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**Hélie de Chambarlhac, Brother  
of the Archbishop of Nicosia,  
Longtime Absentee Bishop of  
Limassol (1352–1357) and Paphos  
(1357–1377), Elect of Famagusta  
(1365), and *Procurator Regis*  
in Avignon<sup>1\*</sup>**

Hélie de Chambarlhac, brat arcybiskupa  
Nikozji, długoletni nieobecny biskup  
Limassol (1352–1357) i Pafos (1357–1377),  
elekt Famagusty (1365) i *Procurator Regis*  
w Awinionie

**Abstrakt**

Niniejszy artykuł jest jedną z kilku prac składających się na serię szczegółowych biografii biskupów Pafos w okresie pontyfikatu awiniońskiego. Na

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1 \* I thank Peter Edbury and, especially, Nicholas Coureas for their insightful comments. This article is mostly based on the full text of papal letters from the manuscripts the Vatican, but published summaries are cited where they apply.

pierwszy rzut oka życie Héliego de Chambarlhac wydaje się być zwykłym odzwierciedleniem nepotyzmu, pluralizmu i absencji Kościoła zachodniego w ogóle, a zwłaszcza duchowieństwa łacińskiego na frankijskim Cyprze w XIV wieku. Protegowany kardynałów i brat arcybiskupa, pomimo pozornego braku wyższego wykształcenia, Périgordin Hélié otrzymał liczne beneficja i stanowiska, których kulminacją było ćwierć wieku jako w dużej mierze nieobecny biskup, najpierw Limassol, a następnie Pafos. Istnieją jednak dowody na to, że miał duże doświadczenie w dyplomacji i administracji pod rządami swojego brata Filipa de Chambarlhac. W związku z tym dokładna analiza dokumentów papieskich ujawniła, że długa nieobecność Héliego na Cyprze wynikała z jego dwudziestoletniej służby jako stałego agenta królewskiego w kurii papieskiej, w czasie, gdy inne państwa również ustanawiały stałych ambasadorów w Awinionie.

**Słowa klucze:** Cypr Franków, papieństwo awiniońskie, rezydujący agenci królewscy, absencja, Périgord

### Abstract

This paper is one of a series of detailed biographies of the bishops of Paphos during the Avignon papacy. At first glance, the life of Hélié de Chambarlhac seems to be a mere reflection of the nepotism, pluralism, and absenteeism of the Western Church in general and of the Latin clergy on Frankish Cyprus in particular during the fourteenth century. Protégé of cardinals and brother of an archbishop, despite his apparent lack of higher education, the Périgordin Hélié received numerous benefices and positions, culminating in a quarter century as largely absentee bishop, first of Limassol and then of Paphos. Yet there is evidence that he had extensive early experience in diplomacy and administration under his brother Philippe. Accordingly, a careful examination of papal letters reveals that Hélié's long absence from Cyprus is due to his two decades of service as permanent royal agent at the papal curia, at a time when the larger kingdoms were also establishing fixed ambassadors in Avignon.

**Keywords:** Frankish Cyprus, Avignon papacy, resident royal agents, absenteeism, Périgord

This is the third article in a series on the Latin bishops of Paphos during the Avignon papacy.<sup>2</sup> Hélié de Chambarlhac was the longest serv-

2 Chris Schabel, "Géraud de Veyrines, Bishop of Paphos, and the Defense of the Kingdom of Armenia in the 1320s," *Perspectives on Culture* XXX/III (2020): 81–103, and Chris Schabel, "Aimery de Nabinaud, OFM (†1326), Counsellor of Henry II, Bishop of Paphos, Papal Diplomat between Cyprus and Armenia, and Debtor," *Perspectives on*

ing of such bishops in the history of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus (1191–1489), reigning just over two decades, outlasting his predecessor, Eudes de Cauquelines, by a couple of months, although Hélie also had connections to the other three sees of Cyprus: he had served as bishop of Limassol for a few years, was elected bishop of Famagusta by the chapter of the cathedral, and his brother Philippe was archbishop of Nicosia from 1342 to 1360. Hélie's comparatively low profile in the sources might lead one to think that he did not play the type of role in papal or royal administration that had been assigned to the four previous bishops of Paphos during the Avignon papacy: James More (1309–1321/22), Aimery de Nabinaud (1322–1326), Géraud de Veyrines (1326–1335/36, followed by the election and quick death of Philippe Aleman), and Eudes de Cauquelines (1337–1356/57). Nevertheless, there are enough clues for us to suggest that in fact Hélie long acted as an agent or *procurator regis* of Kings Hugh IV and Peter I at the papal curia in Avignon, a development parallel to what happened with other kingdoms at the time. The notorious absenteeism of members of the Latin clergy of Cyprus was thus not always detrimental to local affairs.

## Origins and Early Ecclesiastical Career

Hélie de Chambarlhac was one of the many clerics from the diocese of Périgueux who came to Cyprus during the Avignon papacy, starting with the Franciscan Aimery de Nabinaud, the first of several members of the Nabinaud family to arrive.<sup>3</sup> Although local archives of the Périgord may tell us more about him, the first papal mention of his name comes in a letter of Pope John XXII dated 17 April 1328 in which Hélie was given the parish church of La Douze (*Ladoza*) in the diocese of Périgueux, just southeast of the city, following the resignation of the incumbent through his agent at the Apostolic See. According to the letter, Hélie already possessed the position of prior of the secular church of Sablonnières in that

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*Culture* XLII/III (2023): 291–316; see also Jean Richard, “Un évêque de Paphos nonce du pape au XIVe siècle: Eudes de Cauquelines,” in: *Nea Paphos. Fondation et développement urbanistique d'une ville chypriote de l'antiquité à nos jours*, ed. Claire Balandier (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2016), 349–354.

3 Guillaume Salles, “L'Église de Chypre... colonie périgordine au XIVe siècle,” *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord* CXXXIV (2007): 243–268, esp. 256–259 on Hélie; Schabel, “Aimery de Nabinaud,” 293–294 and 312–314.

diocese, just south of the city.<sup>4</sup> Remarkably, Hélié received the position on the recommendation of the pope's nephew, Arnaud de Via, cardinal-deacon of San Eustacio, who, like his uncle, was from the region.<sup>5</sup> With such backing, it is doubtful that Hélié had to wait much past the minimum age to receive such posts, so we can estimate that he was born not long before April 1304. There is no mention of his knowledge of letters or any degrees, so we can assume that Hélié had no university education, unlike many of his future colleagues in the Cypriot church.

When next mentioned in papal correspondence fifteen years later, in a letter of Clement VI of 20 March 1343, Hélié still possessed the priory of Sablonnières, but he also held the parish church of Savignac just northeast of Périgueux.<sup>6</sup> Since the parish church of La Douze is not mentioned, he must have exchanged his parishes in the intervening decade and a half, probably in the reign of Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342), who did not interfere as often in such business as his did predecessor and successor. As we shall see, Hélié would trade both benefices in 1347. In the letter of 1343 the pope granted Hélié a canonry in Nicosia Cathedral with the expectancy of a prebend and a dignity, although if and when he received his prebend and dignity he would have to relinquish the parish church of Savignac, but he could keep the priory of Sablonnières.<sup>7</sup>

Clement VI's grant was not out of the blue, of course, but was connected to the fact that Hélié's older brother, Philippe de Chambarlhac, had been appointed archbishop of Nicosia on 25 September 1342,<sup>8</sup> and the 1343 letter relates that "Philippe, asserting that you are his brother, humbly requested" the canonry for Hélié. The Chambarlhac family originated in Agonac, about 12 kilometers north of Périgueux.<sup>9</sup> Described as

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4 Jean XXII, *Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. Guillaume Mollat (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904–1947), no. 40915.

5 Salles, "L'Église de Chypre," 249.

6 *Bullarium Cyprium III: Lettres papales relatives à Chypre 1316–1378*, eds. Charles Perrat and Jean Richard with Christopher Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2012), no. t-30.

7 Contrary to the summary in *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-20.

8 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-21.

9 Guillaume Salles, "«Je ne craign pas que mal m'en vieigne». Jean de Chambrillac, chevalier périgordin," *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord CXXXVI* (2009): 37–64, at 38–40; not Agonec, *pace* Wipertus Hugo Rudt de Collenberg, "État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre avant le Grand Schisme d'après les Registres des Papes du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, temps modernes XCI* (1979): 197–332, at 252.

“maison de la plus ancienne chevalerie,”<sup>10</sup> the Chambarlhac family was rather prominent in the area and in the Church. For example, Gaumarus de Chambarlhac was canon of Périgueux in 1264 and a half century later Guy de Chambarlhac was noted as canon there on 15 July 1312.<sup>11</sup> Philippe shows up in papal correspondence on 20 June 1324, when he was a law professor given an expectancy of a benefice in the diocese of Périgueux and an expectant canonry in the cathedral. In late December of 1326 Philippe was given a canonry and prebend in Mende on the recommendation of Cardinal Arnaud and, more importantly, a canonry and prebend in St Peter’s Basilica in Rome. By late 1332 Philippe was addressed with the title of “Master,” presumably of canon law, and he was a papal chaplain. In September of 1332 he had also been given a canonry and prebend in Compostella.<sup>12</sup>

Philippe’s administrative responsibilities increased in 1333, when he was vice-rector of the patrimony of St Peter in Tuscany and papal nuncio. To supplement Philippe’s income, on 8 October of that year the archdeaconate of Ghent in the church of Tournai was added to his portfolio as well as an expectant canonry in the latter cathedral.<sup>13</sup> By early 1334, Philippe was rector of the patrimony of St Peter in Tuscany, in which capacity he was addressed numerous letters over the next couple of years until he was replaced in the late summer of 1335.<sup>14</sup> In early 1336, as papal nuncio, he was assigned by Pope Benedict XII to negotiate a peace accord in areas of Catalonia,<sup>15</sup> and then in northern France and England the fall of 1336 between King Philip VI of France and King Edward III of England.<sup>16</sup> The latter talks did not succeed, and Philippe was ordered to

10 Viton de Saint-Allais Nicolas, *Nobiliaire universel de France*, vol. 16, part 1 (Paris: de Moreau, 1874), 147, n. 1.

11 Urbain IV, *Les registres d’Urbain IV*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris: de Boccard, 1901–1906), no. 1049; Clement V, *Regestum Clementis papae V* (Rome: Ex Typographia Vaticana, 1885–1892), no. 8554.

12 Jean XXII, *Lettres communes*, ed. Mollat, nos. 19794–19795, 27391, 27396, and 58443; Jean XXII, *Lettres secrètes et curiales relatives à la France*, eds. Auguste Coulon and Suzanne Clémencet (Paris: de Boccard, 1900–1972), no. 5021.

13 Jean XXII, *Lettres communes*, ed. Mollat, nos. 60597, 60902, and 61667–61668.

14 Benoît XII, *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. Georges Daumet (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1899–1920), nos. 576 and 592.

15 Benoît XII, *Lettres closes et patentes intéressant les pays autres que la France*, eds. Jean-Marie Vidal and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1913–1950), nos. 835–839, 845, and 895)

16 Benoît XII, *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. Daumet, nos. 238, 241–242, and 244; Benoît XII, *Lettres closes et patentes intéressant les pays autres que la France*, eds. Vidal and Mollat, no. 1155.

return to Avignon in early 1337,<sup>17</sup> but he was rewarded with a canonry and prebend back home in Périgueux.<sup>18</sup> In the summer of 1337 Philippe was assigned another peace mission between Savoy and the Dauphiné, a task that continued into 1338.<sup>19</sup>

It was presumably because of his activities in the area that Pope Benedict appointed Philippe de Chamberlhac bishop of the wealthy diocese of Sion in present Switzerland on 22 May 1338.<sup>20</sup> Via local documents, we know a lot about Philippe's adventures as bishop of Sion until his transfer to Nicosia on 25 September 1342,<sup>21</sup> including his losing participation in a local war, defeated at the Battle of Lopen on 22 June 1339.<sup>22</sup> For our purposes, the important element is that these documents reveal that Philippe took his younger brother Hélié with him to Sion, appointing Hélié, rector of Savignac, one of his three vicars in spiritual and temporal affairs on 20 June 1338.<sup>23</sup> In the nearly 200 pages of documents surviving from Philippe's episcopate, Hélié is called Philippe's brother four times in May 1339 and appears in acts of 23 September 1338, 13 and 19 March 1339, 16–28 May 1339, and 26 January 1340, in which the earlier assignment of Philippe's vicars is repeated.<sup>24</sup>

Given what happened in Sion, it could very well be the case that Hélié de Chamberlhac had accompanied his brother on his various missions in Tuscany, Catalonia, England, and Savoy. If so, Hélié would have had experience at the highest levels of political and ecclesiastical affairs when his brother was given the lucrative post of archbishop of Nicosia. By the time of Philippe's transfer, clerics of Périgueux had another patron in

17 Benoît XII, *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. Daumet, nos. 264 and 270.

18 Benoît XII, *Lettres communes*, ed. Jean-Marie Vidal, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1903–1911), no. 4191)

19 Benoît XII, *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. Daumet, nos. 355, 357, and 402; Benoît XII, *Lettres communes*, ed. Vidal, nos. 5154 and 6354–6355.

20 Benoît XII, *Lettres communes*, ed. Vidal, no. 5273; *Taxae pro communibus servitiis ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis*, ed. Hermann Hoberg (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 108.

21 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-21.

22 Henri de Montégut-Lamorelie, "Philippe de Chamberlhac. Grand archidiacre de Gand, en Flandre, 1333–1338; évêque de Sion dans le Valais (Suisse), 22 mai 1338–1342; archevêque de Nicosie dans l'île de Chypre, 1344–1359 (?); archevêque de Bordeaux, 1361," *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord XXXIV* (1911): 186–192.

23 *Documents relatifs à l'histoire du Vallais. Tome IV (1331–1350)*, ed. Jean Gremaud (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1880), 142.

24 *Documents relatifs à l'histoire du Vallais*, ed. Gremaud, 184 no. 1733; 197 and 200 no. 1741; 225–226 and 230–231 nos. 1758–1761; and 271 no. 1793.

the purple in Hélie Talleyrand, son of the count of Périgueux, who had become cardinal-priest of San Pietro in Vincoli on 25 May 1331 and later rose to cardinal-bishop of Albano on 4 November 1348.<sup>25</sup> In the 1343 letter granting Hélie de Chambarlhac the expectancy in Nicosia, he is described as a familiar of Cardinal Talleyrand. Since Philippe remained archbishop until his transfer to Bordeaux on 21 July 1360 and Talleyrand remained active until his death on 17 January 1364, there was plenty of time for Hélie to advance further with their support.

At some point before the summer of 1346 the position of treasurer in Nicosia Cathedral became vacant and Hélie was able to obtain the post on the basis of the papal letter of 1343. Hélie claimed to be unsure whether the position was a dignity and hence whether he could accept the job without giving up the parish church of Savignac as required, so he asked the pope for a solution. On 20 August 1346,<sup>26</sup> Pope Clement granted that, regardless of whether the position of treasurer was a dignity, Hélie could keep the parish church, along with the priory of Sablonnières, which together did not have an annual income exceeding 100 livres tournois. A few months later Hélie managed to obtain the canonical prebend in Nicosia of the late Antoine Marbre, and on 26 February 1347 the pope confirmed that he could keep the prebend and his benefices of Savignac and Sablonnières.<sup>27</sup> Five weeks later, Hélie traded his two benefices in the diocese of Périgueux for the benefice of Olivier de la Faye in Agonac in the same diocese, the hometown of the Chambarlhac family.<sup>28</sup> The papal letter specifies that the two resigned their benefices in Avignon into the hands of the new papal chamberlain Étienne Aldebrand, then bishop of Saint-Pons. We also learn that the benefice of Savignac actually consisted of two churches annexed together, Saint-Christophe and Saint-Martin, as did that of Agonac, Saint-Martin and Saint-Astier. Clement reiterated that Hélie could also keep his canonry, prebend, and office of treasurer in Nicosia.

Before he actually received these posts in Cyprus, however, there was no financial incentive for Hélie to be on the island. This may have been the case even after he obtained them, for on 21 May 1350 Pope Clement granted that Hélie could receive the incomes from his benefices while

25 Norman P. Zacour, *Talleyrand: The Cardinal of Périgord (1301-1364)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1960).

26 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-207, misdated 27 February; misdated 22-IX-1345 in Rudt de Collenberg, "État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre," 284.

27 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-315; misdated 29-III-1346 in Rudt de Collenberg, "État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre," 295.

28 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 173, ff. 330v-331r, no. 643.

absent for three years.<sup>29</sup> Although I have not yet found any earlier dispensation, the 21 May 1350 letter may have been a renewal of a dispensation granted in the spring of 1347 after Hélié received his Nicosia prebend. Whatever the case, it is doubtful that he took possession in person instead of via an agent, for it appears from his trade with Olivier de la Faye that Hélié was in Avignon in early 1347. Perhaps Hélié was then acting as his brother's liaison at the curia, or maybe he was unsure of his future, for by the summer of 1350 Hélié had also obtained a canonry and prebend back home in Saint-Front Cathedral in Périgueux. We learn this from a letter of Pope Clement dated 16 July 1350 in which he grants Hélié the important post of archdeacon of Nicosia, vacated after George Hominisdei's promotion to and consecration as bishop of Modon in Frankish Greece, on 4 November 1349 and 17 January 1350 respectively, while George himself was in Avignon.<sup>30</sup>

Interestingly, Clement wrote a second letter the same day, 16 July 1350, on the same topic, correcting the first.<sup>31</sup> In the first, Clement had listed Hélié's benefices as the post of treasurer of Nicosia, canonries and prebends in Nicosia and Périgueux Cathedrals, and the united parish "churches" of Saint-Martin and Saint-Astier in Agonac, stipulating that Hélié would have to give up the post of treasurer and the parish "church" once he became archdeacon of Nicosia. After the arenga the second letter, beginning "Today," the pope said that *nuper* (earlier that day?) he was shown Hélié's petition that stated that in his earlier supplication concerning the archdeaconate he had forgotten to ask to be allowed to retain his post as treasurer and the parish churches after becoming archdeacon, and hence the pope remarked that this clause was missing in the papal letter as well. The pope granted that he could keep the parish church but not the post as treasurer. The same day Clement wrote a third letter, this one to Bernard Anselm, cleric of Nîmes, conferring on him the post of treasurer of Nicosia that was anticipated to become vacant once

29 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-462.

30 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-473; Chris Schabel, "George Hominisdei (†1360/61), Itinerant Armenian in the Latin Church and Chaplain to the Ban of Bosnia, the Count of Korykos, and the Cardinal of Nicosia," in *L'Arménie et les Arméniens, entre Byzance et le Levant. Mélanges offerts à Gérard Dédéyan*, eds. Isabelle Augé, Marie-Anne Chevalier, Claude Mutařian, Isabelle Ortega 2 vols. (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2023), vol. 2, 247–263, at 255–256.

31 Not distinguished in *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. 473.



Hélie assumed the position of archdeacon, although even if Hélie died beforehand Bernard would become treasurer.<sup>32</sup>

Strangely, almost exactly a year later, on 12 July 1351, we find the same pope addressing the same Hélie still as treasurer of Nicosia, in an hitherto unknown letter granting that Hélie can give the post of notary to two qualified persons.<sup>33</sup> The letter is formulaic, and one could perhaps claim that the curia made a mistake, were it not for the fact that in a letter dated two months later, 8 September 1351, which moreover has been published in full, Pope Clement VI tells King Hugh IV of Cyprus that the latter's *procurator*, Hélie de Chambarlhac, treasurer of Nicosia, had delivered the royal gifts to the pope.<sup>34</sup> It is only in another previously unknown letter, dated 28 February 1352,<sup>35</sup> that we learn the reason: Hélie decided not to accept the post of archdeacon, a decision he was still maintaining a year and a half after the initial offer, so Clement instead gave the post to Philippe Jaumar, who in previously scholarship was known to have held the archdeaconate on 29 May 1358 and who had died by late 1361 when Pope Innocent gave the post to Thomas Foscarino on 21 December.<sup>36</sup>

It is not hard to guess why Hélie did not choose to become archdeacon of Nicosia: he was waiting for an even better position to open up. For a cleric hoping to rise in the ranks, the Black Death certainly was a boon that provided opportunity. Yet not every promotion was beneficial, since every change of position meant paying the annates to the papal camera for the new post and losing the income from the old post, so while gaining a new canonry was profitable, going from treasurer to archdeacon resulted in a short-term loss. In any case, Hélie knew he had the support not only of his brother, but also of the king and of Talleyrand, who had become the high-ranking cardinal-bishop of Albano in November 1348.<sup>37</sup> Whether or not King Hugh had sent Hélie to Avignon on business or he was already there, Hélie was a royal *procurator* at the curia and must have relayed to the curia the Cypriot business that resulted in several other letters: Clement recommended the new Patriarch Guillaume of Jerusalem to King Hugh; asked Hugh to allow Archbishop Philippe to

32 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-521; misdated 25-VII-1350 in Rudt de Collenberg, "État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre," 284.

33 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 209, f. 209v, no. 20.

34 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-620; Jean XXII, *Lettres closes, patents et curiales intéressant les pays autres que la France*, eds. Eugène Déprez and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: de Boccard, 1960–1961), no. 2495.

35 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 207, ff. 114v–115r, no. 83.

36 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-174 and u-282.

37 Zacour, *Talleyrand*.

come to the curia; thanked Hugh for releasing his son, the future King Peter I, from prison; told the master and convent of the Hospital that they did not have to observe the agreement between them, Venice, and King Hugh of Cyprus on the number of galleys that had to be maintained against the Turks, since the agreement had not been implemented; freed Hugh of the obligation to pay 10,000 florins for the defense of Smyrna, since the union against the Turks had not been realized; and ordered the archbishop and his suffragans to abstain until further notice from preaching the crusade against the Turks as previously ordered, because of the loss of soldiers to the plague.<sup>38</sup>

The letter of 28 February 1352 concerning Hélié's refusal of the post of archdeacon reveals that he was then called Cardinal Talleyrand's "familiaris," and indeed the new archdeacon, Philippe Jaumar, is even labelled the cardinal's "dilectus familiaris suus continuus commensalis." The extent of Talleyrand's patronage is indicated in a letter from a few days later, 9 March 1352,<sup>39</sup> granting a post in the diocese of Périgueux to a "chambrier et familier" of Talleyrand Roland de Chambarlhac – probably Hélié's cousin – who already possessed a canonry with prebend in Nicosia Cathedral since 4 May 1349.<sup>40</sup> Another probable cousin, Aymeri de Chambarlhac, had received a canonry and prebend in Nicosia even earlier, on 14 May 1347, when another Périgordian, Hélié Ortici (here *Urtici*), resigned the post he had received on 1 September 1343 to take up one in Saint-Front of Périgueux itself, although Hélié Ortici would return to Cypriot affairs later.<sup>41</sup>

An excellent opportunity eventually opened up for on Hélié 13 July 1351, when Bishop Francesco d'Arezzo of Limassol died. At first Pope Clement may have offered the post to Léger de Nabinaud, who has succeeded his brother Itier as bishop of Famagusta in 1348, since a papal letter dated 22 September is addressed to Léger as bishop of Limassol. Perhaps the chancery committed a simple error in recording the letter in the register, but if not, since the move from a populous Famagusta and its great cathedral to a Limassol in decline would not have been attractive, Léger refused the transfer, just as Hélié de Chambarlhac has refused the

38 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. t-617–621; Jean XXII, *Lettres closes, patents et curiales intéressant les pays autres que la France*, eds. Déprez and Mollat, nos. 2492–2494.

39 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 207, ff. 110v–111r, no. 76.

40 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-404; Salles, "«Je ne craing pas que mal mèn vieigne»," 37–40.

41 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 161, f. 178r–v, no. 32; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-218.

promotion to archdeacon. Thus on 30 May 1352, Hélie, still in Avignon, was appointed bishop of Limassol.<sup>42</sup>

### Bishop, *Procurator Regis*, and *curialis* in Avignon

In 2010 Nicholas Coureas remarked on Hélie's two decades at bishop of Paphos that "Little is known about his activities there," except that Gregory XI gave him orders on a financial matter on 18 June 1372.<sup>43</sup> The explanation may be that Hélie was away in Avignon for much of this time. In 1980 W.H. Rudt de Collenberg published a detailed study of the choice of executors in bulls of appointment to Cypriot posts during the Avignon papacy. Although Rudt de Collenberg was often loose about the details, leading to frequent headaches for those who have tried to follow up on his discoveries, his numerous articles based on research in the Vatican Archive have proven fruitful for further research. In the case of the executors of these papal bulls, traditionally three, one was normally at the papal curia. For the papacy of Innocent VI (1352–1362), Rudt de Collenberg labelled a bull involving Jean du Bois the younger and dated 11 June 1360 as "irregular" because there did not seem to be any *curialis* among the three executors, who were the bishops of Paphos and Limassol and the official of Nicosia.<sup>44</sup> Still, he admitted that another bull from much later, under Pope Gregory XI, hinted that Hélie de Chambarlhac, bishop of Paphos, was part of the papal curia. The bull of Gregory involved Guy de Nephin and was dated 30 December 1372, the executors being the bishop of Paphos and the officials of Nicosia and Famagusta. Rudt de Collenberg also labelled this "irregular," otherwise "it would be necessary to admit that in 1372 the bishop of Paphos, Hélie de Chambarlhac, was at the curia," which should have been considered a possibility, given the 1360 bull.<sup>45</sup> Finally, when he was discussing the case of a bull of 21 December 1361 involving Bernard de Saint-Astier with executors the

42 Chris Schabel, "The Church of Limassol at the Death of Bishop Francesco, 1351," *Crusades XVIII* (2019): 129–163, at 137–140.

43 Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2010), 198.

44 Wipertus Hugo Rudt de Collenberg, "Le choix des exécuteurs dans les bulles de provision au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (d'après les bulles accordées à Chypre par les papes d'Avignon)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, temps modernes XCII* (1980): 393–440, at 461; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-230.

45 Rudt de Collenberg, "Le choix des exécuteurs," 426; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. w-164.

archbishop of Nicosia and the bishops of Paphos and Famagusta, Rudt de Collenberg again had to admit that perhaps Hélié was the *curialis*.<sup>46</sup>

The previous year, 1979, Rudt de Collenberg had published another groundbreaking article on the high clergy of Cyprus before the Great Schism, in which he mentioned that Hélié de Chambarlhac was a “great friend of Cardinal Talleyrand” and formed part of the cardinal’s retinue when the latter visited Emperor Charles IV in 1356.<sup>47</sup> Although he cites no source for this, he must have meant a papal embassy to the Imperial Diet at Metz that took place from mid-November 1356 until early January 1357, on which occasion Charles promulgated the Golden Bull at Christmas. Among the members of Talleyrand’s retinue, which arrived on 21 December and departed on the 29th, was Bishop Hélié of Limassol. Talleyrand had left Avignon on 21 June 1356 on a long and failed diplomatic mission for peace between England and France, and it is possible that Hélié departed with him, especially if he had earlier experience in the same business. On 2 January 1357 Pope Innocent sent a copy *In eundem modum* of a letter to members of the entourage to Hélié, apparently assuming that Hélié would still be among them when he received it, but how long Hélié stayed with Talleyrand before the latter’s return to Avignon in April 1359 is unknown.<sup>48</sup> Philippe de Chambarlhac seems to have returned to the West in 1357,<sup>49</sup> and when Talleyrand drew up his testament in Avignon on the Feast of St Front, 25 October 1360, he included as executors Bishop Hélié of Paphos, Archbishop Philippe of Bordeaux, and Talleyrand’s familiar Raymond de la Pradèle (who would succeed Philippe as archbishop of Nicosia three months later), in the presence of, among others, their relatives Bernard de Saint-Astier and Jaumar de Chambarlhac, both of the Nicosia Church.<sup>50</sup> At least we can say that Hélié was with Talleyrand’s household in late 1356 and early 1357, and Rudt de Collenberg should not have been so surprised to find evidence that Hélié was a *curialis* in 1360, 1361, and 1372.

We have seen that on 8 September 1351, while still treasurer of Nicosia, Hélié was described as King Hugh’s *procurator* or agent when he was in

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46 Rudt de Collenberg, “Le choix des exécuteurs,” 430; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-283.

47 Rudt de Collenberg, “État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre,” 251 and n. 103.

48 Zacour, *Talleyrand*, 52a–61a, esp. 54 and n. 23; Innocent VI, *Lettres secrètes et curiales*, eds. Pierre, Gasnault and Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent (Paris: de Boccard, 1959–1976), no. 2516; Salles, “L’Église de Chypre,” 256–258.

49 Salles, “L’Église de Chypre,” 259.

50 *Thesaurus novus anectorum*, vol. 1, eds. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand (Paris: F. Delaulne, 1717), cols. 1476–1477; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-255.

Avignon.<sup>51</sup> The publication of the third volume of the *Bullarium Cyprium* in 2012 provided more evidence for Hélie's presence at the curia. On 11 June 1360, the same day of the bull that Rudt de Collenberg found to suggest that Hélie was a *curialis*, Hélie was in fact in Avignon presenting a veritable *rotulus* of supplications in the context of the embassy of John Carmain and Raymond Babin concerning King Peter I's succession.<sup>52</sup> Hélie's supplication begins thus: "Most holy father, with blessing for your holiness your devout creature Bishop Hélie of Paphos desires to cross over to the island of Cyprus." The phrasing implies that Hélie was not part of the embassy, but rather was acting as a permanent royal *procurator* in Avignon, probably appointed by Hugh IV, whose death and the succession of Peter I perhaps occasioned his desire to sail to Cyprus.

This would account for Hélie's catalogue of eight requests, the sort of things a newly appointed bishop would seek and receive before setting off for his distant see, with one notable exception. In the final item, he asked that his vicar general, Raymond Séguin de Altigiis, licensed in law, receive an expectant canonry in Agen, although he had a priory in the West and an expectancy in Paphos itself since 11 December 1358, as requested by Hélie, who told Pope Innocent VI that Raymond was "his beloved familiar."<sup>53</sup> In 1336, a person of the same name, a bachelor of canon law and an Austin Canon, had been received as canon of Toulouse around 25 years earlier, placing his date of birth around 1290.<sup>54</sup> Despite the name and the legal studies, it is likely that this person was an uncle or great-uncle of our Raymond, who in 1359 had been described as the official of Paphos, and by late 1362 he was counsellor and judge of the chancery of the king when he finally received a prebend in Agen. Raymond was offered the position of archdeacon of Famagusta on 7 July 1363, on the condition that he give up the post in Agen. Raymond must have declined, and instead he became archdeacon of Paphos itself on 21 September 1363, this time without having to give up his canonical prebend in Agen or his priory. Archdeacon Raymond died in Orgon, 20 kilometers southeast of Avignon, on the road to Marseille, returning from the curia to Cyprus, shortly before 26 June 1376, when his

51 See also Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, 81 and 188.

52 Peter Edbury and Chris Schabel, "The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus," in *Crusading, Society, and Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of King Peter I of Cyprus*, eds. Alexander D. Beihammer and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 175–237, at 178–179 and 185–186; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-229.

53 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-199.

54 Benoît XII, *Lettres communes*, ed. Vidal, no. 3751; Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 122, f. 173r-v, no. 544.

archdeaconate was granted to Antoine Michel.<sup>55</sup> The important point is that while Hélié was in Avignon in 1360 he had a vicar general with legal expertise for his affairs, presumably stationed on Cyprus, who would occupy the most important position in the cathedral until his death just a year before Hélié's own passing.

So how long had Hélié been in Avignon and when did he actually leave? We have seen that he seems to have been in Avignon in February 1347, May 1350 (allowed to stay away for three years), July 1350, September 1351, and February 1352, and there is no evidence that he set foot on Cyprus during this period. Following his appointment as bishop of Limassol on 30 May 1352, Hélié was still in Avignon on 3 September when he promised in person at the apostolica camera to pay the common services for his new post, 1000 florins plus some smaller amounts, half on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin the following year, 8 September 1353, and the other half by the same date in 1354.<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere I have described how, upon his appointment, Hélié immediately became embroiled in a dispute over Bishop Francesco d'Arezzo of Limassol's legacy, keeping him busy in Avignon until late 1353 or early 1354, although the issue was not resolved as far as Hélié was concerned until the late summer of 1355.<sup>57</sup> Most of the financial documents of this period in the Vatican are still unpublished, but one, dated 11 September 1354,<sup>58</sup> relates that Hélié paid 250 florins for his main common services and 37 for the remainder, implying that in 1352 he had paid 500 florins but that in 1353 he had only paid half of the remainder, 250 florins. The 1354 document relates that Hélié paid via Master Hélié de Lascoutz, papal scriptor, which may mean that Bishop Hélié was not then in the curia. Yet on 25 July 1355 the bishop of Limassol acted as executor in a matter unrelated to Cyprus, surely as the *curialis*,<sup>59</sup> and on 10 September 1355, apparently in person, Hélié promised the apostolic camera to settle the matter of the legacy of his predecessor by paying 283 florins at the following Easter, which fell on 24 April in 1356.<sup>60</sup> If so, we are already rather close to the Imperial

55 *Bullarium Cyprum III*, nos. u-212, v-4, v-53.2, v-77, and w-340.

56 *Taxae pro communibus servitiis*, ed. Hoberg, 86b; Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Obligationes et solutiones 22, f. 131r; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgh. lat. 125, f. 130v.

57 Schabel, "The Church of Limassol at the Death of Bishop Francesco, 1351," 140–147.

58 Misdated 1353 in the *Bullarium Cyprum III*, no. u-22.

59 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Aven. 134, ff. 230v–231r.

60 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Coll. 497, f. 55v.

Diet in Metz, when Hélie was with Cardinal Talleyrand. Thus there is no good evidence that Hélie was ever on the island as bishop of Limassol.

As mentioned, on 21 April 1357 Pope Innocent VI transferred Hélie from Limassol to Paphos. The letter of appointment is typical, as is the letter dated the same day to Guy d'Ibelin, whom the pope appointed bishop of Limassol following Hélie's transfer. Both letters are accompanied by a copy addressed to King Hugh IV. What is unusual is another letter that Innocent sent to Hugh a couple of weeks later, on 7 May 1357, which Jean Richard summarized more than once:<sup>61</sup>

To the most dear son in Christ Hugh, the illustrious king of Cyprus. Since recently the church of Paphos, left destitute of the solace of a pastor by the death of Bishop Eudes of Paphos of good memory, was vacant, some of our brothers [the cardinals], knowing beforehand of this vacancy, insisted to us that we deign to transfer our venerable brother Bishop Hélie of Paphos, then of Limassol, to the same church of Paphos, absolving him of the chain by which he was bound to the church of Limassol, over which he then presided, and we gave our assent to these brothers' insistence, especially out of consideration for you [Hugh], whose *procurator* at the Apostolic See the same bishop was and is, believing that this would please you, and out of regard to the uprightness of the bishop. Then, having received with paternal benignity your letter via which you insisted upon the promotion of the beloved son Guy, [bishop-] elect of Limassol, your blood relative, to the same church of Paphos, we realized that we could hardly backtrack with decency from the promise we made to our said brothers [the cardinals]. So that your insistence would not be rendered void of any fruition, we appointed the same Guy bishop and pastor of the aforesaid church of Limassol, then vacant via the transfer of said bishop [Hélie] to the same church of Paphos. For these reasons we diligently ask your serenity not to be annoyed if it was not possible to satisfy your wishes fully at present, which you should know we will try to satisfy as much as we can in good time in the increase of the promotion of said [bishop-]elect and in other things that we know are pleasing to you.

The chancery and pope had been made aware of Bishop Eudes' death by 13 April 1357, eight days before the appointments, and on 20 April Innocent named Pierre Domand as Eudes' replacement as papal nuncio in Cyprus.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps Talleyrand and other cardinals had already been informed, since Innocent claims that they were *prescii* of the vacancy.

61 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-149; Richard, "Un évêque de Paphos nonce du pape au XIVe siècle," 353.

62 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-132-133.

It is indeed possible that the king's embassy arrived after the pope had promised the position to Hélié, for the end of April saw a flurry of activity at the chancery regarding Cyprus, starting 22 April and running through the month of May. A number of Cypriot knights received indulgences, such as Jean d'Ibelin, Jacques Béduin, Jean Gorap, Raymond Visconte, and Simon de Montolif the bailli of the king's Secrète. Jacques de Nores the Turcopolier may have been present, since he was later a frequent ambassador, and he is listed first in a collective supplication copied twice with slightly different dates.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless the actual ambassador of King Hugh IV was Hélié's brother, Archbishop Philippe of Nicosia, who was in Avignon to negotiate a naval pact with Venice and the Hospital regarding the maintenance of six galleys against the Turks and the defense of Smyrna, two galleys from each party. Perhaps because of the damage to the register, the summary in the *Bullarium Cyprium* III says nothing about Philippe.<sup>64</sup> The crucial point here is that Hélié "was and is" King Hugh's "*procurator* at the Apostolic See" in Avignon, although likely still away with Talleyrand, and the pope assumed that the king would be pleased with the promotion.

A month after his appointment, on 23 May 1357, via Hélié Ortici, since Hélié de Chambarlhac was probably still with Talleyrand, the new bishop of Paphos promised the apostolic camera in person to pay the common services for his new post, this time 2000 florins, since Paphos was assessed at twice the value of Limassol. Half was due by the Feast of John the Baptist the following year, 24 June 1358, and the remainder on the same date in 1359.<sup>65</sup> Before he paid up, Hélié had to deal with the legacy of his predecessor again, this time that of Bishop Eudes of Paphos. Initially the papal nuncios Goffredo Spanzota, archdeacon of Famagusta, and Pierre Domand conducted an investigation over Eudes' legacy and compiled an inventory of Eudes' money and goods in the episcopal residences in Paphos and Nicosia, in the bishopric's casale of Marona, and among the merchants of Famagusta, in the last four months of 1357, with a total value of about 3750 florins.<sup>66</sup>

63 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-152; Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Suppl. 29, ff. 133v and 142v.

64 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-140.

65 *Taxae pro communibus servitiis*, ed. Hoberg, 86b–87a and 93a; Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Obligationes et solutiones 22, f. 203r; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgh. lat. 125, f. 189v.

66 Jean Richard, "Les comptes du collecteur de la Chambre Apostolique dans le royaume de Chypre (1357–1363)," *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών XIII–XVI*



Apparently, however, this did not represent everything that Eudes had possessed, and on 1 April 1359 Pope Innocent wrote to Hélie explaining that he had reserved the spoils of the previous bishop “a long time before the final illness by which he died,” so he tasked Hélie with recovering them, describing how he was involving others in the case. Thus on the same day he wrote to the bishop of Famagusta, the abbot of Beaulieu, and Pierre Domand, archdeacon of Limassol and papal nuncio, telling them that they could appeal to the secular powers to secure the return of the late bishop’s property, if necessary.<sup>67</sup>

As was often the case, however, Eudes himself had been in debt, so around that time Hélie came to an agreement with the apostolic camera over the *bona mobilia, debita, et credita* of the late Eudes, which had been reserved by the Apostolic See. Hélie agreed to pay 5000 florins over a five-year period beginning 30 March 1359, with the first payment on 30 March 1360, although he ended up paying 2000 florins by the 24 June 1361, the Feast of John the Baptist, via the well-known Narbonnais merchant Raymond Sarralher, as we learn from an entry into books of the apostolic camera dated 4 December 1361.<sup>68</sup> If this sum of 5000 corresponds to the 5000 florins that Hélie eventually paid the apostolic camera for the *lapidares*, a term associated with episcopal successions on Cyprus, then it took the bishop of Paphos the better part of a decade to settle this debt.<sup>69</sup> That Hélie was having trouble paying we learn from a letter of 5 April 1359 to Pierre Domand and Raymond Séguin, then official of Paphos. Hélie had informed the pope that he owed considerable amounts of money to the pope, the college of cardinals, and some others, both for himself and for his predecessors, both of Limassol and of Paphos. Yet he claimed that he was unable to pay these sums because for some time Pierre Lascoutz, a cleric of a prominent family of the diocese of Périgueux, and others received the incomes of both churches in Hélie’s name and in his time as bishop without rendering proper accounts and turning over the remainder to him. Hélie’s absenteeism, remaining in Avignon in the king’s service, thus cost him control over his finances in

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(1984–1987): 1–47, at 16–28; reprinted in Idem, *Croisades et états latins d’Orient* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), no. XV.

67 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-210–211.

68 *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Innozenz VI.*, vol. 1, ed. Hermann Hoberg (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1955), 375.

69 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, *Instrumentum Miscellanum 4602*, f. 11v; Jean Richard, “La succession de l’évêque de Famagouste et la remise en ordre de la collectorie de Chypre (1365–1374),” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen Âge, temps modernes CXIII* (2001): 637–661, at 654 and n. 53.

Cyprus, so Hélié asked the pope to order them to do the accounts properly and to reduce his debt to the pope accordingly. The addressees were instructed to investigate Hélié's claims and, if true, see to the matter.<sup>70</sup>

It is possible that Hélié had gone in person to Paphos after his transfer, but there is no evidence, he may still have been with Talleyrand, and his complaint to the pope suggests that he may have watched the situation on the island from a distance. We thus have no solid proof that he had ever set foot in Cyprus before 11 June 1360, when he announced his intention to leave Avignon for Cyprus. Yet Rudt de Collenberg's research suggests that Hélié may have been back, or still, in Avignon on 21 December 1361. On the one hand, this date does coincide with yet another Cypriot embassy to Avignon, led by John of Morphou and Thomas of Montolif, which seems to have arrived by early November and stayed at least to the end of the year.<sup>71</sup> On the other, Hélié may have postponed his journey because of the transfer of his brother Philippe from Nicosia to Bordeaux, which Pope Innocent announced on 21 July 1360, just a few weeks after Hélié's supplication, although Philippe seems to have been back in the West since 1357.<sup>72</sup> If Hélié remained with his brother in Avignon, he would also have stayed the winter. By 29 June 1361 the chancery had been informed of Philippe's death outside the curia, on his way to Bordeaux, an event that might account for even further delay on Hélié's part.<sup>73</sup>

A letter of Pope Urban V dated 28 April 1363 suggests that when the cantor of Paphos Pons Pagès died, Bishop Hélié and the chapter conferred the post on Guillaume Gallioti.<sup>74</sup> The problem is that we do not know when this happened: this is the last we hear of Pons after Hélié's transfer to Paphos in 1357, and the letter itself states that Guillaume then took up the position and held and possessed it in peace and quiet until he worried that there had been a papal reservation, since he was granted the chantry on the condition that there was none. Guillaume was noted as a priest of Nicosia and chaplain of King Hugh IV on 8 September 1350,<sup>75</sup> but we hear nothing more, and he could even have become cantor during Innocent VI's papacy and only began to worry after Urban V was consecrated on 6 November 1362. Nor does the letter specify that Hélié

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70 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-212.

71 Edbury and Schabel, "The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus," 179–180 and 186–187.

72 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Aven. 143, f. 78r–v, no. 23; Salles, "L'Église de Chypre," 259.

73 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-257; Salles, "L'Église de Chypre," 261–262.

74 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. v-20.41.

75 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. t-526.

participated in the decision in a meeting with the chapter in Paphos. What we do know is that Guillaume had become the chaplain of Hugh's son, King Peter I, out of whose consideration Urban approved what Hélie and chapter had done.

As Coureas has noted, we hear very little about Hélie as bishop of Paphos. After Urban's letter of 28 April 1363, the next time Hélie is mentioned by name in papal correspondence, and the last time before his death, is almost precisely a decade later, on 23 April 1373.<sup>76</sup> We do not even know his whereabouts during a curious episode that was described by Jean Richard in 2001.<sup>77</sup> Instrumentum Miscellaneum 4604 of the Vatican Archive consists of a dossier of documents concerning the aftermath of the death of Léger de Nabinaud, bishop of Famagusta, on 30 September 1365. By then the tradition of the papal reservation of episcopal appointments was firmly established, and it is unlikely that the chapter of Famagusta was unaware of this, especially the experienced Archdeacon Goffredo Spanzota and Canon Béranger Grégoire, also dean of Nicosia, both of whom were serving as papal nuncios at the time. A document in the dossier dated in the treasury of Famagusta Cathedral on 19 October 1365 and authored by Goffredo and the chapters of Famagusta and Tortosa (united since 1295) selected the agents and nuncios of the chapter for dealing with the business of the episcopal transition in Avignon, including Béranger Grégoire himself. Among other things, Béranger was to present to Pope Urban V the chapters' earlier election of Bishop Hélie of Paphos as their new bishop of Famagusta and Tortosa. According to a later inquiry, probably because of the dangers of sailing in late fall and winter, Béranger did not leave Cyprus until 3 May 1366. Had the chapter acted more quickly and sent Béranger to Avignon immediately, they might have been successful. As it happened, word of Léger's death reached Avignon so fast that Pope Urban was able to appoint Arnaud de Quinbal bishop on 17 December, just two and a half months after Léger's death. In fact, while Béranger was sailing to Avignon in May 1366, Bishop Arnaud's agents were sailing to Famagusta, arriving that same month to take up the post.<sup>78</sup>

Besides suggesting that the position of bishop of Famagusta had become more prestigious and perhaps more lucrative than that of bishop

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76 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. w-188.

77 Richard, "La succession de l'évêque de Famagouste," 646.

78 I will soon published the text of *Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Instrumentum Miscellaneum 4604*.

of Paphos, which was taxed at a higher rate,<sup>79</sup> the episode reveals that the chapter of Famagusta had a strong preference for Hélié de Chambarlhac, bishop of the relatively distant see of Paphos, over 170 kilometers of difficult travel to the west. Yet Hélié is not mentioned as having been involved in or even aware of the election, and one of the attractions of choosing Hélié may very well have been his access to the curia, or even his habitual absence, leaving the chapter along to run his cathedral's affairs.

### Bishop Hélié in Paphos

We know little about Hélié de Chambarlhac's period as bishop of Limassol other than his efforts to bring to a successful close the problem of the legacy of his predecessor, which he seems to have done while in Avignon.<sup>80</sup> Otherwise, in early 1353 the new Pope Innocent VI issued him a couple of minor indulgences,<sup>81</sup> and Hélié managed to obtain an expectancy in Limassol for his chaplain, Pierre de Cloto, priest of the diocese of Périgueux,<sup>82</sup> who would perform tasks for Hélié at the papal palace in early 1354 and the spring of 1355.<sup>83</sup> On 26 July 1354 Hélié also succeeded in securing a grant of a canonry in the West, at Saint-Omer, for a protégé.<sup>84</sup> As expected, none of this suggests that Hélié ever went to his see, which is why Hélié *ex officio*, qua bishop of Paphos, acted as executor on just four occasions, all in 1353, when he was definitely in Avignon: two involved his cousin Hélié Aymeri de Siorac, who became treasurer of Paphos Cathedral,<sup>85</sup> another was for an expectant canonry granted to a relative of his, Bernard de Saint-Astier, at the request of Talleyrand, who as chamberlain of Talleyrand eventually received the canonry of the deceased Aymeri of Chambarlhac in 1356,<sup>86</sup> and the fourth was for a familiar of Eleanor of Aragon, Prince Peter's wife.<sup>87</sup>

79 *Taxae pro communibus servitiis*, ed. Hoberg, 53a–b and 93a.

80 Schabel, "The Church of Limassol at the Death of Bishop Francesco, 1351," 140–147 and 156–163, nos. 2–4.

81 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-3, u-6, and u-31.

82 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-7.

83 Schabel, "The Church of Limassol at the Death of Bishop Francesco, 1351," 144–145 and 156–157, no. 2.

84 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-43.

85 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-10; Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat. 224, f. 371r–v, no. 953)

86 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-1 and u-120.

87 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-9.

His next business as executor was assigned to the bishop of Paphos shortly after Hélie's transfer to Paphos, at which point he was in the West, on 30 April 1357,<sup>88</sup> then on 29 May 1358 for Philippe Jaumar who had taken the post of archdeacon of Nicosia, another on 22 December of that year, then one for his cousin Jaumar de Chambarlhac on 5 November 1359 who had Talleyrand's support, and finally on 3 January 1360 for another Périgordan, backed by Archbishop Philippe.<sup>89</sup> With such personal connections, nothing would have required Hélie to be in Cyprus, as when by name Hélie was instructed to grant marriage dispensations on 20 June 1360, when he was surely still in Avignon, and on 22 December 1360.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, after 11 June 1360, when Innocent VI next tasked the bishop of Paphos as executor, it was at the request of Talleyrand on 21 December 1361: one for the successor of the late Philippe Jaumar as archdeacon of Nicosia, Thomas Foscarino, who was both canon of Paphos and former chaplain and familiar of Talleyrand, and the other for Bernard de Saint-Astier, now the cardinal's chaplain, for a canonry in Périgueux, one of the bulls that Rudt de Collenberg saw as evidence that Hélie was *curialis*.<sup>91</sup>

Under Urban V, however, the bishop of Paphos was assigned as judge-conservator along with other Cypriot prelates on several occasions starting on 23 December 1362, again on 6 June 1363, and finally on 19 August 1368, while still being tasked as executor on 9 January and 14 July 1363.<sup>92</sup> With the evidence of the letter of 28 April 1363 describing Hélie and his chapter's appointment of Guillaume Gallioti, perhaps together with Hélie's election as bishop of Famagusta in 1365, we seem to have a weak indication that Hélie had indeed gone to Cyprus. Our best evidence for Hélie's being on the island comes from the so-called *Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas*, in a section missing in the Oxford manuscript, where the Ravenna version relates that the bishop of Paphos was present in Cyprus at an event, and the Venice codex adds the garbled name of Helias de Chambarlhac: "σιρ Λίεσ τε Καρμπεπαή," "Sir Lies de Carmbepai." This was the meeting of the High Court in Nicosia on 24 December 1370, when Peter II came of age.<sup>93</sup>

88 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-142.

89 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-174, u-200, u-220, and u-222.

90 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-246 and u-253.

91 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. u-282-283.

92 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. v-13, v-15, v-46, v-56, and v-208.

93 Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. and trans. Richard M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), vol. 1, 308-309 §323; Leontios Makhairas, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, eds. Michalis Pieris, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia:

Still, during the papacy of Gregory XI Rudt de Collenberg again wondered whether Hélié could have been at the curia on 30 December 1372, because the bishop of Paphos was accompanied by the officials of Nicosia and Famagusta as executor.<sup>94</sup> Hélié had taken on local assignments as bishop on 6 January and 8 May 1371,<sup>95</sup> and when he was named an executor on 3 January 1371, the day of Gregory's coronation,<sup>96</sup> the *curialis* in the letter must have been the dean of Saint-Pierre in Avignon, suggesting that Hélié was in Cyprus. The same is the case with a bull of 10 April 1372, when the dean of Saint-Pierre again seems to be the *curialis*.<sup>97</sup> By 23 July 1372, however, the bishop of Paphos appears as executor with the archbishop of Nicosia and the abbot of Stavrovouni.<sup>98</sup> If Rudt de Collenberg's suspicions about Hélié's whereabouts at the end of 1372 are correct, there is a possible explanation: King Peter II had sent an embassy to Avignon following his coronation as king of Cyprus in Nicosia, consisting of Chancellor Philippe de Mézières and Guy de Nephin, treasurer of Limassol, as Gregory related on 13 June 1372.<sup>99</sup> It is in this context that on 18 June 1372 the pope ordered the bishop of Paphos to see to it that Thomas Foscarino, papal nuncio in Cyprus, received the fruits of his canonical prebend in Cyprus while absent, both present and future.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps Hélié de Chambarlhac accompanied the ambassadors?

If so, there is reason to believe that Hélié eventually returned to Cyprus. On 23 April 1373 Hélié and Raymond Robert, archdeacon of Famagusta, were tasked with securing the legacies of Peter Thomas, patriarch of Constantinople, who had died in 1366, and Archbishop Peter of Smyrna, who was transferred to Olena in 1362 and died before the spring of 1370. On 26 July 1373, Pope Gregory instructed the bishop of Paphos to grant permission to King Peter II, his mother Eleanor, and his uncle John, prince of Antioch, for the foundation of a convent of Poor Clares. It is of course possible that Hélié was still in Avignon, perhaps about to depart, but the published summary in the *Bullarium Cyprium* III of an important bull dated 23 September 1373 concerning yet another Cypriot

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Cyprus Research Centre, 2003), 246. Pace Salles, "L'Église de Chypre," 263, this was not the coronation of King Peter II of Jerusalem in Famagusta on 10 October 1372.

94 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, no. w-164.

95 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, nos. w-2 and w-32.

96 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, no. w-170, misdated 1372.

97 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, no. w-93.

98 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, no. w-134.

99 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, no. w-102.

100 *Bullarium Cyprium* III, w-105 (the same letter appears as w-50, misdated 1371).

embassy is in error in including the bishop of Paphos among the pope's interlocutors: the manuscript has instead the bishop of Famagusta.<sup>101</sup>

The most likely scenario, then, is that Hélie de Chambarlhac first arrived on Cyprus in the spring of 1362 and remained on the island except for a possible embassy to Avignon in mid-1372. At least Hélie's little *rotulus* of 11 June 1360 can give us an idea of what he wanted to do as bishop of Paphos.<sup>102</sup> He asked to be able to grant a full indulgence at the point of death to "25 of his familiars, continual table companions, present and future, to be named in the chancery," which gives us a picture of how large a household he expected to maintain in Cyprus. The longest clause is reserved for one particular continual familiar at table, the cleric Raoul de Aciaco, for whom the bishop requested an ecclesiastical benefice in the power of the abbot and monks of the Benedictine abbey of Bec in Normandy, although Raoul already held the chaplaincy of the chapel of St Andrew in the abbey of Saint-Denis outside Paris. Hélie wished to be able to choose worthy persons to whom he could grant expectant canonries in Paphos on apostolic authority, even if they were pluralists. He also sought the power to dispense 20 people of illegitimate birth so they could obtain benefices. He also wanted the right to give license to 50 people wishing to visit the Holy Sepulcher and other such places in Outremer. Hélie requested that whenever he celebrated the divine office or preached in a church in Cyprus in the presence of the king or queen of Cyprus, those penitent who had confessed would receive a relaxation of 100 days penance.

If Hélie was in Cyprus in the mid-1360s, he was surrounded by friends, despite the departure and death of his older brother and the demise of their supporter, Cardinal Talleyrand. Just in his own chapter, the archdeacon of Paphos was his familiar Raymond Séguin; the cantor was Guillaume Gallioti, King Peter I's familiar and chaplain, whom Hélie and the chapter had chosen; and the treasurer was Hélie's cousin, Jaumar de Chambarlhac. Among the canons were the papal nuncio Thomas Foscarino and Hélie Orlici of the diocese of Périgueux, who was connected to Talleyrand and the Chambarlhac family and formerly Philippe's familiar.<sup>103</sup> The bishop of Paphos had residences in Paphos, in his casale of Marona, and in Nicosia, where there were plenty of other clerics who had made the long journey from the Périgord and nearby regions. In short Hélie was quite at home in Cyprus.

101 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. w-188, w-203, and w-221.

102 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. u-229.

103 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, nos. t-218 and u-44.2.

On 12 October 1377, Pope Gregory appointed Raymond Robert as Hélié's successor, after the latter's death outside the Roman curia. Although it is not specified that Hélié died on Cyprus, it is probably the case.<sup>104</sup> He was in his mid-70s, having spent almost half of his life in connection to Cypriot affairs, although perhaps only fifteen years on the island, having served Cypriot political and ecclesiastical interests at the papal curia in Avignon much if not all of the previous two decades.

## Conclusion

In an age when the idea of a permanent ambassador was still in its infancy, the evolution of the fixed post of *procurator regis* at the papal curia in Avignon was gradual. In the thirteenth century, kings preferred to seek the services of foreign residents at the curia, mainly Italians when the popes were in or near Rome, but in the fourteenth century sovereigns sent their own men to the papacy, now based in Avignon. At first the term *procurator regis* was ambiguous and usually applied to representatives on stays of limited duration, but around 1350, perhaps in reaction to a complaint of Pope Clement VI about too many embassies coming and going, the kings of France and England began to maintain permanent *procuratores* in Avignon, even if they could also act on behalf of others.<sup>105</sup> It is precisely at this point that Hélié de Chambarlhac appears as *procurator* of King Hugh IV of Cyprus at the curia, before he became bishop. What is perhaps unusual is that Hélié seems to have remained *procurator regis* in Avignon for another decade while bishop, into the reign of King Peter I. The circumstances may explain this: there was comparatively little need for the Latin bishops of Limassol and Paphos to reside *in situ* to carry out liturgical functions, especially after the Black Death; Hélié was already in Avignon and remained in the retinue of the powerful Cardinal Talleyrand; and Hélié surely performed tasks for his brother Philippe, archbishop of Nicosia in 1342–1360. With Hélié far away from Cyprus, perhaps arranging for supplications, pursuing issues at the chancery, receiving papal letters and forwarding them to their addressees, representing clients at tribunals, having acts drawn up for

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104 *Bullarium Cyprium III*, no. w-359.

105 Bernard Barbiche, "Les procureurs des rois de France à la cour pontificale d'Avignon," in *Aux origines de l'état moderne: Le fonctionnement administratif de la papauté d'Avignon* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1990), 81–112; Karsten Plöger, *England and the Avignon Popes: The Practice of Diplomacy in Late Medieval Europe* (Abingdon: Legenda 2005), section 3.2.1.



processes, arranging for the payments of common services at the apostolic camera, dealing with the resignation of benefices, and so on,<sup>106</sup> it is little wonder that he did not attract attention on the island and hence his possibly significant role in Cypriot affairs went unrecorded in his day.

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106 Barbiche, “Les procureurs des rois de France à la cour pontificale d'Avignon,” 81–82.

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