

Chapter 3 – Trying to Marry Up: Contacts and Integration between Latins, Greeks and Syrians

The Cypriot aristocracies came into contact on various levels. Brought together by their economic and social situations, members of different aristocratic groups must have interacted on a daily basis, taking part in various processes of administration, government and business. However, members of the old nobility and Syrians and Greeks came from different backgrounds and varied in their social standing. These differences had to be negotiated, and it is therefore crucial to distinguish between contexts in which the boundaries between the two groups were strong and those situations which in contrast offered space and possibilities for integration. This chapter will therefore analyse the paths for integration as well as the boundaries between the different aristocratic groups. Which situations did aristocrats meet in, and how can we describe the hierarchy of these contexts? What implications did this have for social interaction? In which situations did the different groups mix easily, and on which levels do we find strong boundaries?

Our sources do not allow us to cover every aspect of social life. Some levels of interaction are visible, however, and offer interesting insights, particularly when compared with each other. Therefore, in this chapter I will investigate interaction and integration on three relevant levels: first, I will ask how far members of the new aristocracy integrated into the nobility on a legal level. Did they receive legal privileges and officially become nobles? If so, how broad was this phenomenon and which significance for social inclusion can we attribute to it (ch. 3.1)? Secondly, I will examine every-day contacts between the nobility and the new aristocracy. On which levels did they come into contact and communicate with each other (ch. 3.2)? Finally, I will discuss in how far families from the nobility and the new aristocracy integrated on a social level. Marriage alliances provide the best source of information on this topic. Did families from the different groups intermarry at all (ch. 3.3)? What significance did this have for mutual acceptance, social mixing and the power constellations between the groups?

3.1 Inclusion in the Nobility by Status

The social ascension of Syrians and Greeks raises the question of whether and how these men were legally included in the nobility. I have discussed the preliminaries in chapter one⁹¹³. Now I want to investigate how many members of the new aristocracy were actually involved in this process. An overview of the sources reveals that very few men obtained an unambiguously noble status. These cases generally concern men in very high positions. Hugo and Piero Podocataro as well as Giacomo Urri were dubbed knights and were certainly accepted as noble. The Mistachiel and the de Ras brothers were all knights in the 1450s, even before their careers as statesmen began. The captain of Sivouri in the 1460s, Jacques Sincritico, possessed a fief and was therefore probably also noble. A century earlier the Syrian statesmen Thibault Belfardage, Thomas Barech and Jean Gorab gained noble status⁹¹⁴. These particular cases, however, only concern influential men and the list is relatively short. Benjamin Arbel was therefore right in stating that only very few Greeks and Syrians visibly became nobles during the fifteenth century⁹¹⁵. However, many unclear cases render the picture more complex.

Inclusion on lower levels, for example, is less clear. The 1468/1469 *Livre des remembrances* calls some *baillis* and secretaries »well beloved and loyal sir« (*bien amé et feaull sir*). This is the case for the *bailli* Pierre Sozomenos, the secretary Pierre Bibi and the officer of the »new office« (*nouvel office*) Philippe Bustron, among others⁹¹⁶. This designation was used solely for royal vassals. It is possible that these men became vassals only under James II, when social change was particularly prevalent. On the other hand, the secretary Piero Podocataro had received the *prasteio* Tragovouni as fief as early as 1435⁹¹⁷. A secretary therefore could be a royal vassal even in the 1430s, technically making him part of the nobility. It remains unclear, however, whether the rest of the nobility accepted these men as noble. Piero Podocataro's fief privilege does not specify any military service. It is possible that the kings created a different class of non-military fiefs which

913 See chs. 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

914 For the stories of all these men and for further references, see ch. 2.1, p. 54 and 2.2, esp. from p. 67.

915 Cf. p. 12.

916 *Livre des remembrances* (Richard) nos 152. 161. 162.

917 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fols 29^v-31^r.

were not seen to entail membership in the nobility, but we do not know. In any case, the examples of secretaries who became royal vassals are few, particularly before 1468. These men therefore belong to the grey zone postulated in chapter one⁹¹⁸. We do not know if they were considered noble or not.

This problem also concerns men in higher positions. Mateo Rames for example was a royal counsellor in 1432, but we do not know if this entailed an inclusion in the nobility. The *bailli de la secrète* Philippe Salah poses the same problem⁹¹⁹. Did Philippe's office and his membership in the royal council and the Haute Court make him noble in the eyes of his contemporaries, or not? Was he a royal vassal? We do not know. The case of George Billy has already shown that his position was unclear even to contemporaries: as a royal counsellor, the king called Georgios *nobilis*, but others perceived him as a burgess⁹²⁰.

There are only very few examples of men who obtained unambiguous noble status without occupying a high position: the royal squire Georgino Chimi, for example, must have been an ordinary member of the nobility in the 1430s. He was a squire alongside other nobles such as Paulin Chappes⁹²¹. However, in terms of real power a squire such as Georgino was probably much less influential than the *bailli de la secrète* Philippe Salah or the counsellor George Billy. Much later, a notarial document from 1463 mentions a certain Phoce Gonem as well as a Pierre Bustron as noble witnesses⁹²². Unfortunately, we do not know anything else about them.

Legal inclusion of Syrians or Greeks into the nobility therefore remains often unclear. Cases of unambiguous inclusion are quite rare, at least until the reign of James II. They mostly concerned men in very high positions. Moreover, where men achieved legal inclusion, we must ask if this was followed by social acceptance. Secretaries who attained enfeoffments were possibly not accepted as noble on the same level as others, even if they were technically nobles. George Billy's example shows that even powerful men in high state office were not always accepted⁹²³.

3.2 Everyday Contacts between Aristocratic Circles

In contrast to legal changes in group affiliation, everyday contacts between the aristocratic groups in Cyprus were numerous and frequent. Aristocrats came into contact above all on a professional level. Members of the new aristocracy working in the Lusignan administration interacted frequently

with members of the nobility who were either their superiors or their clients. The secretary Perrin Urri for example drew up and signed various Haute Court privileges in 1452⁹²⁴. He must have interacted with the men to whom the privileges were issued and also with the members of the Haute Court themselves. This is true for all the other secretaries of the *secrète* and the *baillis*.

Moreover, the Machairas chronicle is full of episodes in which men from different backgrounds interact and work together. The brothers Leontios and Nicholas Machairas, for example, worked as secretaries for Jean de Nores in 1401, while their brother Peter was a royal servant. Machairas tells us that the king sent Peter to Famagusta along with a young Catalan to try out some keys they had made for the town doors in order to reconquer Famagusta. When the story was leaked, Jean de Nores took care to rescue Peter Machairas from Famagusta, lest they should hang him. Machairas even calls Jean de Nores Peter's friend⁹²⁵. This intense contact between secretaries and their employers is therefore characterized by mutual respect.

Another interesting example is the secret excursion overseas undertaken by Prince Henry of Lusignan in 1413. Machairas records the members of his entourage: Jotin de Caffran, Perrin Salah (and probably his son Paul), an Italian called Zollou, Bertili of Savoy, Jotin de la Gride, Nicolas of Kalamouni and his anonymous falconer⁹²⁶. Henry's entourage was therefore very mixed. A member of the important noble Caffran family, a man from the upcoming noble family de la Gride, but also a Syrian from the Salah family, an Italian and a Savoyard were all part of it. The hierarchy within this group is of course unknown to us, but if Machairas is right, these people must have spent a lot of time together.

In one case, a young noble even seems to have worked for a Greek: according to Machairas, Perrin Pelestrin was Jacques Sincritico's *bachliotēs* (Gr. 'servant, squire') in 1426⁹²⁷. Finally, Machairas' father Stavrinus allegedly played an important role in the discussions concerning Peter II's succession in 1382. The Syrian regent Thomas Barech had asked Stavrinus for his opinion, which he gave in front of the complete Haute Court. Machairas adds that the Haute Court and Barech in particular respected his father very highly⁹²⁸. Although this last episode is probably biased by Machairas' own regard for his father, his chronicle presents a picture of frequent and mostly respectful interaction between the groups.

Frequent working contacts are also confirmed by other sources. The Greek Hugo Podocataro served as financial procurator in Genoa for many nobles in 1454⁹²⁹. Chapter four will

918 See ch. 1.3, p. 48.

919 For Mateo Rames, see Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire* III 16. For Philippe Salah, cf. ch. 1.3, p. 44.

920 See ch. 1.3, p. 48.

921 Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire* II 525.

922 Rudt de Collenberg, *Les premiers Podocataro* 152.

923 For reactions to social mobility and acceptance of new aristocrats, see also ch. 5.1.3.

924 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 153-157.

925 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) §§ 630-631.

926 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 640.

927 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 665.

928 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 608.

929 Otten, *Investissements financiers* 118 and n. 48.

show that the Syrians and Greeks who became part of the power élite in the fifteenth century were in close everyday contact with the nobles in power⁹³⁰. Moreover, the Audeth family served as pawnbrokers for the king himself, as well as for other nobles⁹³¹. However, the role of pawnbroker does not necessarily point to amicable relations.

Generally, the source situation becomes more difficult when it comes to personal trust and relations such as friendships. Some instances point to friendships within the groups. Thierry Ganchou relates that Jacques de Caffran bequeathed his exemplar of the *assizes* to his brother-in-law Jacques de Fleury in the 1440s. This is a case of family relationship, but the two men might have been at least esteemed colleagues, since they worked together for many years⁹³². The same is true for Jean Podocataro and Giacomo Urri. Giacomo gave Jean, who might have been his brother-in-law, some books which the latter then sent to his son Hugo for his studies in Padua⁹³³. Both cases hint to friendship within wider family relations in the same group. However, Machairas also reveals two – alleged – friendships between members of different groups. Jean de Nores' friendship with Peter Machairas has already been mentioned. The second case concerns the famous Syrian merchant Sir Francis Lachas and King Peter I. Sir Francis is said to have made King Peter a large gift of money, and the two men even forged a blood brotherhood⁹³⁴. Whether or not this is true, Machairas believed that friendships and trust between Syrians, Greeks and nobles were possible.

A different picture emerges in testamentary matters. Here we can observe the relationships people relied on in crucial matters of life and death. Lists of witnesses in testaments are particularly revealing, although evidence is again rather fragmentary. Three testaments are of interest. First, the Greek Hugo Podocataro called on Babin and Nicole Salah, Perrin Urri, Piero de Rames, Perrin Bustron, Thomas Careri, J. Strambali, Pol Zacer and Jacobo Centurion as witnesses for his testament⁹³⁵. Most of these men were either Syrians or Greeks in important administrative positions: the Syrian Perrin Urri was Hugo's relative via Hugo's stepmother Joanna Urri, and he was also a secretary of the royal *secrète* at the time, just like Nicole Salah. They possibly witnessed the testament in this function, too. J. Strambali could be the same person as Jean Strambali, who was a royal secretary in 1468⁹³⁶. A Piero

de Rames (probably also a Syrian) was *bailli* and procurator of the archbishopric of Nicosia before 1456, while the Greek Thomas Careri served as royal procurator in 1455⁹³⁷. If Pol Zacer is identical with a certain Paulinus Zacharias mentioned in papal registers, he was Queen Helena Palaiologina's personal *bailli* and an Orthodox Christian⁹³⁸. Jacobo Centurione alone stands out from this circle of Syrians and Greeks in royal service. As we have seen⁹³⁹, he was an influential Genoese citizen and later served Hugo as procurator. Almost all the men Hugo trusted with his testament came from his own milieu.

The same is true for the testament made by the Frenchman Berenger Albi in 1411. Both executors of Berenger's testament were foreign clerics: one of his French cousins called Guillermo, a Benedictine prior, and Bertrand de Cadoanie, who came from the diocese of Nîmes in France and had been appointed to the bishopric of Paphos in 1408. Bertrand was therefore a recent newcomer, just like Berenger himself⁹⁴⁰. Most of the witnesses were also Latin clerics. Jean de Laneva from the diocese of Castres in the region Midi in France, and brother Agoy de Lozaco, prior of the Hospitallers, were certainly foreigners. Others, such as Jean Trecomessac and Pierre Lamee, are only designated by their dioceses in Cyprus. We therefore cannot be sure about their origin. However, they certainly do not belong to any known Cypriot families. Lay witnesses were the Catalan Guillermo de Cosessage, whose family is known in Cyprus at the time⁹⁴¹, one of the king's soldiers called Nano de Florencia, and Durando Laurencii, the latter two otherwise unknown to Cypriot sources⁹⁴². If we assume that some of these individuals at least were called to testify because they entertained a special relationship with the testator, we can say that Berenger Albi, in the hour of death at least, related above all with other foreigners from the same Latin clerical milieu in which his family moved.

The Venetian Antonio de Bergamo's testamentary matters are less clear, since we do not know the witnesses of his testament, but some information can be gained. We have seen in chapter two that, though his will was lost, the executors of his testament, Thomas de Zenariis and Clemens de Aretio, were both Italian. It seems that Antonio trusted people from his homeland with his legacies, just as the other testators mentioned above. However, we also know that

930 See ch. 4.2.

931 See Richard, *Une famille* 115 and cf. ch. 1.3, p. 47.

932 See ch. 4.2.

933 Rudt de Collenberg, *Les premiers Podocataro* 145.

934 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) §§ 92, 94.

935 Rudt de Collenberg, *Les premiers Podocataro* 142. Cf. ASVen, *Notarile, Testamenti* 14 for the spelling of the names, which Rudt de Collenberg has rendered wrongly in some cases.

936 For Perrin and Nicole, see *Documents chypriotes* (Richard) 152-157; Otten, *Investissements financiers* 121-122 and for Jean Strambali, see *Livre des remembrances* (Richard) no. 1.

937 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 164; Folieta, *Actes* (Balard et al.) nos 119, 122, 123, 133.

938 Rudt de Collenberg, *Les premiers Podocataro* 160 reasonably suggests that Pol Zacer and Paulinus Zacharias were the same person. For Paulinus, see Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 157.

939 See ch. 2.3.3, p. 80.

940 Mas Latrie (ed.), *Nouvelles preuves* II 28: *Item, eligo comersarios meos reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Bertrandum de Cadoanie, miseratione divina episcopum Paphensem, et venerabilem dominum Guillerum Gregorii, priorem prioratus Chameteriarum, ordinis sancti Benedicti, concebrinum meum germanum*. Mas Latrie (ed.), *Nouvelles preuves* II 28 n. 2 commented on *Chameteriarum* that the word was not very legible, and thought it could mean *Cherinarum* = Keryneia. Chris Schabel has suggested in personal communication that it could also be an error for *Cemeterii*, which could mean a Benedictine priory in Nicosia. For Bertrand de Cadoanie, see Rudt de Collenberg, *Royaume* I 644 and 690; Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalo schisma* ap. β-48, pp. 313-316 (Benedict XIII).

941 See ch. 2.3.4, p. 81.

942 For all witnesses, see Mas Latrie (ed.), *Nouvelles preuves* II 30.

his legacies went *inter alia* to a certain Janot Sincritico and George Billy, who were both members of the new aristocracy. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the connection between Antonio and these men. Perhaps they worked together. In any case, Antonio respected (or owed) them enough to leave them 100 besants each, which was a significant sum of money⁹⁴³.

To conclude, contacts between the new aristocracy and the old nobility were very frequent in work life. Members of both groups often worked together, and this points to a high degree of acceptance between the groups within public relationships. Machairas in particular creates a picture of mutual respect and trust in these situations. However, it is of course more difficult to discern how far members of the two groups actually trusted each other and if friendships were possible. Machairas seems to have believed this. However, in the crucial matter of testaments at least two of the three analysed testators relied on members of their own group rather than on others, while this might have been true for the third, Antonio de Bergamo, too. Perhaps trust would therefore be found rather in the own group than outside it. However, where boundaries in friendships and trustworthiness may be speculative, connections on a family level are easier to interpret. Here, we can see a clear separation between the nobility and the new aristocracy.

3.3 Marriage Connections

A marriage was a strong social tie. It bound together lineages and embodied family politics and social status. Marriage alliances were arranged by the family patriarchs and were expressions of interfamily rather than interpersonal relations. They forged strong alliances between families and furthered the integration of the families involved⁹⁴⁴. Therefore, analysing marriage connections may supply crucial information about networks within and between various groups, as well as about social hierarchies. I examine marriage relations by comparing two periods: the 1370s-1420s and the 1420-1470s. This comparison will trace developments in the cohesion of the nobility as well as the aristocracy, the relative importance of certain families, and, crucially, the integration between the old nobility, the new aristocracy, and Western newcomers.

Marriage alliances have come down to us in various sources, such as tombstones, testaments, fief privileges, and even the *Livre des remembrances*, which sometimes mentions women's spouses. Papal registers also recorded marriages

that required a dispensation because the two parties were too closely related to marry normally. In the fourteenth century, the papacy had framed rules for all members of the Latin church which prohibited parties from marrying if they were related by the fourth degree, i.e. if they were third-degree cousins with the same great-great-grandparents. Moreover, so-called spiritual relations (*cognatio spiritualis*) were also inhibited. If the bride's father was the bridegroom's godfather, for example, marriage was forbidden. The same was true for *affinity* relations: affinity existed between families when the individuals who wanted to marry had been either married or had had extra-marital sexual relationships with any member of the other family until the fourth degree⁹⁴⁵. These rules made it difficult for small societies such as the Cypriot nobility to find suitable partners within their own group. Many parties therefore asked the pope for marriage dispensations, which were often conceded.

As explained in the introduction⁹⁴⁶, I will use Social Network Analysis to visualize marriage alliances. Social Network graphs illustrate connections between families by relating nodes (which show the families) to each other through so-called edges. In general, I use the graphs for visualization. However, in one case I also conduct a mathematical analysis, measuring the degree of centrality of the intermarrying families (see below). I will compare two graphs (fig. 5 and fig. 7) which contain all recorded marriages between members of the nobility, the new aristocracy, and Western newcomers between 1382-1420 and 1425-1470. The year 1425 marks the beginning of several interesting marriage connections within the new aristocracy. The graphs show the background of the involved families by colouring the nodes: blue nodes refer to members of the old nobility with Frankish origins, orange nodes stand for new aristocrats (i.e. Greeks or Syrians; two red nodes stand for Byzantine families), green nodes describe Western newcomers. Finally, families with unclear origins are coloured in dark brown. Both graphs list marriage alliances between ca. 30 families.

The first graph concerns eighteen noble families, about a third of the old nobility. The Lusignans are counted as one of these families, though especially the kings' marriages naturally had a stronger focus on external politics than other nobles', which adds another contextual dimension. Five Western newcomers and six Syrian or Greek families complete the picture. No double connections between any two families exist. We must therefore be careful with our interpretation, as the data captures only a fragment of the marriages contracted during the period under examination. Nonetheless, some observations are still possible. Figure 5 shows the mar-

943 ASVen, Cancelleria inferiore. Notai b. 56/3. Cf. ch. 2.3.1, p. 76.

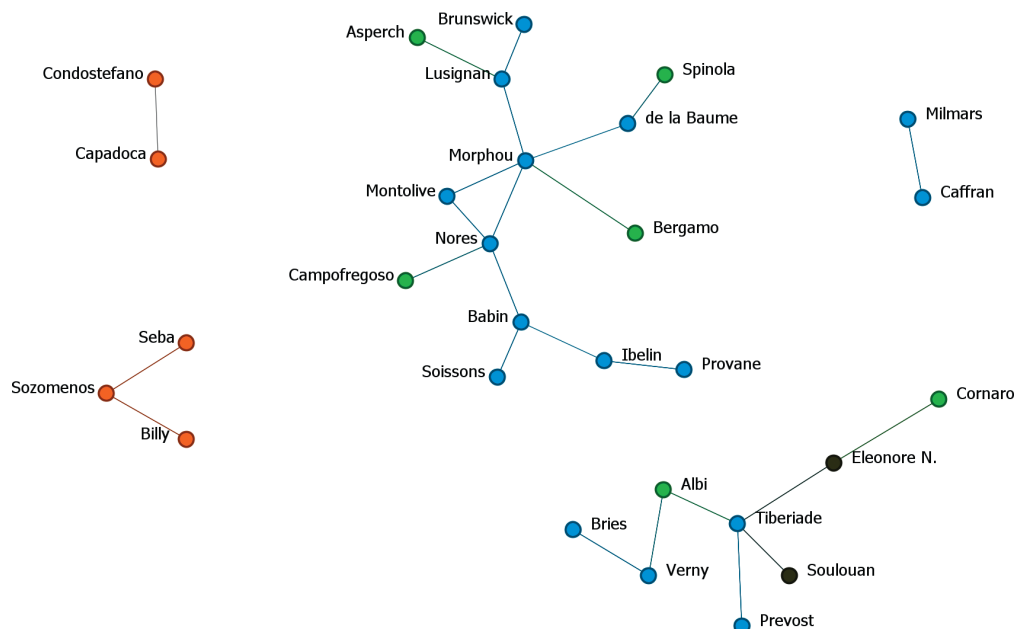
944 For the social significance of marriage, see Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest* 19 and Padgett/Ansell, *Robust Action* 1265 n. 13. 1274 and cf. Kaoulla, *Quest for a Royal Bride* 1. Padgett and Ansell in their analysis of Florentine élites considered marriages to be strong social ties according to Granovetter's theory from 1973. This much-read sociological work suggests that »the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount

of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie« (Granovetter, *Strength of Weak Ties* 1361). Strong ties are the basic relationships holding together small nuclear groups, while weak ties such as loose acquaintances forge connections between nuclear groups (see Granovetter, *Strength of Weak Ties* 1361-1366).

945 Rudt de Collenberg, *Dispenses* 11. 15-17.

946 See p. 22.

Fig. 5 Marriage alliances, 1382-1420.



riage alliances between 1382 and 1420. For the most part, it records marriage relations between important noble families. This seems to be connected with the nature of the sources: important and wealthy families were more likely to request marriage dispensations or full absolutions than others and would therefore appear in the papal registers; many other sources also concern important political players.

The families in the graph build a cluster of strongly inter-related powerful nobles. If we can believe Machairas, one of the earliest matches concerns the well-known Nores and Montolive families – a certain Margarita de Nores married Barteleme de Montolive in about 1382⁹⁴⁷. The influential Soissons and Babin clans intermarried in 1387, and in 1390, the Babin were connected to the Nores as well as the Ibelin family⁹⁴⁸. The Soissons, Babin and de Nores families needed dispensations in the fourth degree of consanguinity. They must have been already related. As early as 1382, the Morphou family, one of the most important families of the period, married into the Lusignan family itself. The chronicles state that Jean de Morphou had actually hoped to marry his daughter to Hugh of Lusignan, Peter I's nephew, and to then put Hugh onto the throne, thus becoming a father-in-law to royalty. Machairas even insinuates that Jacques de Nores rivalled him in this claim⁹⁴⁹. Though the plan failed, Jean de Morphou's daughter was still able to marry John of Lusignan, a man from a side branch of the royal family, thus connecting the Morphou to the royal house⁹⁵⁰. The sources

show that these two small groups connected ten years later with a marriage between the Montolive and Morphou (1392), and again fifteen years later, when a certain Jean de Nores married Echive de Morphou (1407). However, they needed a dispensation of the second and third degree of affinity in order to marry⁹⁵¹. The families must have been already well connected by then.

Thus, we see a strong cluster between the de Nores-Montolive-Morphou-Babin and Ibelin families, especially during the reign of James I. This is also visible in figure 6. This figure measures the 'total-degree centrality' of the represented families. This measure computes the number of edges connecting a node to other nodes, called its *degree*. The more connections a node has to others, the more central it is, and the bigger the node which represents it⁹⁵². Thus, the families with most marriage connections to other families display the biggest nodes.

Figure 6 shows how the Nores and the Morphou were the most well-connected families. Incidentally, they were also two of the most important political players at the time⁹⁵³. Families were also strongly connected in general. Although we must consider our interpretation carefully because of the small number of sources, this result ties in with the situation at the time: during the reign of James I, Cypriot noble society tried to regain strength by establishing strong ties with each other. This strategy was a belated reaction to the Genoese-Cypriot war in 1372-1374 and the ensuing power vacuum⁹⁵⁴.

947 Machairas, *Exēgēsis* (Dawkins) § 607. For the sources of the mentioned marriage alliances, see also **tab. 3**, p. 179.

948 Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. α-113, pp. 188-189, α-132, p. 217 (Clemens VII); Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* nos 14. 16. 17.

949 Machairas, *Exēgēsis* (Dawkins) § 349; Bustron, *Historia* (Mas Latrie) 292.

950 Machairas, *Exēgēsis* (Dawkins) § 615.

951 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* nos 19. 29; Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII).

952 Freeman, *Centrality in Social Networks* 219-221.

953 A third central family were the Tiberiade, whose marriage connections I will analyse later.

954 We will also see this in the analysis of power élites in ch. 4, see esp. p. 113.

It is conspicuous that the royal family itself did not really take part in these marriage schemes at the very end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. After the marriages into the Brunswick and Morphou families in the 1370s and 1380s, only one connection with a noble perhaps took place around 1400: one of Janus' sisters, Echive, may have married a certain Sclavus de Asperch, a foreigner from France. This assumption, however, is based solely on Rudt de Collenberg's conjecture that Asperch's wife Echive was James I's daughter Echive of Lusignan⁹⁵⁵. This development is all the more intriguing, as the royal family counted many heads in this period. King James I had had twelve children with Heloise of Brunswick, and the grandchildren of John, the prince of Antioch, James I's brother, were also numerous⁹⁵⁶. The papal registers inform us about the path that at least some of these royal family members took: in March 1406, pope Benedict XIII issued four marriage dispensations for sons and daughters of the late James I, who were supposed to marry their cousins once removed, all of them sons and daughters of James of Lusignan, son of John, prince of Antioch⁹⁵⁷. James of Lusignan's children would probably have inherited at least part of the substantial estates that John, prince of Antioch, had once possessed⁹⁵⁸, and so it seems that the Lusignans were trying to keep royal estates in the family during this period by intermarrying their numerous offspring. As the royal finances were dire since the Genoese war, this must have seemed a practical solution and fits well into King Janus' general financial strategies of the time, since the king also actively tried to secure Church estates and revenues for members of the royal family (see chapter six)⁹⁵⁹. The aforementioned marriages are of course not visible in the graphs, as they occurred within one and the same family. King Janus himself married first Anglesia Visconti, sister of the duchess of Milan, in the hopes of receiving valuable assistance from Milan, and when these hopes turned out to be false, he got divorced and married Charlotte de Bourbon, the daughter of John I of Bourbon-La Marche, instead, thus strengthening the ties with France once again⁹⁶⁰.

Other nobles, however, also formed marriage alliances with foreigners. Certain Western newcomers were allowed into their ranks, and they married into powerful families. In 1382, Hodrade Provane, who came from Piemonte and em-

barked on an important career in Cyprus, married Jacqua de Ibelin. After the royal family the Ibelin had been the most influential family in Cyprus for centuries. Provane's predecessor as chamberlain, Antonio de Bergamo, married his daughter Bertolina to Robert de Morphou some time before 1393⁹⁶¹. Before 1401, Bernardo Corner had married a certain Cypriot noble woman called Eleonore (if she really was Cypriot, see above p. 74). Eleonore married André de Tiberiade, who also came from an influential noble family, after Bernardo's death. This suggests that Eleonore herself must have been of high social standing⁹⁶². Marriages between the French Albi family and the Verny and Tiberiade families have already been treated in detail⁹⁶³. Berenger Albi's daughter Marguerite was married to Jean de Verny, while his son Raymon wedded Bella de Tiberiade⁹⁶⁴. Berenger had thus successfully managed to integrate his children into the highest Cypriot society.

The connections known between Western foreigners and Cypriot noble families all follow the same pattern: rich and politically successful foreigners who lived on Cyprus married into influential noble families. In some cases, this integration took place in the second generation, with daughters and sons of foreigners marrying Cypriot nobles. An exception is the marriage between Janot de Nores and Andriola de Campofregoso, the daughter of the Genoese General Campofregoso who had won the war against Cyprus in 1374. This political marriage between enemy parties was part of the peace treaty between Cyprus and Genoa, and it took place in Genoa⁹⁶⁵. However, later sources show the couple living in Cyprus many years after the marriage. They were involved in treason against the Lusignans when Janus tried to recapture Famagusta in 1402⁹⁶⁶. In any case, Cypriot noble families only welcomed into their ranks very influential individuals from the West, for whom the marriage alliance was not necessarily a social rise but an integration into the island society at eye level.

Marriage alliances between the old nobility and the new aristocracy, which would have represented a real social rise, are almost non-existent. An exception to this rule may have been Margarita *Sulivanis*' wedding with Nicholas de Tiberiade in 1411, as has been mentioned during our discussion of the Soulouan family⁹⁶⁷. They required a dispensation in the

955 See Rudt de Collenberg, *Royaume I* 632. 688; cf. Papadopoulos, *Historia* 4,1 genealogy table II.

956 Papadopoulos, *Historia* 4,1 genealogy table II.

957 Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. β 12-15, pp. 246-250 (Benedict XIII). At least one of these marriages might not have taken place, or the bridegroom may have died, since Isabella, daughter of James I, who was supposed to marry John, son of James of Lusignan, count of Tripoli, received another marriage dispensation in 1415, in order to marry John, son of Peter of Lusignan, constable of Jerusalem (Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. β 79, pp. 524-526 [John XXIII]). The strategy of marrying within the royal family was therefore still followed some years later.

958 See Machairas, *Exēgēsis* (Dawkins) § 419; *Documents chypriotes* (Richard) 80-81. 88-89; Edbury, *Feudal Nobility of Cyprus* 181.

959 Edbury, *Feudal Nobility of Cyprus* 180, had remarked with regard to the large families of Hugh IV and James I that in the fourteenth century »the higher nobility became increasingly the province of the members of the Lusignan family«. This development was certainly perpetuated into the fifteenth century, reaching a peak under Janus.

960 Machairas, *Exēgēsis* (Dawkins) § 638; Kaoulla, *Quest for a Royal Bride* 40. 52; Hill, *History* II 466.

961 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 5; Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. α-26, p. 50 (Clemens VII); ASVen, *Cancellaria inferiore*. *Notai* b. 56/3. For the Ibelin, see Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus* 39-73, who devotes a whole chapter to the family.

962 Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire* II 456.

963 See ch. 2.3.5, p. 83.

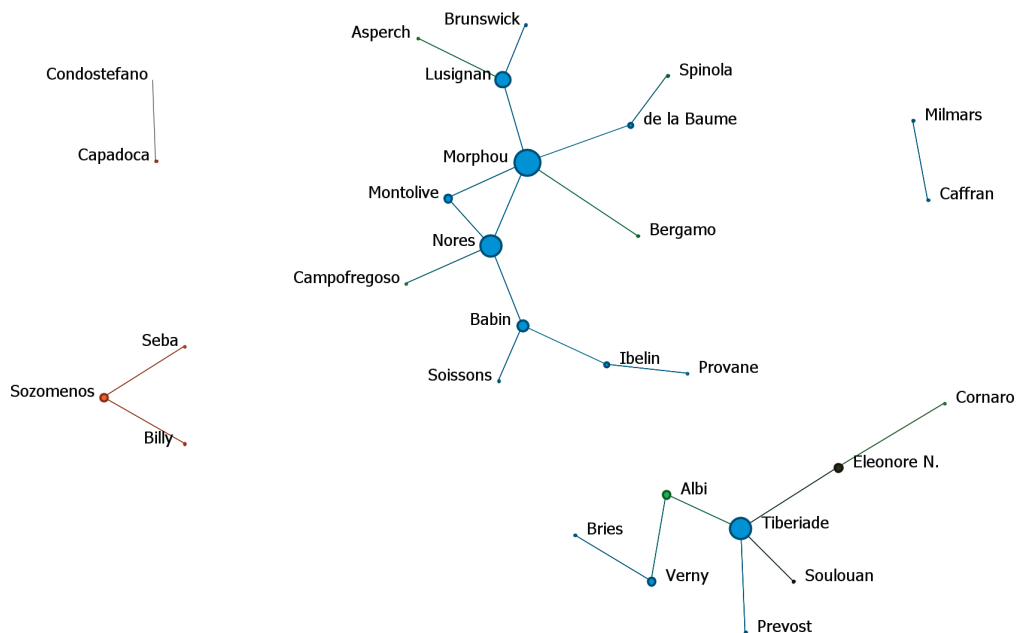
964 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 30; Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. β-29, pp. 270-272 (Benedict XIII); Mas Latrie (ed.), *Nouvelles preuves* II 29.

965 Mas Latrie (ed.), *Histoire* III 771.

966 Machairas, *Exēgēsis* (Dawkins) § 631; Bustron, *Historia* (Mas Latrie) 354.

967 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 52; Kouroupakis, *Hē Kypros kai to megalō schisma* ap. β-24, p. 433-434 (John XXIII); cf. ch. 2.2, p. 72.

Fig. 6 Marriage alliances, 1382-1420, total-degree centrality.



fourth and fifth degrees of consanguinity for their marriage. Therefore, their families must have been connected before. If Margarita was a member of the Soulouan family, and if the Soulouan were Syrian, this would be the first known marriage between Syrians and a noble family before 1420. A marriage alliance between the Soulouan and the royal family, which must have taken place at about the same time, would have been even more crucial⁹⁶⁸. If the Soulouan were indeed Syrians, this would be a very early and very high social rise, sealed by an alliance with the royal family. Another exception could be a marriage between a certain noble squire Pierre Fardin and a Syrian called Margarita Gazel, but this is only known through a tombstone which is barely legible, and the woman's name is especially blurred⁹⁶⁹. Therefore, the evidence on this marriage is poor, and it is difficult to say if there were actually some – exceptional – alliances between nobles and social climbers, or not.

Some few marriages within the new aristocracy itself are known during this period, however. A first conglomeration concerns relatives of Leontios Machairas, as mentioned in chapter two⁹⁷⁰. Machairas informs us that his uncle Nicholas Billy was married to Jean Sozomenos' sister in the 1370s and 1380s. Their daughter then married a Seba⁹⁷¹. Independent of these matches, a certain Lampertos Condostefanos married Loze Capadoca before 1405⁹⁷². These alliances show a first nucleus of successful Syrian and Greek families at the end of the fourteenth century. Nicholas Billy was *bailli de la secrète* and Jean Sozomenos probably a royal knight⁹⁷³. Interest-

ingly, Syrians and Greeks intermarried, as is suggested by the match between the Sozomenos-daughter and the Seba family member. We will see later that this was no exception. It is unclear if these matches were facilitated because the Syrians in question were Melkites and therefore of the same rite as the Greeks, as we do not have any information about their religious affiliation. Matches between Syrians and Greeks fifty years later, however, took place when at least some members of all families concerned had already officially converted to the Latin Church, which must have further blurred the boundaries between them (see below)⁹⁷⁴.

It remains to be said that many marriage alliances are known for the Tiberiade family between 1400 and 1420. In **figure 6** they appear almost as central as the Nores or the Morphou two decades earlier. Like these latter families, the Tiberiade were connected to other Cypriot nobles, but also to Western foreigners, such as the Albi – and to the Soulouan. This is all the more interesting, as the Tiberiade completely disappear from the sources after 1420. Did the last male descendants die without offspring? Were they victims of the plague in 1420? Or are the sources which might reveal the fate of their children simply missing? We do not know. If it is the first case, the downfall of the Tiberiade would illustrate how fast a well-connected family could cease to exist. In the second case, it would once again illustrate the problem of source transmission. In any case, and despite scarce sources, we observe a well-connected noble society between the 1380s and the 1420s. Though this group was not afraid to connect with influential Western newcomers, it was uninter-

968 See ch. 2.2, p. 72.

969 Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae* no. 6. This information is so uncertain that I have not included it in the graphs.

970 See ch. 2.2, p. 63.

971 Machairas, *Exégésis* (Dawkins) § 563 and n. 7.

972 Darrouzès, *Notes pour servir* II 47

973 See ch. 2.2, p. 63.

974 For the conversions, see ch. 6.3, p. 150.

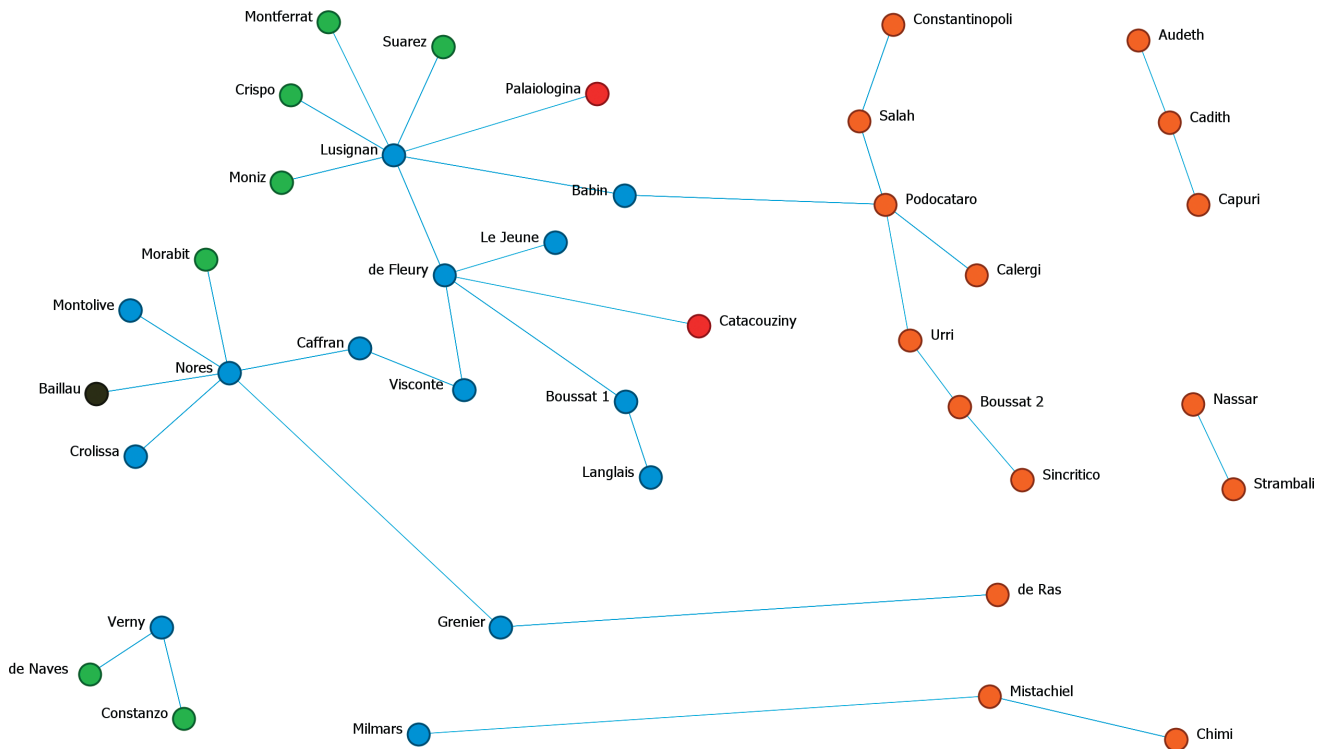


Fig. 7 Marriage alliances, 1425-1470s.

ested in creating alliances with social climbers from within Cypriot society.

Let us proceed to the second graph. **Figure 7** shows a range of interesting developments between 1425 and 1470 which build a contrast to many of the above observations. More Syrian and Greek families (twelve families) appear here than in **figure 5** (six families). This figure is above all caused by the greater availability of sources: many more notarial documents, fief privileges and testaments exist from the second period, in particular for the new aristocracy. However, it is also likely that a greater number of documents exist from this second period precisely because the new aristocratic families were influential and were by now well connected, particularly with the republics of Venice and Genoa and even with the Lusignan family. This phenomenon resulted in a greater preservation rate for their documents. Therefore, the density of information in itself already suggests that an important development in the new aristocracy had taken place.

The Syrian and Greek families included in the graph were well connected with each other. The Podocataro, the Salah and the Urri families, by then converted to the Latin rite, were all related by marriage in the 1430s: Piero Podocataro, Jean

Podocataro's son, had married Agnes Salah. Jean himself had wedded a certain Ioanna Urri, who was his second wife⁹⁷⁵. This core of connections between wealthy Syrians and the Greek Podocataro family is highly interesting, as it runs parallel to the high social rise which all three families experienced at the same time. It seems that they supported each other's social ascendance with these connections.

More families became connected to this important core by the 1460s. The Urri were related to the Bousat, who in turn forged a connection with the Sincritico⁹⁷⁶. Philippe Podocataro married Maria Calergi before 1471, thus connecting with another Greek family⁹⁷⁷. Later the Urri also linked with the Syrian Rames family⁹⁷⁸. As early as the 1440s, the Salah family was related to a certain Piero di Constantinopoli⁹⁷⁹. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about this man, other than that Isabella Salah was his widow in 1444. Other important aristocratic families forged their own relationships parallel to this hub of connections. We know from the Audeth testaments that this family was related to the Cadith, who in turn were connected to the Capuri⁹⁸⁰. Moreover, Elia Strambali and a certain Roma Nassar were married before 1452⁹⁸¹. Syrian and Greek families intermarried in more than one case (Bousat – Sincritico, Salah – di Constantinopoli,

975 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 197; Rudt de Collenberg, Les premiers Podocataro 144.

976 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195.

977 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 195; Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 227.

978 The exact date of this connection is not clear, but in 1481 Marguerite Urri was Piero de Rames' widow, see Otten, Investissements financiers 121.

979 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 28^r.

980 Richard, Une famille docs V, VII.

981 MCC, PDc 2669.2 fol. 43^r.

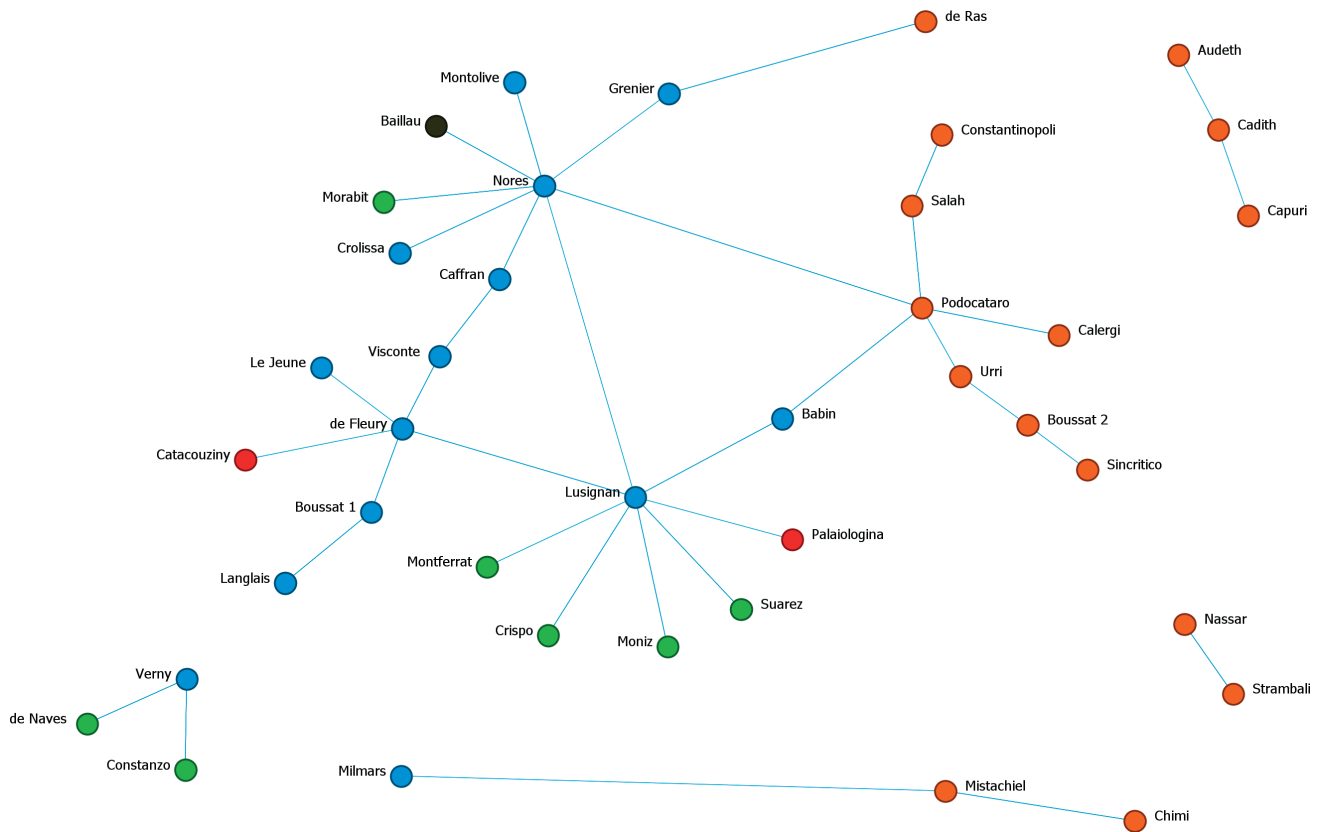


Fig. 8 Marriage alliances 1425-1470s, with the Podocataro-Nores connection.

Podocataro – Urri). The boundaries of their groups appear therefore to have been relatively permeable.

The same cannot be said for the boundaries between the new aristocratic families and the nobility. On the contrary, connections between the two groups were rare. However, in contrast to the earlier period, both groups occasionally intermarried in this period. All these interesting matches seem to have taken place in the 1440/50s or later and accompanied social climbing. Jean de Ras married Helen de Grenier in 1455⁹⁸². As we will see in chapter four, the Grenier family was politically influential in this period, which must have made this marriage an extremely good match for the de Ras family, especially as Jean's career only took off some years later under James II. Unfortunately, we do not know when the Syrian Philippe Mistachiel married Petrina de Milmars. They received full papal absolution in 1469⁹⁸³, but whether they married when Philippe was already marshal of Cyprus and therefore occupied an important political position⁹⁸⁴ is unknown. In any case the Milmars, too, were a family of important standing in noble society.

The most interesting case displayed by our Network Analysis is that of the Podocataro family. Hugo, Piero and Philippe Podocataro's sister Marie married Jean Babin, and bore him

at least one son, Gioffredo. In 1472, together with his uncle Philippe and his Podocataro cousins, Gioffredo sent a petition to the pope, thus attesting an obviously normal relationship between the families⁹⁸⁵. This must have been an extremely important alliance, as the Babin were also related to the Lusignan family: Guy of Lusignan, one of John II's brothers, had married Isabelle Babin before 1432, and Phoebus' son Hugh of Lusignan had wedded a woman from the Babin family before 1463⁹⁸⁶. Some years later, another daughter of Jean Podocataro married a certain Jacques de Nores. We can unfortunately only guess that the marriage took place sometime at the end of the fifteenth century, since the information stems from a text by Jason de Nores a century later⁹⁸⁷. The marriage may have taken place already under Venetian rule and therefore be irrelevant to the period under analysis, and I have chosen not to present this match in **figure 7**, though I include it in **figure 8**. In any case, connections with the Babin and the Nores families must have accompanied as high a social rise as the Podocataro could hope for. With these matches, the Podocataro became perhaps the most important linchpin between the old nobility and the new aristocracy. Together with the de Ras and the Mistachiel, they must have been important brokers between the two groups.

982 Livre des remembrances (Richard) no. 145, n. 1; Richard, *Privilège* 131.

983 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 219.

984 See ch. 2.2, p. 71.

985 Rudt de Collenberg, *Les premiers Podocataro* 173.

986 Papadopoulos, *Historia* 4,1 genealogy table II.

987 Nores, *Apologia* (Guarini) 327.

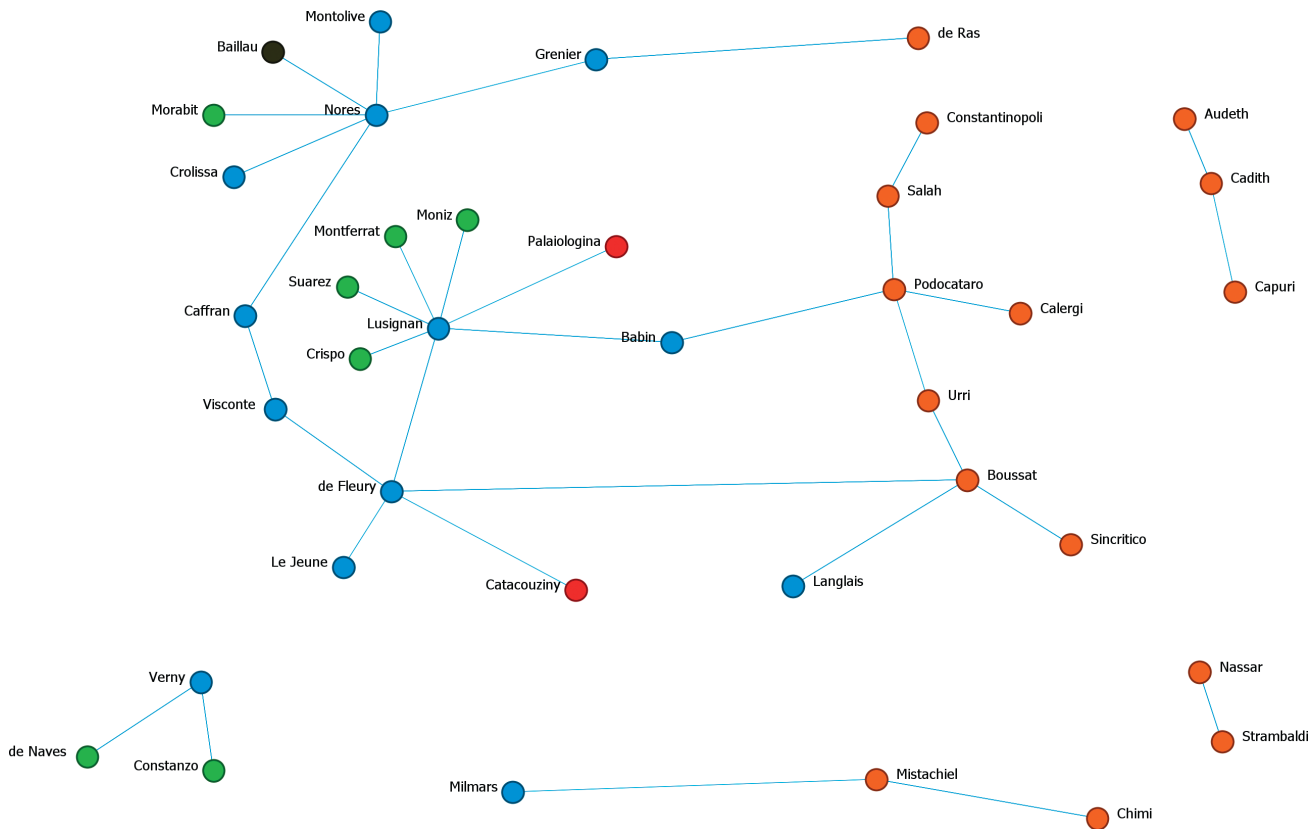


Fig. 9 Marriage alliances, 1425-1470s, Bouszat family case 2.

Two marriage connections are rather unclear, and they pose some interesting questions. Both involve the Bouszat families. As we have seen earlier, there were certainly two distinct Bouszat families in Cyprus. We know that the Hugh Bouszat who married one of Jacques de Fleury's daughters was the son of Odet Bouszat, the royal counsellor in the 1450s⁹⁸⁸. But did they belong to the same family as the Bouszat who were related to the Urri in the 1460s? The graphs that we have been using for the analysis until now suggest that this was not the case. They follow the hypothesis that the Bouszat related to the de Fleury were actually a Latin family from the beginning, and distinct from the probably Syrian Bouszat family which was related to the Urri. **Figure 9** follows the other option. If indeed both the Bouszat involved in these marriage connections came from the same family, this would result in an interesting constellation. Then Jacques de Fleury would have married his daughter into a family which – perhaps a bit later – would also connect with the Urri, who were his enemies in the attempted coup d'état in 1454. One hint that this might be the case is that in 1481 a certain Perrin Urri left ten Genoese *luoghi* to Carola de Fleury, who was married to Hugh Bouszat⁹⁸⁹. Perhaps he did so because of a family connection between the Urri and the Bouszat? This hy-

pothesis remains unclear, and we unfortunately do not know when Charlotte's marriage with Hugh Bouszat took place. If she married him when they were already in exile in Italy, this blurring of the boundaries between the Syrians and the old nobility could have been caused by the experience of exile. If they married before, this would be a crucial integrating alliance at the end of the 1450s, a crowning success to the Syrian ascendance in the preceding decades. It would have given the Bouszat as important a broker position as the Podocataro. Finally, if the marriage alliance between the Podocataro and the Nores families also took place in this period, as suggested in **figure 10**, then the number of connections between Syrian/Greek and old noble families in the highest circles would have been substantial indeed.

Be this as it may, these alliances show that the huge wealth and political influence wielded by these new aristocrats by the 1440s/1450s made it possible for them to integrate into the nobility through marriage. Albeit, these marriages suggest that this was only possible for the most powerful families and an exceptional phenomenon in general.

The old nobility itself also manifests interesting developments. The number of noble families registered is almost constant – eighteen families appear in the first graph, fourteen

988 See ch. 2.2, p. 61 and Brayer et al., *Vaticanus Latinus* 4789, 72.

989 Otten, *Investissements financiers* 122. For the term *luoghi* and its meaning, see p. 66 and n. 604

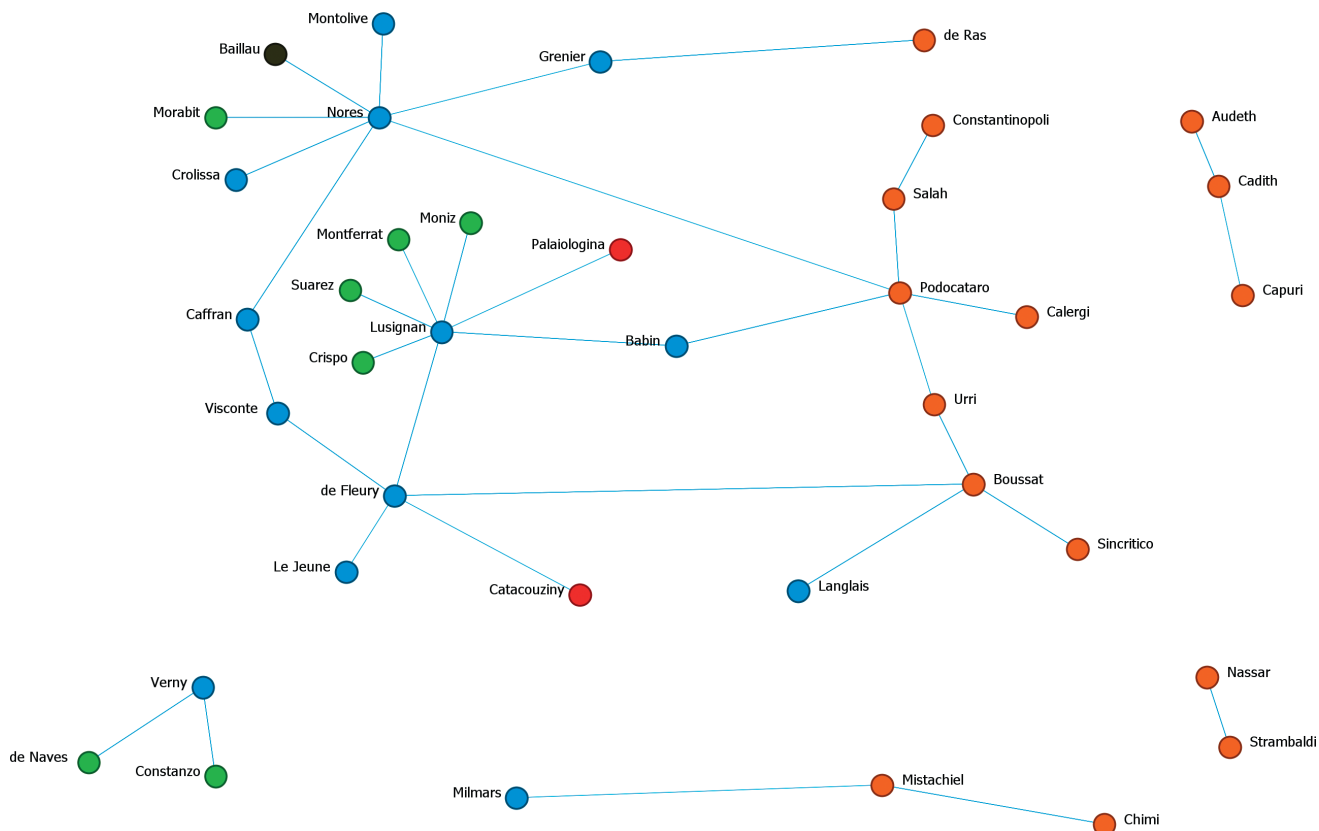


Fig. 10 Marriage alliances, 1425-1470s, Bouszat family case 2 with the Podocataro-Nores connection.

in the second. However, only some of the prominent families in figure 5 also appear in figure 7, while many others are exchanged for other well-known families⁹⁹⁰. This is above all a result of the dire source situation. In some cases, however, it also hints at social movement within the nobility. As is the case for the new aristocrats, the marriage alliances between members of the nobility reflect hierarchies of power to a certain extent. Those in power took care to connect themselves, and marriage alliances could sometimes elevate men into powerful positions.

The Nores, Caffran, de Fleury, Le Jeune, Montolive and Crolissa were all part of a nexus that was connected to the royal family through more than one marriage alliance. The Nores successfully maintained their web of marriage relations from the 1380s on. They were influential in the reigning power élite in the 1430s and 1440s, as we shall see in chapter four. This is reflected in their marriage relations. The Nores were related to the Caffran family, who were also important political players at the time. We do not exactly know who

had married whom, but when Jacques de Caffran died in the 1440s, members of the de Nores family took over the task of administering Pierre de Caffran's legacy of stipends for Cypriot students in Padua, suggesting that they must have been closely related to him⁹⁹¹. The Nores also managed to connect themselves directly with the royal family by 1450 at the latest: a certain Echive de Nores married Philippe, Henry of Lusignan's illegitimate son (Henry was Janus' brother, who had died during the battle of Chirokitia in 1426). Apart from this important match, the Nores had probably intermarried again with the Montolive⁹⁹².

The Nores were not the only ones to be well connected, however. The Babin family even married into the royal family twice⁹⁹³. The Babin did not act directly as members of the power élite. However, others whom the Lusignans connected to were certainly in the centre of power. Jacques de Fleury, King John II's right-hand man for many years, married his sister Isabelle de Fleury to Peter of Lusignan's illegitimate son Phoebus, probably between 1435 and 1440⁹⁹⁴. Jacques'

990 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* 551 postulated that the decreasing number of marriage dispenses in the fifteenth century hinted at the decline of the nobility itself. However, we can see here that there were still marriage alliances within the nobility between families which had already connected before (e.g. the Nores-Montolive matches, see below). We just do not have any dispenses for them.

991 Blizn'uk, *Gumanitarnyj fond* 126.

992 For the royal family, see Papadopoulos, *Historia* 4,1 genealogy table II. Marie de Montolive is called the *marchelece* in 1469. In Jean Richard's opinion she

had probably been married to the marshal Louis de Nores, see *Livre des remembrances* (Richard) no. 182 and n. 1. Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* 571 was convinced that a certain Jean de Nores was also married to Marie de Grenier, but as so often there is no proof for this. Cf. Richard, *Privilege* 133 n. 23, who reports this information uncritically.

993 *Documents nouveaux* (Mas Latrie) 366-367; Phoebus' son Hugh married an anonymous Babin woman before 1463, see Papadopoulos, *Historia* 4,1 genealogy table II.

994 Rudt de Collenberg, *Études de prosopographie* no. 185.

half-sister Isabeau Visconte was married to Jacques de Caffran, who, as we have seen, was connected with the de Nores family⁹⁹⁵. We do not know if this was the same Jacques who had married Margarita de Milmars in 1412, but it is possible. Jacques de Fleury in turn was married to Boulogne Le Jeune, the last offspring of the important Le Jeune family⁹⁹⁶. The last of the power élite to be mentioned here is Carceran Suarez, the Spaniard who had saved King Janus' life during the battle of Chirokitia. As a reward, he had not only become the kingdom's admiral, but had also married Catherine of Lusignan, Janus' illegitimate daughter⁹⁹⁷.

Thus, the members of the power élite between 1430 and 1450 were tightly interrelated – with each other and with the royal family, which did not follow the strategy of marrying cousins anymore, as it had at the beginning of the century. In the absence of a plethora of children, the royal family rather seems to have sought to bind important nobles in this period. However, it is interesting to note that two members of the power élite, the Syrians Hugh Soudain and Giacomo Urri, are conspicuously absent from this marriage network, and were strongly integrated into their own group. Hugh Soudain and Giacomo Urri were very powerful men, but they were not yet integrated by marriage into the nobility. Integrating matches between the two groups only appeared later, as we have seen above. However, one family was new in the network of nobles: the Crolissa family were a much younger family than most noble families, but they achieved a great feat of social climbing and became part of the power élite in the 1440s⁹⁹⁸. Their connection with the powerful Nores family attests their social mobility. Badin de Nores had married Maria de Crolissa before 1432⁹⁹⁹.

The core of nobles also intermarried with foreigners. The Lusignan family in particular figures prominently in such matches. Anne of Lusignan was married to Louis, duke of Savoy, and thus initiated a strong connection between the two houses that should result in her niece Charlotte, John II's daughter, marrying Anne's son, another Louis, in 1459¹⁰⁰⁰. But also John II followed up on this tradition and married Medea of Montferrat, who was his first cousin from the Savoyan part of the family. When she died, he married Helena Palaologina, a famous match with a woman part Italian and part Byzantine, who came from the Imperial Palaologian family¹⁰⁰¹. The Lusignans therefore do not seem to have seen any problem in marrying into the Byzantine aristocracy, especially into the Imperial family. Jacques de Fleury's second marriage with Zoi Catacouziny is also an important match in

these policies, binding the powerful statesman to a member of Queen Helena Palaologina's retinue¹⁰⁰².

However, the matches with foreigners later also concerned other allies: Phoebus of Lusignan's daughter Eleonore married first Soffredo Crispo, lord of Nisyros, who came from the Venetian Crispo family, and later the Catalan Vasco Egidio Moniz¹⁰⁰³. Cathérine, one of Janus' bastard daughters, had married Carceran Suarez from Seville¹⁰⁰⁴, as mentioned above. Most famously, King James II married the Venetian Caterina Corner in 1468¹⁰⁰⁵. Moreover, according to Stephen of Lusignan, two of Henry of Lusignan's illegitimate children married. Helvis is said to have wedded the Cypriot Hector de Chivides, from a family which appears to have been marginal until then. Helvis' sister Mariette married the Catalan Onofrio de Requesens¹⁰⁰⁶. We must be very careful with this information, however, as Stephen is the only one to record it. Stephen was also convinced that James I was married to Echive de Giblet, who bore him all his sons and daughters, including King Janus, a fact that is clearly untrue¹⁰⁰⁷. This information is therefore only included in **figure 11**.

However, in general, the information on the Lusignan family is very revealing: in addition to binding the high nobility to their family, the Lusignans also took care to cultivate relationships with wealthy and politically important foreigners. They forged alliances with families from all over the Mediterranean, the Byzantine empire included, though Lusignans from lesser branches of the family seem to have married Catalans particularly frequently from the 1450s onwards. Especially in comparison with the first period, the percentage of Catalans marrying into the Cypriot nobility increased greatly, clearly connected with Alfonso V's expansion politics into the Eastern Mediterranean. The Genoese resistance to the marriage between the Catalan Juan de Naves and Marie of Lusignan and his subsequent decision to marry Anne de Verny instead illustrate how crucially these matches influenced the power balance between the actors in the Eastern Mediterranean¹⁰⁰⁸.

Catalan involvement became even stronger under James II who favoured the Catalans greatly. The noblewoman Anne de Verny, by then widowed, married Muzio di Costanzo, one of James II's most important Sicilian followers, while the Nores family integrated Nicholas Morabit, again a very influential Sicilian¹⁰⁰⁹. However, James II's own marriage with Caterina Corner and its aftermath showcases how the Lusignans were torn between their Venetian and Catalan allies. After the marriage had taken place by proxy in Venice, it seems that

995 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 139.

996 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 149.

997 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28.

998 Cf. ch. 2.1, p. 60.

999 Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 109.

1000 Mas Latrie, Histoire III 12-23; Hill, History III 554.

1001 Cf. ch. 6.1, p. 144.

1002 Documents chypriotes (Richard) 151.

1003 See Papadopoulos, Historia 4,1 genealogy table II and Rudt de Collenberg, Études de prosopographie no. 185.

1004 Tafur, Cyprus (Nepaulsingh) 12-13. 26-28.

1005 Hill, History III 634.

1006 Lusignan, Description fol. 203^v.

1007 Lusignan, Description fol. 203^v.

1008 For these matches, see ch. 2.3.4, p. 82.

1009 Documents nouveaux (Mas Latrie) 415; Rey, Familles de Ducange 686.

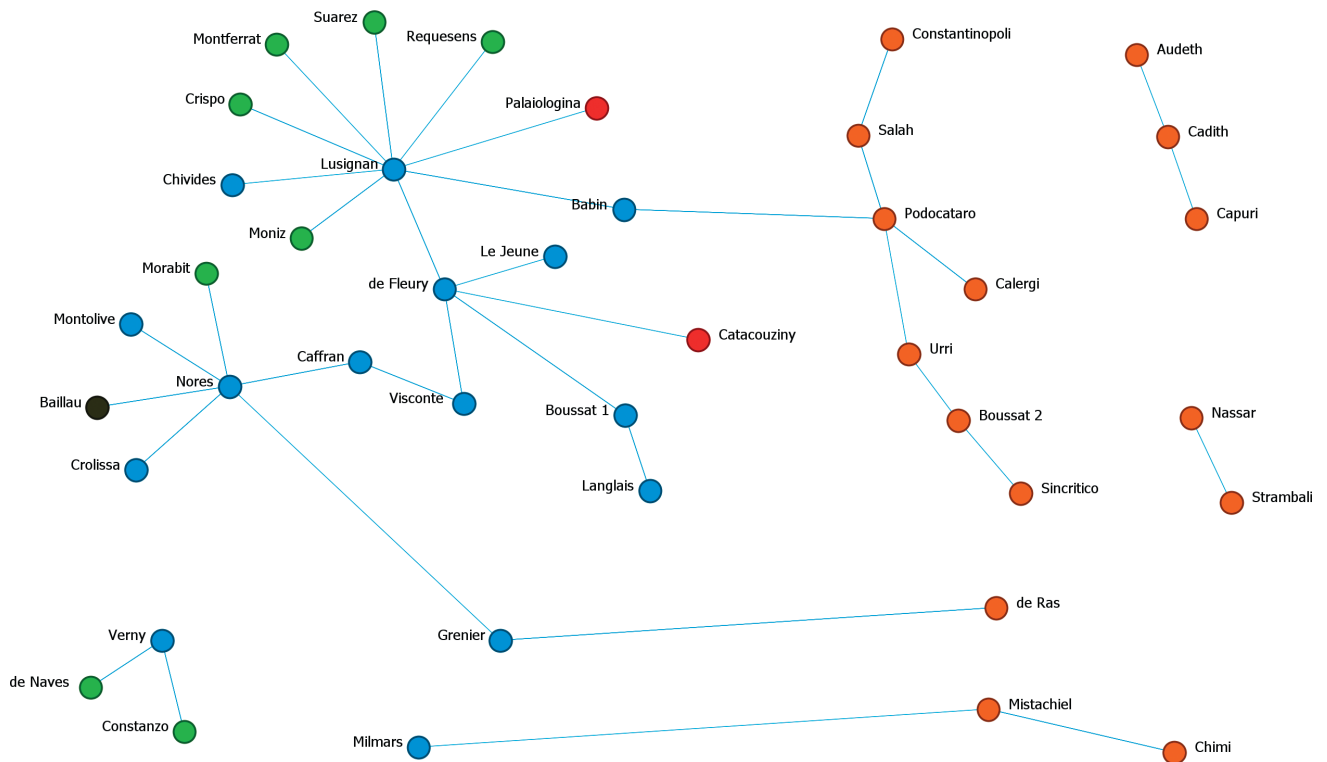


Fig. 11 Marriage alliances 1425-1470s, with uncertain information on the Lusignans.

King Ferdinand of Naples and Sicily tried rather successfully to dissuade James II from the match, and Venice had to remind the king to honour his agreement¹⁰¹⁰.

In general, important foreign players did not often marry into Greek or Syrian families, but instead took care to relate to old noble families, thus clearly illustrating how they perceived the power balance on the island. Only two matches between a Syrian family and foreigners are known: the two subsequent marriage alliances between Iana Soudain, daughter of the important Syrian statesman Hugh Soudain, and Genoese men in Famagusta (for a detailed analysis, see chapter two, pp. 80-81). However, since these marriage alliances technically took place in Famagusta and not in the kingdom of Cyprus, I have not included them into the graphs.

The results of the Network Analysis are therefore quite clear: we observe clusters of marriage alliances within the old nobility throughout the century, which preserved and

strengthened their networks. In the 1430s/1440s especially, the power élite was strongly interrelated. However, while the nobility was open to marriages with foreign nobles – at the end of the fourteenth century mostly Italians and some French, later almost exclusively Catalans, though the royal family also connected to Byzantines and to Venice via Caterina Corner – they rarely contracted marriage alliances with Syrian or Greek families from the new aristocracy. However, powerful new aristocratic families managed to progressively integrate into the nobility: while no marriage alliances between nobles and Greeks or Syrians are registered up to the end of the fourteenth century (excepting the strange case of the Soulouan family), after this period the most important Syrian and Greek families managed to contract few but important marriages with nobles. At the same time, these Greek and Syrian families were highly interrelated and forged strong networks on which to ground their social aspirations.

1010 Hill, History III 636-638.

3.4 Conclusion

Members of the nobility and the new aristocracy worked together frequently, mixing on a professional level. Friendships between members of the various groups probably existed, although the analysis of two testaments has shown that the testators tended to rely on their own in-groups at the crucial moment of death. Regardless, boundaries on the social level were not very permeable. Marriage alliances between the two groups seem to have been exceptional. These structures are similar to the phenomena which John Padgett found for the Florentine élite in the late middle ages. There, too, families were socially mobile as far as economic status and professional position were concerned, but had a harder time integrating into the marriage networks of older aristocratic families¹⁰¹¹. Despite this pattern, some highly important matches took place between a few powerful Syr-

ian and Greek families and nobles from the 1450s onwards. These unions hint at a successful integration between the two groups at the highest social levels.

Cypriot high society forged contacts with many different groups of foreigners. The nature of these contacts varied, however, according to the foreigners' origin and the political situation. Many Venetian and Genoese merchants were important economic protagonists on the island, and the Genoese occupants in Famagusta were in continuous contact with the Lusignans. However, few of them actually married into Cypriot high society. French and above all Catalans were quite the opposite, marrying into the (high) nobility wherever possible. Catalans in particular used this method to achieve political influence. However, almost all Westerners took care to integrate with the old nobility instead of the new aristocracy, illustrating effectively how they perceived the power balance on the island.

1011 Padgett, *Open élite* 369-370.