

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204-1453

The relations which came to exist between the Greek and Latin churches after the conquest of 1204 have their origins deep within the culture of the Mediterranean. Although the Christian church and the Roman Empire, into which it was born, both made claims to unity, in fact, the Empire was divided into two parts, a Greek East and a Latin West. When friction between the Orient and Occident developed after the fourth century on a political and cultural level, churchmen were unable to prevent it from spilling over into the ecclesiastical sphere.

Points of dispute developed over theological and liturgical matters which were as much the result of psychological conflict as doctrinal ambiguity in the texts of Scripture and the creeds. Attempts of the Greeks to understand the Latin point of view and vice versa foundered on the inability of the parties to communicate. The ethnic and linguistic gap between the two societies was simply too wide.

An example of this mutual incomprehension can be seen in the understanding the parties gave to the role of the bishop of Rome in the church. Both looked to their common Roman inheritance for guidance in this matter. The East modelled itself on the republican tradition of Rome, while the monarchical structure of the emperors appealed to the West. Thus the single most important institution of the church for Greeks became the council of bishops, meeting as the Senate once gathered in the Forum of Rome. On the other hand, the western experience saw the papacy as the dominant force within the church, enjoying a unique jurisdiction in matter of faith and morals.

Instances of papal intervention in Constantinople's ecclesiastical affairs in the Middle Ages were fairly frequent. Almost any dispute in the capital caused one of the parties to turn to Rome for support. This not only flattered the papacy, but led it to believe that it was a normal function of its office to hear appeals from all of Christendom, East as well as West. Yet in Constantinople such outside intervention was always thought to be extraordinary, no matter how often Rome was asked to arbitrate. The events of 1054, which have wrongly been exaggerated into the beginning of the lasting schism between the churches, were, in fact, only another example of the clash between Greek and Latin ideas on the proper governance of the church.

When the Crusading period opened, a new change in East-West relations also was inaugurated. For the first time numbers of Latin Catholics were pres-

ent in the East in force. A more complex set of relations resulted, for if the Knights of the first three Crusades might be regarded as guests, brother Christians, enlisted to do battle against the common foe, such an interpretation could certainly not be given to the Fourth Crusaders. From 1204 to 1453 the Latins in the East were also conquerors and a good part of the Greek world had to accommodate itself to this new and unexpected situation. The Latins felt it necessary for their very survival to stress their differences from the native population. Latin ecclesiastical identity thus became accentuated at the expense of Christian unity, driving further the wedge between Catholic and Orthodox and making mutual understanding ever more difficult.

When the news of Constantinople's capture by the Venetians and Crusaders first reached Rome, Pope Innocent III was shocked. With the passage of time, the mood of the Pontiff changed. Innocent reasoned that what had been accomplished could not have been done without God's assistance. A lasting union of the Greek and Latin churches might well be the outcome¹.

At the time of the conquest, the Greek patriarch John Kamateros fled the city hidden among a group of refugees, thereby allowing the Latins to argue the patriarchate was vacant. Since the Crusaders had selected the Latin Emperor, the Venetians were allowed to choose one of their countrymen for the office. Thomas Morosini was therefore elected without consulting Rome. Pope Innocent reluctantly accepted the result but was determined to oversee events in the Latin Empire through the appointment of personal legates to the East. Therefore Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna was dispatched to Constantinople to negotiate with the Greek hierarchy concerning union between the churches. Conferences were held on those matters upon which the churches were in disagreement: the procession of the Holy Spirit, the authority of Rome, unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and the Western preference for a celibate clergy. Despite his conciliatory attitude, Benedict made few converts to the Latin point of view. Indeed, all the Greek bishops in Latin-occupied territories with the single exception of Bishop Theodore of Euboea preferred exile to accepting the Latin faith².

1. Innocent to bishops, abbots and other clerics of the church at Constantinople, Feb. 12, 1204, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: scriptores latini* (221 vols., Paris, 1844-64) CCXV, col. 513.

2. Niketas Choniates, *Events which followed the Fall of the City*, IV and V in *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, ed. Emmanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 823-24, (hereafter CSHB). See also George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (rev. ed., New Brunswick, 1969), 422-65; Robert L. Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261", *Traditio* VI (1948) 34-7; Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente* (2 vols., Verona, 1973-76), I, 147-60; Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1976) I, 13-26.

In August 1206, Morosini, by forbidding the use of the Greek liturgy in Constantinople, took the first step towards a hardening of the Latin position. In 1213 a new legate, Cardinal Pelagius, arrived from Rome. His attitude was even more rigid; on his orders all the Greek churches in Constantinople were closed. By this time the Latin Kingdom was in disarray. It had practically gone out of existence when the first Latin Emperor, Baldwin, became a victim of a Bulgarian war. Factions within the city eroded the empire's strength. Moreover, Pope Innocent III's attention was now diverted to the Byzantine successor state of Nicaea which offered the promise of more lasting gains for the Pope's efforts to obtain Eastern recognition³.

A Latin community existed in Constantinople at the time of the city's conquest. Most of its members were Italians who had been emigrating to Constantinople over the past several hundred years and had been allowed by the emperors the privilege of possessing their own Latin churches and clergy⁴.

The first of the Italian colonies formed was composed of merchants from Amalfi arriving early in the tenth century. Their church was called St. Mary of the Amalfitans or St. Mary, Mother of God. In addition, Benedictines from that city had established two monasteries with their churches in the capital: one was dedicated to the Holy Savior, the other was called St. Mary *de Latin*. There was also a chapel and hospice constructed for the use of the Amalfitan monks who had a foundation on Mt. Athos⁵.

The Venetian colony originated in 922 when it received a charter from Emperor Basil II in return for naval support against Slavic pirates who preyed upon Aegean shipping. The first known church was St. Akindynos, mentioned in a document of Emperor Alexios Komnenos who ceded it with its bakery and revenues to the Venetians in a treaty of May, 1082⁶. Here the weights and

3. W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), 182-87; Jean Longon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), 93-95; P. O. Rousseau, "La question des rites entre Grecs et Latins des premiers siècles au concile de Florence", *Irenikon* XXII 3 (1949), 233-69.

4. Charles Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, 1968) offers the best account of the Latins in Constantinople.

5. R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires des colonies latines à Constantinople", *Revue des études byzantines* IV (1946) 163-65 and by the same author, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953), III, 582-83.

6. Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453* (5 parts, Munich and Berlin, 1924-65), I, 100 and II, 27. See also, E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la latinité de Constantinople: Nomenclature des églises latines de Constantinople sous les empereurs byzantines", *Echos d'Orient* XXIII, 4 (Oct., 1924), 449; François Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople* (2nd ed., Paris, 1894), 16-20; H. F. Brown, "The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the Close of the Twelfth Century", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XI (1920) 68ff.

measures of the Venetian colony were preserved and the notary of the Republic kept his office. The rector of the parish served as vicar for the Venetian bishop and supervised the revenues of his properties in the East. In the middle of the twelfth century San Marco of the Market Place, a dependency of the Venetian monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore had become the colony's second foundation. Additional churches eventually came to be built: Santa Maria of the Market Place, San Nicola, San Giovanni and a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. George⁷.

The Pisans were present in Constantinople with a church dedicated to St. Nicholas as early as 1111. This church was probably an imperial donation, confirmed anew in a document of 1192⁸. A second church was later built and named in honor of SS. Peter and Paul. The Pisans' churches suffered considerable damage at the time of the Fourth Crusade; only the latter church survived. It was in their possession until 1439 at which time the Florentines took it over⁹.

The Genoese were the last of the Italians to form a colony on the Golden Horn, having obtained their privileges in 1169. Their first church, whose name remains unknown, was provided them in a grant made by Emperor Alexios III Angelos in October, 1202¹⁰. Only months later the Latin conquest occurred and the Genoese merchants, the great rivals of the Venetians, were expelled from the capital. At one time or another, smaller communities of Western Catholics had their own places of worship. These included Anconitans, Provençals, Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Catalans, Ragusans, and the Hospitallers of St. John¹¹. Their establishment offered native merchants and pilgrims hospices in the Eastern capital. On occasions the Latin churches suffered harassment, such as in the eleventh century when Patriarch Michael Kerularios forced their closure for using unleavened bread in the Eucharist or in 1182 when many were destroyed along with their clergy upon Andronikos Komnenos I's coming to power¹².

7. Janin, *Géographie*, 583-4; G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (3 parts, Vienna, 1856-57) I, 67-8 and F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénétienne au moyen âge* (Paris, 1959), 126-9.

8. Dölger, *Regesten*, II, 53 and 98.

9. Franz Miklosich and Josef Mueller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi* (6 vols., Vienna, 1860-90), III, 7, 20, and 200

10. Dölger, *Regesten*, II, 82 and 108; Miklosich and Mueller, *Acta*, III, 49-56; Janin, *Géographie*, III, 587-88; Roberto Lopez, *Storia della Colonia Genovese nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938), 136-40; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-86), I, 221-31.

11. Janin, *Géographie*, III, 587-91.

12. Francis Dvornik, "Constantinople and Rome" in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. IV, *The Byzantine Empire*, J. Hussey, ed., new ed., (2 vols., Cambridge, 1966-67), I, 461-

While the upper classes might grudgingly tolerate the Westerners in their midst, the average citizen found the foreigners exasperating. They enjoyed economic advantages over native merchants, dressed and acted in strange ways, and even worshipped God in a manner which most Greeks considered heretical. The Fourth Crusade's conquest confirmed Byzantine popular opinion that Western Christians would always be their sworn enemies¹³.

During the period of the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople a total of thirty-two churches were transferred from the Orthodox to the Latins¹⁴. It would hardly have been possible to provide sufficient clergy for so many parishes were it not for the fact the Latin conquest paralleled the foundation of the mendicant orders in the West. Henceforth the friars were to play a predominant role in the religious life of the Latin Christians in the East.

The Franciscans were the first to arrive when Luke of Apulia came to Constantinople in 1220 to be followed by his companion Benedict of Arezzo a year later. St. Francis, whose missionary interest in the Orient was so strong, personally gave them their commission. The Franciscans were assisted by the Venetians and were soon staffing the Republic's churches as well as having their own convent, "The Agora". A year after the Franciscans' appearance in Constantinople, one of their number Matthias, or Matthew, was named the third Latin patriarch of Constantinople. Their influence was so great that they began serving as counsellors and confessors to the Latin emperors. Benedict of Arezzo was sufficiently respected by Emperor John de Brienne, that before the sovereign's death he asked to receive the Franciscan habit¹⁵. The Friars were also engaged in trying to win over the Orthodox to Rome. Five Franciscans presented themselves before the Nicene court of the Emperor John Vatatzes and patriarch Germanos II in 1232 and returned to Rome believing prospects for union were promising. However, a council which later met at Nymphaion met with no success¹⁶.

64; Donald M. Nichol, "Byzantium and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* XIII (1962) 15.

13. On Greek-Latin relations see Philip Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West* (London, 1959), Dino J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966) and Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (New York, 1961).

14. R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de byzance sous la domination latine (1204-1261)", *Etudes byzantines* II (1944) 134-84; Belin, *Histoire*, 44-90.

15. H. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franciscano, 1215-1400* (4 vols., Quaracchi, 1906-27) I, 128; II, 551-52; III, 105-108; O. van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskaner missionen und ihre Weiterentwicklung in Nahen Orient* (Werl in West., 1934), 104-12; Robert L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans", *Traditio* II (1944) 213-37.

16. Marcellino da Civezza, *Storia Universale delle Missioni Fransesane* (11 vols., Rome,

The largest Latin church in the Byzantine Orient was built by the Franciscans around 1240, possibly during the rule of John de Brienne or at the time of Baldwin II. It was constructed across the Golden Horn in Galata and dedicated to their founder, St. Francis. Adjoining it was a spacious convent for the friars which contained the offices of the Franciscan superior of the province of *Romania*. The church was decorated with colorful mosaics both inside and out, held three chapels, and was universally regarded by travellers as the finest Catholic church ever to be built in the Empire¹⁷.

In 1228 the Dominican general chapter reected a province to serve in *Romania* and four years later the first representative of the order appeared in Constantinople, founding a church in the Blachernae region of the capital dedicated to SS. Paul and Mary. Other convents were established in Greece¹⁸. Although they were not mendicants, the Cistercians also took advantages of the Latin conquest to move eastwards. They occupied the former Orthodox monastery of St. Stephen, located just outside the capital. The monks here came from Italy, sent by the community of St. Thomas of Torcello. In Galata, the Cistercians held the monastery of St. Angelos and were a dependency of a Genevan house. Most of the Cistercian foundations in the Latin Orient survived only a few years; the famous monastery at Daphni outside Athens was a singular exception¹⁹.

The initial successes won by Latin churchmen and the religious orders in the East were more apparent than real. Few lasting conversions of the Orthodox were made. Even cooperation among the Latins was difficult to achieve. While the patriarch of Constantinople should have enjoyed uncontested authority over Catholics in the East, in practice he was severely limited by the traditional rights held by Venice's Patriarch of Grado. In addition, the Archbishop of Genoa claimed the prerogative of appointing clergy to his city's colonies in the East²⁰.

By the time Innocent IV became pope in 1243 the Latin Empire was in serious decline. Only the Patriarch and three bishops were to be found within its boundaries. Nevertheless Roman policy made no accommodations to the

1857-95) I, 125-26; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (3rd ed., 30 vols., Quaracchi, 1931-51) II, anno 1232; III, anno 1247.

17. Janin, *Géographie*, III, 595; Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, II, 553.

18. R. Loenertz, "Les établissements dominicains de Péra-Constantinople", *Echos d'Orient* XXIV, 3 (1935) 332-33; Janin, *Géographie*, II, 595; Belin, *Histoire*, 63-64.

19. Elizabeth Brown, "The Cistercians in the Empire of Constantinople and Greece (1204-76)", *Traditio* XVI (1958) 83-9.

20. Venice's bishop obtained rights to the territories and title of the patriarch of Grado in 1155. See also, William Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (Cambridge, 1908), 27-30; A. Tranoy, "La nation latine de Constantinople", *Echos d'Orient* XV, 3 (May, 1912) 246-56.

Orthodox, in fact, just the opposite occurred. In a decree entitled *Sub Catholica* which the Pope addressed to the church of Cyprus, while cautioning the Latin bishops not to molest the Greeks, he urged the Greeks of *Romania* to follow Latin customs in dispensing the sacraments. He even suggested that Greek candidates to the priesthood seek consecration from Latin bishops according to the Western rite rather than from their own prelates. Thus was initiated the Roman policy which lasted until the Council of Florence, that Eastern rites and ceremonies were only reluctantly to be tolerated and never encouraged²¹.

In 1261 the army of the Emperor Michael Palaeologos of Nicaea reoccupied the practically undefended capital. The Latin patriarch, Pantaleon Giustiniani, fled the city along with Emperor Baldwin II. Michael restored the Greek hierarchy and recovered the churches which had been lost to the Latins. Before departing Constantinople, Giustiniani appointed a Franciscan friar named Anthony in his office, thus establishing a position which carried over until the Ottoman conquest. The patriarchs, meanwhile, lived in Italy or, after 1314, on Venetian-held Crete. Still later Euboea because the patriarchal residence when the bishopric there was combined with the patriarchate²².

Before the reconquest was effected a treaty had been signed at Nymphaion between Michael Palaeologos and the Genoese which guaranteed that Genoa would replace Venice as the major commercial power of the East with the cooperation of the Byzantine emperor. It further secured the position of the Catholic church both in the capital and throughout the East. Not only was Genoa to have its churches in Galata, but also it was to take over the Venetian church of St. Mary in the city itself. When news of the treaty reached Rome, Pope Urban IV threatened Genoa with interdict and the suppression of its archepiscopal see for having collaborated with the schismatic enemy. In fact, the Pope did everything in his power to aid the deposed Baldwin II regain his throne, even calling for a crusade to oust the Greeks from Constantinople²³.

The weakness of the restored Byzantine Empire in face of the strength of the Turkish enemy in the East and the Sicilian Angevins, who inherited the claims of the Latin Emperor, did not permit it to pursue an independent foreign policy. The need for the Italian allies forced Michael VIII Palaeologos not only to allow the Genoese to exist as a 'state within a state', but also to restore the

21. *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, Taurinensis editio* (25 vols., Augustae Taurinorum, 1843), III, 580.

22. Trannoy, "La nation", 248-56 and A. Palmieri, "I Vicarii Patriarcali di Costantinopoli", *Bessarione*, Series II, VI (1904) 42-53.

23. Dölger, *Regesten*, III, 36-8; Lodovico Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata* (Turin, 1830), 63-134; Lopez, *Storia della Colonia*, 209-15.

Venetians to their former position²⁴. The next step was to accept (in 1274) a union with the Latin church at Lyons. He once allowed a Latin ordination to take place in the imperial chapel, and had a great fondness for a Greek Franciscan, John Parastron. Michael drew little support for his pro-Catholic policy from his Greek subjects who considered his policy traitorous to the Orthodox faith, yet Michael's successful diplomacy thwarted the plans of Charles of Anjou to regain *Romania*, especially in 1282 at the time of the Sicilian Vespers²⁵.

After the Byzantine reconquest the Catholic community was centered in Genoese Galata. For the next two hundred years, Catholicism flourished here amid numerous churches, convents, and monasteries. The colony was organized politically according to the dictates of the mother city. At its head was a *podestà* who held office for a year. He was assisted by a Great Council of Twenty-four and a smaller Council of Six. In religious matters, the colony was headed by a vicar directly responsible to the Archbishop of Genoa. His residence was at St. Michael's church which the Galatans referred to as their "cathedral". Difficulties in communicating with the patriarch forced his vicar, usually the rector of St. Francis, to allow this obvious challenge to his authority to continue²⁶.

Although Michael's son Andronikos II, had no wish to continue the ties of the Greek church with Rome, his foreign policy required that Genoa be kept an ally²⁷. On the other hand the Venetians continued to war against the Genoese and urged at every opportunity that a crusade should be undertaken to regain the Empire for the Latins. In 1296 Galata was sacked and burned by a Venetian fleet. When it left the Bosphorus, despite orders from Andronikos, the Genoese crossed the Golden Horn to seek out and kill the hapless Venetians of the capital²⁸. Later the Calatans, employed as mercenaries by Andronikos, also took a turn at pillaging the colony. Because of these attacks, Andronikos

24. Dölger, *Regesten*, II, 53-4; Deno Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1261-1354" in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, Vol. III, *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Harry Hazard (Madison, 1975), 31-33 and Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I, 95-7.

25. On Michael's religious beliefs, see George Pachymeres, *Michael Palaeologos*, VI, 14-15 in CSHB, 455-56. See also, Deno Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologos and the West, 1258-1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 111-33 and 238-76; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I, 138-39. On Parastron, see François de Sessevalle, *Histoire générale de l'ordre de Saint François* (2 parts, Paris, 1935) 2, 310-16.

26. Janin, *Géographie*, III, 597-98; Lopez, *Storia della Colonia*, 287-90.

27. Sauli, *Colonia*, I, 215-364; E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Galata et la souveraineté de byzance", *Revue des études byzantines* XIX (1961) 315-27.

28. Dölger, *Regesten*, IV, 25. See also George Pachymeres, *Andronikos Palaeologos*, I, 2 in CSHB, 14.

permitted the Galatans to construct walls around their city. In 1304 or 1305 these fortifications, engineered so as to include Pera, the hill to the rear of the city, were completed. Henceforth, the name of the colony was called either Galata or Pera without distinction.

In 1307 the Avignon pope, Clement V excommunicated Andronikos II to prepare the way for one more Angevin attempt to retake Constantinople. Crusaders were recruited to war upon Byzantium with promises of the same spiritual rewards as for those who would fight the Muslims of the Holy Land²⁹. In response, the Greek patriarch Athanasios urged the Emperor to close the Franciscan and Dominican churches and convents in the capital. The emperor agreed and the friars were ousted. However, those expelled went no further than their orders' convents located in Galata³⁰.

The Dominicans had come to Galata in 1299 when a church dedicated to the founder of their order was constructed. Accordingly a mission of twelve friars, headed by William Bernard de Severac, arrived that same year. Some time later still another Dominican house was begun by a special group of missionary Dominicans known as the Travelling Brothers for Christ. Members of the order also served in the Galatan churches of St. Paul and St. Anthony. St. Anthony's church was endowed by the merchant guild of Galata, the *Magnifica Communità di Pera*, and had a hospice for pilgrims and Western travellers attached to it³¹.

Throughout the fourteenth century the Catholics of Galata and those inside the city of Constantinople continued to view the world from the peculiar vantage point of a religious and ethnic minority in the diminishing Byzantine Empire. Popular hatred of the Greeks toward them was unabated, despite frequent attempts by the emperors to improve relations with the West and the papacy. The rulers of the Empire saw European armies from the Catholic nations as their sole hope of holding back the Turks. They believed if a council were held in Constantinople and both sides could reach agreement on the issues which divided Greek from Latin, then all would be well. But the papal policy had a different sequence in mind: military aid would be forthcoming only after the Council of Lyons was revived and its decrees were put into effect³².

29. Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici* (38 vols., Lucca, 1739-59), XXIII, anno 1307, nos. 6 and 7; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I, 166-67.

30. Janin, *Géographie*, II, 588-89; Thiriet, *Romanie*, 144-45; M. Viller, "La question de l'union des églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274-1438)", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* XVII (1921) 262-75.

31. Loenertz, "Les établissements dominicains", 334-49; Belin, *Histoire*, 213-31; Janin, *Géographie*, III, 592-601. On the Travelling Brothers see R. Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pègrinantes* (Rome, 1937). In 1342 the Franciscan Observants established a community in Galata.

32. Dölger, *Regesten*, IV, 110 and 149; John Kantakuzenos, *Four Books of the Histo-*

Various incidents occurred during this century to illustrate the frustrations felt on both sides. When a Latin legate, sent by Pope John XXII, came to Constantinople in 1327, he had to return empty-handed because of the outbreak of civil war. Then during the reign of Andronikos III, a joint Byzantine-Western coalition was planned on the island of Rhodes in 1332 but delays caused it to miss its chance for success. Andronikos had a Catholic wife, Anna of Savoy, who was instrumental in the negotiations entered into by the emperor and the pope.

When John Kantakuzenos fought Anna and her son, John V Palaeologos, he took the part of the anti-unionist party in Constantinople, yet when he came to rule himself, he wrote Pope Clement VI that he would accept union with Rome provided it be agreed to in open council³³. A Latin attack upon Smyrna then held by the Seljuk principality of Aydin was successfully launched in 1343. Interestingly, one of the Dominicans in Galata felt the fleet might be better used to show the flag in Constantinople in order to strengthen the hand of Anna of Savoy and the Catholics³⁴.

Once John V Palaeologos became ruler in his own name, he contacted the papacy promising his obedience. Again legates arrived in Constantinople and resident Catholics had their hopes raised that religious difficulties with the Greeks might be compromised. When Count Amadeo VI of Savoy brought the titular Latin patriarch, Bishop Paul of Smyrna, to Constantinople, new plans were laid for the future council. Once more, nothing happened, and at last John decided on a trip to the West. In Rome he made a profession of faith in St. Peter's to Pope Urban V who had come there to receive the Emperor in 1369. But John's conversion was a private matter. For the Latins of Constantinople it may have been a small consolation that in the palace of the Emperor a Latin priest had been installed to serve the religious needs of John, but their own status remained unchanged³⁵.

As the fifteenth century opened, the city of Constantinople was under attack by the Turks. John's son and successor, Manuel II, did not follow his father into Catholicism but he did repeat his journey to the West. Although his

ries in CSHB III, 53-62; Deno Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1261-1354", 47-8; G. M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantium* (2 vols., Venice, 1880) I, 224-26.

33. Dölger, *Regesten*, V, 17-18; R. Loenertz, "Ambassadeurs grecs auprès du pape Clément VI (1348)", *Orientalia christiana periodica* XIX (1952) 180-84.

34. Thomas Kaepelli, "Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Frère Philippe Incontri de Péra", *Archivium fratrum praedicatorum* XXIII (1953) 172-73.

35. Dölger, *Regesten*, V, 58; Oscar Halecki, *Un Empereur de byzance à Rome: vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient, 1355-1375* (Warsaw, 1930), 198-205.

goal of obtaining Western aid proved fruitless as ever, Constantinople was saved by the Mongol victory over the Turks in 1402.

The Mongol attack gave the Byzantine empire fifty more years of life. During this half-century the Catholics of the capital were aware that both the papacy and the emperors continued to seek an acceptable compromise that would unite the churches; from their personal experience they must have realized union was still far away. On the other hand during this period several prominent Greeks accepted the Latin creed: Demetrios Kydones, Manuel Kalekas and Manuel Chrysoloras. These were intellectuals who believed that if Hellenism was to be preserved it would have to be done in the West. The resources of Constantinople were simply not sufficient, in its depressed state, to support a tradition of learning³⁶.

Pope Martin V acted to aid Constantinople by appointing a delegation to proceed there in 1425 to search for an accommodation with the Greeks. He even granted crusaders' indulgences to those who would fight with the Byzantines and not against them. The break-through between Greeks and Latins at last happened during the reign of Emperor John VIII Palaeologos and the papacy of Eugenius IV. After some seven years of talks with Rome and the bishops sitting at the Council of Basle, John opted to lead a Byzantine delegation to Ferrara. Due to plague and the bankruptcy of the papal treasury, the council was completed in Florence. At its conclusion, on July 6, 1439, a Decree of Union was read aloud in Latin and Greek bringing the two churches together again³⁷.

The Greek delegation that returned from Italy lacked the courage to tell their countrymen what had transpired in Italy. According to Doukas, the Orthodox bishops lamented, "We have sold our faith, we have exchanged true piety for impiety, we have betrayed the pure sacrifice and become upholders of unleavened bread"³⁸.

Emperor John VIII never mentioned the Union, the bishops who spoke in its favor tended to be ignored while Mark Eugenikos, who alone among the Orthodox refused to sign the Decree of Union, became a popular hero. He was assisted in his campaign against Florence by the scholar George Scholarios. In Italy Scholarios had supported the agreement but changed his mind on his

36. Deno Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354-1453", in *A History of the Crusades*, III, 83-90.

37. Dölger, *Regesten*, V, 126; On the Council of Florence, see Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) and the accounts in D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, 84-89 and Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), 85-106.

38. Doukas, *The Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, XXXI, 9, ed. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1975), 181.

return to Constantinople. Strangely, the Emperor did little to prevent the attacks on his policy. Bessarion of Nicaea and Isidore of Kiev, the two great proponents of the union, were not in Constantinople after 1440 when those favoring Florence could well have used their talents. The fate of the agreement between the churches actually depended on the West. If a successful crusade against the Turks could be mounted, and Pope Eugenius IV worked diligently towards that end, then the prospects for union were good.

The fate of a single Orthodox-Catholic church was sealed when the crusading army organized by the pope failed to reach Constantinople. After some initial victories it was crushed by the Turks at Varna in 1444. Genoese captains had willingly transferred the army of Murad II from Anatolia to Europe so that it might meet the Western army. Even at this critical moment, the desire for private gain could frustrate the most noble of enterprises. Eugenius then turned his efforts to supporting the Turkish resistance in Albania where George Kastrioti, known as Skanderbeg, waged constant war against the Muslims. He also sent funds and encouragement to the Hungarian armies, led by John Hunyadi, operating in the Danube region. Unfortunately both leaders were too far away to be of immediate assistance to the beleaguered Byzantine capital. The Pope's efforts to rouse the West European monarchs proved futile since internal problems and foreign wars occupied their attention. Only the papacy seemed truly interested in preserving the Empire³⁹.

On the last day of October in 1448 Emperor John VIII died without an heir, and so the throne passed to his oldest remaining brother. Crowned as Constantine XI at Mistra in the Peloponnesus on January 6, 1449, he arrived two months later in Constantinople. Constantine was never enthroned here because of his well-known sympathies for the union between the Orthodox and Catholic churches. Undeterred by the unpopularity of this course with his own people, he sought to reopen negotiations with the papacy concerning the still unproclaimed union while at the same time seeking a treaty of friendship with Sultan Murad.

Pope Nicholas V wanted to help Constantine but required that the Emperor should see to it the union was proclaimed. He was saddened that the pro-Unionist Greek patriarch, Gregory III Mammias, had decided he could no longer live safely in the Byzantine capital and had come to Rome⁴⁰. At last Con-

39. Oscar Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna* (New York, 1944); Massimo Petrocchi, *La Politica della Santa Sede di Fronte all'Invasione Ottomana, 1447-1718* (Naples, 1955), 22-26.

40. Nicholas to Constantine, October 11, 1451 in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca* (161 vols. in 166, Paris, 1857-66), CLX, col. 1201-02; C. Marinisco, "Le pape Nicholas V (1447-1455) et son attitude envers l'empire byzantin", *Bulletin de l'in-*

stantine assented to a proclamation of the Union, and Isidore of Kiev, now a cardinal in the Roman church, arrived in the imperial capital. On December 12, 1452 Isidore read the Florentine decree in the presence of the Emperor and most members of the court. Isidore believed all had gone well; on the other hand his companion, the Genoese Archbishop Leonard of Chios complained of the lack of enthusiasm shown at the ceremony⁴¹.

A Venetian then in the city, Nicolo Barbaro, explains in his diary what had happened. "This union was with the intention that they should be united as we Franks are, and not have any more schism in the church, and we should say Mass in their churches, and the Greeks say Mass in our Latin churches"⁴². On the other hand, a Greek point of view was attributed to the Grand Duke Lukas Notaras who quipped he would rather see the Sultan's turban than a Cardinal's hat in the capital. If, in fact, these were his words, Lukas would soon have his wish⁴³.

For the next several months Isidore made his headquarters at the Church of the Holy Wisdom. With him were a handful of Latinclerics and a few Greeks who supported the union. Apparently this was the only church in Greek Unionist hands; in all the other churches the clergy ignored what had transpired in December. George Scholarios, who had taken monastic vows and was now the monk Gennadios, led the opposition by putting up posters throughout the city calling upon the people to boycott the Eucharist of the Unionists. To his chagrin this campaign failed to persuade many of his countrymen who believed the West had not abandoned them and interpreted Isidore's presence as a visible sign of the concern by the Catholic states of Europe⁴⁴.

Upon the death of Murat II, his son Mehmet II became the Ottoman leader on February 3, 1451. The goal of the sultan was to capture Constantinople, a dream which had eluded all previous Turkish sovereigns. On the pretext that Constantine XI had insulted him, he began formulating plans to take the city.

Relations between Mehmet and the Catholic states of the West were surprisingly good. Adrianople, the Turkish capital, had a merchant colony of La-

stitut archéologique bulgare X (Sofia, 1936) 332-33; Apostolos Vacalopoulos, *Origin of the Greek Nation*, Ian Moles, trans., (New Brunswick, 1970), 186-7.

41. Doukas, *Decline*, XXXVI, 1-2, 203; Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *De origine ac rebus gestis Turcarum*, VIII in CSHB, 382-84; Donald Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (New York, 1972), 390-91; Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965), 70-72.

42. Nicolo Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*, trans. J. R. Jones (New York, 1969), 12.

43. Doukas, *Decline*, XXXVII, 10, 210.

44. Doukas, *Decline*, XXXVI, 6, 205; Igor Ševčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence", *Church History* XXIV (1955) 299-300.

tins, mostly Italians, and Catholics were also scattered in small groups throughout Ottoman Anatolia. In addition to the Italians, Ragusan traders had their own church and clergy in Adrianople. A French visitor to the area in 1433, Bertrandon de la Broquière confessed, "I have found the Turks more friendly and more hospitable than the Greeks, for it seems to me, they (the Greeks) have no love for the Christians obedient to the church of Rome"⁴⁵.

In addition to the physical presence of Western colonies, the relations between Turks and the Catholic powers were enhanced by several existing treaties between the Ottomans and the Western states. An agreement between Venice and the Turks was first made as early as 1390. Since that time renewals had become almost a matter of routine. The Genoese in Galata had also come to terms with the Turks so they might enjoy trading privileges in Ottoman territories. Agreements were also had with Florence, Pisa, and the Knights of St. John on Rhodes. While the sympathies of the Western Catholics might lie with the Byzantine Christians, the attraction for trade in the Ottoman territories was too strong a temptation to resist⁴⁶.

On April 7, 1453 Mehmet II's cannon began firing upon the venerable walls of Constantinople. The Catholic community was divided in its response. Inside the capital there was a total commitment to resistance, but in Galata, the official decision was made to profess neutrality⁴⁷. Nevertheless, individual Genoese did cross the Golden Horn to aid the defenders and the great boom which crossed the harbor to defend it from enemy ships had one anchor in Galata. Constantinople's Venetians, led by their *bailo*, Girolamo Minotto, promised full cooperation to the emperor, therefore the Venetian merchantmen then in the harbor were retained for the defense of the city⁴⁸.

Among the Genoese then living in the city were some who had come as volunteers to aid in the defense. The most notable of these was Giovanni Guistiniani Longo who had recruited a force of seven hundred men from Genoa, Chios, and Rhodes. His reputation was such that the Emperor placed him in charge of the defense of the land walls. Other Westerners in the city, mainly Catalans and Castilians, also joined forces with the Greeks. Latins contributed six-

45. *Le Voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. Charles Schefer, vol. 12 of *Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1892), 149; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 347.

46. The first Venetian-Ottoman agreement was made with Bajezit I. Subsequent treaties were reached with Suleiman I in 1403, Mehmet I in 1416, and Murat II in 1446. The texts are found in *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantium sive Acta et Diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantis Illustrantia*, ed. G. M. Thomas (2 vols., Venice, 1880-99), II, 290-93, 318-19, 361-70, 382-84.

47. Miklosich and Mueller, *Acta*, III, 286-87.

48. Barbaro, *Diary*, 14-17 and 48.

teen ships, the Greeks ten, to the original Christian fleet outfitted to fight the Turkish navy. On April 20 four more Genoese ships arrived to aid the defense. On land, the Latins numbered just under two thousand in a total fighting force of seven thousand—thus the Western contribution to the final struggle was considerable⁴⁹.

Cardinal Isidore took up a command along St. Barbara's Point supervising the fortification of the sea wall. Even Franciscan friars of the capital were involved. These came from an Observant friary, St. Anthony of the Cypresses, founded about 1449 on the urging of Pope Eugenius IV. Archbishop Leonard of Chios also held a military command⁵⁰.

In the camp of the Turks Mehmet seems to have been aware that he would not have too much to fear from the West. According to Kritovoulos he announced to his officers, "As for help from the Italians, they have hardly even a hope of this. Nay, rather they are actually fighting as enemies over their differing religious beliefs, and their internal organization is full of sedition and disturbance on this very account". The Sultan was aware that Constantine had sent for help to the "Great High Priest of Rome"⁵¹.

On the night before the major Turkish attack the defenders of the city met to concelebrate the Eucharist in the Church of the Holy Wisdom. Cardinal Isidore officiated and was joined by Greeks and Latins. In the face of the impending common disaster, all former animosities disappeared, thereby making the last service in the most venerable church of Eastern Christendom one in which all were Orthodox and all were Catholic⁵².

When the final attack upon the city was launched on May 28, the Catholic defenders fought valiantly at the side of the Greeks until the Turkish forces overwhelmed them. The Franciscans of St. Anthony had one of their number killed, the superior Jerome of Milan, and seventeen others enslaved; only a few lucky ones escaped to Galata⁵³. It was possible for Mehmet to make the empty St. Anthony's his resting place on the night of May 30⁵⁴. Cardinal Isidore, who

49. Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, 84-85; Nichols, *Last Centuries*, 398; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 348-49. Ships sent by Venice and the Pope were too late to help the city.

50. Wadding, *Annales, anno 1449*, XII, 132. All of the Franciscan convents in the Empire had been transferred to the Observants by Pope Eugenius IV except for St. Francis in Galata which continued to be held by the Conventuals. Runciman, *Fall*, 92; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (10 vols., Pest, 1834-36) I, 411.

51. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, XXXI, Charles Riggs, trans., (Princeton, 1954), 81.

52. Edwin Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (London, 1903), 330-31.

53. Wadding, *Annales, anno 1453*, XIV, 205-6; Belin, *Latinité*, 156-57 and 271.

54. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1953), 103.

had been hit by a Turkish arrow, fortunately exchanged his robes for those of a beggar. Eventually the beggar was killed and Isidore, unrecognized, was able to be ransomed by the Genoese in Galata. Leonard of Chios also was taken but rescued before the Turks knew who he was. Both men later escaped to Europe. Throughout the city hundreds were killed or enslaved by the victorious Turks⁵⁵.

On the day of the conquest the Genoese in Galata were anxious to demonstrate to Mehmet that they intended to offer no resistance to his conquest. When the Venetian naval commander, Alviso Diedo, who had supported the Greeks, believed all was lost, he crossed over to Galata for consultation with the Genoese. There the Podestà, who had closed and locked the gates while Diedo was inside, allowed him to rejoin the Venetian ships intending to flee⁵⁶.

A Turkish company had appeared outside Galata telling the town's officials, "Do not depart... You are the ruler's friend, and your city will suffer no injury"⁵⁷. Despite this assurance many Galatans hurriedly packed what goods they could take with them and rushed to the harbor to board a vessel to take them to the West. Sailors from Diedo's fleet broke the boom blockading the Golden Horn and the Venetian ships, then the Genoese, and finally four or five Byzantine vessels sailed into the open sea loaded with refugees. For a while they tarried, waiting to see if any more small boats carrying survivors might reach them, but after this short delay they sailed away to the Venetian islands and mainland Greece.

The day following the fall of Constantinople a delegation from Galata was sent with the keys of the city to congratulate the Sultan on his victory and to promise the colony's obedience to the Turkish ruler. Mehmet rebuffed them, pointing out it was obvious that the Podestà was not acting vigorously enough to prevent the flight of hundreds of Galatans to the West⁵⁸.

Several days later two ambassadors, Babalino Pallavicini and Marco De Franchi, accompanied by an interpreter, received a better reception. They were given a *firman*, a royal decree, which promised that the Genoese could keep their Catholic churches and enjoy freedom of worship; none would be turned

55. One report, that of Francisco de Frane had Isidore killed. See E. Martène and V. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (5 vols., Paris, 1717) I, cols. 1819-27; Letter of Leonard, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca* CLIX, col. 925; *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, 1, 4 in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (25 vols., Milan, 1723-51), XVIII, 186-87; L. Chalcocondylas, *De origine*, VIII, 397-99.

56. Doukas, *Decline*, XXXVIII, 5, 212, L. Chalcocondylas, *De origine*, VI II, 400-01; Runciman, *Fall*, 141-42.

57. Doukas, *Decline*, XXXIX, 30, 230.

58. Sauli, *Della Colonia*, 169-73; Lopez, *Storia della Colonia*. 411-12.

into mosques. Henceforth, however, they would be forbidden to ring their bells, have their clocks strike the hour, or build churches⁵⁹. Those stipulations were consonant with Islamic practice in dealing with a city which voluntarily submitted to Muslim occupation. The era of the Catholic church in Byzantine Constantinople had come to an end.

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59. There are a number of copies of this *firman* bearing different dates. N. Jorga found the original in the British Museum, Egerton MSS, no. 2817. See Jorga's article "Le privilège de Mohammed II pour la ville de Péra", *Bulletin de l'academie roumaine*, Sect. historique (1913), 11-13.