

GENEALOGY, PROSOPOGRAPHY AND NETWORKS: ON THE SOCIAL CAPITAL OF THE BALKAN ÉMIGRÉS TO THE KINGDOM IN NAPLES (15TH-18TH C.). ALBANIAN KINDREDS MUSACHI, ARIANITI AND BUA

NADA ZEČEVIĆ

Goldsmiths University of London

INTRODUCTION¹

The concept of *social capital*² appears to be a useful tool in the study of historical migrations, as it facilitates the analysis of tangible social interactions through which migrating groups and individuals lay their relations, especially the positive ones, such as exchange, networking, or sense of belonging to a new environment.³ This paper addresses the characteristics of the social capital used by émigrés to the Apennine peninsula from the post-Byzantine/Ottoman Balkans between the end of the 15th and the 18th centuries. Modern historical research has largely dealt with the chronology and space of this migration, also touching upon some resources and tools by which the integra-

tion of the émigrés was prompted.⁴ In order to explore this capital's build-up and use, here I shall address the examples related to kindreds Musachi, Arianiti and Bua, which settled in the Kingdom in Naples after leaving their ancestral realm in medieval Albania to the Ottomans in late 15th century. While kinship ties may not have been equally strong or uniting among all their members, local sources point out that the interactions of some of their groups reflected more focused attempts to build coherence among their members, as well as to attach them more firmly to the local society.

1. This paper is the part of my research project «MIGWEB: A Comparative Diachronic Analysis of Post-Byzantine Networks in the Early-modern Europe (15th-18th c.)», funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska Curie grant agreement No. 747 857. Used abbreviations: AN (Archivio Notarile), ASLe (Archivio di Stato di Lecce), BS (Bruni Saverio), FP (Fulino Pietro), MF (Muci Fortunato), RA (Russo Antonio), RD (Russo Donato). I hereby express my gratitude to Dr Massimo Antonucci, director of the Archivio di Stato di Lecce, and Ms Maria Rosaria Finnochito, of the same archive, for their kind help in providing me with the electronic copies of the documents from this archive for my research of this topic.

2. Initiated at the beginning of the 20th century by Lyda Judson Hanifan and further defined in more detail by sociologists Pierre Bourdieu, James Samuel Coleman and Robert D. Putnam, the concept of social capital has been widely used in social study of connectedness in modern civil societies. For a useful orientation on the recent research, see Frane ADAM and Borut RONCEVIC, «Social Capital: Recent Debates and Research Trends», *Social Science Information* (Paris), vol. 42, No. 2 (2003), p. 155-183; Nick CROSLEY, «The social world of the network: combining qualitative and quantitative elements in social network analysis», *Sociologica* (Bologna), vol. 1 (2010), p. 1-7. For useful historical approaches that reflect some aspects of this perspective see Pietro DALENA, «Alle radici delle comunità albanesi del Meridione d'Italia», in Vita A. MARTELLA and Giovanguilberto CARDUCCI (eds.), *Le comunità italo-albanesi fra microstoria e arbëreshe: il caso di San Marzano: Atti del convegno, San Marzano (TA), 8 maggio 1999*, San Marzano, Comune di San Marzano and Banca di Credito Cooperativo di San Marzano, 2000, p. 55.

3. Louise RYAN, «Migrants' social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration», *The Sociological Review* (London), vol. 51, No. 4 (2011), p. 707-724.

4. Literature on this migration is notable. Among the titles that show the development of the scholarly interest into this theme, see Michele SCUTARI, *Notizie storiche sull'origine e stabilimento degli Albanesi nel Regno delle Due Sicilie, sulla loro indole, linguaggio e rito*, Potenza, Tipografia di Basilicata, 1825; Michele GRECO, «Immigrazione di albanesi e levantini in Manduria, desunta dal "Librone Magno"», *Rinascenza Salentina* (Lecce), vol. 8 (1940), p. 3-4: 208-220; Tommaso PEDIO, *Contributo alla storia delle immigrazioni albanesi nel mezzogiorno d'Italia*, Roma, Accademia di Italia, 1943; Domenico AMBRASI, «In margine all'immigrazione greca nell'Italia meridionale nei secoli XV e XVI», *Asprenas* (Naples), vol. 7, No. 2 (1961), p. 156-185; Peter BARTL, «Fasi e modi dell'immigrazione Albanese», *Rivista storica del mezzogiorno* (Lecce), vol. 14 (1979), p. 197-205; Emidio TOMAI-PITINCA, «Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino sec. XVI», *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata), vol. 35 (1981), p. 113-115; Vincenzo GIURA, *Storia di minoranze: Ebrei, greci, albanesi nel regno di Napoli*, Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1984; Sergio ANSELMI, *Italia felix: migrazioni slave e albanesi in Occidente: Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi. Secoli XIV-XVI*, Ancona, Proposte e Ricerche, 1988; Pietro DALENA, «Insediamenti albanesi nel territorio di Taranto, sec. XV-XVI: realtà storica e mito storiografico», *Miscellanea di studi storici* (Cosenza), vol. 7 (1989), p. 35-103; Alain DUCCELLIER *et al.*, *Les chemins de l'exile: Bouleversements de l'Est européen et migrations vers l'Ouest à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1992; Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia: Esuli albanesi nell'Italia del Risorgimento*, Lecce, Libri, 2000; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Searching for Acceptance: A Fifteenth-century Refugee's History», *Annual of the Medieval Studies at CEU* (Budapest), vol. 6 (2000), p. 129-143; Francesco MASTROBERTI, «Le colonie albanesi nel Regno di Napoli tra storia e storiografia», *Annali della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza di Taranto* (Bari), vol. 1, No. 2 (2008), p. 241-251; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Memories of Home in the Accounts of the Balkan Refugees from the Ottomans to the Apennine Peninsula (15th-16th centuries)» in Vlada STANKOVIĆ (ed.), *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2016, p. 185-198; Angela FALCETTA, *Ortodossi nel Mediterraneo cattolico: Frontiere, reti, comunità nel Regno di Napoli (1700-1821)*, Roma, Viella, 2016.

The past of the three kindreds can be traced roughly from the 11th-13th centuries, when the region of today's Albania was controlled by the Byzantine Empire. This is when the three kindreds were differentiated by common name, blood connections, relative territorial closeness of their branches' residences, ties of spiritual proximity (friendship and spiritual brotherhood) and initial feudal clientship (after 1270s).⁵ By the time when the Angevins of Naples laid their claims to the *Regnum Albaniae* (1272), the Musachi and the Arianiti controlled the space between rivers Mati and Shkumbi,⁶ while the Bua were located further in the south, stretching across Epiros to Acarnania, where they allied with some other local clans (Spata).⁷ During the 14th century, some kinsmen of all three kindreds were also mentioned among the *Arvaniti* —Albanian groups that settled in the Greek Peloponnese, where they had been already Hellenised before the

5. Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1975, book 1, chapter 11, verses 134-148, p. 230; Giuseppe VALENTINI, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, tomme 2, vol. 5, Palermo, Centro Internazionale di Studi Albanesi, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Istituto di Studi Albanesi dell'Università di Roma, Fondazione Giorgio Cini and Pontificio Istituto di Studi Orientali, 1968, p. 60-62, No. 1285 (September 14, 1407). For further interpretations of the kindreds' mutual connections (Musachi and Arianiti) and their connections with other local familial groups (Bua, Spata and Tocco) in the time prior to their emigration to Italy, see Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, Munich, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960, p. 12-13; Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, «La genealogia degli Spata tra il XIV e XV sec. e due Bua sconosciuti», *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* (Rome), vol. 8-9 (1971-1972), p. 67-85; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «The Italian Kin of the Tocco Despot: Some Notes about the Relatives of Carlo I Tocco», *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* (Belgrade), vol. 39 (2002), p. 328-242; Asterios KUKUDES, *The Vlachs: Metropolis and Diaspora*, Thessaloniki, Zitros, 2003.

6. The origin of the Musachi can be traced to the region of Molossia («Land of the Mountains»), from where, in the 14th century, they started to control Devoll and Vjose, adding to this area Berat in the 15th century. The Arianiti originated from the Shkumbin valley, stretching their domain to the north-eastern parts of today's Albania, with the peak of their prominence during the first half of the 15th century, when, under the leadership of George they were prompted the local resistance to the Ottomans. On their origin, see Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 10-12.

7. The origin of the Bua is somewhat more difficult to define, as their ethnic and social background is not entirely clear. Sometimes, they are linked with the mobile Wallach groups that inhabited mountainous areas in the hinterland of the East Adriatic (Dinarid mountains), while evidence reveals that they occasionally allied with other neighbouring kindreds that ruled the southern parts of Albania and Epiros —between 1399 and 1411-1416 the Spatas that ruled Greek Epiros and its towns of Ioannina and Arta—, groups of Albanian émigrés who settled in the Greek Peloponnese during the 14th century, or even some Italian families that ruled western Greece in this period. For a general account about the region's ethnic outlook in the medieval period, see Brendan OSSWALD, «The Ethnic Composition of Medieval Epirus», in Steven G. ELLIS and Lud'a KLUSÁKOVÁ (eds.), *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, Pisa, Edizioni Plus, 2007, p. 125-154.

Ottoman conquest of the peninsula in 1460.⁸ All three kindreds based their power on their military build-up and political alliances, serving first the Byzantine Empire, then, from the 1270s, the Neapolitan Angevins (from 1442 Aragon as their successors at the throne), as well as the Republic of Venice that ruled Albanian coast since 1392.⁹

In the Italian South, governed since 1442 by the Aragon dynasty, the kinsmen of the three kindreds appeared in several waves. The first notable group came in 1461, led by George Castrioti Scanderbey, Albanian leader whom King Ferrante invited to help him against his rival, John of Anjou.¹⁰ Another group came after the Ottoman conquest of Albania 1477-1479,¹¹ while the third group, mostly formed of kins-

8. The presence of Albanian troops in the Peloponnese was registered during Manuel Kantakouzenos (1349-1380); another wave attested there was during the 1390s, when Despot Theodore I Palaiologos confronted Carlo I Tocco (c. 1392-c. 1429), lord of the Ionian islands. More on this, see «The funeral oration of Manuel Palaeologus in honor of his brother, Theodore Palaeologus», in Spyridon LAMPROS, *Παλαιολόγεια καί Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 3, Athens, Lamprou, 1926, p. 40-44. For further interpretations, see Dionisios A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée. Histoire politique*, ed. Chryssa MALTÉZOU, London, Variorum, 1975, p. 101-103; Alain DUCÉLLIER, *Oi Albanói stin Elláda (13-15 ai.): H μετανάστευση μίας κοινότητας*, Athens, Gulandri Horn, 1994; Era L. VRANOSSI, «Deux documents byzantins inédits sur la présence des Albanais dans le Péloponnèse au xve siècle», in Charalambos GASPARRIS (ed.), *Medieval Albanians*, Athens, Institute for Byzantine Research, 1998, p. 293-305. Some Albanians settled in the Peloponnese were recorded in the service of the Republic of Venice, as from Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes de délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, vol. 1: 1329-1399, Paris and The Hague, Mouton, 1958, p. 221, but could have also served Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia...*; see also Dionisios A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée...*, p. 101-105. With the Ottoman conquest, some of these groups moves towards Sicily and the Apennine peninsula, and in them several Musachi and Bua individuals can be documented, e.g. *a Nicolo della Morea detto Musacchino (the son of a Musachi stratiotic captain), recorded in the entourage of his renown compatriot, stratiotic leader Mercurio Bua (see below note 38) during this one's campaign against Florence (1530)*, see Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, 110-111.

9. For a general account on medieval Albania, see Alain DUCÉLLIER, *La façade maritime de V Albanie au Moyen Age. Durazzo et Valona du XI au XVe siècle*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981; for some specific themes, more recently, Charalambos GASPARRIS (ed.), *Medieval Albanians*, Athens, Institute for Byzantine Research, 1998.

10. This chronology focuses only on the three kindreds, while many other refugee groups from this region were recorded as coming to the Kingdom repeatedly until the 18th century. Generally speaking, more notable groups of Albanian émigrés were spotted in the Kingdom more often from 1448, following Scanderbey's anti-Orsini campaign on behalf of King Alphonso V. See Gennaro Maria MONTI, «La spedizione in Puglia di Giorgio Castriota Scanderbeg e i feudi pugliesi suoi della vedovae del figlio», *Japigia* (Bari), vol. 17, No. 3 (1939), p. 121-184.

11. Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti de nostra casa Musachi», in *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, ed. Charles HOPF, Berlin, Weidmann, 1873, p. 275.



FIGURE 1. Palazzo Argentina, known as *palazzo Leo*, residence of the Musachi in Francavilla Fontana (Figure: «Palazzo Argentina», *Terra dei Messapi*, <<http://terradeimessapi.it/palazzo-argentina>>).

men established in the Greek Peloponnese, came through Sicily during the 1520s.¹² The members of the three kindreds were settled in different parts of the Italian South, quite notably in Puglia, region that was seen as the first line of the Kingdom's defence against the expected Ottoman attacks. There, the kinsmen neighboured other émigré groups from the Byzantine East, mainly Greeks of the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands, but also Slavs from Dalmatia and its hinterland who also escaped the Ottoman expansion to the Balkans.¹³ The Musachi concentrated on Sicily and around Taranto and Brindisi, where their senior branch established its main residence on a *feudum* situated in the small town/castle of Francavilla Fontana (see figures 1 and 2).¹⁴ The Arianiti senior branch set

its chief residence in Naples, from where they further advanced to other large urban centres of the Apennine peninsula and Europe (Naples, Rome, Milan and Vienna).¹⁵ The Arianiti cadet branches, however, settled in Calabria and Salentino, where a notable number of their kinsmen was recorded in and around the town of Copertino. There, together with several groups of the Bua kinsmen, some of them were recorded as cli-

12. Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, *Cenni sulla origine e fondazione delle colonie albanesi di Sicilia*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1998.

13. Giovanni DE RUBERTIS, *Delle colonie slave nel Regno di Napoli*, Zara, Demarchi-Rougier, 1856; Giuseppe GELCICH, *Colonie slave nell'Italia meridionale*, Spalato, Tipografia Sociale Spalatina, 1908; Rosario JURLARO, «Gli slavi a Brindisi fino al XVIII secolo», in Franz ZAGIBA (ed.), *Das östliche Mitteleuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Acta Congressus Historiae Slavicae Salisburgensis in memoriam SS. Cyrilli et Methodii anno 1963*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1966, p. 149-162.

14. The Musachi connected with this branch resided in Francavilla Fontana —Giovanni and his nuclear family— and Messagne —Giovanni's brother—, spreading from there later to Brindisi, Taranto, Monopoli, Locorotondo near Bari and Naples. See Marino SANUDO, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, vol. 4, ed. Nicolò BAROZZI, Venice, without publisher, 1880, p. 594, under Fe-

bruary 1503, mentioning the activities of an armirario Musachi in Brindisi; for a reference to their initial settlement in Apice (Benevento), see Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 273. See further, Antonio Primaldo COCO, *Casali Albanesi nel Tarentino: Studio storico critico con documenti inediti*, Grottaferata, Scuola Tipografica Italo-orientale S. Nilo, 1921, p. 85, No. 14; Rosario JURLARO, *I Musachi Despoti d'Epiro in Puglia a salvamento*, Bari, Centro librario Santo Spirito, 1970, p. 15-16, 20-22 and 33, No. 39-40. Giovanni's settlement in Francavilla Fontana was confirmed by a family epitaph (see below, note 21), as well as by heraldic shields located on the family's palace Argentina of this town, dating from around 1500, most probably, later in the possession of Giovanni's elder son, Theodore. In this period, the neighbouring Brindisi was one of the large points through which Balkan émigrés circulated, c. 5000 Greek families (i.d. Greeks and Albanians from Epiros) were recorded as having been hosted there. Most of these families were artisans, but some, like the Musachi, received landed estates in the town's rural surroundings. Gallipoli and Otranto, on the other hand, hosted émigré groups that were more profited in trading. Within the Kingdom, the general tendency was to settle émigrés in the areas that were estimated to be the critical points of the expected Ottoman attacks.

15. Jonathan HARRIS, «Despots, emperors and Balkan identity in exile», *Sixteenth Century Journal* (Kirksville), vol. 44, No. 3 (2013), p. 645-661.

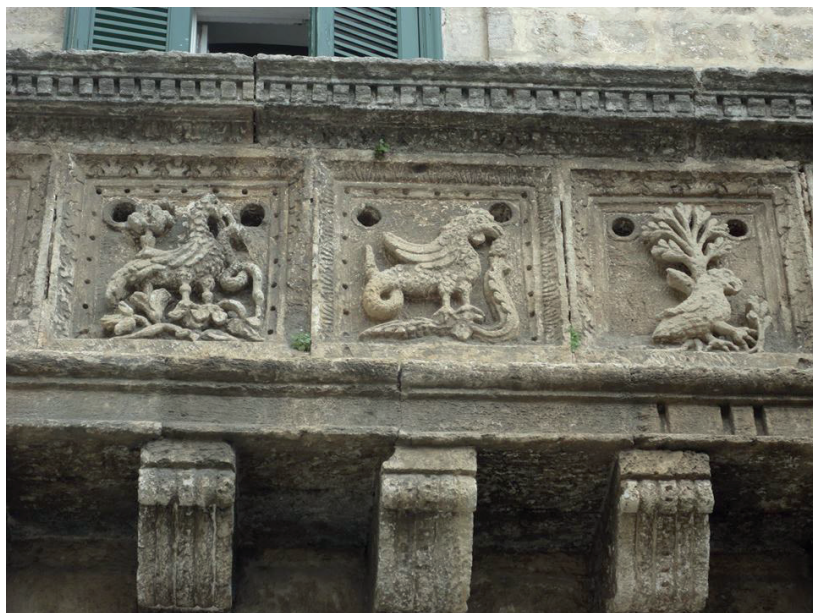


FIGURE 2. Palazzo Argentina, known as *palazzo Leo*, residence of the Musachi in Francavilla Fontana (detail) (Figure: «Palazzo Argentina», *Terra dei Messapi*, <<http://terradeimessapi.it/palazzo-argentina>>).

ents and dependents of their Castrioti compatriots —the offspring of Scanderbey who claimed leadership of all Albanian émigré in the Kingdom.¹⁶ By the 18th century, the three kindreds were significantly transformed. The Musachi and Arianiti senior branches did not exist anymore: the former split into several new branches, all eventually establishing their own residences further from Francavilla Fontana, and changing even their family name to Musajo (in Naples, a branch of the Somma Musajo); the latter were extinct in their direct line, while their memory circulated only through a side female branch. Unlike their seniors, several junior Arianiti branches in and around Copertino, however, significantly grew, just like some of their neighbouring Bua compatriots. Their status became more elevated as the result of their increased participation in trade and wealth accumulation in the local urban networks of Copertino, Nardò, Galipoli and Lecce.

16. On the Castrioti connections with the Kingdom in Naples prior to their migration, see FRANCESCO CERONE, «La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona», *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* (Naples), vol. 27 (1902), p. 3-93; vol. 28, 1903, p. 154-212; Constantin MARINESCU, *Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Scanderbeg*, Paris, Gamber, 1923; Momčilo SPREMIĆ, «Vazali kralja Alfonsa Aragonskog», *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* (Belgrade), vol. 12 (1974), p. 455-69; Constantin MARINESCU, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416-1458)*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1994; Oliver SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg. Der neue Alexander auf dem Balkan*, Regensburg, Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2009.

GENEALOGY AND BONDING

By the time of the kindreds' initial settlement in the Italian South, there is no doubt that all groups had already been differentiated from their initial kindreds of the Byzantine period, which explains why the statuses of their groups upon the settlement greatly differed. Some of their branches claimed nobility and leadership of the entire kindred, while other groups were reduced to the status of commoners, or even feudal dependency to their most prominent compatriots (the Castrioti). The kindreds' senior branches enthusiastically saw their settlement in the Apennines as a fortunate escape, depicting it as an exegetic salvation, and the outcome of a special generosity of the rulers in Italy.¹⁷ Behind these words of biblical glory and grate-

17. Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 272-273. For Pietrina Arianiti and documentary reference to her status, see a letter of Emperor Friedrich III to Pope Innocent VIII in Pordenone (July 11, 1489), as from FRANZ BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 29, and tafel I: *illustris Despina* [Pietrina] *consors olim Areniti Cominati illustris quondam Macedonie ac Thesalie Principis [...] inter alia lamentabilem et miserandum status sui casum quantum Turchorum rabies in se et sanguinem suum seuerit: et eam cum suis omnibus principatu ac omni dignitate exuerit, adeo ut relicta domo et dulci patria amissis opibus ac diuiciis cum liberis suis egena et inops orbem peragrare coacta [...]*. For similar hints in the self-presentation of Pietrina's son Constantine Arianiti in Venice, Marino SANUDO, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, vol. 3, ed. Rinaldo Fulin, Venezia, without publisher, 1880, p. 1381 (February 4, 1501): *e commesso a dir di la indebita e insperata persecutione sua, non causata da esso, e come zentilomo nostro si havia reduto qui [...] voleva justificar il pato suo con il re, e credeva, essendo justo corne l'hè, e lui non havendo erato, li restituera nel pristino honor e fama sua*. Interestingly, his visual and oral self-presentation recorded on this

fulness to the Italian monarchs, however, one can read bitter accounts about the émigrés' failed hopes, as the migration brought impoverishment and a fall in social status even to the most powerful kinsmen.¹⁸ Because of that, the lofty self-presentations of their prominent members could not hide the overall frustration and desperate search for a stable income and social recognition which the kinsmen aspiring to the kindreds' leadership expected from their new environments.¹⁹ One of the ways by which they attempted to attract the attention of their hosts or boost their economies, was to overstress their nobility. The Musachi senior branch did it through a genealogical construct which aligned its members to diverse status assets and values of the Kingdom's higher elite.²⁰ Authored by Giovanni Musachi and revised in a Humanist tone by his son Constantine, the Chronicle of the House of the Musachi (c. 1510) does this by telling the history of the senior Musachi branch, arranging the kindred as a line of patrilinear descendants, and selectively mentioning only those members and episodes of the family's past that affirmed Giovanni's assumptions about his wealth

occasion was clearly intended to give an impression of his highest aristocratic background: *Era vestito di zipon d'oro, e di sopra un vestito di raso paonazo, barèta di veludo, e una coladena al collo, grossa, capelli negri; è grandò, bella statura, e compone ben parole.*

18. Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 272-273, and further through his part of the Chronicle where he created subtitles referring to the exegetic wisdoms about the Biblical exile; see Pietrina's quote in FRANZ BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, 29; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Searching for Acceptance...», p. 129-143.

19. While the Arianiti documentary evidence hints to their impoverishment (see above note 17), the Musachi frustration was augmented by the lack of their wider social recognition, as well as of their failure to efficiently communicate with their local hosts, see Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 273. Giovanni's landed estate was a small feudum, and his control over it was limited by the fact that it was considered a reginal property, in the direct control of Queens Giovanna III and Giovanna IV, which backs his complaints about economic difficulty. Forsome forms of the donated domains and their distribution, see Emidio TOMAI-PITINCA, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche dell' Albania tarentina*, Galatina, Congedo, 1984, and Pietro DALENA, «Insediamenti albanesi...», p. 35-103.

20. Reconstructions of the Musachi and Arianiti genealogies based upon Giovanni's account was made in *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, ed. Charles HOPF, Berlin, Weidmann, 1873, p. 532, note 6, and p. 535, note 13, linking some of the Buas to the Spata kindred; *Chroniques Greco-Romanes...*, p. 531, No. 4. As pointed out by Pietro DALENA, «Alle radici...», p. 57, during the Catholic post-Tridentine offensive that was led by the local ecclesiastical hierarchies and Jesuits in particular, the émigré soldiers and their commanders were largely left out of this pressure. Yet, the example of renown stratiotic captain Lazarus Mathes from the village of Rocca shows that they were made dependent from the local feudal lords, who gave them small portions of land. This trend caused the stratiotics' dissatisfaction and turn against the local barons. More on it in Emidio TOMAI-PITINCA, «Comunità albanesi...», p. 113-115; Pietro DALENA, «Insediamenti albanesi...», p. 35-103 and 155; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Memories...», p. 185-198.

and elevated social status.²¹ Among the members whom Giovanni particularly stressed were his closest relatives, namely his children, his brother, and his brother's children, all especially praised for their military service to the King in Naples, posts in the royal administration, or service to the local Roman Catholic hierarchy.²² At the same time, Giovanni (and later his son Constantine) failed to mention his close relatives who had weak or no status connections, bypassing in this even the closest female members of his nuclear family, but stressing, on the other hand, some distant relatives, renowned for their marriages with the members of the Neapolitan courtly elite, the Florentine Medici entourage, or the company of the Sforza of Milan.²³ To additionally back his claim to such high

21. Traditionally, it is assumed that he died after composing his chronicle in 1510. More recently, Robert ELSIE, *A Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History*, London, Tauris, 2012, p. 321, suggested that his death must have come after 1515. In translation, the epitaph which his son dedicated to him suggests that Giovanni may have died even before 1510: «ALMIGHTY JESUS, THIS IS THE GRAVE OF JOHN MUSACHI, THE SON OF GJIN THE DESPOT, LORD OF EPIRUS AND OF MYZEQE, WHO STEMMED FROM THE CITY OF BYZANTIUM AND BORE THE DOUBLE HEADED EAGLE AS HIS EMBLEM. TO HIM WAS DEDICATED THIS WREATH IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1510.»

22. Rosario JURLARO, «I Musachi Despoti...», p. 21 and 37, note 72. Giovanni's children were Theodore, the lord of Crepacore and Galesano —established there around 1512-1516—, Adriano, and Constantino who continued his father's chronicle; Giovanni also had daughters, Helena and Porphida. Giovanni's brother Adriano emigrated to southern Italy too, where he served as the commander of Mesagne near Brindisi. Adriano's children were: Andrea, Gasparre, Theodore, Constantine, and daughters Elena and Ludovica; Andreas' son Pietro served in Monopoli's church of St. Peter. Giovanni, Adriano's son in 1568 was the procurer of Cesare from the notable family of the local officials the Lombardo of Copertino; Domenico, in 1566 served as *iudex* and cashier of the Episcopal centre in Nardò, while Diana, moved from Otranto to Monopoli in 1590, after having married. Andrea's sons Giorgio, Giovanni and Peter as residents of Monooli. For this branch, see Antonio PROFILO, *Vie, Piazze, Vichi e Corti di Mesagne. Ragione della loro nuova denominazione*, Fasano, Schena Editore, 1993, p. 229, note 3. Also, Rosario Jurlaro, «I Musachi Despoti...», p. 22, notes 74-78, and 37, note 85; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Searching for acceptance...», p. 129-143; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm: Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries)*, Belgrade, Makart and Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Eastern Sarajevo, 2014, p. 140.

23. Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 291-292 and 302; Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, p. 114; Robert ELSIE, *Early Albania: A Reader of Historical Texts, 11th-17th Centuries*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, p. 53; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm...*, p. 145, note 194. Giovanni Comino (Arianiti), with Paolo Brancazzo, was the member of a powerful clan that resided in the Neapolitan *Seggio di Nido*, which, at the time, was the central residential quarter of the Neapolitan aristocracy, closely connected to the Papal Curia. The Brancazzo were recorded in Naples' oldest noble *seggio*, the so called Capuana (*Seggio della Porta Capuana*) and their branches appeared as early as the 10th century, mostly turning to the church in order to buffer their initial lack of larger landed property. Among them, particularly powerful were Cardinal Rinaldo Brancaccio (death 1472),

noble connections, Giovanni constructed a line of ancestors proceeding from the mythical realms of the blended Greco-Roman Antiquity, distant past of the Byzantine Komnenoi, or forged familial connections with Angevin rulers in Naples.²⁴

Similarly selective in stressing their nobility was the self-presentation of the Arianiti senior branch. Like the Musachi, they constructed their genealogical links by adding to them the elements of the Greco-Roman antiquity. However, their reference to the mythical past more-less remained at the requirements of the literary expression of their time,²⁵ not overstressing their service to the distant dynasties of the Byzantine rulers. Instead, the Arianiti recalled the dignity of their real lineage, distant or more recent one. In it, one of the most evoked persons was George (born c. 1456), Albanian lord renowned for his resistance to the Ottomans in Albania. George was the formal subject of the Republic of Venice,²⁶ but he was also attached to the Kingdom in Naples by his marriage to Pietrina (called Despina) Francone, reportedly the daughter of the royal governor of Lecce.²⁷

Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (1515-1586), and Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio (1592-1675). Another important connection with the local elite in Italy that was highlighted by the Musachi Chronicle was the marriage of Giovanni's niece Porfida to a Giulio Vagliano; his other niece, Voisava Carles was married to Francesco Martino (of Teano), *cavaliere* in service to Giovanna II of Trastamara, Queen consort of the Kingdom in Naples. Giovanni also praised his remote cousin Andronica —the daughter of Despina Cominata and Stanisha Castrioti— and her marriage to an unnamed representative of the family della Corte of Parma, where she came serving the Duchess of Milan. A similar praise also went to the marriage of her younger sister to the local family Minutolo (Capece Minutolo) who resided in Capua. Interestingly, in his addition to the Chronicle, Constantine Musachi did not mention the marriage of one of his sisters or daughters of his uncle to a stratiotic captain, himself émigré, Giovanni Mathes —the son of Lazarus who had been close neighbour to the Musachi in Francavilla Fontana— that must have happened around 1519.

24. *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, vol. 1, eds. Ludwig VON THALLÓCZY, Konstantin JIREČEK and Milan VON ŠUFFLAY, Vienna, Holzhausen, 1913, p. 123, 135 and 137, No. 409, 454 and 459; in 1280-1281, an Andreas Musachi was recorded as loyal to King Charles I of Naples (1266-1285), whom the family genealogy. See Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 279 and 338, styled with the Byzantine title of *sebastokrator* (*Sebaston cratos*), insinuating the family's service to the Byzantine imperial throne. See Oliver SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Albanien (1392-1479)*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 2001, p. 297.

25. For one such reflection dated 1648, in which the Ottomans were equalled to *Getae* (Late Antique and Humanist reference to the Goths) see Francesco CERONE, «La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona...», vol. 28, p. 178, note 1.

26. Giuseppe VALENTINI, *Acta Albaniae Veneta...*, tomme 3, vol. 24, p. 288-289, No. 7043 (June 23, 1461). This marriage reportedly generated three sons (Thomas, Konstantin and Arianiti) and a daughter.

27. Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 15-16; on other familial connections of members settled in Italy, Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 17-18. More recently, Giorgio FIORI, «Gli Arianiti, una famiglia albanese alla corte di Monferrato»,

Apart from him, first generations of the Arianiti émigrés to Italy stress their lineage with some other émigré circles,²⁸ highlighting in this *inward* recollection the real marriages of their members who claimed direct attachment to the Byzantine imperial tradition. In this *self-segregating* circle, the central place was given to the Castrioti —the offspring of the Albanian leader George Castrioti Scanderbey—²⁹ but also to the Serbian Brankovi family, whose members indeed held direct lineage to the Byzantine imperial Palaiologoi.³⁰ Likewise, the senior Arianiti highly evaluated their connections also with the Tocco, a Neapolitan family that had governed Ionian islands prior to the Ottoman conquest (1479), who too laid open claims to the imperial Palaiologoi legacy through marriage.³¹ The Arianiti ambitions to prove themselves through their real or actual marriage connections and direct ties of blood can also be seen from the stressed reference to their kinswomen's marriages to the lords of the Balkans, instead of selecting just the ones they had enacted with the Italian nobility as did Giovanni Musachi.³² This *inward* focus of the senior Arianiti

Rivista di storia arte archeologia per le Province di Alessandria e Asti (Alessandria), vol. 108 (1999), pp. 67-82. An insinuation about her origin from the Kingdom in Naples was documented in Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 29: *dulci patria amissis opibus ac diuiciis cum liberis suis egena et inops orbem peragrare coacta*.

28. Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 272-273, and further through his part of work that uses subtiles reflecting exegetic wisdom in reference to the biblical exile; see Pietrina's quote in Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 29; Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Searching for Acceptance...», p. 129-143.

29. This stress largely laid upon the fact that Scanderbey's wife was Donica, daughter of George Arianiti; in reality, evidence hints that Donica's Arianiti brothers may not have been always on equal or even good terms with Scanderbey, e.g. Šime LJUBIĆ, «Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slovenstva i Mletačke Republike», in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 22, Zagreb, Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1891, p. 269-270, No. 273 (September 3, 1463) —their mother's worry that Scanderbey may conscribe them to fight the Ottomans. Among the Castrioti, the Granai branch resident in Copertino and Parabita took over the legacy of Scanderbey's direct branch that came to physical extinction by the end of the 16th century.

30. Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, p. 87-90; Noel MALCOM, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsaires, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World*, Oxford, Allen Lane, 2015, p. 88. Stephen Branković, Serbian Despot (1458-1459), married Angelina Arianiti, daughter of George Arianiti Comneno.

31. Nada ZEČEVIĆ, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm...*

32. The eldest daughters of Constantine Arianiti, Andronica and Pentesilea, were married to the Tocco —Carlo III, the son of exiled Depot of Arta, Leonardo III Tocco— of the Ionian islands and the Albanian Ducaghin —Lech of the exiled Albanian kindred of the Ducaghin. His third daughter, Ippolita, married Zanobio de' Medici, and, in 1532, Lionello Pio of Carpi. The fourth one, Polissena, married Rinaldo degli Ottoni of Matelica; the fifth, Deianira, allied with Gaspare Trivulzio, and, for the second time, Count Giorgio Trivulzio. The last one, Elena, married Spanish Count Juan de Luna, the castellan of Milano. Her daughter Andro-

kinsmen's self-presentations seems confirmed also from the evidence of their regular friendships in Italy, among which we find some notable exiles from the Balkans (e.g. Spandounes, Strategopouloi, Tocco).³³

Apart from their marriages and ancestral links, invented or real, the genealogical relations of the first Musachi and Arianiti in Italy also stressed the real involvement of their male kinsmen in the military or courtly service of the Kingdom in Naples and other Italian (papal in case of the Arianiti) courts.³⁴ Obviously trying to *tune* the prominence of those who did not reach the highest such positions which they expected, the Musachi family genealogists reverted to stressing their olden Byzantine titles (despots and Sebastocrators), or posts which their ancestors had earned before their migration, while serving the throne in Naples as the vassals of the Angevin dynasty, or of Alfonso V of Aragon.³⁵ Similarly, while positioning himself in the pontifical diplomatic service, Constantine Arianiti (figure 3) styled himself with a nick-name *Commeno* (*detto Cominato e Commeno*), thus alluding to his ancestors' advancement in the military service to the Byzantine imperial Komnenoi dynasty, and a similar fame followed his son *Arianiti, who fought in Algiers for Charles V (1519/1530-1556)*.³⁶

nica was also married into the Trivulzio family (1568), while her second marriage was with a Giorgio Secco, a Milanese noble.

33. Nada ZEČEVIĆ, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm...*, p. 145, note 194.

34. On the service of Constantine Arianiti and his titular ambitions —«*Princeps of Macedonia*» and «*Duke of Achaia and Prince of Macedonia*», «*Duca of Macedonia*»—, see William MILLER, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1921, p. 512; Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 31, 43-45, note 4, and 81, notes 2 and 4.

35. Francesco CHETTA-SCHIRÀ, *I Castriota: Principi d'Albania nell'Ordine Sovrano e Militare di Malta*, Valetta, Tipografia del Malta, 1929, p. 58-59; Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, p. 19; Noel MALCOM, *Agents of Empire...*, p. 88-89. The stress of these connections can be found in Giovanni MUSACHI, «*Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...*», p. 314, on Adriano and his military fame that brought to him the landed possession Bivilla in Piccardie and a castle of Mundi for his loyalty to the French crown. According to Constantine Musachi, Adriano was killed on May 10, 1526 by his rival who wanted to take his property and his military post.

36. For his medallion representing his imperial claims, see George Francis HILL, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini, vol. 2*, London, The British Museum, 1930, without page, table 186, note 1124. For his military service to different rulers, as well as his diplomatic missions see further in Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 52-94; Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, p. 18. Constantine married Francesca, probably illegitimate daughter of Marquis Bonifacio, which gave an impression that he was invested with a rich dowery. According to the inscription, as from Laurentius Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae, Quae hoc nostro saeculo et a Christianis posita sunt Libri Quatuor*, Helmstadt, Jacobus Lucius Transylvanus, 1592, book 3, p. 124, he died on May 15 1531 (see Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende Der Arianiten...*, p. 84, note 1); his body, however, was not found there during



FIGURE 3. Constantine Arianiti (Figure: Albanian Heraldry, Wikimedia Commons).

Genealogical accounts of the Bua kinsmen settled in the Italian South are not as wordily as those of the Musachi and the Arianiti from this period. Their relative silence can be explained with the fact that prior to its settlement in Italy, this kindred had experienced a highly dynamic diversification, hence, its kinsmen's ties lacked coherence and solidarity. Their frequent branching and alliances with other kindreds (e.g. the Spata) back home resulted in the kinsmen's weak awareness of their common origins, as well as in the deterioration of their economic status and loss of social prestige even before they settled in Puglia. Although some of the Bua had been genealogically connected with prominent kindreds like the Arianiti or the Italian Tocco,³⁷ the early-sixteenth century groups settled in Salentino were largely documented as the clients and feudal dependants of the Castrioti. These Bua did

the later attempts to verify this, see Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende des Arianiten...*, p. 85, note 2. On his military activities that spanned the papal Curia, the Republic of Venice, the Habsburgs, France, Florentine Medici and Italian dynasts, see Winfried STELTZER, «*Konstantin Arianiti als Diplomat zwischen König Maximilian und Papst Julius II in den Jahren 1503-1508*», *Römische Quartalschrift* (Vatican City), vol. 63 (1968), p. 29-48; Kenneth Meyer SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, vol. 3, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1984, p. 43, note 237; Jonathan HARRIS, «*Despots, emperors...*», p. 645-661. His direct line was extinguished with his son, Arianiti, who had a fair reputation among the *condottieri*, was killed in a battle (1551). On his daughters, mentioned above, note 32; also, Franz BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten...*, p. 85-92.

37. For the connection with the Arianiti, see below, note 38; for the connection with the Tocco, see Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «*The Italian Kin...*», p. 237-247.

not refer even to their renown relatives, some of whom, at same time, operated elsewhere in the Apennines and other parts of the European West, for example, famous Mercurio Bua (1478-c. 1542), stratiotic commander widely known for his military service to the Republic of Venice and other European polities (Kingdom in Naples, France, Milan) (figure 4). Unlike his fame which the Venetian Humanists of his time carefully supplemented with mythical-imperial genealogy (figure 5), the recorded memory of the Bua settled in Puglia was short and lacking in any reference to their aristocratic titles or ancient lineage of their past.³⁸



FIGURE 4. *Ritratto di gentil huomo*, by Lorenzo Lotto. Possible image of Mercurio Bua, c. 1536 (Figure: The Yorck Project, Wikimedia Commons).

38. Mercurio, mentioned as a relative of Constantin Arianiti was born in Nauplion; his father, Alessio (or Prodano), was also a stratiotic soldier. Mercurio's was the leader of stratiots loyal to the Republic of Venice, and his fame spread across Humanist Europe as the part of the Venetian anti-Ottoman epics. An inscription of his grave is dated to 1637 (he must have died between 1527 and 1562): *MERCURIO BUA COMITI E. PRINCIPIBUS PELOPONNESI EPIROTARUM EQUITUM DUCTORI, ANNO SALU. MDCXXXVII*, as from Konstantin N. SATHAS, *Ελληνικά ανέγδοτα περι συνταχθέντα και εκδιδόμενα κατ' έγκρισιν της Βουλής εθνικήδαπάνη*, Athens, Fotos, 1867, p. 102. For his fame, see «Ex Jannis Coronei Rebus a Mercurio Bua gestis», in *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, ed. Charles HOPF, Berlin, Weidmann, 1873, p. 367-370. Also, Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, p. 93-102 and 110-111; Lucia NADIN, *Migrazioni e integrazione: il caso degli Albanesi a Venezia (1479-1552)*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2008. In addition to Mercurio, the Venetian propaganda praised several other Bua soldiers, for instance, a *Prodano* (possibly Mercurio's father) and a *Jurca*. For several other Bua stratiot soldiers recorded in service to the Kingdom in Naples, see José M. FLORISTÁN, «Stradioti albanesi al servizio degli Asburgo di Spagna (I): le famiglie albanesi Bua, Crescia e Renesi», *Shëjzat-Pleiades* (Rome), vol. 4, No. 1-2 (2019), p. 10-15.



FIGURE 5. Flag given in 1510 to Mercurio Bua by Emperor Maximilian I, showing the imperial sign of double-headed eagle (Figure: Konstantinos N. Sathas, Wikimedia Commons).

PROSOPOGRAPHY AND BRIDGING

While the genealogical reference of the three kindreds mapped the immediate needs of their senior branches towards their economic affirmation, or social recognition in the Kingdom, the linkability and connectedness of their cadets were directed by various dynamic interactions with the local societies of the Italian South. Observing these interactions by prosopographical datasets retrieved from documentary evidence (most notably, church and notarial records in Puglia),³⁹ one can identify numerous individuals of all three kin-

39. Among other sources, the evidence of the local cadastres (e.g. *Catasti antichi*, or *Catasto Onciario* of 1747) or parish records (*la conta delle anime*) can also supplement these analyses. For the purposes of this paper that are more exemplary than exploratory, however, I did not use examples from these materials, namely because they point out to a short period of time and the period after which some of the processes that I reflected upon took place. Also, the evidence of the cadastre, apart from that it enlists persons, their properties and familial relations, out of which some conclusions about the social dynamics can be drawn, still does not give much data about the émigrés' wider economic or social activities, or generational change over longer periods of time. For a useful introduction to Copertino's cadastres, see Mario SPEDICATO, «La "conta delle anime" nella diocesi di Lecce in epoca moderna: orientamenti pastorali e problemi demografici», in Gauro COPPOLA and Casimira GRANDI (eds.), *La "conta delle anime": Popolazione e registri parrocchiali: questioni di metodo ed esperienze*, Bologna: Clueb, 1989, p. 135-159; Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 4: *Il catasto onciario del 1747*, Nardò, Besa, 2002.

dreds, dispersed along the Kingdom's bordering zones and on Sicily, involved in diverse daily relations with their compatriots, indigenous members of other émigré communities, but also various circles of their local host societies. The memory of these Musachi, Arianiti and Bua commoners did not resort to the constructed vertical descending kinship, rarely passing beyond the mentions of their fathers or grandfathers, and largely reflecting horizontal ties that were not based on their blood connections, but rather on their actual daily relations. Among these, especially stressed were friendship, neighbourhood, and partnership, as well as a fairly dynamic marital exchange, even in environments where antagonisms and conflict were the regular parts of daily encounters.⁴⁰ In Manduria, town that was considered one of the key centres of the Levantine immigration at the beginning of the 16th century, one could meet, for instance, a commoner named Musachi operating within a circle of several Greek artisans, all identified in documents as his «compatriots».⁴¹ During the second half of the 16th century and early 17th century, some of his kinsmen were recorded as already immersed in the local religious communities (e.g. Tommaso Musachi and his sister, nun Catherina; priest Massenzio Arianiti), while some others openly challenged this kind of integration (e.g. a Zefiro Bua, young «renegade» seminarian in Taranto).⁴² Unlike the

senior branch of Giovanni Musachi that seems to have confessed Roman Catholicism even in the time prior to their departure from Albania,⁴³ a group of Orthodox Christian Musachi was recorded in villages near Taranto. Among them was a Demetrios Musachi of Belvedere, who in 1637 married a local Roman Catholic girl, choosing to integrate with her family and thus remain in the village, unlike his kinsmen who preferred to relocate to the surrounding Orthodox Christian communities whose parish priests still resisted the post-Tridentine conversion pressures imposed by the local Jesuits.⁴⁴ Marriages with the locals of the Roman Catholic rite were also attested among the Arianiti settled in Salentino during the 16th and the 17th centuries.⁴⁵

The stress on horizontal ties of collaboration and their bridging character can be identified also among the kinsmen who were recorded as soldiers. For instance, several Musachi were recorded as *condottieri*, mercenaries in service of various Italian courts, dispatched all over Italy. One of them was a Yanni (he was mentioned between 1499 and 1532), a recruit of the Greek contingent from Coron in the Peloponnese loyal to Carlo V. Yanni was the contemporary of Giovanni Musachi and his son Constantine, who also served as a stratiot in the same regiment,⁴⁶ but despite their rela-

40. Genealogical tables provided with this paper do not represent all recorded kinsmen or their interactions, but only those whose relations were mentioned in this paper. As it was pointed out by Pietro DI MARCO, «La Chiesa bizantina di Sicilia», in Matteo MANDALÀ (ed.), *Giornate di studi offerte a Antonino Guzzetta: Cinque secoli di cultura albanese in Sicilia: Atti del XXVIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Albanesi. Palermo-Piana degli Albanesi-Mezzojuso-Contessa Entellina, 16-19 maggio 2002*, Palermo, A. C. Mirror, 2003, p. 211, the coherence of familial émigré groups affected their adaptability and integration/assimilation, with more homogeneous groups focusing on the conservation of their ancestral culture and awareness of their common background. Indicative examples about the kindreds' interactions with various strata of the local societies in Copertino can be found in Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 4, and Oronzo MAZZOTTA and Mario SPEDICATO, *Copertino in epoca moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 3: *Le fonti ecclesiastiche*, part 1: *Le visite pastorali*, Copertino, Congedo, 1977.

41. Benedetto FONTANA, *Le famiglie di Manduria dal xv secolo al 1930: Capostipiti, provenienza, uomini illustri*, Manduria, Regione Puglia, 2005, p. 38 and 143. Other artisans mentioned by their name, whom with he was frequently mentioned as collaborating were baker Cristaldo, an Antonios, and a Demetrios.

42. Among the examples of kinsmen/kinswomen connected to religious orders, ASLe, AN, RD, 190v–192v (September 8, 1605); Benedetto FONTANA, *Le famiglie di Manduria...*, p. 143. Priest Massenzio Areniti was mentioned in ASLe, AN, FP, 113r–114r (May 11, 1623), and from Oronzo MAZZOTTA and Mario SPEDICATO, *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 3, p. 322, we know that in 1639 he was 50 years-old. His recorded mediations, e.g. ALSe, AN, FP, 134v–136r (October 18, 1633), and ALSe, AN, FP, 6v–48r (May 18, 1634), show that he was well immersed in the local society. Being born in 1489, he was the junior contemporary

of Angelo junior of Troyalo's branch, but it seems that he was not his direct descendant. This is indicated by the fact that his mother, documented as a widow Catrinella Gulla di Poggiardo [ASLe, AN, FP, 7r–8r (January 26, 1639)] was clearly not the same person as Massenzio's aristocratic wife Lupa Capozza. For Zafiro, who fled from the seminary in Taranto and went back to Albania with another boy of the Arianiti kindred, see Antonio Primaldo COCO, *Casali Albanesi...*, p. 53–54 (May 9, 1578).

43. Giovanni MUSACHI, «Breve Memoria de li Discendenti...», p. 277. This conclusion is supported by Giovanni's reference about the baptism of his newly born son Adriano in Durazzo, a coastal urban centre of Albania that, under the control of the Venetian authorities, had been largely Catholic.

44. Emidio TOMAI-PITINCA, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche...*, p. 14, singles out this community among other émigré villages in Taranto, as being subject to a focused Latinisation (i.e. conversion to Catholicism). Given the determination of this group to keep to their ancestral Christian Orthodoxy, it is possible that they originated from the group which had migrated from the Peloponnese. Orthodox priests —Albanian clergy in particular— were highly influential in determining the patterns of émigrés' integration through liturgical practices and language used in prayer. Antonio Primaldo COCO, *Casali Albanesi...*, p. 62; Pietro DALENA, «Alle radici...», p. 57; Peter BARTL, «Fasi e modi dell'immigrazione...», p. 197–205. An Aremiti Andriano was mentioned as a young Roman Catholic novice from San Marzano —village under the direct feudal control of the Castriotti— in a seminary run by Bishop Branccaccio in Taranto.

45. ASLe, AN, RD, 62v–63v (October 23, 1622), annotating the marriage of a Vittoria Greco of Galatone, who lived in Copertino, with an Angelo (or Andrea) Areniti of this town, and her dowry paid a bit later, in January 1623.

46. ERNESTO FERRANDO MARTÍNEZ, *Privilegios otorgados por el emperador Carlos V en el Reino de Nápoles, Sicilia aquende el Faro:*

tive physical closeness in this unit, Yanni was never mentioned in Giovanni's genealogical relations. Being one of the poorest paid soldiers in his unit, and openly keeping to his Greekness (as can be seen even from the interpretation of his name) might explain why Giovanni failed to mention him, but it also openly shows that Yanni prioritised his belonging to his military peers and neighbours from the Greece.⁴⁷ Similar conclusion comes out of the evidence about several other Musachi stratiots recorded in other parts of Italy. Among them, for instance, three members of the Order of St. Steven in Parma — a *Moise* (1584), a *Cosimo* (1625) and a *Lucrezio* (1627) Musachi,⁴⁸ all three fully focused on their professional advancement and interactions within their units, with peer soldiers from other parts of Europe, and no appreciation of their senior relatives who tried to affirm themselves through constructed references to leadership, seniority and lineage of the past.

Serie conservada en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, 1943, p. 178, No. 1604; Giuseppe CONIGLIO, *Il vicereame di don Pietro Toledo, 1532-1553*, vol. 1, Naples, Giannini, 1984, p. 178. On several occasions in 1536, Constantine Musachi received from the royal treasury 200 ducats for his maintenance in order to cover the damage he had suffered for the loss of his land to the Ottomans in «Epiros». Constantine's higher status is also hinted by the fact that in these lists he was separately mentioned from the group of Greeks from Coron, among whom Yanni Musachi operated, who were identified as «poor stratiots who have no houses» (Giuseppe CONIGLIO, *Il vicereame di don Pietro Toledo...*, p. 179 and 193), and received separate funds to settle in the Kingdom (September 1, 1536-August 31, 1536).

47. The connection of the Hellenised Musachi of the Peloponnese with Sicily as the place of their primary migration to the Kingdom is also suggested by a review of Albanian émigré families recorded by Raffaele PATITUCCI D'ALIFERA PATITARIO, «Casati Albanesi in Calabria e Sicilia», *Rivista Storica Calabrese* (Reggio Calabria), vol. 10-11 (1989-1990), p. 304-306. Charles ROSENBERG, *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 131, note 199, mentions that the confraternity commissioned the tombs of a Francesco and Giovanni Musachi in 1529.

48. Lodovico ARALDI, *L'Italia nobile nelle sue città, e ne' cavalieri figli delle medeme*, Venice, Poleti, 1722, p. 68. This military order was approbated by Pope Pius IV in 1561. Although it largely served the Medici prestige, its knights took part in the Spanish wars against the Ottomans, and were present at the siege of Malta (1565) and the Battle of Lepanto (1571), also assisting the Venetians in the Eastern Adriatic and Corfu. More on the order, Gregor GATSCHER-RIEDEL and Mario STRIGL, *Die roten Ritter. Zwischen Medici, Habsburgern und Osmanen. Die Orden und Auszeichnungen des Großherzogtums Toskana*, Vienna, Neue Welt Verlag, 2014. After its initial residence in Portoferraio, on the island of Elba, they moved their headquarters to Pisa the square in which Cosimo Medici made Giorgio Vasari construct the Church of St. Stephen of the Cavalieri.

NETWORKS AND LINKING

For many kinsmen, horizontal connections with their local neighbours and professional peers from all over the region certainly effectuated their initial integration into the local society. Prosopographical evidence shows, however, that the most successful such connections were the outcomes of the relations that were strategically built and elaborated over a longer period of time, aiming at ensuring the kinsmen's more immediate and durable influence in the local communities. Interestingly, the frequency of these ties' mention in the local sources suggests that such relationships became more apparent from around the mid-16th century (1550s-1560s), that is, after the first generation of émigrés from the Balkans had already effectively settled in their new homes. As shown from the examples of several Arianiti and Bua kinsmen residing in or near Copertino, their participation in trade and land circulation was initially based on marriages which some of them made with the local commoner girls.⁴⁹ The more ambitious ones established more elaborate such alliances, mixing marriage with power, status and money.⁵⁰ An exemplary case was that of a George Arianiti nicknamed Troyalo, who in 1567 was mentioned as a land negotiator in Copertino.⁵¹ Both he and his son Ange-

49. Some examples, both male and female marital connections, were mentioned in ASLe, AN, FP, 11v-12v (January 17, 1630) (Giuseppe Areniti and Antonia Trentina of Copertino); ASLe, AN, FP, 120r-121r (September 21, 1636) (Ferrante Cardinale and Vittoria Areniti of Copertino); ASLe, AN, FP, 105r-v (November 15, 1637) (Bernardino Savina di Leverano and Carmosina Areniti di Copertino). Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 2: *Gli atti notarili del' 500, regesti*, Copertino, Congedo, 1993, p. 388, No. 2618 (December 29, 1592) (Rosa Areniti marrying a local man whom to she brought in dowry a house with an inn in the vicinity of St. Frances' church); ASLe, AN, RA, 228r-229v (November 11, 1564), for a Marco Antonio Arianiti, who married a daughter of the local resident Natale di Antona di Sogliano.

50. Some examples were mentioned in ASLe, AN, FP, f. 314r-315r (October 18, 1615) (marriage of Donata Maria de Constantinis and Scipione Areniti of Copertino); ASLe, AN, FP, f. 132v-133r (August 18, 1617) (collaboration of Angelo Areniti and Giovanni Mara Martinello with Giovanni Luigi and Scipione Beni); ASLe, AN, FP, f. 8v-10v (April 1, 1603), on Anna (Arenita) re-selling the census from Felice Galiano of Copertino; ASLe, AN, FP, f. 226v-227v (December 27, 1605), on Vincenzo Mieli di Leverano marrying a Mattia Areniti of Copertino, who was under the protection of her cousin Giovanni Camillo de Argentia. Among the business clients of Angelo, one finds brothers Imbeni of Copertino, ASLe, AN, FP, f. 226v-228v (June 3, 1611); ASLe, AN, FP, f. 297r-298v (September 8, 1611), on an exchange between a member of the Capozza family and Angelo Areniti.

51. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 1: *Le fonti documentarie. Inventari*, Copertino, Congedo, 1989, p. 98, No. 639 (October 25, 1565), mentions George Areniti as selling land to the notary of Copertino, Lelio Bove; Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 1, p. 168, No. 1166 (September 5, 1571), he was also documented as

lo⁵² were connected in marriage with local families Bova and Beni,⁵³ whose members traditionally provided the town's notaries and were the leaders of a clique that controlled the local administration offices, also keeping close connections with the local church structures (archbishop in Nardò). Based on this background, the family's reputation in Copertino further grew in 1575, when Angelo's son Massenzio married a girl from the local aristocratic family (Lupa, the daughter of noble Giovanni Serio Capozza and Giulia Greco). Lupa's family had significant portions of land which she brought in dowry to Massenzio,⁵⁴ but, certainly more important for the Arianiti in that moment was her lineage with other aristocratic families of the town. Soon upon the conclusion of this marriage, Massenzio was recorded as collaborating with some of these relatives of his wife, most notably the entrepreneuring Ventura family, whose kinsman Cesare became his closest business partner, as well as with the Morello and Alemano families, whom from Massenzio acquired olive orchards, which allowed him to turn towards agrarian production and trade.⁵⁵ Sometime later, around the end of the 16th century, his son, Angelo (junior), married another local aristocrat, a Giovanna

Imbiraca, whose family furnished him with more efficient business alliances that comprised local seigneurial families in possession of major estates (Alemano, Morello, Imbeni, Verdesca, Caputo, Cameraria and Strafella), allowing him to efficiently trade with land and agrarian products for the next twenty years.⁵⁶

How did George Arianiti Troyalo originally come into the possession of his initial wealth and estates is not entirely clear from the notarial documents. The case of his relative Pietro suggests that some of these acquisitions may have been based upon royal donations of land for military service.⁵⁷ In 1580 Pietro was recorded as a stratiot (*soldato della armatura leggera*), receiving one such donation in Copertino.⁵⁸ Immediately upon the acquisition of this land, he married a Marguerite of the local Martano family, giving to her this estate as a dowry, to later exchange it for some other estates of his wife's family (Ottaiana).⁵⁹ Following his wife's death, he continued to circulate the endowed land within his family, allocating it first to his son whom he had with his second wife, Francesca Caiaffa,⁶⁰ and using it later as a guarantee of some other property acquisitions which he made by negotiating with the local land owners.⁶¹

While linking themselves with Copertino's seigneurial landed elite, the successful Arianiti still kept closer

selling another piece of land to Ortenzio of the local seigneurial family of the Inbeni. In 1567, he was designated as the proprietor of an old feudum established since the Norman times, that was now called after him *la massaria de li Troyali*; he it sold soon (1570), with an annexed church of St. Martin to his townsman Organtino from the distinguished Verdesca family. Marcello GABALLO, «Sul feudo copertinese di Specchia di Normandia o Cambrò e sulla masseria "la Torre"» (September 26, 2012), in *Fondazione Terra d'Otranto* (online), Nardò, Fondazione Terra d'Otranto, 2012, <<http://www.fondazioneterradottranto.it/tag/copertino>> (accessed: September 25, 2020).

52. This Angelo might be the same one recorded in 1553, as having been condemned to an indemnity due to various things he had allegedly alienated from the local treasury.

53. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 247v-250r (October 25, 1569); Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 1, p. 98, No. 639 (October 25, 1565). Among Arianiti married in the circle around these families, we also find a Pietro who married a Laudonia Leo, the daughter of Angelo Leo and Lucrezia Boni: ASLe, AN, RD, f. 107v-108v (April 4, 1598). This is not the same person as stratiot Pietro (see below, notes 56-57), who must have been slightly older and whose two marriages to women of other local families were documented.

54. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 154v-157v (December 5, 1575).

55. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 229, No. 1584 (December 5, 1575), 243, No. 1676 (October 1, 1576), 295, No. 2003 (March 8, 1581), 313, No. 2106 (February 11, 1583), 313, No. 2108 (February 18, 1583), 327, No. 2295 (October 10, 1594), 360, No. 2424 (April 24, 1591) (from the Bono family), 361, No. 2430 (May 28, 1591), 365, No. 2462 (January 27, 1592); ASLe, AN, RA, f. 127v-128r (April 24, 1591) (with Celidonio Bono); ASLe, AN, RA, f. 47v-48v (January 27, 1592) (with Alfonso Greco). In a more general sense, these activities seem to reflect the beginning of the general crisis of feudal domain in the area, see Mario SPEDICATO, *La feudalità salentina nella crisi del Seicento*, Galatina, Edipan, 2010.

56. A later document from ASLe, AN, FP, f. 121r-128v (October 28, 1625), shows that this marriage generated at least one son, a Constantine. This may have been his second marriage, given his earlier mention on an occasion of arranging marriage with a Vernandia, daughter of Palma Sollazza of Copertino. ASLe, AN, FP, f. 28v-30v (January 27, 1603). By August 2, 1623, Angelo had already been dead. ASLe, AN, FP, f. 184r-v (August 2, 1623). For some recent observations on the feudal society of the region, see Vincenzo NAYMO, *Gli «stati» feudali nel Regno di Napoli: economia, società e governo del territorio in Età moderna*, Soveria Manelli, Storia sociale e religiosa della Sicilia, del Mezzogiorno e dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2013.

57. Michelangelo MENDELLA, «Arruolamenti militari di Albanesi a Napoli durante il Seicento», *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane* (Naples), vol. 3, No. 11 (1973), p. 374; Paolo PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia...*, 112.

58. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 126v-127r (April 19, 1591). It remains unclear whether this was the same person as a Pietro who was accused and processed at the court by one of the Copertino local townsmen in 1561. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 57, No. 297-298 (June 15, 1561). The land mentioned upon the conclusion of his marriage had originally belonged to a local, Lupo Antonio Tumulo, and he intended it as a dowry to his wife, as from Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 268, No. 1833 (January 19, 1580), and ASLe, AN, RA, f. 53v-56r (February 2, 1580).

59. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 53v-56r (February 2, 1580); ASLe, AN, RA, f. 101r-102v (February 15, 1580).

60. ASLe, AN, FP, f. 67r-68r (April 16, 1622).

61. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 32v-35v (January 19, 1580); Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 350, No. 2352 (August 18, 1587), 360, No. 2423 (April 19, 1591); Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 173, No. 1197 (December 18, 1571).

ties with their kinsmen, friends, and compatriot neighbours.⁶² In fact, documentary evidence shows a fair degree of solidarity by which the Arianiti new rich bridged these circles. Massenzio was, for instance, recorded as the procurer or tutor of the Bua orphaned children, while Pietro involved some Bua as facilitators in his land transfers.⁶³ In his business, Angelo (senior) Arianiti, from his end, engaged his relatives, among whom his sister's husband, local Tommaso di Occhinigro of Roccaforzata, or some other, more distant kinsmen from the same village, like a certain Demetrios Arianiti.⁶⁴ Angelo also helped Pietro's widow Francesca Caiaffa, and financed the education of one of his closer relatives, priest Massenzio (junior).⁶⁵

A similar strategy of advancing business by connecting to wealthy prominent locals can be found also among the Bua of Copertino. Initially, they were tied to the *Castrioti feudum* near this town, but their gentrification was recorded already in the late 1550s,⁶⁶ when a Giacomo, the son of a Gregorio, married a Luzia/Lucrezia of the local aristocratic family of the Urso. This family claimed connections with the noble Orsini (d'Orso), reportedly, based upon the possessions which their branch of Gravina had in Copertino around the time when Alfonso V Aragon was overtaking the throne in Naples (1442).⁶⁷ Just prior to Giacomo's marriage, one of his relatives, a Lupo, entered the local administration backed by his marriage with a Margherita from the local prominent family de Magis, who also served as officers in the town's administra-

tion.⁶⁸ Lupo's son Mariano further progressed to the office of the town's syndicus,⁶⁹ while his brother Giulio became prominent land owner.⁷⁰ Furthermore, some of the girls from this branch were allied in marriage with the sons of the local land-owners, like Giacomo's sister marrying a man of de Lelio family.⁷¹ Invested with the property of their uncle Giacomo, the children of his brother moved to Lecce in the 18th century, where, among their offspring, a Michaelae Bua emerged as the kindred's best documented negotiator, well-immersed in the wider immigrant community of the town (*Levantini*), but also bridging their relations with the local mercantile elite whom he supplied with olive oil from the domain in Copertino which he inherited from his ancestors.⁷²

The interactions and connections mentioned here using the evidence on the members of three Albanian kindreds settled in the Italian South show that their social capital operated in three distinct forms. The first generation of their kinsmen settled in the area, who claimed the groups' authority and legacy, tentatively constructed this capital, highlighting the family ties that reinforced the kinsmen's bonding with the

62. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 33-34, No. 96-97 (July 3, 1559); ASLe, AN, RA, 39r-41v (June 15, 1562); ASLe, AN, RA, f. 282r-283v (August?, 1587).

63. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 326, No. 2196 (September 20, 1583), or estates' transfers. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 326, No. 2196 (September 20, 1583).

64. ASLe, AN, FP, p. 189r-191r (August 25, 1621) (for dealing with his brother-in-law, Tommaso Occhinigro di Roccaforzata). For his dealings with Demetrio Arianiti, ASLe, AN, FP, f. 128v-129v (August 27, 1622); Oronzo MAZZOTTA and Mario SPEDICATO, *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 3, p. 322; ASLe, AN, FP, f. 113r-114r (May 11, 1623); ASLe, AN, FP, f. 134v-136r (October 18, 1633); and ASLe, AN, FP, f. 6v-48r (May 18, 1634). Occhinigri/Roccaforzata was one of the oldest settlements of the Albanian emigration established after the Scanderbey's campaign in Southern Italy 1461, with villages Fagiano and S. Caspieri mentioned as the feudum of the Basta émigré family, Antonio Primaldo COCO, *Casali Albanesi...*, p. 50 and 58, where notes that at the beginning of the 16th century, this area was largely infeudated to the renowned stratot captain, Lazaro Mathes.

65. ASLe, AN, FP, f. 67r-68r (April 4, 1622) (for dealing with Pietro Araniti, and later his widow, Francesca Caiaffa).

66. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 48v-49r (July 27, 1559); Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 326, No. 2196 (September 20, 1583).

67. Gennaro Maria MONTI, «La spedizione in Puglia...», p. 121-184.

68. Giacomo's father Gregorio and widow were recorded in a dispute over his property in ASLe, AN, RA, f. 84v-88r (June 3, 1573), following Giacomo's death (March 6, 1573). In it, Gregorio aspired to take all the land that had been in the possession of his son, leaving his widow only with the house, furniture, and animals, and denying her the right to reclaim her dowry. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 66v-68r (August 18, 1562).

69. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 66v-68r, 68r-70r (August 18, 1562).

70. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 66v-68r (August 18, 1562); ASLe, AN, RA, f. 68r-70r (August 18, 1562); Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 110, Nos. 733-734 (February 12, 1567) and 121, No. 804 (September 22, 1567). For some other marriages of this kind, see Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 187-188, No. 1308.

71. Mario SPEDICATO (ed.), *Copertino in epoca moderna...*, vol. 2, p. 404, No. 2712 (September 30, 1593). A similar case was mentioned in 1576 (July, 15) (ASLe, AN, RA, f. 130r-132r), *Demetrio Buya* of Veglie gave his daughter Sarvantia in marriage to a local, Gabriele Burtone, with a dowry of 12 *unciae*, a vineyard and some trees, half of a house in the street of Angelo Piccino, textiles and furniture and 12 olive trees located on site called *Ensite*, as well as a part of their *jocalia*. ASLe, AN, RA, f. 84v-88r (March 6, 1573).

72. ASLe, AN, MF, f. 67r-73r (January 29, 1722); ASLe, AN, BS, f. 67r-67v (March 31, 1724); ASLe, AN, BS, f. 48r-55r (July 26, 1735); round this time, a notable Albanian community gathered in Lecce, where they operated along Greek merchants. See Giulio Cesare INFANTINO, *Lecce Sacra, ove si tratta delle vere origini, e fondazioni di tutte le chiese, monasterij, cappelle, spedali, e altri luoghi sacri della città di Lecce*, Lecce, Pietro Micheli, 1634 (republished Bologna, Forni, 2005), p. 119. For some new details of the town's prominent Levantine group, see Nada ZEČEVIĆ, «Business and Network of a Greek Solicitor in Lecce: New Evidence about Michaelae Strategopoulos, 1756-1768», *Papers of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Eastern Sarajevo* (Sarajevo), vol. 16, No. 2 (2014), p. 140-149.

nobility of the Kingdom in Naples, thus also helping their kinsmen's attempts to improve their economies. This was done most commonly by genealogies and status relations in which the kinsmen utilised mythical heroes, close or uncertain attachments of their ancestry to the Byzantine imperial family, their pristine assets of prominence and power, but also their marriages, both to their old suzerains or new local lords and neighbours. As the example of the Musachi shows, these ties meant bonding and could be directed in an *outward* way, to connect the branches aspiring to the social affirmation to any source of power in the Kingdom in Naples or even further across Italy. The Arianiti ties, however, rather reflected *inward* forms of bonding, highlighting their imperial lineage or real familial relations of their members, thus highly valuing genealogical bonds with their compatriots, dynastic exiles of the Balkans —among these, most notably, the Castrioti, who claimed leadership and representation of all Albanians settled in the Italian South.

The interactions reported by the prosopographical evidence about the contacts of individual kinsmen —some coming from less prominent branches that had little or no connection with those claiming

the kindreds' authorities and seniority— show a different type of the social capital. Its bridging character prompted kinsmen's diverse horizontal relationships with their compatriots or other exiles of the region, but also with their local Italian hosts and neighbours. Following the initial stages of the kinsmen's settlement, these relations comprised marriage exchange, but also some other, non-familial interactions such as professional cooperation or religious conversion and monastic profession.

From the second half of the 16th century, however, the kinsmen of the three kindreds started to reflect more of their linking capital which prompted their members to develop structured networking relations in which marriage, military companionship or church professions were just initial bonds out of which more extensive and durable attachments grew to the entrepreuring local aristocracy of the Italian South, with whom they established more focused business relations. It is these relations that allowed the kinsmen's participation in the affairs of the local landed or administration elite, through which, until the mid-18th century, their most aspiring members became notable contributors to their local societies.

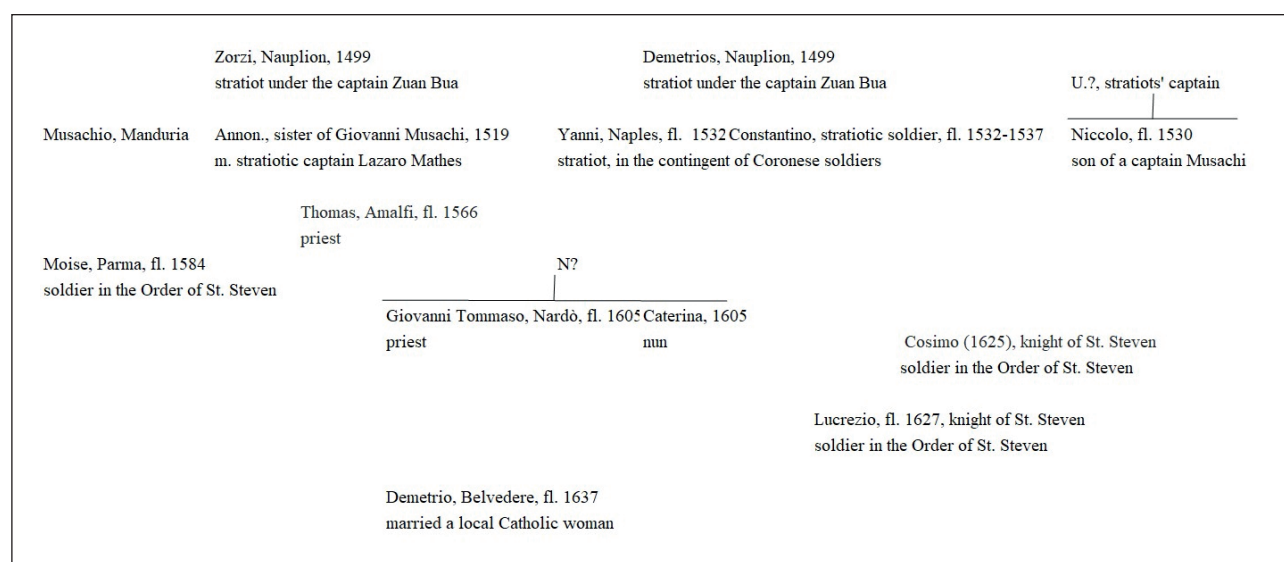


FIGURE 6. The Musachi cadet kinsmen (15th-17th centuries) (Figure: «Supplement to the Genealogical Map of the Senior Branch of Giovanni Musachi», in *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, ed. Charles HOPPE, Berlin, Weidmann, 1873, p. 532).

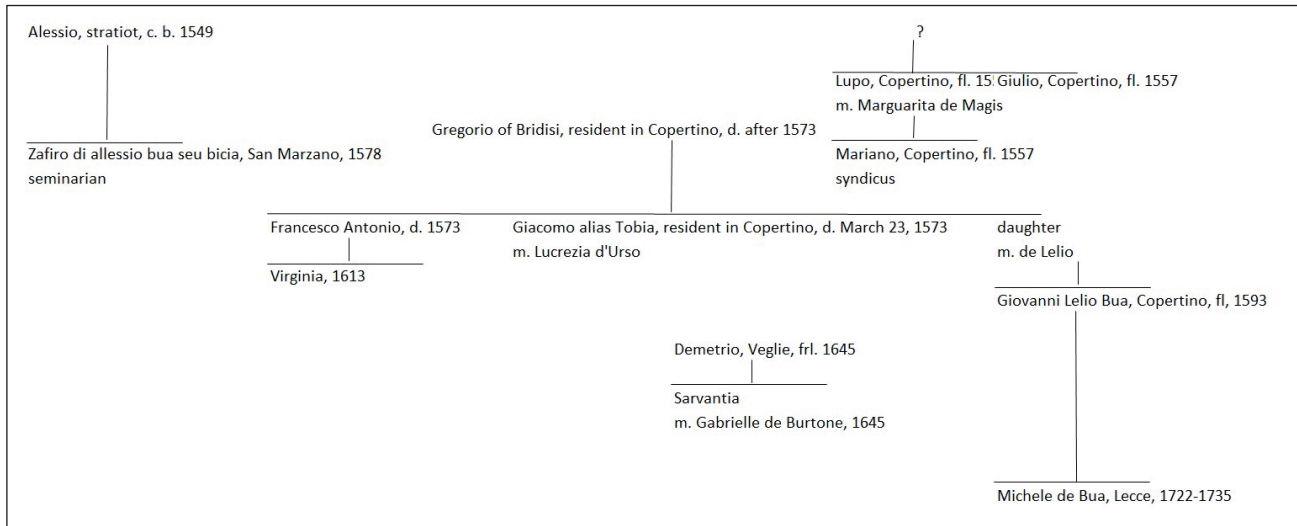


FIGURE 7. The Bua in Salentino (16th-17th centuries). Examples mentioned by the paper (Figure: provided by the author).

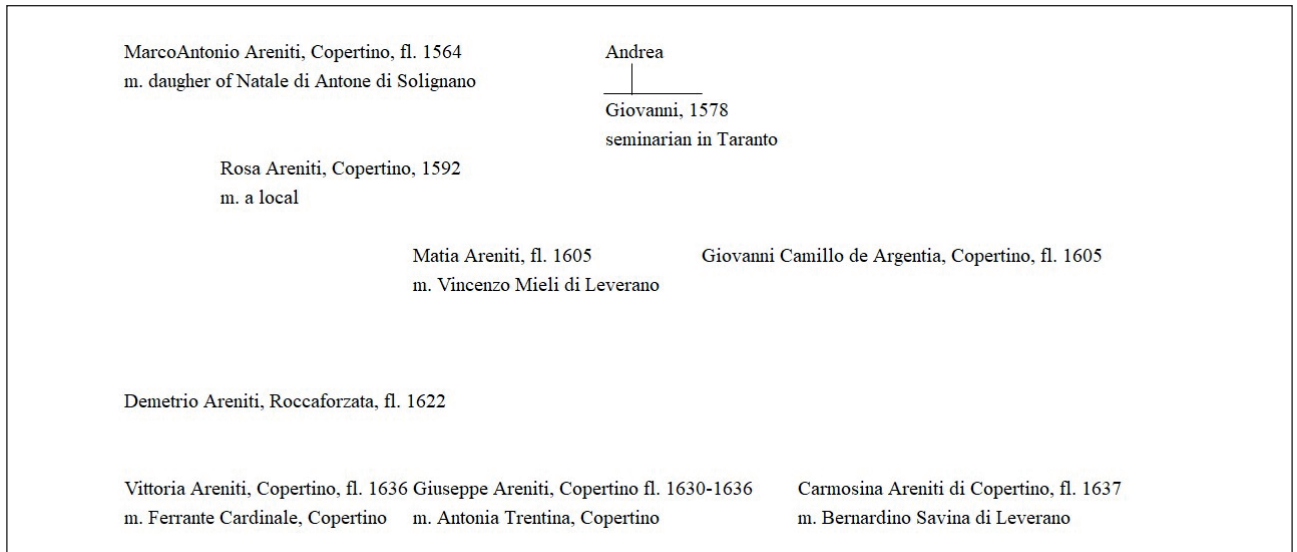


FIGURE 8. Arianiti commoners of Copertino (15th-17th centuries). Examples elaborated by the paper (Figure: provided by the author).

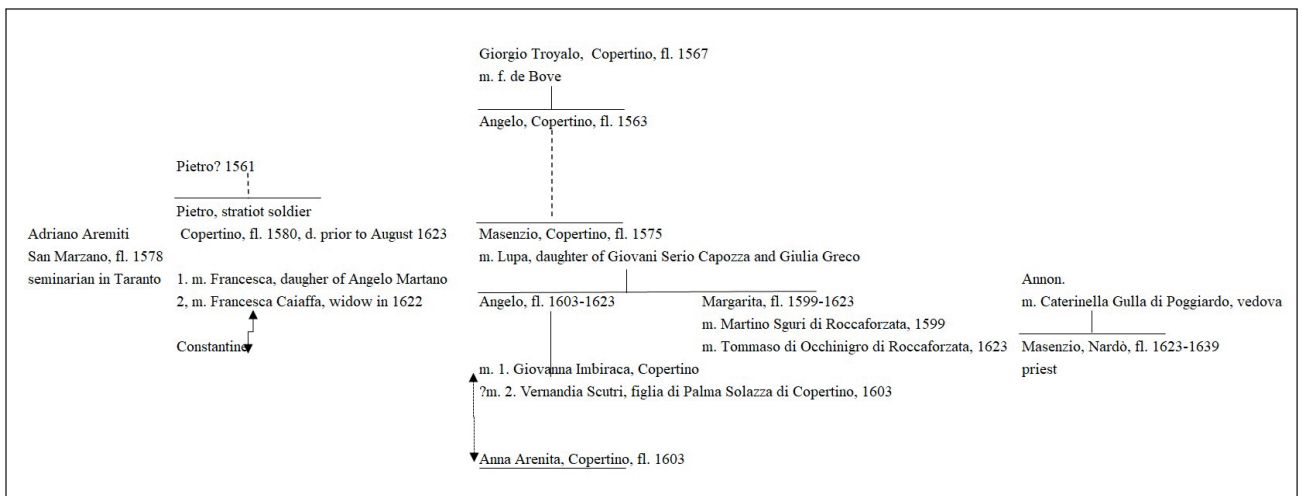


FIGURE 9. Arianiti commoners of Copertino (15th-17th centuries). The branch of Troyalo. Examples elaborated by the paper (Figure: provided by the author).