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DOI: 10.35765/pk.2020.3003.05

## Crossing Cultural Boundaries in Merchants' Wills from 14th-Century Cyprus

### ABSTRACT

The Western merchants operating in Famagusta, Cyprus—including Genoese, Venetians, Catalans, Pisans, Provençals, other nationalities, and Cypriot merchants based in this port city—drew up wills with Genoese and Venetian notaries, a number of which are extant. These wills impart information on the bequests these merchants made to family members and friends as well as to institutions, particularly churches, monasteries, and mendicant orders. Furthermore, they record the credits and debts of these merchants to various parties, decree the manumission of slaves owned by the merchants—some of whom also received bequests—and on occasion list material objects such as clothing, silverware, or sums of currency in their possession. We can glean from these types of information that merchants had commercial and personal relations with members of nationalities or Christian denominations different to their own, had slaves of various ethnic backgrounds, and had in their possession currencies other than that of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, as well as objects originating from elsewhere. These are phenomena that testify to their geographical mobility and their willingness to cross physical, financial, as well as cultural boundaries. On occasion, they even bequeathed sums of money to individuals and churches of non-Latin rites. In this paper, I intend to examine and assess the importance and utility of such wills, explaining that through their contents one can discover how, why and the extent to which merchants crossed national, ethnic and religious boundaries in both their commercial and their personal dealings. In addition, the limitations of the information such wills offer and the reasons why these limitations exist will also be discussed.

**KEYWORDS:** merchants, Genoese, Latin clergy, slaves, executors, witnesses, testators, testatrices

## STRESZCZENIE

Przekraczanie granic kulturowych w testamentach XIV-wiecznych kupców z Cypru

Kupcy z Europy Zachodniej działający w Famaguście na Cyprze – w tym Genueńczycy, Wenecjanie, Katalończycy, Pizańczycy, Prowansalczyki i przedstawiciele innych narodowości oraz kupcy cypryjscy mający siedzibę w tym portowym mieście – sporządzali u notariuszy genueńskich i weneckich testamenty, z których wiele zachowało się do dzisiaj. Testamenty te stanowią cenne źródło wiedzy o darowiznach i spadkach, które kupcy przepisywali na rzecz członków rodziny i przyjaciół, a także instytucji, zwłaszcza takich jak kościoły, klasztory i zakony żebracze. Ponadto w dokumentach tych znajdziemy zapis kredytów i długów cypryjskich kupców wobec różnych wierzycieli, dekrety wyzwolenia należących do nich niewolników, którzy czasem również otrzymywali spadek, a sporadycznie także listy z wyszczególnieniem przedmiotów materialnych, takich jak odzież, sztucce lub waluty znajdujące się w posiadaniu. Z tego rodzaju informacji możemy wywnioskować, że kupcy utrzymywali stosunki handlowe i osobiste z przedstawicielami innych narodowości lub wyznań chrześcijańskich, posiadali niewolników o różnym pochodzeniu etnicznym i waluty nienależące do królestwa Lusignan na Cyprze, a także przedmioty pochodzące z innych terytoriów. Te zjawiska świadczą o ich mobilności geograficznej i chęci przekraczania granic fizycznych, finansowych oraz kulturowych. Zdarzało się nawet, że kupcy cypryjscy zapisywali sumy pieniężne osobom i Kościołom obrządku niełacińskiego. Moją intencją w tym artykule jest zbadanie oraz ocena znaczenia i użyteczności takich testamentów. Pragnę również w nim zwrócić uwagę, że z treści cypryjskich testamentów możemy się dowiedzieć, jak, dlaczego i do jakiego stopnia kupcy przekraczali granice narodowe, etniczne i religijne zarówno w kontaktach handlowych, jak i osobistych. Ponadto omówione zostaną również ograniczenia zakresu informacji zawartych w tych testamentach oraz przyczyny istnienia tych ograniczeń.

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** kupcy, Genueńczycy, duchowieństwo łacińskie, niewolnicy, wykonawcy testamentu, świadkowie, spadkodawcy, spadkobiorcy

The Western merchants operating in Famagusta, Cyprus included Genoese, Venetians, Catalans, Pisans, Provençals, and others. They, as well as non-Latin merchants and, occasionally, the wives of merchants based in Famagusta, drew up wills with Genoese and Venetian notaries, a number of which are extant. These wills impart information on the bequests these merchants made to individuals, such as family members and friends, and to institutions, particularly churches, monasteries, and mendicant orders. Furthermore, they record the credits and debts of these merchants

to various parties, decree the manumission of slaves owned by the merchants—some of whom also received bequests—and on occasion list the material objects, such as clothing, silverware, or sums of currency in their possession. We can glean from these types of information that merchants, while making frequent bequests to Latin churches, clergy, and laity—as well as other Latin institutions—also had commercial and personal relations with members of nationalities or Christian denominations different to their own. Furthermore, they had slaves of various ethnic backgrounds and had in their possession currencies other than that of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, as well as objects originating from elsewhere. These facts testify to the merchants' geographical mobility and their willingness to cross physical, financial, as well as cultural boundaries. On occasion, they even bequeathed sums of money to individuals and churches of non-Latin rites. In this paper, the importance and utility of such wills is examined and assessed. Through the contents of these wills, one can discover how, why, and to what extent merchants crossed national, ethnic, and religious boundaries in both their commercial and their personal dealings. Additionally, the limitations of the information such wills offer and the reasons behind these limitations is also discussed.

The bequests of Latin merchants to non-Latin churches and religious foundations are few, because generally they did not cross over to non-Latin rites. Nevertheless, they are especially interesting as examples of transcending religious boundaries. The Genoese merchant Nicolao de Raynaldo bequeathed 25 white bezants to the hospital of St. Helena in Constantinople on July 27, 1300; while the name suggests a Greek foundation, a Latin one dedicated to St. Helena cannot be wholly ruled out. Ianuinus de Murta, another Genoese merchant and burgess of Famagusta, bequeathed six white bezants to Our Lady of La Cava outside Famagusta in his will dated December 21, 1300. Latins and Greeks both worshipped at this church, known to the Greeks as Panagia Chrysospiliotissa, an underground church that still has two separate altars for Latin and Greek rites. A third bequest, dated March 4, 1307, was made by the Genoese tavern-keeper Pietro de Sancto Donato to the altar of St. George of the Greeks, to which he bequeathed three white bezants (Balard et al., 2012, no. 187; Polonio, 1982, no. 165; Balard, 1984, no. 82). This church was not the famous basilica constructed in the 1360s, but one of the older churches directly to the south of it. It may have acquired more worshippers such as Melkite Syrians and Greeks from Latin Syria who settled in Famagusta in the period 1265–1291, when the Mamluks gradually conquered the last Latin possessions in Syria and Palestine (Olympios, 2014, pp. 168–169).

Most Latin merchants from Western Europe residing in Famagusta remained faithful to the Latin rite, but this did not preclude commercial

dealings and social relationships with non-Latins, something reflected in testamentary bequests. The Genoese merchant Nicola de Balneo, who appears to have resided partly in Laiazzo—the principal port of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia—and partly in Famagusta, bequeathed sums of money in his will dated December 26, 1296 to Iohannes from Margat in former Latin Syria and to “a certain Greek,” curiously unnamed. Simon of Acre, a White Genoese man—as persons of Syrian origin who were subjects of Genoa were called—made a will on December 28, 1296 in which he bequeathed most of his personal effects to his wife Stephania, also from Acre, but also sums of money to various persons, including the Venetian Belmusto, another example of transcending cultural boundaries. One of the witnesses to his will was a servant of the Genoese consul called Abbas, whose name indicates that he too originated from Syria (Balard, 1983, nos. 24–25; Balard et al., 2012, no. 187). The testator, named Pilastrus of Messina in Sicily, stated in his will from January 29, 1299 that 820 white bezants belonging to him were in the possession of Stacius of Nephin (a locality in former Latin Syria) and that a certain person owed him 50 white bezants from camlets held by the same person. The above-mentioned Nicolao de Raynaldo had commercial dealings in Romania, as the Aegean area was called, and he left two sums in his will to Greeks: 80 white bezants to Oberto Tartaro Gasmulo, whose name indicates mixed Latin and Greek parentage, and four bezants to the Greek spice merchant Nicola (Balard, 1983, no. 96).

Bernard Zotardus, a Genoese merchant and resident of Famagusta who made a will on December 26, 1300, bequeathed five white bezants to Lady Pascha of Tyre, the second largest port city of the former Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. He also bequeathed 300 white bezants to Simon Manssor, a White Genoese man who also happened to be one of his executors. The Genoese pawn-broker Gerardo de Sancto Andrea left 200 white bezants in his will from April 14, 1301 to his mistress Domenze, as well as one-third of his investment in a ship that he owned one-third of. In addition, he left her a bed with its bedding and 50 white bezants to Maria, who was Domenze’s sister. Given that few Latin women emigrated to the eastern Mediterranean lands, this mistress and her sister were probably non-Latins, although their ethnic and religious antecedents are unspecified (Polonio, 1982, nos. 176, 349; Ashtor, 1983, pp. 407–408). The Venetian testator Iohannes de Culcho instructed his executors in his will from August 30, 1300 to repay eight white bezants to James of Butrun, who originated from a coastal town in former Latin Syria. He had given James a silver studded belt by way of security for money owed. Pagano de Fellino from Piacenza in Italy, in his will dated August 16, 1301, included among his debtors the Jew named Vita, to whom he had lent 16 white bezants. The

Genoese testator Nicola de Camenzana bequeathed 100 white bezants to his Greek servant, a woman named Eleni, in his will from August 19, 1301 and an additional 55 white bezants to two Greek women named Euphemia and Maria (Balard et al., no. 244; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51).

Wills drawn up by women are uncommon in the notarial deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto, and it is noteworthy that the Genoese lady Piacenza, in her will dated August 20, 1301, bequeathed five bezants to a priest named Dimitri of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul. Despite the Greek name of this priest, it is likelier that he belonged to one of the Eastern denominations of Christianity, whose members were numerous in Famagusta. This monastery was perhaps attached to the homonymous Syrian church that is probably Nestorian. The present church seems to have been constructed in the mid-14th century under King Peter I or a little earlier, under his father King Hugh IV, but the church recorded in 1301 might be a precursor of it. The will of Lady Ioria of Acre, a resident and female burghess of Famagusta and the wife of Peter Bellotus, was drawn up on August 8, 1301 and provided a bequest of 20 white bezants to Peter of Tripoli, who clearly originated from former Latin Syria and was described as a servant of hers. Nicola de Branducio bequeathed six Byzantine *hyperpera* and a blue piece of cloth to his female servant Eudochia, a person of Greek origin from Constantinople, in his will dated January 13, 1302. He mentioned a debt in golden Byzantine *hyperpera* in the same will, an indication that he had business interests in the Aegean area (Pavoni, 1982, nos. 38, 71; 1987, no. 33; Bacci, 2014, pp. 227–232).

Western merchants crossed geographical, if not confessional boundaries in the way they made bequests to Latin religious foundations, both within and outside of Cyprus in which they had chosen to be buried. Many of them stated their wish to be buried in the church of St. Michael outside Famagusta, which was particularly favored for burial among those originating from Latin Syria (Balard et al., 2012, no. 189; 1983, nos. 13, 48, 121; Polonio, 1982, nos. 165, 349, 351, 415; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 12, 38, 51, 71, 126, 1987, nos. 32–33, 185; Jacoby, 2014, p. 55). Sometimes they chose the church of St. Nicholas, the forerunner of the more famous cathedral that began to be built shortly after 1301 (Balard et al., 2012, nos. 198, 244; Balard, 1983, nos. 24, 29, 96, 116, 126; Polonio, 1982, nos. 20, 176, 366, 418; Pavoni, 1982, no. 51; Edbury, 1999a, p. XVI 342). Others declared their desire to be buried in churches belonging to the religious and—in particular—mendicant orders, such as the church of the Franciscans in Famagusta (Balard et al., 2012, no. 187; Balard, 1983, no. 87, 1984, no. 60; Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 23; Pavoni, 1982, no. 46, 1987, nos. 33 and 281). The church of the Dominicans likewise attracted requests for burial (Balard et al., 2012, no. 224; Polonio, 1982, nos. 22, 145; Pavoni, 1987, nos. 33, 61;

Balard, 1984, no. 19). All of these merchants bequeathed sums of money to cover their funeral expenses and sometimes for masses to be said in their memory. Some Latin merchants, however, opted for a burial outside of Cyprus. The Genoese merchant Nicola de Balneo stated on December 27, 1296 his wish to be buried either in the cathedral of St. Nicholas of Famagusta or, were he to die in Laiazzo, in the Genoese church there dedicated to St. Lawrence, the patron saint of Genoa. Describing himself as a resident of Laiazzo in his will, he was clearly uncertain as to where he might die (Balard, 1983, no. 24; Epstein, 1996, pp. 13, 35, 38).

Some Latin merchants opted for burial, if possible, in their places of origin. The Genoese merchant Gabriel de Albaro stated in his will from September 9, 1300 that were he to die in Genoa he was to be buried in the church of San Donato, and in a Franciscan church if outside of Genoa. Besides leaving funds for his funeral expenses, he bequeathed money for the construction of a church of the Augustinian friars of Genoa and of a Carmelite church dedicated to Our Lady. Bernard Faxit of Narbonne was especially generous in his bequests to Latin churches and other institutions in Cyprus and Narbonne. In his will dated December 5, 1300, he bequeathed sums to the cathedrals of St. Nicholas in Famagusta and the Holy Wisdom in Nicosia, the churches and the hospital of the Flanci in Famagusta—an obscure ecclesiastical order with both male and female members—and to the royal hospital of St. Julian in Nicosia. He made bequests to churches in his native Narbonne, such as those dedicated to St. Paul, Our Lady of Morgia, and St. Just, and to the hospital for the poor there (Balard et al., 2012, no. 253; Polonio, 1982, no. 145). The Genoese merchant Gerardo de Sancto Andrea, who chose to be buried at the church of St. Michael outside Famagusta, nonetheless made a bequest of ten white bezants in his will from April 14, 1301 for the construction of a church of St. Lawrence in Famagusta by the Genoese community (Polonio, 1982, no. 349). Clearly, the Genoese felt the need for a church dedicated to their patron saint in Famagusta as well as in Laiazzo, the main port of Cilician Armenia.

Latin lay institutions and their members were beneficiaries in merchants' wills. In his will from December 31, 1300, the Genoese merchant Ianuinus de Murta bequeathed sums to the toll collectors and servants of the Genoese commune in Famagusta, as well as to Antonio, a servant of the castellan of Famagusta. The Genoese Nicola de Camenzana bequeathed a sum to the toll collectors and servants of the Genoese commune in Famagusta in his will dated August 19, 1301, as did the White Genoese man Tommaso of Jubail in his will from April 2, 1299 (Polonio, 1982, no. 165; Pavoni, 1982, no. 51; Balard, 1983, no. 121). Understandably, various merchants bequeathed sums of money towards the

construction of the port area of Genoa, a project which commenced in 1260 and which benefited them directly (Polonio, 1982, nos. 280, 351, 366, 415, 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 12, 51, 71, 126, 1987, nos. 32, 61, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 82; Epstein, 1996, pp. 148–149). The Genoese merchant Ansaldo de Sexto, also a burgess of Famagusta, bequeathed in his will from April 26, 1302 two white bezants to the workshop of St. Anthony in Famagusta, which may have been attached to the hospital of the same name belonging to the Order of St. Anthony of Vienne. The abovementioned tavern-keeper Pietro de Sancto Donato bequeathed four bezants to the otherwise unknown church of Our Lady of Conflaria in Famagusta and another six to the great altar of the cathedral of St. Nicholas in his will from March 4, 1307. In this instance St. Nicholas must refer to the new cathedral under construction. He also left 2.5 bezants to the church of St. George attached to the Genoese loggia in Famagusta, which was to receive oil in the value of half a bezant on the various feast days (Pavoni, 1987, no. 185; Balard, 1984, no. 82; Coureas, 1997, pp. 243–245).

The Latin merchants and others living in Famagusta frequently made bequests to individuals attached to Latin institutions, chiefly clergymen but also lay officials, often by way of repaying debts. On October 15, 1296 the Franciscan friar Giacomo of Tripoli, who either originated from Syria or had served there prior to the fall of Acre and Tyre in 1291, confirmed receipt of 50 white bezants bequeathed to him by the Genoese executors of the late Leonardo di Bonigracia on the orders of Baliano, the Genoese consul of Famagusta. A woman named Giacomina, daughter of the late Anselm de Silvano, bequeathed 50 white bezants on February 3, 1297 to the master chaplain of the cathedral of St. Nicholas, where she had chosen to be buried. Andriolo de Rappalo, a toll collector of the Genoese commune in the capital, Nicosia, bequeathed 72 white bezants to a priest for the celebration of masses in his memory for six months, and 70 white bezants to Paschal de Mari, the Genoese consul of Cyprus, to repay a debt. Pietro de Marffi, a Genoese silk trader who made a will on September 22, 1300, bequeathed three *unciae*, a Sicilian currency, to the fleet of the famous Sicilian admiral, Roger de Lauria. He bequeathed other sums in this currency and clearly had interests in Sicily as well as Cyprus (Balard, 1983, nos. 5, 29; Polonio, 1982, no. 22; Abulafia, 1997, pp. 86–87). Some merchants bequeathed sums to the Franciscan friars established in Cyprus (Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 253; Polonio, 1982, nos. 145, 165; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51, 1987, nos. 185, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 82). Likewise, sums were bequeathed to the Dominican friars, often by individuals who also made bequests to Franciscan friars (Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 224, 253; Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 145, 165; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51, 1987, nos. 185, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 82). In addition, bequests were made to the chaplains

and other clergy of the cathedral churches of St. Nicholas in Famagusta and the Holy Wisdom in Nicosia, as well as to priests for the singing of masses (Balard, 1983, nos. 87, 116; Balard et al., 2012, no. 198; Polonio, 1982, nos. 22, 145, 176, 366; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51, 1987, nos. 61, 185).

Some of these bequests to Latin religious, medicant, and monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church, are out of the ordinary. The bequests of Bernard Faxit, the merchant from Narbonne mentioned above, to Latin clergy in both Cyprus and Narbonne are a vivid example of geographical mobility, and of how boundaries were crossed after death as well as in life. On Cyprus he made bequests to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Famagusta and Nicosia, the master chaplain of the cathedral of St. Nicholas, the Carmelites, the Poor Clares, and the Benedictine nuns of Nicosia. In Narbonne he bequeathed sums to the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Augustinian nuns, the Repentitans of the Benedictine Order, and the female recluses of the hospital of the poor. The merchants Pagano de Fellino bequeathed sums in his will from August 15, 1301 to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Famagusta as many others did, but he also left 100 white bezants for the needs of the eremitical clergy, the hospitals, and the religious people of his native Piacenza. Another bequest to Benedictine nuns, this time the Carpitanae of Antioch, was made on April 26, 1302 by the Genoese merchant and burgess of Famagusta Ansaldo de Sexto, who left them three white bezants (Polonio, 1982, no. 145; Pavoni, 1982, no. 46, 1987, no. 185).

Slaves belonging to Latins on Cyprus were invariably non-Latins. They were mostly of Greek origin and from the Aegean area in the period under discussion and some of them were granted freedom and sums of money in their masters' wills. The Genoese resident of Famagusta Piero Piloso—probably a baker by profession, given that among his effects were three tables for grinding grain—mentions one male and two female slaves in his will dated October 28, 1296. Their names indicate Greek origin and one of the females, named Cali, was to be granted her freedom so long as she continued to serve his wife and children for two years after his death (Balard, 1983, no. 13). The above-mentioned Giacoma manumitted her slave, Anna, described as a Greek from the Aegean area, in an act immediately following her will of February 3, 1297. Lucheto de Clavaro, a resident of Nicosia, manumitted his slave Maria in his will, dated December 6, 1297, but only after she had served his wife and children for four years after his death (Balard, 1983, nos. 29–30, 87). Slaves could acquire property as well as freedom. In his will from December 21, 1300, Genoese resident and burgess of Famagusta, Ianuinus Murta, granted a former slave of his, named Mariona, and her daughter a small house he owned in Famagusta, abutting his own house on one side and that of Ugo de Diano on the other.



He also bequeathed 50 bezants each to Mariona and her daughter, and another 50 bezants to a female slave of his, named Anayme. Furthermore, he granted a small house he owned in Famagusta to the daughter of his former slave, Catalina, as well as a bed with its furnishings. In her will dated August 20, 1301, Piacenza—the wife of the Genoese man Ugeto Flexonus—granted freedom (following her death) to her Greek slave, Agnes, as well as 30 white bezants, a mattress, a cushion, and a long desk (Polonio, 1982, no. 165, 1987, no. 71). On other occasions, slaves were freed following the marriage of their owners' children. Bernard Zotardus stipulated in his will of December 26, 1300 that his female slave, Eleni, would gain her freedom when his daughter married, and that his male slave, Vasilios, would gain his freedom when his son married. Both slaves would be freed if the children they served died without marrying. The Genoese man Maestro Ruggero, who made a will on April 16, 1301, decreed that his slave, Cali, would serve his daughter for one year following the latter's marriage, whereupon she would be freed (Polonio, 1982, nos. 176, 351).

Some slaves were Muslim, while for others no place of origin was specified. The Genoese man Pietro, son of the late Oberto of Laiazzo, freed a Muslim slave named Mubarak after his own death in his will dated June 19, 1301. Less fortunate was the female Muslim slave Fatima, whom the Genoese man Ansaldo de Sexto simply bequeathed to his wife Isabella after his death according to his will from April 26, 1302. An interesting case is that of another slave named Fatima, of Turkish origin. Her Genoese owner, Giacomo Porcus de Branducio, left her 15 white bezants in his will from August 8, 1302, decreeing that after his death she was to become a Christian and thereby gain her freedom (Polonio, 1982, no. 351; Pavoni, 1987, nos. 185, 281). The above-mentioned Pagano de Fellino freed a slave in his will from August 15, 1301 without giving the slave's name, although he stipulated that this slave was to serve the executor of his will for three years after his owner's death. Slaves residing outside of Cyprus could also gain their freedom and inherit goods in wills written on the island. Iodinus Gambalus di Camogli made a will on February 3, 1302 in which he decreed that his female slave Francheschina in the Aegean area was to be freed after his death and should be given a cushion and a carpet. Some slaves seem to have practiced commerce prior to being freed. Genoese resident and burgess of Famagusta, Pietro Alenus, who freed his slave, Anna, following his death according to his undated will from 1304 or 1305 stipulated that when freed she would have full powers to buy, sell, and so forth without the impediment of servitude (Pavoni, 1982, no. 46, 1987, no. 61; Balard, 1984, no. 19).

Latins taken prisoner in war or captured by pirates crossed the boundary from freedom to servitude. Their plight excited the compassion of few

Latin testators in Famagusta, and only two of the wills drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto make provision for them. In his will dated April 14, 1301, Gerardo de Sancto Andrea left 100 white bezants to Sevaste, the daughter of a certain Iacobinus, for the redemption of the same Iacobinus, who was being held in “Sataira,” the name perhaps being a garbled version of Satalia, a port in southwestern Turkey not far from Cyprus. The Genoese man Nicola de Camezana, in his will dated August 19, 1301, bequeathed ten bezants for poor imprisoned people or for the redemption of Christian slaves in Muslim lands (Polonio, 1982, no. 349; Pavoni, 1982, no. 51). The ransoming of Christian captives from the Muslims was an accepted practice in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whence many inhabitants of early 14th-century Famagusta originated, with mediators negotiating their release in return for an agreed price, although this price was not necessarily what was eventually paid. The Roman Catholic Church also encouraged the redemption of Latin Christians who were taken captive. The Trinitarian Order, founded in France in 1198 by John of Matha, made the ransoming of captives its particular mission, enjoying strong papal support from the time of Pope Innocent III onwards. It was present in the Latin East, although its emphasis on ransoming the poor rather than wealthy nobles who could ransom themselves means that their activity in this region is poorly documented. The overall limited interest in ransoming captives shown in the deeds of Sambuceto is reflected on the Latin mainland, where Saliba, a wealthy Latin Christian burgess from Acre, left the Trinitarians only three bezants in his will of 1264, while leaving the Hospitaller Order, of which he was admittedly a *confrater*, 475 bezants (Friedman, 2002, pp. 187–200; Riley-Smith, 2002, pp. 79–80).

The Latin merchants and other testators mention various material objects in their wills. Some of these, notably textiles, weapons, and silverware, are of Western European origin, while others, such as carpets, silks, and items of jewelry, are of Eastern or Cypriot provenance. There are numerous references in the various wills to articles of clothing, bedding, and other domestic items and lengths or types of cloth. The clothing includes overcoats, cloaks, tunics, shirts, trousers, caps, and leggings. The bedding and other domestic items include mattresses, cushions, covers, tablecloths, towels, and napkins. The lengths or types of cloth include linens, bedsheets, Lombard and Genoese cloths, canvas cloths, coarse cloths, striped coarse cloths, green cloths, and Châlons cloth. In one will, shoes were bequeathed (Balard, 1983, no. 126; Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 224; Polonio, 1982, nos. 21–23, 26, 135, 275, 351, 415, 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 24, 46, 51, 71, 1987, nos. 33, 185). Articles fashioned from silver and boxes are also mentioned frequently. These articles include silver cups, goblets, boxes from Pisa, Venice, and Genoa, belts with silver filigree, silver

spoons, a small silver brazier, a small Genoese knife with silver workmanship, a paternoster set fashioned from silver and coral, a silver mirror, and silver spouts (Balard, 1983, nos. 24, 96, 1984, no. 19; Balard et al., 2012, no. 189; Polonio, 1982, nos. 135, 176, 275, 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 51, 71, 1987, no. 185). The weapons mentioned in the wills include cuirasses, a Genoese crossbow with crossbow bolts and quivers, single arrows, shields, a lined Pisan helmet, a Florentine sword, and saddles (Balard, 1983, no. 24; Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 224; Polonio, 1982, no. 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51). Silks, camlets, and articles of clothing fashioned from these materials appear in the merchants' wills, as does one carpet (Balard, 1983, no. 96; Balard et al., 2012, no. 189; Polonio, 1982, no. 351; Pavoni, 1982, no. 71, 1987, nos. 33, 185). Both weapons and silks and camlets appear in wills far less often than cloths, items of clothing, bedding, boxes, and silverware—either because of their costliness or because the Latin merchants and others making wills had less need or desire for such objects. The same applies for items made of gold and encrusted with gems, including rings, buckles, one Tatar knife, and one bodice. The gems mentioned by type were mainly pearls, with sapphires being mentioned once, garnets once, and amber twice (Balard, 1983, no. 24; Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 135; Pavoni, 1982, no. 71, 1987, no. 185).

The material objects mentioned in the wills reflect the movement of goods between Western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean as well as the function of Cyprus as an important link in this carrying trade. The pearls on Cyprus arrived there from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, silks came from Persia and perhaps from central Italy, while coral was imported by the Genoese to Cyprus and to the Mamluk lands, for it was farmed in parts of the western Mediterranean, such as Marsa-e-Kharaz and Alghero in Sardinia. Precious stones, such as sapphires and garnets originating from India, were bought by Western merchants in Alexandria, though amber originated from the Baltic Sea and so was brought to Cyprus by Western merchants who had acquired it by purchase or trade with that area (Ashtor, 1983, pp. 64, 68, 164, 180, 184, 482–483). Silver and some gold were to be found in Asia Minor, near Cyprus. Nevertheless, the articles possessed by Western merchants in Cyprus probably originated from Europe. Western merchants used silver bars originating from Spain—where silver was mined—for commercial transactions in Muslim markets, and gold was imported to Egypt from the West (Fleet, 1999, p. 15; Stanchev, 2014, pp. 18, 70, 185; Ashtor, 1983, pp. 26–28, 35–36, 68, 344, 349). The weapons mentioned in the wills were of Western manufacture, hence the mention of weapons originating from Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. On the other hand, camlets were a Cypriot product, for the island exported camlets to Western Europe, Mamluk Syria, and Egypt and

the Black Sea region from the early 14th century onwards (Jacoby, 2012, pp. 15–42). Most of the textiles and clothing mentioned in the wills originated in Western Europe, with specific references to Châlons and Lombard cloths and articles of clothing or bedding that came from Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, including the coarse white and striped cloths and buckrams that were occasionally mentioned. Sometimes Cyprus was simply a transit station for such cloths, large quantities of which were exported to Turkey, Syria, and Egypt via the island, as the volume of cloths arriving there was too great for local demand. Items mentioned less frequently, such as “Tatar style” saddles, probably originated from Turkey, as did the one carpet mentioned in a will (Ashtor, 1983, p. 40; Fleet, 1999, p. 97).

Regarding specie, the wills of the Latin merchants and others refer mostly to the white bezant, the standard money of account on Lusignan Cyprus. Other currencies are also mentioned, however, indicating the testators’ commercial mobility and the trading relations they had with countries to the east and west of Cyprus. The merchant Nicola de Balneo, a resident of Laiazzo in Cilician Armenia, listed people who owed him various sums of money and those to whom he owed money in his will from December 27, 1296. Only one debt and one credit are recorded in white bezants, while the remaining five debts and six credits were all recorded in Armenian *daremi*. The testator Simon of Acre, a refugee from Latin Syria living in Famagusta, also recorded the value of a consignment of wine due to him in Armenian *daremi* in his will from December 28, 1296. The testator Pilastrus of Messina recorded the sums owed to him in his will dated January 29, 1299 in white bezants, and the sums he had received *in commendam* from various parties in Sicilian *unciae* and *tarini*, because even though he was based in Cyprus he had formerly used creditors based in Sicily to finance some of his commercial ventures. The Genoese Giacomino Picaluga, in his will dated April 14, 1299, made bequests to churches and people in Genoa in Genoese *solidi* and *libri* (Balard, 1983, nos. 24–25, 96, 126). Giordano de Naulo, moreover, recorded in his will from September 6, 1301 a debt due to him in Sicilian *carlini* (Pavoni, no. 126). Other currencies appearing in these wills, by way of debts, credits, and simple bequests, were the gold *hyperpera* of Romania (the Aegean area encompassing former Byzantine territories), silver *tournois*, and the *tournois* of Tripoli (Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 22, 349, 415, 418; Pavoni, nos. 33, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 60). All of the currencies mentioned were from the eastern and central Mediterranean lands with which Latin merchants based in Cyprus had trading relations or had once been residents of.

In most instances, the executors of the wills drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto for Latin merchants and others mention Latin executors, as one would expect. Few Latins would appoint non-Latins to a position of

such trust, executing their will after their death. Nevertheless, some non-Latin executors were appointed, although not always by Latin testators. Thomas of Jubail, a White Genoese man originating from former Latin Syria, appointed Salvus and Raymond of Jubail as his executors in the will he prepared on April 2, 1299, but these were fellow White Genoese men from the same city. Bernard Zotardus, a Genoese resident of Famagusta, appointed three executors in the will he drew up on December 26, 1300, one of whom—Simon Mansour—was clearly of Syrian extraction and probably White Genoese, the other two being Latins (Balard, 1983, no. 121; Polonio, 1982, no. 176). Isabella of Antioch, the widow of Salvus of Antioch, drew up a will on August 3, 1300 and appointed as her two executors Iohannes Crioti of Limassol and Bolos of Butrun, a coastal town in former Latin Syria. The first appears to have been ethnically Greek, and the second White Genoese. However, Antioch in northern Syria had a large Greek population, and Isabella and her late husband might have been Greeks from Antioch or descendants of such Greeks, since Antioch fell to the Mamluk sultan Baybars in 1268 (Balard et al., 2012, no. 198; Mayer, 1990, p. 157). Overall, Latins appointed fellow Latins and usually fellow citizens as executors of their wills.

Witnesses to a will had less vital responsibilities than those executing it, and so Latins were more willing to include non-Latin witnesses in their final testaments, although such witnesses were sometimes also appointed by non-Latin testators. One must bear in mind, moreover, that witnesses originating from Latin Syria and coming to Famagusta as refugees were not necessarily always Syrian Christians; some were Latin Christians who had been born in Syria. Pietro Pilosus, a Genoese resident of Famagusta, included among those witnessing his will from October 28, 1296 a certain Abraynus, the scribe of the viscount and president of the Court of Burgesses in Famagusta. This witness's name indicates Syrian extraction, and he appears again as a witness in an act dated August 7, 1301, though on this occasion as a juror of the same court. Clearly, he was a Syrian and probably a White Genoese man of some standing (Balard, 1983, no. 13; Pavoni, 1982, no. 36; Edbury, 1999b, p. XVII 90). The above-mentioned Thomas of Jubail included among those witnessing his will from April 2, 1299 two fellow citizens, George of Jubail and Damian, son of Raymond of Jubail, Raymond having been appointed one of the two executors. The Genoese Cesaries from Sagona, a town on the Ligurian littoral, appointed two witnesses from Tripoli among those witnessing his will from October 1, 1300. All of his witnesses are recorded as being Genoese, and whether the two from Tripoli were White Genoese or simply Italian Genoese is uncertain. The Genoese resident of Famagusta Bernard Zotardus appointed three people from Tripoli to witness his will as well as Manserinus the son of

Simon Mansour, clearly someone of Syrian extraction; as stated above, Simon Mansour was one of his executors. The Genoese Pietro, son of the late Oberto from Laiazzo, also appointed Michael of Sidon as one of those witnessing his will dated June 19, 1301. He was either a White Genoese or a Latin originating from Tripoli (Balard, 1983, no. 121; Polonio, 1982, nos. 26, 176, 418).

Three testatrices drawing up wills in Famagusta appointed witnesses from former Latin Syria who were ethnic Syrians or Latins originating from Syria. Ioria from Acre, a resident and burghess of Famagusta who made a will on August 8, 1301, appointed the draper William of Tripoli and the cooper Domenzonus of Acre among the witnesses to her will. Piacenza, the widow of the Genoese Ugeto Flexoni, appointed Nicholas of Beirut and Raymond of Margat among those witnessing her will dated August 20, 1301, while the above-mentioned Isabella of Antioch appointed Marchus of Acre and Thomas of Tripoli among the witnesses to her will (Pavoni, 1982, nos. 38, 71; Balard et al., 2012, no. 198). In his will dated July 25, 1300, Oberto of Ventimiglia, a town on the Ligurian coastline, who was the former usher of the Genoese commune in Famagusta, appointed among those witnessing his will a certain Abraynus, who was the guard of the Genoese loggia, possibly identical to the Abraynus mentioned above and certainly an ethnic Syrian. The Pisan Sergio de Fabro, who made a will on August 27, 1300 appointed three people from Acre—George, James, and Maceus—among those witnessing it. Nicola de Branducio, who made his will on January 13, 1302, included among the witnesses two people from Acre, Marchus and Benvenuto, while Ansaldo de Sexto, a prominent Genoese burghess of Famagusta, appointed Liacius of Tyre and Iohannes, a blacksmith from Tripoli, among those witnessing his will, dated April 26, 1302. More unusual than any of the above instances was the will of Iodinus Gambalus de Camogli, which was drawn up on February 3, 1302. He had commercial dealings and property in Romania, including a female slave, and among his witnesses was George of Constantinople, although from his name it is uncertain whether he was a Greek or a Latin (Balard et al., 2012 nos. 189, 224; Pavoni, 1987, nos. 33, 61, 185).

Overall, the Latin merchants and others whose wills were drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto constituted a society which was highly mobile geographically and which culturally incorporated non-Latin elements, slaves of Greek or Muslim origin, silks and precious stones originating from the East, and carpets or saddles of Turkish provenance. In their wills they freed slaves, although not always unconditionally, made donations to non-Latin individuals and, albeit less frequently, to non-Latin churches. The material objects they bequeathed, though—mainly textiles, silverware, and weaponry—were predominantly Western in origin. All of them

appointed Latin executors, with very few exceptions, and for the most part they also appointed Latins to witness their wills. The Latin merchants on early 14th-century Cyprus did cross cultural boundaries, but some boundaries were crossed more easily than others.

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