 236. 242. 250. 258. 260. 274. 294. 296. 300. 302. 319; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 145 and n. 1. 148-158. 163. 166-167. 170. 172-179. 181-183. 197, Ap. I; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 423. 494-495; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 124-125. 172. 396-397; Hill, History III 686, n. 1.

1714 The form of the surname used in the Padua list is Bizar. However, it seems that the Padua list and the papal registers speak of the same person, whose first name is Nicholas.

Family	Sources
De Tripoli	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 1.
De Vetes	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 141. 202.
Estive	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 86.
Filo	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 51. 155.
Flatro	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 123. 205; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 114. 118. 182; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 70; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 368. 419; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 242.
Gabriel	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 127. 159.
Gazel	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 206; Grivaud, Petite chronique 325; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 651; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 651; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 356; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 6(?).
Giblet (syr.)	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 173. 174. 177. 178; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 422.
Gonem	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 113. 124. 155. 157. 195. 214; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 59. 105. 204. 225. 226; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 20; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 152; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 376. 388. 390. 393. 394. 400. 415. 418. 420. 424. 449; Mas Latrie Histoire III 97. 129. 172. 173. 187. 208. 253. 272. 276. 287. 306. 326; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-46, pp. 459-460 (John XXIII).
Gorab	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 279. 280. 290. 333. 395. 405. 407. 563. 599. 620; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372. 416-418. 420; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 278-279. 307. 350. 352; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 158.
Lahana[1715]	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 206.
Machairas	Broquière, Voyage d'Outremer (Schefer) 106-107; PLP nos 17516. 17517. 17519-17522; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 354; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 537. 542; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 3; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 110. 456. 475. 495. 499. 566. 608. 612. 630. 631. 679. 697.
Margariti	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 205; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291.
Mate	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 216.
Melissino	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 23; Bliznjuk, Genuesen nos 84. 85; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 145.
Millias	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 87; Tselikas, Diathēkē 269; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 172; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 434.
Mina	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 210; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 134.
Mistachiel	Boateriis, Atti no. 70; Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 74; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 366; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 537. 543; Lutrell et al., Hospitaller Documents nos 237. 330; Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 6 n. 1; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 124-132. 140. 174. 282; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 296. 407. 409. 410. 421. 423. 426;, Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 456; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 439. 471. 522. 555. 610.
Nassar[1716]	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}.
Orcomosiati	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 176; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 90.
Pardo	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 114. 100; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 386; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 85.
Peli	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 56.
Petropoulos	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 92. 104; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 45.
Placoto	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 107.
Podocataro	Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 15-20; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro passim; Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 169; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 60-64. 72. 73, n. 2. 810; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 158; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 124. 133. 134; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 72-78; MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 28^{v}-31^{r}; Bliznjuk, Genuesen nos 33. 34. 56. 60. 61. 68. 84-91. 93. 94; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 80; Tselikas, Diathēkē 268-269. 270; Balard, Hoi Genouates 291.
Rames	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 196 and n. 3; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 164. 209; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 89-90; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 420; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 614.
Romanus	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 1; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 423 (Romaniti); Documents chypriotes (Richard) 78. 83. 85. 86 (Romain, Romani); Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 41; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 98. 101 (Romanus); Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-16, pp. 250-251 (Benedict XIII) (Romano).
Salah	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 144. 209; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 640. 704; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 141-142. 145. 148. 150-153; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 37. 195. 197. 199. 200. 217. 218. 227; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 60; Grivaud, Petite chronique 333; Bustron Historia 388. 423. 426. 427. 432.

1715 This is a similar or even the same name as Sir Francis Lacha bore in the fourteenth century. However, Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 96 reports the decline of this family in the 1370s. There is no mention of the family until 1468. I have therefore opted not to count the two as the same family.

1716 As there is only one mention of a member of this family, I have not included it into the graph. However, Roma Nassar was married to a Strambali and is therefore included into the analysis of the marriage alliances and this table.

Family	Sources
Satallie	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 195. 196.
Seba	Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond no. 40; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 182; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 175. 187. 191. 193. 194. 196. 204-212. 216-222. 224-229. 232-234; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 147; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 563; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 426. 427. 432.
Sgouropoulos	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 119.
Sincritico	Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 11. 12; Otten, Investissements financiers 112; PLP 27016; Ganchou, Rébellion 128-129. 143. 148; Gudenus, Codex Diplomaticus (Gudenus) no. CXLI; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 209; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 14. 115. 133 and n. 2. 156. 175. 195. 221. 231. 233; Richard, Psimolofo 129. 151; Darrouzès, Obituaire 40; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir III 238; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 644-645. 665; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 360. 402. 419. 424. 444; Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaires 186. 187; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 30; Constantinidis/Browning, Dated Manuscripts 239. 240; ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 243. 272. 281. 499.
Soudain	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 495. 498-499. 521. 526; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16. 18; Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 361; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 142. 151; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 55. 72. 173. 177. 178. 181. 188. 190. 192. 193; Tselikas, Diathēkē 268. 271; Iorga Notes et extraits IV/I 321.
Soulouan	Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 23-25; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 52. 71. 93. 104. 105. 108. 118. 132. 169. 207. 215; ASVen, Commemoriali, Commemoriali 9 fol. 38^{v}; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436, n. 3. 447; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 625; Rudt de Collenberg, Cardinaux 99 and n. 67; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-24, pp. 433-434, β-78, pp. 523-524 (John XXIII).
Sozomenos	Luttrell et al., Hospitaller Documents no. 7; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Konnarē/Pierēs) 420; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) §§ 620. 563 and n. 7; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 352; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 161. 195; Lusignan, Description fols 82^{v}-84^{v}.
Strambali	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 22. 57. 196. 207. 220. 222; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152; MCC, PDc 2669.2 44^{r}; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 423. 449; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 187. 188. 234. 290. 296. 306. 499.
Tou Conomo	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 124.
Tou Yali	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 52.
Urri	Gardthausen/Vogel, Griechische Schreiber 348; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir II 89; Blizn'uk, Gumanitarnyj fond nos 29-33; Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 375; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie nos 46. 70. 153. 158. 192. 196. 199. 209. 224; Bustron, Diēgēsis (Kechagioglou) 10. 12. 16. 18. 20. 26. 28. 42. 44. 50. 184. 188. 274. 318; Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 30. 195; Darrouzès, Notes pour servir I. 89; Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) nos 55. 172, X (p. 507); Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 291; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526; Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 16-17; Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380; Documents chypriotes (Richard) 152-153; Richard, Privilège 132; ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3; Tselikas, Diathēkē 271; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 375. 376. 386. 402. 438.
Zacharias[1717]	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 197. 199. 200; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 142; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 157.
Zebes	Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 141. 160; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 419. 421.

1717 This family does not seem to be identical with the Genoese Zaccaria family from Chios, for which see Coureas, Economy 148. Paulinus Zacharias' Orthodox faith rather points to a Greek origin.

Table 3: Marriage Connections 1382-1472

Date	Couple	Source
ca. 1382	John of Lusignan – Jean de Morphou's daughter	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 615.
1382	Hodrade de Provane – Jacqua de Ibelin	Rudt de Collenberg, Études des prosopographie no. 5; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-26, p. 50 (Clemens VII).
ca. 1382	Barteleme Montolive – Margarita de Nores	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 607.
before 1383	Jean de Brie – Phelippe de Verny	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 396-398.
1383	Janotus de Nores – Andriola de Campofregoso	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 771.
1387	Jean de la Baume – Maria Spinola	Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-112, pp. 187-188 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 13.
1387	Pierre de Soissons – Louisa Babin	Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. α-113, pp. 188-189 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 14.
1390	Lancelot Babin – Johanna de Ibelin	Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma α-132, p. 217 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 16.
1390	Hugh Babin – Margot de Nores	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 17.
1392	Philippe de Morphou – Echive de Montolive	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 19.
before 1393	Bertolina de Bergamo – Robert de Morphou	ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3.
before 1393 (tombstone)	N. Nevilles – Marie de Milmars	Imhaus, Lacrimae Cypriae no. 260.
before 1401	André de Tiberiade – Eleonore N. (widow of Bernard Cornaro)	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 456.
1407	Jean de Nores – Echive de Morphou (widow of Jacques de la Baume)	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 29; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).
1407	Raymundus Albi – Bella de Tiberiade	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 30; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).
before 1411	Marguerite Albi – Jean de Verny	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 29.
1411	Nicholas de Tiberiade – Margarita de Sulivanis	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 52; Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma ap. β-24, p. 433-434 (John XXIII).
1412	Jacominus de Caffran – Margarita de Milmars	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 61.
before 1420	Alice Prevost – Paul de Tiberiade	Remembrances de la haute court (Viollet) de Nicosie 3 (612).
late 1420s	Carceran Suarez – Cathérine of Lusignan	Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28.
before 1432	Guy of Lusignan – Isabelle Babin	Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 366-367.
before 1432	Badin de Nores – Maria de Crolissa	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 109.
before 1432	Jacques de Caffran – Isabeau Visconte	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139.
July 1440	John II – Medea of Montferrat	Hill, History III 526.
before 1441	Jacques de Fleury – Boulogne Le Jeune	Documents chypriotes (Richard) 149.
February 1442	John II – Helena Palaiologina	Hill, History III 527.
before 1444	Isabella Salah – Piero di Constantinopoli	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 28^{v}.
8 October 1444	Jacques de Fleury (widowed) – Zoi Catacouziny	Grivaud, Petite chronique 330.
before 1450	Philippe of Lusignan – Echive de Nores	Papadopoullos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II.
before 1451	N. Cadith – N. Capuri	Richard, Une famille doc. V.
before 1452	Roma Nassar – Elia Strambali	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^{r}.
before 1454	Maria Audeth – Cadith Cadith	Richard, Une famille doc. VII.
6.10.1454	Juan de Naves – Anna de Verny	Ganchou, Rébellion 131.
1455	Jean de Ras – Helen de Grenier	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 145, n. 1; Richard, Privilège 131.
before 1461	Phoebus of Lusignan – Isabelle de Fleury	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 185.
before 1461	Guido de Nores – Maria de Baillau	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 189.
before 1461	Vasco Egidio Moniz – Eleonore of Lusignan	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 185.
before 1468	Piero Podocataro – Agnes Salah	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 197.
before 1468	Pier Boussat – Perina Urri	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195.
before 1468	Philippe Sincritico – Marie Boussat	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195.
before 1468	Louis de Nores – Maria de Montolive(?)	Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 182, n. 2.
before 1469	Philippe Mistachiel – Petrina de Milmars	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 219.
before 1471	Philippe Podocataro – Maria Calergi	Rudt de Collenberg, Études de Prosopograhie no. 227.
before 1472	Maria Podocataro – Jean Babin	Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 173.
before 1472	Muzio Constanzo – Anna de Verny	Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 415.
End of fifteenth c.	Nicholas Morabit – Louis de Nores' daughter	Rey, Familles de Ducange 686.
End of fifteenth c.	Onofrio de Requesens – Marie of Lusignan	Lusignan, Description fol. 203^{v}.
End of fifteenth c.	Hector de Chivides – Helvis of Lusignan	Lusignan, Description fol. 203^{v}.
before 1481	Piero de Rames – Marguerite Urri	Otten, Investissements financiers 121.

Table 4: Power Élite 1369-1397 – Documents for SNA

Document-ID	Date	Source	Content
1369.1	17.01.1369	Ibelin, Livre des assizes 733-734.	The Haute Court decides about the future of the Cypriot kingdom after Peter I's murder.
1369.2	November 1369	Ibelin, Livre des assizes 734. 736-737.	A commission convenes to decide which version of John of Ibelin's assizes should be official Cypriot law.
1372	15.05.1372	Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 7-8.	The republic of Pisa sends letters to various Cypriot statesmen on the occasion of Peter II's crowning.
1374.1	29.05.1374	Otten, Féodalité 90-91.	Fief issued to the Genoese Giacomo Grillo.
1374.2	02.06.1374	Otten, Féodalité 91-92.	Another Fief issued to the Genoese Giacomo Grillo.
1374.3	21.10.1374	Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 108.	A peace between Cyprus and Genoa is concluded.
1378	06.03.1378	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 372.	Ratification of a treaty against Genoa between Cyprus, Milan and Venice.
1382	1382	Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 599.	List of twelve regents after Peter II's death.
1383	Summer	Actes de Famagouste (Balard et al.) 262-264. 294.	Mention of the negotiations between the Cypriots and the Genoese concerning James I's ascension to the throne in 1383 by the Genoese notary Bardi.
1389	02.10.1389	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 416-418.	Conclusion of a new treaty between Cyprus and Venice.
1390	12.11.1390	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 420-421.	Decision ratified by the Haute Court to send Pierre de Caffran as ambassador to Genoa.
1391	09.11.1391	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 423.	Ratification of the new treaty between Genoa and Cyprus negotiated by Pierre de Caffran.
1395	16.08.1395	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 428-429.	Jean of Lusignan appointed as King James I's procurator for foreign affairs in the presence of the Haute Court.
1397	18.10.1397	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 436 n. 3.	Ratification of a treaty between Venice and Cyprus.

Table 5: Power Élite 1427-1457 – Documents for SNA

Document-ID	Date	Source	Content
1427	25.08.1427	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 518-521.	King Janus installs his brother Hugh the cardinal as his procurator for foreign affairs, especially for negotiating with the pope.
1432.1	01.01.1432	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 15-16, n. 1.	Anne of Lusignan's engagement contract with Louis of Savoy concluded in Nicosia.
1432.2	01.01.1432	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire II 526, n. 2.	Notification of Anne of Lusignan's engagement sent to various statesmen inand outside Cyprus.
1432.3	08.07.1432	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 1-3.	King John II installs his uncle Hugh the cardinal as his procurator in foreign affairs and sends him to the council of Basle.
1432.4	14.06.1432	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. I.	Privilege for Isabeau Visconte.
1433	November 1433	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 17-18.	The Savoyan ambassadors' report to the duke of the negotiations led for the marriage between Anne of Lusignan and Louis of Savoy from September until November 1433.
1435	03.12.1435	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^{v}-31^{r}.	Fief Privilege for Piero Podocataro.
1436.1	27.08.1436	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. II.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1436.2	August 1436	Otten, Féodalité 71.	Genoese letter concerning certain Genoese citizens' possessions in Cyprus and King John II's debts to them.
1438	30.04.1438	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. III.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1439.1	18.07.1439	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 40^{v}-42^{r}.	Sale of the *casale* Silicu to Marco Corner.
1439.2	11.08.1439	Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 164-165.	Hugh of Lusignan again installed as John II's procurator.
1440.1	01.02.1440	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. IV.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1440.2	02.03.1440	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. V.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1441.1	03. and 04.04.1441	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. VI.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1441.2	08.04.1441	Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 150-166.	Treaty between Genoa and Cyprus, negotiated by Hugh of Lusignan.
1442.1	23.02.1442	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. VII.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1442.2	28.02.1442	Sperone (ed.), Real Grandezza 166-169.	Ratification of the treaty with Genoa from 08.04.1441.
1443	13[1718].04.1443	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 42^{r}-43^{r}.	Sale of the *prasteio* San Cherassi to Giorgio Urri.
1444	27.03.1444	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 28^{v}-29^{v}.	Sale of the *casal*e Paralimni to Thomas Urri, Piero Podocataro and Isabella Salah by Helena Palaiologina.
1445	13.04.1445	MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 31^{r}-32^{v}.	Confirmation of a fief privilege for Piero Podocataro.
1446	26.08.1446	Mas Latrie (ed.), Histoire III 31-32.	Agreement between King John II and the Hospitallers on the debts still owed to the latter by the Cypriot crown after King Janus' ransom.
1448	22.10.1448	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. VIII.	Privilege for Jacques de Fleury.
1449	22.12.1449	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. IX.	Sale of the royal tenth of his *casale* Dora to Jean Langlais.
1452.1	03.08.1452	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. X.	Sale of some *prasteia* to Odet Boussat.
1452.2	08.08.1452	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. XI.	Confirmation of the above sale to Odet Boussat.
1452.3	06.01.1452	Codex Diplomaticus (Gudenus) 309-310.	Appointment of Paulin Chappes as John II's ambassador to Western Europe in order to collect the proceeds from indulgences for Cyprus.
1452.4	26.10.1452	Folieta, Actes (Balard et al.) no. 28	Negotiations with the Genoese in Nicosia.
1454	15.01.1454	Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 380.	Negotiations between the Venetian republic and Cyprus.
1455	07.12.1455	Richard, Privilège 131-133.	Fief privilege for Helen de Grenier.
1457	11.03.1457	Documents chypriotes (Richard) doc. XII.	Fief privilege for Odet Boussat.

1718 The number of the day is a bit difficult to read. It could also be 18.

Appendix III: Map of Cyprus

(Map M. Ober, RGZM)

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General Index

Index of Persons

Sigles Used

ASVat	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
CCEC	Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DA	Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
EKEE	Επετηρίς του κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών
EHR	English Historical Review
KS	Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί
JÖBJ	ahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
MCC	Museo Civico Correr, Venezia
ODB	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
ROL	Revue de l'Orient Latin

This study traces the development of Latin, Greek and Oriental Christian aristocratic groups and their social and cultural interaction in fifteenth-century Cyprus. Since 1192, the formerly Byzantine island was under the rule of the Lusignan Crusader dynasty, which had introduced a nobility of Crusader families. However, due to various moments of political and economic crisis from the end of the fourteenth century onwards, autochthonous Greeks and Oriental Christians (so-called Syrians) rose high in the state administration and challenged the power balance.
On the basis of a prosopographical database registering all members of the Cypriot élite between 1374 and the 1460s, this study explores the chances of social mobility that the upheavals offered to Greeks and Syrians in particular, and the fate of the noble Crusader families who had to contend with these newcomers. It examines the consequences of this social change for the relationship between the ascending and the established élite and their degree of integration. Finally, it analyses the interplay between social developments and identity construction, and asks how the aristocrats constructed their identities with respect to social standing, ethnicity and religion. This analysis of interdependent social change and identity construction permits a new, broad perspective on the development of the Cypriot aristocracies during the fifteenth century.

Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident:
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Die Reihe Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident wird vom Vorstand des gleichnamigen Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, einer Kooperation des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt und des Leibniz-Instituts für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, herausgegeben.
Die Reihe dient als Publikationsorgan für das Forschungsprogramm des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, das Byzanz, seine Brückenfunktion zwischen Ost und West sowie kulturelle Transfer- und Rezeptionsprozesse von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit in den Blick nimmt. Die Methoden und Untersuchungsgegenstände der verschiedenen Disziplinen, die sich mit Byzanz beschäftigen, werden dabei jenseits traditioneller Fächergrenzen zusammengeführt, um mit einem historisch-kulturwissenschaftlichen Zugang Byzanz und seine materielle und immaterielle Kultur umfassend zu erforschen.