

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 aristocracy⁴⁵⁰.

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 nobility⁴⁵¹. 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 group⁴⁵². 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 events⁴⁵³.

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 century⁴⁵⁴. Examples are the well-known Ibelin, Giblet, Caffran, Nores and Montolive families⁴⁵⁵. 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. 11ff.

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. 173ff.

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 families⁴⁵⁶. 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 century⁴⁵⁷. According to Peter Edbury, »they were eventually to transform the original predominantly French-speaking ruling class into a more heterogeneous, cosmopolitan group⁴⁵⁸«.

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 unclear⁴⁵⁹. The Conches and Antiaume in turn had certainly been Latin burgesses before the fourteenth century⁴⁶⁰, 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 rise⁴⁶¹.

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 peninsula⁴⁶². In contrast, we know nothing about the origins of the Moustazo family⁴⁶³. 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 Giblet⁴⁶⁴).

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, *Exègèsis* [Dawkins] § 685; Machairas, *Exègèsis* [Konarè/Pierès] 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, *Diègèsis* [Kechagioglou] 166: Τζαν Ναβάρου. 228: Τζουάν Αναβάρου; 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, *Exègèsis* [Dawkins] § 657; Machairas, *Exègèsis* [Konarè/Pierès] 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 Strambaldi, 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, *Exègèsis* (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, *Exègèsis* (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 1374⁴⁶⁵. 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 list⁴⁶⁶. The case of the Scaface family is even more difficult. They resided in Cyprus from the beginning of the fourteenth century⁴⁶⁷ 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 1378⁴⁶⁸. According to Machairas, Bartholomeo was even sent on a diplomatic mission to the pope to appease the tensions created by the murder of Peter I⁴⁶⁹. Thus, the family seems to have played an important political role in the middle of the fourteenth century⁴⁷⁰. 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 nobility⁴⁷¹.

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 families⁴⁷². 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 name⁴⁷³.

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 1360s⁴⁷⁴. 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 1387⁴⁷⁵. Both Antonio⁴⁷⁶ 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 century⁴⁷⁷.

- 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; Ruidt 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, *Chorografia* 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* [Dawkins] § 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* [Konarē/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, honorable 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 1374⁴⁷⁸. 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 II⁴⁷⁹, and a certain Piero Pisani, who is mentioned among the knights in Cyprus after 1374⁴⁸⁰ – 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 unknown⁴⁸¹.

Two Byzantine immigrants are well-known. Joannes Las-kares 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 ever⁴⁸². The second well-known Byzantine immigrant, Georgios Monomachos, played an important role in the conflict with the Genoese⁴⁸³.

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 secrète* (Gr. *praktoras*) and numbers among the knights staying on Cyprus in 1374⁴⁸⁴. 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 Morphou⁴⁸⁵, 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 bourgeois 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's reign, almost two thirds of the families registered around 1372 disappear from the sources, and in contrast to the preceding 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 Cyprus⁴⁸⁶. 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 families⁴⁸⁷.

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 families⁴⁸⁸. 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, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) §§ 310. 342. 352.

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

480 Machairas, *Exégésis* (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, *Exégésis* (Konnarê/Pierês) 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, *Exégésis* (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-ii. 86-89 (no. 32); *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas* (Loenertz) 77-78. 231-233. 249-254. 266-267. 275-278.

484 For Barech, see Machairas, *Exégésis* (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, *Exégésis* (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, *Exégésis* (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, *Exégésis* (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, *Exégésis* (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.

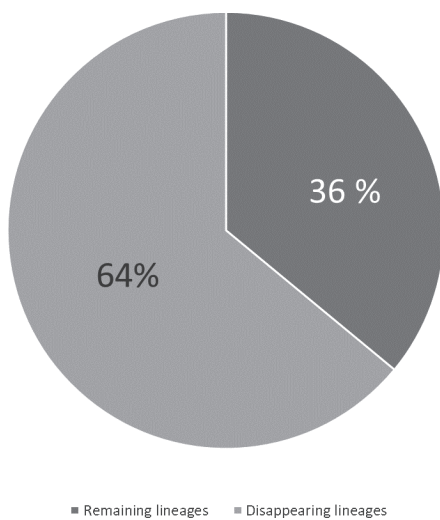
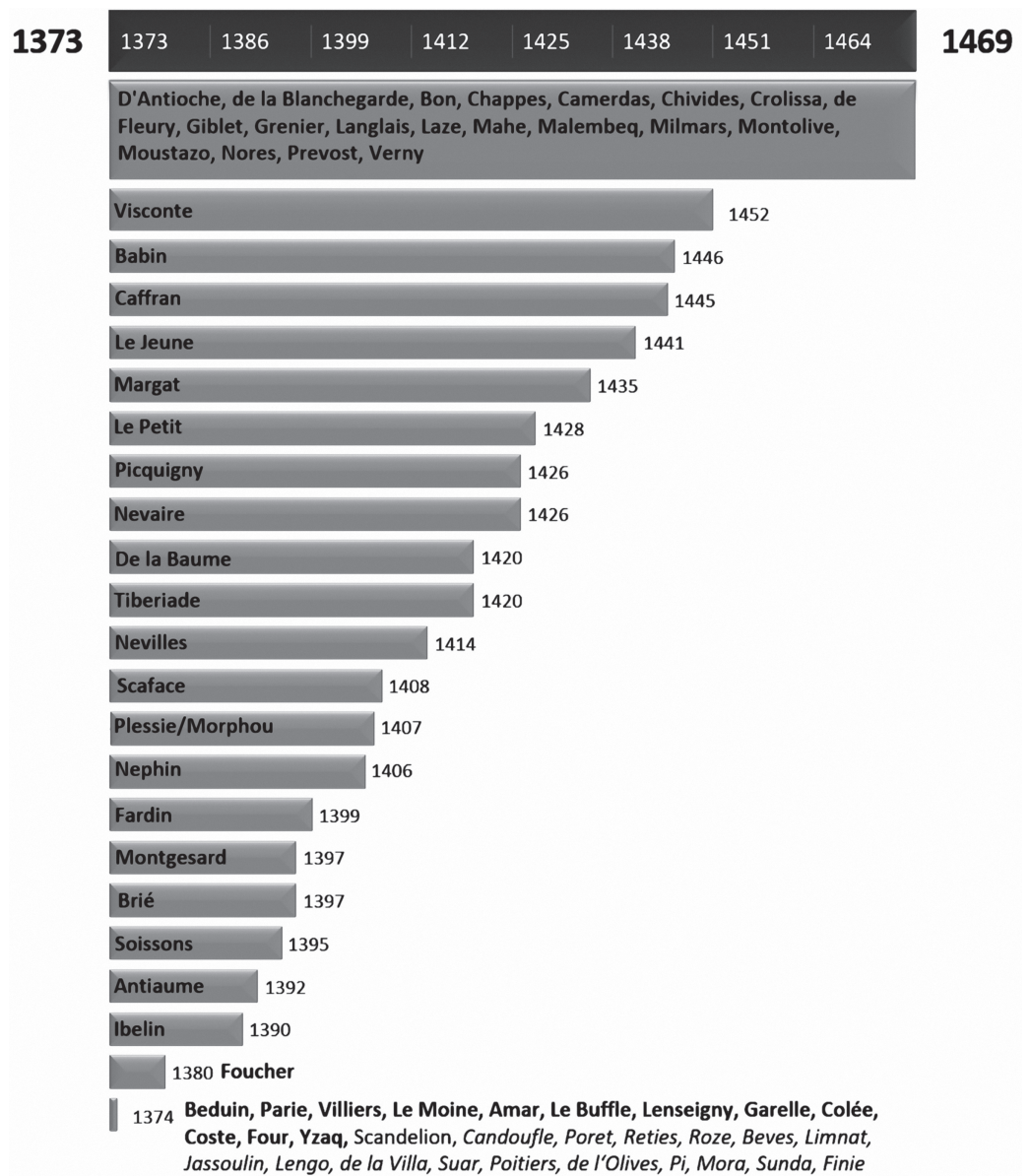


Fig. 2 Disappearing lineages 1374-1469, conservative calculation.

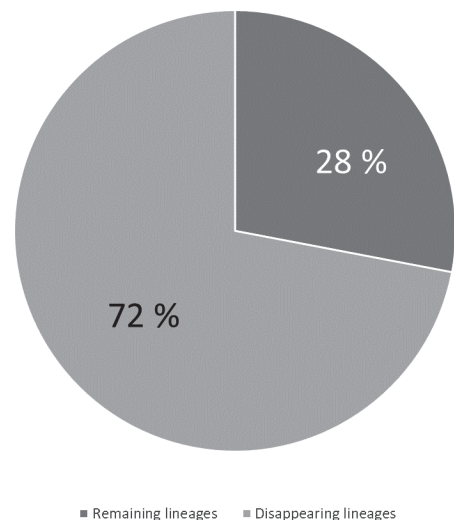


Fig. 3 Disappearing lineages 1374-1469, calculation with uncertain families.

lineages in France, Scotland, Flanders or Germany usually lies at ca. 50 % per century⁴⁸⁹.

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 1468⁴⁹⁰. 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 unmentioned⁴⁹¹. 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 families⁴⁹².

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 daughters⁴⁹³. 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 1449-1451⁴⁹⁴.

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 Mediterranean⁴⁹⁵. Two years later the war ended badly for the Cypriots, and at least seventy Cypriot noble hostages were exiled to Italy and Chios⁴⁹⁶.

The lists of exiled nobles that have come down to us⁴⁹⁷ 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, *Exègèsis* (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, *Histoire* 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, *Exègèsis* (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, *Exègèsis* (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, *Exègèsis* (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 I⁴⁹⁹. 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 families⁵⁰⁰. 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 Fardin⁵⁰¹ 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 security⁵⁰². The payments and the loss of trade tax from Famagusta drained Cypriot finances, and all this probably also reduced noble estate revenues⁵⁰³.

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 business⁵⁰⁴. 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 later⁵⁰⁵. 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 example⁵⁰⁶, 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 Mamluks⁵⁰⁷. 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 ducats⁵⁰⁸.

As an eyewitness, Machairas describes the invasion in devastating tones⁵⁰⁹. 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 Machairas⁵¹⁰. 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 climbers⁵¹¹.

We know very little about the consequences of the waves of bubonic plague⁵¹². 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 megalō 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 Louziniano* 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 1422⁵¹³. One of these epidemic waves possibly also wiped out the Tiberiade family⁵¹⁴. 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 Caffran⁵¹⁵. 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 himself⁵¹⁶. 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 death⁵¹⁸.

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 successor⁵¹⁹. The Le Petit, Scaface and Foucher families share similar stories⁵²⁰.

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 one⁵²¹, 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 families⁵²². If we take these criteria into account, we can conclude that most of the disappearing families were former leading members of the high nobility⁵²³. The last scions of these families were often high statesmen (e.g. Caffran, Brie, Soissons⁵²⁴). 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 families⁵²⁵. Over the century, very few families of the lesser nobility drop out of the sources⁵²⁶. 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 1390⁵²⁷. 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. 179f.

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 chyriotes (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. 173ff.

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 chyriotes (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 1402⁵²⁸. 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 husband⁵²⁹. 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 Syrian⁵³⁰. 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 nobility⁵³¹, judging by their participation in political power and wealth, while eight families were clearly members of the high nobility⁵³². Of the high nobility, five⁵³³ families managed to retain or even enhance their positions during the century, while three⁵³⁴ 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 matters⁵³⁵. 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. 1420⁵³⁶.

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 II⁵³⁷. 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 families⁵³⁸. 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 II⁵³⁹.

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 II⁵⁴⁰. 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 1445⁵⁴¹.

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), Quissoufanou 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* Evrihou⁵⁴³ 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 megalō 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, Verry, Giblet, Milmars.

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

534 Verry, Giblet, Milmars.

535 For the Milmars in military excursions under Peter I and II, see Machairas, *Exegésis* (Dawkins) §§ 119. 163. 190. 333. 392. 500. 542. For Arnaud de Milmars, see Machairas, *Exegésis* (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 Prosopographie* no. 219. For the Milmars under Charlotte, see Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 209.

537 Machairas, *Exegésis* (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 Carpas⁵⁴⁴. Jacques' son in law, Hugh Bousat, later additionally recorded Saint George tou Sporou, Cato Triguiti, Linbia (probably Limbia), Calopsyda (near the military stronghold Sivouri that was 20km west of Famagusta), and Polemidia among Jacques' possessions. According to Hugh, Jacques' estates were worth 4,000 ducats per year⁵⁴⁵. Though these examples are few, we may assume that other powerful families, such as the Nores, amassed similar fortunes⁵⁴⁶.

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 families⁵⁴⁷ 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 exile⁵⁴⁸. 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 wealth⁵⁴⁹. 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 Mamluks⁵⁵⁰. 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 Machairas⁵⁵¹, 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'hôtel* and royal counsellor in 1452 at the latest and sat in the Haute Court on various occasions⁵⁵².

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 survive⁵⁵³. 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 whole⁵⁵⁴. 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 ennoblement⁵⁵⁵.

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, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) §§ 636. 646. 653. 661. 677. 685; Sperone (ed.), *Real Grandezza* 142. For Philippe, see Machairas,

Exégésis (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, *Exégésis* (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, respectively⁵⁵⁶). 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 creditors⁵⁵⁷. 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 trade⁵⁵⁸. 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 centuries⁵⁵⁹. 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 Bousat family, appear as new members of the nobility during the fifteenth century. Their Latin origin is not entirely proven. The background of the Bousat at least seems to have been similar to that of many Syrian and Greek families. Odet Bousat, a royal counsellor in the 1450s, was the son of a certain doctor (*fixicus*) Jacques Bousat – 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 generations⁵⁶⁰. However, apart from the Bousat 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 century⁵⁶¹. Moreover, those lineages who were to become important players in the sixteenth century generally did not exhibit any spectacular social rise in the fifteenth century⁵⁶².

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, Exēgēsīs [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 Bousat 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, Exēgēsīs (Dawkins) § 612; Bustron, Historia (Mas Latrie) 351. In the 1450s, the royal counsellor Odet Bousat 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 Bousat 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.

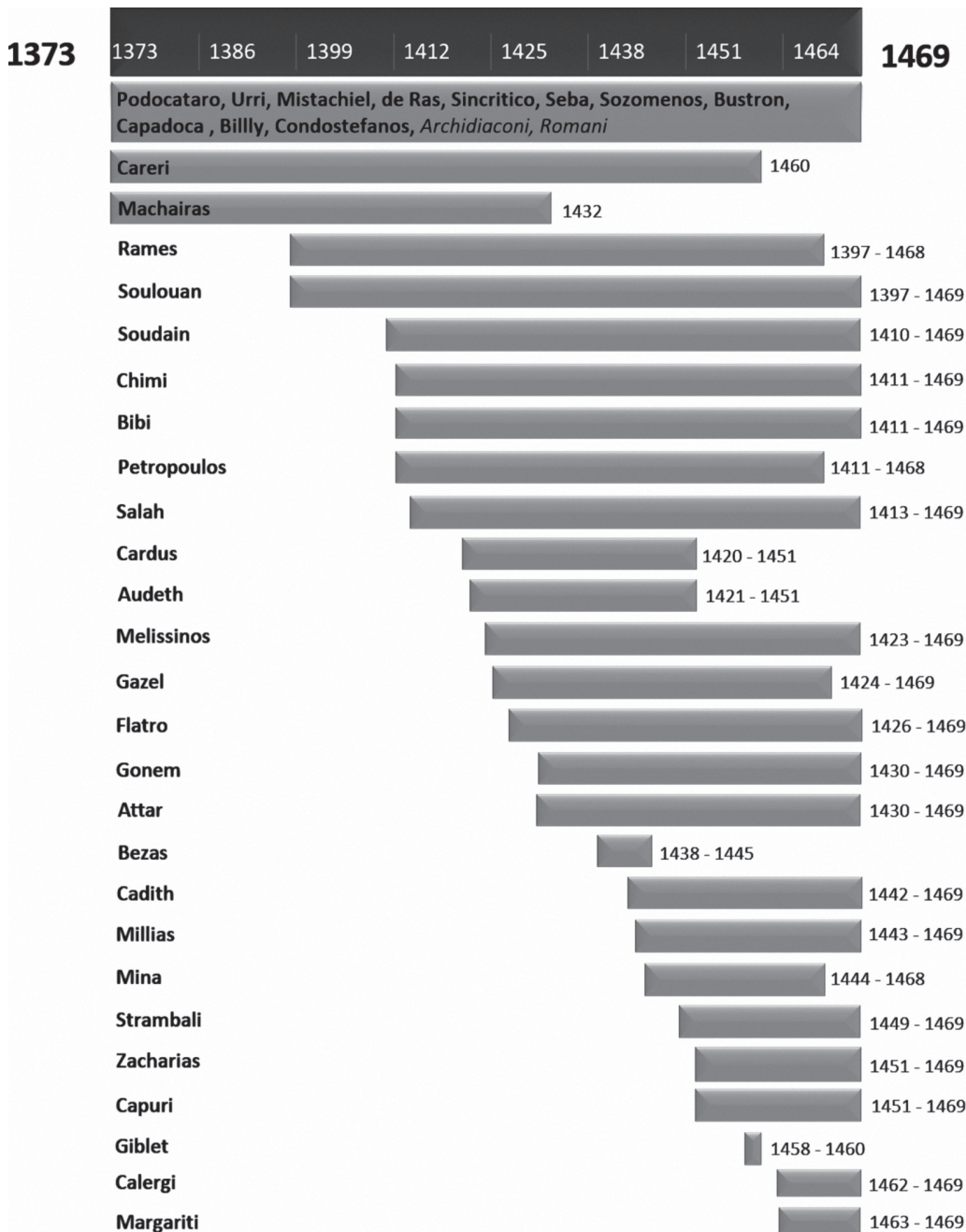


Fig. 4 New aristocratic families, 1374-1473.

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 1469⁵⁶³. 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 works⁵⁶⁴), 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 1468⁵⁶⁵. 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 assess⁵⁶⁶. 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 records⁵⁶⁷. 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 families⁵⁶⁸. I will therefore not discuss them here but their interesting careers will be examined further in chapter four⁵⁶⁹.

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 century⁵⁷⁰. 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 Jerusalem⁵⁷¹. 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 probable⁵⁷².

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 1367⁵⁷³, 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 1370⁵⁷⁴. 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 son⁵⁷⁵. 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 priest⁵⁷⁶. 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-Konnari 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 originaux* 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, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 184. 301. 366; Boateris, *Atti* (Lombardo) no. 70; cf. Jacoby, *Venetians in Cyprus* 74.

575 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 563.

576 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) §§ 110. 566. 608.

Sozomenos is said to have been a knight. These men had therefore risen high⁵⁷⁷.

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. 1420⁵⁷⁸. 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 Belfaradge⁵⁷⁹) 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, Giblet⁵⁸⁰). 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 name⁵⁸¹. 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 one⁵⁸², 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 II⁵⁸³. 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 Giblet⁵⁸⁴.

About another third of the new aristocracy also began with positions such as secretaries or scribes but had greater social success later⁵⁸⁵. 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 Sivouri⁵⁸⁶.

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 originaux* 169; Dar-

rouzès, *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, *Exégèsis* (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 tendentious⁵⁸⁷. 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 office⁵⁸⁸. 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 burgess⁵⁸⁹. 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 family⁵⁹⁰. 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 century⁵⁹¹.

Other families like the Rames, the Billy and the Flatro⁵⁹² 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 counsellor⁵⁹³. After that, a certain Petrus was procurator of the Latin bishopric of Nicosia until 1456, but no further family members seem to have held office⁵⁹⁴. 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 1403⁵⁹⁵. In 1411, two younger relatives, Leo and Perrinus, perhaps sons of Nicholas, studied in Padua. Nothing more is heard of this family until 1469⁵⁹⁶.

Some families were more continuously successful. The first indication of the Chimi family⁵⁹⁷ 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 1431⁵⁹⁸. 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 Greek⁵⁹⁹ 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 later⁶⁰⁰. 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 Mistachiel⁶⁰¹. 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 trajectories⁶⁰².

587 Machairas, Exègèsis (Konarè/Pierès) 420; Machairas, Exègèsis (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, Exègèsis (Dawkins) § 563; cf. also Nicolaou-Konnari, *Encounter 234* for the Sozomenos family.

589 Richard, *Un évêque 132*; *Hospitaller Documents* (Luttrel 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^v). 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, *Diègèsis* [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, Exègèsis (Dawkins) § 563. For George, see Machairas, Exègèsis (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 possession 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, *Hè 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, *Diègèsis* (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, Exègèsis [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 Neville's (§ 612). The aforementioned Nicholas and Leontios himself were secretaries to Jean de Noyes 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, Exègèsis [Dawkins] § 608). Cf. p. 26 and Grivaud, *Entrelacs* 188-189; Nikolaou-Konnarè, *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 hypothesis⁶⁰³. 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 pounds⁶⁰⁵. 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 advisors⁶⁰⁶. 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 later⁶⁰⁷. 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 Bous-

sat sometime before 1468⁶⁰⁸. 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 century⁶⁰⁹.

Although very little is known about the Bousat 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 1460s⁶¹⁰. The other Bousat seem to have been a Syrian family. In the 1460s, these Bousat were probably connected with the Sincritico, as seen above, as well as with the Urri, and thus displayed a certain amount of social prominence⁶¹¹. Much earlier, a Nicolas Bousat, son of Salamon, had acted as a witness for a Famagustan burgess from the Sozomenos family⁶¹². The first name Salamon hints at a Syrian background, perhaps even to Jewish converts⁶¹³, although we clearly cannot be sure that he was a member of the same family⁶¹⁴.

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 Nicosia⁶¹⁵. 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 Padua⁶¹⁶.

(Sperone [ed.], *Real Grandezza* 142; Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 41), and therefore a powerful man. In 1440, a certain Vagliantini 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'état (Bustron, *Diégésis* [Kechagioglou] 132. 188).

603 *Livre des remembrances* (Richard) no. 14, n. 1; Nicolaou-Konnari, *Encounter* 231-232; *Griechische Briefe* (Beihammer) 55-62; Darrouzès, *Manuscrits originaux* 170; Chatzipsaltès, *Ekklesiastika dikastèria* 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 originaux* 187; Richard, *Psimolofos* 129. 151; Machairas, *Exégésis* (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, *Exégésis* [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 Bousat, 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 *ibid.* 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 assignments 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 wealth⁶¹⁷. His relatives André and Pierre were secretaries in the royal *secrète* in 1468⁶¹⁸.

The families of the middle aristocracy were generally involved in state administration as well as in the church⁶¹⁹. 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 Joanis son of Urri from Jerusalem⁶²⁰«. 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 Danieli⁶²¹«.

In 1392, the Orthodox Hodegetria church in Nicosia recorded the death of Simon Urri, suggesting that he was of some importance for the community there⁶²². 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 Lagrotimotheo⁶²⁴. However, a certain Jacobus Urri enrolled at the university of Padua between 1417 and 1419 is called *miles* (»knight«) in their registers⁶²⁵. 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 four⁶²⁶. 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 year⁶²⁷. Giacomo and his brothers were made Genoese citizens in 1441, just as their father had been⁶²⁸. 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'hôtel* for James the Bastard before the latter became king, if we may believe Georgios Bustron⁶²⁹. Perrin (the same as the investor in Genoa?) was secretary in the *secrète* in the late 1440s⁶³⁰.

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 Οὐρρη τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου, see Gardthausen/Vogel, Griechische Schreiber 348 and n. 2.

621 Machairas, Exēgēsis (Dawkins) § 375: τοὺς Γενουβίτσους, ἐκοίνοι ὄπου ἦσαν Συργιάνοι, οἱ Γουπρίδες, οἱ Πιπίδες.

622 Darrouzès, Notes pour servir I 89.

623 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3.

624 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalō 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 1480⁶³¹. 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 Podocataro⁶³². 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 administrative 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 Vavla⁶³³, the sources are silent on the family until a Jean Podocataro appears as a wealthy merchant in the 1420s⁶³⁴. 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 himself⁶³⁵. 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, either⁶³⁶. If Jean actually paid 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 enlisted⁶³⁸, 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 1435⁶³⁹. 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 1439⁶⁴² 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 1454⁶⁴³. Hugo must have been knighted before 1451, when he is called *miles* in the papal registers⁶⁴⁴. 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 1457⁶⁴⁵.

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 period⁶⁴⁶. 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, *Diēgēsīs* (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, *Exēgēsīs* § 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^r.

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 1454⁶⁴⁸. Which of the siblings were born from this second match is unclear⁶⁴⁹. However, a much later source from Genoa tells us that Ludovico was Ioanna's son⁶⁵⁰. 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 1500⁶⁵¹, 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 1469⁶⁵². 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 administrative affairs. By 1471, he was married to Maria Calergi⁶⁵³. 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 citizens⁶⁵⁴.

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 time⁶⁵⁵. 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 piccola mia nova⁶⁵⁶«. 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 daughters⁶⁵⁷. 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 members⁶⁵⁹.

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 Quisiphane 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 1460s⁶⁶⁰. Philippe had Doro, Vassilaqui and Vasse, which was in Afdimou⁶⁶¹. 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 Genoa⁶⁶². 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 1411⁶⁶⁵. 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 1426⁶⁶⁶. 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, *Diégésis* (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; Papadopoulos, *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 dealings⁶⁶⁷, Hugh's natural daughter Iana lived in Famagusta and married into Genoese families twice⁶⁶⁸. Iana's dowry of around 45,600 besants⁶⁶⁹ as well as her brother Philippe's investments of ca. 11,509 Genoese pounds in the Genoese bank of San Giorgio in 1455⁶⁷⁰, 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 stipend⁶⁷¹.

The Audeth family, which we have already met in chapter one⁶⁷², 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 captivity⁶⁷³. 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 archives⁶⁷⁴. 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 family⁶⁷⁵.

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 Mansel⁶⁷⁶. These sums testify to incredible riches in the family.

As has been mentioned in chapter one⁶⁷⁷, 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 1451⁶⁷⁸. 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 deposit⁶⁷⁹.

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 least⁶⁸⁰.

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 analysis⁶⁸¹. 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 Europe⁶⁸². 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 nobility⁶⁸³. 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 burgess⁶⁸⁴. 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 1454⁶⁸⁵. Philippe's position as secretary in the *secrète* was taken over by his relative Nicolas, who signed documents from at least 1448 on⁶⁸⁶. 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*) there⁶⁸⁷.

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, *Diathèkè* 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, *Exègèsis* (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, *Exègèsis* (Dawkins) § 640.

683 Machairas, *Exègèsis* (Dawkins) § 685.

684 Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire* II 526 n. 2; Machairas, *Exègèsis* (Dawkins) §.

685 MCC, PDC 2669.2 fols 31'. 32"; *Documents chypriotes* (Richard) 141-153; *Documents nouveaux* (Mas Latrie) 380.

686 *Documents chypriotes* (Richard) 152. Bustron, *Diègèsis* (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 position⁶⁸⁸. 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 1467⁶⁸⁹. 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 wife⁶⁹⁰. 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 affluent⁶⁹¹. Jacoby has noted that the Mistachiel were already engaged in royal service in that period⁶⁹². According to Machairas, a certain Badin Mistachiel went on an embassy to Antalya for Peter II⁶⁹³.

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 time⁶⁹⁴. 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 envoy⁶⁹⁵«, thus testifying to his status as noble squire. In 1469, he was King James II's counsellor. According to the *Diëgësis*, 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 family⁶⁹⁷.

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 embark⁶⁹⁹. 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 1367⁷⁰⁰. The status of all these men is unclear. Imhaus, following Rudt de Collenberg, called them a Syrian family⁷⁰¹. 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 name⁷⁰². 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 time⁷⁰³. A Vasili Rasa was *chevetain* of

688 Livre des remembrances (Richard) nos 1. 37. 227.

689 Bustron, Diëgësis (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^r.

691 Boateriis, Atti (Lombardo) no. 70.

692 Jacoby, Venetians in Cyprus 74.

693 Machairas, Exëgësis (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 (Luttrel 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, Diëgësis (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 (Luttrel et al.) no. 330.

699 Machairas, Exëgësis (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, Exëgësis (Dawkins) vol. 2, 305.

Genagra in 1423⁷⁰⁴. 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 Deras⁷⁰⁵»). 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 Cyprus⁷⁰⁶. 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 1455⁷⁰⁷. 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 background⁷⁰⁸. 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/Sulvanus/Sullivanus* for Soulouan, lat. *Soldanus* for Soudain⁷⁰⁹) 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 Cyprus⁷¹⁰. 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 title⁷¹¹. 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 consanguinity⁷¹² with Nicholas de Tiberiade in 1411⁷¹³. 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 sisters⁷¹⁴. 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 flourished⁷¹⁵.

704 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 23.

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

706 For Guillaume, see Bustron, Diëgësis (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, Diëgësis (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 (Soulouan); 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^r; 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 megalos 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 later⁷¹⁶. 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 support⁷¹⁷. 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 treated⁷¹⁸. 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 1290⁷¹⁹. 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 Cyprus⁷²⁰. 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 1430⁷²¹. 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 republic⁷²².

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 temporarily⁷²³. 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 family⁷²⁴. The Corners, who were highly influential in Venice, had acquired the important estate of Episkopi near Limassol⁷²⁵ 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 Venice⁷²⁶. 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 Cyprus⁷²⁷. 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 crown⁷²⁸, and the relationship culminated in the marriage between Marco's daughter Caterina and James II⁷²⁹.

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 Cyprus⁷³⁰. Instead, they pursued substantial careers in Venice and had procurators who dealt with their business on the island⁷³¹. Moreover, Peter I had given Federico Corner the rights on Episkopi as recompensation for his debts; the Cor-

ner family therefore did not enter into a vassal relationship with the king⁷³².

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 estates⁷³³. He was the tenant of Pelendrakia in the district of Limassol in 1367⁷³⁴. Fantin certainly entered into commercial relations with Cypriot nobles. He had a contract with Philippe de Bon over 2,500 oil jars in 1396⁷³⁵. 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 Cyprus⁷³⁶. 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 Nicosia⁷³⁷'). However, Francesco died in Cyprus on 25 January 1390, while Fantin was still active in trade in 1396⁷³⁸. 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 mosque⁷³⁹. 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 church⁷⁴⁰. In how far he and Janachi were also part of the Cypriot elite 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 Venice⁷⁴¹.

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. How-

ever, 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 Venice⁷⁴². 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 Zonta⁷⁴³. 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 Keryneia⁷⁴⁴. 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'état in November 1473⁷⁴⁵.

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 *habitor Nicossie* ('inhabitant of Nicosia'⁷⁴⁶) and a Daniel

Morosini was Venetian bailo in Famagusta in 1391⁷⁴⁷. 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 1459⁷⁴⁸. They also had business with the Genoese and were among John II's creditors, as were Victor Valaresso and Angelo and Pierre Michiel⁷⁴⁹. Perhaps Iohannes Martini even lived on the island with his wife. Both brothers had assignments on the *casale* of Episkopi, which they farmed out to Thomas Bibi in 1450 and 1451 to repay some debts⁷⁵⁰. 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 trade⁷⁵¹. 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* Achelia⁷⁵². 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 Clairra. He took his fief privileges with him to prove his status⁷⁵³. 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 feull*) in the tradition of the king's liegemen⁷⁵⁴. 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 Gaspere 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.) lxxxviii.

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 1446⁷⁵⁵, and a family of that name was also among Queen Charlotte's followers in exile in 1467⁷⁵⁶.

Two other Venetians who integrated into Cypriot society and even pursued careers in Cyprus are known from the end of the fourteenth century⁷⁵⁷. 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 Paphos⁷⁵⁸« 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 (*phiscus 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 Court⁷⁶⁰. 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 offices⁷⁶². 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 French⁷⁶⁴.

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 legacies⁷⁶⁵. 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 Viano.

The relationship between the testator and the legatees is unclear in most cases. However, with Antonius de Negrus, Paganinus de Viano, 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 Greek⁷⁶⁶. 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, *Exêgêsis* (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, *Diêgêsis* (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, *Cancellaria 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, *Cancellaria 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, *Cancellaria inferiore*. Notai b. 56/3. All the information mentioned in this paragraph therefore stems from the above documents, but especially from *Cancellaria 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 Latrie⁷⁶⁷. 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 Padua⁷⁶⁸. He first appears in 1393, when he acted as executor for Antonio's testament. Thomas fulfilled this function together with Clemens de Aretio, another Italian⁷⁶⁹. 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 chancellery⁷⁷⁰. 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 court⁷⁷¹. Thomas was still *judex* in 1410, when he was sent to negotiate a peace treaty with the Genoese in Famagusta⁷⁷².

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 citizenship⁷⁷³. 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 soluta 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 time⁷⁷⁴. In any case, this same Francesco witnessed a document on 8 July 1432 in Nicosia⁷⁷⁵, 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 *phiscus* 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 entourage⁷⁷⁶. 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 Montolive⁷⁷⁷.

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 megalō 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 Babin⁷⁷⁸. 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 Valentina⁷⁷⁹. 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 Cyprus⁷⁸⁰. 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 Cyprus⁷⁸¹. 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 (*habitor 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 1372-1374⁷⁸³. 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 Genoese⁷⁸⁴. 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 town⁷⁸⁵. 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 them⁷⁸⁶. Nonetheless, Famagusta remained a Genoese town until it was recaptured by James II in 1464⁷⁸⁷. 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 citizens⁷⁸⁸. 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 1374⁷⁸⁹, some months before the peace between Cyprus and Genoa was concluded. James I and Janus also issued fiefs to Genoese⁷⁹⁰. Some privileges state explicitly that the Genoese citizen had to pay military service like every other vassal when in Cyprus⁷⁹¹. 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 Genoa⁷⁹².

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 besants⁷⁹³. 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, *Exégésis* (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 unsuccessfully⁷⁹⁴.

These fiefs cannot have been important for the subsistence 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 procurators⁷⁹⁵. 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 court⁷⁹⁶.

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 time⁷⁹⁷. 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 Cyprus⁷⁹⁸.

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 French⁷⁹⁹. 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 1367⁸⁰¹.

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 I⁸⁰². One of Queen Valentina's damsels married a Spinola after 1378⁸⁰³ and in 1387, Maria de Spinolis, daughter of Lombard, married Jean de la Baume. They required a dispense in the 4th degree of consanguinity⁸⁰⁴, 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 Pignol⁸⁰⁵.

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 group⁸⁰⁶. 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 Genoa⁸⁰⁷.

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 Genoa⁸⁰⁸. In 1453, he witnessed a document registering the claims of the White Genoese Thomas Bibi against the Cypriot crown⁸⁰⁹. 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 Podocataro⁸¹⁰. 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, Exégésis (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, Exégésis (Dawkins) § 683 and n. 1.

801 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 85.

802 Strambaldi, Chronique (Mas Latrie) 40; Machairas, Exégésis (Dawkins) §§ 103. 139-141.

803 Machairas, Exégésis (Dawkins) § 580; cf. p. 77.

804 Kouroupakis, Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma ap. α-112, pp. 187-188 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 13.

805 Machairas, Exégésis (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 Caffran⁸¹¹. 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 himself⁸¹³.

Jacobo Centurione was similarly involved in Cyprus. Jacobo was a Genoese citizen and a merchant in Nicosia, where he lived⁸¹⁴, but he was also active in Famagusta. In 1452, he witnessed a document drafted there by Folieta⁸¹⁵. Jacobo probably had relatives in Famagusta, since a certain Cipriano Centurione (born in Cyprus, hence the name?) witnessed some documents in the town⁸¹⁶. Jacobo had business with King John II, who owed him money in 1440⁸¹⁷. Most interestingly, in 1452 he is among the witnesses of Hugo Podocataro's testament, which suggests that he had a good connection to the latter⁸¹⁸. Three years later, Jacobo acted as Hugo's procurator in Genoa, representing his interests against the heirs of Antonio Grillo and of Jacques de Caffran⁸¹⁹. 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 Alexandria⁸²⁰. 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 estate⁸²¹. 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 Audeth⁸²². 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* Lapatì, Stilli and Colote for six years in order to return his debt⁸²³.

A last example⁸²⁴ is Antonio Cigala, who was prior of the *officium de moneta*⁸²⁵ in 1456⁸²⁶. Like the other men, he was well integrated into Genoese society in Cyprus⁸²⁷. He was part of the Famagustan court and represented the republic in business with the Lusignans⁸²⁸. 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 there⁸²⁹. He even bought his elder daughter a house in Famagusta⁸³⁰. However, Antonio also dealt with Cypriots. He had business with Philippe Soudain, and Zoi Catacouziny owed him money in 1455⁸³¹.

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 family⁸³², although in the Cypriot sources he is always referred to as a burgess of Famagusta⁸³³. 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 1456⁸³⁵. He was viscount of the Syrian court in 1456, occupying an important post connected to the non-Genoese population of Famagusta⁸³⁶.

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, Basasale 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, Exègèsis (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 Urri⁸³⁷. 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 marriages⁸³⁸.

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 Catalonia⁸³⁹. 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 house⁸⁴⁰. 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 con-

tacts into the East, the Aragonese were an ideal partner for the small kingdom threatened by its Muslim neighbours⁸⁴¹.

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 Aragon⁸⁴². 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 Bourbon⁸⁴³. 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 Nicosia⁸⁴⁴. 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 fleet⁸⁴⁵.

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 exists⁸⁴⁷. 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, Exégésis (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, Exégésis (Dawkins) §§ 311. 315. 342.

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

845 Ganchoy, Rébellion 124.

846 Mas Latrie (ed.), Nouvelles preuves II 30.

847 Puig y Puig, Pedro de Luna 600-601; cf. Richard, Casal de Psimolofu 125-126 and n. 1.

Cyprus in the middle of the 1420s⁸⁴⁸. 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 Segovia⁸⁴⁹. 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 Cyprus⁸⁵⁰. 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 Cyprus⁸⁵¹. Chapter four will show that he was one of the key statesmen in Cyprus in this period⁸⁵².

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 politics⁸⁵³. 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 Ganchou⁸⁵⁴. 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 Aragonese⁸⁵⁵. 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 1460s⁸⁵⁶.

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 Genoese⁸⁵⁷. But Helena won out, and John of Coimbra came to Cyprus to marry Charlotte in 1456. He died soon afterwards⁸⁵⁸, 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 home⁸⁵⁹.

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 1473⁸⁶⁰.

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, *Exègèsis* (Dawkins) § 683, n. 4.

850 Tafur, *Cyprus* (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28; Bustron, *Historia* (Mas Latrie) 366. 370; cf. Papadopoulos, *Historia* 4,1 genealogy table II.

851 Bliznjuk, *Genuesen* no. 51; Hill, *History* II 490-491 and n. 7; Bustron, *Diègèsis* (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, *Diègèsis* (Kechagioglou) 86. 88. 118. 120. 128-132. 134.

857 Ganchou, *Rébellion* 132-133.

858 Bustron, *Diègèsis* (Kechagioglou) 6; Pius Secundus, *Commentarii* (Göbel) 323; Hill, *History* III 535.

859 Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire* II 94. 146; Papadopoulos, *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, *Diègèsis* (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 Morabit⁸⁶¹. 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 administration⁸⁶². 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 followers⁸⁶³, 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 negotiated⁸⁶⁴. 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 Echive⁸⁶⁵. 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 registers⁸⁶⁶. 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 France⁸⁶⁸. 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 1380⁸⁶⁹. 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 Sophia⁸⁷⁰. 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'hôtel*, which was an important office⁸⁷³. 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 Verny⁸⁷⁴. 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 nephews⁸⁷⁵, as his

861 At least if we can trust the information in Bustron, Diēgēsīs (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. Papadopoulos, *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 people⁸⁷⁶. 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 position⁸⁷⁷. 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 Savoy⁸⁷⁸. 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 1411⁸⁷⁹. No Pignol family is known in Cyprus before Charlotte's arrival on the island⁸⁸⁰. 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« (*dilec-*

tus reginae Carlotta), and was therefore directly connected to the Queen, as was Étienne, who served as her personal *bailli* in the following years⁸⁸². 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 Imhaus⁸⁸³, 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 Mamluks⁸⁸⁴. 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 meant⁸⁸⁵. 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 pounds⁸⁸⁶. 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 Fleury⁸⁸⁷.

Sometime after 1454, Pignol must have died in Florence, where he possibly went on an embassy, since his tombstone was erected there⁸⁸⁸. 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 Nicosia⁸⁹⁰« 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, *Exégésis* (Konnarê/Pierês) 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, *Exégésis* (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, *Hê Kypros kai to megalò 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, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 687. 699 (in one case wrongly translated by Dawkins as the seneschal Spinola) and Machairas, *Exégésis* (Konnarê/Pierês) 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 embassy 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 five⁸⁹¹.

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 pope⁸⁹². 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 1459⁸⁹³. We will see in chapter six that both Hugh and Lancelot of Lusignan had a strong connection with the Savoyard court⁸⁹⁴. 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 Turin⁸⁹⁵. He is first known in Cyprus in 1382, when he and his wife Jacqua de lbelin received an absolution of sins. Over a decade later, Hodrade had risen to chamberlain of Cyprus, a position he still held in 1399⁸⁹⁶. 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 Paphos⁸⁹⁷. Yblin's given name suggests that the memory of the lbelin 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 crown⁸⁹⁸. 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, administering the preceptory and the Order's other estates⁸⁹⁹. 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 1450⁹⁰⁰. 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, too⁹⁰¹. 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 Court⁹⁰². 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 brothers⁹⁰³.

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 Lescure⁹⁰⁴. 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 1441⁹⁰⁵. 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 megalos 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, Cancellaria inferiore*. Notai b. 56/3.

897 *Livre des remembrances* (Richard) no. 174.

898 Hospitaller Documents (Luttrell et al.) xlv-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 child⁹⁰⁷. 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 godparents⁹⁰⁸. In 1459, Eleonore of Lusignan, daughter of Phoebus of Lusignan, sold some houses in Rhodes which her late husband had possessed, to the Order⁹⁰⁹. However, apart from these very few instances no further direct contacts between nobles and Hospitallers have been preserved⁹¹⁰.

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 nobility⁹¹¹.

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 century⁹¹². 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, *Domè kai proeleusè* 814; Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* 523-524. 550-554; Rudt de Collenberg, *Dispenses matrimoniales* 55. Cf. p. 12.