

The Western Religious Orders in Medieval Greece

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history and activity of the Western religious orders in medieval Greece, from the time of their transplantation into Byzantine territories, following the Fourth Crusade, until the fifteenth century and the Ottoman conquest. Geographically it focuses on the areas conquered by the Latins during or after the Fourth Crusade, in other words, the lands of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Due to the nature of the sources, particular attention is paid to the insular Venetian dominions and especially the island of Crete.

The religious orders examined are the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Crociferi, and the Augustinians as well as other orders, with a smaller involvement in medieval Greece, like the Servites, the Carmelites and the Canons Regular.

Each of the thesis's chapters focuses on one particular Order (or group of Orders). By examining a variety of published and unpublished sources, I have attempted to investigate the history of the individual convents and eventually to form a comprehensive picture of the installation of these Orders in Greece. In particular, I have focused on the missionary and Unionist goals of the Orders in Greece, their structure and organisation, their interaction with the newly established Catholic Church and Latin laity of Greece, their relations with the indigenous population and their diplomatic and cultural achievements. Where the sources allow it, I have also tried to establish the financial standing of some of these religious houses and to investigate their sources of income and their land tenure.

The conclusion of the thesis draws together the findings of my research and makes comparisons between the structure, activity and success of each of the Orders in Greece. Having shed some light on the monastic landscape of medieval Greece, I argue

that, although Latin monasticism in Greece has been regarded as a relatively insignificant by-product of the Franko-Venetian occupation of Byzantine lands, the religious orders played significant social, cultural and political roles both within the Latin communities of Greece and in wider international relations between Byzantium and the West. They largely failed, however, to appeal to the Greek population and thus *Latinise* the indigenous Greek society, like they had done in other frontiers of Latin Christendom.

List of Abbreviations

- AKAN Αρχείο Καθολικής Αρχιεπισκοπής Νάξου [Archive of the Catholic Archbishopric of Naxos]
- ANK Αρχεία Νομού Κερκύρας [Archives of the Prefecture of Corfu]
- ASV Archivio di Stato di Venezia
- Bullarium Franciscanum* Conrad Eubel and J. H. Sbaralea, eds, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 7 vols (Rome: 1759-1904)
- Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series* U. Hüntemann and J. M. Pou Marti, eds, *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, 4 vols, (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1929-49)
- Eubel Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi: sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series: e documentis tabulari praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita*, 8 vols (Regensburg: Il Messagero di S. Antonio, 1913-14)
- Gerola Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell' Isola di Creta*, 4 vols (Venice: R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1905-32)
- Golubovich Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Franciscano*, 5 vols, II (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906-23)
- MPG Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, 161 vols (Paris: 1857-04)
- MPL Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: 1844-64)
- Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum* Caesar Cenci, ed., *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum*, 2 vols, (Grottaferrata, 2002-03)

Note on transliteration of Greek words

In the case of names I have generally opted for the most familiar Anglicised version even at the expense of consistency (e.g. Comnenus rather than Komnenos but Kamateros rather than Camaterus). Common Christian names are also given in their English form. Names of modern Greek authors are given in the form that they appear in the foreign-language editions of their works (i.e. Coureas instead of Koureas), where such exist, or in the forms most commonly cited in international bibliography.

Otherwise I have normally transliterated the Greek letters η as *e*, χ as *ch*, κ as *k*, β as *v*, ϕ as *ph* and the diphthongs $\epsilon\iota$ and $\alpha\iota$ as *ei* and *ae*, except in cases where such transliterations would result in unacceptable mispronunciations of the Greek words.

I have tried to follow the same rules as regards place-names, so I have employed the established Anglicised forms, where such exist (e.g. Nicaea, Methone, Corone, Chanea). In cases where no such consensus exists I have applied the above-mentioned rules (thus Σητεία, for example, is Seteia). Nevertheless, complete uniformity is impossible.

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Introduction

The conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the armies of the Fourth Crusade and the subsequent installation of a Latin Emperor in Constantinople was one of the most momentous events of the High Middle Ages. Although the Latin Empire of Romania was not destined to last for more than fifty-seven years, many of its dominions remained under Latin rule for several centuries. The installation of the Frankish knights, the Venetians and the Genoese in the territories of the Byzantine Empire transformed the face of the Eastern Mediterranean and had far reaching implications both for the Near East and for Western Europe.

In the last three decades, after a period of quiescence since 1908, medieval Greece has been the focus of an ever growing field of research. The examination of Venetian Crete holds a prominent position within this scholarly field. Crete, which remained under the rule of the Serenissima until 1669, was the most important of the Venetian colonies and the one place where the long interaction between Latins and Greeks resulted in the formation of a unique cultural hybrid. Thankfully, when it comes to the history of Venetian Crete, the historian possesses an invaluable tool that is lacking for the rest of medieval Greece: the meticulous records kept by the Venetian authorities on the island have been preserved and today form part of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASV).

Although documentary material is much scarcer for the rest of these territories, the study of Frankish and Venetian Greece has progressed vastly. Apart from the multitude of works on the political history of medieval Greece, there exists today an abundance of studies of the social, religious and economic history of Latin Romania. Much of this research focuses on the installation of the Roman Church in

Greece and the relations and interaction (cultural and religious) between the Greeks and the Latins.¹

It is at first surprising that the Latin monasteries set up in Greece in the wake of the Fourth Crusade have received no detailed and comprehensive overview. Their short life meant that no monastic writer was tempted to write the history of his house, whilst for the Mendicant Orders, they became subsumed in the general history of their preaching mission. Certainly, there exists nothing like David Knowles's studies of the religious orders in England or Denys Pringle's gazetteer and commentary on the crusader churches and monasteries of the Holy Land.² These studies were based upon a combination of monuments and muniments, both of which are sadly lacking in Greece. There was no ordered dissolution of the monasteries to match that in England in the 1530s. In Greece, most Latin monasteries and their archives (assuming these existed) were abandoned or destroyed piecemeal in the years from 1260 to 1450 on the mainland and in the subsequent centuries on the islands. In the majority of cases, what historical information we have about the orders and their convents in Greece appears in studies that focus on other, more wide-ranging subjects. Georgopoulou's work on the Venetian architecture of Crete, for example, includes a discussion of the Cretan convents. Similarly, fragments of the history of the Augustinian friars of Greece can be found in general works investigating the expansion of the Order throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The general political studies of medieval Greece also make reference, on occasion, to the Latin convents, but the information offered there is even less

¹ A selection of these studies appears in the bibliography. In particular, see the works of Lock, Bon, Maltezou, Setton and Thiriet for the political history of medieval Greece, the works of Fedalto, Wolff, Janin and Hendrikx for the ecclesiastical history and those of Ilieva, Jacoby, McKee and Topping for the socio-cultural interactions between Latins and Greeks. For a more comprehensive bibliography on Medieval Greece consult Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1205-1500* (Longman: London, 1995).

² David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: a history of its development from the times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), *The Religious Orders in England*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948-59) and Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-98).

detailed. It would thus be fair to say that, in many cases, the history of the religious orders has been treated as an interesting, but largely inconsequential, side note in the study of medieval Greece.

One study that stands out amongst the existing works on the religious orders is Kitsiki-Panagopoulos's monograph on the Cistercians and Mendicants in medieval Greece. It has to be pointed out, however, that this is an archaeological and not a historical study. As such, it only discusses those few houses whose physical remains still stand today, and even in those cases the examination of the convents' history remains brief. Nevertheless, this is the only work whose scope encompasses the whole of Greece and most of the religious orders that colonised it.

Of course, this is not the only study dealing predominantly with the history of the Religious Orders in Greece. The scope of most other works, however, is usually quite narrow, focusing on one house, on one particular territory or, at best, on one Order. Many of these works were produced by Dominican historians and pertain to the Dominican convents. Indeed, the Dominican Order has shown unrivaled interest in researching its history in the East. Starting in the first half of the twentieth century Raymond Loenertz produced a string of invaluable articles on the activity of the Dominican friars in the Latin Empire of Romania.³ The subject still attracts the attention of the Order's historians today, as is proven by the recent monograph by Tomasso Violante.⁴

The history of the rest of the orders remains much more obscure. It is significant that not a single study has been devoted to the Augustinian friars of Greece

³ See for example Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines en Orient au quatorzième siècle et la Société des Frères Pérégrinants pour le Christ', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 2 (1932), 2-83, 'Les établissements dominicains de Péra-Constantinople', *Échos d'Orient*, 34 (1935), 332-49 and 'La Société des Frères Pérégrinants de 1375 à 1475: Étude sur l'Orient Dominicain, II', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 45 (1975), 107-45.

⁴ Tomasso M. Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1999).

or the Order of the Crociferi, even though the existence of their convents on the islands is well known.⁵ The Franciscans of Greece have, on occasion, been the focus of research but to a much lesser degree than the available material would warrant.

Although we are relatively well-informed about a few of their most prominent Greek houses, the majority of their convents have gone unnoticed. More importantly, perhaps, there has been no attempt to synthesise the relatively abundant documentary evidence into a unified history of the Franciscan venture in Greece.

Furthermore, it has to be noted that the available bibliography varies widely in terms of scholarly value. Certain of the older works are outdated by modern academic standards and sometimes betray their authors' religious and ethnic bias. Thus, for example, Catholic historians have sometimes treated the religious colonisation of Greece as a laudable step towards Church Union. Conversely, earlier Greek scholarship has been known to approach the issue from a nationalist view point which overstates the Greek struggle for religious and political independence.

The present study aims to give a comprehensive and cohesive account of the installation and activity of all the Religious Orders in medieval Greece. In order to do so, we shall firstly examine the history of each one of the convents that were founded in the territories of the Latin Empire. As has already been mentioned, we are relatively well-informed about a handful of these convents, usually the most prominent ones. The history of the majority of the Latin monastic foundations, however, remains obscure and many of these houses have not even been identified. In some cases, the scarcity of the sources makes it impossible to redress this problem. Often, however, the careful examination of the primary material together with the compilation of information that

⁵ The Order itself has examined thoroughly its expansion in most parts of the world, but has strangely neglected its history in Greece.

appears scattered in the above-mentioned variety of secondary works allows an elucidation of the history of individual convents.

Through the examination of these houses, I shall try to reconstruct a unified history of all the Religious Orders that colonised Greece. Particular attention shall be paid to the social role of each of the Orders within the Latin communities of Greece, the relations between the regular clergy and the local nobility and secular authorities, and the impact that their installation had on the indigenous Greek population.

Furthermore, I shall try to establish whether the Orders had a particular role to play within the ecclesiastical organization of medieval Greece. In doing so, I will study the relations of the monks and friars with the papacy, and the interaction of the religious houses with the secular Church and its prelates. Finally, I shall attempt to assess the importance of the migration of the Latin regular clergy to the East and see how it affected the political and ecclesiastical history of the region.

It would be useful, however, to begin by defining the exact scope of this work. Firstly, it is important to note that this study will focus on the purely religious orders that migrated to Greece. Thus, we shall be examining the monastic and the mendicant orders as well as the canons regular. Though often treated as an afterthought in general histories of medieval Greece, I hope to show that Latin monasticism was a prominent feature of Latin Romania and that monastic colonisation was widespread throughout most of the Latin Dominions of Greece. The very number of religious houses indicates that Latin monasticism occupied a more conspicuous position within the society of medieval Greece than is generally assumed. In the period investigated here (1204-1500) at least a hundred and six religious houses were founded by the Latins in Greece. Out of these, thirteen were Cistercian foundations, nine were Benedictine, forty one

were Franciscan and thirteen were Dominican. There existed also at least twelve Augustinian friaries, two houses that belonged to the Cluniacs, two that belonged to the order of the Crociferi, one founded by the Servites and one belonging to the Carmelites. Finally we have evidence of at least twelve communities of canons regular. To these communities one may want to add a handful more, identified by earlier scholarship, but whose existence I have not been able to verify.⁶ Even thus, our list is unlikely to be complete, since it is almost certain that other smaller or shorter lived convents were founded, whose traces have now completely disappeared. The overwhelming majority of our religious communities were male ones, but there also existed ten nunneries. Some of these were ephemeral, but others, as we shall see, were both successful and of great local importance. Three of these nunneries were Cistercian, two were Dominican, one was Benedictine and the remaining four belonged to the Poor Clares. The relatively small number of nunneries is not surprising, considering the turbulent circumstances in Latin Romania. More nunneries, including an Augustinian one, were founded in territories like Crete, in the last centuries of Latin rule.

Of course not all of these hundred and six verified houses existed contemporaneously, as their survival was linked to the, often ephemeral, Latin states within which they were founded. The initial settlement of the Latin conquerors was accompanied by a surge of monastic emigration to Greece, which resulted in the foundation of around forty religious houses in the first five decades after the conquest. These early foundations were some of the shorter lived ones, as many of them fell foul of the Greek resurgence of the mid-thirteenth century. The Greek reconquest, for example, marked the end of most of the Cistercian abbeys and communities of canons

⁶ See for example the chapter on the Augustinian friars.

regular. Nevertheless, by the mid fourteenth century there were again at least thirty six (and possibly more) Latin religious houses spread all over Greece and even Constantinople, even though the capital of the Empire was back in the hands of the Greeks. The number of religious houses steadily increased thereafter until the mid and late fifteenth century, when we find between fifty and sixty religious communities in existence at once. The number of convents rapidly dwindled after this time, as territories were lost to the Ottomans, but new houses continued to be founded in the remaining Latin dominions like Crete.

The geographical spread of these religious communities does not present us with any great surprises.⁷ The vast majority of them were founded in or around the major sites of Latin settlement, and that, in the case of medieval Greece means the towns. Predictably there was a greater concentration of monasteries and friaries in the main centres of Constantinople and Candia: at least twenty-one (but probably more) religious houses existed at one time or another in or around Constantinople and thirteen were founded in Candia. The Orders were also present in most of the other urban centres: Athens had at least four communities, Patras had three, Negroponte six, Methone three, Corone had at least two, Thebes four and Chanea had at least eight. In terms of wider territories, the orders were best represented by far on the island of Crete, where there existed around thirty convents at various times. It is harder to say with any certainty how many houses were founded in the Peloponnese, but it could not have been much less than twenty. Finally, there were several convents on other islands, especially the Ionian ones and those closer to the Anatolian coast, like Mytilene, Chios and Rhodes.

⁷ The geographical pattern of settlement of the orders is illustrated in the maps that accompany each of the chapters.

Apart from these orders, both the Knights of St John and the Knights of the Temple acquired lands, houses and castles in Greece. In addition, a new military order, that of St Sampson, was founded in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Although the history of these military orders in Greece is interesting and often overlooked, it does not fall within the scope of the present work: as is obvious, the installation of the military orders in the Latin Empire served a different purpose and fulfilled a different role to that of the regular clergy. Furthermore, there is very little evidence of interaction between the military orders and the monks and friars. With very few exceptions, which shall be discussed in the relevant sections, the dealings between the Knights and the regular clergy seem to have been restricted to disputes over property.

Geographically, this study focuses on the areas that at one point formed part of the Latin Empire of Romania. Therefore, unless otherwise stated, when talking about Greece or Greek territories, I refer to the wider periphery of Constantinople, and an area roughly corresponding to the modern state of Greece, and not to all of the territories inhabited by Greeks or belonging to the Byzantine Empire. Thus, the island of Cyprus, for example, and the coast of Anatolia are not examined in this study. This is not an arbitrary choice. The Religious Orders themselves made the same distinction: as we shall see, the Mendicants created new provinces to rule over their Greek convents. The jurisdiction of these provinces usually covered mainland Greece, Constantinople and the islands; it did not extend, however, to Cyprus, which for most Orders formed part of the Holy Land, since it had been captured by the Latins during the Third Crusade.⁸ In other words, this study focuses on the territories of Greece that were conquered by the Latins during or after the Fourth Crusade.

⁸ The only notable exception here is the Order of the Augustinian Friars, whose Province of the Holy Land included both Cyprus and Greece

Finally, the chronological scope of this study also requires some clarification. The term 'medieval Greece' denotes the period of Latin rule over Greece. The duration, however, of Latin rule varied in different territories. In some cases, like Crete for example, Latin rule lasted well into the modern era, whilst other territories were reclaimed by the Greeks very soon after the Latin conquest. One event, however, marks the transformation of Greece and the entire Eastern Mediterranean and can thus be used as a cut off point for this study. This event is the Ottoman conquest. We shall, therefore, examine the history of each individual convent until the time when the Turkish advance reached its territory. Although not all of the Latin convents disappeared after the conquest (and indeed several new ones were founded in the territories of the Ottoman Empire), the Turkish occupation altered the role, the organization and the function of the Latin Church in Greece. It is, therefore, the obvious conclusion of this study. As has been mentioned, however, certain areas (like Crete) resisted the Turkish offensive for several centuries, whilst others (for example the Ionian Islands) never came under Ottoman rule. In these cases our examination will extend until the end of the fifteenth century. Though at the time the Turkish conquest was not yet complete, the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the loss of important Latin outposts (like Negroponte) had already ushered in a new era for the political and ecclesiastical history of Greece. In other words, this study will cover the period between 1204 and 1500, or until the Turkish conquest, in those cases where the conquest took place before the end of the fifteenth century. It is worth noting that, although this is the heyday of Latin monasticism in Greece, it also happens to be the era about which our knowledge of the history of the religious houses is the most flawed. This is entirely due to the nature, or rather the meagreness, of the surviving material. Once we move into the sixteenth century, the relevant sources become much

more enlightening, even in the cases of smaller houses, or convents located within the Ottoman lands.

As we have seen, the studies of Latin monasticism in Greece are relatively few, but also quite varied. Given the variety of publications and languages in which our information appears, it is not surprising that a significant portion of the relevant scholarship does not seem to take into account studies that have been produced in different parts of the world. Most frequently, and perhaps predictably, it is the works written in Greek that are sometimes overlooked by non Greek-speaking scholars.

The compilation, of course, of secondary material is only the starting point of our study; one of the basic premises of this research is that important primary sources have been largely overlooked or under-utilised. Scholarship on the subject of Latin monasticism in Greece has typically been based primarily on the information appearing in the published papal registers and the various official acts (also published) of the Latin authorities in Greece. In addition, historians have also examined the acts of the Cistercian and Dominican General Chapters as well as literary sources like the *Chronicle of the Morea*. In much rarer cases, historians have made use of local or more specialised sources, like monastic cartularies. An example of such a case is the Benedictine monastery of St Mary of the Cistern in Constantinople.⁹

These same published sources feature prominently in this study as well. The papal registers in particular are an invaluable source of information. Bearing their significance in mind, I have attempted to examine the correspondence of later popes with the same thoroughness that historians usually exhibit towards the registers of the earliest popes of this period, like Innocent III and Honorius III. In many cases,

⁹ See pp. 119-21.

however, the letters of these later popes are only published in summary. Thus it was necessary to consult the originals, preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

Indeed, this sort of archival research is an integral part of the present work. Perhaps the most interesting results of this research were gleaned from the documents of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV). As has already been mentioned, the ASV incorporates the archives produced by the Venetians on Crete. A significant portion of this archive is represented by the notarial archive of Candia, only a fragment of which has been published. A cursory, yet enormously time consuming, study of some of its unpublished parts has yielded hundreds of notarial deeds pertaining to the Latin convents of Crete. The significance of these documents, especially for the economic history of the Cretan convents, is immediately apparent. Through them, we gain important insight into the transactions, and subsequently the financial standing, of convents that have hitherto been almost completely ignored. It has to be noted, however, that, although these deeds illustrate amply certain aspects of the history of the Cretan convents, it is almost certain that many more such documents still await discovery within the ASV.

This study also makes new use of some surviving monastic cartularies. Medieval monastic cartularies are of course a very rare commodity for the student of medieval Greece. I was, however, fortunate enough to come across, and to be allowed access to three such collections of documents. These concern the small Franciscan convent of Agidia on Naxos, the Dominican convent of Chios and, most importantly, the Augustinian convent of the Annunciation of Corfu. Despite their importance, it appears that the cartularies have not previously been thoroughly studied or used for the examination of the history of these convents. Out of the three, only the third one appears to be complete and thus offers the most original information. All three however

can elucidate, as we shall see, certain aspects of the history of their respective convents. Finally, there exists one particularly interesting source, which, although well known, has only been used occasionally, and never to its full potential. This is the fifteenth century inventory of St Francis of Candia, preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana. The section on the convent's library is the only part of the inventory which has served as the focus of thorough scholarly research. Some of the more glamorous relics appearing in the inventory are also occasionally mentioned by historians. Yet the most interesting segment, which offers some insight into the house's annual income, has thus far gone unnoticed. Unfortunately, such sources, like these cartularies and the inventory, are extremely rare, and it is doubtful that similar documents have survived concerning other convents.

The reader will notice that, as is the case with many other works on medieval Greece, this study also pays particular attention to specific territories, namely Crete and Constantinople. This is not fortuitous. As has already been mentioned, a disproportionate body of our documentary evidence derives from the island of Crete. This, of course, is due to the efficient administration and meticulous record keeping of the Venetian authorities. Even though we do not possess similar archives from Constantinople, the city's special position within the Empire has again ensured that we are better informed about events taking place within the capital, than we are concerning most other territories. Much of our documentation concerning Constantinople derives from the copious correspondence flowing between the West and the many lay and ecclesiastic magnates (emperors, patriarchs, podestàs, papal legates etc) residing in or passing through the city. In fact, even though our attention may appear to be unevenly distributed through the lands of the Empire, it is probably safe to say that it accurately reflects the different scale of activity taking place within these select areas. The relative

abundance of sources for Crete and Constantinople can not be attributed purely to the fortunate circumstances that allowed its survival. It is apparent that these territories, because of their importance, also produced more material than most other areas. Crete was, after all, the best organised and most stable see of the Latin Church in Greece. Equally, Constantinople, as the Empire's capital and the patriarch's see, was the focal point of unionist talks and diplomatic and intellectual activity. It is thus reasonable to assume that, even though the uneven nature of our material condemns certain of our convents to obscurity, it does not greatly distort the overall view of Latin monasticism in Greece.

A note on the structure of the thesis

The following first chapter of the present work is an introductory one, aimed at setting forth some of the peculiarities of societal organization that influenced the development of the Catholic Church and Latin monasticism in medieval Greece. The examination of the political, ecclesiastical and social structure of Latin Romania can not of course form the focus of this thesis; most of these issues have been examined exhaustively in the past and some continue to be energetically debated. It is necessary, however, to provide a brief discussion of these topics, since they form the background against which our examination of the religious houses will take place. In addition to this, Chapter 1 attempts to set the religious colonisation of Greece against some of the contemporary trends that accompanied Latin expansion into other areas of Europe and the Middle East. In doing so, it introduces certain themes (i.e. the role of religious communities in *frontier territories*, the interaction between foreign conquerors and indigenous populations etc.) that will be revisited in our main discussion and more explicitly in the concluding chapter.

The subsequent chapters, examining the history of the Latin Orders in Greece one by one, form the main body of the thesis. As stated above, the discussion centres primarily on the investigation of individual houses. The discussion is in many cases unequal, but this is largely dictated by the nature of the surviving material; thus, the history of certain foundations emerges clearly, whilst others remain almost completely obscure. In certain cases the fortuitous survival of sources may indeed give us a distorted view of our subject, making relatively unimportant houses appear more prominent than they actually were. I believe, however, that the overall picture that emerges from our sources is fairly accurate. This point can be illustrated by the example of some of the mendicant convents of Constantinople: though it is hard to find local sources illuminating their day-to-day existence, their importance is evidenced by other sources, showing their connections to the West, the esteem that they enjoyed with the papacy and their respective headquarters and the prominence that certain members of these communities achieved. In other words, the existence (or lack) of relevant sources is not altogether fortuitous, but can be taken to reflect (to a certain extent) the importance of individual foundations.

At the end of each chapter (or section in the cases where more than one order are discussed in a single chapter) I have attempted to synthesise the information pertaining to individual houses into a concise overview of each Order's activity in Latin Romania, with specific reference to financial standing, relations with local political and ecclesiastical authorities and ties with the West. Where possible, I have included discussions about the role of orders or particular convents in local societies and their relations with the laity. The lengthy enumeration of individual houses followed by a 'dry' discussion of each one's history may appear peculiar, but it serves a double purpose. On a practical level, it reduces the need for repetition, as it allows us

to present our factual evidence consecutively, saving the more general discussion for each chapter's conclusion or the general conclusions at the end of the thesis. More importantly, however, it has to do with one of the main premises of this thesis: the subject of Latin monasticism in medieval Greece, is one that has been presented in the past in broad brush-strokes; one might say that we have an abstract impression of it, but we lack much of the detail. The delineation of these details is one of the main objectives of the present work. Where new evidence has allowed us to do this, this evidence has usually come in the form of notarial deeds or (more rarely) monastic cartularies. Amongst other things, these documents have shed light on the size and (sometimes) social and ethnic make up of the religious communities, on their land holding, their relations with their patrons, their economic transactions and means of self preservation. Amongst the more notable examples are the Augustinian convent of the Annunciation in Corfu, Santa Maria Cruciferorum, the Dominican nunnery of St Catherine and the Benedictine nunnery of St George in Candia. The existence of all of these houses is well known, but very few things have been written about them. In a few rarer instances, our evidence has allowed us to re-date the foundation of a convent, most notably in the case of St Augustine of Rhodes, whose foundation can now be placed around a century earlier than was previously assumed.

Of course this delineation of details would be pointless if it added nothing to our knowledge of Latin monasticism in Greece and of medieval Greece in general. To this end, the thesis finishes with a lengthy chapter of conclusions, which I hope will counterbalance the arraying of factual evidence from the sources that forms much of the work's main body. Here, I firstly draw together the conclusions of each of the preceding chapters, assessing the role and the importance of the various religious orders in medieval Greece. Subsequently I compare the monastic landscape that

emerges from our research with the picture of Latin monasticism in Greece presented by previous scholarship. Finally, I return to some of the issues introduced in Chapter 1 and examine whether the findings concerning the monasteries of medieval Greece can add anything to the discussions concerning medieval expansion and colonisation in general, and society in medieval Greece in particular, with specific reference to the issue of *identities*.

Chapter 1: Society in Medieval Greece and the Religious Orders

After the fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Fourth Crusade, the crusaders set about dividing the lands of the Byzantine Empire amongst themselves. For this purpose, a committee was created, comprised of twenty-four crusaders, whose job it was to divide the Empire's lands into three portions, one for the Latin emperor, one for the crusaders and one for the Venetians. It was decided that the emperor would retain one quarter of the Empire's lands whilst the crusaders and the Venetians would each take three eighths.¹ The partition of the Empire was a complicated task that raised several issues: which individuals would acquire land and how much land would they acquire? More importantly, how much land was there to be acquired?

Despite the difficulties, the committee soon came to an agreement and thereafter the crusaders began the conquest of their assigned territories.² They met with varying degrees of resistance, but overall progress was swift. The first state to be founded after the Latin Empire itself (which comprised of Constantinople and the surrounding lands in Thrace and Bithynia) was the kingdom of Thessalonica and it came under the possession of the embittered Boniface Marquis of Montferrat, who had led the crusade and had hoped to become first Latin Emperor of Constantinople. By the beginning of 1205 Boniface's forces had also captured most of central Greece, having encountered minimal or no resistance at all. The lordship of Athens and Thebes was set up under Otto de la Roche and most of the Peloponnese was subsequently subdued by William Champlitte and Geoffrey Villehardouin (nephew of the chronicler). There they set up the Principality of Achaia, the Frankish state *par excellence* of medieval Greece.

Whilst effective, the subjection of most of mainland Greece to the Frankish

¹ For a detailed look at the partition treaty see A. Carile, 'Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae', *Studi Veneziani*, 7 (1965), 37-73 and Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1205-1500* (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 45-51.

² Some reshuffling of the rights to certain territories took place, most notably by the Venetians who traded their rights to inland territories for the possession of important ports.

crusaders was a rather haphazard affair. By contrast, the Venetians moved in an organised way that would secure for the *Serenissima* the control of the sea routes in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. A key part of this plan was the acquisition of Crete, which had been awarded to Boniface of Montferrat. In 1204 the Venetians exchanged their rights in northern Romania with those of Boniface over Crete and proceeded to wrest the island from the Genoese adventurer Enrico Pescatore who was also laying claim to it with the support of Genoa. Venice finally succeeded in defeating the Genoese in 1211 and began to colonise the island. Venice's persistence paid off, for until 1669 when the island was finally lost to the Turks, Crete formed the centrepiece of the Venetian maritime empire.

In addition to Crete, the Venetians secured for themselves other important ports like Methone and Corone in the Peloponnese and, in the fourteenth century, were able to take possession of Negroponte (only a part of which had formerly belonged to them), Tenos, Myconos, Argos, Nauplia and Corfu. Venetian families also ruled on several of the Aegean islands; most notably, the Duchy of the Archipelago in the Cyclades, over which Marco Sanudo established hegemony soon after the Fourth Crusade.

Of course, none of these states remained static. Surrounded by enemies on all sides (the Greeks of the Despotate of Epirus and the Empire of Nicaea, the Bulgars and later the Turks) the Latin states had to adapt and compromise if they were to have any chance to survive. The Kingdom of Thessalonica and the Empire itself were the first territories to be lost to the resurgent Greeks in 1224 and 1261 respectively. In 1267 Prince William Villehardouin ceded the Principality of Achaia to the Angevins of Sicily in order to secure its defence. Finally, the Duchy of Athens was lost to a motley band of Catalan adventurers, who in 1311 crushingly defeated the Frankish knighthood at the battle of Cephissus. They in turn were ousted from Athens in 1388 by Nerio, a member of the prominent Florentine family of the Acciaiuoli, who in the 1370s had inherited

rights to the territories of central Greece. By the end of the fifteenth century all the Latin dominions of mainland Greece and many of the islands had been conquered by the Ottoman Turks and only Venice remained as a powerful Latin presence in the Aegean.

The installation of the crusaders in the lands of the Byzantine Empire was accompanied by sweeping changes in the political, social and ecclesiastical landscape of these territories. The development of Latin societies in Greece has been the focus of much research and as a result there exists a vast bibliography on the subject. It would be useful, however, to reiterate some basic facts about the social make up of these societies, that will serve as a backdrop to our discussion of the religious orders in Greece. Of course it is impossible to give a full account of Latin society here, as the subject is too varied, too complicated and too well-researched to be thoroughly investigated in an introductory chapter such as this. It also has to be noted that opinions vary widely on a number of issues relating to the extent of the changes brought about by the installation of the Latins in the territories of the Byzantine Empire. Scholars, for example, have debated whether the advent of the Franks brought about a dramatic change in the regime of land tenure and administration, or whether parallels to their 'feudal' system could already be found in the Peloponnese prior to the conquest. As a result, only a very brief overview of the socio-political situation can be attempted here. For more in depth investigations of the peculiarities of Frankish and Italian settlement in medieval Greece I refer the reader to the bibliography at the end of this thesis.

It is obvious however that even a cursory examination such as this one requires us to distinguish between the territories taken over by the Franks and those ruled by the Venetians. Let us therefore begin by looking at the most characteristic Frankish dominion, the Principality of the Morea.³ On a political level, the conquest of

³ The political and social history of Frankish Peloponnese is the main focus of most studies of Medieval

Constantinople and subsequently the Peloponnese brought about the supplantation of central Byzantine rule by the 'feudal system' imported to Greece by the Frankish conquerors. It has been argued in the past that the feudal system that was introduced may not have been entirely foreign to the realities of land ownership under the Byzantines. Jacoby, however, has shown that although superficially similar, the Byzantine *pronoia* differed substantially from the Frankish fief, not only in its legal framework (rules governing inheritance, services owed by the recipient etc.), but most importantly in the relations implied between the recipient and the ruler (or in the case of Byzantium the State) and therefore indicated different structures in society. He has also shown that the term *pronoia* does not appear in the sources in relation to the Peloponnese before the thirteenth century and it is therefore doubtful that even these superficial similarities would have been present at the time of the conquest.⁴

The Frankish conquerors proceeded to divide the Peloponnese into baronies. The baronies were of unequal size and strength, but they could each provide at least a handful of fiefs for the barons' vassals. Some of the largest baronies, for example, like Akova and Patras, were comprised of twenty four fiefs, whilst the weakest ones, like Passava or Chalandritsa were only made up of four fiefs. The small size of some of these baronies shows clearly that land in the principality was a scarce commodity. As Jacoby notes, this had an effect on the development of the 'feudal hierarchy': because of the scarcity of land the so-called feudal pyramid only had

Greece, notably William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, (London: John Murray, 1908), Antoin Bon, *La Morée Franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archaéologiques sur la principauté d' Achaïe (1205-1430)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1969) and more recently Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205-1262): Socio-cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens: Historical Publications, St. D. Basilopoulos, 1991) and Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1205-1500* (London: Longman, 1995). More relevant to this discussion, however, are the studies by David Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 873-906 and 'Les États latins en Roumanie: Phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204-1350 environ)', in *XVe congrès international d' études byzantines* (Athens: 1976), pp.1-51.

⁴ Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', pp. 875-883.

four levels.⁵ At the top of the hierarchy was the prince, who owed allegiance to the Emperor at Constantinople. Bon remarks that this tie was of small significance, since the Emperor was far away and usually weak.⁶ Certain of the prince's lands remained under his direct control, whilst others were distributed to his vassals.

Directly below the prince were the lieges, amongst which were the barons. The barons were considered to be peers of the prince, enjoyed rights of high and low justice and could only be judged by the court of barons. Below this rank was another that also had the right to have vassals. These last vassals occupying the bottom rank of the hierarchy were non-noble sergeants and thus could not have vassals of their own.⁷ One of the most commented upon peculiarities of the 'feudal system' as implemented in Frankish Greece, is the incorporation of the Greek *archontes* in this last rung of the feudal hierarchy.⁸ As the *Chronicle of the Morea* states, the Franks promised to respect the customs, laws and religion of the natives, and as a result of this promise many of the local *archontes* retained their privileged position within Moreot society by being incorporated in the landowning hierarchy established by the Franks. The Franks lacked the manpower to conquer mainland Greece were they to be faced with stiff and united opposition by the Greeks, and thus certain compromises were necessary. These working solutions were further aided by the fact that there was enough former imperial and ecclesiastic land to be taken over by the Franks, without them having to dispossess the

⁵ Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', pp. 886-87.

⁶ Bon, *La Morée Franque*, pp. 85-86.

⁷ Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', p. 887.

⁸ The exact position of these *archontes* in Greek society is another issue that has stimulated much debate, as it is not entirely clear whether they were Byzantine officials or just local landowning magnates (some of whom had obtained semi-independent status even before the Frankish conquest). It appears that although the term *archon* may have been originally used quite loosely to describe either of the two positions, the inclusion of this group in the Frankish hierarchy resulted in a stricter definition and a subsequent 'closing up' of this class making social advance into that group almost impossible. For more on the term *archontes* see Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies' and 'Les Archontes Grecs et la féodalité en Morée Franque', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 2, (1967), pp. 421-81, Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 95-96 and Michael Angold, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire', in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford: B.A.R, 1984), pp. 236-266.

local aristocracy (that agreed to cooperate) of its patrimonial lands.⁹ The very existence of a Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* is a testament to the inclusion of Greeks in the landowning and fighting elite of the ruling Franks, for it is to these Greeks that chose to identify with the Franks that the *Chronicle* would appeal. The implications of the existence of such a class (ethnically belonging to the Greeks but owing its allegiance and prosperity to the Franks) have been long debated and will be briefly discussed below as well.

Frankish society in Greece was a society geared towards warfare. It had come into existence through military conquest and its social structures made sure that defences were in place. As was the case in the West, the fiefs distributed to the knights were given out in return for military service. Lock remarks that the length of mounted service (eight months per year) and the large number of widows that appear in our sources indicate that strife remained widespread in Frankish Greece.¹⁰ The importance attached to the defence of the new states is also attested by the multitude of castles and towers that were built by the Franks.¹¹ Lock has argued, that the castles may not have been as effective strategically as was once thought; in fact the mere presence of a castle may have acted as an invitation for an attack.¹² It can not be denied, however, that the Franks themselves saw the building of castles as an important part of consolidating their power in a region and enhancing their prestige. Castles also served as the residences for the lords and administrative centres for their provinces.

The extent to which the settlement of the Franks in Greece affected the lower strata of Greek society (below the level of *archontes*) is difficult to assess, but it has often been suggested that because the Franks were always a small minority their impact on the indigenous society was minimal. Of course estimating the number of Franks in

⁹ Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, p. 280.

¹⁰ Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, p. 281.

¹¹ The ruins of a few of these castles survive in the Peloponnese and central Greece, but many others have completely disappeared and are only known to us through documentary sources.

¹² Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 75-80.

Greece is itself a problematic process. We know that the conquest was achieved by approximately seven hundred to one thousand men, but we do not know how many women and other family members were present. Concerning central Greece, it has been estimated that the Latin population numbered around 5,000-6,000 people.¹³ Whatever the exact number of the Frankish settlers, their establishment in Greece had one immediately apparent result: it divided the population into two distinct classes, the free Franks and the largely unfree local population.¹⁴ The most obvious exception to this rule was the case of the *archontes*, who, as we have seen, remained free provided that they submitted themselves to Frankish rule. Again, however, the practical implications of this theoretical distinction remain obscure and it is not clear whether this change of legal status actually impinged on the way of life of the Greek peasantry. The Franks sought to superimpose their own social structures over the institutions of the land that they had conquered. Sometimes they did this by applying Greek terms to describe their own social organisation. An example of this is the use of the term *pronoia* (in the Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*) as a synonym for fief. Jacoby has suggested that a similar process took place when it came to the legal status of the free peasantry and the *paroikoi*: according to this theory, the Franks, applying their own social structures over the Byzantine terminology, equated the position of the peasantry to that of the *villanus* or unfree serf, tied to the land.¹⁵ Lock observes that survival must have been more important to the peasantry than legal status and the majority seem to have ‘acquiesced passively in Latin rule’.¹⁶ In any case the collaboration of the topmost rung of Greek local society, the *archontes*, with the Franks largely precluded the possibility

¹³ Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, p. 292. On a discussion of the number of Franks in Greece, see also David Jacoby, ‘Les États Latins en Romanie: Phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204-1350 environ)’, in *XVe congrès international d’études byzantines* (Athens: 1976), 1-51 (pp. 20-21).

¹⁴ Jacoby, ‘The Encounter of Two Societies’, pp. 889-890.

¹⁵ David Jacoby, ‘From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change’, in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. by Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London; Totowa N.J.: Cass in association with The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, The Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1989), pp. 1-44, (pp. 20-23).

¹⁶ Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, p. 287.

of an uprising against the new masters.

The situation was different in Crete, where revolts against the Venetians by the local *archontes* (with the backing of the peasantry) were the norm at least for the duration of the thirteenth century.¹⁷ To a degree this was the result of the stricter rules of segregation and exclusion enforced by the Venetian regime against the Greeks, whereby the local aristocracy was dispossessed of many of its estates and completely excluded from government.

As was the case in the Frankish dominions of Greece, defence was also the primary concern of the Venetian authorities; and like the Franks the Venetians also divided their new land into fiefs and adopted a feudal terminology. The island was divided into six territories (*sestieri*) each comprised of thirty three and a half fiefs.¹⁸ The *sestieri* system was replaced in the fourteenth century by a division into four (instead of six) territories. The Venetian colonists were granted their fiefs in return for military service and were called *feudati* or *feudatarii*. There existed two different types of fiefs, the larger ones, called *cavalleriae* and the smaller ones, called *serventariae*. The recipients of the *cavalleriae* assumed the responsibility of maintaining a cavalry whilst the owners of *serventariae* were responsible for providing footsoldiers.

Though the terminology adopted by the Venetians was ‘feudal’, the system of government imposed on the island was anything but. Instead the Venetians designed a miniature version of the regime of Venice and kept everything under tight centralised control. At the head of the *Regimen* was the Duke (the equivalent of the Doge) who resided in the island’s capital, Candia, and whose term of office was two years. He was

¹⁷ The most comprehensive history of the early centuries of Venetian Crete can be found in Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne au Moyen Age* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1959).

¹⁸ Chryssa Maltezou, ‘Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)’ [‘Crete during the Period of Venetian Rule (1211-1669)’], in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός* [*Crete: History and Culture*], ed. by Nikolaos Panagiotakis, 2 vols, I (Herakleion: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 1988), 105-62, (110).

assisted in his duties by two *consilarii*. In the fourteenth century, two rectors were also appointed in the territories of Rethymno and Chanea. Beneath the *regimen* were various councils (again reproducing the Venetian model), whose role was mainly advisory: the *Consilium Feudatorum*, the *Consilium Maius* and the *Consilium Rogatorum*.¹⁹ These were staffed by the Venetian nobility of Crete.²⁰ The top military position on the island was that of the General Captain. Below the nobility were the burghers, residing in the main cities of Crete. The majority of Venetian settlers, both noble and non noble, resided in the cities, but even there they were outnumbered by the Greeks. At the bottom of the social ladder was the peasantry, that was subject to a variety of unenviable taxation and obligations and it was to this class that most of the Greeks of Crete belonged.

The installation of the Venetians on Crete and their policy of segregation and exclusion towards the Greeks had a detrimental effect on the local aristocracy.²¹ It was these great landowning families that rebelled throughout the thirteenth century, trying to reclaim their lands and privileges. They were backed by the peasantry and the clergy, who objected to Venetian rule mainly on religious grounds, but often also (it has been suggested) because of a sense loyalty towards the Byzantine Empire. The Venetians were not always able to suppress these revolts, so they resorted to signing treaties with the rebels, acknowledging lands and privileges, in return for fidelity to the Republic. The most important privileges were granted to Alexius Kallergis in 1299 after a struggle that had lasted for sixteen years, and firmly established his family within the Venetian social hierarchy. The position of these local aristocrats and the implications of their peculiar dealings with the Venetian regime have been hotly debated and will thus be

¹⁹ Maltezu, 'Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας', p. 113.

²⁰ It is important to note that some of the noble Greek families of the island later managed to get themselves included into the lower rung of the Venetian nobility and thus sometimes got seats on the councils. This was an exception to the rule and it was usually achieved through force of arms.

²¹ Maltezu notes that the great landowners of Crete often retained their patrimonial estates after the Venetian conquest, but lost significant land concessions and privileges that they held from the State. Maltezu, 'Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας', p. 130.

briefly referred to again when we turn our attention to the relations between Latin and Greeks in the Empire of Romania.

The Latin Church

As had happened in earlier centuries in the Crusader States, the establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Romania took place through a rather unsystematic procedure. The partition treaty drawn up by the Crusaders and the Venetians during the conquest of Constantinople had stipulated that control of the Patriarchate would devolve to whichever of the two groups did not take possession of the imperial throne. Following the city's capture, Baldwin of Flanders was elected first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, so in accordance with the terms of the treaty the Venetians chose the clerics of the cathedral church of St Sophia from among their number and in turn the new cathedral chapter elected a Venetian, Thomas Morosini, as Patriarch, despite the fact that the legitimate Greek incumbent of the Patriarchal throne was still alive. When Innocent III was informed of these events, he annulled the uncanonical election and instead appointed Morosini to his post of Patriarch. At the same time, wanting to exercise closer control of the Patriarchate, he sent a papal legate (Cardinal Benedict of St Susanna) to Constantinople, and in a successful attempt to curb Venetian power in the Patriarchate, he allowed the prelates of all the conventional churches in the city (not just the cathedral) to have a say in patriarchal elections. As Wolff points out, this early interference by Innocent in the affairs of the Patriarchate set a precedent, which resulted, amongst other things, in papal involvement in at least five of the six subsequent patriarchal elections.²²

Papal interference, however, was only to be expected in light of the huge abuses that had taken place against the Church during the conquest and the continuing

²² Robert Lee Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261', *DOP*, 8 (1954), 225-303 (p. 229).

uncanonical practices that were adopted by the Venetians. Such practices could not be allowed to carry on, especially considering the importance that Innocent attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the prospect of uniting the two Churches. Indeed, it appears that Innocent equated political submission of the Empire with spiritual union of the Churches, for in 1205 he wrote:

So they have come by the grace of God, because after those days the Empire of Constantinople was transferred from the Greeks to the Latins and the Church of Constantinople returned to apostolic obedience, like the daughter to the mother and the member to the head, so that from now on there might be preserved an undivided society between us and them.²³

Innocent's joy at the capture of Constantinople and the union (as he thought) of the Churches was considerably dampened when he heard of the tribulations that the conquerors had inflicted upon the Church. Both in Constantinople and in the rest of Romania, the advancing armies had stripped the churches of both their movable and their real property, with little thought of how the Church would function following the conquest. It took decades for the Latin Church of Greece to recover from this: by 1223 the Church came to own around a twelfth of all conquered territory on the mainland. Even thus, however, the Church remained very poor by the standards of Western Europe, where it has been estimated that it owned around one fifth of the land.²⁴

The expansion of the crusaders throughout the lands of the Empire led to the expansion of the Latin Church in Greece. Patras was the first Latin archdiocese whose establishment was approved by Innocent in 1205.²⁵ The diocesan structure of the Latin Church of Greece and the complex fluctuation of dioceses has attracted much scholarly

²³ MPL 215, 513.

²⁴ Peter Lock, 'The Latin Secular Church in Medieval Greece, 1204-1220', *Medieval History*, 1 (1993), 93-105 (p. 103).

²⁵ Lock, 'The Latin Secular Church', p. 96.

attention.²⁶ Although not everybody agrees on the extent to which the Latins modelled their new Church on the pre-existing structure of the Greek Church, it is fair to say that the Franks superimposed their Church over the infrastructure of the Greek one, making *ad hoc* adjustments where necessary. Most of these changes were made because of financial necessity: certain poorer sees, for example, had to be merged in order to provide the new Latin bishops with adequate incomes. More problems, occasionally resulting in violence, occurred because often the ecclesiastical provinces did not coincide with the new political boundaries.²⁷

Innocent III's initial enthusiastic reaction to the establishment of the Latin Church in Greece shows that, in the beginning at least, he envisioned a harmonic co-existence of Greeks and Latins within the same Church. Indeed, in an attempt to win over the Greek clergy, he only made very moderate demands of them, and took the priests who acknowledged Roman primacy under his protection. His hopes, however, were frustrated and only a tiny minority of the high-ranking Greek clergy remained in their posts. A few cases, like that of Bishop Theodore of Negroponte, are often cited exactly because they are the exceptions to the rule. Even Theodore's sincerity has been questioned, and it has been suggested that he only submitted to the papacy in order to create centres of refuge for other Greek clerics and to spy on the Latin camp.²⁸ The vast majority of Greek bishops preferred to follow the example of their Patriarch John X Kamateros and flee their occupied sees rather than submit to papal authority. They were subsequently replaced by Latin bishops. Unfortunately, no episcopal registers survive from medieval Greece, even if they were once kept, so the lives and activities of these bishops remain obscure: they mostly appear in papal registers squabbling over property

²⁶ See in particular Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, 3 vols (Verona: Mazziana, 1981), 'La Chiesa latina a Creta dalla caduta di Constantinopoli (1204) alla riconquista bizantina', *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 24 (1972), 145-76 and 'La Chiesa latina di Atene e la sua provincia ecclesiastica (1204-1456)', *Thesaurismata*, 2 (1974), 72-87. See also Robert Lee Wolff, 'The Organisation of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261', *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 33-60.

²⁷ Lock, 'The Latin Secular Church', p. 99.

²⁸ Wolff, 'The Organisation', p. 37.

with other bishops, lay lords or religious orders.

As Lock notes, apart from the bishops ‘the Latin clergy in Greece were almost entirely a cathedral or conventual clergy’.²⁹ This is not entirely surprising, in a land where safety considerations often led the Latin settlers to live together in the main towns. One surviving source, however, hints that this scarcity of ordinary parochial priests caused problems for the Latin residents of the countryside: in 1210 Innocent III, following the request of Otto de la Roche, asked the hierarchy of Greece to provide clerics for all Latin communities comprising more than twelve households.³⁰ Whether this was indeed a serious problem in the early years of Latin rule in Greece is not known, but (as we shall see later on) there is certainly evidence that in later centuries, and especially on some of the islands, Latin priests were so few that the Latin residents routinely attended Greek services.

In the meantime, the Greek Church, deprived of its hierarchy, continued to minister to its adherents more or less unmolested in the countryside. As we have seen, the Franks had promised to respect the Greeks’ religious freedom; accordingly, most of the churches and monasteries of the countryside remained Greek. Even in Constantinople the sanctuaries that actually changed hands must have been relatively few. Freddy Thiriet has estimated that, out of the approximately three hundred churches and monasteries of the capital, only about thirty seven to fifty were taken over by the Franks and the Venetians.³¹

The establishment of the Latin Church in Crete and the other Venetian territories of Greece followed similar, but not identical patterns. In Crete in particular, Venice’s ecclesiastical policy was partly shaped by the Republic’s determination to keep tight control of the land and to eliminate the subversive influence of the Greek

²⁹ Lock, ‘The Latin Secular Church’, pp. 100-01.

³⁰ MPL 216, 216.

³¹ Freddy Thiriet, ‘La Symbiose dans les états latins formés sur les territoires de la Romania byzantine (1202 à 1261): Phénomènes Religieux’, in *XVe congrès international d’ études byzantines* (Athens: 1976), 3-35 (pp. 22-23).

Church and clergy. Once again the Greek hierarchy was replaced by a Latin archbishop with his see in Candia, and his suffragan bishops. Many of the important urban churches devolved to the Latins, but once again the overwhelming majority of the rural foundations remained in Greek hands. The Latin Church was endowed with the possessions of the Greek Church, but remained poorer than its predecessor, for much of the property of the Greek Church was taken over by the Commune.³²

The Greek Church on the other hand lost both its leadership on the island and most of its property. The Venetians instituted a system according to which the Greek clergy on the island was independent of the Greek Patriarchate (reinstated in Constantinople after 1261) but also of the Latin bishops on the island. Instead, the Greek priests were submitted to the authority of the *protopapades*, or archpriests, who of course were chosen by the Venetian government and were considered to be a faithful subjects of the Republic. The Latin archbishop only had authority over a strictly controlled one hundred and thirty *papades* who were not eligible to become *protopapades* or *protopsaltes* (this being the only other rank available to the Greek hierarchy below that of *protopapas*). Since there was no Greek bishop on the island, ordination had to be sought abroad, so new candidates for the priesthood had to obtain special permission from the authorities to leave the island and were then ordained by Greek bishops who were faithful to the Republic and resided in the Peloponnese or the Ionian Islands. This was an ingenious tactic, which allowed the Commune to kill two birds with one stone: it kept the number of Greek priests on the island under control and also ensured (as far as was possible) that all new recruits were *personae gratae* to the Republic.

In short, the Venetians sought to keep their Greek subjects appeased by

³² According to Tomadakis, the Commune retained two fifths of the ecclesiastical property of Crete. Nicolas Tomadakis, 'La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta verso i Cretesi Ortodossi dal XIII al XV secolo', in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. by Agostino Pertusi, 2 vols, II (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1973), 783-800, p. 786.

allowing them to have their own priests and observe their rite and customs; but at the same time tried to make sure that the Greek clergy would remain harmless and under strict control.³³ As was the case in the social and political fields as well, Venice's ecclesiastical policy towards the Greeks was better organised but in many respects harsher than the policies adopted by the Franks. It has to be said, however, that Venetian apprehensiveness with regard to the Greek clergy was well-founded: Greek priests and monks had taken prominent parts in many of the Cretans' revolts against Venice, and the Byzantines often sent monks and priests to Venetian Crete in order to prepare the ground amongst the general populace for an uprising.³⁴

Of course, the installation of the Latin Church in a territory where the Eastern rite was predominant did not occur for the first time in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade. The Franks had been faced by similar problems after the success of the First Crusade and even before that, the two rites had had to coexist for centuries in southern Italy, where Greek communities continued to live long after these territories passed out of Byzantine control.

At first glance, it is apparent that the organisation of the Latin Church in Syria and in the Empire of Romania were based on similar principles. In both cases the Latins attempted, to a certain degree, to adopt the pre-existing Orthodox ecclesiastical organisation and in both cases they tried to Latinise the Church. Both in Greece and in Syria they had to transplant western European practices, like the payment of tithes, and in both cases the higher ecclesiastical hierarchy became predominantly Latin.

Furthermore, the Latin Church in the Empire of Romania was plagued by problems very similar to the ones that the Latin Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem had

³³ It has to be noted that it was not enough for the Greek clergy to be under Latin control; it had to be under *Venetian* control, because of course the other influence that the *Serenissima* was anxious to limit on the island was that of the papacy.

³⁴ Tomadakis, 'La Politica Religiosa', p. 788.

had to face: surrounded by enemies, the Latin kingdoms and principalities led a precarious existence and often lost territories, resulting in the loss of dioceses and ecclesiastical revenues. More importantly perhaps, even within the confines of the Latin dominions, both in Syria and in Greece, the Latins comprised only a small minority of the population, so that both the lay lords and the higher clergy had to rule over disobedient and often hostile subjects.

The Latin clergy itself was also problematic. Hamilton explains that after the conquest of Antioch and Jerusalem, it was the crusading clergy that filled the vacant sees of the newly acquired territories. The crusading clergy was mostly low ranking, untrained in administration and sometimes uneducated and yet some of its members were instantly elevated to the rank of bishop and archbishop, with the result that the high ranking hierarchy of the Holy Land was often of far inferior quality to that of Western Europe.³⁵ The same was certainly the case in Romania in the early years of Latin rule, when many of the Latin priests were more notable for their adventurous nature than their education and piety. A good example is that of the monk Gillibertus, who having been deposed from his post as abbot of Flaviniaco because of his excesses, was uncanonically appointed bishop of Amyclae by the archbishop of Patras, much to the displeasure of the pope.³⁶ Finally, it should be mentioned that the Churches of both Syria and Romania suffered from bad relations with the lay lords and, sometimes, the monastic and military orders. Most commonly the arguments concerned financial or jurisdictional matters. Innocent's registers illustrate a variety of such disputes and the trend continues in the registers of later popes.

The differences, on the other hand, between the organisation of the Latin Church in the Holy Land and in the Empire of Romania are more subtle, but perhaps

³⁵ Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1980), p. 22.

³⁶ MPL 216, 224.

more important. The most obvious difference is the degree of papal control exercised in each case. The unplanned establishment of the Latin Church in Antioch and Jerusalem had resulted, initially at least, in a fair degree of independence from papal interference: until 1187 the papacy functioned mainly as a court of appeal and took no part in the election of bishops.³⁷ The opposite was the case in Latin Greece, where Innocent showed right away that he meant to be in charge of the nascent Church. As we have already seen, he intervened in the election of the Patriarch, but his involvement is apparent throughout all the levels of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. It is also worth noting that, while free from papal interference, until 1187 the Church in the kingdom of Jerusalem was effectively under royal control. This was never the case in Latin Romania, where the Latin Patriarchate devolved to the Venetians precisely in order to counterbalance Frankish power in the Levant.

It appears also that in the time between the First and the Fourth Crusade, there took place a shift of attitude towards the Orthodox subjects of Latin states. Hamilton points out that when the Franks first met the Eastern Christians at the time of the First Crusade they made a clear distinction between the Orthodox and the separated Eastern Churches: although they classed the native Maronites, Jacobites and Armenians as heretics, they considered the Orthodox as members of the Catholic Church and that is the very reason why they took over the pre-existing Orthodox diocesan organisation.³⁸ Of course the Orthodox hierarchy was expelled, but Hamilton argues that this happened only because the native Christians did not enjoy the same legal status as the Latin occupiers and not because their faith was problematic. The lower clergy on the other hand was left undisturbed, with the understanding that its members owed canonical obedience to the Latin episcopal hierarchy. No formal declaration of obedience was required. By 1204 these attitudes had changed. The chroniclers of the Fourth Crusade

³⁷ Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 127.

³⁸ Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 159-61.

uniformly accuse the Greeks of being schismatics and they justify the diversion to Constantinople on that basis. Contemporary just-war theories sanctioned violence against heretics and although the Crusaders knew that the Greeks were not heretics but schismatics, they apparently believed that they deserved the same treatment.³⁹ Religious animosity and name-calling continued after the conquest, reinvigorated sometimes by the inter-religious debates that aimed to unite the Churches. By the thirteenth century, the hostility between Catholic and Orthodox was much more pronounced than ever before, and it is possible that, even with Innocent's moderate measures towards the Greek clergy, the Orthodox of Romania enjoyed less leniency than their fellows in Syria a century earlier. The scale of the change of perceptions becomes apparent when one considers that in 1165 the Franks were forced to restore the Greek Patriarch Athanasius to the see of Antioch (admittedly because of political considerations). In contrast, the Latins of Greece refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople even after the reconquest of the city by the Greeks, and instead continued to appoint titular Latin Patriarchs.

The change of attitude can also be illustrated in the case of southern Italy, where Greek Orthodox communities had long coexisted with Latin ones. As Herde points out, the popes had pursued a policy of tolerance towards the Greek rite up until the twelfth century.⁴⁰ Of course the relations between Latins and Greeks in Italy were not always amicable, but theology was not the deciding factor on whether the two communities got along. On the whole, however, the Greek traditions had been respected and there had been no effort to Latinise the Orthodox churches of Italy. The thirteenth century marked a change here as well. Although Innocent was not bothered by the existence of the Greek Church in Italy (which was already under the jurisdiction of

³⁹ Raymond H. Schmandt, 'The Fourth Crusade and the Just-War Theory', *Catholic Historical Review*, 61 (1975), 191-221 (p. 219).

⁴⁰ Peter Herde, 'The Papacy and the Greek Church in southern Italy between the eleventh and the thirteenth century', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. by Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 213-51 (p. 224).

Rome), bad relations with the Greeks of Romania, the subsequent theological disputes and some of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council affected the Orthodox of southern Italy as well.⁴¹ The dispute concerning the Greek formula of baptism and confirmation that arose in Italy in 1232 is indicative of the growing intolerance, on the part of the Roman Church, for variant rites and traditions in the thirteenth century.

So where do the Latin religious orders fit within this ecclesiastic landscape? The Cistercians first installed themselves in Greece very shortly after the conquest of the Empire and their increasing influx has been linked to a letter by Innocent III to the prelates of France asking them to send suitable and well educated Cistercian and Cluniac monks along with canons regular, to help strengthen the Latin faith in Greece.⁴² So if the migration of Cistercian monks was indeed linked to this letter, and the pope's request is anything to go by, we may assume that the monastic colonization of Greece had a quasi-missionary character. We have of course seen that the pope assumed that union had been achieved by the establishment of a Latin Emperor and Patriarch in Constantinople. This then was not a case of converting the Greeks to Catholicism, but rather of reinforcing, through contact and example, their commitment to the Roman See. In practice, the Greek Church continued to minister to its own adherents, even if it had technically been brought under the authority of the Roman Church, but that is not what the pope envisioned. It seems, from this letter and other similar ones, that he aimed to transplant the traditions of the Western Church into Greece, and thus to truly Latinise the Greek Church, rather than saddle it with a foreign hierarchy whilst letting the two rites continue on their separate ways.

⁴¹ Herde, 'The Papacy and the Greek Church', p. 224-26. For the hardening of attitudes towards the Greek Church and its effect on the Greek rite in Italy see also Michael Angold, 'Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile', in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. by Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London; Totowa N.J.: Cass in association with The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, The Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1989), pp. 63-83 (pp. 70-71).

⁴² MPL 215, 636-37.

On the other hand, Cistercian foundations in Greece often appeared as a direct result of requests by the Frankish nobility, who were also relatively generous patrons of these monastic houses. There can be no doubt then, that, whatever missionary aspirations the Cistercians may have had, they also certainly had a role to fulfil within the Latin communities of Greece. As was the case in the West, the Latin lords of Greece would have felt that there were both spiritual, and maybe even temporal benefits to be gained by associating oneself with a religious community.

In all these respects, the Cistercians had already proven their usefulness in the course of the previous century. It has often been pointed out that the Cistercians were at the forefront of the expansion of Latin Christendom during the twelfth century. The Order's structure and its central organisation, along with its zealous pursuit of obedience to the primitive Benedictine rule had facilitated its spread to all the corners of Latin Christendom. Moreover, the Cistercian statutes that stipulated that abbeys be built in remote and inaccessible areas had resulted in a unique and ingenious system of property administration and development that recommended the Order as the perfect religious colonists of frontier regions. A key feature of this system was the building of granges, staffed by the Cistercian lay brothers who would work on the abbey's land. The Cistercian migration to the Iberian Peninsula is a good example of this.⁴³ It has been suggested that the Christian rulers of Spain and Portugal regularly installed Cistercian communities in their recently conquered and as yet unpopulated domains. There they endowed them with lands which other owners would have found difficult to exploit. The Cistercians, however, already had systems in place to make use of such assets. The case of Poblet is enlightening:

Poblet reclaimed land through irrigation; experimented in cattle

⁴³ For a concise account of the introduction of the Order of Cîteaux in Iberia see Maur Cocheril, 'L' Implantation des Abbayes Cisterciennes dans la Péninsule Ibérique', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 1 (1964), pp. 217-281.

breeding; attracted a labour supply through the Cistercian institution of the *conversi*, the lay brethren; opened up new fields around scattered granges which were worked by lay brothers under the direction of the abbey's cellarer; encouraged settlement through lend-lease contracts whereby laymen rented monastic lands and promised to improve the property in order to fulfil the terms of their leases; fostered short distance trade in wine, olive oil and other products; furthered viniculture; and established such basic industries as milling, mining, pottery works, glass blowing and blacksmiths.⁴⁴

Alcobaça and Santes Creus were also founded in recently conquered areas whose lords needed the able administration, workforce and technical know-how of the Cistercians in order to develop these regions.⁴⁵ Thus, the Cistercians benefited from very generous donations by the laity (especially in the early years) and in return played a key role in the development of viable communities in previously unpopulated and underdeveloped regions. At the same time, the Cistercians, conscious of their responsibilities towards their benefactors, aided them in their military endeavours as well, by serving as diplomats, ransoming prisoners and even funding military expeditions against the Moors.⁴⁶

Nor was Spain the only European frontier where the Cistercians had been active in the twelfth century. St Bernard himself had instrumented the expansion of the Order in Scandinavia, where, it has been argued the Cistercians played a key part in shaping the Christian and European character of those lands after the mid-twelfth

⁴⁴ Lawrence J. McCranck, 'The Frontier of the the Spanish Reconquest and the Land Acquisitions of the Cistercians of Poblet, 1150-1276', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 29 (1973), 57-78 (p. 58). For an overall examination of the way Cistercian economy functioned in the kingdoms of Spain see Ermelindo Portela Silva, 'La Economía Cisterciense en los Reinos de Castilla y Leon (Ss. XII y XIII)', in *La Introduccion del Cister en Espana y Portugal* (Burgos: La Olmeda, 1991), pp. 197-215.

⁴⁵ Cocheril, 'L' Implantation des Abbayes Cisterciennes', pp. 266-271.

⁴⁶ McCrank, 'The Frontier of the Spanish Reconquest', p. 58.

century.⁴⁷ Christian missions to Scandinavia had started during the ninth century, but it was not until around 1100 that the whole region was Christianised. Even then, however, the new religion was only skin deep in many areas, whilst many neighbouring regions to the east remained completely pagan. Cistercian abbeys often replaced Benedictine communities in these northern lands and there is an element of competition observable between the two Orders. To a certain extent this is attributable to the spirit of heroic asceticism that the Cistercians brought with them to Scandinavia for the first time but it also has to do with their superior internal organisation and supervision by the General Chapter.⁴⁸ It has often been remarked that the Cistercians were nodes of foreign (and mainly papal) influence in these northern kingdoms.⁴⁹ The Cistercian monks faced tough challenges in Scandinavia, not least because of the weather and inhospitable terrain, but here again they managed to adapt and exert their influence. The case of Denmark is perhaps the most instructive: not only did the Cistercians establish a strong presence there, but they exported monks to the new regions into which the Danish kingdom expanded.

In the 1140s the war against the pagan Wends of the Baltic was awarded the status of Crusade and soon afterwards the Danes started mounting campaigns against their pagan neighbours. By the 1170s they had conquered northern Mecklenburg and parts of Pomerania and two Cistercian abbeys had been founded on the new lands. Both Dargun and Colbaz were daughter houses of the Danish abbey of Esrum and were settled by Danish monks. So once again, this time in the Baltic, we see the Cistercians playing their familiar role as missionaries to a religiously deviant people but also

⁴⁷ For a detailed account of the Cistercian installation in Scandinavia see James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992).

⁴⁸ See France, *The Cistercians*, pp. 54-60 and Tore Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800-1200* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 172-76.

⁴⁹ Bishop Eskil (who was one of the main instigators of Cistercian settlement in Scandinavia), for example, opposed King Valdemar the Great of Denmark (r. 1157-1182) when the latter sided with Frederick Barbarossa and his antipope Victor IV against Alexander III. It has to be noted, however, that the two were later reconciled and that foundation of Cistercian abbeys continued during Valdemar's reign.

contributing to the opening up of new regions and the exploitation and settlement of previously unused lands.⁵⁰ In addition, as Reimann has pointed out the abbey of Dargun became a centre of Danish influence in the recently conquered land and, through the donations it received, secured the territory for Danish hegemony. In other words, the purpose of the foundation was mainly political.⁵¹ Further proof of its political function can be seen in the fact that Dargun was later abandoned (probably in the 1190s) when Danish power in the region collapsed, and the monks were moved to Eldena which was still under Danish control.

Whether the Latin Empire of Romania can be described as such a *frontier region* is of course debatable and the answer that one gives largely depends on one's definition of the term *frontier*. Daniel Power makes two broad distinctions in the way that the term has been used in historiography. On the one hand it describes political borders, often (as in the case of the Spain during the *Reconquista*) acquiring the notion of a militarised borderland. On the other hand (and this is more relevant to our discussion) the term denotes 'a sparsely populated zone located between a metropolitan culture on the one side and a wilderness on the other'.⁵² This notion, particularly influential in the study of American history, also has its relevance to Medieval European history. As Power points out, when applied to medieval history, this interpretation of the *frontier* focuses on the interaction and friction at the fringes of expanding societies. It seems obvious that the Latin Empire of Romania does not fall comfortably within either of these definitions of *frontier* and yet it displays some of the features of both. It is perhaps easier to class the Latin Empire as a frontier society if one follows the looser

⁵⁰ See France, *The Cistercians*, pp. 99-108 and particularly p. 105 where there is a discussion of a charter granted to Dargun, which makes specific reference to this role. See also Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 238-39. Reimann denies that the monks of Dargun undertook the large-scale cultivation of wasteland, but affirms that they had an important impact on settlement, mainly through their new organisation of the territory. See Heike Reimann, 'A Cistercian Foundation within the Territory of a Slavonic Tribe: The Abbey of Dargun in Mecklenburg', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 51 (2000), 5-15 (p. 14).

⁵¹ Reimann, 'A Cistercian Foundation', pp. 8 and 15.

⁵² Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, eds, *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 6-12.

model adopted by Robert Bartlett. According to this, the spread of Latin Christianity into new areas in the High Middle Ages was accompanied by an expansion of a common Latin culture that is discernible despite the political divisions within the Latin West.⁵³ If we accept this then Greece and the Latin Empire do indeed form a frontier region, comparable in some ways to (although very different from) other frontiers of Latin Christendom like Spain, Scandinavia and the Baltic.

Going back to the role of the Cistercians, it is clear from our previous overview, that by the time of the Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Greece, the Order of Cîteaux was valued both by the papacy and the laity as an indispensable assistant in regions where Latin Christianity was not yet firmly established. The lay lords would have seen in the Cistercian abbeys a natural ally in their attempts to Latinise their new dominions: the monks would help make use of the land's natural resources and thus spearhead the settlement of the newly acquired areas. At the same time they would of course play the traditional role of a monastic foundation whereby they would serve as a focus of religious devotion and a cohesive bond for the Latin community.

The papacy would naturally share these ambitions for the Cistercian Order but may well have fostered the further hope that the Cistercians' pioneering activity would also extend to the spiritual field. As Brenda Bolton pointed out, Innocent regarded the Cistercians as the most effective instrument for the conversion of the Cathars of Languedoc, both because of their preaching and through their 'policing' of 'large tracts of land of uncertain loyalty'.⁵⁴ There can be little doubt then that the Cistercian migration to Greece was accompanied by high hopes from the papacy and the Latin laity. It is much harder, however, to discern the Order's own aspirations partly because

⁵³ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Medieval Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London: The Penguin Press, 1993).

⁵⁴ Brenda Bolton, 'A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania', *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 169-81 (p. 172).

of the scarcity of sources and partly because of the Cistercians' relative (or at least apparent) inactivity.

Of course, the conquest of Greece by the crusaders coincided with the beginning of Cîteaux's relative 'decline' and its replacement by the new Mendicant orders as the most energetic proponents of papal policy and Catholic orthodoxy. Accordingly, as is well known, the friars played a much more prominent role in Latin Romania than the Cistercians. Mendicant houses spread rapidly to all the Latin territories of Greece and achieved a prolonged and sometimes illustrious existence. Though they went about their business in a different way, their goals were much the same as the ones ascribed to the Cistercians: promotion of Church Union and strengthening of the Latin communities. Unlike the Cistercians though, the mendicants pursued these goals in very apparent and active ways. Of course, by the time that the Mendicants arrived in the Empire, there could be little doubt about the state of Church relations. As we have seen, Innocent III's belief that the Union had been effected by the Crusade was shattered and instead one Church had been subjected to the other, whilst both continued to minister separately to their respective flocks. Under these circumstances there seem to have been no pretences on the part of the friars that they were anything other than missionaries to a religiously deviant people, and they organised their missions accordingly.

The Dominicans adopted an approach to Greece and the East in general characteristic of their Order's proclaimed goals and methods.⁵⁵ The Dominican migration to Greece was geared from the start towards the learned refutation of the Greek Church's errors. Although evidence of actual preaching is very scarce or non-existent, we know that the necessary infrastructure was in place: the Greek convents operated scriptoria and libraries, provided for their members' education and sent their

⁵⁵ See chapter 4.

best students to continue their studies in the universities of the West. Similarly evident, and characteristic of the intellectual approach of the Dominicans, is the production of polemic works against the Orthodox Church.

The Franciscans also had a niche to fill in the attempts for Church Union. Again, evidence of preaching is extremely rare, but the Franciscans distinguished themselves as papal agents, especially in diplomatic missions aimed at securing Greek acknowledgement of the Roman primacy.

Both these orders, however, were undoubtedly active in the pastoral field as well. Their conspicuous position within the Latin Church and the Latin communities of Greece bears testament to the value attached to them by the papacy, the secular authorities and the Latin population. It has to be noted that the very principles of these orders contributed to their prominence in Greece and made them more suitable, perhaps, than the Cistercians for the colonisation of Romania, given the social circumstances in the Empire. The creation of the Mendicant Orders in the West was connected to the urbanization of Europe and the subsequent development of a new kind of spirituality. As a result, it was in the towns that the friars built their convents and their ministry took place within urban societies. This predisposition towards towns made the friars uniquely suitable to medieval Greece, where, as we have seen, the Latins tended to settle in the cities rather than the countryside. It may also go some way towards explaining the pre-eminence of the friaries in some Venetian territories (like Crete) compared to the relative obscurity of friaries in Frankish areas (such as the Peloponnese): although both the Venetians and the Franks usually had their main residences in towns, the former developed an almost purely urban society, whilst the latter maintained a largely agrarian system.

In addition, one may note that the friars' particular brand of spirituality also recommended them as the perfect Latin missionaries towards the Greeks, whose own

spirituality was much more compatible with mendicant ideals than with what they had seen of the Cistercians. Wolff, for instance, remarks that the Patriarch of Nicaea, Germanus, was much impressed by the Franciscan asceticism that he witnessed prior to the council of Nicaea-Nympaeum.⁵⁶

Greco-Latin Relations

One of the main topics that have always preoccupied the historians of medieval Greece is that of the degree of interaction between the indigenous population of Greece and the Latin settlers. How close were the two communities in their daily lives and to what extent did this contact result in a merging of customs and the creation of a Greco-Latin culture? Can we speak of symbiosis or integration of Greeks and Latins? Or were the two societies largely separated, with the effects of the conquest remaining superficial or even divisive for the affected ethnic groups? The subject is a very broad one with applications in the fields of language, law, religion, economy, art and virtually all other facets of social endeavour. It is an issue that requires separate close examination of each of the Latin dominions, for relations between Greeks and Latins were not uniform throughout medieval Greece. Furthermore, it requires, from the scholar, a good understanding, not only of the institutions (both of Byzantium and the West) but also of the prevalent regional mentalities at the time. The matter is further complicated by the underlying issues of ethnicity and identity and the way these were dealt with (especially in a region like the Balkans) by historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Clearly, the present study can not give a definite answer to this complex question, as many of the aspects of this debate fall far outside our scope. Yet a discussion of some of the related issues can not be avoided, given the prominence of this question in the field of the history of medieval Greece; more so, since the debate

⁵⁶ Robert Lee Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans', *Traditio*, 2 (1944), 213-237 (p. 225).

has been rekindled with renewed vigour in recent years. With this in mind, in this final section of our introductory chapter, we shall briefly review the opinions expressed by scholars in the past. We shall then return to the topic in the conclusion to see whether our findings concerning the Latin monasteries of Greece can provide any further insight on the relations between Latin and Greeks during the *Frangokratia* and *Venetokratia*.

At first glance, the majority of our sources are fairly unambiguous on the subject. Starting with the chronicles of the Fourth Crusade, the Latin authors almost invariably reiterate the (by then well established) stereotype of the Greeks: they are cowardly, effeminate and treacherous with no aptitude for warfare.⁵⁷ The picture remains largely the same in the centuries after the conquest. The *Chronicle of the Morea* is indicative: even in the Greek version (very possibly written by a Greek) the Greeks (albeit those outside the principality) are portrayed as treacherous and untrustworthy.⁵⁸ The exclusion of the Greeks from the fields of government and their social segregation through the prohibition of mixed marriages (especially in Venetian territories) are well-documented and need not be further stressed. The subordination of the Greek Church to the Roman one and the ousting of the Orthodox hierarchy also illustrate the rift between the two groups.

At closer examination, of course, the sources present certain problems. We know for example that a portion of the topmost rung of the local society (the *archontes*) was incorporated in both the Frankish and the Venetian landholding elite, which shouldered military responsibilities. We also have evidence of mixed marriages and of

⁵⁷ This image is reproduced in most of the crusade chronicles. See for example Gunther of Pairis, 'Hystoria Constantinopolitana', ed. and trans. by Alfred J. Andrea, published as *The Capture of Constantinople: 'The "Hystoria Constantinopolitana" of Gunther of Pairis'* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 98-99 or Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. and trans. by Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Octagon Books, 1979), pp. 47-48 and 61. Indicative of the contemptuous attitudes of the Franks towards the Byzantines is the nickname *Griffons* which in the chronicles of the Fourth Crusade is used as a synonym of Greeks. See Chryssa Maltezos, 'Έλληνες και Λατίνοι', in *Boykoleia: Mélanges offerts à Bertrand Bouvier*, ed. by A. D. Lazaridis and others (Geneva: Edition de Belles-Lettres, 1995), pp. 181-190 (pp. 183-84).

⁵⁸ P. Kalonaros, ed., *To Χρονικό του Μορέως [The Chronicle of the Morea]* (Athens: 1940), p. 29.

children of mixed parentage. We have occasional references to members of one creed attending the religious services of the other. The very existence of a Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* presents us with a problem, for it, almost certainly, proves the existence of a Greek class that in many respects identified with the Franks and shared a common ethos. The authorship of the Greek *Chronicle* is unknown, but if we accept that it was written by a Greek and was addressed towards Greeks, then that raises all sorts of intricate issues about the *Greek identity* in the Principality of the Morea. So how can the proclaimed adversity between Greeks and Latins be reconciled with the occasional glimpses of peaceful co-existence and did this perceived co-existence significantly alter the way the two groups viewed each other and themselves?

The importance of the issue was first recognised by Longnon.⁵⁹ His conclusions, however, are not unaffected by a romantic view of his subject matter, shared by earlier historians like Miller. He therefore portrays the French knights as a noble race that established a benevolent and beneficial (economically and culturally) rule over their willing Greek subjects.

The subject was dealt with more systematically by the following generation of historians and it is largely through their endeavours that our picture of medieval Greece has emerged. This generation of scholars has tried to establish the nature of the socio-cultural interactions of Greeks and Latins mainly through the detailed examination of the surviving official documents (for example the *Assizes of Romania* and the legislation of the Venetian authorities) and the study of the social institutions of Frankish and Venetian Greece. Foremost amongst these scholars are David Jacoby, Freddy Thiriet and Peter Topping. Their conclusions are to a significant degree complementary and paint a fairly coherent picture of society in medieval Greece.

Speaking in broad terms, they have followed the Latin sources that stress the

⁵⁹ Jean Longnon, *L'empire Latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris: Payot, 1949).

division and segregation between the two ethnic groups. They have, however, recognized the discrepancies between the official policy of segregation and the realities of side-by-side co-existence and have shown that these societies were, to a certain extent, dynamic, with cultural loans effected on either side. Two significant *caveats* ought to be inserted here regarding these rapprochements: firstly, that we can only ascertain their existence between specific social classes (and that even within those classes they are not observable across the board). Secondly, that these rapprochements are not observable everywhere, but only at particular territories and most importantly at particular times.

As regards the social class factor, the point is obvious: not everyone was integrated into the Frankish or Venetian hierarchy, but only the *archontes* and only those amongst them who opted to cooperate with the Franks.⁶⁰ These *archontes* were not members of the highest echelons of the Byzantine aristocracy, but only the highest ranking (or richest) Greeks in those territories at the time of the conquest. Furthermore, the majority of those were integrated into a particular rank of the Frankish feudatories, namely the lowest one, comprising mainly of non-noble sergeants. It was exceptional for the *archontes* to be granted a knighthood and thus be accepted into the class of the Frankish nobility.⁶¹ Thus whatever social integration did take place in Frankish Morea took place between two distinct classes: the lowest class of Frankish feudatories and the highest class of local magnates. What exactly this integration consisted of remains, however, a matter of speculation. Did these integrated Greeks convert to Catholicism? Did they share in the tastes and customs of their Frankish peers and masters? Did they intermarry with the Franks? Our best clue for answering these questions is the Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*. The only thing that the *Chronicle* proves

⁶⁰ Apart from those who decided to fight against the Latins (like Leo Sgouros) there are also examples of others who chose self-exile rather than submission and integration.

⁶¹ Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', pp. 893-94.

incontrovertibly though, is the fact that this group continued to speak Greek, otherwise there would not be a point in the Greek version's existence. The existence of the *Chronicle* also seems to imply, as has often been remarked, that this group of *archontes* also shared in the tastes and customs of the Frankish nobility and the author himself certainly appears to be a Catholic. Evidence, however, of the Greeks of the Peloponnese converting to Catholicism is virtually non-existent; indeed according to the *Chronicle*, one of the clauses of the agreement between the *archontes* and the Franks was that they would be allowed to practice their own religion. Similarly, evidence of intermarriage between Franks and Greeks is very scarce, and segregation, at least on that level seems to have been upheld.⁶² So what we can observe is the embedding of a particular class of Greek society into the Frankish social and political structure. Since the Greek *archontes* allied themselves with, and fought for, the Franks we can certainly state that they identified (or at least identified their own interests) with them politically, but the extent to which this was accompanied by a true cultural integration remains unclear. The situation is even more obfuscated when it comes to the peasantry. As we have seen, the conquest divided the population into free Franks and *unfree* natives and the free peasantry were probably reduced to the status of *villani*.⁶³ This may have affected their financial situation adversely but it is unclear whether it had any other impact on their daily lives. In any case, the possibility that the wider population interacted in any meaningful way with the Franks is considered highly improbable.

The situation is a lot clearer in Crete, partly thanks to the abundance of sources. Here we know that the majority of the peasantry (which formed the overwhelming majority of the population on the island) remained vehemently anti-Venetian, partly out of loyalty to their Church, which had been marginalised, and to the *archontes* (whom they saw as their natural leaders), but also because of the heavy taxation and obligations

⁶² Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', p. 899.

⁶³ Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', pp. 889-91.

imposed on them by the authorities. Their resentment towards the Venetians can be seen in their readiness to participate in the revolts orchestrated by the *archontes*.

Some of these *archontes* were indeed integrated into the landowning hierarchy of the Venetians and were given military responsibilities, much like their Moreot counterparts, but there are some significant differences: in Crete these cases of acceptance were much fewer and they were achieved through the force of arms.⁶⁴ Even then, the legislation advocating segregation was strictly upheld and the authorities continued to fight against mixed marriages, residence of the Greek *archontes* in the cities and the devolution of Latin fiefs to Greek ownership.⁶⁵ The case of Alexius Kallergis whose family was eventually conceded almost complete integration into the Venetian hierarchy, with seats on the councils and the right to marry Venetians, remained almost unique. Even in the mid-fourteenth century there were no more than ten Greeks on the councils, and Jacoby points out that the concessions granted to Kallergis did not open the door to Greco-Venetian social integration, because such cases remained exceptional.⁶⁶ By and large, the Greek *archontes* continued to live separately from the Venetians, in the countryside, marry Greeks, and adhere to the Greek rite, until the end of the Middle Ages. In the religious field in particular, Thiriet notes that the Venetian policies towards the Greek Church precluded any kind of integration and thus we can not really speak of symbiosis.⁶⁷ Of course, there exist known cases of conversion to Catholicism or almost complete social integration, and these have been well studied, but in the early centuries these cases formed the exception and not the norm.

This brings us to our second important factor, apart from class, that has to be taken into account when we discuss Greco-Latin relations and the possibility of

⁶⁴ Jacoby, 'Les États Latins en Roumanie', pp. 27-28.

⁶⁵ Jacoby, 'Les États Latins en Roumanie', pp. 30-31.

⁶⁶ Jacoby, 'Les États Latins en Roumanie', pp. 31-32.

⁶⁷ Thiriet, 'La symbiose', pp. 33-34.

integration, that is our time-frame. It is a well known fact that the later stage of Venetian rule over Crete (and Venice's other Greek dominions), starting around the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, was marked by a change of Venetian policies towards its Greek subjects.⁶⁸ This was largely brought about by the Ottoman threat and the subsequent need to protect the Greek population and ensure its loyalty. It was exhibited through the relaxation of the measures of segregation and exclusion from government and the granting of more religious freedoms to the Orthodox. It was after these changes occurred (and mainly in Crete) that we can truly speak of Greco-Latin integration. The relaxation of the policy of segregation resulted in the fertile dialogue between the two ethnic groups that gave rise to the syncretism of Byzantine and Venetian customs so characteristic of the culture of early modern Crete. Many of the Venetian colonists were religiously and linguistically assimilated with the indigenous population, but conversely the Cretans were influenced by the art and fashions of Renaissance Italy.⁶⁹ Thus did the blurring of *ethnic markers*, to use a term that is popular today, take place giving rise to a distinctive new Greco-Latin culture.

So, to sum up the picture of Frankish and Venetian Greece painted by historians like Jacoby, Topping and Thiriet, we may say that these were societies that until the fifteenth century were largely segregated: the atrocities of the Fourth Crusade, the lack of understanding of Byzantine institutions on the part of the conquerors, the treatment of the Orthodox Church and the fear of assimilation into the indigenous culture prevented any large-scale integration.⁷⁰ All of them agree, however, that this separation was not complete; some of the *archontes* (mainly in the Peloponnese) achieved a measure of integration, though the effects of this on a cultural level are still unclear. Equally, as Topping notes, the two groups had to find ways to co-exist and they most certainly did

⁶⁸ For the change of policy see Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, pp. 395-410.

⁶⁹ Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, pp. 443-445.

⁷⁰ Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, p. 258, 'La symbiose', pp. 33-34 and Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies', p. 891.

so, especially in the towns and most notably on the socio-economic field. The Cretan archives of Venice, for example, adequately attest to the continuous transactions between Greeks and Venetians on the island.⁷¹ There is also evidence for some linguistic interaction, as is apparent from both Frankish and Greek place names in the Peloponnese and the many Hellenicised French words in the Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Jacoby has offered evidence that bilingualism was very common amongst the *archontes* and that for many of them it was indeed essential in carrying out their duties.⁷² He notes, however, that full acculturation of the *archontes* with their Frankish peers was very seldom achieved and remained exceptional. Finally, it has been pointed out that in the Morea there took place a notable fusion of Frankish and Byzantine law, as is evidenced by the *Assizes of Romania* that had absorbed modified elements of Byzantine legislation, especially in relation to private law and regulations concerning inheritance.⁷³ This hybrid was sometimes incorporated into Venetian law in territories that were later acquired by Venice.⁷⁴ There were further borrowings from Byzantine tradition in the fields of administrative and fiscal practices.⁷⁵ Overall then, if we accept the picture of medieval Greece that emerges from the works of these scholars, we can talk about co-existence of the two ethnic groups, but of very limited real integration. Perhaps the situation is best summed up in the oft cited passage by Marino Sanudo written in 1330:

The land of Cyprus, which is inhabited by Greeks, and the island of Crete, and all the other lands and islands, which belong to the principality of the Morea and the duchy of Athens, are all inhabited

⁷¹ Peter Topping, 'Co-existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete', in *XVe congrès international d'études byzantines* (Athens: 1976), 3-23.

⁷² Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania', pp. 8 and 12-13.

⁷³ Jacoby, 'Les États Latins en Romanie', pp. 15-16.

⁷⁴ David Jacoby, 'Les "Assises de Romanie" et le droit Vénitien dans les Colonies Vénitiennes', in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV: Atti del I convegno internazionale di storia della civiltà veneziana, (Venezia 1-5 giugno 1968)*, ed. by Agostino Pertusi, I (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1973), pp. 347-360.

⁷⁵ Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania', pp. 13-18.

by Greeks, and although they are obedient in words, they are none the less hardly obedient in their hearts, although temporal and spiritual authority is in Latin hands.⁷⁶

The situation of course changed, as we have seen, after the fifteenth century, when the regulations concerning segregation were relaxed, but that is a period that falls outside the scope of the present study.

Earlier Greek scholarship has approached the centuries of the *Frangokratia* and *Venetokratia* from a different perspective. To some extent the perspective of these historians has been dictated by their discipline: being mainly Byzantinists, rather than Medievalists or Crusade historians, most of these scholars have only indirectly dealt with the history of the Latin states and the relations of the Latin rulers with their Greek subjects. Their relevant work focuses on the subject of Byzantine identities and self-perceptions and forms part of a hotly debated discourse on the continuity of Greek history (from ancient Greece to Byzantium and afterwards) and the emergence of a Greek national identity. This debate has been waged primarily between Greek and British Byzantinists, with the Greeks and some of the British historians asserting that there exists a strong element of continuity between ancient Greece and Byzantium, and that the Medieval Greeks identified culturally and racially with the ancients; their opponents on the other hand, to a greater or lesser degree, deny any such links and claim that these notions of continuity are later rationalizations, springing predominantly from the nationalist currents of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ In relation to the *Frangokratia*, the nationalist perspective is expressed most explicitly in A. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the*

⁷⁶ Marino Sanudo, letter to the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, trans. by Kenneth M. Setton, in 'The Latins in Greece and the Aegean from the Fourth Crusade to the end of the Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge Medieval History: The Byzantine Empire*, ed. by J. M. Hussey, IV (Cambridge: University Press, 1966-67), pp. 389-430 (p. 429).

⁷⁷ This is of course a simplistic representation of the two points of view, but it is obvious that further elaboration on this debate would take us far beyond the scope of this introductory chapter. It is important, however, to note that more moderate and more extreme opinions have been voiced from both camps.

Greek Nation.⁷⁸ Here the author argues that the experience of the *Frangokratia* along with the loss of the non-Greek territories of the Byzantine Empire transformed the Byzantine imperial identity into a Greek national identity; thus the last centuries of Byzantium are also seen as the first centuries -or the awakening- of Greek nationalism. The thesis has much to recommend it, but the arguments employed let it down. The author's perspective is so partisan and his selection of source material so biased that few modern scholars could accept the evidence offered to support his theory.⁷⁹

A few other scholars have dealt more directly with the period of Frankish and Venetian domination of Greece. Most notable amongst them are D. Zakythinos and Ch. Maltezos.⁸⁰ When dealing with the history of the Greeks under the Latins, Greek historians, and especially earlier ones, have tended to emphasize divisions and to stress the occasional (or frequent, depending on the territory) Greek uprisings in terms that, implicitly at least, denote a national struggle. Nevertheless, it ought to be noted that for what concerns us here, the account that they give of the relations between Greeks, Franks and Venetians does not differ substantially from the one outlined above; nor do their theories about the effects of foreign rule on the collective Greek identity differ much from opinions expressed by their western colleagues.⁸¹ As a side-note, one may argue that the application of the term *nationalist historians*, though it sometimes reflects accurately the opinions of those it describes, is often all that is required in order to all-

⁷⁸ A. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: the Byzantine Period, 1204-1461*, trans. by Ian Moles (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

⁷⁹ For a discussion of some of the more glaring faults see Cyril Mango's review of the original Greek edition, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 88 (1968), pp. 256-58.

⁸⁰ See for example D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat Grec de Morée*, 2 vols (Paris: 1932 and Athens: 1953; repr. London: Variorum, 1975). This work focuses of course on the period of Palaeologan rule in the Peloponnese and not on the history of the Latin states, but it includes discussions on Frankish Morea. Ch. Maltezos has published very extensively on a variety of topics related to the Venetian domination of Greece. See for example Ch. Maltezos, 'Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)' ['Crete during the Period of Venetian Rule (1211-1669)'], in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός* [*Crete: History and Culture*], ed. by Nicolaos Panagiotakis, 2 vols, I (Herakleion: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 1988), 105-62.

⁸¹ See for example Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania', p. 25: 'Indeed, the Greek Church acted as a cultural focus and played a major role in the crystallization of a new Greek collective identity, in which religious and ethnic responses to Latin rule merged, and which had long-term effects, especially in Venetian territories'.

too-easily dismiss rival theories.

The most comprehensive examination of Greco-Latin relations today is Aneta Ilieva's monograph on *Frankish Morea*.⁸² Here the author investigates the whole history of Frankish Peloponnese and its institutions through the prism of *interaction* rather than *integration*. In other words she examines the processes by which Latins and Greeks in the Peloponnese came to work with or against each other and puts these processes in their historical, geopolitical and cultural context. The focus is, therefore, more on *contacts* rather than on the adaptation and integration of cultures. Nevertheless the author deals with the issues referred to above, in her third and most interesting chapter. Here, amongst other things, she analyses the motivation that led the Greeks to resist or cooperate with the Franks and argues that the attitudes of the Greeks were not uniform, but were influenced by factors like social status and profession. She concludes, however, by affirming that, although a degree of cooperation was achieved resulting in a relatively stable Frankish state, there remained 'a social substrate practically unaffected by foreign rule'. Under these circumstances and because of the elements of opposition that she detects, she concurs that it is better to speak of *contacts* between Latins and Greeks than of *symbiosis* or *interaction*.⁸³

More recently still, a new generation of scholars have studied the subject of Greco-Latin relations through the prism of the concepts of *ethnicity* and *identity*. Rather than focusing on the official documents and legislation that have largely formed our image of medieval Greece, these historians have examined the modes of self-identification of the two communities, and have sometimes attempted to reassess the role that ethnicity played in the day-to-day lives of Latins and Greeks. More than the previous generation of historians, they have stressed the instances of convergence

⁸² Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205-1262) Socio-cultural Interaction Between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens: Historical Publications St D. Basilopoulos, 1991).

⁸³ Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, pp. 245-46.

between the two societies and, though their conclusions are not always uniform, they call into question, implicitly or explicitly to a greater or lesser extent, the image of medieval Greece presented by their predecessors.

Sally McKee's *Uncommon Dominion* is by far the most influential of these studies and is also the one that most explicitly challenges the findings of earlier scholarship, stating right from the start that the author believes that 'by an evolving tacit consensus among scholars in various disciplines, smaller and smaller samples [of sources] are being used to support broadly conceived generalizations'.⁸⁴ McKee studies the society of Venetian Crete in the fourteenth century but her conclusions mark a complete departure from our inherited view of Greco-Venetian relations. Indeed she concludes that 'the traditional view of Venetian Crete [...] is in part the product of the particular way the sources have been manipulated by scholars'.⁸⁵ Instead she posits that Crete was a much more integrated society than had previously been assumed, and that the turbulence of the fourteenth century displays no evidence of ethnic strife, but is more related to common class interests than to ethnic divisions. She supports this thesis by focusing her research on the notarial archive of Candia (preserved in the *ASV*) and identifying instances where the notarial deeds give us glimpses of peaceful day-to-day coexistence of Venetians and Greeks. She also identifies a variety of 'ethnic markers' (including fashion, language and religion) and attempts to show that in many cases already from the fourteenth century these markers had been blurred. She concludes by questioning the very validity of the term 'ethnic identity' (which she sees as contributing to the creation of a 'toxic atmosphere') and prompting historians to 'engage in the dismantling, the deconstruction -literally- of [this] concept, without a worry for its

⁸⁴ Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. i.

⁸⁵ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 168.

eventual reconstruction'.⁸⁶ In brief, she suggests that the rapprochement between Venetians and Greeks that historians have traditionally seen as a long and gradual process beginning at the end of the fifteenth century, was indeed achieved already from the fourteenth, and that issues of ethnicity are more important for modern historians than they were decisive in the relations of Venetians and Greeks.

The theory is an attractive one, not only because it offers an explanation for the apparently conflicting motivation of the *archontes* of Crete (who appear alternately as rebels and protectors of Orthodoxy and the old status quo and soon afterwards as loyal subjects of Venice and defenders of her regime), but more importantly because it coincides with our modern ideals of how multicultural societies should operate. There are, however, important methodological problems. Most obviously, there is the problem of the sources. Although the notarial archive is an invaluable source of information, it is not necessarily the most useful one for illustrating the mentalities and attitudes of the two peoples; more so, since there is a variety of other types of sources (chronicles, acts of government etc.) which expressly mention the antipathy and division between the two groups. The author, however, continuously argues against and tries to discredit these sources, on the dubious grounds that they reflect an official propaganda from above, and can therefore tell us nothing about the prevalent mentalities on the island. She focuses instead on mercantile transactions and wills from the city of Candia trying to prove that the two groups coexisted peacefully side by side. This, however, was never in question. As we have seen, other scholars (like Topping for example) have studied the transactions of Latins and Greeks and concluded that they did find a way to coexist, occasionally quite comfortably. Does this mean that their identities, mentalities and customs were fused? No, especially since even the evidence of economic convergences from Candia is not that widespread: despite the author's insistence on the centrality of

⁸⁶ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 177.

the notarial archive for this examination, she only identifies around two hundred deeds illustrating her points. Two hundred documents is a substantial number but it forms a negligible percentage of the notarial archive, which certainly does not allow for sweeping generalisations.

We can posit similar objections to McKee's treatment of the *archontes* and their relations to Venice. Much is made of the privileges conceded to Alexius Kallergis and the position he achieved in Candiote society, and this is presented as an indication of the perceived rapprochement between the two ethnic groups. Again, earlier scholarship has long commented on Kallergis's peculiar position, but has recognised it for what it was: an exception. Indeed the prominence that his family achieved remained almost unique, yet here it is shown as a representative paradigm of Greco-Latin integration. In any case the convergence of interests between some *archontes* and the Venetians, and the integration of the former in the political hierarchy of Crete is well attested. The previous generation of scholars expressly stated that this integration was exceptional (even out of the class of *archontes* of Crete not everyone was integrated) and questioned whether this was accompanied in Crete by an *acculturation*. McKee, however, sees these exceptions as the norm and attempts to show that identification between certain classes of Greeks and Venetians was pervasive.

More problematic still are McKee's geographical generalisations. The bulk of her material (almost without exception) relates to the city of Candia, or at the best, to the territory of Candia. Yet she draws her conclusions for the entire island and even goes so far as to say that this examination can have some applications on other medieval colonial societies, like Ireland. The mistake in examining Candiote society and generalising for the whole of the island is clear: the population of the city of Candia represented a tiny proportion of the population of the entire island. Crete's population at the time is estimated to between 150,000 and 200,000 inhabitants. Maybe around three

or four per cent of these resided in Candia, whilst the overwhelming majority of the Greeks lived in the countryside; furthermore, Candia was the only place on the island where the Venetians formed more than a small minority. It follows that we can not examine this exceptional territory and draw conclusions for the entirety of the island. Even if we accept that a measure of integration did indeed take place in Candia (and to a smaller degree in the other cities inhabited by the Venetians) we can not say the same for the greatest part of the island, where contact between Latins and Greeks was minimal or non existent. More so since the hostility of the rural population towards the Venetians is well attested in our sources.

Here, however, is another problem, as McKee refuses to interpret the sources in the obvious way when it comes to examples of ethnic hostility. Most notably, she mentions the case of the Greek rebel *Papadia Rovithou*, who disparaged a Greek Cretan who had sided with the Venetians with the words: ‘Why did you flee from us and from your kin? Why did you go with the Latins? Oh how I wish I had in my hands the eyes of all those who joined the Latins and the eyes of all the Latins?’⁸⁷ Even though the author admits that this does indeed indicate ethnic hostility, she goes on to argue that such expressions of ethnic hostility should not be taken at face value. This tendency to argue against the logical interpretation of the sources that explicitly contradict her thesis is apparent throughout the work. It is difficult then to see how McKee can accuse earlier scholars (presumably the likes of Thiriet, whose knowledge of the Venetian sources was unrivalled) of *manipulating* their source material.

Perhaps, however, the greatest underlying problem with this theory is the insufficient examination of one of its key concepts, that of *ethnic identity*. Though this concept is central to McKee’s thesis she does not define it adequately and there is therefore considerable confusion as to what the terms that she uses actually mean. In her

⁸⁷ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 176.

conclusion for example she uses the terms ‘ethnic identity’, ‘ethnic homogeneity’, ‘national identity’ and ‘race’ almost interchangeably, yet it is clear that these are different things. In order to investigate the evolution of *identities* one needs to engage in a historical definition of the identities in question and of the terms themselves, as indeed Gillian Page has done in her thesis (see below), with reference to political and religious affiliation, racial self-identification etc. By contrast, there is no serious attempt to define these terms here, nor to discover what it meant to be a Greek Cretan or a Venetian before the conquest. Instead, the discussion is centred around a set of external ‘markers’ and when these fail to give any decisive indication of the Cretans’ (Greek and Venetian) self-perception, it is decided that ethnic divisions had virtually disappeared and that indeed the term *ethnic identity* is an artificial construct that can only inhibit our historical research. Strangely, the author herself wonders:

Why does it matter whether or not there was a material basis for the ethnic distinctions between Greeks and Latins in the Venetian colony of Crete during the fourteenth century, if that population and the powers that governed them believed those distinctions to be real and acted on that belief accordingly?⁸⁸

She fails to answer this question, but continues on the presumption that the study of such artificial constructs is pointless or even harmful. The obvious answer, however, is that it does not matter and that if those distinctions were there (which they patently were) they should be studied. If, after all, our belief (or lack thereof) in the material existence of a concept is to dictate our historical approach, then atheist historians should cease to study topics relating to religious or ecclesiastical history on the basis that they do not believe in it. So the theory expounded in *Uncommon Dominion* is flawed on many levels, but it has also been very influential, mainly because of its insistence on

⁸⁸ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 3.

instances of positive contacts between Latins and Greeks. Despite the reservations expressed above, these instances are indeed numerous and enlightening, and on this basis we shall return to the subject of Veneto-Greek rapprochement in Crete in our concluding chapter, to see whether our findings concerning the Cretan convents can add anything to the debate.

A scholar whose work was somewhat influenced by McKee's *Uncommon dominion* is Gillian Page, but Page avoids the methodological errors that make McKee's theory untenable, and indeed addresses some of the previous work's omissions. In her doctoral thesis, Page has examined through literary sources how the *Frangokratia* influenced the Greeks' self-perception and brought about changes in the definition of the *Roman identity*.⁸⁹ She concludes that the centuries of Frankish rule resulted in a decline of the political significance of the term Roman (*Romaios*), whose main connotation initially was the identification with the political entity of the Byzantine state. Instead, *Romaios* gradually came to denote an ethnic group, whose self-awareness was largely influenced by a shared religion and the prolonged contact with another ethnic group.⁹⁰ She insists, however, that in the Peloponnese this ethnic self-identification was not the defining factor in relations between Latins and Greeks, although that may have been the case with the Constantinopolitan elite. Rather, in places where Greeks and Latins had to co-exist it was common regional interests and not ethnic divisions that shaped allegiances. To sum up Page's argument, she affirms that the Roman political identity in the Morea was replaced by an ethnic one which was brought about through contact with the foreign conquerors and was often 'negatively formulated', but denies that this ethnic identity was pivotal in creating political loyalties. In this respect she follows Sally McKee's thesis concerning Venetian Crete. The

⁸⁹ Gillian Pamela Page 'Franks and Greeks, Latins and Romans: Greek identity and the Frangokrateia', (unpublished doctoral thesis, York St John College, 2002).

⁹⁰ Page, 'Franks and Greeks', p. 262.

argument, however, is much more convincing here, given the character of the Frankish conquest and the degree of cooperation apparent in the Peloponnese. Of course, as the author points out, most of the sources give us a ‘skewed view in favour of the elite of Roman society’ and the one source that serves as a counterweight (the Greek *Chronicle of the Morea*) is again the product of an elite, albeit not a Constantinopolitan one.⁹¹ So despite the detailed and insightful examination of the evolution of the term *Romaïos* we gain little insight into the attitudes of the two ethnic groups towards each other and the level of their cultural integration in the Peloponnese, especially when we go below the level of the elites.

Maria Georgopoulou’s *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies* also casts an eye on Veneto-Greek relations with an emphasis on contacts, this time through the prism of the archaeological and architectural analysis of the Venetian cityscapes of medieval Greece.⁹² Focusing mainly on Crete, but also discussing the other Venetian colonies of Greece, Georgopoulou examines how Venice’s urban planning was designed to promote Venetian hegemony at the expense of the local populations. She argues that the Venetian authorities created a landscape, inspired by the urban structure of the metropolis that reflected Venice’s dominance and sought to marginalise the native element. She states, however, that the Venetian reign was characterised by ‘an exchange of cultural forms that allowed the colonizers to maintain a smooth transition from the former Byzantine to the new Venetian hegemony’.⁹³ It was this same exchange of cultural forms, maintained sometimes despite Venice’s efforts that in the long run resulted in the phenomenon of the Cretan Renaissance. Georgopoulou concludes that after an initial period of adjustment the Venetian merchant class was happy to accept the local Greek and Jewish urban classes within the Venetian trade system and that the

⁹¹ Page, ‘Franks and Greeks’, pp. 253-54.

⁹² Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001).

⁹³ Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 3.

changes introduced in the cities (with the creation of a symbolic space proclaiming Venice's prominence) were not dramatic enough to disrupt urban life.⁹⁴ She recognises, however, that economic interaction and cultural 'cross-fertilization' did not necessarily wipe away ethnic dissent and that real integration was not achieved until the sixteenth century. In other words, she does not try to explain away all the peculiarities of the Venetian colonial regime through a single formula, but instead admits that peaceful co-existence in certain fields and areas was accompanied by divisions in others.

Georgopoulou's work is of course mainly an architectural reconstruction of these medieval cities, but what makes the discussion of inter-ethnic contacts interesting is that it focuses on that often-neglected minority, the Greek urban middle classes, whilst, as we have seen many of the relevant studies focus on the interaction (or lack thereof) of the Latins with either the Greek local elite, the *archontes*, or the overwhelming majority of the Greek population, the peasantry.

* * *

As has already been mentioned, the subject of Greco-Latin relations is not the main concern of the present study. Given, however, its prominent position in the field of studies concerning medieval Greece, it can not be circumvented, and a brief review of the relevant research was thus necessary. Similarly, the political and ecclesiastical structure of medieval Greece had to be outlined in order to provide a backdrop for our subsequent discussion of the religious orders, so the reader will excuse this rather lengthy introductory chapter. The issues touched upon here, and especially that of Greco-Latin relations or integration, will be revisited in the concluding chapter, where we shall try to determine whether our findings concerning the religious houses of medieval Greece and the activity of the orders can contribute at all to the continuing scholarly debate.

⁹⁴ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 256-57.

Chapter 2: Cistercians and Benedictines

The involvement of the Cistercian and Benedictine orders in the affairs of the Latin Empire of Constantinople began very ambitiously but did not achieve the stability and longevity that, as we shall see, distinguished the career of the new, Mendicant Orders in Greece. The Cistercian mission to Greece is invariably described as a failure by modern scholars, while the Benedictine one, being more inconspicuous is hardly even discussed. Despite their obvious shortcomings, however, the early involvement of these orders, especially the Cistercians, contributed to the shaping of the political and ecclesiastical state of affairs in Latin Greece, and thus deserves to be examined. Starting with the Cistercians, we shall attempt to trace the history of each of the houses that these orders founded in Greece and to discuss their significance in the political and ecclesiastical milieu of medieval Greece.

The Cistercians were the first of the Latin orders to install itself in the newly-acquired lands of the Empire of Constantinople. It has often been noted that the Fourth Crusade was, to a large extent, a Cistercian undertaking: despite the initial differences between the Order and Pope Innocent III over the funding of the expedition, the Cistercians actively promoted the Crusade through their preaching and many members of the Order joined -and even occupied high-ranking positions in- the crusading army.¹ Thus it was only natural that the order of Cîteaux was the first religious order to reap the benefits of the conquest. The first benefits came in the form of Holy relics, taken from the churches of Constantinople and later transported to the abbeys of Western Europe.² Soon afterwards, however, the lay lords of the Empire began to donate

¹ Most of the contemporary accounts of the Fourth Crusade reveal the prominent role that the Cistercians played in the expedition. Certain of the chronicles, like the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* were written by Cistercians and focused on the actions of crusading Cistercians. For a concise but comprehensive account of the Cistercian influence on the Fourth Crusade see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276', *Traditio*, 14 (1958), 63-120 (pp. 63-76).

² See for example Gunther of Pairis, 'Hystoria Constantinopolitana', ed. and trans. by Alfred J. Andrea,

monasteries in their new lands to the Order. The popes also encouraged the installation of the Order in the conquered territories. Bolton has pointed out that the Cistercians were, at the time, the chief agents of papal policy. As such, Innocent III would have been eager to see them successfully colonise Greece and assume a spiritual role similar to the one they were playing in Spain.³ In any case, the presence of a powerful monastic order in the new lands could only prove beneficial, as a cohesive bond for the relatively few Latin residents. The pope's intentions concerning the monastic orders in Greece are clearly illustrated in his famous letter to the prelates of France in May 1205.⁴ Following a plea by the newly-crowned Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, Innocent addressed the prelates and archbishops of France asking them to send suitable and well-educated monks to the new lands, in order to help spread the Catholic faith in the Empire. It is obvious from the letter that in the eyes of the papacy the conquest of Byzantium had signaled the end of the schism. As far as Innocent was concerned, the unification of the Eastern and Western Churches had already begun and the Greeks would soon return to Roman obedience. The completion of this task, however, depended on the efforts of the religious orders, primarily the Cistercians. The pope's letter also instructs the prelates to send missals, breviaries and other books to the Empire, to help establish the Latin rite in Greece. The pope's hopes proved to be premature and it is doubtful that the Cistercian presence in Greece made an impact on the indigenous population, but it is clear that Innocent envisioned the Cistercians playing a key part in the unification of the Churches.

With the proliferation of Cistercian houses in Greece during the first years of the Latin Empire, the Order's General Chapter, which convened annually in Cîteaux,

published as *The Capture of Constantinople: 'The "Hystoria Constantinopolitana" of Gunther of Pairis'* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 109-13 and 125-27.

³ Brenda M. Bolton, 'A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania', *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 169-81 (pp. 171-72).

⁴ MPL 215, 636-37.

saw the need to regulate this migration. In 1205 the General Chapter set strict rules by which monks were allowed to move to Greece. As Elizabeth Brown points out, this was probably done in order to prevent the uncontrolled emigration of Cistercians to the East.⁵ In 1216, recognizing how hard it was for the abbots of remote monasteries to assist at the General Chapter every year, the chapter allowed the abbots of Greece to travel to Cîteaux once every four years. It was also declared that, if an abbot failed to present himself to the General Chapter on the fourth year, he ought to appear the following year and humbly ask for forgiveness.⁶ A year later, the General Chapter amended this rule, allowing the abbots of Greece to travel to Cîteaux only once every five years. It was also decided, that the father abbots should visit their daughter houses in Greece at least once every three years.⁷

Eventually, with the encouragement of the popes and various lords of the Empire, and under the close supervision of the General Chapter, several Cistercian houses were founded in Greece. Unfortunately, the information that has survived about them is very fragmentary, and almost nothing is known about their spiritual and pastoral activities. There is even confusion about the location of some of these houses, while others are assumed (but not proven) to have been Cistercian. In the following section, I attempt to review what is known of these and to reconstruct, as far as it is possible, the history of the Cistercians in Greece.

Monastery of Chortaitou

This house, (also referred to as Chortaiton) situated on the mountain of Chortiates, east of Thessalonica, was the first Cistercian monastery in Greece. Originally, it had been inhabited by Greek monks who had fled the Latin conquest. In

⁵ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 78.

⁶ J. M. Canivez, ed., *Statuta Capitulum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 8 vols, I (Louvain: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1933), 459.

⁷ Canivez, *Statuta*, I, 468.

1205 their house was donated by Boniface III marquis of Montferrat (d. 1207) to his Cistercian follower and future archbishop of Thessalonica, Peter, abbot of Locedio.⁸ Elizabeth Brown remarks that this gift was part of Boniface's plan to exclude the Venetians from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his domains, by introducing Frankish clergy.⁹ Linked as it was to the ephemeral kingdom of Thessalonica, the monastery's history was short but tumultuous and the majority of surviving references to it, concern the unseemly behaviour of its monks.

After the acquisition of Chortaitou, the monastery of Locedio appointed a monk named Geoffrey as its abbot. In 1212, however, the community of Chortaitou was expelled from the monastery by Emperor Henry of Constantinople, and William of Montferrat intervened, writing to the pope in defence of the brothers.¹⁰ Innocent III ordered the restitution of the monastery to the Cistercians. Soon afterwards, however, he received letters from the Greek monks that had previously held the monastery, casting some doubt over the integrity and the lifestyle of the Cistercian community of Chortaitou. These accusations by the Greeks have been preserved in the letters that Innocent III subsequently sent to the prelates of Greece, asking for an investigation into the matter: the Greek monks described Abbot Geoffrey as a voracious wolf and a cruel robber and accused him of having plundered and sold all of the monastery's valuables. His successor, Abbot Roger was accused of even greater crimes. According to the Greek monks, he had destroyed the monastery's cells and houses, sold all of its livestock and uprooted its olive grove. It was for that reason that Henry had expelled the Cistercians, and allowed the Greek monks to return to Chortaitou. Upon their return, the Greeks found that their wealthy monastery, which in previous times had been able to sustain a community of two hundred, was reduced to utter poverty. In

⁸ Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium* (Vienna: Hoelder, 1878), pp. 218-219.

⁹ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 80.

¹⁰ MPL 216, 594-95 and Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 80.

1212 Innocent allowed the Cistercians to return to Chortaitou, and a new group of monks was sent from Locedio. The Greek monks complained and Innocent ordered Pelagius, the Cardinal Bishop of Albano to resolve the case.¹¹ Unsurprisingly, the monastery remained in the hands of the Cistercians.

Brenda Bolton has suggested that the destruction and sale of the monastery's possessions may have been a deliberate attempt to create a wasteland (in keeping with Cistercian tradition whereby communities were installed in remote and inhospitable areas), rather than an indication of the monks' iniquity.¹² It seems, however, more likely that the Cistercian monks, who must have been far fewer than the two-hundred-strong Greek community that preceded them, made use only of the resources that they required and sold the surplus assets for a profit. The horrified reaction of Emperor Henry of Constantinople to the news of the alienation of the monastery's property also points towards this conclusion. Although Henry may have wanted to appease his Greek subjects, it is doubtful that he would have returned the monastery to the Greeks, had he believed that the Latin community was following sound Cistercian practices. In any case, the installation of the Cistercians in remote and inhospitable areas was normally followed by attempts to exploit the new lands and to ensure the community's viability by securing stable incomes. This does not seem to have been the case here. The sale of the monastery's valuables may indeed have been a step in that direction, and could also have been in keeping with the Order's prescriptions of austerity and simplicity; but if we believe the accusations of the Greek monks, the Cistercians then proceeded to destroy the house's gardens and olive grove, which was surely in contrast to the Order's usual policy of making efficient use of each abbey's lands.

When the monastery reappears in the papal registers in 1218, it seems to have

¹¹ See for example Angelo Manrique, *Annalium Cistercienses*, 4 vols, IV (Lyons: 1642, repr. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1970), 38-39.

¹² Bolton, 'A Mission', p. 176.

resolved its internal problems, for, at this time, Honorius III asked the abbot of Chortaitou to intervene in a case between the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, the chapter of the church of St Demetrius in Thessalonica and the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre of Thessalonica.¹³ The case concerned a dispute over a prebend and other property of St Demetrius, which had been usurped by the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre. Unable to find a solution in the ecclesiastical courts of Thessalonica, the litigants had appealed to Gervase, the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, who is, perhaps, best-known for his litigious nature. Seeking to perpetuate the argument, and thus assert his authority to intervene, Gervase kept setting hurdles to the resolution of the case. Thus, the chapter of St Demetrius appealed to the pope and Honorius appointed the abbot of Chortaitou and the deans of Thessalonica and Kitros as judges, and also ordered them to invalidate any measures taken by the Patriarch after the appeal.¹⁴

Further proof that Chortaitou was starting to become a successful and well-respected monastery after its troubled early years, can be seen in the fact that in 1224, John, the bishop of Negroponte donated the Euboean monastery of St Archangelus to the Cistercian community.¹⁵ The monastery of Chortaitou thus acquired the revenues of this insular foundation, but may also have assumed the responsibilities of a mother house. It is doubtful however that Chortaitou ever sent monks to its daughter house, for in the same year the Greeks reclaimed the kingdom of Thessalonica and soon afterwards expelled the Cistercian community from its monastery. It is unclear whether the monastery of St Archangelus remained in the hands of the Latins after this or even whether the Cistercians of Chortaitou or of Locedio ever moved into this house.

¹³ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. by P. Pressutti, 2 vols, I (Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms, 1978), 231 only contains a summary of the papal letter. Elizabeth Brown publishes it in full in 'Cistercians', pp. 119-120.

¹⁴ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 103 and 119-120.

¹⁵ Manrique, *Annalium*, IV, 273.

Daphni

The second Cistercian abbey to be founded in Greece was a daughter house of Bellevaux and was also the most prestigious and enduring Cistercian house of the Empire. Otto de la Roche, lord of Athens, made the donation of the prestigious Greek monastery of Daphni (near Athens) to the Cistercian Order as early as 1207. It is agreed, though, that the Cistercian monks did not take possession of the house until 1211.¹⁶ Daphni was originally built in the late fifth or early sixth century and then rebuilt towards the end of the eleventh century (around 1080). Its church, decorated with beautiful mosaics, is considered to be one of the finest examples of Byzantine architecture. Before the Frankish conquest Daphni was one of the wealthiest and most prestigious monasteries of Greece. The house of Daphni, or *Dalphin* or *Dalphiner* as it was referred to by the Latins, seems to have retained the high status it enjoyed under the Greeks, after it changed hands. Soon after the installation of the Cistercians in Daphni, the popes started entrusting its abbots with important missions. The first such case was in 1217 and 1218, when Honorius III ordered the abbot of Daphni to intervene in a dispute between the archbishop of Thebes and the quarrelsome Patriarch Gervase.¹⁷ The Patriarch had claimed jurisdiction over certain churches and their possessions that had belonged to the archbishop and chapter of Thebes and had begun to follow similar tactics in other bishoprics of Greece as well. Finally, the wronged archbishop appealed to Rome. Initially, Honorius appointed the abbot of Daphni, the Prior of the Temple in Athens and the dean of Davlia to hear the case, but as similar complaints from other bishops reached Rome, the pope instructed Gervase to withdraw his claims and ordered the abbot of Daphni and his colleagues to see that the Patriarch complied.¹⁸

¹⁶ Gabriel Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1889), p. 31.

¹⁷ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 60.

¹⁸ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 97.

The pope employed the abbot of Daphni in several similar disputes with the Patriarch around the same time.¹⁹ The most important of them was a series of accusations brought against Gervase by the prelates of Greece. According to these, the Patriarch was grossly overstepping his jurisdiction and authority, by excommunicating and absolving arbitrarily, deploying nuncios invested with legatine powers, disregarding appeals made to the pope, and uncanonically appointing bishops and granting benefices. Once again, Honorius ordered Gervase to withdraw his claims and revoke his actions and instructed the prior and subprior of Daphni and the treasurer of Athens to enforce this sentence.²⁰

A few years later, however, it was the monks of Daphni themselves who fell into disfavour. In 1218, the papal legate John Colonna had promulgated a sentence of interdict against Otto de la Roche and Geoffrey Villehardouin and their lands, because of their failure to comply with the rules of the Ravennika concordat.²¹ The sentence also encompassed Daphni, but the monks ignored it and continued to celebrate mass. The papal legate excommunicated the brothers, but they ignored the second sentence as well. Finally, in 1222, Honorius wrote to the bishop of Negroponte and instructed him to expel the excommunicated monks from their monastery. He allowed six monks to remain in the house and look after its property, provided that they were not amongst the community's office-holders and that they would not celebrate mass. The pope also ordered the return of some property to the bishop of Thermopylae and the exhumation of the bodies that had been buried in the monastery's cemetery since the excommunication.²² In 1224, the pope was forced to allow two of the expelled monks

¹⁹ See for example *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 168-200.

²⁰ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 100-101.

²¹ The Ravennika concordat was an agreement made between the lay lords and the ecclesiastical prelates of the Empire, concerning the rights of the Church in the newly acquired lands, and the responsibilities of the nobility. For a detailed history of the concordat see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy in the Levant, 1204-1571*, 4 vols, I (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 39-41.

²² A summary of this letter is published in *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 59. The full letter is published in Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 120.

to return to the monastery of Daphni.²³ A new Cistercian community had, in the meantime, occupied the house, but they were unable to administer its property, because the only members of the old community that had remained in the house were low ranking and could not provide them with the necessary information about the house's possessions.

The abbot of Daphni, appears again in the papal registers in 1237, when he is appointed by the pope to resolve a dispute concerning the union of the bishoprics of Negroponte and Avlona.²⁴ A year later, it was the abbot's turn to ask for the pope's help, in a dispute that he had with a knight of Negroponte over some land. The case took several years to resolve and it seems that in the end the estate came into the possession of Daphni.²⁵

The monastery of Daphni appears twice in the records of the General Chapter of 1260.²⁶ The first mention refers to a dispute between the abbot of Daphni and a knight named Aymo of Molay, but unfortunately the reason for the dispute is not revealed. The abbots of Zaraka and St Angelus of Constantinople were appointed by the General Chapter to resolve the case. In the second instance, the abbot of Daphni along with the abbot of another house (possibly Rufiniano), were appointed to inspect the location to which the abbot of Zaraka intended to move his monastery.²⁷

In 1263, the General Chapter of the Cistercians bestowed a special privilege to the abbot of Daphni, by allowing him to make the trip to Cîteaux only once every seven years, instead of the prescribed five, for as long as he lived. This was done in recognition of the abbot's personal contribution in transporting the arm of St John the Baptist from Greece to Cîteaux, as a gift from Otto of Cycons, Lord of Karystos.²⁸ It is

²³ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 272.

²⁴ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 107.

²⁵ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 109-10.

²⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 470-73.

²⁷ The history of all these houses is discussed below.

²⁸ Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 12.

in connection with the same matter that we learn of the visit of the abbot of Bellevaux to his daughter house of Daphni in 1263. As has already been mentioned, the Order demanded that the father abbots visited their daughter houses at least once every three years. Evidence of these visits is very scarce, but, as Brown points out, the fact that we only incidentally find out about this particular visit to Daphni shows that the visits did indeed happen but were not recorded.²⁹

By 1276 most (or possibly all) of the Cistercian monasteries of Greece, with the exception of Daphni, had been abandoned. Appreciating how difficult it was for the father abbot of Bellevaux to perform his visits to such a remote and inaccessible area, the General Chapter decided that he be allowed to delegate this responsibility to other monks. These committees of monks would be invested with all the powers that the abbot himself enjoyed on his visits, including correcting the community of the daughter house and appointing or deposing its abbot.³⁰ As Brown points out, this practice was widespread amongst the Cistercians in the thirteenth century, but the General Chapter found it problematic and tried to limit it to those cases where it was truly necessary.³¹ The following year, in 1277, the abbacy of Daphni fell vacant and the General Chapter ordered the community to elect its own abbot and to send the votes to Bellevaux, presumably for confirmation.³²

The fourteenth century saw the decline of the Cistercians and the rise of the mendicant orders. By that time, the house of Daphni was almost certainly the only surviving Cistercian monastery in Greece. Most scholars agree that in the fourteenth century, and with the replacement of the Frankish lords that had been its main benefactors, Daphni shared the fate of other Cistercian abbeys: it lost its prestige and became overshadowed by the Franciscan convent of Athens. In support of this point,

²⁹ Brown, 'Cistercians', p.112.

³⁰ Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 154.

³¹ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 112-13.

³² Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 165.

Millet mentions that two of the Franciscan priors of Athens eventually rose to the archbishopric of Athens and the bishopric of Negroponte, while at the same time the abbots of Daphni were neglected.³³ Be that as it may, there is very little evidence that the Franciscans replaced the Cistercians of Daphni as the most prominent religious foundation of the duchy of Athens. In fact, there is very little evidence at all about any of the monastic houses of Athens in the fourteenth century. It may, perhaps, be more accurate to say that, as Athens was lost to the Franks and her status as one of the main centres of Latin Romania dwindled, so were her monasteries replaced in importance and status by the houses situated in other, more stable territories of Greece. Thus, even though the monastery of Daphni may have declined in the fourteenth century, I would hesitate to assume that it was replaced in importance by the Franciscan house of Athens, whose history does not appear to have been as illustrious as that of other Franciscan convents of Greece.

Whatever its status was after the Catalan conquest of Athens, it is undeniable that the monastery of Daphni was the most important religious foundation around Athens throughout the thirteenth century. This is further substantiated by the fact that several of the lords of Athens chose the monastery as their final resting place. Amongst those who are said to have been buried in the monastery are Guy I and Guy II de la Roche and Gauthier of Brienne. Two sarcophagi have been found in the monastery and it has been asserted that they may belong to the de la Roche. This hypothesis, however, remains unproved.³⁴

Very little is known about the monastery's financial state under the Latins. The monastery would have possessed considerable estates under the Greeks, but they would have been alienated during the Frankish conquest. Indeed, the usurpation of ecclesiastical property by the lay lords was one of the main problems that plagued the

³³ Millet, *Daphni*, p. 37.

³⁴ Millet, *Daphni*, pp. 38-40.

Church of the Latin Empire, especially in the territories of Athens and Achaia. Of course, when Otto de la Roche donated the monastery to the Cistercians, he would have also provided it with some estates, and further donations would have been made afterwards. There is little indication, however, as to how substantial these donations were. Millet was only aware of one such donation, made by Gauthier of Brienne in his will. Gauthier bequeathed one hundred hyperpers' worth of land to the monastery.³⁵ Unfortunately, though this donation sounds substantial, it is impossible to estimate what it really amounted to. Based on this lack of information about the monastery's possessions, and the quality of some of its surviving buildings, Millet surmises that the monastery could not have been very wealthy.³⁶ The restoration work conducted in Daphni in 1959 and 1960, however, has shown that most of the buildings that were believed to have been built by the Cistercians, either predated the Cistercian installation or were much later additions.³⁷ It thus seems that, apart from some repairs that the monks carried out, the only part of the monastery they actually built was the church's western façade. With this in mind, it is harder to estimate the monastery's affluence, judging by the quality of its buildings.

A small indication, however, of the monastery's financial standing can be found in a letter from the registers of Clement V. On 17 January 1306, Clement V donated an abandoned church in the diocese of Olena, referred to as St Mary of Camina, which had previously been given to Princess Isabelle of Achaia, to the monastery of Daphni.³⁸ We encounter this church again in a register of tithes for the

³⁵ Millet, *Daphni*, p. 39.

³⁶ Millet, *Daphni*, pp. 41-42.

³⁷ Beata Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 56-63.

³⁸ C. Eubel and J.H. Sbaralea publish a summary of this badly damaged letter in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 7 vols, V (Rome: 1759-1904), 25. The reference they give, however, is incorrect. Instead of Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 52, f. 90, ep. 1043, the document can be found in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Instrumenta Miscellanea, 6706. This case will be further discussed below.

years 1339 to 1341.³⁹ Here, Abbot Peter of Daphni pays the collector fifty-one achaian hyperpers annually, for the annexed church of St Mary of Camina. In 1354 and 1355, the abbot paid another one hundred hyperpers as tithes for St Mary.⁴⁰ This indicates annual revenues of five hundred hyperpers, collected by the monks of Daphni just from a single church, without taking into account any other estates that they surely possessed. The picture of Daphni's financial status is still very vague: we do not know the size of the community that these revenues supported, nor do we know what other possessions this community held and what uses it made of them. We see, however, that even in the early years of the fourteenth century, the monastery was still accumulating property.

With the accession of the Catalans to the lordship of Athens, the monastery all but disappears from the documents of the age. This has led most scholars to conclude that the demise of the monastery's powerful Frankish patrons also signaled the decline of Daphni itself. The Cistercian community, however, continued its quiet existence until the Ottoman conquest of Athens in 1458, outliving all the other Cistercian houses of the Greek peninsula, and proving to be one of the most stable Latin monastic foundations of Greece.

St Stephen

The abbey of St Stephen was a daughter house of St Thomas of Torcello. According to Janauschek the Cistercians occupied it in 1208. Brown believes that this happened at a later date, while Millet cites 1214 as the most probable year of the Cistercian installation.⁴¹ Although it is clear that this monastery was situated on the Bosphorus, there has been some confusion over its precise location, mainly because

³⁹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae*, 129, ff. 71r and 173r.

⁴⁰ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae*, 130, f. 56v.

⁴¹ Janauschek, *Originum*, p. 215, Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 83 and Millet, *Daphni*, p. 31.

there exists no prior mention of a Greek monastery dedicated to St Stephen in Constantinople. Janin, however, convincingly argues that this house was not situated inside Constantinople, but was the same St Stephen that according to Villehardouin was situated three leagues away from the city. He supports this assertion by pointing out that whenever the papal registers mention this monastery, they refer to it as St Stephen 'in the diocese of Constantinople', rather than the more simple 'of Constantinople' which is used for the other Constantinopolitan monasteries.⁴² Brown describes this monastery as a misfit in the Latin Empire, on account of its conflict of interests: most of the Cistercian monasteries of Greece were affiliated to the Franco-papal coalition and opposed the Venetian-controlled patriarchate. St Stephen, however, was occupied by Venetian monks and thus the monastery's loyalties were divided between the Patriarchate and the papacy. This is the reason why the popes never employed the monks of St Stephen as papal agents to enforce sentences against the Patriarchs, as they did with the monks of Chortaitou and Daphni. Its Venetian patrons, on the other hand made sure that the monastery would have sufficient funds to sustain itself: in 1209 the Venetian podestà Ottavio Quirino endowed the monastery with an estate called *Bacchus* and in 1212 the Doge Pietro Ziani also donated a large plot of land to St Stephen.⁴³

In 1223, however, the abbey became involved in the dispute between the Cistercian monasteries of Constantinople and the Venetian Patriarch Matthew of Jesolo. The dispute centered on the Patriarch's assertion that he was entitled to a third of all the pious bequests that were made to the monasteries and churches of his see.⁴⁴ The Patriarch based this assertion on the misinterpretation of an ordinance that had been issued by the papal legates in Constantinople. Honorius III commissioned some of

⁴² R. Janin, 'Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine (1204-1261)', *Revue des études byzantines*, 2 (1944), 134-84 (pp. 181-82).

⁴³ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 83-84.

⁴⁴ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 103-05.

the Cistercians of Constantinople to put an end to this practice, but once again he chose not to pit the Venetians of St Stephen against the Venetian Patriarch. He did, however, address the abbot of St Stephen (along with other Cistercian abbots) in order to confirm his exemption from the Patriarch's demands.⁴⁵ In the same letter, he also ensured that the abbot would not use this exemption as a weapon against the Patriarch's authority. Honorius's letter of protection shows that, despite St Stephen's unusual position in the Empire, the monastery did not necessarily enjoy special favour with the Venetian patriarchate.

In 1230, the General Chapter of the Cistercians intervened in a case between the monastery of St Stephen and that of St Angelus. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the reasons that sparked the debate. The General Chapter appointed the abbot of St Thomas of Torcello to judge the case and report back the following year. The abbot of St Thomas failed to do so, and was ordered by the chapter to do penance.⁴⁶

In 1241 the monastery of St Stephen was discussed again in the Order's General Chapter. It seems that at that time the monastery had earned a very bad reputation, for the General Chapter decided that the abbots of St Angelus and Rufiniano of Constantinople should visit the monastery, correct certain abuses and reform what needed to be reformed. It was also stated that many bad and outrageous rumours were being circulated concerning the monastery's abbot.⁴⁷

It is not known precisely when St Stephen was abandoned by the Cistercians. It is probable, however, that, like most of the Latin monasteries of Constantinople, it was abandoned during, or around the Greek re-conquest of the city.

The Cistercians in Patras

⁴⁵ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 171.

⁴⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 89 and 95, and Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 113.

⁴⁷ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 236.

As has already been mentioned, one of the less edifying (for the papacy) aspects of the rapid and unplanned Latin conquest of Greece was the usurpation of ecclesiastical property by the new lords of the Empire. Amongst the most frequent offenders were the Prince of the Morea, Geoffrey Villehardouin and the Duke of Athens, Otto de la Roche. In 1210, following the signing of the Ravennika concordat, in an attempt to pacify the papacy, Villehardouin asked Innocent III to install the monks of Hautecombe in a monastery in his dominions, promising at the same time to endow that monastery generously. Subsequently, Innocent urged the community of Hautecombe to send monks to Greece, to occupy a monastery of Patras.⁴⁸

The significance and the outcome of this particular appeal for monks is an interesting matter of speculation, for there are no surviving traces of a Cistercian house in Patras. It cannot be doubted, however, that there were monks of Hautecombe in Greece around the same time: the Order's General Chapter in 1212 referred to a monk of Hautecombe, who had previously been abbot of a house in Greece.⁴⁹ Brown speculates that this monk may have acted as abbot of a different Cistercian monastery in Greece, not affiliated with Hautecombe, or even of a Benedictine house. She does not, however, discount the possibility that a Cistercian foundation may indeed have existed in Patras before 1212 and that its traces have now completely disappeared.⁵⁰ It is generally agreed, though, that it is far more probable that the monks of Hautecombe who were sent to Greece at the pope's request eventually installed themselves in a different area of the Peloponnese, not in Patras. The likeliest candidate is the monastery of Zaraka, whose ruins still stand today near Corinth and whose mother house has not been conclusively identified.

It is worth mentioning here, that the archbishop of Patras, referred to in

⁴⁸ Romain Clair, 'Les filles d' Hautecombe dans l' empire latin de Constantinople', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 17 (1961), 261-77 (p. 263).

⁴⁹ Canivez, *Statuta*, I, 397.

⁵⁰ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 86-87.

Innocent's letter, seems also to have had some ties with the monastery of Hautecombe. The French archbishop, whose name was Anselm (or Antelmus) and who had received his education at Cluny or an affiliated priory, made a donation of monies and silverware to the monastery of Hautecombe, in 1231. Although it remains unproven, some historians have claimed that Anselm himself was a member of the community of Hautecombe.⁵¹

It is also worth noting that, even though no evidence concerning a Cistercian monastery in Patras has survived, in later years there existed in the city a hospital that was apparently operated by the Cistercians. In 1273 (a time when most of the Cistercian houses of Greece had been abandoned) the General Chapter considered the petition of the archbishop of Patras, to send two monks and two *conversi* to Patras, in order to operate the hospital that the archbishop had recently built.⁵²

Zaraka

As we have seen, the house of Zaraka (or Saracaz as it was sometimes called) may have been a daughter house of Hautecombe. If this was the case, the monastery must have been founded soon after Villehardouin's request for monks in 1210. Alternatively, Zaraka may have been founded after Villahardouin's second petition for monks, more than a decade later. In 1225, following the Prince's second request, the General Chapter commissioned the abbot of Morimond with the construction of a monastery in Greece. Again, it is difficult to ascertain which of the Cistercian monasteries of Greece was founded as a result of this petition. Both the monasteries of Zaraka and of Our Lady of Isova have been suggested. It is considered more likely, however, that Zaraka was indeed the daughter house of Hautecombe.

⁵¹ Ian Quelch, 'Latin Rule in Patras, c. 1270 – 1429' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2002), p. 105.

⁵² Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 123.

Whatever the circumstances of its foundation, the monastery of Zaraka does not appear in the sources until the 1230s. In 1236 the abbot of Zaraka was one of those entrusted with the task of collecting tithes for the defense of the Empire. In 1237 the abbot and prior of Zaraka were involved in a case concerning the transfer of the hospital and church of the Blessed James in Andravida to the Teutonic Order. The hospital had been built by Geoffrey I Villehardouin, but during his son's rule, it was in such a bad state that Geoffrey II was forced to ask the pope to transfer the monastery to the Teutonic Order. The archbishop of Patras opposed the transfer, but the Prince claimed that the hospital had been granted exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. Thus Gregory appointed the abbot and prior of Zaraka and the bishop of Corone to investigate whether the hospital was indeed exempt.⁵³

In 1241, the General Chapter instructed the abbots of Zaraka and Daphni on how to deal with 'fugitive' monks in their territories.⁵⁴ The two abbots were instructed to urge such monks to return to their own monasteries. If the vagabond monks refused to do so, they were to excommunicate them and try to isolate them.

The house subsequently disappears from our sources until 1257, when the General Chapter condemned the abbot of Zaraka, for his failure to attend the chapter. It was stated that he had neglected his responsibility to travel to Cîteaux for several years and thus he was sentenced to the prescribed penance and ordered to present himself to the next General Chapter and ask for forgiveness.

As has already been mentioned, the monastery of Zaraka later became involved in the dispute between Daphni and the knight Aymo of Molay, when the General Chapter ordered its abbot and the abbot of St Angelus to resolve the case in 1260.⁵⁵ It appears that in the same year, the abbot of Zaraka was considering relocating

⁵³ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 107-09.

⁵⁴ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 236.

⁵⁵ See above, p. 70.

his monastery: the General Chapter asked the abbot of Daphni and the abbot of Rufiniano to inspect the area where the abbot of Zaraka wanted to move his house.⁵⁶

According to Clair, the monks of Zaraka had asked for permission to relocate, because their monastery was no longer safe, as it was situated in the path of the Byzantine offensive in Greece, led by Michael Palaeologos's brother John.⁵⁷

This is the last mention of the monastery of Zaraka in the sources, and there exists no record of its eventual abandonment. Could this mean that the monastery was destroyed by the advancing Greeks? It is possible, but one is inclined to believe that if that was the case, it would have been recorded in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, like the destruction of the monastery of Our Lady of Isova.⁵⁸ The few surviving documents concerning Zaraka create the impression that this was an inconspicuous house with an unspectacular career. Of course, since we cannot even trace this house's origins or date of foundation with certainty, we have to assume that a lot of information about this house has been lost. One of the most noteworthy facts about it, however, is that it appears to have been one of the few Cistercian monasteries in Greece that was built entirely by the Cistercians, and was constructed in the western style.⁵⁹

St Angelus in Pera and Rufiniano

The Cistercians occupied St Angelus of Pera, sometimes also referred to as St Angelus of *Petra*, in 1213 or 1214. Janin has surmised that this was a Greek monastery before 1204 and has attempted to identify it with one of the two Greek monasteries of St Michael that were situated in the suburb of Pera.⁶⁰ In this respect, he follows Millet,

⁵⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 470-73. It was not unusual for Cistercian communities to relocate to safer or more convenient places, especially in the lands where the Order had not yet been firmly established. Such relocations were quite common for example during the first years of Cistercian involvement in Scandinavia. See for example France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, pp. 35-38.

⁵⁷ Clair, 'Les filles', p. 275.

⁵⁸ On the history of Our Lady of Isova see below.

⁵⁹ On the architecture and archaeology of Zaraka, see Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, pp. 27-42.

⁶⁰ Janin, 'sanctuaires', pp. 179-80.

who also identified this monastery as Greek.⁶¹ Brown, on the other hand, points out that although the possibility that this house was Greek can not be dismissed, there is not enough evidence to prove this assertion.⁶² The monastery's very name, however, suggests that it had initially been a Greek foundation. In any case, the papal legate Pelagius of Albano dedicated this house in 1213 or 1214 and the monastery became affiliated with Hautecombe.⁶³

Wanting to augment the monastery's revenues, the monks of St Angelus sought to annex the abandoned Greek monastery of St Phocas, outside Constantinople. The same foundation was, however, also contested by the chapter of St Michael Bucoleon and St Mary Blachernae. After a drawn out dispute, the case was finally settled in 1217, when St Phocas was awarded to St Michael.⁶⁴ In the meantime, the monastery of St Angelus had been endowed with the possession of another Greek house, situated in Bithynia, referred to as *de Rufiniano*.⁶⁵ In 1215, Pelagius of Albano had warned the Greek congregation that unless they showed obedience to the Roman Church by the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, he would submit their monastery to the care of the Cistercians. After the Council, and since the monks had refused to change their ways, Patriarch Gervase united Rufiniano to St Angelus. In 1219, John Colonna, the new papal legate, offered the Greek monks another chance to comply, but they preferred to abandon their monastery, rather than acknowledge papal authority.⁶⁶

Following the donation, the abbot of St Angelus secretly promised to the papal legate that he would transfer his congregation to the newly acquired monastery, but when the Cistercian monks heard of their abbot's plans, they refused to abandon their old house. They claimed that they could not leave the monastery, because many of the

⁶¹ Millet, *Daphni*, p. 30.

⁶² Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 88.

⁶³ It has also been suggested that the Cistercians moved into the monastery before 1204, but this is obviously a mistake. See Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 88 and Clair, 'Les filles', p. 270.

⁶⁴ Clair, 'Les filles', pp. 270-71.

⁶⁵ For a synopsis of the history of Rufiniano under the Greeks, see Clair, 'Les filles', p. 271.

⁶⁶ Clair, 'Les filles', p. 271.

Latin nobles of Constantinople had been buried there and their tombs could not be left uncared for. They were also reluctant to move into a territory where Latin power had not been firmly established yet.⁶⁷ Seeing that the monks had no intention of moving into their new house, John Colonna conferred the monastery to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Cistercians then petitioned Honorius III to confirm the possession of Rufiniano to them and to allow them to install a small community of only four monks in it. In 1222, Honorius agreed to confirm Rufiniano to the possession of St Angelus, with one stipulation: the Cistercians were granted a period of five years within which they were to put all of the abbey's affairs in order and install a community there. If at the end of the five years these goals were met, St Angelus would retain possession of its daughter house; otherwise Rufiniano would be given to the Patriarch.⁶⁸ Evidently, the Cistercians managed to hold on to Rufiniano, and it was officially founded as a Cistercian house in 1225. Brown notes that the house was back into the possession of the Greeks by 1236. The title of 'abbot of Rufiniano', however, continues to appear in the documents until 1260. In 1214, for example, the abbot of Rufiniano was ordered by the General Chapter to visit the monastery of St Stephen and correct any abuses and in 1260 he was instructed to inspect the location where the abbot of Zaraka was planning to transfer his congregation.⁶⁹ Brown surmises that after Rufiniano was reclaimed by the Greeks, its abbot moved back to the mother house of St Angelus and lived there as an exile.⁷⁰

St Angelus also became affiliated to another formerly Greek monastery that had been taken over by the Cistercians: St Mary de Percheio, or Ysostis, which was occupied by Cistercian nuns.⁷¹

The abbots of St Angelus, like other Cistercian abbots in Greece, were

⁶⁷ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 89.

⁶⁸ *Regesta Honorii papae III*, II, 60.

⁶⁹ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 236 and III, 473.

⁷⁰ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 90.

⁷¹ On the history of this nunnery see below.

sometimes called to act as papal agents in the ecclesiastical administration of the Empire. In 1223, the abbot of St Angelus was one of the protagonists in the dispute between the Patriarch, Matthew of Jesolo, and the churches and monasteries of Constantinople. As we have seen, the Patriarch was claiming the right to receive one third of all the pious bequests made to the religious foundations of Constantinople. The abbot of St Angelus was amongst the prelates that were ordered by Honorius III to investigate the legitimacy of these claims and quash the Patriarch's decisions if they were found to contradict the ordinance of Pelagius.⁷²

In 1224, the abbot of St Angelus, along with the bishop of Selymbria and the prior of St Marc, was entrusted with another assignment, which involved a dispute between the churches of St Mary Blachernae, St Michael Bucoleon and the cathedral chapter.⁷³ The dispute had arisen over the will of a nobleman named Milo of Brabant, and had become so heated that mutual sentences of excommunication had been issued from all sides. Honorius ordered that the excommunications be relaxed, any damaging decisions be revoked and the people who had celebrated mass whilst excommunicated be pardoned, and instructed the abbot of St Angelus to enforce this sentence.

Finally, as we have seen, the General Chapter commissioned the abbot of St Angelus to resolve the case between Aymo of Molay and the abbot of Daphni in 1260.⁷⁴ This is the last surviving mention of the monastery of St Angelus, which, in all probability was abandoned by the Cistercians when Michael VIII Palaeologos reclaimed Constantinople in 1261.

Laurus

Very little is known about the Cistercian monastery of Laurus. It is possible

⁷² *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 169.

⁷³ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 279.

⁷⁴ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 470.

that it was also founded around the same time as the monastery of St Angelus. Millet suggests 1214 as the year of its foundation, while Janaushek refers to several lists that mention dates as diverse as 1212 and 1256.⁷⁵ Its location has also caused some confusion. Janin has placed it in Constantinople and identified it with the Byzantine monastery *Ton Floron*, but Achaia has also been suggested as its location.⁷⁶ Janaushek claims that Laurus was the mother house of St Mary Magdalene of Acre, and Brown points out that if that was the case, then Laurus must have been founded before 1223 (the year in which St Mary Magdalene of Acre is first recorded as a Cistercian house).⁷⁷ Finally, it has been suggested that Laurus was affiliated to Bellevaux, if only for a short while. This is in accordance with the possibility that Laurus was the mother house of St Mary Magdalene, and also with the fact that a charter by the abbot of Laurus has been found in Bellevaux.⁷⁸

Given this foundation's obscurity and the scarcity of sources referring to it, one may wonder whether such a house did actually exist, or whether perhaps its name was a variation or corruption of the name of another Cistercian abbey. If one follows this line of enquiry, one could argue that the monastery of Laurus was in fact one and the same as the monastery of Daphni:⁷⁹ *Laurus* is the Latin word for laurel, and *Daphni* derives from *δάφνη*, the Greek word for laurel (the monastery of Daphni was given this name because of the abundance of laurels in its vicinity). It could thus be assumed that *Laurus* is merely a Latinised version of the monastery's Greek name. Furthermore, Laurus, like Daphni, is said to have been a daughter house of Bellevaux. This proposed identification is a very appealing one, as it would solve the mystery of this obscure convent, but unfortunately there exists a serious counterargument against it: we only

⁷⁵ Millet, *Daphni*, p. 31 and Janaushek, *Originum*, p. 220.

⁷⁶ Janin, 'Les sanctuaires', pp. 180-81 and Janaushek, *Originum*, p. 119.

⁷⁷ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 95.

⁷⁸ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 95 and Millet, *Daphni*, p. 33.

⁷⁹ For this suggestion and some other proposed identifications which shall be discussed below, I am indebted to Professor Michael Angold.

have a handful of contemporary mentions of the monastery of Laurus, but one of them comes from the statutes of the Cistercian General Chapter of 1268, where it is referred to as ‘abbatia de Laura’.⁸⁰ The General Chapter, however, routinely refers to Daphni as ‘Dalphino’ or ‘Dalfino’ in all other mentions of it.⁸¹ It is true that no other reference to Daphni is made in 1268, so it may have been the case that Daphni was called Laurus by the General Chapter only that particular year, but that seems unlikely. More importantly, the same statute makes reference to Laurus’s founder, who is said to have been the step-mother of a Lord Boscho. We know, however, that the Cistercians were installed in Daphni at the instigation of Otto de la Roche and not by a lady of this otherwise unknown Boscho family. In the face of this evidence we can not positively identify the monastery of Laurus with that of Daphni. The mention by the General Chapter, however, could give us a small clue concerning the house’s location. If we accept that the abbey was still in existence when it was mentioned in 1268 (though that is not explicitly stated in the statute) then we can be fairly certain that it was not located in Constantinople (as Janin had suggested), whence all the other Cistercian communities had been ejected by the Greeks after the reconquest of 1261. It would then appear that the monastery was indeed located in Achaia and had replaced the Greek monastery of St Laura as has sometimes been maintained.⁸² The date of its abandonment is not known, but if Laurus was not in fact one and the same as Daphni, it was surely before 1276, by which time we know that Daphni was the sole surviving Cistercian house in mainland Greece.

Gergeri

The acts of the General Chapter of 1217 reveal that in that year, the Patriarch

⁸⁰ Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 62.

⁸¹ See for example Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 473 and III, 154.

⁸² Janauschek, *Originum*, p. 219.

of Constantinople petitioned the chapter to incorporate the abbey of *Mons Sancti Gregorii* to the monastery of St Thomas of Torcello. The General Chapter agreed to this arrangement provided that the abbot of St Thomas was also in accordance. Canivez notes that, since there existed no such monastery in Constantinople, this reference is probably a scribal error and the abbey actually referred to must have been St Stephen of Constantinople, which, as we saw was indeed a daughter house of St Thomas.⁸³ Brown, however, more convincingly argues that *Mons Sancti Gregorii* was a corrupted version of Gergeri, a Greek monastery in Crete, donated to the Cistercian order in 1217.⁸⁴ The donation was made by the Doge of Venice, Pietro Ziani and confirmed in 1218 by Gervase, the Venetian Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1223, Honorius III wrote to the archbishop of Crete, advising him to help the monks of St Thomas that were installed in Crete.⁸⁵ Another, slightly cryptic, reference to this house can be found in the statutes of the General Chapter of the year 1236. In that year, it was decided that a letter ought to be written to the archbishop of Crete, advising him that, since he himself was a Cistercian, he should not oppose the will of the Order, but should instead show devotion and benignity to the Cistercian houses situated in his see.⁸⁶ The name of the Cistercian archbishop is unknown, as is the dispute that prompted this cautioning. It is possible that the monastery still existed in 1273, because in that year, the abbot of St Thomas of Torcello asked the General Chapter for permission to relocate some of his monks to Crete.⁸⁷ Whether this means that the house had been abandoned and that the abbot wanted to repopulate it or just that the Cistercians were not able to recruit locally and were forced to import monks from Italy is a matter open to speculation.

Apart from this, very little information has survived about the monastery of

⁸³ Canivez, *Statuta*, I, 481.

⁸⁴ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 84. It has to be noted here that Gergeri is actually a place name, not the name of the monastery itself. The village of Gergeri still exists today and is situated forty kilometers southwest of Herakleion.

⁸⁵ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 175.

⁸⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, 158.

⁸⁷ Canivez, *Statuta*, III, 122.

Gergeri. According to Brown, the monks of St Thomas took over the preexisting Greek monastery. The surviving ruins of this monastery, however, show no evidence of Cistercian occupation. Furthermore, no traces of other monastic foundations have been found in the surrounding area. Brown also claims that this may have been one of the most stable Latin monasteries of Greece, surviving well into the fourteenth century and perhaps even until the Ottoman conquest of 1669.⁸⁸ While it is not inconceivable that the monastery was still operating in the fourteenth century, it is strange that none of the Cretan sources, that have kept us relatively well informed about the Catholic Church in Crete, make any mention of this house. At the very least, one would expect a Cistercian monastery in Crete to appear as a beneficiary of pious bequests. This, however, is not the case despite the fact that most of the other Latin foundations of Crete seem to have been well endowed by the local nobility. In 1386, the Venetian Senate ordered that the Cretan government investigated the claims made on the property of St Thomas of Torcello in Crete.⁸⁹ This is almost certainly a reference to the possessions of Gergeri, but it does not clarify whether or not the monastery was still occupied by the Cistercians at that time. If there was still a community living at Gergeri, it is strange that the Senate does not mention that monastery, and instead refers to the possessions on the island as possessions of St Thomas.

It is even more unlikely that the monastery survived until the seventeenth century, without leaving any traces in the multitude of early modern sources.

St Mary de Percheio (Ysostis)

The first mention of this Cistercian nunnery of Constantinople is made in the registers of Honorius III in 1221, the exact date, however, of its foundation is

⁸⁸ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 118.

⁸⁹ Hippolyte Noiret, ed., *Documents inédites pour servir à l'histoire de la domination Vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris: Thorin et fils, 1892), p. 6.

unknown. The nunnery's name clearly suggests that it had been a Greek foundation before it was taken over by the Latins, but its location remains a matter of conjecture. Janin has argued that the name *Ysostis* is probably a corruption of the Greek work *Psychosostis* (Saviour of souls) and has pointed out that a monastery by that name did indeed exist before the capture of Constantinople, but its location remains unknown. He has also suggested, however, that the name Percheio is a corruption of *Petrimon*, a quarter of the city located on the Golden Horn.⁹⁰ Tafel and Thomas on the other hand have tried to identify the nunnery with the house of St Mary *Perivleptos* in the south-west part of the city.⁹¹ More recently J. M. Martin, E. Cuzzo and B. Martin-Hisard have proposed a different identification. Starting with the papal letter's address which reads 'Beatrici abbatissae monasterii de Percheio, quondam dicti Ysostis Constantinopolitani', they have concluded that the nuns had had to relocate from the monastery of *Ysostis* to that of *Percheio* soon after their installation in Constantinople.⁹² The second house, that of Percheio, they tentatively identify with the house of St *Aberkios* in the environs of the Patriarchate.⁹³ They also note that St Aberkios housed the head of St Gregory the Illuminator, which in the sixteenth century appears in Naples, where, as we shall see the nuns of Percheio themselves had also ended up.

In 1221 Honorius wrote to the abbess of this community, named Beatrice, taking her nunnery and its possessions under papal protection and exempting it from the payment of tithes and patriarchal jurisdiction.⁹⁴ Honorius's letter gives a partial list

⁹⁰ Janin, 'Les sanctuaires', pp. 183-84.

⁹¹ G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols, II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964), 347.

⁹² J.M. Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II en faveur de l'abbaye Cistercienne de Sainte-Marie de Perceio (Octobre 1241)', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 57 (1999), 211-223 (p. 213). This assumption is based on the 'quondam'. Alternatively, the 'quondam' could just be a reference to the house's previous Greek name, without implying that it was a house previously occupied by the Cistercian community.

⁹³ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin I', pp. 218-19.

⁹⁴ Pressutti prints a summary of the letter in *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 511. The letter is published in full in Jean Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Analecta novissima Spicillegii Solesmensis: altera continuatio*, 2 vols, I

of the nunnery's possessions. It emerges, from this list that the nunnery held property in at least eight villages and in another twenty three territories (called *loci* in the document) and also owned another village, referred to as *Pynates*. The identification of these villages is not an easy task, as many of the place-names listed by Pitra seem to have been erroneously transcribed and it is also probable that Honorius himself gives the corrupted Latin versions of these villages, not the original Greek place names; a number of the place-names, however, have been convincingly identified by Martin, Cuozzo and Martin-Hisard and refer to villages and territories in Bithynia, Thrace and the northern coast of the Aegean.⁹⁵ Apart from possessions in these villages, the nunnery also owned a grange next to the gate of St Romanus in Constantinople and another in Panormos, on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara. It was also the recipient of a number of donations made by the faithful of Constantinople, annually and *in perpetuum*. These donations included money (amounting to around forty five hyperpers per year) but also significant quantities of grain, salt and wine. Amongst the donors listed by Honorius one finds the names of some of Constantinople's leading Frankish aristocracy, like Geoffrey de Merry and Conon de Béthune the younger. It is apparent from this list, even though it is quite vague, that Percheio was a very wealthy foundation, almost certainly one of the wealthiest houses in Greece. This impression is further substantiated by another document. A document from 1238 reveals that when the Empire was forced to pawn its most prized relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the Venetians to pay for its defense, it had been the abbess of Percheio, along with the Venetian podestà and certain other nobles of Constantinople that had lent the Empire the necessary sum of 13,134 hyperpers. In fact, the nunnery's contribution to this loan was the extraordinary sum of 4,300 hyperpers, a larger amount than that contributed by

(Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), 577-78.

⁹⁵ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', pp. 213-14. The identifications that they propose are the following: Αγία Ευφημία in Chalkedon, Κουρτουξούρα in Thrace, Διπόταμον in the northern coast of the Aegean, Σερβοχώρια, Χάραξ and Λεύκη in Bithynia, and Σελυμβρία on the Thracian coast of Marmara.

any other single participant.⁹⁶ As it happened, the money was spent for the Empire's defense, and the Crown only remained in the Empire briefly, thanks to a second loan (of the same amount) offered by the noble Venetian Nicholas Querini. Eventually, the Crown passed into the possession of St Louis of France, who bought it off Nicholas Querini for 10,000 hyperpers.

A few years later Emperor Baldwin II (who was not directly responsible for the pawning) was given the chance to return in some small way the favour for the previous loan. A copy of an act of Baldwin II from 1241, that has recently come to light in the Archives of Naples, reveals that the Emperor allowed the nuns of Percheio to buy back for themselves a second batch of holy relics that the Empire had been forced to alienate, in recognition of their role in the pawning of the Crown and of their help in conserving some of the Empire's relics.⁹⁷ It appears that during the four previous years the nuns of Percheio had expended money and effort in conserving some of the Empire's other important relics, namely one of the nails of the Cross, two belts, the iron from the lance and the sponge that were used in the crucifixion, Jesus's tunic and a relic from the True Cross. Despite their efforts, however, the Empire's penury had forced Baldwin to alienate these relics as well. The nuns then asked for permission to buy back the nail and the two belts for themselves. Although Baldwin granted them their request, we do not know whether Percheio actually acquired the relics.

In 1223, the pope addressed the community of de Percheio in relation to the Patriarch's claims that he was entitled to a portion of the pious bequests made to the religious foundations of Constantinople. As has already been mentioned, Honorius exempted the Cistercians from these demands, but warned them not to use this

⁹⁶ The document that mentions the loan appears in Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, 346-49 and refers to the *monasterium de Perceul*. Janin and Brown agree that Perceul was surely the French form of the word Percheio. See Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 93 and Janin, 'sanctuaires', p. 182.

⁹⁷ The act is published and discussed in Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', pp. 211-23.

exemption as a means by which to infringe on the rights of the Patriarch and the Cathedral chapter.⁹⁸

Earlier, the convent had made a pact with the monastery of St Mary Magdalene of Acre, subjecting itself to it. This arrangement, however, did not please the General Chapter. In 1223 the pact was annulled and the nunnery became affiliated to the monastery of Cîteaux. It was also decided, that if the abbot of Cîteaux was unable to perform his prescribed visits to his new daughter house, because of its remoteness, this task could be undertaken by the abbot of St Angelus of Constantinople. The abbot of St Angelus would enjoy, during these visits, all the powers that the father abbot customarily possessed, including the correction of abuses and the appointment of abbesses. In the same year, Honorius III ratified this arrangement.⁹⁹

The nuns of de Percheio fled Constantinople after its recapture by Michael VIII Palaeologos. Brown has traced their subsequent installation in Italy: the abbess and some of the nuns were in Rimini in 1265. Taking pity on their plight, Clement IV ordered the bishop of Rimini to give them the monastery of St Mary, which was owned by the monastery of St Christopher de Ponte, but inhabited by the brothers of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit. Another group of nuns went first to Barletta, before moving to Naples in 1278. There, Charles I of Anjou bestowed upon them the monastery of St Mary de Domina Aromata and some land at Nido, where they built a new monastery. Their nunnery was known as St Mary de Percheio of Constantinople and St Mary Dominarum of Romania.¹⁰⁰ Both in Barletta and in Naples the nunnery was well provided for. By decision of Charles I, the nunnery was given forty ounces of gold,

⁹⁸ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 171.

⁹⁹ Manrique, *Annalium*, IV, 494-95.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, 'Cistercians', pp. 117-18.

fifty *salmas* of grain and fifty *salmas* of wine every year.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Charles appears to have been very concerned about the wellbeing of the sisters. When they decided to move from Barletta to Naples, Charles wrote to master Giurato of Barletta instructing him to provide the nuns with the horses and donkeys necessary for their transportation and also confirmed that the nuns would enjoy the same incomes in Naples that they had been granted before their relocation.¹⁰²

The case of the nunnery of Percheio is an extremely interesting one, primarily because the sources have preserved the type of information that we lack for almost every other Cistercian foundation of Greece. The most striking feature of this nunnery is its evident wealth. The list of its possessions may not be complete, but no such list survives for the other Cistercian houses. A similar list of possessions has survived, as we shall see, for the Franciscan friary of St Francis in Candia, which is known to have been one of the more affluent and most successful religious houses in Greece, but even that could not compare to the opulence of Percheio, at least in terms of landed property.

This opulence does not appear to have been fortuitous: Honorius's letter of protection of 1221 makes it clear that most of the nunnery's vast estates had been given to the foundation by its abbess Beatrice. Martin, Cuozzo and Martin-Hisard have rightly concluded from this that Beatrice was the founder of Percheio and that, since she could afford such generous donations, she was no doubt related to the highest echelons of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy, perhaps even the imperial family.¹⁰³ This impression is reinforced by the short list of donors that features in Honorius's letter; all of them are nobles, and some of them, as mentioned above, are members of the high Frankish aristocracy. The nunnery's move to the kingdom of Sicily after 1261 has also been seen as an indication of its ties with the Imperial family of

¹⁰¹ Riccardo Filangieri, ed., *I Registri della Cancelleria Angioina*, 47 vols, XVII (Naples: Academia Pontaniana, 1964), 146-47.

¹⁰² Filangieri, *I Registri*, XIX, 199-200 and 206.

¹⁰³ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', pp. 214-15.

Constantinople, since that is also where other members of the family, including the titular emperor Philip de Courtenay, resided.¹⁰⁴ The most telling clue, however, concerning the close relations between the high nobility and the nunnery is the nunnery's repeated involvement with the Empire's attempts to secure funds for its defense. Martin, Cuzzo and Martin-Hisard have suggested that the nunnery's loans to the Emperor were not a spontaneous lifeline offered because of the nuns' loyalty to the Empire, but the actions of what they call an 'institutional investor'.¹⁰⁵ In other words, the nunnery was an *organisation* controlled by and protecting the interests of the Frankish aristocracy. This hypothesis seems convincing, considering the nunnery's unique role in the Empire. Certainly, collaboration between religious foundations and secular authorities in Greece must not have been unusual, but nowhere do we encounter such lavish loans offered, that were moreover unlikely to ever be repaid in full. The fact that it is a female foundation that has such an involvement is also exceptional and suggests that there was more to the ties between the nunnery and the laity than the devotion usually displayed by lay patrons to a religious community.

Another (less important, but interesting nonetheless) casual reference in our surviving sources deserves attention. Honorius's letter of protection mentions two granges, owned by the nunnery, which are said to have been located near the gate of St Romanus (today Topkapi) and in Panormos. The building and use of granges was one of the defining features of Cistercian economy and, as such, the use of granges by a Cistercian nunnery may not appear noteworthy at first. The situation was different, however, in Greece, where it is doubtful that the Cistercians ever transplanted their practice of building granges. Indeed, as far as I am aware, these are the only two Cistercian granges attested in medieval Greece. If others existed, the archaeological examinations of the Cistercian abbeys have not found any traces of them, nor are they

¹⁰⁴ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', p. 215.

¹⁰⁵ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', pp. 221-22.

mentioned in the sources. It is safe, therefore, to assume that Percheio's ownership of granges, whilst in conformity with sound Cistercian practice, was extraordinary by the standards of Latin Romania.

The nunnery's ownership of granges and vast lands would also require a workforce. Normally, much of the agricultural work, on which Cistercian foundations depended, would have been carried out by the *conversi*. Once more, however, it is highly unlikely that this institution was successfully transplanted to Greece. There exist only a handful of indirect references to *conversi* in relation to Greece, and even those do not make it clear that the Cistercian monasteries of Greece actually had any such members.¹⁰⁶ This is hardly surprising, considering the fact that normally *conversi* would have been recruited from local Catholic laymen, and it is unlikely that much of the indigenous population of Greece would have sought such an affiliation with a Catholic religious institution. Honorius's letter of protection does not make any clear reference to the existence of a workforce; one wonders, however, whether an ambiguous sentence concerning the recruitment of nuns could also refer to the recruitment of *conversi*. The sentence reads: 'Ad haec personas liberas et absolutas a seculo fugientes liceat vobis ad conversionem recipere, et eas absque contradictione aliqua retinere.'¹⁰⁷ Martin, Cuzzo and Martin-Hisard have rightly interpreted this as a permission to receive new members into the community.¹⁰⁸ The sentence's position in the letter, however, (right after the listing of possessions, including granges), and its insistence on the new recruits' legal status, could, perhaps indicate that the Pope had in mind not only the recruitment of full members of the religious community, but also of lay brothers.

To sum up, the nunnery of Percheio seems to have occupied a unique position

¹⁰⁶ The General Chapter, for example, considered sending two monks and two *conversi* to Patras to operate the hospital. See above, p. 78.

¹⁰⁷ Pitra, *Analecta novissima Spicillegii*, I, 578.

¹⁰⁸ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', p. 213.

amongst the religious foundations of medieval Greece. More than any of the other Cistercian foundations, it seems to have followed the model of Cistercian houses in other European frontiers. First of all, it was directly linked to the high aristocracy of the new state. Of course, we have seen that several other Cistercian houses were founded and endowed at the instigation of the local rulers (like Chortaitou and Daphni for example), but it is doubtful that those houses repaid the generosity of their patrons with any services apart from spiritual ones. The nunnery of Percheio appears to have been better endowed by the aristocracy than any other Cistercian foundation in Greece, and also seems to have had a political (or at least financial) role to play, as well as a spiritual one. We have already seen in the previous chapter that this was occasionally the case with the Cistercians of Spain during the Reconquista, who sometimes repaid their patrons' generosity by funding expeditions against the Moors. In terms of its economy, again the nunnery of Percheio appears to have followed the standard practices of its Order closer than any other Greek foundation, by introducing the use of granges.

St Mary Varangorum

In 1230, the Doge of Venice Jacopo Tiepolo donated a second Cretan monastery to the monks of St Thomas of Torcello, named St Mary Varangorum.¹⁰⁹ It can be assumed that the mentions of the Cistercians of Crete made in the General Chapters of 1236 and 1273 referred to this monastery, as well as the monastery of Gergeri. Nothing else, however, can be said about this house. The date of St Mary's abandonment is unknown but, as is also the case with Gergeri, it is hard to believe that this house existed for centuries in Crete, without leaving any traces in the documents of the time. It thus seems probable that, like most of the Cistercian houses of Greece, St

¹⁰⁹ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 85.

Mary Varangorum was abandoned a few decades after its foundation.

Our Lady of Isova

The date of the foundation of this monastery can not be ascertained. In fact very little is known about this house, whose ruins still stand in the western part of the Peloponnese, near the village of Trypete (Τρυπητή). Until recently it was considered to have been a Benedictine monastery. Kitsiki Panagopoulos, however, has argued that the only reason for the attribution of this house to the Benedictine Order is the absence of sources concerning it. She points out, that it is far more likely to have been a Cistercian foundation, especially since there is one Cistercian house in the Peloponnese unaccounted for:¹¹⁰ As we have seen, Geoffrey Villehardouin, the Prince of Achaia, had made two requests for Cistercian monasteries to be founded in his domains. The first one, in 1210, was commissioned to the monks of Hautecombe, and the second one, made sometime before 1225, was entrusted to the monks of Morimond. It has been tentatively suggested that the house of Zaraka was the daughter house of Hautecombe. Could this mean that the monastery of Our Lady of Isova was the foundation build by the monks of Morimond? If this is the case, the foundation of this monastery can be dated back to the late 1220s. Tempting as this theory may be, it does not explain the absence of any mention of this monastery in the papal and Cistercian sources.

Unfortunately, the only reference made to this house, is the description of its destruction, in the *Chronicle of the Morea*.¹¹¹ The advancing Greeks burnt the monastery of Isova, before the battle of Prinitza, in 1263. The author of the *Chronicle* states that many Latins attributed the subsequent Frankish victory to the wrath of the Virgin Mary, on account of the monastery's destruction.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, pp. 50-52.

¹¹¹ P. Kalonaros, ed., *Το Χρονικό του Μορέως* [*The Chronicle of the Morea*] (Athens: 1940), p. 197.

¹¹² Kalonaros, *Χρονικό*, pp. 201-02.

A second church, dedicated to St Nicholas, was built close to the monastery's original church, after the house's destruction in 1263. It is possible, then, that the monastery was re-inhabited after the destruction. Unfortunately, it is hard to ascertain which order of monks moved into Isova and whether they did so soon after the fire, or centuries later.¹¹³

St Mary de Verge

Another Cistercian foundation about which we have virtually no information, is the nunnery of St Mary de Verge in Methone. The history of this community only becomes more accessible after the year 1267, when the nuns were expelled from the monastery, and their abbess, Demeta Palaeologa moved them to Italy. There, they were eventually installed in the monastery of St Benedict of Conversano and given property and privileges. In 1271, the abbot of Cîteaux appointed the abbot of Daphni visitor to the nunnery, for ten years. In the same year, the abbot of Daphni visited the nunnery and presided over the election of a new abbess, since Demeta Palaeologa had died.¹¹⁴ According to tradition, the house of St Benedict had been built in the eighth century, but more plausible estimates have dated its foundation to the tenth century, possibly 957. In 1110 Pascal II exempted the monastery of episcopal jurisdiction and took it under direct papal protection, and in 1222 Frederick II confirmed all of the monastery's privileges. Nevertheless, its decline is evident from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The monks finally abandoned their house in the 1250s and St Benedict was given to the nuns fleeing Greece in 1266.¹¹⁵ The cartulary of the nunnery of St Benedict of Conversano has survived and has been published. It contains numerous

¹¹³ For a detailed archaeological examination of the ruins of Isova, see Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, pp. 42-56 and Nicolas Moutsopoulos, 'Le Monastère Franc de Notre-Dame d' Isova (Gortynie)', *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, 80 (1956), 76-94.

¹¹⁴ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 95.

¹¹⁵ For a concise overview of St Benedict's history see Giuseppe Coniglio, ed., *Codice Diplomatico Pugliese series: Le Pergamene di Conversano*, XX (Bari: Società di storia patria per la Puglia, 1975), v-lx.

donations to the nuns as well as privileges both by Charles I of Anjou and by Pope Gregory X who took the house under papal protection. It also records a second visit to the house by an abbot of Daphni, named Peter, made in 1283.¹¹⁶

Nunnery of Pryn

Finally, there exists a very obscure reference to a Cistercian nunnery named *Pryn*, which is only known through a single mention in a letter of Innocent IV. In 1252, Innocent IV wrote to the bishop of Monemvasia in relation to a noble young woman named Margaret of Toucy.¹¹⁷ Margaret was said to have been cloistered in a Cistercian nunnery, referred to only as *Pryn*, when she was very young, but at this time she asked to be released from her oaths and to be allowed to marry. The pope granted her this request and she was indeed married to Leonard of Veroli, an Italian, who at this time appears as chancellor of Achaia. Margaret was the scion of the Toucy family, one of the most prominent Frankish families of Latin Romania.¹¹⁸ Her father, Narjot of Toucy had first arrived in Constantinople around 1219 as part of the escort of the ill-fated emperor Peter de Courtenay or that of his wife Yolande. He had achieved prominence in the Constantinopolitan court and had twice served as regent of the Empire. His two sons (Margaret's brothers) also distinguished themselves in Frankish Greece. Philip, like his father, became regent of the Empire and after the fall of Constantinople to Michael VIII's army moved to the kingdom of Sicily where he served Charles I. Anselin served with distinction in William Villehardouin's army in the Morea and his

¹¹⁶ The cartulary of St Benedict (including the privileges granted by Pascal II and Frederick II) prior to the installation of the nuns from Greece is published in Coniglio, *Le Pergamene di Conversano*. The cartulary of St Benedict under the Cistercian nuns from Greece is published in Domenico Morea and Francesco Muciaccia, eds, Codice Diplomatico Barese series: *Le Pergamene di Conversano seguito al Chartularium Cuperscanense del Morea*, XVII (Trani: Vecchi, 1942). The document referring to abbot Peter's visit appears on page 51.

¹¹⁷ *Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. by E. Berger, 4 vols, III (Paris: Thorin, 1884-1921), 40.

¹¹⁸ For a detailed history of the Toucy family in Latin Romania see Jean Longnon, 'Les Toucy en Orient et en Italie au treizième siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne*, 96 (1953), 3-11.

achievements are recorded in the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Margaret also had a sister, whose name is unknown, but who in 1239 married Prince William Villehardouin. Margaret herself married the chancellor of the principality. Longnon postulates that Leonard of Veroli was in fact the middle man in the negotiations between William Villehardouin and Charles of Anjou, that led to the transfer of the principality to the Angevins in 1267.¹¹⁹ The couple moved and lived the rest of their lives in the kingdom of Sicily, where Leonard was given lands and titles.

Unfortunately, this passing mention in Innocent's letter seems to be the only surviving reference to the nunnery of Pym. Both its location and its dates of foundation and abandonment remain unknown. Presumably, since the letter appoints the bishop of Monemvasia to deal with Margaret's case, the nunnery was situated near that city. It is unlikely, however, to have been situated within the city: even if the nunnery was founded immediately after the capture of Monemvasia by the Franks (1248) it would only have enjoyed an existence of four years by 1252 when Innocent wrote to the bishop.¹²⁰ Innocent's letter, however, implies that Margaret had spent a few years in the convent. We do not know when she joined it, but according to Innocent's letter she must have been barely more than a child.¹²¹ At the time of Innocent's writing she was obviously of marriageable age, and mature enough to demand to be released from her oaths. So if we want to place the nunnery of Pym inside Monemvasia, we have to assume that the house was built immediately after the city's capture in 1248, that Margaret joined it around the time of its

¹¹⁹ Longnon, 'Les Toucy', p. 41.

¹²⁰ 1248 is the date usually accepted for the capitulation of Monemvasia to the Franks but Kalligas has suggested that even a date as late as 1252 could be plausible. Haris Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* (Monemvasia: Akroton, 1990), p. 91.

¹²¹ The papal letter states that she had joined the convent when she was still 'infra annos pubertatis', which probably means that she was below the age of puberty, thus a child. *Infra* does sometimes mean 'between', rather than 'below' or 'under'. If such an interpretation is preferred here, then that would mean that Margaret joined the convent whilst an adolescent. I believe, however, that the former interpretation ought to be preferred here, as it is more in accordance with the letter's context: Innocent says that, having joined as a child, she should not be held to her oath. He would probably not have released her from her oath as easily had she joined the convent as an adolescent.

foundation and that at the time she was only three or four years away from maturity. The possibility cannot be discounted, but the coincidences involved render it improbable.

If we are willing to look for Pym's location further afield, we may perhaps identify it with the Cistercian house of Our Lady of Isova, about which our only information is that it was burnt by the Greek army in 1263.¹²² The location of Isova is known, since its ruins can still be seen today near the village of Trypete south of the river Alpheios. The *Chronicle of the Morea*, which is our only source concerning the monastery's destruction, reveals that the advancing Greeks burnt it before the battle of Prinitza. The location of the territory named Prinitza in the *Chronicle* is unknown, but the *Chronicle* states that it was near the Alpheios and less than a day's march away from Isova, since the Greeks are said to have camped in Prinitza on the same evening that they destroyed the monastery.¹²³ Is it then possible that the name *Pym* is a corruption of the place-name Prinitza and that Our Lady of Isova was sometimes called by the name of the wider territory within which it was located? The hypothesis is convincing, but unfortunately it creates as many problems as it solves. Firstly, one has to wonder why the pope would appoint the bishop of Monemvasia to deal with Margaret's request, if the nunnery was located so far away from his see. The house of Isova would have fallen within the jurisdiction of either the bishop of Olena or the bishop of Andravida. Apart from these two, virtually any other bishop of the Peloponnese would have been closer to Isova than the bishop of Monemvasia.

If we accept the identification of Pym with Isova, then we would also have to rethink the installation of the Cistercian monks in the Morea. As we have seen, it has been suggested that the monastery of Our Lady of Isova was founded as a result of

¹²² This is another identification proposed to me by Professor Angold. For the monastery of Isova see above, pp. 96-97.

¹²³ See also Bon, *La Morée Franque*, p. 351.

Geoffrey Villehardouin's second petition for monks, which was entrusted by the pope to the Cistercians of Morimond. If, however, Isova was a Cistercian nunnery, then the mission from Morimond remains unaccounted for. That, of course, is not a huge problem, since we do not know for a fact that Morimond actually sent the monks to Greece, but only that it was asked to do so by the pope.

The most compelling (but still inconclusive) argument against this identification has to do with Isova's location. Our Lady of Isova was located in a relatively remote area of the Peloponnese, amongst woods and quite far-removed from all of the Morea's main towns. The nunneries of Greece, on the other hand, were almost invariably built in or around the towns. This had as much to do with the function of the medieval nunnery (which was often a refuge for the ladies of the nobility, who of course lived in the towns) as it did with the need for security. As we shall see in the following chapter, the one nunnery of medieval Greece that we know was founded at a significant distance from urban centres (by coincidence, not very far from the house of Isova) never got past its building stage as it was so often harassed by piratical attacks. Bearing this in mind, it is slightly more probable that the house of Isova was indeed a male monastery as was previously assumed, although one cannot emphatically discount the possibility that Purn and Isova were the same convent.

A more convincing identification has been proposed by Kalligas. She suggests that the name 'Purn' is a corruption of the place-name *Prinikos* or *Pirnikos*, a territory in the plain of Helos near Monemvasia, where a monastery is attested to a few decades later.¹²⁴ Kalligas points out that the territory of Helos had been conquered by the Franks around 1223, so a nunnery could have been in existence there at the time of Margaret's childhood. Helos is also relatively close to

¹²⁴ Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia*, pp. 211 and 224.

Monemvasia, so that would solve the problem of why the pope entrusted the case to the bishop of that city. Of course we are still faced with the question of why a Cistercian nunnery would be situated so far outside of any of the Frankish urban centres. Kalligas has noted that a chrysobull issued by Andronicus II in 1301 listing the possessions of the Metropolis of Monemvasia mentions a Greek monastery dedicated to St George in the same territory. She speculates that the church of St George near the village of Skala is what remains today of that monastery and suggests that this Greek house may have been taken over by the Cistercian nuns. Hayer, who has studied the church, has dated its foundation to the last years of the tenth century, but has detected no evidence of Frankish occupation.¹²⁵ All this of course is not remotely conclusive, but it is the best guess that we can hazard concerning the location of Pym: if Kalliga was correct, it was in a territory that was phonetically similar to Pym, in an area that had been under Frankish control since 1223, where we know that a monastery had existed. If we still can not account for its remoteness from the main Frankish centres, we can at least say that it was situated near the large village of Skala, rather than in an isolated wilderness.

Though the location and history of Pym must remain a subject open to conjecture, we can perhaps make a point about the relations between the Frankish nobility and Cistercian nunneries. We can be certain that at least three Cistercian nunneries existed in medieval Greece. Of these, only one emerges with any clarity from our sources, and though that same nunnery seems to have been very affluent and successful, all three had very short careers in Greece. Despite the meagreness of the sources however, and the convents' short history, one thing that emerges clearly are the strong ties between the Cistercian nunneries and the Frankish aristocracy. We

¹²⁵ Dominique Hayer, 'Saint-Georges près de Skala (Lakonie)', *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* [*Bulletin of the Christian Archaeological Society*], 12 (1984), 265-286.

have already examined the case of Percheio, whose abbess, it has been suggested, was a member of the imperial family of Constantinople. Here in Pym, we have evidence of another member of the highest aristocracy of Frankish Greece belonging to a Cistercian community. Perhaps it is not completely irrelevant that Margaret's father, Narjot, as one of the high ranking barons of Constantinople, appears as a signatory in the agreement between the Empire and the nunnery of Percheio over the Crown of Thorns. After Narjot's death in 1241, his widow (Margaret's mother) is said to have retired to a convent of Constantinople, and one would dearly like to know whether that was perhaps the convent of Percheio, with which her husband had had dealings whilst he was alive.¹²⁶ In any case, the strong ties between the Frankish nobles and the Cistercian nunneries of Greece can be taken as a given. It is important to note that, even though our sources for the nunneries are so meagre, there is more evidence of cooperation and relations between the Frankish aristocracy and the Cistercian nuns than there is between the Franks and the male branch of the Cistercian Order.

The impression that these Cistercian nuns were related to the highest echelons of the Frankish aristocracy is further reinforced by the fate of their communities after they were expelled from Greece. We do not know what happened to the nunnery of Pym, or when it was abandoned, but both the convents of Percheio and of Methone were relocated to the kingdom of Sicily where they were endowed by Charles I of Anjou. It is surely no coincidence that much of the Frankish aristocracy of Latin Romania, including several members of the Toucy family, found refuge in Charles's court as well. One might argue that the move to southern Italy both by the nobility and the nuns was only natural, given the fact that Charles had

¹²⁶ Longnon, 'Les Toucy', p. 37 and Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 'Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium', ed. by Paulus Scheffer-Boichorst, in *MGH SS*, 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 950.

effectively become the overlord of the Morea in 1267, and thus does not indicate any relations between the nunneries and the Frankish knights. If that was the case, however, why did no male Cistercian monasteries move to the kingdom of Sicily after they were expelled from Greece? The answer is simply that the monks had been sent to Greece from their mother houses in Western Europe and in all probability returned there after their expulsion. The nuns on the other hand, were of local (Frankish) origin, and thus were provided for by the Morea's new overlord.

In any case, it is no surprise to find that the nuns were related to the Frankish aristocracy of Greece. One of the major roles of the nunneries would have been to provide a refuge for daughters and widows of the western settlers. That was also the case in Crete, as we shall see in the following chapters. Considering the high proportion of nobles amongst the Frankish population of Greece it is only natural that some of the cloistered ladies would have been of aristocratic descent. What is interesting to note, however, is that whilst it is doubtful that the male Cistercian houses of Greece performed a social or political function along with their religious one, some Cistercian nunneries had a clearly defined role to play. At least in one case (that of Percheio), its role as associate and funder of the Empire was in certain ways comparable to the role that male Cistercian monasteries played in other militarised frontiers (like Spain); and that role very probably stemmed from the blood relations between the nuns and the leaders of the Empire. It is extremely doubtful that such relations existed between the Cistercian monks and the Frankish nobles.

* * *

This examination of the Cistercian monasteries of Greece shows that initially, the Cistercian order shared the pope's enthusiasm at the prospect of spreading the Roman Catholic faith to the Byzantine Empire. Though the regulations for the

emigration of monks to the East were stringent, within the thirteenth century many of the major Cistercian monasteries of Europe had founded daughter houses in Greece: Locedio had Chortaitou in Thessalonica and St Archangelus in Negroponte; Hautecombe had St Angelus and Rufiniano in Constantinople and may have also founded the monastery of Zaraka; Bellevaux had Daphni near Athens and possibly Laurus; St Thomas of Torcello had St Stephen in Constantinople and the two Cretan monasteries of Gergeri and St Mary Varangorum; Morimond may have founded Our Lady of Isova and Cîteaux was affiliated with St Mary de Percheio. It is not known to which monasteries St Mary de Verge of Methone and Pryn were affiliated and we cannot be certain whether a Cistercian house existed in Patras.

Despite this rapid expansion, however, both Elizabeth Brown and Brenda Bolton describe the Cistercian mission to Greece as a failure and it is hard to disagree with them. Within sixty years of their initial installation all but three (or maybe just one) Cistercian convents of Greece had been abandoned. Furthermore, it is difficult to see what impact, if any, the Cistercian involvement had in the spiritual affairs of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. It is true, that as papal agents the Cistercians put their mark on the ecclesiastical administration of the Empire, but their spiritual and pastoral activities remain obscure.

The reasons for the failure of the Cistercians to achieve an enduring and consequential presence in Greece are hard to discern at first glance; especially considering the fact that the circumstances of their installation seem at first glance to have been particularly favourable: we have already seen that the popes were very keen to see the Cistercians play a key role in the establishment of the Latin Church in Greece. Their position was further reinforced on account of the struggle between the papacy and the Venetian Patriarchate of Constantinople. As has already been mentioned, Innocent III and Honorius III often used the Cistercian abbots of Greece as

means by which to check the power and the ambition of the Venetian Patriarchs. Such missions were entrusted to the abbots of Daphni and of Chortaitou against Patriarch Gervase in 1218, and to the abbot of St Angelus against Patriarch Matthew of Jesolo in 1223. Furthermore, in 1224, the Cistercians of Constantinople were granted exemption from the taxation for the defence of the Empire.

The General Chapter of the Order also seems to have been exceptionally vigilant over the monasteries that were founded in Greece. The rules that were instituted about the Greek abbeys seem to have been observed. We know of five abbots of Daphni who made the trip to Cîteaux and of one abbot of Bellevaux who visited his daughter house of Daphni.¹²⁷ We also know of an abbot of Daphni who visited his new charge, the nunnery of Conversano in 1271.¹²⁸ Even though these incidents are few, it is almost certain that the reason we do not have more records of such events is because they were the norm and not the exception and that consequently they were only recorded incidentally, in relation with some other event.¹²⁹ This impression is further substantiated by the fact that when irregularities did occur, they were recorded and punished by the General Chapter. Such was the case of the abbot of Zaraka, who was ordered to do penance in 1257, because he had failed to appear at the General Chapter for several years.¹³⁰ Considering the fact that the prescribed visits did take place, and that their objective was to correct abuses and to ensure that the monasteries were governed properly, we must assume that most of the houses were indeed operating in the desired manner.

Finally, the Latin lords of Greece, also showed themselves very favourable to the establishment of the Cistercians in their domains. It is significant that in the anarchic state of the Latin Empire during the first decades of the thirteenth century,

¹²⁷ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 113.

¹²⁸ See above, p. 97.

¹²⁹ Brown, 'Cistercians', p. 112.

¹³⁰ See above, p. 79.

disputes over property between the laity and the Cistercians were quite rare, while at the same time the lords of the Empire were being constantly accused of usurping the estates of the secular Church. In fact, some of the prime offenders against the Church, proved to be the most devout patrons of the Cistercians. Such were the cases of Otto de la Roche and Geoffrey Villehardouin who requested the foundation of monasteries in their lands and endowed them generously.

How then can we account for the failure of the Cistercian mission to Greece? I would argue that the reasons for this failure were chiefly political and only partly related to the neglect of customary Cistercian practices or to the inability of the Cistercians to reform, as Bolton has suggested.¹³¹ The majority of the Cistercian houses in Greece were affiliated to Frankish monasteries. They were situated either in Constantinople or in the Frankish states of Athens and the Peloponnese, in which case they benefited from the patronage of the Frankish nobility. When Constantinople fell to Palaeologos, the Cistercian monasteries of the city were naturally wiped out. The convents that had ties with the Italians, such as some Franciscan and Dominican houses of Constantinople, were able to benefit from the donation of the quarter of Pera to the Genoese and either continue an uninterrupted existence there, or re-establish their houses in Pera after a few years. This may not have been an option for the Frankish Cistercians. Similarly, on mainland Greece, the territories occupied by the Cistercians were ravaged by constant warfare and in many cases the Frankish patrons, who had supported these monasteries, lost their power. The case of Daphni and its decline after the Catalan conquest of Athens is the obvious example. The community of Isova was driven out, or killed, by the Greeks. The internal organisation of these monasteries and their inability to adapt to a new situation can hardly be blamed for their eventual failure. Rather, it was their dependence on a losing faction, the Franks, which led to

¹³¹ Bolton, 'The Cistercians', pp. 176 and 178.

their disappearance.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cistercians did follow a somewhat different path in Greece than they did in other frontier areas of Latin Christendom; and if this divergence was not directly responsible for their expulsion, it surely contributed to the relative weakness of most of their convents. Brenda Bolton rightly points out that, contrary to usual Cistercian practice, many of the Cistercian foundations of Greece were situated near or within towns and sees this as an indication of laxity and decline in the Order's standards. Be that as it may, it ought to be remembered that the abbeys that were founded in remote and inaccessible areas of Greece, as per the Order's statutes were some of the most unspectacular and unsuccessful monasteries of Greece (i.e. Isova, Gergeri etc). It is true that the Cistercians altogether failed to adapt to the environment of Greece, but once again this may have had more to do with the peculiarities of the Frankish conquest and settlement than with the shortcomings of the Order.

A good example of this may be seen in relation with Cistercian economy. We have seen in the previous chapter, that Cistercian monks were often valued as colonists in newly acquired lands: the lay lords would found and endow a Cistercian abbey in their new lands and the Cistercians would spearhead the settlement of that area, attracting foreign settlers through the economic development of the area and providing a node of foreign influence over the indigenous population in the cases where the area was already inhabited.¹³² All this, however, depended to a large extent on the famous model of Cistercian economy, based on the exploitation of vast tracts of land through the use of granges and the *conversi*. It is doubtful that such practices were ever transplanted by the Cistercians to Greece. We only have mention of two granges (both

¹³² Consider for example the abbey of Dargun in Mecklenburg: its economic activity and development of the area even involved the opening of a tavern; on the other hand, the monastery was considered to be such a dangerous agent of Danish interests, that its monks were later expelled. See Reimann, 'A Cistercian Foundation'.

belonging to the nunnery of Percheio) and references to lay brothers are equally scarce.¹³³ More importantly, it is doubtful that the Cistercians ever acquired estates in Greece of the scale that they did in other parts of Europe. The Frankish lords may have had plans for the installation of the Cistercians in their dominions, but in the land-hungry milieu of medieval Greece, where even the barons were short of lands, the Cistercians were surely much poorer than their European brothers. Of course, the nunnery of Percheio was impressively well-endowed, but land tenure of that scale was almost certainly exceptional and most abbeys would have to make do with more modest estates.

The absence of lay brothers would also have been a problem for the Cistercian economy in Greece, but again, one that the Cistercians could do little about. Normally, the lay brothers would be much more numerous than the regular community of a monastery, and it was upon their labour that the cultivation of Cistercian lands depended. This institution, however, does not seem to have been widespread in Greece and it can even be doubted that any lay brothers existed at all. This is hardly surprising, considering the attitudes of most of the Greek population towards the Catholic Church and its representatives. Of course, the importation of lay brothers from the West might have been a possibility, but it could scarcely be practical to import them in the necessary numbers without depending on local recruitment. Deprived of the means that facilitated the Order's prosperity in other areas of Europe, it is no surprise to find that the Cistercians' establishment in Greece was somewhat muted. It appears, that both the laity and the papacy may have shared similar ambitions, that the Order of Cîteaux would provide a stabilizing influence for the new Frankish lands, as it had in other lands of Latin conquest; but the situation in medieval Greece did not favour the employment of traditional Cistercian institutions and as a result, the Cistercians

¹³³ See above, pp. 78 and 94.

struggled to find a meaningful role to play in the societies of Latin Romania.

* * *

The presence of the Benedictines in medieval Greece has attracted very little scholarly attention. One of the reasons for this could be the fact that the Order's movement to Greece does not seem to have been as organized as the missions of most of the other orders. Although we know of several Benedictine houses in Greece, their creation seems to have been rather haphazard and not the product of careful planning and preparation as was the case with many of the Cistercian and mendicant houses. As a result, most of the Benedictine monasteries of Greece appear to have been isolated, with little contact with the West and minimal impact on the local communities. It is not hard to explain the absence of sources pertaining to the Benedictines of Greece, considering that the Order's involvement does not seem to have been closely supervised by a higher authority (in the way that the General Chapters supervised the missions of other orders) and that the houses of Greece do not appear to have had regular contact with the West. It is, therefore, hard for the historian to investigate the history of this order in the Latin Empire. Even the identification of the Benedictine houses proves to be more difficult than that of the other orders: when the sources refer to a convent of any other order, they usually specify the order to which it belonged. This is not always the case with Benedictine houses, which are quite often only described as *monasteria*. That does not mean, however, that any reference to an unspecified *monasterium* can be taken as a reference to a Benedictine house. It is not always clear that these *monasteria* were actually occupied by a Latin religious community: it seems possible that some of them were just abandoned Greek monasteries, whose churches were being operated by a chaplain, or that a single caretaker was installed in them. Nevertheless, there existed in Greece six undoubted Benedictine houses, whose history is discussed below. It is, however, probable that

there were other Benedictine monasteries founded in Greece, which have either not been identified as Benedictine or whose traces have now completely disappeared.

St Mary on Mount Athos

The first Benedictine monastery to be built in Greece was founded by a company of Amalfitan monks on Mount Athos, centuries before the Fourth Crusade. Not much is known about the Amalfitan house of St Mary, but its foundation has been dated to the late tenth century, between the years 980 and 1000.¹³⁴ There is some confusion concerning the monastery's founder, but Bonsall concludes that the likeliest name is that of a monk called Leo the Roman. He also points out that, according to the Greek sources, this Leo was the brother of Pandulf II, Prince of Benevento, but that the western sources do not mention any such relation of Pandulf. The sources report that the Italian monks were on very good terms with the neighbouring Greek monasteries and it seems probable that the monastery was a prosperous one. A chrysobull by Alexius I Comnenus dating from 1081 refers to it as an imperial monastery and confirms to it a donation of lands.¹³⁵ The same document makes mention of a previous chrysobull by Nicephorus Botaneiates, which also seems to have given privileges to the Amalfitan monks. Finally, John II Comnenus also made a donation of lands to the monastery sometime between 1118 and 1143.¹³⁶ It seems that St Mary continued to operate in the first decades after the Fourth Crusade, but unfortunately nothing is known about its history during that period. In 1287, however, the house was donated to the Greek monastery of the Great Lavra, and the donation was confirmed by the Emperor and the Patriarch. At this time, St Mary was said to have been poor and

¹³⁴ For a more detailed history of this house, see Leo Bonsall, 'The Benedictine Monastery of St Mary on Mount Athos', *Eastern Churches Review*, 2 (1969), pp. 262-67.

¹³⁵ Bonsall, 'St Mary', p. 266.

¹³⁶ Agostino Pertusi, 'Monasteri e Monaci Italiani all' Athos nell' Alto Medioevo', in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963*, ed. by Olivier Rousseau, 2 vols, I (Chevetogne: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 228-29.

declined. Bonsall also surmises that this donation may have been a facet of the anti-Latin policy that Andronicus II pursued in order to distance himself from his father's unionist plans.

The Amalfitans had also founded two more convents inside Constantinople, prior to the establishment of the Latin Empire: that of the Holy Saviour and that of St Mary Latina.¹³⁷ The monastery of the Holy Saviour may have been founded around 1065 and it survived the siege of Constantinople by the crusading army. In 1256, Alexander IV took the monastery and its possessions under papal protection.¹³⁸ It is possible that one of these two monasteries was a daughter house of St Mary of Athos. According to Janin, both these houses were situated on the Golden Horn.¹³⁹ It is perhaps worth noting the longevity of these Benedictine houses, which were founded under Byzantine government and with the consent of the Greeks. By contrast, most of the Cistercian and Benedictine monasteries founded after the Latin conquest (at least on mainland Greece) had very brief careers, as they fell foul of the Greek resurgence. This indicates that, despite the triumphalist attitude of the thirteenth-century Church, the conquest of the Byzantine Empire did not in fact result in conditions favourable for the spread of Latin monasticism in Greece.

Christ Pantepoptes

This Greek monastery of Constantinople was given to the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore of Venice, probably around 1205.¹⁴⁰ Its first Latin prior was brother Paul, who eventually became abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore in 1220. In 1222, the Latin monks of Christ Pantepoptes, with the consent of the Venetian podestà of Constantinople, sent the relics of St Paul (a Greek saint) which were housed in the

¹³⁷ Raymond Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l' Empire byzantin: le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, 3 vols, III (Paris: Institut français d' études byzantines, 1969), 583.

¹³⁸ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 583.

¹³⁹ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 583.

¹⁴⁰ Janin, 'sanctuaires', pp. 175.

monastery to San Giorgio Maggiore.

Janin points out that the Benedictines did not occupy the monastery of Christ Pantepoptes for long. In 1244, the house was leased to Benedict the Bishop of Heracleia, who promised to pay rent to the abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore.¹⁴¹

St Mary Virgiottis

Janin has concluded that the Constantinopolitan monastery referred to in the papal registers of Honorius III as St Mary Virgiottis was the Greek monastery of Θεοτόκος Ευεργέτις.¹⁴² This house was famously donated to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino by the Cardinal Legate Benedict of St Susanna, with the stipulation that the Greek monks would not be expelled. In 1217, Honorius III confirmed this donation along with the stipulation imposed.¹⁴³ It seems, however, that the Greek monks objected to the submission of their monastery to the Italian convent and remained disrespectful towards their Benedictine superiors. Thus, in 1222, Honorius was forced to write to the abbot and monks of St Mary Virgiottis, instructing them to welcome and obey the brothers that were sent to them by Monte Cassino.¹⁴⁴

The precise location of this house is not known, but according to the act of the donation, it was two miles away from Constantinople. This is also consonant with Janin's identification of the monastery with Θεοτόκος Ευεργέτις, for it is known that this Greek house was situated in a suburb on the European coast of Constantinople.¹⁴⁵ Under the Greeks, Θεοτόκος Ευεργέτις had been a successful and prestigious house. It was well endowed with estates in the suburbs of Constantinople, and owned a *metochi* or daughter house inside the city. It even owned a hospice for the poor, which was

¹⁴¹ Janin, 'sanctuaires', pp. 176.

¹⁴² Janin, 'sanctuaires', pp. 177-78. For an examination of the monastery's history under the Greeks see Margaret Mullet and Andrew Kirby, eds, *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism* (Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1994).

¹⁴³ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 102.

¹⁴⁴ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 99.

¹⁴⁵ Janin, 'sanctuaires', pp. 177-78.

probably situated near the monastery's main complex. The size of its community is not known but it has been suggested that it may have been of the scale of the Pantokrator monastery, whose *Typicon* stipulated that it should house at least eighty monks.¹⁴⁶

St Mary Perivleptos

As Janin points out, the name of this Greek monastery indicates its prominent position in the city of Constantinople. According to Janin, it was built in the quarter of Psamatia, over the ruins of an Armenian church. During the Latin occupation of the city, the monastery came into the possession of the Benedictines of Venice, but unfortunately very little is known about this period of its history. The date in which the monastery changed hands remains unknown, but it was before 1240. In 1240, Peter, the Benedictine abbot and his community sent the relics of St Paul the Hermit, that were housed in St Mary, to Italy.¹⁴⁷

St Mary of Scrufaria and St Mary of Camina

The case of St Mary of Scrufaria and St Mary of Camina has already been mentioned in relation to the monastery of Daphni.¹⁴⁸ In November 1300, Boniface VIII addressed a letter to Princess Isabelle of Achaia, in response to her petition concerning the nunnery that she was constructing.¹⁴⁹ The princess had for some time been constructing a nunnery, dedicated to St Clare, in the diocese of Olena. The defence, however, of her domains against the Greeks was proving so expensive that Isabelle asked the pope to donate a church, named St Mary of Camina, situated in the same diocese, to the nunnery in order to alleviate her expenses and help the community of

¹⁴⁶ Lyn Rodley, 'The Monastery of Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople: where it was and what it looked like', in *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century Monasticism*, ed. by Margaret Mullett and Anthony Kirby (Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), pp. 17-29.

¹⁴⁷ Janin, 'sanctuaires', p. 176.

¹⁴⁸ See above, pp. 73-74.

¹⁴⁹ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV, 512.

Poor Clares. Boniface agreed to this petition and in his letter gave a brief history of the church of St Mary. According to Boniface's letter, the church had been built by Isabelle's father, Prince William Villehardouin (d. 1278) and was customarily governed by a Benedictine monastery which was called St Mary of Scrufaria. The Benedictines, however, had long since abandoned the diocese of Olena, and the church of Camina had been left uncared for. Thus the Pope agreed to unite the Benedictine church to the nunnery, allowing the nuns to use the church's incomes to support their community but also stipulating that they were responsible for the church's upkeep.

This is a very important document, since it not only reveals the existence of a Benedictine church in Olena, but also mentions the Benedictine monastery of St Mary of Scrufaria, whose career under the Latins would otherwise remain largely unknown.

St Mary of Scrufaria is in fact the monastery of Strophades (Στροφάδων), located on a small island off the coast of the Ionian island of Zante, and still functioning today.

Although Boniface's letter does not dwell on the monastery of St Mary of Scrufaria, recent research has shed some light on the history of this house:¹⁵⁰ The monastery is thought to have been founded early in the thirteenth century as a Greek house.

According to tradition, its founders were Theodore I and his daughter Irene Laskaris, of the later imperial family of Nicaea.¹⁵¹ It is not known when and under what

circumstances the monastery came under Latin control, but the Benedictines were

installed in it before 1299. In that year, Boniface VIII sent a letter of confirmation to

the community's new abbot, named Hugolinus. The papal letter reveals that the

¹⁵⁰ See Dionysius I. Mousouras, *Αι Μοναί Στροφάδων και Αγίου Γεωργίου των Κρημνών Ζακύνθου*, (Athens: Ιερά Μονή Στροφάδων και Αγίου Διονυσίου, 2003) and Dionysius I. Mousouras, 'Η Μονή Στροφάδων (1200-1500). Ένα παράδειγμα Αμυντικού Μοναχισμού' ['The Monastery of Strophades (1200-1500). An example of Defensive Monasticism'], in *Monasticism in the Peloponnese 4th -15th c.*, ed. by Voula Konti (Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 2004), pp. 215-241. Mousouras also implies that the word Camina is a corruption of the place name Κάμιννα. I have been unable to identify such a location, but I have found an old settlement named Κάμενα, located near Olena, in an area called today *Mouries*. It is my opinion that this is the area referred to as Camina in the documents.

¹⁵¹ The tradition about the monastery's founders is unconfirmed but is supported by the commemoration of their names in the house's diptychs. Mousouras, *Αι Μοναί*, pp. 25-29.

monastery's abbacy had been vacant for the past four years, since the death of the previous abbot William. According to the Pope's instructions, the election of the new abbot was not made by the community itself, but rather by Matthew the bishop of Oporto and the cardinals of SS Marcellinus and Peter and St Potentianus. The elected monk was a member of the community of St Praxedis of Rome. The letter of confirmation was sent to all the prelates and lay lords of the area.¹⁵² The monastery subsequently appears, as we have seen, in Boniface's letter to Isabelle in 1300, by which the Pope unites the church of St Mary of Olena to the nunnery of St Clare. Although this letter states that the Benedictines had already abandoned the diocese of Olena, the monastery of Scrufaria may still have been operating.¹⁵³ We do not know when the monastery was finally abandoned by the Benedictines. The next references we find to it date from the fifteenth century, when the Venetian Commune decided to pay for the ransoming of some of its monks, who had been abducted by pirates. Five years later, in 1416, the Venetians made another grant to the monastery, for the construction of fortifications that would protect the monks against Muslim incursions. It is not clear, however, whether these were still Benedictine monks, or the Greek monks who eventually reinstalled themselves in the monastery. Mousouras rightly points out that the monastery was definitely Greek when the traveller Buondelmonti visited it in 1420.¹⁵⁴ Buondelmonti describes the monastery's fortifications and affirms that they were made necessary because of the attacks that the community had suffered. By 1461, we have explicit mentions of Greek monks living in the monastery.¹⁵⁵

The church of Camina eventually fell into the possession of the Cistercian

¹⁵² *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. by Georges Digard and others 4 vols, II (Paris: De Boccard, 1884), 540 and *Mousouras*, 'Η Μονή Στροφάδων', pp. 220-22.

¹⁵³ Mousouras believes that the papal letter implicitly states that the Benedictines were still installed in Scrufaria, 'Η Μονή Στροφάδων', pp. 223-24.

¹⁵⁴ Mousouras, *Αι Μοναί*, pp. 48-51. At that time the monastery housed around fifty brothers, a much larger number than any Latin monastery of Greece did. The use of the Greek words *Guminus* and *Caloieri* by Buondelmonti to denote the prior and community also indicates that by that time the monastery was back in Greek hands.

¹⁵⁵ Mousouras, 'Η Μονή Στροφάδων', pp. 225-29.

monks of Daphni.¹⁵⁶ In 1306 Clement V reversed his predecessor's decision and instead donated the church to the monastery of Daphni.¹⁵⁷ The letter of the donation is very badly damaged and difficult to read, but it seems that Clement reached this decision after Isabelle was forced to abandon her plans of ever finishing the construction her nunnery, because of frequent pirate attacks. We also saw, that over the following years, the community of Daphni paid significant tithes for the incomes of this church: between 1339 and 1355, the abbot of Daphni paid the papal collector around fifty hyperpers per year for the annexed Benedictine church.¹⁵⁸ It is noteworthy, that this is amongst the highest amounts paid by any single foundation in Greece to the papal collector in the registers of those years.

St George of the Burg

One of the better known Benedictine houses of medieval Greece was the Cretan nunnery of St George in Candia. Referred to as *Sanctus Georgius de burgo*, so as to be distinguished from another monastery called St George de la ponte, this nunnery was obviously popular amongst the Latin laity of Crete and therefore quite wealthy. Unfortunately, though a significant number of notarial deeds involving the nunnery have survived, attesting to the house's financial means, its history remains obscure.

In his monumental work *Monumenti Veneti nell' isola di Creta* Gerola simply mentions that St George was a nunnery inside Candia, whose traces today have completely disappeared.¹⁵⁹ Tsirpanles also states that the nunnery owned a significant number of houses that were built after the earthquake of 1303.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ See above, pp. 73-74.

¹⁵⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Instrumenta Miscellanea, 6706.

¹⁵⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, Collectoriae, 129, ff. 71r and 173r and Collectoriae, 130, f. 56v.

¹⁵⁹ Gerola, II, 129.

¹⁶⁰ Z. Tsirpanles, *Κατάστιχο Εκκλησιών και Μοναστηρίων του Κοινού (1248-1548)*[*Catasticum*

The date of the nunnery's foundation is not known, but two documents dating from the fourteenth century reveal how the convent acquired its immovable property. In 1314 the abbess of St George became involved in a dispute with the Commune, over a number of houses built on the nunnery's lands, which the nunnery had been letting. The abbess claimed that the houses rightfully belonged to the nunnery, but that during the reign of the Duke Guido de Canale (1308-1310) the Commune's officials had claimed rights over them and wanted to collect the rent money themselves. The case went to court and in July 1314 a ruling was made in favour of the abbess. In 1320, the sentence was reaffirmed and it was stated that by decision of Duke Marino Badoer (1313-1315) those houses rightfully belonged to the nunnery.¹⁶¹

A few years later, in 1335, sister Diamanda Trivixano, the abbess of St George, with the consent of her community leased a number of these houses to Demetrius de Canale, for twenty-nine years, against an annual rent of two hyperpers.¹⁶² In 1347, the same abbess acknowledged receipt of eight hyperpers from Francis of Osnago, bishop of Chiron, as rent for three *peciae* of land that his church was renting from the nunnery.¹⁶³

Diamanda Trivixano must have died shortly afterwards, for in 1348 two other nuns, sister Nunda (or Ninda) Dandolo and sister Agnes Orso sign the notarial deeds. These two nuns appointed John of Ragusa and Nicholas de Ponte as the nunnery's proctors.¹⁶⁴ Sister Agnes Orso continues to appear as the nunnery's abbess at least until the 1360s and maybe even into the 1370s.

The nunnery of St George also appears in a large number of bequests during

Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum Communis] (Ioannina: Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, 1985), p. 57.

¹⁶¹ Tsirpanles, *Κατάστιχο*, p. 219-20.

¹⁶² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 112r. See Appendix II.

¹⁶³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 242v.

¹⁶⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 229r.

the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁵ The bequests made to the convent rarely exceed the amount of ten hyperpers. It should also be noted that the convent usually appears towards the end of the lists of houses to which money is bequeathed and receives much smaller amounts than the foundations at the top of the lists. This is hardly surprising, for it is well-known that the mendicant foundations of Candia were the most popular beneficiaries of bequests.¹⁶⁶ It is significant, however, that St George almost invariably appears in the wills that bequeath money to more than one or two houses. Amongst the testators that leave money to the nunnery we find members of the most prominent Venetian families, like the Querini, the de Canale, the Dandolo and the Cornarii. We also find a will by bishop Francis of Osnago, who as we have seen also had a business transaction with the nunnery, and who bequeathed a silver chalice worth forty hyperpers.¹⁶⁷ The most substantial amount of money given to the nunnery was bequeathed by one of the convent's own nuns named sister Bertolota, who left the house sixty nine hyperpers.¹⁶⁸ Despite the fact that the sums of money bequeathed are rarely as significant as those that were sometimes bequeathed to the mendicant houses of Candia, the regularity and frequency of the bequests attest to the popularity of this Benedictine house amongst the Candiot community.

St Mary of the Cistern

The Benedictine monastery of St Mary of the Cistern in Constantinople is the only Benedictine monastery of medieval Greece about which significant information has survived. It is one of the few monasteries of Greece whose cartulary has been preserved intact from the date of its foundation. It is kept in the archives of Genoa and

¹⁶⁵ These wills are far too numerous to cite here. See Sally McKee, ed., *Wills of Late Medieval Venetian Crete 1312-1420*, 3 vols (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998).

¹⁶⁶ This is easily confirmed even by a cursory reading of McKee, *Wills*.

¹⁶⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 19v. See Appendix II.

¹⁶⁸ McKee, *Wills*, II, 668-69.

has been thoroughly studied by Dalleggio D'Alessio.¹⁶⁹

The monastery of St Mary, known as *Sancta Maria Misericordiae* was dedicated both to the Virgin Mary and to St Benedict. It was also known as St Mary of the Cistern, because of its location in Pera, close to a large open air Cistern.¹⁷⁰ It was founded in 1427 and it has been assumed that it was previously a Greek monastery. The date of its foundation does not appear in the monastery's cartulary, but is known thanks to an inscription on the church's entrance which was copied by a visitor in 1634.¹⁷¹ The monastery's founder and first abbot was an Italian monk named Nicolas Maineti. In 1449, Nicolas Maineti resigned from the abbacy of his monastery, in order to unite it to the congregation of St Justina. The congregation of St Justina was a Benedictine reform movement which started in the convent of St Justina in Padua and rapidly expanded throughout Europe. It valued regular discipline and intellectual activity and instituted the centralization of power in the Order's annual General Chapter. The union of St Mary with the congregation of St Justina was solemnly celebrated on 13 May 1449 in Padua, and subsequently ratified by the Pope. A description of the unification has been preserved in the monastery's cartulary.¹⁷² Following the unification, the congregation of St Justina sent a delegation of monks to Pera, in order to take control of the monastery, but they only reached Venice before they had to turn back because of the plague. It took another year for a new delegation of monks, headed by the new abbot Paphnutius of Genoa, to reach the monastery. The community there welcomed them and swore obedience to the new abbot.

During the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, most of the monks did not abandon the monastery, but the convent's most valuable possessions were sent to Chios

¹⁶⁹ E. Dalleggio D'Alessio, 'Le Monastère de Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde de la Citerne de Péra ou de Saint-Benoît', *Échos d'Orient*, 33 (1934), 59-94.

¹⁷⁰ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 593.

¹⁷¹ D'Alessio, 'Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde', pp. 62-63.

¹⁷² D'Alessio, 'Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde', pp. 65-66 publishes a translation of the relevant document.

to escape plunder. Soon after the capture of Constantinople, when the Turks proclaimed that the Genoese community of Pera would be free to govern itself and retain its possessions, even those monks that had left the monastery returned to St Mary.¹⁷³

There is little information about the monastery's property, but it seems that it was quite prosperous. According to D'Alessio the convent profited from some generous benefactors and possessed all that it required.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, we know that when Nicolas Maineti, the first abbot of St Mary died, his will included a clause which stipulated that the monastery could receive the incomes from the shares that it held in the Casa San Giorgio of Genoa for as long as it upheld the strict observance of the congregation of St Justina.¹⁷⁵ These were at least sixty-five shares and, although we do not know how much income was generated by them, they must have been an important asset for the monastery. Finally, as was already mentioned, during the siege of Constantinople, in an attempt to salvage their most valuable possessions the monks sent them to the island of Chios in two coffers. The inventories of these coffers have survived, and list precious chalices, silver crucifixes, ciboria, many more altar ornaments and silverware, as well as two chancel screens: one made out of silver and one made out of gold plated wood.¹⁷⁶

During the Ottoman era, the monastery of St Mary lost the stability and prosperity that characterised its early days. Brother Placidus of Podio was the last abbot to enjoy a peaceful reign over the community. The abbacy of his successor was marred

¹⁷³ D' Alessio, 'Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde', pp. 71-72.

¹⁷⁴ D' Alessio, 'Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde', p. 63.

¹⁷⁵ D' Alessio, 'Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde', p. 70. For an examination of the history of the Casa San Giorgio see Heinrich Sieveking, *Studio sulle finanze Genovesi nel Medioevo e in particolare sulla Casa di S. Giorgio*, Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, XXXV (Genoa: Tipografia della Gioventù, 1906). Shorter discussions on the bank of St George can be found in Christine Shaw, 'Principles and practice in the civic government in fifteenth-century Genoa', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58:1 (2005), 45-90 and in Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 260-61.

¹⁷⁶ D' Alessio, 'Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde', p. 71.

by disputes with the General Chapter over his suitability as abbot. Eventually, the Conventual Franciscans of Constantinople were placed in charge of the convent. After 1486, the monastery was governed by vicars, most of which were not even members of the Benedictine order. In November 1583, the monastery was taken over by the Jesuits and later by the Lazarites. It was still functioning as a Lazarite convent in 1953 when Janin wrote his *Géographie*. Today it operates as a Francophone school, under the name of Saint Benedict.

St Mary de Ierocomata in Patras

Finally, it is worth noting that a couple of daughter houses of Cluny had existed in the lands of the Latin Empire. One of them was the house of St Mary *de Ierocomata* (Ierokomion) in Patras. As L. De Mas Latrie had noted, this Greek house was donated to Cluny by Archbishop Anselm of Patras in 1210.¹⁷⁷ This is the same archbishop who in 1231 made a donation to Hautecombe and who, as we have seen, is said to have received his education at Cluny. Interestingly, earlier that year, the monastery had been the centre of a dispute between the archbishop and the Knights Templar, who claimed that they were the house's rightful owners.¹⁷⁸ Initially, the archbishop of Athens and the bishop of Thermopylae, who had been appointed judges, had found in favour of the Templars, but the decision was later reversed and eventually the house was given to Cluny. Unfortunately, the donation charter studied by Mas Latrie is also the only direct evidence we have linking St Mary with the monastery of Cluny. The house subsequently disappears from our sources. It is therefore impossible to investigate its history after 1210. Mas Latrie has speculated that this house was only a small priory which housed four or five Cluniac monks. In actual fact, however, we do

¹⁷⁷ L. De Mas Latrie, 'Donation à l'abbaye de Cluny du monastère de Hiero Komio près de Patras, en 1210', *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, 10 (1848-49), 308-12.

¹⁷⁸ See MPL 216, 331-32 and Quelch, 'Latin rule in Patras', pp. 176-77.

not know the size of the monastery's community and we can not even be sure that the house was indeed taken over by the Cluniacs. Quelch has identified a further document, drafted in Patras in 1404, by which a monk named Stephen de Romanellis is appointed abbot of a monastery, referred to as Santa Maria Mater. Even though this reference is unclear, Quelch believes that this is the same monastery of Ierokomion.¹⁷⁹ Sadly, it is not known whether the monastery still belonged to Cluny at that date.

Civitot

A Cluniac house, however, had existed near Constantinople even before the conquest of 1204. The existence of Civitot is only known to us from two letters addressed from Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (d. 1156) to the Emperor John Comnenus (r. 1118-1143) and the Greek Patriarch.¹⁸⁰ The letters reveal that the monastery of Civitot had been donated to the Cluniac abbey of La Charité-sur-Loire by John's father, Alexius I. At the time of Peter's writing, the western monks of Civitot are said to have either died or been expelled, and the monastery had passed out of the hands of Cluniacs. Peter the Venerable asks the emperor to follow the example of his father, who had shown himself very generous to the monks, and restore the monastery to the Order of Cluny. The patriarch is also asked to attend to the matter and to intervene with the emperor if such a need arises.

The monastery in question is said to have existed 'in a place called Ciui노th, near Constantinople'.¹⁸¹ Janin has identified no such place in his survey of Constantinopolitan foundations, but Jules Gay has argued convincingly that the area referred to in Peter's letters is the town *Kibotos* (Κιβωτός) located on the east coast of

¹⁷⁹ Quelch, 'Latin rule in Patras', p. 177.

¹⁸⁰ Giles Constable, ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols, I (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 74-76.

¹⁸¹ '...locum qui Ciui노th dicitur iuxta Constntinopoli positum...' Constable, *The Letters*, I, 210.

the Sea of Marmara, in the gulf of Nicomedia.¹⁸² The town of *Kibotos* is well-known in connection with the First Crusade. It was there that the Alexius Comnenus had installed the motley armies of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless before their fateful march to Xerigordon.¹⁸³ Gay also suggests that the donation of Civitot may have come as a result of Alexius's promises to the crusaders, that he would found a Latin monastery and a hospice for poor Franks. He dates the house's foundation between the years 1096 and 1097.¹⁸⁴

It is impossible to date these two letters of Peter the Venerable with any certainty, and the circumstances under which the monastery was taken from the Cluniacs also remain obscure. Gay has suggested that the letters were contemporary to the papal embassies to Constantinople, between the years 1122-24 and 1126.¹⁸⁵ Runciman was also in favour of an early dating, and pointed out that the tone of the letters suggests cordial relations between the abbot and the Empire, despite the schism.¹⁸⁶ Constable, however, has pointed out that, since Peter mentions an outbreak of anti-Latin feeling taking place in Constantinople three years prior to his writing, the letters may have been composed after 1130 and the renewed troubles between Byzantium and Sicily.¹⁸⁷

It is not known whether the monastery was ever restored to the Latins, as it is never mentioned in our sources again. In any case, it is extremely unlikely that this house survived until the Fourth Crusade.

¹⁸² Jules Gay, 'L'abbaye de Cluny et Byzance au début du XIIe siècle', *Échos d'Orient*, 30 (1931), 84-90, pp. 85-86.

¹⁸³ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-54), 128-33.

¹⁸⁴ Gay, 'L'abbaye de Cluny', p. 86.

¹⁸⁵ Gay, 'L'abbaye de Cluny', p. 88.

¹⁸⁶ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: a study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 114.

¹⁸⁷ Constable, *The Letters*, II, 148-49.

One of the problems facing the historian researching the Benedictine houses of Greece is the difficulty in identifying a monastery as Benedictine. It is not unusual to encounter a foundation referred to simply as *monasterium* in the sources, with no indication as to the Order that actually operated it. The obvious example is the case of Our Lady of Isova, which was thought to have been a Benedictine house, before Kitsiki Panagopoulos suggested that it may have been a Cistercian foundation. Another difficult case is that of the church of St Anthony of Candia. The church is identified as a Benedictine one in a map of the city of Candia, but all other mentions of it describe it as a military hospital.¹⁸⁸ It is similarly difficult to decipher a reference made to a certain monastery in the registers of Honorius III: in July 1222, Honorius wrote to the brothers of St Praxedis, confirming to them the donation of the monastery of *Metochi Mileas* in Constantinople.¹⁸⁹ I have been unable, however, to find any further mention of this donation. It is thus impossible to tell whether the Benedictines ever established a community in this monastery, or whether they assumed control of it in the more indirect way that Monte Cassino assumed control over the Greek community of St Mary Evergetis.

Another problematic case is that of the Cretan house, referred to in the sources as *monasterium/ecclesia Sancti Georgii de la Ponte*. Situated in the village of Katsambas, a short distance east of Candia, this monastery appears frequently in the wills of the Latin colonists of Crete. Its history, however, before 1456 remains very hard to trace, and it is debatable whether the monastery was actually occupied by the Benedictines.

Tsirpanles states that the monastery, which had previously been a Greek one, was already referred to as old in 1320 and that at that time it was inhabited by a Greek

¹⁸⁸ Gerola, II, 129.

¹⁸⁹ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 79.

priest, who had been appointed fifteen years earlier by the Latin Patriarch.¹⁹⁰ Be that as it may, the monastery soon came under complete Latin control: after the year 1346 we frequently find wills by the Italian inhabitants of Candia, bequeathing money to the monastery.¹⁹¹ This is unlikely to have happened if the monastery had continued to be inhabited by the Greek clergy. Indeed, some of these wills mention the names of a *presbyter Jacobus Blanco* living in the monastery after 1346 and of a *presbyter Jacobus Sancti* in 1352.¹⁹² Unfortunately, none of the documents state the Order to which the monastery belonged. It is therefore impossible to tell whether this house was actually Benedictine, or whether it was simply an abandoned Greek monastery whose church was used by a priest of the Catholic rite.

Much more is known about the house's history after 1456. With the outbreak of the plague, the Commune decided to turn St George into a lazaret, considering its position ideal for the segregation of the infected. The hospital was directed by a prior, whose activities were funded by the Commune. Two or more servants, paid by the monastery's incomes, tended to the sick and a priest operated the church and administered the rites to the inmates. Finally, the hospital employed a physician, who lived inside the complex. The hospital's finances were managed by two noblemen who acted as administrators and a further committee, comprised of four noblemen, was entrusted with the task of securing funds for the hospital and supervising any work carried out therein.¹⁹³ St George de la Ponte continued to operate as a lazaret until the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, the monastery's church was used by both the Orthodox and the Catholic rite, in order to accommodate the spiritual needs of all the inmates. The Orthodox part of the church belonged to the jurisdiction of the Duke, while the Catholic part belonged to the Augustinian monastery of the Holy

¹⁹⁰ Tsirpanles, *Κατάστιχο*, pp. 117-18.

¹⁹¹ The earliest such will that I have identified is that of Peter Dono, in McKee, *Wills*, II, 637-39.

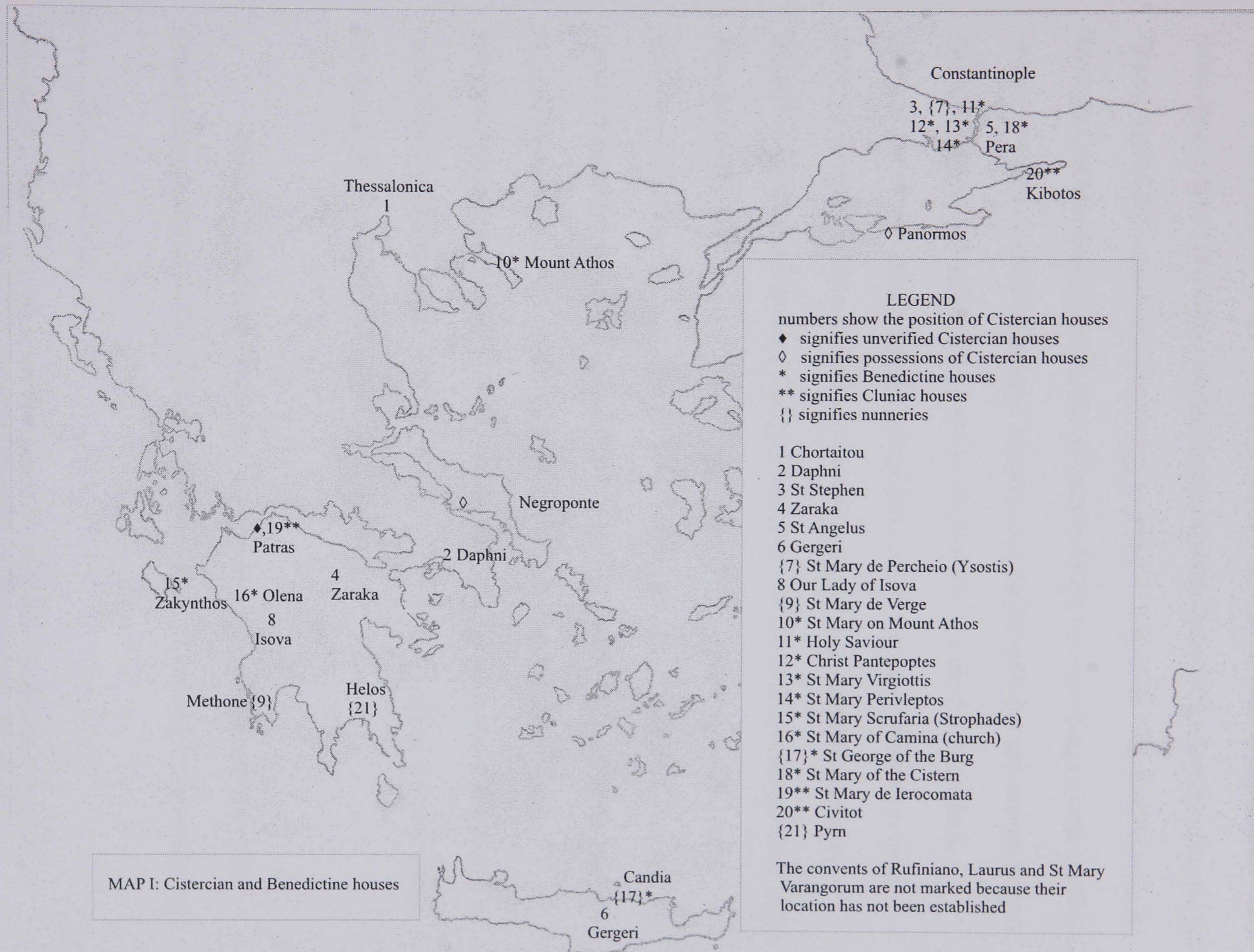
¹⁹² See for example McKee, *Wills*, I, 241-43 and ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 98v and 227r.

¹⁹³ Tsirpanles, *Κατάστιχο*, p. 216-17.

Saviour.¹⁹⁴

It is apparent that the information we have about the Benedictine convents of Greece is, in most cases, very scant. Sometimes, the only information that we have about a monastery is its name and the statement that it was a Benedictine foundation. One may, therefore, assume that other such inconspicuous houses had existed in Greece, whose traces have today completely disappeared. The indifference, however, that most of the sources exhibit towards these religious foundations may be an indication of their limited importance, in a monastic landscape that was largely dominated by the mendicant orders.

¹⁹⁴ Papadia-Lala, Anastasia, *Ευαγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη* [*Charitable Institutions and Hospitals in Venetian Crete*] (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 1996), p. 154.



Chapter 3: The Franciscans

Of all the Latin religious orders that established themselves in the Latin Empire of Romania, it was, perhaps, the Franciscans that had the longest and the most interesting history. The unprecedented impetus of the Order in the first decades after its formation, led to its rapid and long-lasting expansion in the East. The first Franciscan house in Constantinople was founded as early as 1220, but according to some traditions certain convents on the islands were founded even earlier than that and several houses claimed that they were founded by St Francis himself.¹ Unlike the Cistercians, however, the Franciscans managed to establish an uninterrupted presence in many places in Greece, and even to retain or reclaim some of their convents after the Byzantine re-conquest. Furthermore, this presence was not at all inconsequential: more than that of any other order, with the exception of the Dominicans, it often had significant impact on the religious, political and social lives of both the Greek and the Latin communities. Recognizing the importance of Franciscan activity in the East, several popes issued bulls investing the friars of Greece with privileges and safeguarding their rights and liberties.² In this chapter what is known of the history of each of the Franciscan houses of Greece will be examined and certain aspects of their missionary and ambassadorial activity investigated.

Despite the fact that the Franciscans had already established themselves in Greece from the first decades of the thirteenth century, Greece initially formed part of

¹ Gerasimos D. Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών Κοινοβιακών στα Βενετοκρατούμενα Επτάνησα' ['The Convents of the Conventual Franciscans on the Venetian Ionian Islands'], *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά*, 8 (1999), 111-130 (p. 120).

² See for example *Registres d' Innocent IV*, I, 208, and U. Hüntemann and J. M. Pou Marti, eds, *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, 4 vols, I (Quaracchi: Typis Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1929-49), 782.

the Franciscan Province of the Holy Land.³ The Province of Romania (roughly corresponding to the Empire of Romania) was created in 1263 and subsequently divided into three custodies:⁴ Negroponte, including Euboea and Crete (Moorman claims that this custody also included the Aegean islands but that is not stated in the *Provinciale* of 1334); Thebes, including Thebes, Athens and Corinth; and Glarenza (or Clarence), including Achaia and the Ionian islands. The Custody of Constantinople technically fell under the jurisdiction of the Vicariate of the East, which was based in Constantinople and which also included the custodies of Trebizond and of Tabris⁵. Like the other Franciscan provinces, the Province of Romania was governed by a Provincial Minister and later, as we shall see, in the fifteenth century, with the rise of the Observants, by a Provincial Minister and an Observant Vicar.

The same division of territories will be followed here. Unfortunately, not all of these houses have left us with traces of their history, and concerning many, especially the smaller ones, we know almost nothing at all. Combining, however, what information there is about all of them over a period of three centuries, a fairly clear view of the Franciscan landscape of medieval Greece emerges. The most striking feature of this landscape is the large number of Franciscan friaries that were founded.

Custody of Constantinople

Constantinople was, as we saw, one of the first places in the Empire of Romania where the Franciscans established themselves. Even though there is some evidence to suggest that other convents were founded even before that, the

³ Girolamo Golubovich, ed., *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Franciscano*, 5 vols, II (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906-23), 261.

⁴ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 168 and *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, 600-01.

⁵ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 115.

Constantinopolitan convent is the first one that can be firmly dated around 1220. Little is known about this early Franciscan house, and Janin surmises that it disappeared with the re-conquest of Constantinople by the Greeks.⁶ Its existence is known because of an incident involving the provost of the church of the Holy Apostles, who, having been accused of vowing to take the Franciscan habit, was then deprived of his income. The provost appealed to Rome and Honorius III exonerated him and ordered that the provost be compensated.⁷ The convent was also said to possess a school.⁸ Even though not much else can be said about this house, the importance of the first Franciscan establishment in Constantinople is undeniable. From that point onwards the influence of the Franciscans in medieval Greece started to grow and they eventually became the most prominent focus of popular devotion for the Latin settlers and the ambassadorial order par excellence for the papacy in the East.

The longest surviving Franciscan house in Constantinople was the convent of St Francis in the suburb of Pera. Built sometime after 1230, this convent benefited from the donation of the quarter of Pera to the Genoese by Michael Palaeologos, and so remained in the hands of the Franciscans even after the Byzantine re-conquest of 1261. It even survived the Ottoman conquest and was only destroyed in 1697.⁹ According to Frazee, the church of St Francis in Pera was the largest Latin church in Greece and the convent also housed the offices of the Provincial Minister of Romania.¹⁰ Despite its longevity, however, it appears very rarely in documents before the fourteenth century, and thus very little is known about its early history.

⁶ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 588.

⁷ Robert Lee Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans', *Traditio*, 2 (1944), 213-37 (p. 214).

⁸ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 588.

⁹ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 595.

¹⁰ Charles A. Frazee, 'The Catholic Church in Constantinople, 1204-1453', *Balkan Studies*, 19 (1978) 33-49 (p. 38)

In 1326, however, the friary of Pera became involved in a dispute with the secular Church of Constantinople, which lasted for almost thirty years and has been preserved in the papal registers. Twenty-six years earlier, in 1300, pope Boniface VIII had issued a decree, known as *Super cathedram*, in an attempt to curb some of the Franciscan privileges that were proving harmful to the secular Church. One of the issues that were causing much grief to the parish churches was the fact that, having become hugely popular amongst the laity, the Franciscan convents attracted increasing numbers of requests by people to be buried in their churchyards. This practice, which appears to have been very widely spread in Latin Greece as well, greatly diminished the revenues of the secular Church, for whom the funeral fees were a major source of income. The decree *Super cathedram* addressed this issue by allowing the friars to perform as many funerals as they wanted, with the stipulation that one fourth of all funeral fees and bequests received were to be given to the parish priest.¹¹ In 1311, Clement V renewed the decree at the council of Vienne.

In 1326, the rector of the church of St Michael in Constantinople complained to John XXII that the Franciscans of Pera refused to pay him any portion of the funeral fees for the parishioners buried in their convent and asked the pope to assign a judge to the case.¹² The pope did indeed assign a judge, who found in favour of the rector, on the basis of the decrees of Boniface and Clement and decided that the Franciscans were liable to pay the canonical amount of the funeral fees. That, however, was not the end of the dispute, for it seems that the friars refused to pay even after the papal decision; so in 1329 John XXII wrote to certain prelates in Italy instructing them to ensure that the sentence was observed and to excommunicate the Franciscans if they continued to

¹¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV, 498-500 and *Moorman, A History*, p. 202.

¹² *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, 308-09.

disobey.¹³ Not even this, it seems, deterred the friars. In 1363, Urban V was forced to deal with the same matter. In response to a further complaint by the new rector of St Michael, he wrote to the successors of the above-mentioned prelates, asking them to intervene and find a solution to the dispute.¹⁴ To the dismay of the rector of St Michael, the Dominicans of Constantinople, who, according to the letter, had been appointed to oblige the Franciscans to pay their debt, had instead sided with them. This is the last letter that has survived concerning this dispute, and we do not know how the matter was resolved, but there existed, as we shall see, many similar disputes between the secular Church, the Papacy and the Franciscans in Greece, in which the Franciscans often appear to have been in the wrong. This, however, does not seem to have decreased their popularity amongst the Latin communities of Greece, nor to have seriously compromised their relations with the Papacy, which apparently still valued their work. In 1343, for example, when the dispute between the Franciscans and the rector of St Michael was still unresolved, Clement VI addressed a letter to the brothers of Pera asking them for their help in bringing the Greek Patriarch back to papal obedience.¹⁵ In the following century, the popes again demonstrated the importance they attached to this friary, by twice issuing indulgences to all those who would visit it and help maintain it.¹⁶ The citizens of Pera also remained devoted to the Franciscans. Although not many notarial documents have survived from this area, there are indications that the bequests to the Franciscans and the requests to be buried inside their convent continued well into the fourteenth century. Such were the cases of Maria

¹³ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, 379.

¹⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VI, 351.

¹⁵ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VI, 134.

¹⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 478 and C. Cenci, ed., *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum*, 2 vols, I (Grottaferrata, 2002-03), 341.

of Pera in 1307 and Lanfranco Gambone in 1371, who, in their wills asked to be buried in the church of St Francis in Pera.¹⁷

The convent of St Francis in Pera, was only one of several Franciscan establishments in and around Constantinople. Another one, short-lived but apparently very active, is mentioned in the history of Pachymeres.¹⁸ This convent was the so-called *Convent of the Agora*, situated near the Pisan quarter. Although Pachymeres does not specify the order to which the monastery belonged, Janin has convincingly identified it as a Franciscan friary.¹⁹ The house was given to the Latins by Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologos, but their fervent preaching incurred the wrath of the Greek Patriarch Athanasius. In the end, the Emperor had to give in to public opinion: the friars were expelled, the property of the convent was moved to a Pisan church and the building demolished.

The fifteenth century saw the rise of the Observant Franciscans. In Greece, like elsewhere in Europe, the Observant movement was embraced enthusiastically and there are numerous documents which reveal how eager the Latins were to have an Observant house associated with their communities. This was also the case in Constantinople, as a letter of Martin V from 1427 reveals.²⁰ In this, he says that there were two Observant houses in Constantinople and Pera, both of which had been donated by the faithful.

A third Observant house was founded in 1449 at the request of Eugenius IV.²¹ This friary was situated within the walls and was named St Anthony of the Cypresses. Its construction finished in 1451. Janin speculates that the house may have been built

¹⁷ Golubovich III, 117 and Golubovich, V, 159.

¹⁸ George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. by Emmanuel Bekker, 2 vols, II (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1835), 536-39.

¹⁹ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 588-89.

²⁰ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 589.

²¹ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 589.

on the site of the old Franciscan house of the Agora.²² The friars of St Anthony famously participated in the defense of the city against the Ottomans of Mehmet II in 1453, showing courage and self sacrifice: one of them was killed and seventeen others were captured and enslaved.²³

The Franciscan convent of the island of Mytilene also fell under the jurisdiction of the vicariate of Constantinople. Unfortunately nothing is known about this convent apart from the fact that it was founded before 1399, as it appears in the list of Franciscan convents compiled in that year.²⁴

Custody of Negroponte

As we have seen, this custody was responsible for the convent of the island of Negroponte, the numerous convents of Crete, and may also have included the convents on other Aegean islands. Given the fact that the custody was named after the convent of Negroponte, we may assume that that convent was the oldest one, but in fact we do not know anything about the installation of the Franciscans on the island. The site of the convent also remains unknown. Indeed, the friary is only mentioned in three sources before the fifteenth century. It is mentioned for the first time by Pachymeres. According to the Byzantine historian, the friars of Negroponte along with some of the island's officials apprehended the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria Athanasius, when he was visiting the island in 1308, and threatened to burn him at the stake for his refusal to embrace the Catholic doctrine. Golubovich, justifiably, treats this account with

²² Janin, *Géographie*, III, 589.

²³ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 590 and Frazee, 'The Catholic Church', p. 47.

²⁴ Luke Wadding, ed., *Annales Minorum*, 32 vols, IX (Quarrachi, 1931), 299 and J. R. H. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (New York: Franciscan Institute, St Bonaventure University, 1983), p. 331.

skepticism.²⁵ Had the authorities of Negroponte wanted to resort to such means of religious persecution against the Orthodox, they would have had to slaughter the overwhelming majority of the island's population. In any case, the only executions of Greek religious persons that we know of, happened in Crete; those priests, however, were executed on account of their involvement in uprisings against the Republic and not because of their religious beliefs. The convent of Negroponte is mentioned again in relation to the 'Balkan Crusade' undertaken by Amadeo VI count of Savoy in 1366. The count passed through Negroponte on 2 August and, as was his custom, made a donation of three florins to the local convent.²⁶ A short description of the house can be found in the diaries of an Italian notary, named Nicholas of Martoni, traveling from Italy to the Holy Land and back, through Greece in 1395.²⁷ According to him, the friary was situated in an inhabited area outside the walls of the city. He describes the house as a beautiful and large convent wealthy enough to support its community. The guardian of the convent told the traveller that until recently the convent's revenues had amounted to around a thousand ducats a year. If we trust that estimate –and there is no reason not to– St Francis of Negroponte must have been one of the richest monasteries in Greece in the fourteenth century. Unfortunately there is no indication as to the sources of St Francis's income. Finally, the diary of Nicholas of Martoni reveals that a house of St Clare was situated near the Franciscan convent.²⁸

²⁵ Golubovich, III, 120-22.

²⁶ Golubovich, V, 120-21 and 125. For a history of Amadeo's Balkan Crusade see Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI and transalpine Savoy in the fourteenth century* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 213-39.

²⁷ Michele Piccirillo, ed., *Io notaio Nicola de Martoni: il pellegrinaggio ai luoghi santi da Carinola a Gerusalemme, 1394-1395* (Bergamo: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Custodia di Terra Santa, 2003), pp. 44-45. See also Johannes Koder, 'Η Εύβοια στα 1395 (από μεσαιωνικό Ιταλικό ημερολόγιο)' [*Euboea in 1395 (according to a medieval Italian diary)*], *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 19 (1974), 49-57 (pp. 53-54) and J. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents from the History of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th Centuries* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1995), p. 326.

²⁸ The presence of the Poor Clares in Greece will be discussed later in this chapter. See below, pp. 191-98.

The convent's affluence, however, may not have been as pleasing to the citizens of Negroponte as it was for Nicholas of Martoni. In 1450 the nobles of the city petitioned the Commune of Venice to replace the Conventual brothers of St Francis with Observant friars and the Commune agreed to ask for the pope's permission to do so.²⁹ We do not know whether the pope agreed to this, but similar petitions were granted, as we will see, concerning several Franciscan houses in Greece around that time, testifying to the popularity of the Observant friars amongst the Latins in Romania.

The convent of St Francis was recorded for the last time in two Venetian chronicles of the siege and capture of the city by Sultan Mehmet II in 1470.³⁰ According to these, the Sultan's son set up his camp at the priory during the siege and from there fired his thirty canons on the city.

The most important Franciscan convent, however, not only of this custody but of the entire Province of Romania and perhaps of all the East was the convent of St Francis in Candia. Benefiting from the relative political stability under the rule of Venice, Crete became the greatest centre of western monasticism in Greece. Although most of the orders were transplanted successfully to the island, no order rivaled the popularity and expansion that the Franciscans achieved, and no monastery could compare its fame and wealth with that of St Francis. The friary was situated in a prominent position inside the walls of Candia towards the south-east corner of the city, but was completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1856. Today the friary's site is

²⁹ ASV, Senato Mar, Reg. 4, f. 27.

³⁰ Giannis Gikas, 'Δύο Βενετσιάνικα Χρονικά για την Άλωση της Χαλκίδας από τους Τούρκους στα 1470' ['Two Venetian Chronicles about the Capture of Chalcis by the Turks in 1470'], *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 6 (1959), 194-255 (pp. 209 and 249).

occupied by the city's Archaeological Museum and the only visible signs of its existence are the remains of some arches that were probably part of the conventual buildings and some sculptural fragments of the church's ornate western façade.³¹

The date and circumstances of the convent's foundation remain unknown. Like several other Franciscan houses in Greece, it was said to have been founded by St Francis himself in 1219, during his trip to Egypt, but this tradition was first recorded in the seventeenth century and is supported by no real evidence.³² According to a tradition that Luisetto finds more trustworthy, the convent was founded by two Candiote Franciscan brothers, Peter and Francis Gradonico.³³ The convent is first mentioned in 1242, when a nobleman was buried in its church, but, considering that the first Franciscan missions began arriving in Greece in 1220 and that other, much smaller orders had established themselves on Crete in the 1220s, it is probable that St Francis was founded earlier than that.³⁴

Even though it has become a *topos* to cite the convent of St Francis in Candia as one of the most prosperous and successful Latin monasteries in Greece, the degree of its prosperity can only be appreciated on investigation of the property held by the friars of St Francis. Fortunately, it is possible to do this, thanks to an inventory of the convent's goods, compiled in 1417 and preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice.³⁵ Such detailed sources of information about the monastic foundations of Greece are extremely rare and the value of this particular manuscript can not be

³¹ Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 133.

³² Giovanni Luisetto, ed., *Archivio Sartori: Documenti di Storia e Arte Franciscana*, III/1 (Padua: Biblioteca Antoniana, 1988), p. 142.

³³ Luisetto, *Archivio Sartori*, p. 142.

³⁴ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 133 cites the year 1242 as the latest possible date for the convent's construction. Some further details about the funeral that helps us date the convent and about the legends surrounding the friary can be found in the same author's doctoral thesis: Maria Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture and the Urban Layout of Venetian Candia: Cultural Conflict and Interaction in the Late Middle Ages' (doctoral thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1992), pp. 191-92 and 559.

³⁵ Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. IX, 186 (coll. 3400).

overstated. The main bulk of the inventory was compiled in 1417, but there are also later additions (in different hands), so that the inventory covers the first half of the fifteenth century, presumably until the replacement of the Conventual friars by the Observants.

The inventory starts with a description of the convent's liturgical vestments and vessels. It lists a multitude of sacerdotal dresses, amices, chasubles and other accessories and divides them into solemn ones, less solemn ones and plain ones. About seventy of these items are described as solemn ones, made out of velvet or silk and bearing images, pearls and other decorations. A further seventy-two are described as less solemn, made out of good materials (silk and velvet) but not bearing decorations, and forty-nine are described as plain. The list of altar cloths is also divided in a similar way and includes fifteen solemn ones and nine plain ones. The convent also owned three silver censers (one of them decorated with images of the Annunciation), a silver crown bearing the coat of arms of the Pasqualigo family, a silver seal-ring, a bier made entirely of silver, decorated with images of the Crucifixion and bearing the coat of arms of the Venerio family and three episcopal miters decorated with jewels and pearls. The inventory also lists thirty-six ornate chalices (most of which were decorated with jewels and images). One of those was donated to the convent by Alexander V (a former member of the community), and bore his coat of arms. Alexander had also funded the construction of a chapel and a set of marble doors made in Rome. More importantly, however, he had donated to St Francis a fragment of the Column of the Flagellation, encased in an ornate silver reliquary, adorned with images of the Crucifixion, St Mary, St John, St Anthony, St Christopher and St Andrew. Other items mentioned in the list of relics included a silver reliquary containing a piece of St Francis's tunic, a golden crucifix encased in a crystal cross, many other unidentified relics and the arm of St

Simon. A later addition to the inventory points out that the arm of St Simon was subsequently coated in pure silver at the expense of Marco Trivisano, Provincial Minister of Romania.

The list of these relics and liturgical objects gives us some idea of the convent's opulence, but it is the subsequent section of the inventory, cataloguing the bequests made to the community, that really shows the measure of St Francis's wealth. The introduction to this section states that the list was made in 1417 under the Provincial Minister Marco Trivisano, with the assistance of John Greco, Francis of Rugiero and Marinus Rurini, the three lay proctors who helped administer the convent's property. Again, however, there are certain later additions to the catalogue. It should be made clear that this section does not list all the wills that ever bequeathed property to the convent; it only lists those wills that bequeathed annual sums (of money or agricultural produce) and real estate *in perpetuum* and thus excludes all the one off bequests of money, however substantial they might have been. This shows that the inventory may have been used as a reminder of the yearly sums owed by the testators' executors. The testators themselves are named, and they include members of the most prominent Candiote noble families. Many of the bequests also make arrangements for the testators to be buried in the convent's cemetery or in private chapels inside the church, and for annual or daily prayers to be said for the souls of the deceased. One of the deeds included in the list is not a bequest, but a contract between the convent and a lay confraternity: the confraternity of the Holy Cross donated an annual sum of thirty hyperpers to the friars, with the provision that the convent would provide the confraternity with a chaplain who would say prayers for the confraternity's dead members once a year inside the Franciscan church. According to this list of monies bequeathed to St Francis, by the middle of the fifteenth century, the convent must have

been receiving more than 1,400 hyperpers each year. This is a significant amount by any standard, but it becomes even more impressive when one considers that it does not take into account the numerous, one-off, bequests made to the convent.³⁶

To these amounts, one should add the agricultural produce (usually wine or grain) that was regularly bequeathed to the friars. According to the inventory, which includes several such wills, the friars were receiving around eight and a half tons of wine and two tons of grain annually.³⁷ Although we do not know the size of the community of St Francis, it seems safe to assume that these amounts of foodstuffs exceeded by far the annual consumption of the friars. If that was indeed the case, it is interesting to speculate on the use to which the friars put the surplus produce.

Finally, there is a relatively small number of bequests of real estate. It appears that the convent owned at least seven houses that it rented out for varying sums of money. One will bequeaths an unspecified number of houses to the friars, with the stipulation that this property could never be sold or otherwise alienated. More importantly, the inventory records the bequest of part of a mill, by Lady Ergina Pisano in 1432.³⁸ The profits from this mill are said to have amounted to eighty hyperpers per year. Apart from these houses and the mill, the only other immovable property that the convent appears to have owned was a vineyard, a *serventaria* and half of a village referred to as 'Pirgu'.³⁹ A *serventaria* was a small fief (usually amounting to a village)

³⁶ This amount also takes into account the rent collected from houses which were bequeathed to the convent. Many of these bequests can be found in McKee, *Wills*. Some of the quitclaims for these bequests have survived in the series Notai di Candia of the ASV but remain largely unpublished. A few of them appear in ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11.

³⁷ The bequests list the quantity of goods in *mouzouria*, *mistata*, *salmas* and *sumas*. My conversions are based on the estimations given by Erich Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970). The precise amounts are 8,456.92 litres of wine and 1,963.22 litres of grain.

³⁸ Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. IX, 186 (coll. 3400), f. 20.

³⁹ Clearly this refers to the village of Πυργού, which still exists today in the territory of Malevizio, 19.5 kilometres outside Herakleion. According to Stergios G. Spanakis, *Πόλεις και χωριά της Κρήτης στο πέρασμα των αιώνων. Εγκυκλοπαίδεια ιστορίας -αρχαιολογίας-διοίκησης και πληθυσμιακής ανάπτυξης* [*Cities and villages of Crete through the centuries. Encyclopaedia*

given by the Commune to Venetian settlers.⁴⁰ This amount of immovable property seems very small for a convent that otherwise appears to have been so wealthy, especially when one compares it to the real estate owned by other, more inconspicuous Latin monasteries of Greece.⁴¹ We may of course assume that the convent had owned more significant estates at earlier times, which had been sold or alienated by the fifteenth century. This would be consistent with two deeds from the fourteenth century, by which certain parts of some *serventariae* that had been held by the convent, were returned to their original owners.⁴² Even thus, however, the property seems too small. Unfortunately, the reason for this absence of landed property (or absence of records for it) is a matter of conjecture.

In any case, the lists of the convent's temporal goods reveal that by the time of their replacement by the Observants, the Conventual friars of Candia could have afforded a fairly luxurious lifestyle. It is not easy to ascertain, however, whether they did so, or whether they chose a more austere lifestyle, despite their riches. What seems certain, is that the monastic buildings at least were of the highest quality.

Georgopoulou notes that several medieval and early modern travel accounts comment admiringly on the convent's decoration, its beautiful choir and its wall paintings, made

of history, archaeology and population development], 2 vols, II (Herakleion: G. Detorakis, 1993), 669, it is first mentioned in a contract of 1271 and then reappears in the fourteenth century, in this fifteenth-century source and again in the sixteenth century. Gasparis, however, has identified an even earlier mention of the village in the year 1234. See Charalambos Gasparis, ed., *Catastici Feudorum Crete; Casticum Sexterii Dorsodurii, 1277-1418*, 2 vols, II (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2004), 147.

⁴⁰ For details on the *serventariae* and the 'feudal' organisation of Venetian Crete see Gasparis, *Catastici*, I, 41-51, Chryssa Maltezou, 'Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)' ['Crete during the Period of Venetian Rule (1211-1669)'], pp. 110-11, and Stephanos Xanthoudides, *Η Ενετοκρατία εν Κρήτη και οι κατά των Ενετών Αγώνες των Κρητών* [*Venetian Rule on Crete and the Struggle of the Cretans against the Venetians*], *Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch – Neugriechischen Philologie*, 34 (Athens: Byzantinisch – Neugriechischen Jahrbüchern, 1939), pp. 8-11.

⁴¹ Consider for example the case of the Cistercian nunnery of de Percheio, discussed in the previous chapter, and the convent of St Mary Cruciferorum in chapter 5.

⁴² Gasparis, *Catastici*, I, 178-79 and 297.

in the Greek style.⁴³ In accordance with widespread Franciscan tradition, the friars themselves were not responsible for the administration of the convent's property. Instead, the property was managed (as we have already seen) by three laymen.⁴⁴ Once again, however, it is doubtful that this measure contributed significantly to the enforcement of Franciscan poverty. More importantly, though, the inventory attests to the popularity that the Franciscans enjoyed amongst the Venetian population of Candia. Even though some monasteries appear to have been wealthier in terms of land tenure, no other religious house in Greece seems to have been better endowed through pious bequests and donations than the house of St Francis in Candia.

The convent also possessed a significant library, which Hofmann describes as perhaps the most important Franciscan library in the East.⁴⁵ The library's holdings have been preserved thanks to three inventories from the fifteenth century: the above-mentioned inventory of 1417, and two more, dating from 1417 and 1448. These reveal that by 1448 the library had possession of two hundred and ninety volumes, which included liturgical books, works of scholastic, moral and ascetic theology, works on canon law and commentaries. There was also a small selection of secular writings, especially on philosophy. Greek writers could be found in the library, but there was a notable absence of texts in the Greek language. Hofmann points out that the Franciscan writers were very well represented, as the library held books by Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Alexander V amongst others.⁴⁶ Alexander V, a former member of the community of St Francis, was in fact one of the benefactors of the library. Amongst his other numerous donations to the convent, he also donated two

⁴³ Gergopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 133-34.

⁴⁴ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 194.

⁴⁵ For a detailed examination of the library see G. Hofmann, 'La biblioteca scientifica del Monastero di San Francisco a Candia nel medio evo', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 8 (1942), 317-60.

⁴⁶ Hofmann, 'Biblioteca', p. 358.

illuminated missals, a psalter, the epistles of St Paul with glosses, a volume of lives of Saints and his own commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.⁴⁷ The examination of the library's inventories suggests that the convent of Candia was the main centre of Franciscan learning in the Province of Romania and possibly all of the Franciscan Orient. Although, of course, there existed no universities in the Latin East, the convent of Candia would have been a stepping stone for the friars who wanted to continue their education at the great universities of Western Europe. Such was the case of Alexander V, who left the convent to study at Paris and Oxford before being elected pope by the council of Pisa in 1409.

In the mid-fourteenth century the convent's church was demolished and plans were made by the Provincial Minister to build an extravagant replacement. It seems, however, that the Provincial Minister of Romania, friar Raphael, had usurped a large amount of the convent's money for this purpose. When the pope and the Venetians discovered this, they intervened, putting an end to his plan. In the end, the church was rebuilt with the help of two government grants: the first one amounting to twenty five hyperpers and a further one of one thousand hyperpers in 1390.⁴⁸

The devotion that the friary inspired in the population of Candia is evident from the surviving wills. St Francis was the beneficiary of more, and more generous bequests than any other religious foundation on the island and many members of the nobility requested to be buried in the Franciscan church, often dressed in the

⁴⁷ Hofmann, 'Biblioteca', p. 319.

⁴⁸ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 194, Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 133 and Luisetto, *Archivio Sartori*, p. 142.

Franciscan habit.⁴⁹ Many of the wills actually make arrangements and endowments for private chapels or altars to be built inside the church for the tombs of the deceased.⁵⁰

One of the most interesting achievements of the Franciscan order in Crete, for which the friary of St Francis was undoubtedly partly responsible, was the growth of the cult of St Francis amongst the Orthodox population of the island. The extent of the growth of the saint's cult and its significance is hard to gauge, but one particularly intriguing notice has come down to us: a bull by John XXIII dating from 1414 reveals that on the saint's feast day, the Greeks flocked in vast numbers to the church of St Francis, accompanied by their priests, eager to celebrate mass in their own rite.⁵¹ This rare example of cordiality between the two rites is often cited as an aspect of the Greco-Venetian rapprochement that took place on the island. John XXIII's bull came as a reply to a petition made by a Franciscan friar of Crete named Marco Sclavo. Friar Marco had apparently acted of his own accord, without consulting the Provincial Minister of his Order, and had asked John XXIII to condone this spontaneous show of devotion. John acquiesced to the request, presumably in the interests of Church Union, but the whole affair met with the disapproval of the Venetian authorities. It has been noted that the Serenissima was much more interested in preserving social peace than in securing Church Union and the prospect of the Greeks descending en masse to the church of St Francis worried the Commune. The matter was brought to the attention of the Council of Ten (responsible for matters of state security), which exiled the friar from Venetian Romania and petitioned the pope to reverse his previous decision.⁵²

⁴⁹ McKee, *Wills*, and Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', pp. 196-97.

⁵⁰ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', pp. 196-97.

⁵¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 477.

⁵² For a more detailed study of this incident see Freddy Thiriet, 'Le zèle unioniste d'un franciscain Crétois et la riposte de Venise (1414)', in *Etudes sur la Romanie greco-vénitienne (Xe-XVe siècles)* (London: Variorum, 1977), pp. 496-504.

The appearance of St Francis in the murals of some Greek churches in Crete has also been seen as evidence of the growth of the saint's cult amongst the Greeks. The extent to which these events can be interpreted as instances of Greco-Latin integration shall be discussed in our concluding chapter; it is undeniable, however, that the devotion shown to St Francis by the Greeks on his feast day (if it is accurately represented in John XXIII's bull) marked a significant achievement for the Franciscans on the island. Joint celebration of mass by Greeks and Latins is attested elsewhere in medieval Greece as well, but such popular devotion by the Greeks to a Latin saint is a rare phenomenon indeed. As we have seen, the *Serenissima's* strict ecclesiastical policies resulted in strained relations between Catholic and Orthodox in Crete more perhaps than in any other part of medieval Greece. Even under those circumstances, however, it appears that the Franciscans of Candia were successful enough to bridge, in some respects, the gap between the two rites. It is interesting here to note that a similar process had already taken place in the Latin camp as well, as the Venetian colonists had adopted the Greek patron saint of the island, St Titus, as the patron saint of the *Regno di Candia*.⁵³

Another example of the success of the convent of St Francis, is the case of Peter Philargis, the future antipope Alexander V, to which allusion has already been made.⁵⁴ Peter was a Greek orphan that was taken in and educated by a Franciscan friar. He joined the convent of Villanova⁵⁵, before moving on to the friary of St Francis. He continued his education at Oxford and Paris distinguishing himself as a scholar. In

⁵³ The adoption of St Titus by the Venetian authorities was of course not purely a spontaneous act of devotion but a strategy designed to legitimise their rule over the island and to forge a cohesive identity for the new realm. See Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 117-20.

⁵⁴ There are several variations of Alexander V's Greek name. Apart from *Philargis* he is sometimes cited as *Philargos* or *Philarghus*.

⁵⁵ On the Franciscan convent of Villanova, see below, pp. 152-53.

1402 he became archbishop of Milan and was known as Peter of Candia. At the council of Pisa, which was convoked in 1409 in order to abolish the Great Schism, he successfully manipulated the College of Cardinals into electing him pope, as a more worthy alternative to Gregory XII and Benedict XIII. He only reigned, however, for less than a year before he died. Despite having gained the obedience of most European countries, the legitimacy of his election has remained spurious, and thus he is referred to as antipope. During his pontificate, Alexander did not forsake his old convent in Candia. According to the inventory of 1417, amongst other things he donated to it precious vessels, a set of marble doors constructed in Rome and a fragment of the column of the Flagellation, and funded the construction of a private chapel adorned with a tomb bearing his coat of arms.⁵⁶ According to Golubovich, most of these treasures were destroyed in an earthquake in 1508.⁵⁷

The success and the popularity, however, of the convent of St Francis were not always reflected in the sentiments of the secular clergy of Crete towards the Franciscans. In 1334 Pope Benedict XII replied to a complaint by the archbishop of Crete.⁵⁸ The archbishop had accused the mendicants of infringing on the rights of the secular Church and of not complying with the edict *Super cathedram*. Benedict replied by affirming his support of the edict and instructing the prelates of Crete to take action against the disobedient friars.

In the fifteenth century, following the trend that was sweeping Europe, the convent changed hands; the Observant friars had been installed in Crete from around 1420, when Martin V had issued a bull allowing the Venetian friar Marco Querini to transfer the Observant branch to the island. The Observants seem to have moved into

⁵⁶ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 134-35.

⁵⁷ Golubovich, V, 372.

⁵⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 119, ff. 179v-180v.

St Francis around the middle of the fifteenth century. According to a seventeenth century report from one of the Commune's commissioners, preserved in the Venetian State Archive, the Observants were installed in St Francis in 1450.⁵⁹ According to the same document, in 1451 Nicholas V gave permission to the convent's guardian to sell the monastery's estates. The installation of the Observants certainly proved problematic as far as the convent's assets were concerned. Since the Observant brothers were refusing to hold any property, the citizens began to fear for the conservation of the convent's possessions. In 1454 Nicholas wrote to them, approving the institution of a *camera*, named Jesus Christ, that would serve as a depository for all of the monastery's goods. He also agreed to the election of a proctor who would look after these goods. The money collected there would go towards the living expenses of the friars, the maintenance and repair of buildings and the purchase of books and vessels.⁶⁰

This system of administration did not prevent occasional problems and disputes with the secular clergy. In 1479 Sixtus IV ordered twenty five ducats to be given to priest John Rosso out of the income of the convent.⁶¹ Eleven years later the debt had not yet been paid, and John Rosso asked the pope to send judges to resolve the case between him and the community of St Francis. According to him, the Franciscans had agreed to pay him the money they owed but had deferred payment until the end of the war with the Turks, because they had to contribute to the island's defense; now the war was over but no payment was forthcoming.⁶²

⁵⁹ ASV, Consultori in Iure, F. 13, pp. 570-71.

⁶⁰ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 863.

⁶¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, IV, 194.

⁶² *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, IV, 642.

A further reference made to the Franciscans around the same time attests to the strained relations between the friars and the church of Crete towards the end of the fifteenth century. In 1486, Hieronymus Lando, archbishop of Crete, convoked a council of the Cretan prelates, in order to discuss the problems facing the Church. One of the issues addressed was the matter of the Franciscan friars, who were said to have been disobedient and bad mannered.⁶³ The matter was entrusted to the Latin titular Patriarch of Constantinople, who had jurisdiction over the Franciscans, and who was instructed to punish them. The nature of the offensive behaviour of the Franciscans is not specified, but it is stated that the Franciscans of Pera (outside Constantinople) had also contributed to the scandal.

Of course, this accusation was not leveled solely against the brothers of St Francis, but also against the numerous other Franciscan convents of Crete. The oldest one of them in the city of Candia (apart from St Francis) was the convent of St John the Baptist. The house of St John was located outside the walls of Candia, on what is today 1821 street. Its building still existed in the early twentieth century but has now disappeared. Again, the details and date of its construction are unknown, but it was certainly operating in 1271, when the duke Peter Badoer was buried in its church.⁶⁴ Surviving references to this convent are extremely rare and almost nothing is known of its history. It seems, however, that St John became one of the very first Observant houses of Crete. It is mentioned in a 1424 bull by Martin V listing the Cretan Observant convents.⁶⁵ The bull allows the friars of St John and of the other Observant convents to receive Observant friars from other lands in their communities and to build

⁶³ Agathagelos Xerouchakes, *Αι Σύνοδοι του Γερόλαμο Λάντο (1464 - 1474 - 1486)*, [*The Synods of Hieronymus Lando*] (Athens: Phoinikas, 1933), p. 82.

⁶⁴ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 143.

⁶⁵ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 612.

new monasteries. The pope had agreed to this, following a petition by the friars, who claimed that there were too few of them amongst the schismatic Greeks. Presumably, the measure worked, for, as we shall see, a few decades later the Observants vastly outnumbered the Conventuals on Crete.

In April of the same year, Martin had written to Marco Querini (the same friar who had brought the Observants to Crete), allowing him to hold the convent of St John the Baptist, despite the fact that he was already in charge of an Augustinian and a Servite house, situated in close proximity to St John.⁶⁶ According to this bull, Marco Querini was also allowed to build bell towers, houses, churches and cemeteries on these sites, to install up to twenty friars of his order in the monasteries and to assign to them one or more vicars. Similarly, Martin addressed the brethren of St John, confirming to them the use of five *loca*, and allowing them to build monasteries with churches, bell towers and cemeteries there, and to populate them with members of their community.⁶⁷

In 1489, Innocent VIII referred to the *church and monastery of St John Prodromos*.⁶⁸ It is possible that this is a reference to the same Observant house of St John the Baptist. In this instance, the pope replies to George, the bishop of Mylopotamos. According to the letter, fifty eight years earlier the monastery had been given to the bishop of Mylopotamos and his successors for the period of twenty nine years. Now, George, the new bishop of Mylopotamos, wanted to know whether that donation was still valid.

⁶⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 610.

⁶⁷ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 611.

⁶⁸ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, IV, 971.

There existed, finally, one other Franciscan friary in Candia, named St Nicholas. Unfortunately nothing is known about this house, apart from the fact that it belonged to the Observants around 1424.⁶⁹

The largest Franciscan establishment in the city of Chanea was the friary of St Francis, situated outside the old city walls. The monastery still survives today, and functions as the city's Archaeological Museum. Not many references to this house have survived, and thus its history remains obscure. It is first mentioned in the travel journal of an Irish Franciscan, named Simon Semeonis, who passed through Crete in 1320 during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Friar Simon comments on the tall cypresses that surrounded the Franciscan convent and remarks that the place was as beautiful as God's paradise or the work of a painter.⁷⁰ Strangely, he does not mention at all the much more important convent of Candia, even though he visited the city. Subsequently, the territory of Chanea is mentioned in the Order's *Provinciale* of 1334, presumably because of the existence of this friary.⁷¹ In 1453, the nobles of the city of Chanea petitioned the pope, asking him to relocate the Observant Franciscans who were installed in the convent of The Holy Saviour outside the city of Chanea, to the convent of St Francis. St Francis was still occupied by the Conventual friars but, according to the petition only two friars lived in the convent. Thus, the citizens believed that they would be far better served by the much more numerous Observants of The Holy Saviour. Nicholas V replied by writing to the bishop of Chanea and instructing him to move the two Conventuals to The Holy Saviour and the Observants to St Francis.⁷² A document from the same year, published by Wadding, states that the

⁶⁹ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 202

⁷⁰ Golubovich, III, 253-54.

⁷¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, 600-01.

⁷² *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 836 and Wadding, *Annales*, XII, 214.

citizenry of Chanea were so devoted to the Franciscans, that they introduced them into a third house, dedicated to St George, just outside of the city.⁷³ Sadly this is the only reference we have to the convent of St George.

The same friary of The Holy Saviour was in fact the oldest Observant establishment in Chanea. It is included in Martin V's bull of 1424, by which he allows the Observant friaries of Crete to receive new members in their communities and to build new houses.⁷⁴ There has been in the past some debate on the location of this house, but as Pope Nicholas's letter proves, it was situated outside the city, in one of the suburbs⁷⁵. This is also affirmed by the Order's *Provinciale* of 1506, which refers to the friary as 'S. Salvator extra civitatem Caneae'.⁷⁶

The Observants also operated a friary in Rethymno. This house was located in the suburbs and was dedicated to St Athanasius. It appears in Martin V's bull of 1424 alongside St John the Baptist and The Holy Saviour, thus presenting itself as one of the earliest Observant houses of Crete.⁷⁷ Georgopoulou follows Gerola in mentioning two more Franciscan houses in Rethymno, those of St Francis and St Barbara. Both these houses were founded in the sixteenth century and thus fall outside the scope of this study.⁷⁸

No significant information has survived concerning the Franciscan convent of St Anthony of Villanova. The convent's ruins are near the modern-day city of Neapolis, in an area named *Frarò*, after the friars who lived there.⁷⁹ A Venetian document of 1316 mentions a monastery dedicated to St Anthony in Crete, but it is not

⁷³ Wadding, XII, 214 and Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 150.

⁷⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 612.

⁷⁵ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 836

⁷⁶ Wadding, *Annales*, XV, 393.

⁷⁷ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 612.

⁷⁸ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 156-57 and Gerola, II, 141-142.

⁷⁹ Luisetto, *Archivio Sartori*, p. 144.

certain that it refers to this foundation.⁸⁰ The document records a grant for repairs for the monastery's church. It was in St Anthony of Villanova that Alexander V spent his first years as a friar, before moving on to St Francis of Candia. We can be fairly certain that at some point the house passed into the hands of the Observants, as it is listed in the Observant *Provinciale* of 1506.⁸¹

Finally, Georgopoulou also mentions two Franciscan foundations in the town of Seteia, St Lucy and St Mary.⁸² Neither of these houses, however, is mentioned in the *Provinciale* or in any other source that I have consulted, so it is doubtful that they existed before the sixteenth century.

Apart from these full fledged convents, the Franciscans also had smaller hermitages and chapels in Crete. There is no indication as to the number of these foundations nor is there reason to believe that the eremitic lifestyle was particularly widespread amongst the Franciscans of Crete. The papal registers, however, have preserved a reference to one such foundation. In 1460, Pius II issued a bull recognizing the authenticity of a previous bull by Nicholas V, on the strength of which three Franciscans were given a hermitage and chapel near Chanea.⁸³ Pius's letter reproduces Nicholas's original bull. According to it, a Venetian noble had constructed a hermitage and chapel on a small island near Chanea and in his will donated it to the Order, so that two friars would move in. For the sustenance of the friars he bequeathed to the hermitage thirty six *mouzouria* of grain and a container of wine annually, in perpetuity. The place had remained empty for thirty years until Jacob of Cattaro, Nicholas of Istria and Francis of Ragusa, all of them Observant professors, having first obtained the

⁸⁰ ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni, Clericus Civicus, f. 95r.

⁸¹ Wadding, *Annales*, XV, 393.

⁸² Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 158.

⁸³ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, II, 380.

permission of the testator's nephew and of the Provincial Minister, moved in and began repairing the buildings. Both Nicholas V and Pius II subsequently gave their approval to the arrangement and allowed the three friars to use the goods donated to them and to enjoy all the privileges given to their Order.

The history of the Franciscans in Crete mirrors the events in the evolution of the Order in Western Europe. The friars arrived to the island in the first decades of the thirteenth century and achieved rapid expansion and unparalleled popularity. Their most important convent, that of St Francis in Candia, became the wealthiest and most prestigious religious foundation on the island. At the same time, the popularity and the privileges of the Franciscans of Crete, like elsewhere in Europe, became detrimental to the secular clergy, who often appealed to the popes against the friars. The success of the Observant friars in the fifteenth century indicates that by that time there was need for reform. Indeed, both in Crete and elsewhere in Greece, it was often the citizens who asked for the replacement of the Conventual friars by the Observants. In 1431, recognizing how difficult it was for the Observants to operate in the framework of the Conventual Franciscans, Eugenius IV wrote to the Observants of Crete allowing them to elect their own vicar.⁸⁴ In the late fifteenth century much of the Franciscan Province of Romania had been lost to the Ottoman Turks, making a re-arrangement of the Province necessary. As the Observants were flourishing in the regions that remained in the possession of the Latins, a new Observant Province of Candia was created.⁸⁵ The Province's *Provinciale* of 1506 includes the houses of St Francis in Candia and Chanea, St John the Baptist outside Candia, The Holy Saviour outside Chanea, St Athanasius in Rethymno, St Anthony of Villanova and St Mary of the Angels in

⁸⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 21.

⁸⁵ Moorman, *A History*, p. 493.

Knossos.⁸⁶ The ruins of this last convent still stand today in western Messara, but no information about this house's early history has survived.⁸⁷ The list also includes St Mary of Rhodes. Thus we see that almost all the Franciscan friaries of Crete had passed into the hands of the Observants. At the same time, the Franciscans of Crete, like most of the orders in Greece, are said to have been in decline, with many of their houses undermanned and with occasional accusations of bad behaviour. There is no indication, however, that their popularity ever waned and, as we have seen, some new monasteries were founded in the sixteenth century. Their presence finally died out with the Ottoman conquest of Crete in the seventeenth century, when most of their convents were converted to mosques.⁸⁸

The history of the Franciscans on the other Aegean islands is much harder to follow. Part of the information we have about the convents of Crete and Negroponte, we owe to the Venetian government of the islands: firstly, the Venetians managed to achieve a degree of stability in Crete and Negroponte, which facilitated the establishment of the religious orders in those territories; secondly, through their meticulous record-keeping and the transfer of the Cretan archives to Venice in 1669 they made sure that a wealth of information about all aspects of life on those islands was preserved. This was not the case with the rest of the islands. There is a notable absence of records even for those islands where the Latins succeeded in establishing relatively stable states, like Chios and Rhodes.

⁸⁶ Wadding, *Annales*, XV, 393.

⁸⁷ Gerola, who studied the ruins, dates the surviving murals to the fifteenth century and surmises that the convent operated until the Ottoman conquest of Crete. Gerola, II, 150-53.

⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that the convent of St John the Baptist in Candia served as a military hospital during the fourth Veneto-Turkish war (1570-1573). Papadia-Lala, *Εναγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα*, p. 169.

The case of Rhodes is a striking example. Though the island was ruled by the Knights of St John for more than two centuries (1309-1522), one must rely exclusively on papal sources to find traces of monastic and mendicant presence and even there the evidence is very scarce. Consequently, we cannot say when the first Franciscans came to the island. The first mentions of a Franciscan convent in Rhodes date from the fifteenth century, but it is hard to imagine that the friars were not established on the island (which was also a metropolitan see) before that.

The first mention of a Franciscan foundation in Rhodes appears in a letter of 1436 by Eugenius IV.⁸⁹ Here, the pope addressed the prior of the Hospital of Rhodes, instructing him to give the chapel of St Mark, which he had illegally taken from a Franciscan named Laurence of Candia, to the Augustinian convent. Three years later, he wrote to the island's archbishop, asking him to correct the mendicants of his see, who, he had heard, led dishonest lives, ignoring the institutions of their Order and living as vagabonds.⁹⁰

According to Moorman, a Franciscan convent existed in the city of Rhodes by 1457 and suffered significant damage in the earthquake of 1482.⁹¹ Another house was situated outside the walls and was destroyed by the Turks in 1480.

The most interesting reference, however, can be found in a letter from the registers of Pius II in 1462, by which the pope gives permission to the Observant friars to install themselves on the island.⁹² This letter followed a petition by the Knights of St John, who said that despite their great devotion to the Observant order there existed no Observant convents on the island, and asked permission to construct one and populate

⁸⁹ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 103.

⁹⁰ *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum*, I, 430.

⁹¹ Moorman, *Franciscan Houses*, p. 406.

⁹² *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, II, 562.

it with friars. The pope agreed to this, and apparently the convent was built, for it appears in the list of convents belonging to the Observant Province of Candia in 1506, under the name of St Mary of Victory.⁹³ The convent is also mentioned in a 1479 letter by Sixtus IV, concerning a dispute between the archbishop and the Augustinian convent of Rhodes.⁹⁴ Here, the pope instructs the Augustinians and the Observant Franciscans not to infringe on the rights of the island's secular Church.

The situation seems to have been similar on the island of Chios, which was ruled by the Genoese. The Conventual Franciscans were installed on the island, but there is virtually no evidence of their activity until the fifteenth century. In 1427, Martin V wrote to the bishop of Chios, informing him that the Franciscans were allocated six *loca* in the East, but it is not clear whether these territories were situated on the island itself.⁹⁵ In 1438, Eugenius IV conceded indulgences to those who would visit and help maintain the chapel of St Andrew in the Franciscan church of St Francis in Chios.⁹⁶ In 1484, Sixtus IV conferred the church of St Jacob of Chios, which was of lay patronage and had long since remained vacant, to a member of the Third Order of St Francis, named Bonaventura of Chios.⁹⁷ We learn of the replacement of the Conventual friars by the Observants, through an insignificant dispute in 1487.⁹⁸ One of the Genoese inhabitants of the island, Perugro Giustiniani, had leased a garden to the Conventual Franciscans, but when they were replaced by the Observants, the latter refused to honour the deal, so Perugro wrote to the pope, asking him to assign judges to hear the case. The most interesting information, however, concerning the Franciscans

⁹³ Wadding, *Annales*, XV, 393.

⁹⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, III, 615.

⁹⁵ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII, 670.

⁹⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 171.

⁹⁷ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, III, 922.

⁹⁸ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, IV, 364.

of Chios derives from two letters of Innocent VIII, in response to the complaints of the island's bishop. Like elsewhere in Greece, the privileges and the popularity of the Franciscans were proving harmful for the secular Church. In his letter of 1491, Innocent recapitulates the bishop's case. According to him there existed no Latin parochial churches on the island apart from the cathedral and even that had been reduced to extreme poverty because of the Franciscans. There had been an old agreement between the secular Church and the mendicants, according to which the friars would pay half of the funeral fees that they collected to the secular Church. Both the Conventual Franciscans and the Dominicans had honoured this deal. Recently, however, the Conventual brothers had been expelled and their house of St Francis inside the city had been taken over by the Observants. Furthermore, the Observants had built a second convent outside the walls. The bishop stated that the first house was under the obedience of the Provincial Vicar of Genoa, whilst the second house belonged to the vicar general of the Observants and that both convents were ruled by the same guardian, friar Bonaventura Camaxio. Both of these convents, armed with papal privileges, refused to abide by the agreement to pay a portion of the funeral fees, thus depriving the secular Church of a vital income. The bishop asked the pope to intervene, pointing out that apart from injuring the island's Church, this practice was also dangerous for the souls of the faithful, who attended the services of the Franciscan churches.⁹⁹

Another Franciscan foundation in the Aegean was the small convent of the Annunciation in the village of Agidia, on the island of Naxos. The date of its foundation cannot be ascertained, but according to Kephallenides the convent was

⁹⁹ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, IV, 543 and 825.

already in existence in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁰ In dating the convent, Kephalleniades follows P. Sauger, the seventeenth century Jesuit, who wrote a history of the Duchy of the Archipelago. According to Sauger, in 1372, the ninth Duke of Naxos Niccolò dalle Carceri was murdered on the island by the lord of Melos, Francis Crispo, and was subsequently buried near the convent of Agidia.¹⁰¹ If this is true, it is surprising that the house is not mentioned in any of the Order's contemporary lists. Slot, on the other hand, does not attempt to date the convent's foundation, but states that the house was built by the lord of Ios.¹⁰² Presumably, he bases this assertion on an inscription found on the church's wall, which mentions the name of John Pisani, lord of Ios. According to Kephalleniades, John Pisani was related to the last Duke of Naxos, Jacopo IV Crispo.¹⁰³ Thus, Slot seems to imply that the church was built in the sixteenth century. Even if this is correct, it does not necessarily mean that the convent itself was not older than that. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to date the convent's foundation. The convent's church still stands today. Also surviving is a portion of the convent's cartulary, housed in the archive of the Catholic Archbishopric of Naxos. This is an extraordinary fact, since, to my knowledge, only three other medieval monastic cartularies from Greece have survived. The earliest documents in the cartulary date from the sixteenth century and are mainly copies of wills bequeathing property to the convent, so no information can be gleaned about the house's early history. A document

¹⁰⁰ Nikos A. Kephalleniades, *Αγγίδια, το ταπεινό χωριουδάκι της Νάξου*, [Agidia, the Humble Little Village of Naxos] (Athens: 1967), p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Robert Sauger (sometimes appears as Saulger), *Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs et autres souverains de l'Archipel* (Paris, 1699), pp. 118-21. The same story, but with no mention of the Franciscan house, is reiterated in William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)* (London: John Murray, 1908), pp. 592-94. Miller also dates the murder of Niccolò dalle Carceri to the year 1383, rather than 1372.

¹⁰² A. J. Slott, *Archipelagus Turbatus: Les Cyclades entre colonization Latine et occupation Ottomane, c. 1500-1718* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut de Istanbul, 1982), p. 60.

¹⁰³ Kephalleniades, *Agidia*, p. 7.

from 1584 does, however, mention that the convent was inhabited by Conventual Franciscans.¹⁰⁴ Thus we see that the convent of the Annunciation must have been one of the relatively few Franciscan houses in Greece to remain in the hands of the Conventuals after the fifteenth century. In 1700, however, the papal *visitor* Antonio Giustiniani wrote in his report that the convent belonged to the Observant friars and that it was constructed as part of the Observant Province of Candia in 1535.¹⁰⁵ Although the convent may well have passed into the possession of the Observants by 1700, we have to doubt Giustiniani's other assertions, since, as we saw, the convent was referred to as a Conventual house in 1584. The year 1535, given as the date of the house's construction, is also dubious, since there are documents in the convent's cartulary that predate the 1530s.

Custody of Glarenza

According to the *Provinciale* of 1334 and the list of 1399, the Custody of Glarenza comprised of the convents of Glarenza, Andravida, Patras, Zakynthos (Zante), Lixouri in Cephalonia and Cephalonia. A convent of *Corvi* is also mentioned in the list. Initially thought to refer to the convent of Corfu, it is now agreed that *Corvi* is a corruption of the word Corone. Alongside with the above-mentioned convents we will, however, examine the convents of Methone and Corfu. Although these convents do not appear in the lists, they were situated in locations that would place them within the geographical limits of this custody.

¹⁰⁴ The document in question is part of the Archive of the Catholic Archbishopric of Naxos (AKAN), but is not numbered.

¹⁰⁵ G. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici Della Grecia: IV Naxos* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938), 137.

Sadly, very little can be said about the first three convents on this list, apart from the obvious fact that, since they do appear on this list, they were in existence in the fourteenth century. In fact, the house of Glarenza was in existence before 1278.¹⁰⁶ It must be assumed that it is this foundation that is referred to in the *Chronicle of the Morea*. According to the Chronicle, it was customary for the court of peers to convene inside the Franciscan church. There are two such cases described in the chronicle: in 1276, the court convened in the Franciscan church to resolve the case of Margaret of Passava's disputed inheritance.¹⁰⁷ The second case is mentioned in the Aragonese version of the chronicle: when Guy II della Roche died in 1308 and the lordship of Athens was disputed between Gauthier of Brienne and Eschiva of Ibelin, the court of peers convened, inside the church of St Francis in Glarenza, and decided in favour of Gauthier.¹⁰⁸ In 1321, the convent of Glarenza was the residence of the Provincial Minister of Romania, Peter Gradonico. The convent is mentioned again in June 1345, when Clement VI confirmed the election of its guardian, Eustace of Ancona, as bishop of Lepanto (Naupaktos).¹⁰⁹ A further mention of the convent in relation to Amadeo Savoy's Balkan Crusade, reveals that when the governor of Gallipoli, Giacomo of Lucerna, died in Glarenza in 1366, he was buried with great honour inside the convent's church.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Golubovich, II, 549 and Moorman, *Franciscan Houses*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁷ Kalonaros, *Χρονικό*, pp. 304-05. Lady Margaret had been sent to Constantinople as a hostage in William Villehardouin's stead. Whilst in captivity, she inherited from her uncle Gauthier II of Rozières the barony of Akova but was unable to claim it. The Prince cited this technicality and took possession of Margaret's domain. Upon her return to Achaia Margaret sought to regain her barony and married John of St Omer who was prepared to safeguard her rights. The dispute was settled by the court of peers, who found in favour of the Prince. Having won the case, William then bestowed one third of the barony to Margaret.

¹⁰⁸ Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (Geneva: Société de l'Orient Latin, 1885), pp. 188-89.

¹⁰⁹ Golubovich, IV, 388.

¹¹⁰ Golubovich, V, 122.

Nearby Glarenza, the Franciscans had also installed themselves in the Greek monastery of Blacherna. Although there exist no written records of this occupation, and the Order's lists do not mention the monastery of Blacherna, the archaeological evidence shows that the house was indeed occupied by western friars, almost certainly the Franciscans.¹¹¹ Although Bon has suggested that the monastery of Blacherna may have been one and the same with the house of St Francis of Glarenza, most scholars assume that there existed two separate Franciscan houses.¹¹² This opinion is mainly based on the assumption that the Franciscan house of Glarenza was situated inside the city walls. Though this is a reasonable assumption, it is not confirmed by any of the medieval references to the house of St Francis of Glarenza. Bon's tentative suggestion, however, would explain the conspicuous absence of the monastery of Blacherna from the Franciscan sources: situated at a distance of only four kilometers from Glarenza, the house may have been known to the Latins as St Francis of Glarenza, instead of Blacherna, which was its Greek name.

It is not known exactly when this friary was abandoned by the Franciscans. Usually it is assumed that the Franciscans abandoned Glarenza (and Blacherna if it was not the same house) in 1431, when Constantine Palaeologos destroyed the town and drove out its Frankish population. It has also been suggested, however, that the house of Blacherna remained under Franciscan control for at least another sixteen years. This suggestion is based on a Latin inscription found on the church wall, dating from 1447. Recently, Drosogianni convincingly refuted this suggestion by pointing out that the inscription was probably carved by a Venetian traveller and not by a monk residing in

¹¹¹ For an archaeological examination of the monastery see Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, pp. 77-85.

¹¹² Antoin Bon, *La Morée Franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archaéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1969), p. 561.

the friary and that the previous assumptions about the inscription's creator were based on factual errors.¹¹³

The *Chronicle of the Morea* also refers to St Stephen, the Franciscan house of Andravida, saying that it was founded by Prince William Villehardouin in celebration of his victory over the invading Greeks.¹¹⁴ Based on this reference we can date the foundation of St Stephen around the year 1264. The date of the foundation of St Nicholas of Patras can not be ascertained, although it is believed that this house was also founded in the late thirteenth century. In 1332 and 1335, in the Franciscan church of St Nicholas, the archbishop of Patras, following the instructions of the pope, twice proclaimed a ban of excommunication against the Catalans who had wrested the Duchy of Athens from the Franks.¹¹⁵ The traveling notary from Italy, Nicholas of Martoni, also mentions this convent in his diary of 1395, but gives no further information about it.¹¹⁶

The lack of information on these houses is due to the general scarcity of sources originating from the mainland of Greece. The reason for this is a matter of speculation. It would be safe, however, to say that the Frankish lords of Greece were not as intent on keeping records as the Venetian rulers of the islands. Given, also, the political instability of these territories, we can assume that what records were kept, were subsequently destroyed by the ravages of war.

The situation regarding chronology is better concerning the insular convents of this Custody. The Ionian Islands remained under Italian control until the eighteenth

¹¹³ Fani A. Drosogianni, 'Προβληματισμοί για την ιστορία της Μονής Βλαχερνών Κυλλήνης τον 15ο αιώνα' ['Some thoughts on the history of the monastery of Blacherna in Kyllene in the 15th century'], in *Monasticism in the Peloponnese 4th-15th c.*, ed. by Voula Konti (Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 2004), pp. 318-24.

¹¹⁴ Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los Fechos*, p. 77.

¹¹⁵ Kenneth Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1975), pp. 40-43.

¹¹⁶ Piccirillo, ed., *Io notaio Nicola de Martoni*, pp. 156-57, and Golubovich, V, 309.

century and thus the convents of those islands outlived most of the other Catholic monasteries of Greece. Much of the information we have about these houses derives from later sources, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Venetian Republic sent officials to the islands to examine the history and the current state of those convents.

The main Franciscan convent of Zakynthos (Zante) was that of St Francis. It was built before 1334 inside the island's fortress and remained in the possession of the Conventuals. It seems to have led a quiet and undistinguished existence, since it is only mentioned in papal sources in the fifteenth century. That is when the convent's decline started. In 1432, Eugenius IV addressed a letter to the island's ruler instructing him to allow monks from other orders and houses to take over the Franciscan convents of Zakynthos and Cephalonia, because they were destitute of friars.¹¹⁷ In 1492, the convent was expanded by order of the Venetian governor in the East Cosmas Pasqualigo, and the Provincial Minister of Romania was asked to send three friars to the island.¹¹⁸ The situation, however, did not improve. In 1506, Donatus of Lecce, the Venetian official on the island described the deplorable state of affairs in his report. According to him the convent had been abandoned and uncared for and had resembled a thieves' lair (*spelunca latronum*) rather than a religious house. The disappearance of the Franciscan friars had also harmed the Latin population who, according to Donatus, had almost forgotten the Catholic rite and attended Greek services. In restoring the convent, Donatus of Lecce enlisted the help of the Venetian vicar of the Province of Romania, named Peter of Erizzo. Friar Peter was visiting the convent and was shocked by its condition. He ended up being appointed guardian of the house and was allowed

¹¹⁷ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 48.

¹¹⁸ Dinos Konomos, *Εκκλησίες και Μοναστήρια στη Ζάκυνθο* [*Churches and Monasteries in Zakynthos*] (Athens: 1967), p. 180.

to bring in another two or three friars to operate it. He was also confirmed to the possession of the convent's goods and the annual stipend that Cosmas Pasqualigo had donated in 1492 and was allowed to arrange for the cultivation of the monastery's lands. We do not know the dimensions of the convent's fields, but the document contains a description of them, where it is stated that they included springs and a mill.¹¹⁹

According to Konomos, a second Franciscan convent, dedicated to St Theodore, was founded in the territory of Lagana in Zakynthos, in the fifteenth century.¹²⁰ Nothing is known about this house, but it may have been the Observant convent that Luisetto mentions.¹²¹

According to the fourteenth-century lists of Franciscan houses, the island of Cephalonia had two convents. The most important one, whose ruins can still be seen today, was situated in the south of the island, in a territory called Eikosimia. The convent was named St Mary of Sisi and according to tradition, was built by St Francis himself.¹²² This tradition was firmly established in the eighteenth century, when the superior of the convent was asked to report to the Venetian authorities on the house's condition and history. In his report father Pio Battista Gabrielli affirmed that St Francis built the convent on his return from Egypt and also endowed it with a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary, named Madonna di Sisi, which became the protector of the whole island.¹²³ Although there is no evidence to support the claim that St Francis was the

¹¹⁹ ASV, Deputazione ad Pias Causas, Reg. 65, *Regolari di Dalmazia e Levante*.

¹²⁰ Konomos, *Εκκλησίες*, p. 60.

¹²¹ Luisetto, *Archivio Sartori*, p. 131.

¹²² Pagratis notes that the word Sisi could be a corrupt version of Assisi, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 123.

¹²³ ASV, Deputazione ad Pias Causas, Reg. 65, *Regolari di Dalmazia e Levante*.

founder of the convent, it is generally agreed that St Mary was probably one of the first Franciscan houses to be built in Greece, possibly around 1216.¹²⁴

Like the convent of Zakynthos, St Mary of Sisi was also inconspicuous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Father Pio's report confirms this by saying that the convent never received any papal privileges, bulls or briefs. In the fifteenth century, like most of the convents of that Custody, it seems to have declined, for in 1420, Martin V directed twenty friars to the island for the propagation of the Latin faith.¹²⁵ Twelve years later, his successor Eugenius IV also attempted, as we have seen, to generate an influx of monks to the island.¹²⁶

Unfortunately, nothing can be said about the other Franciscan convent of Cephalonia, apart from the fact that it was situated in the town of Lixouri and that it appears to have been equally in decline in the fifteenth century.

As already noted, the list of houses of this Custody, includes a convent of *Corvi*, and that is generally taken to refer to the convent of Corone. Corone, a town situated at the southernmost part of the Peloponnese, was a very important Venetian port and the Franciscans were certainly installed there before the 1320s. The surviving archival material indicates that the Franciscan convent of St Nicholas was a prosperous and popular foundation. Amongst the relatively few surviving wills from the fourteenth century, there are nine bequests of money to the Franciscans.¹²⁷ Furthermore, two of

¹²⁴ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 123.

¹²⁵ *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum*, I, 48.

¹²⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 48.

¹²⁷ Andrea Nanetti, *Documenta Veneta Coroni et Methoni Rogata* (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 1999), pp. 150-51, 161-62, 186-87, 190-01, 200-01, 205-06, 212-13 and 229.

the testators ask to be buried in the church of St Nicholas, and one of them also asks to be buried wearing the habit of the Poor Clares.¹²⁸

More importantly, in 1321 the Venetian Commune agreed to allow the Franciscans to build a second convent in Corone.¹²⁹ The permission came after a petition by the nobles of the city and the Franciscans of Romania. In fact the location for the new convent had already been decided. It was to be built on a vineyard that one of the nobles, Ser Nicholas Foscolo, had donated for this purpose. Unfortunately we cannot say whether the convent was indeed built, but the very fact that the citizens of Corone were prepared to support two Franciscan convents attests to the success and popularity of the order in those parts. In July 1366, Amadeo of Savoy reached Corone and enjoyed the friars' hospitality for a week. Upon departing, he donated twenty-five florins to the convent.¹³⁰

Although there is very little surviving evidence about St Nicholas's sister house in Methone, we may assume that the two convents had similar careers. Methone, situated close to Corone, was the second significant Venetian port of the Peloponnese. It is not clear when the Franciscan convent of Methone was built, but it does not feature in any of the lists of Franciscan houses in the fourteenth century. The above-mentioned decision of the Venetian Senate, however, seems to imply that the establishment of a Franciscan house in Methone was already being planned in 1321:¹³¹ the register states that the castellans of Corone and Methone had reached an agreement with the Franciscans of Romania about the foundation of two new houses. One of these houses was to be built, as we have seen, in Corone. The location of the second house is

¹²⁸ Nanetti, *Documenta*, pp. 150-51 and 205-06.

¹²⁹ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Reg. 21/4, f. 148.

¹³⁰ Golubovich, V, 120.

¹³¹ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Reg. 21/4, f. 148.

not specified, but it seems obvious that it would have been in Methone. The convent was apparently built before 1366, when Amadeo of Savoy is said to have visited it.¹³² The convent subsequently disappears from the documents for almost a century. The next surviving mention of the convent of Methone comes from the registers of Eugenius IV in 1446, when the pope confirms Marco of Methone as guardian of the convent.¹³³ The confirmation states that father Marco had been appointed guardian of the convent by the vicar of Romania, four years earlier. A further mention in 1482 reveals that by that time the convent was declined and only housed two brothers, a young novice and a decrepit old man.¹³⁴

The last Franciscan convent of this Custody is the convent of St Francis in Corfu, to which the mention of *Corvi* in the Provinciale was initially thought to refer. Gerasimos Pagratis has dealt extensively with the history of this convent, whose church survives today in the centre of Corfu's old town.¹³⁵ The date of the house's foundation remains unknown, but, according to Pagratis, the Franciscans took it over in 1367 following a donation by Philip II of Taranto. Initially it had been a Greek monastery, possibly built under the Angeloi Comnenoi, named St Angelos.¹³⁶ Following the Franciscan installation, both the names of St Angelos and St Francis were used for a time. On 20 May 1386, when the Venetians assumed control of the island, the Venetian admiral John Miani was handed the keys of the city by the inhabitants, inside the Franciscan church. In commemoration of this event, every year on May 20, mass was

¹³² Golubovich, V, 120.

¹³³ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series III*, 976.

¹³⁴ Golubovich, II, 560 and Moorman, *Franciscan Houses*, p. 306.

¹³⁵ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 120 and Gerasimos Pagratis, 'Tracce della presenza francescana in Levante: la chiesa e il convento di San Francesco dei frati minori conventuali di Corfu', *Il Santo: Rivista francescana di storia dottrina arte*, 40 (2000), 99-119.

¹³⁶ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 118.

celebrated in the church of St Francis in both the Greek and Latin rite, in the presence of the leaders of the Orthodox and Catholic clergy and the Venetian officials.¹³⁷ Thus we see that the monastery was certainly operating in the second half of the fourteenth century. Given this fact, it is hard to understand why it was not mentioned in one of the lists of Franciscan houses. Indeed, the Franciscans of Corfu are not even mentioned in any papal sources until the fifteenth century.

In 1446 Eugenius IV addressed a letter to the archbishop of Corfu, instructing him to capture and punish a certain Franciscan named Paul of Teramo, whom he described as an apostate, because he had abandoned the Order and was living the life of a vagabond.¹³⁸ As was the case with the rest of the convents of the Ionian Islands, the late fifteenth century was a period of decline for the Franciscans of Corfu. In 1482, the visiting Franciscan Paul Walther found the convent in a deplorable state of destitution and poverty. According to him, the Franciscans and the other mendicants of the island, had even given up the celebration of the Latin mass in favour of the Greek one.¹³⁹

In 1491 the Franciscan General Minister assigned brother Bonaventura of Brescia to the convent of Corfu and also made him general commissioner of the Province of Romania.¹⁴⁰ A final mention to the convent is made in a deed of 1498, when it is said that the community was made up of eight brothers.¹⁴¹

This examination of the convents of the Custody of Glarenza reveals the manifold differences between this Custody and the Custody of Negroponte. Where

¹³⁷ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 118 and 'presenza francescana', p. 103.

¹³⁸ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 483.

¹³⁹ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 120. It is worth noting that, as far as we know, this was a unique occurrence. Although it was quite common for the Latin inhabitants of some islands to turn to the Greek rite, because of the scarcity of Catholic priests, it is unheard of for members of the Mendicant Orders to abandon the Latin rite.

¹⁴⁰ Pagratis, 'presenza francescana', p. 105.

¹⁴¹ Pagratis, 'Οι Μονές των Φραγκισκανών', p. 120.

some of the convents of the Custody of Negroponte appear to have been successful and flourishing centres of Catholic religious life and even intellectual activity, most of the convents of the Custody of Glarenza, especially in the fifteenth century, seem to have been decaying, both materially and spiritually. Even when the friars of the Custody of Negroponte found themselves at loggerheads with the secular Church, the accusations usually leveled against them were that they overstepped their boundaries and harmed the Church through their popularity amongst the laity. In contrast, the convents of the Custody of Glarenza seem to have been exceedingly inactive and in constant need of support. It is important to note here, that most of the convents of the Custody of Glarenza remained in the hands of the Conventuals throughout the fifteenth century and later. Thus they did not benefit from the restructuring that the Observant reform brought to many of the other convents in Greece. Of course, when discussing the general state of the Custody of Glarenza, one must bear in mind that the surviving sources for this territory are much more fragmentary than those of territories like Crete; but it is significant that what evidence does exist almost invariably points towards the destitution and decline of the monasteries in question.

That said, however, one must also note that many of these convents outlived by several centuries the houses of the Custody of Negroponte mentioned above. Of course, this was a result of political circumstances, but it would not have happened if the authorities and Catholic population of these islands had not been interested in conserving the monasteries. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that the Franciscans in the Ionian Islands were any less popular amongst their communities than those of the Aegean. Indeed, there seems to have been a resurgence of the Franciscans in the Ionian Islands after the difficult years of the fifteenth century, with

the old convents being repopulated and new ones being founded (as on the island of Leukas or St Maura as it was then known).

Custody of Thebes

This Custody included the convents of Thebes, Athens and Corinth.

Unfortunately, we have practically no information about these houses. We know that they were founded before 1247 and we have to assume that they ceased to function as their territories were occupied by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century. The only surviving piece of information concerning the convent of Corinth is that Enrico of Pisa, the Provincial Minister of Romania who died around 1247, was buried there.¹⁴² The convent is mentioned again in relation to a miracle alleged to have happened in 1266. According to this story, two friars from the convent embarrassed a demon, who had taken possession of a man, and foiled his plans to lead a third brother away from the Franciscan order.¹⁴³ Another early mention refers to a miracle, reported to have happened around 1250 in the convent of Thebes: a blind woman was allegedly cured of her blindness while attending mass on the saint's feast day.¹⁴⁴ The house of Athens, which was probably situated near Ilissus, around the area where the Stadium stands today, appears in the will of Gauthier of Brienne, when the lord of Athens bequeathed two hundred hyperpers to the convent.¹⁴⁵ We also know that two of its members came

¹⁴² Golubovich, I, 218.

¹⁴³ Golubovich, II, 402-03.

¹⁴⁴ Wadding, *Annales*, II, 217. Wadding includes the narration of this incident in the events of 1228, but Roncaglia points out that in fact the narration refers to events allegedly happening c. 1250: M. Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs et l'église grecque Orthodoxe au XIIIe siècle (1231-1274)* (Cairo: Centre d'Études Orientales de la Custodie Franciscaine de Terre-Sainte, 1954), p. 90.

¹⁴⁵ For an extract of Gauthier's will see Millet, *Daphni*, p. 37. The Franciscan house of Athens has left no archaeological remains, but, as Janin points out in *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1975), p. 338, its position is attested by medieval travellers. Millet on the other hand suggests that the Franciscan friary was situated near present day Chalandri, on the way to mount Pentele. This may have been a smaller foundation, possibly even Franciscan, but it was not the main Franciscan convent of Athens.

to occupy important positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Greece: one friar became archbishop of Athens in 1268 and another was appointed bishop of Negroponte in the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁶ There are, however, virtually no other references to any of these houses in the period between the 1250s and the Ottoman conquest. As has been already mentioned, the sources concerning these territories in general are relatively scarce, especially when compared to the wealth of official and notarial documents that have survived from some of Venice's dominions. The case of Athens is slightly different: though the material is, again, limited, a number of documents, spanning the city's medieval period, have been preserved.¹⁴⁷ Even here, however, there is a notable absence of references to the city's Franciscan foundation. Still more puzzling is the absence of papal material concerning these houses. As we have seen, even relatively insignificant houses from the other Custodies are, on occasion, mentioned in the papal letters. Unfortunately, this does not happen with the convents of the Custody of Thebes, as I have been unable to locate a single reference to them in the papal registers. I would suggest that, apart from the general shortage of sources concerning this area, there is a further reason for the lack of references to these convents: as we have seen, this was the one territory in Greece, where the Franciscans were superseded by another religious order. The monastery of Daphni, the only long-lived Cistercian house in Greece, was arguably the most prestigious monastic foundation around Athens, and thus overshadowed the Franciscan convents of this territory.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Millet, *Daphni*, p. 37.

¹⁴⁷ See for example Spyridon Lambros, ed., *Ἐγγραφα Αναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν Μεσαιωνικὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* [*Documents Concerning the Medieval History of Athens*] (Athens: 1904).

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter 2, pp. 68-74.

Diplomatic activity of the Franciscans in Romania

One of the proclaimed goals of all the religious orders who installed themselves in Greece was to heal the schism between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, by bringing the Greeks back to papal obedience. The Franciscan and Dominican friars proved themselves to be the most ardent supporters of this cause. Each of these orders gradually adopted a role and an approach in their efforts to abolish the schism: the Franciscans were the most successful as papal ambassadors to the Byzantine rulers, whereas the Dominicans, being an order of preachers, became more involved in theological disputations with the Greeks, sometimes succeeding in converting leading scholars and theologians. Of course, this is not to say that there existed a clearly defined division of duties for the two orders. We have already seen the example of the friars of St Francis in Pera, who were driven out of their convent because their fervent preaching offended the Greeks. Similarly, the Dominicans were also used as papal nuncios. It is true, however, that the Franciscans achieved their most spectacular successes in Greece through their diplomatic endeavours, whilst the Dominicans acquired a reputation as theologians and preachers.

The ambassadorial activity of the Franciscans has already been adequately researched.¹⁴⁹ The purpose of this section is not to examine exhaustively these missions, but only to provide a concise overview of the most important of them. Arguably, the most important Franciscan embassies were the ones that led to the Union of Lyons in 1274.

¹⁴⁹ For an in-depth examination of the Franciscan embassies to the East, see M. Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*.

The first Unionist attempts in the thirteenth century started with the Council of Nicaea and Nymphaeum.¹⁵⁰ In 1232 a party of five Franciscans happened to pass through Nicaea. It is possible that this was the first time that the Nicene Greeks had come in contact with the friars, and they were impressed by their monastic values and their genuine desire for peace between the Churches. The Greek Patriarch suggested that further talks be carried out and asked the pope to send a delegation to participate in a council. Gregory IX responded by sending a Mendicant delegation, composed of two Franciscan and two Dominican friars. The Franciscans were Rudolph of Rheims and the distinguished doctor and future General Minister of the Order Haymo of Faversham.¹⁵¹ The Council convened first in Nicaea and then in Nymphaeum in 1234 in the presence of the Greek emperor John III Vatatzes and Patriarch Germanos II, and discussed the issues that separated the two Churches, with particular emphasis on the *filioque*. The friars were well versed in the Orthodox tradition and at least one of them spoke Greek. They had also brought with them Greek manuscripts and were prepared to defend their Church's positions using arguments taken from the Eastern Fathers. The main source for the events that took place in the councils is the account that the friars themselves wrote. If that is to be trusted, their arguments quickly embarrassed the Greek prelates and the only reason why no headway was made, was that the Greeks refused to acknowledge their mistakes. In the end, the Greeks, rather ungraciously, sent the friars away and all unionist talks were suspended.

Thereafter, John III Vatatzes was, on occasion, in contact with Franciscan ambassadors, not least with Elias of Assisi, who approached him as a representative of

¹⁵⁰ For an extensive report of the talks in Nicaea and Nymphaeum see Golubovich, I, 163-67 and Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, pp. 29-84.

¹⁵¹ Haymo of Faversham was General Minister of the Franciscans between 1240 and 1244.

Frederick II.¹⁵² His successor, however, Michael VIII Palaeologos was forced to work even more closely with the Franciscans in order to realise his unionist plans.¹⁵³

The first Franciscan embassy was sent to Palaeologos by Urban IV in 1263. It was comprised of Simon of Alvernia, Peter of Moras, Peter of Crest and Boniface of Ivrea. The friars were given a letter addressed to Michael VIII, in which Urban expanded on the Catholic doctrine and also encouraged the emperor to embrace Catholicism, by making it clear that, if he did so, his empire would enjoy papal protection from the Latin lords that threatened it. The apostolic nuncios were also invested with papal privileges and were allowed to enlist the help of anyone they saw fit in their mission.¹⁵⁴ Despite all these preparations, however, the nuncios were inexplicably delayed on their way to Constantinople. When they arrived they were informed of the pope's death and had to return to Rome without having accomplished their mission. Before his death, however, Urban had sent another delegation of Franciscans to Constantinople, in response to Palaeologos's new promises of Union. The two Franciscans, Gerardo of Prato and Rainier of Sienna, were given a letter for the emperor, which reflected Urban's enthusiasm at the prospect of Church Union.¹⁵⁵ Negotiations were continued throughout Clement IV's papacy and the long interregnum that followed his death. In 1272 Michael Palaeologos, wrote a letter to the recently elected pope Gregory X and entrusted it to a Franciscan envoy. His name was John Parastron and he was a Greek Franciscan, probably from the convent of

¹⁵² Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, p. 85.

¹⁵³ On Michael VIII Palaeologos's unionist policy and a full account of his negotiations with the papacy see Deno Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) and Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, pp. 121-74.

¹⁵⁴ *Registres d' Urbain IV*, J. Guiraud, and S. Clemencet eds., 4 vols, II (Paris: Fontmoing, 1889-1958), 149-151, and Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, pp. 125-26.

¹⁵⁵ *Registres d' Urbain IV*, II, 405, and Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, p. 130

Constantinople. The fact that he was bilingual combined with his sincere desire for Union recommended him as an ideal ambassador and as a very useful colleague for Michael Palaeologos. John Parastron was sent back to Constantinople by Gregory, bearing news of the upcoming general council of Lyons and exhortations for the emperor to embrace the Roman Church.

Soon afterwards, Gregory sent a new Franciscan embassy to Constantinople, comprised by Jerome of Ascoli, Raymond Berengar, Bonagrazia of St John in Persiceto and Bonaventura of Mugello. The four friars were invested with legatine powers and were entrusted with the task of obtaining signed professions of faith from the emperor and all the prelates.¹⁵⁶ Unsurprisingly, this proved to be a very hard assignment, for the majority of the Greek clergy and people vehemently opposed Michael's unionist plans. John Parastron, who by this time had become a trusted associate of Michael Palaeologos, assisted the Franciscan envoys in their attempts to persuade the Greek clergy. In 1273 the emperor sent Raymond Berengar and Bonaventura of Mugello back to the papal curia, to assure the pope that the signatures he required would be forthcoming, despite the delay. With them they carried a letter composed by Jerome of Ascoli, which set forth the errors of the Greeks, as he had encountered them during his stay in Constantinople.¹⁵⁷

In the end, despite the efforts of the emperor and the papal legates, only a handful of prelates gave a profession of faith, and that an incomplete one, but this proved enough for the short-lived union of Lyons to be achieved. Jerome and Bonaventura, who had remained in Constantinople, were personally invited to the council and travelled together with the emperor's ambassadors to France. After an

¹⁵⁶ *Les Registres de Grégoire X et Jean XXI*, E. Cadier and J. Guiraud, eds, 2 vols, I (Paris: de Boccard, 1892-1960), 73-75, and Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, p. 144.

¹⁵⁷ Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs*, p. 156.

eventful journey they arrived in Lyons in May 1274. The documents that their Greek companions were carrying bore only a vague resemblance to what Gregory had initially requested, but it was judged to have been sufficient, and so on 29 June 1274 the schism was officially abolished.

Of course, the Union was flawed and was not destined to last, but it signifies a great success for the Franciscan order. The Union of Lyons was primarily an achievement of Michael VIII Palaeologos's foreign policy, but it would not have been possible without the diplomatic prowess of the Franciscan ambassadors, who worked for more than four decades under hostile and dangerous circumstances, with that goal in mind.

Unionist talks in the fourteenth century lacked the urgency and the commitment that brought them so close to fruition in the thirteenth century. The Turkish expansion proved far more dangerous for the Latin dominions than the impoverished Byzantine Empire was, and the papacy's diplomatic efforts concentrated on the creation of a strong alliance between the Christian states. Numerous surviving letters show that, once again, both the popes and the secular authorities relied on the diplomatic abilities of the Franciscans. In 1345, for example, Clement VI addressed the Franciscan General Minister, instructing him to promote the preaching of a crusade against the Turks in Greece, in all the Franciscan provinces.¹⁵⁸ In 1372, Gregory XI directed the Franciscan bishop of Neopatras, friar Francis, to the two sovereigns that were affected the most by the Turkish offensive, the Emperor of Constantinople John V Palaeologos and Louis, King of Hungary, exhorting them to begin preparations for a

¹⁵⁸ Golubovich, IV, 389.

war against the Turks.¹⁵⁹ This followed several letters containing similar pleas, addressed to all the prelates of Greece.

Of course, the need to convert the Greeks was not forgotten, and the papacy continued to employ the Franciscans in their familiar role as advocates of Church Union. In 1350, Clement VI sent a Mendicant embassy, comprising of the Franciscan William Emergani and the Dominican Gasperto of Orgueil, bearing letters promoting Union, to both the rival claimants to the Constantinopolitan throne, John V Palaeologos and John VI Cantacuzenus.¹⁶⁰ In 1367, Urban V, once again, addressed the Franciscans and Dominicans of Constantinople, instructing them to assist in the unionist attempts that the Latin titular Patriarch of Constantinople had initiated.¹⁶¹ In 1374, Gregory XI sent another mendicant embassy, consisting of the Franciscan Bartholomew Cheracci and the Dominican Thomas of Bozolasco, to John V Palaeologos (who had already professed Catholicism), in a further attempt to heal the schism.¹⁶²

The diplomatic prowess of the Franciscans was recognized by the secular authorities, who also employed them as ambassadors. Thus, in 1321, the Hospitallers and the other knights and barons of Achaia, fearing that they would not be able to resist the mounting Greek pressure, asked friar Peter Gradonico, Provincial Minister of Romania, to negotiate a treaty with Venice. The Franciscan wrote to the Republic, offering control of certain parts of the principality in return for arms and protection, but the Venetians were not interested.¹⁶³

Though the Unionist negotiations of the fourteenth century were unsuccessful, the continued employment of Franciscans as ambassadors attests to the value that the

¹⁵⁹ Golubovich V, 186-88.

¹⁶⁰ Golubovich, V, 51-53.

¹⁶¹ Golubovich, V, 131.

¹⁶² Golubovich, V, 200-02.

¹⁶³ Golubovich, II, 191-92.

papacy attached to the diplomatic activity of the Order. The importance of the Franciscans as agents of papal policy in the East, is also demonstrated through the multitude of Franciscan friars who held Greek sees as bishops and archbishops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁶⁴ A cursory examination of the lists of bishops reveals more than one hundred appointments or confirmations of friars to the Greek sees. In many cases, the papal letters of appointment and confirmation have been preserved.¹⁶⁵ It remains hard, however, to draw any conclusions about the administration of the secular Church by the Franciscans, since further evidence is generally lacking.

Amongst the multitude of Franciscan bishops and archbishops of Greece, certain ones stand out, because of their involvement in the political affairs of their age, or their outstanding ecclesiastical career.

Reference has already been made to William the archbishop of Patras, who in 1335 promulgated a decree of excommunication against the Catalans of Athens, inside the Franciscan church of St Nicholas in Patras. Friar William was obviously highly esteemed by the papacy: Pope John XXII appointed him to his see in 1317, replacing the archbishop elect, Francis Scovaloca, whose election he found unsatisfactory. He ruled the Church of Patras until 1337 and during his term of office he received three

¹⁶⁴ For the names of these bishops consult Appendix I. A fairly complete listing of the Franciscan Bishops of Greece can also be found in Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi: sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series: e documentis tabulari praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita*, 8 vols (Regensburg: Il Messagero di S. Antonio, 1913-14). A further discussion of Latin monks and friars as bishops in Greece is included in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

¹⁶⁵ Most of these letters can be found published partially or in full in Golubovich and Wadding, *Annales*.

papal bulls conferring privileges to him as well as the order to excommunicate the Catalans.¹⁶⁶

Another Franciscan who enjoyed favour with John XXII, and who, as a consequence, was appointed to a Greek bishopric was the celebrated Spanish writer Alvarus Pelagius. Alvarus, who is best known for his *De planctu ecclesiae libri duo*, and who is alleged to have been a pupil of Duns Scotus, was appointed to the bishopric of Corone in 1332. It is doubtful, however, that he ever visited his see, since he was appointed to the see of Sylves in Portugal two years later.¹⁶⁷

The appointment of Friar William Maurococchio to the Cretan see of Kissamos in 1346, is also noteworthy, albeit for a different reason. Nothing is known about this friar, except for the date of his appointment and his name. It is, however, the name that is important in this case, since it probably denotes Greek descent. The frequent appearance of Franciscan names like, John of Corinth, Anthony of Pera, Benedict of Negroponte in the documents is interesting, because it shows that, to some extent, the Franciscans were able to recruit locally. These names, however, do not indicate the parentage of those friars, and there is no reason to assume that they came from Greek, rather than Latin families. Indeed, Alexander V and John Parastron are probably the only other Greek Franciscans of that age that we know of.

William Maurococchio was succeeded in 1349 by yet another important Franciscan friar: William Emergani, who, as we saw, was sent to Constantinople by Clement VI, in order to negotiate Church Union with John V Palaeologos and John VI Cantacuzenus.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Golubovich, III, 189-90 and Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 40-43.

¹⁶⁷ Golubovich, III, 414.

¹⁶⁸ Golubovich, V, 28 and 51-53.

As has already been mentioned, Francis, one of the Franciscan bishops of Neopatras, also served as a papal nuncio, when he was sent to the Emperor of Constantinople and the King of Hungary to preach the crusade against the Turks in 1372.

Another interesting case is that of Friar Anthony Balistario, who was archbishop of Athens between 1370 and 1388. Golubovich identifies this friar with the Franciscan Anthony of Athens, who had accompanied John V Palaeologos on his trip to Rome in 1369 and had served as his translator when he embraced the Catholic faith. According to Golubovich, Anthony Balistario of Athens, a bachelor of Theology, was born in Athens, but was of Catalan descent. He surmises that he may have been appointed to the metropolitan see of Athens by the pope, at the request of Emperor John V Palaeologos, with whom he obviously enjoyed favour. Anthony Balistario's name is amongst the most conspicuous names of archbishops in the documents dating from the period of the Catalan domination of Athens. In 1376, Anthony became Vicar of the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, and, since the Patriarchate had been united to the bishopric of Negroponte, Anthony assumed control of that see as well. In 1377 the Republic awarded the Venetian citizenship to the archbishop. When in 1378 Latin Europe was divided by the Great Schism, Spain and all her colonies (including Athens) took the side of Clement VII. In an attempt to strengthen his position, Clement sent emissaries to the East. In 1380 Friar Anthony Balistario appears in a papal document as one of Clement's emissaries. At the same time, Anthony remained in contact with, and apparently enjoyed the esteem of the Catalan royalty in Spain. When the Catalan king John I was falsely informed that the archbishop had died in 1387, he claimed the right to appoint the bishop of Athens (since the city was under Catalan domination) and wrote to the pope recommending Anthony's successor. Anthony seems to have left

Athens in 1388, when the Catalans lost the city to the Florentine Nero Acciaioli. He was replaced in the archbishopric of Athens in the same year and reached Barcelona in 1389, after which time his traces disappear.¹⁶⁹

This brief overview of the careers of some of the most noteworthy Franciscan prelates of Greece once again confirms the central role of the Franciscans in the political stage of the Latin Empire. As has been already mentioned, it is difficult to say much about the ecclesiastical policies of these bishops and archbishops; at best, one can discern a shared desire for Church Union, but there is no evidence that this cause was actively promoted within the Episcopal sees. On the other hand, this examination further demonstrates the importance of the Franciscans in their familiar political and diplomatic role, either as agents of the papacy or of the political powers to which they owed allegiance.

Of course, one should be careful not to misconstrue this absence of evidence pertaining to episcopal policies into a cynical portrait of the Franciscans as politicians. The expansion and the longevity of the Order in Greece, which would not be possible without the support of the Latin inhabitants of the Empire, bear witness to the important spiritual role that the Franciscans played within their communities: it has already been demonstrated that the Franciscan convents of Greece served as a focus of popular devotion, in many cases overshadowing both the secular Church and the other religious orders.

This support and the enthusiasm exhibited by some of the Latin communities and the secular authorities towards the Franciscans is one of the most striking features of the Franciscan installation in medieval Greece. We have seen in the previous chapter that the Frankish lords of Greece encouraged the migration of Cistercians to their lands

¹⁶⁹ Golubovich, V, 138-141.

and that in doing so they may have been motivated by more than piety. It has been pointed out that medieval colonists could expect to gain material as well as spiritual benefits by promoting the spread of a religious order within their new territories. In the case of the Cistercians, however, only one house (the nunnery of Percheio) could be identified that enjoyed particularly close ties with the secular powers and where those ties may have extended to political cooperation.

Such ties are much more readily observable in the case of many of the Franciscan friaries of Greece and especially the ones situated in Venetian territories. Although there existed Franciscan friaries in all parts of Latin Romania, and some (like for example St Stephen of Andravida) were indeed founded by the initiative of Frankish lords, there can be little doubt that it was mainly the Venetian authorities that made a concerted effort to preserve and promote the Franciscan foundations in their territories. This may partly explain why the convents of the custody of Negroponte (situated in Venetian lands) appear much more conspicuous and successful than the houses of the custodies of Thebes and Glarenza (located mainly in Frankish lands). Examples of the devotion displayed by the Venetians towards the Franciscans are abundant, and have been referred to above. What is important, is that in contrast to the Cistercians, where ties with the local communities must have existed but are nonetheless hard to detect, the Franciscan houses (as well as the Dominican ones as we shall see in the next chapter) appear as very prominent and extremely well-connected institutions within the Venetian communities. The case of St Francis of Candia is instructive. St Francis was probably the most popular recipient of donations and pious bequests in the city of Candia. Furthermore, even a cursory examination of the surviving wills and donations reveals that the friary enjoyed the continuous patronage of some of the most prominent Venetian families of Crete. To be sure, almost all of the

Venetian families are represented in its list of benefactors, since it seems that anybody who bequeathed money to ecclesiastical institutions also gave at least a small sum to the Franciscans. Certain well-known families, however, appear with notable frequency in the list.¹⁷⁰ Between 1308 and 1443, for example, twenty four members of the Cornario family, twenty of the Querini, fifteen of the Venerio and ten each of the Dandolo and the Abramo (or Habramo) families bequeathed or donated property to the Franciscans. Other important families are also well represented, the Mudacio and the Greco with nine members, the Caravello with seven, the Gradonico with six, the Vassalo, the de Rugerio, the de Medio, the Bono and the Barbadigo with five members each. It is obvious then that, not only was St Francis a popular foundation, but also one which enjoyed close ties with successive generations of important Venetian families. Of course, this is further demonstrated by the well known fact that some of these families had private chapels and family tombs inside the friary.

It ought to be noted here, that despite their surnames, not all of the above-mentioned donors must have been nobles. We have to assume that the names we encounter represent different strands of these famous families, not all of which were of course noble. It would be a useful and interesting exercise to try and determine what proportion of these benefactors were of noble descent, but one for which the means are at the moment lacking: given the frequency of recurrent names in Candiote society and the absence of any prosopographical studies, it is notoriously difficult to identify with certainty any but the most prominent citizens of Candia. The wording of the documents is also inconclusive. A few of the donors are referred to as Ser or Miser and these

¹⁷⁰ I have compiled this list by examining the wills published by McKee and the above-mentioned inventory of St Francis. Quite clearly the list is incomplete, and many more names could be added to it with some further research, but it is still indicative of the ties between the Franciscans and the Venetian community of Candia.

clearly belong to some rank of the nobility. Most, however, appear without a title or with the appellation *dominus*, which may denote nobility or may simply be a honorific. In 1432, for example, we find a will by *dominus* Marcus Quirino, who is said to have been a goldsmith, and thus probably not a member of the aristocracy.¹⁷¹ Some clues may, however, be found in the type of property that is bequeathed. It is certain, for instance, that John de Rugerio who died in 1351 was indeed a nobleman, for he bequeathed to the friary the village of Pirgu (or Pyrgu), which he had held as a *serventaria*.¹⁷² Equally we can be sure that certain others, who donated to St Francis items adorned with their coat of arms, were also members of the nobility. Such were the cases of Ser Pelegrinus Brogondono, who donated a palium and who was one of the house's proctors in the fifteenth century; of lady Helena Cornario who, amongst other things donated a palium bearing the Cornario coat of arms; of Cagon Cornario, who donated a chalice decorated with the coat of arms of the Cornario; of Lady Helena Querini, who donated a chalice bearing the coat of arms of both the Querini and the Cornario family; of lady Margaret Dandolo, who gave a chalice decorated with the arms of both the Dandolo and the Cornario; of lady Katheruzia Pisano, who donated a chalice with the arms of the Pisano and the Segredo houses and of Francis de Medio, who donated a chalice with the de Medio coat of arms. Amongst all these nobles, we should of course mention Marco Venerio, general captain of Crete, who made a generous bequest to the friary and was buried inside the church of St Francis.

All in all, at least forty-six of the benefactors appearing in our [incomplete] list can be shown, with some degree of certainty, to have belonged to the noble classes. In

¹⁷¹ Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. IX, 186 (coll. 3400), f. 15.

¹⁷² We know that this village was held as a *serventaria* by the noble de Rugerio family. See Gasparis, *Catastici*, and especially II, 147 and 525. These de Rugerio are referred to as *Ser* in the documents appearing in the *Catastici* (and are therefore certainly nobles) and also held other villages as *serventariae*.

truth, however, it is probable that many more, perhaps the majority of these people, were indeed members of the nobility. Again, it is interesting to note the preponderance of the Querini and the Cornarii donors, even amongst those relatively few confirmed as members of the nobility.

From this material, many interesting points emerge, concerning the role of the Franciscan convents within the Venetian communities of Greece. Firstly, it seems clear that the Venetian nobility took an active and continuous interest in the mendicant convents of Greece. Here it is worth pointing out that members of these same noble families that appear quite prominently as benefactors of the Franciscans in Candia, also served as proctors for the convent: in the early fifteenth century for example we find, amongst others, a member of the Dono, of the Greco, of the de Rugerio, of the de Medio and of the Venerio families occupying the post of proctor.¹⁷³ The concern displayed by the nobility translated of course into concern by the authorities, for, in Crete the Venetian nobles manned the councils that surrounded government. Thus, the Venetian authorities, both the local and the metropolitan ones, appear keen to safeguard and promote the interests of the mendicants.

Popular piety was surely the key motive for doing so, but not, perhaps, the only one. The authorities were certainly aware of the social benefits that were linked with the well-being of the friaries. It is common knowledge that Venice aimed to organise her overseas colonies in the image of the metropolis; recently, Georgopoulou has shown that this attempt at imitation extended to the physical landscape as well.¹⁷⁴ The transplantation of religious institutions was pivotal in recreating the life of Venice in the colonies. Of course the Franciscans (and the Dominicans) were uniquely suitable

¹⁷³ Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. IX, 186 (coll. 3400), ff. 10r and 11v.

¹⁷⁴ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*.

for this task, especially given the tense relations between Venice and the papacy. In Crete in particular, the tension between the secular Church and the Venetian authorities is often readily observable. The Venetians, uneasy with the prospect of foreign influence, tried to limit papal power in their colonies and to counterbalance it by securing the appointment of Venetian bishops. The fact that from the fourteenth century onwards the Franciscans of Greece often clashed with the secular Church themselves (because of their popularity, which drew incomes away from the local Church) could only have recommended them further as natural allies of the Venetian authorities. Such tensions were far less likely to occur between the Venetians and the friars, not least because the Franciscans knew that their existence in these territories depended on good relations with the colonists and on the well-being of the colonies themselves.

Of course, even if we factor out these rivalries, which may have been decisive in awarding the Franciscans the prominent position that they enjoyed in Venetian lands, it is inconceivable that the friars would not have been introduced into the colonies: already from the thirteenth century -and especially in Italy- the Franciscans had become such a dominant feature of religious life that no expansion of Latin Christendom would have been complete without them. In Venice in particular there had been communities of Franciscans since the 1220s. Their first church in the Veneto region was San Francesco del Deserto, built in 1233 and other foundations, inside the city, soon followed. By 1249 plans were already under way for the construction of Venice's main Franciscan friary, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and by the end of the fifteenth century three more Franciscan foundations had been built in Venice.¹⁷⁵ The

¹⁷⁵ See Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 1-6 and n. 5 on p. 164.

Franciscans of Venice benefited (like their brothers in Crete later) from the generous patronage of the noble Venetian families, but also -and especially in those early days- from the support of the Venetian government.¹⁷⁶ Given the Order's popularity in Venice, the move to the colonies would have been a natural next step for the Franciscans. Indeed, we may assume that some of the patrons that feature in the lists of benefactors of St Francis of Candia were members of families that already enjoyed close ties with the Franciscans in Venice. This can be demonstrated in at least one case: the Cornario family that appears conspicuously in our list of Candiote benefactors throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, also had an ornate family chapel and tomb (still surviving today) inside the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa in Venice.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, the Venetian colonies were particularly suited to the very nature of the Franciscan ideal, which (apart from poverty) also prescribed ministry in urban areas, missionising and self-exile. The colonies of Venice, being urban, remote and teeming with schismatics presented the Franciscans with a unique opportunity to pursue their vocation.

In short, the enthusiastic patronage and active support that the Venetians showed towards the Franciscans stemmed from a variety of closely-related motives: for the authorities, both local and metropolitan, the Franciscans represented one of the integral features of the motherland that had to be transplanted to the colonies; in fact they were the ideal representatives of the Catholic Church, since their loyalty and

¹⁷⁶ Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, n. 85, pp. 177-78. For a discussion of the assistance offered to the friars by the Venetian government in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see Fernanda Sorelli, 'L'Atteggimento del governo veneziano verso gli ordini mendicanti. Dalle deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio (secoli XIII-XIV)', *Le Venezie Francescane*, 2 (1985), 34-47.

¹⁷⁷ Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, p. 24. I am not aware of any specialised studies shedding light on the relations between the nobility and the Franciscans of Venice before the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and thus I have been unable to test this hypothesis further. Goffen mentions the case of the Cornario chapel which was commissioned in 1378, but the monograph deals primarily with later centuries.

dependence on the Republic could be guaranteed. For the colonists, both noble and common, they would have been a standard -and powerful- facet of their religious life and spirituality, and one that would have been there for them to interact with in their daily lives. This is actually what marks them apart from the Cistercians, who may have been supported by a few powerful lords, but on the whole do not seem to have become integral nodes within the local communities. The Franciscans on the other hand emerge from the sources (and especially the notarial material) as active members in the social lives of the cities: we get glimpses of their services and processions, attended by the bulk of the citizenry, we occasionally encounter them as confessors and we see the devotion they inspired in the public, both rich and poor, through the multitude of wills bequeathing property and asking for burials inside their convents. One may argue that this is a distorted picture resulting from the scarcity of material deriving from territories where Cistercian presence was strong. This is true, to an extent, but let us not forget that the Cistercians (and in fact Venetian Cistercians) operated two monasteries in Crete, neither of which is mentioned at all in the same sources that have kept us so well informed about the Franciscans on the island.

There is one final important factor that may explain the eagerness of the Venetians to support and promote the Franciscans in their territories, namely, that they saw the Order as a bastion of Catholicism against the overwhelmingly Orthodox population. This may seem like a self-evident point, since missionary activity was one of the Order's proclaimed purposes. We have to remember, however, that there is very little evidence that the Franciscans preached amongst the Greeks. We know that they certainly did so in Constantinople, and that that resulted in the demolition of the convent of the Agora, but it is unlikely that proselytizing was one of their main activities elsewhere. Conversions to Catholicism were, in any case, so rare as to be

virtually non-existent. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the Mendicants were the most vigorous element of Latin Christendom to install itself in Greece and that had an effect within the Latin communities. It has already been pointed out that the Venetians were not overly interested in converting the Greeks, and that in fact they were averse to such endeavours if they were likely to provoke social unrest.¹⁷⁸ We also know, however, from the ordinances of the Republic and from the strict segregation measures that were adopted, that the fear of religious assimilation was one of the greatest concerns of the Venetian authorities.¹⁷⁹ Under these circumstances, the vigour of the Franciscans and the devotion that they inspired amongst the population were surely greatly valued, for they showed that the Latin Church could hold its own in territories where the colonists were in danger of being absorbed by the Greek Church. Conversely, in areas where the Franciscans had declined, or had completely disappeared, Latin Christianity had also withered. The case of Zante is a good example: according to the Venetian official on the island, with the convent of St Francis abandoned, the Latin residents soon forgot the Catholic rite and attended the Greek services.¹⁸⁰ Thus, whether the Franciscans engaged in proselytizing or not, they represented the most vibrant force within Latin Christianity and were often the defenders of the faith -and subsequently of course the cultural identity that went with it- against Greek influence. From the perspective of Venice, this was probably the strongest incentive to promote the Franciscan presence in her colonies.

The benefits of this involvement for the Franciscans themselves are evident and cannot be overstated. On the one hand it ensured that their communities were

¹⁷⁸ See above, pp. 145-46.

¹⁷⁹ The fear of religious assimilation is expressly stated on several occasions by the Venetian authorities. For an example see Thiriet, 'Le zèle unioniste', p. 497.

¹⁸⁰ ASV, Deputazione ad Pias Causas, Reg. 65, *Regolari di Dalmazia e Levante*.

financially viable and indeed in some cases affluent. On the other hand -and this was equally important- it meant that the Franciscan convents were under the supervision, not only of the General Chapter, but also of the Venetian authorities. This in turn ensured that abuses (that may otherwise have gone undetected) were promptly corrected. An example of this salutary supervision can be seen in the case of St Francis of Candia, where, as we have seen, the Venetians foiled an attempt by a Provincial Minister to embezzle the convent's money. Elsewhere, like in Zante, we see the Venetian authorities legislating in favour of the Franciscans, in an attempt to counter-balance the maladministration of inefficient priors. Moreover, we often find the authorities (or the leading citizenry) intervening in cases where no abuses had taken place, but where adjustments were deemed desirable. The introduction of the Observants in the major cities, for instance, took place largely thanks to such initiatives. In these ways the authorities made sure that the convents were reformed, the Order was in step with developments in the West and the Franciscans remained relevant in the context of the Venetian colonies.

The Poor Clares

The Latin lands of medieval Greece also attracted the female branch of the Franciscan Order, the Poor Clares. Unfortunately, however, the surviving information about the nunneries of the Poor Clares in Greece is very limited. It is worth noting, that the contemporary Franciscan sources make no reference to these nunneries; our medieval lists of Franciscan houses, for example, do not mention the convents of the Poor Clares. Equally, it is uncommon to find evidence of cooperation between the Franciscan convents and their neighbouring nunneries. Perhaps this is not altogether surprising, since the Franciscan Order was always reluctant to assume responsibility

over the Order of St Clare. One would, however, assume that in a Province such as that of Romania, where warfare and hostility made circumstances much more adverse for the Orders than in Western Europe, closer ties would exist between the two branches of the Order.

Since most of the Franciscan sources do not divulge any information about the nunneries of the Poor Clares, our evidence usually derives from incidental mentions. As far as we know, there existed four such houses in Greece: in the diocese of Olena, in Negroponte, in Candia and in Chanea. The earliest reference to a nunnery of St Clare concerns the house of Olena. As we have already seen this nunnery was being built by the initiative of Isabelle Princess of Achaia.¹⁸¹ In 1300, Boniface VIII responded to a plea by the Princess, who claimed that the defence of her lands against the Greeks was too costly and that consequently she could not afford to continue to support the nunnery. The Pope, therefore, decided to donate the Benedictine church of St Mary of Camina, which had been built by Isabelle's father, to the nunnery and thus alleviate the expenses of both the Princess and the Poor Clares.¹⁸² Isabelle's venture did not reach fruition: a few years later, seeing that frequent pirate attacks and other adversities made the nunnery unsustainable, she abandoned her plans of ever finishing its construction and in 1306 Clement V gave the church of St Mary of Camina to the Cistercians of Daphni.¹⁸³ Thus we see that the first attempt of the Order of St Clare to install itself in Latin Romania failed miserably, and the nuns were forced to abandon their convent even before its construction was completed.

The nunnery of St Clare in Negroponte seems to have been more successful than their house in Olena. Even though there are very few references to it from the time

¹⁸¹ See Chapter 2, p. 73.

¹⁸² *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV, 512-13.

¹⁸³ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Instrumenta Miscellanea, 6706.

when it was still operating, we know that it survived until the Turkish conquest of 1470. The nunnery is first mentioned in 1318, when the Franciscan bishop of Caffa, Hieronymus Catalano, asked and received papal permission to transfer his sister Agnes Malsinta from the nunnery of Negroponte to that of Perpignan.¹⁸⁴ Subsequently, John XXII wrote to the bishop of Perpignan instructing him to receive sister Agnes and assist with her relocation.¹⁸⁵ We also learn that when Count Amadeo of Savoy was passing through Negroponte in 1366, during his Balkan expedition, he made a donation of three florins to the sisters of St Clare.¹⁸⁶ Another reference to the convent was made by the Italian notary Nicholas of Martoni, who, as we saw, travelled through Greece in 1395.¹⁸⁷ It is unclear whether Nicholas saw the nunnery for himself. Rather, he seems to have been told by the guardian of the Franciscan convent that a nunnery of Poor Clares was situated nearby.¹⁸⁸ The nunnery is finally mentioned in the two chronicles recording the capture of Negroponte by the Turks. Following the fall of the city, Mehmet II forbade his troops to smuggle any of the Christian inhabitants of Negroponte into safety, on pain of decapitation. Some of his soldiers were, however, found trying to hide four hundred people. The sultan ordered all of them to be sent to St Clare, where he was camped, and there slaughtered them.¹⁸⁹ Although our information about this nunnery is very fragmentary, we do learn that it operated for at least a century and a half, that it survived until the fall of Negroponte, and that it was situated around half a mile away from the city's walls.

¹⁸⁴ Golubovich, III, 43.

¹⁸⁵ *Jean XXII (1316-1334): Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. by G. Mollat, 12 vols, II (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904-06), 68.

¹⁸⁶ Golubovich, V, 125.

¹⁸⁷ See above, p. 137.

¹⁸⁸ Golubovich, V, 309.

¹⁸⁹ Gikas, 'χρονικά', pp. 226 and 248.

Strangely, no convents of St Clare appear to have existed on Crete until the fifteenth century. Perhaps the first to be founded on the island was that of the city of Chanea. In 1402 Boniface IX wrote to the bishop of Chanea and instructed him to allow the Poor Clares to build a nunnery in the city and to dedicate its church to St Clare. Both Gerola and Golubovich agree that the nunnery subsequently appeared in a map of the city but was never mentioned in any other document, and thus conclude that it was probably very short lived.¹⁹⁰ In actual fact, however, there exist a few documents pertaining to this house; although they do not challenge Gerola's and Golubovich's conclusion, they are worth examining, for they illustrate some of the common difficulties that medieval nunneries would have to face in frontier regions and the way that these problems were dealt with.

A few decades after its foundation, the nunnery of St Clare was indeed abandoned by its nuns. The city's population, however, was greatly concerned about the convent's well-being and did not wish to see it fall to ruin, so Fantinus the archbishop of Candia and papal legate on the island appointed the Observant Franciscan Jacob of Cattaro governor of the house.¹⁹¹ The appointment was later confirmed by the new papal legate, Cardinal Francis of Porto and in 1458 by Pope Pius II. The papal bull states that Jacob had been living in those parts and governing the convent laudably for the past twenty eight years, but does not clarify whether he had installed a new community in it, or whether he was simply in charge of its financial affairs and the maintenance of its buildings. The convent's annual income is said to have been twenty florins.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Gerola, II, 141 and Golubovich, V, 385.

¹⁹¹ This is the same Jacob who along with two other Observants was given permission by Nicholas V and Pius II to retreat to a small hermitage in Crete. See above, pp. 153-54.

¹⁹² *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, II, 284.

Two years later, in 1460, Jacob of Cattaro received another vote of confidence, this time from the Venetian Senate. According to the relevant act, there were certain people that harassed the Franciscan brother and disputed his rights over the monastery. The Senate ordered that all such interference stopped, because Jacob had been given this house by papal decision and also because he had expended much effort and money for the repair and reformation of the convent. It is also stated that, at that time, the convent had a chapel dedicated to St Theodore.¹⁹³

Despite Jacob's best efforts, the house was destroyed fifteen years later. In 1475 Sixtus IV replied to a petition by the bishop of Chanea, allowing him to bestow the convent's incomes to one of his priests, named Gabriel Falletro. The pope stated that the nunnery had been reduced to ruin because of the Turkish attacks, and that there was no hope of it being repaired because all the nuns had abandoned it. Therefore he agreed to give the house and its incomes to this Gabriel Falletro as a benefice.¹⁹⁴

This, however, was not the end of the nunnery of St Clare. The Guardian of the house and the other Franciscans of the city did not take kindly to Gabriel Falletro's usurpation of their monastery. A legal battle ensued and after the Franciscans won Gabriel Falletro forfeited his claim over the monastery and left the island. The Franciscans, however, were still unable to find any Poor Clares who were willing to take over the nunnery, so they decided to do the next best thing: they gave the monastery to a community of Sisters of the Third Order of St Francis, headed by a lady named Joannina Moro. In 1494 the nunnery's guardian and the sisters asked the pope to confirm the donation and Alexander VI did so enthusiastically, praising the sisters

¹⁹³ ASV, Senato Mar, Reg. 6, f. 163.

¹⁹⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, III, 347.

for their laudable lifestyle.¹⁹⁵ It is worth noting that at this stage, under the supervision of the Franciscans and in the possession of the Sisters of the Third Order, the state of the nunnery seems to have improved dramatically. Even its incomes, which only amounted to twenty florins in 1458, had now been raised to thirty two florins.

The nunnery's subsequent history remains obscure, and it is quite possible, as Gerola and Golubovich say, that the nunnery ceased to exist well before the Turkish conquest. This brief examination, however, reveals some interesting points about the nunnery's history. First and foremost is the fact that this is the only case in Greece, where one can discern strong bonds between a nunnery of St Clare and the neighbouring Franciscans. The Franciscans of Chanea seem to have been very anxious to preserve the house and to ensure that it operated as a nunnery. Jacob of Cattaro, for example, is said to have spent significant sums of money in order to repair the convent. It is also noteworthy that the Franciscans did not occupy the convent themselves, when they had the chance to, but tried to find a suitable community of nuns. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that, according to Pius II, the entire [Latin] community of Chanea showed concern about the convent's future when it was initially abandoned by its nuns. Finally, we learn of the existence of members of the Third Order of St Francis in Medieval Crete. One may assume that the spread of the Third Order would be implicit in any land with a significant Latin population, but in fact we do not know whether the Third Order was at all successful in medieval Greece. As we have seen, the only other reference to the Third Order in Greece appears in connection with the church of St Jacob in Chios.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Wadding, *Annales*, XV, 606-07.

¹⁹⁶ See above, p. 157.

The last of the nunneries of St Clare was founded in Candia. Sadly, the sources that have kept us so well informed about the other religious houses of Candia do not dwell on this particular foundation. All we know about this house is that it was dedicated to St Hieronymus and that it was built in the fifteenth century. According to Georgopoulou, Ser Thomas Abramo asked to be buried inside the convent's church and donated money for the construction of an altar and a tabernacle. In 1470, the painter George Pelegrin was commissioned to paint a Crucifixion for the nunnery.¹⁹⁷ Finally, in 1501, the Poor Clares of Candia were given permission to move to the monastery of St Mary Cruciferorum, which at the time was only occupied by a single chaplain. It seems, however, that this plan was not realised, for the house of St Mary was eventually taken over by the Capuchins.¹⁹⁸ The case of the nunnery of St Hieronymus is a very perplexing one. Why did the Poor Clares not establish themselves earlier in the city of Candia, where the Franciscans owned their most significant eastern outpost? It is interesting to compare this inconspicuous community of Poor Clares with the flourishing Dominican nunnery of St Catherine of Candia. As we shall see in the following chapter the Dominican nuns of Candia were amongst the oldest, most respected and successful monastic communities in the city. Why did the Poor Clares not enjoy similar success?

A second nunnery of Poor Clares, dedicated to St Clare, was founded at some point in Candia. It has been suggested that there is evidence of its existence as early as the mid-fourteenth century, but I have been unable to discover any such indication. In actual fact, this nunnery was probably founded much later, perhaps as late as the

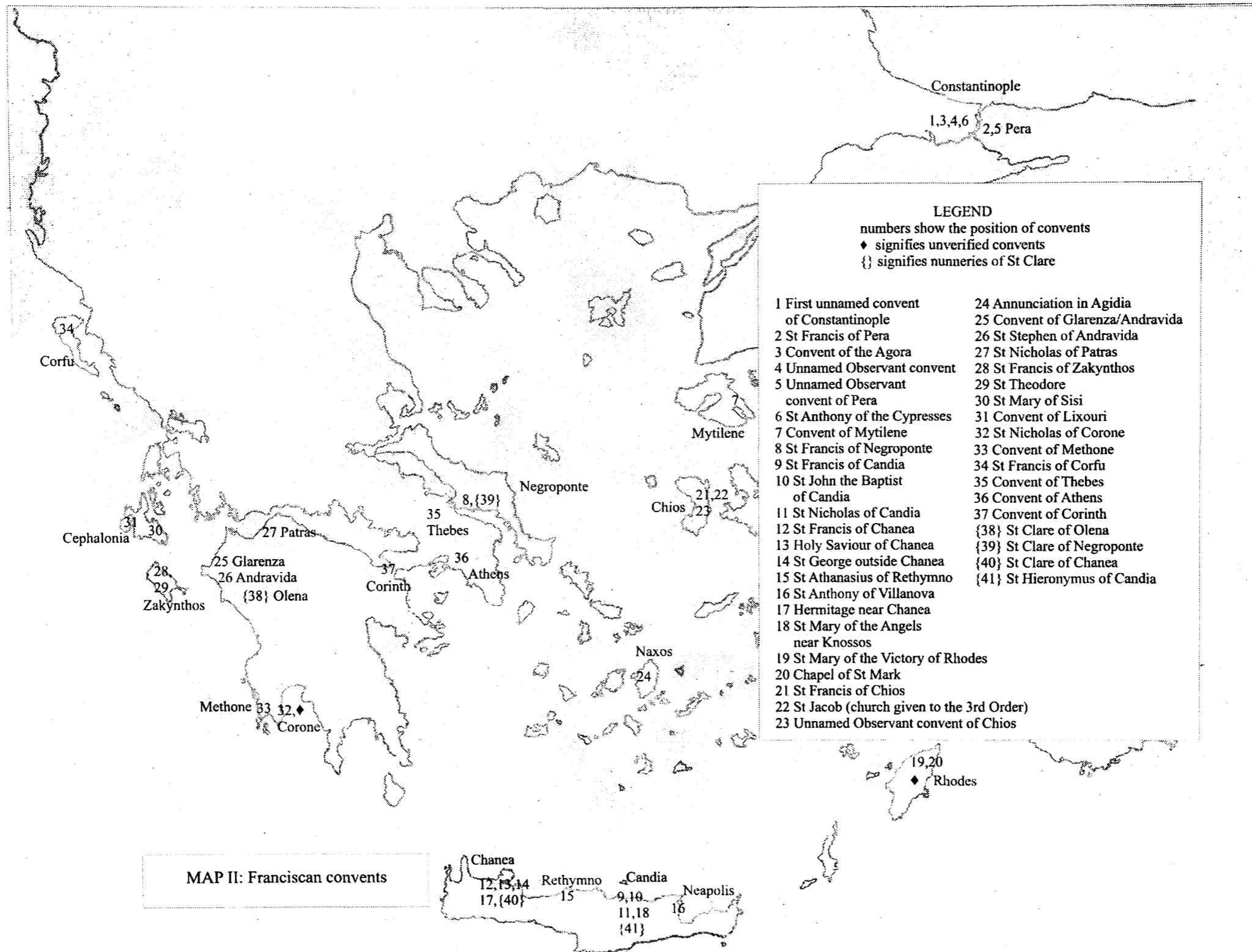
¹⁹⁷ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 202.

¹⁹⁸ Golubovich, V, 385. For the history of St Mary Cruciferorum see Chapter 5.

seventeenth century. The convent of St Clare was famous for operating an orphanage in the seventeenth century, known as *hospedal della Pietà*.¹⁹⁹

Unfortunately, the early information we have about the Poor Clares in Greece leaves many questions unanswered. It would be interesting to know, for example, more about the nuns themselves: who were they? Were they members of the nobility? Were they descendants of the Italian families of Greece or were they predominantly imported from the West? It would also be useful to know whether the Order had any appeal to the Greeks. We have already seen that at least one abbess of a Cistercian house, Demeta Palaeologa, was of Greek descent. Did similar cases exist within the Order of St Clare? Sadly, the only conclusions that can be drawn from the information available, are quite general ones. Primarily, we learn that the nunneries of St Clare were often the victims of the unstable conditions in the Aegean. Three out of our four houses were destroyed by pirates or Turkish incursions. It is therefore safe to assume that it was these perils that prevented the Order from flourishing in Greece.

¹⁹⁹ For an in depth examination of the orphanage's history in the seventeenth century, Papadia-Lala, *Ευαγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα*, pp. 112-35.



Chapter 4: The Dominicans

If the Franciscans were the most popular of the religious orders in Greece, the Dominicans were by far the most active. The activity and organization of the Dominican Order in medieval Greece has been studied much more systematically than that of any other order. Much of the research was carried out by one of the Order's most distinguished historians, Raymond Loenertz, who, in the 1930s published a series of articles examining the Dominican province of Greece and the Society of Pilgrim Brothers. The subject was dealt with even more thoroughly, in two recent monographs by Tommaso Violante and Claudine Delacroix-Besnier.¹ Drawing largely on the Order's archives, these publications examine exhaustively all of the aspects of the Dominican involvement in Greece. Bearing this in mind, one of the aims of this chapter is to provide a concise and comprehensive synopsis of recent scholarship on the subject. It should be noted, however, that the sources have been examined independently for this chapter, especially where the history of individual houses is concerned.

This abundance of studies about the Dominicans in the East is not fortuitous: it stems from the fact that the Dominican missions to Greece were the best-organised and most active ones of all, and as such they left behind rich documentary evidence. Much of the surviving evidence derives from the frequent contacts between the Dominicans of Greece and the West, and the close supervision that the Order always maintained over its eastern houses. Indeed, the General Chapters of the Dominicans, more than those of any other order, concerned themselves with the province of Greece. The province itself was founded by the very first General Chapter, held in Paris in 1228. There, the Order decided to add four new provinces to the eight created by the

¹ Tommaso M. Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1999) and Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté Grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997).

Order's founder: Poland, Dacia, Greece and the Holy Land.² The level of planning involved is illustrated by the fact that, in the twenty year interval between the creation of the province and the appearance of the first Dominican friaries in Greece, the Order not only investigated the most suitable positions for its houses, but also seems to have trained its friars in the Greek language.³ The subsequent General Chapters decreed that the new provinces were equal in all things to the pre-existing ones, that the province of Greece would rank eleventh in the order of the Dominican provinces, after Poland and Dacia, and that its Provincial Prior would occupy the sixth place from the right in the choir.⁴ In Bologna in 1240, it was arranged that the death of a general prior would be communicated to the province of Greece through the house of Bologna.⁵

Thereafter, we see the General Chapters maintaining the closest level of supervision over the province of Greece: in the first century of the province's existence, at least sixteen appointments and dismissals of Provincial Priors and Vicars were made by the General Chapters. In Limoges in 1334 and in Valencia in 1337, the General Chapter amended the rule according to which the election of a Provincial Prior was the responsibility of the provincial chapter. Presumably recognising the precarious situation of the Eastern provinces, and the need for trustworthy and able men to rule them, the General Chapter revoked the right of Greece and the Holy Land to elect their own Provincial Priors and entrusted this task to the general prior of the Order and the province's diffinitors.⁶

² Benedictus Maria Reichert, ed., *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 9 vols, I (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1898-1904), 3.

³ Pierre MacKay made this suggestion at the conference entitled *Βενετία – Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε* [Venice – Euboea: From Egripus to Negroponte]. The conference was held at Chalcis on 12-14 November 2004.

⁴ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 57.

⁵ *Acta Capitulum*, I, 13.

⁶ *Acta Capitulum*, II, 226 and 243. The names of many, if not most, of the provincial priors and vicars of Greece are preserved in the *Acta Capitulum* and also in Raymond Loenertz, 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province dominicaine de Grèce (1474-1669)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 14 (1944), 72-115.

Similarly, the General Chapter carefully regulated the number of houses that were founded in Greece. In 1248, when only a handful of Dominican convents existed in Greece, the General Chapter gave its permission for two new houses to be founded. Further permissions were granted in 1256, 1289 and 1294.⁷ It is not clear which houses were founded as a result of these concessions, but some suggestions will be discussed below.

At the same time, much like the other orders did, the Dominican General Chapters made special dispensations for the province of Greece, recognising the exceptional circumstances that the province faced: when in 1275 the other provinces were divided into two, the provinces of Greece and the Holy Land remained unchanged, presumably because they were still too small.⁸ Likewise, special dispensations were made concerning the taxation of Greece. When, for example, in 1325 the General Chapter asked the Provincial Priors to subsidise the expenses made at the curia, the province of Greece was taxed much more lightly than most of the other provinces (with the exception of Dacia) and was only obliged to pay six florins to the Order, as opposed to the ten florins paid for example by the Holy Land and the twenty paid by Germany.⁹

From its inception, the Dominican Order assigned great importance to the education of its members. Accordingly, each of the provinces was required to maintain at least one *studium generale* in one of their convents, and to send three of their best educated friars to continue their education in Paris. In 1316, the chapter of Montpellier excused Greece, Spain, Hungary, the Holy Land, Poland and Dacia from the obligation of operating such a school.¹⁰ Already from 1298, a clause had been added, stipulating

⁷ *Acta Capitulorum*, I, 48, 83, 253 and 276.

⁸ *Acta Capitulorum*, I, 179.

⁹ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 159.

¹⁰ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 89-90.

that the province of Greece was allowed to send only two brothers to study in Paris, instead of the prescribed three.¹¹ Indeed, it seems that the heads of the province of Greece were at times worried that the province may face a shortage of well educated friars: in 1288 and 1304 for example, the diffinitors of Greece and the Holy Land asked the general prior not to send the friars of these provinces, who had studied in Europe, to other provinces, before they had served for a certain number of years as lectors in their own provinces.¹² Despite all this, however, the Dominicans of Greece distinguished themselves, as we shall see, in both their missionary and scholarly work. Furthermore, many, if not all, of the Dominican convents of Greece operated conventual schools and libraries, which both attracted and produced important scholars.

Finally, the General Chapters and the master of the Order took steps in order to encourage the migration of friars to Greece. In the fourteenth century, for instance, the General Chapter amended the rule about the number of friars allowed in a convent. Considering the example of the twelve apostles a model for coenobitic life, the Order traditionally required that each Dominican convent was comprised of twelve brothers. The lands of mission, including the Holy Land and Greece, were granted exemption from this rule, so that communities of fewer or more than twelve religious persons could be created. If, however, a community was comprised by fewer than twelve brothers, it would not be recognised as a formal convent, but rather as a house.¹³

It is clear that many friars of different provinces were given permission by the Order's master to go either to the province of the Holy Land, or Greece or to join the Society of Pilgrims. This arrangement had significant repercussions both for the Province and the Society, which shall be discussed below. Furthermore, the master allowed each of the Provincial Priors to commission six friars of his jurisdiction to

¹¹ *Acta Capitulorum*, I, 288.

¹² *Acta Capitulorum*, I, 245 and II, 5.

¹³ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 64-65.

move to Greece, or join the Society of Pilgrims, provided that these friars were volunteers and exemplary in both their lives and their reputations. In 1370, the General Chapter gave permission to the general priors of Greece and the Holy Land to recruit twenty friars from other provinces, provided that the Provincial Priors affected would also grant their permission.¹⁴

Despite the Order's best intentions, discrepancies did sometimes occur, but even in those cases, the General Chapters seem to have been quick to respond. In 1296, for example, the General Chapter commissioned the Provincial Prior of Rome to deal with the case of John of Lateran. John had been appointed to Greece two years earlier, but had refused to take up his post. Now the General Chapter ordered that he was sent to Greece whence he was not allowed to return without the permission of the General Chapter or the Master.¹⁵ Similarly, we learn of a number of brothers, who, having obtained permission to choose between the Holy Land, the Society of Pilgrims and Greece, never made a choice and instead roamed around pointlessly. Once again, the General Chapters ordered that these brothers were captured and imprisoned and revoked all such permissions, replacing them with special appointments by the Provincial Priors.¹⁶ Finally, in 1357, in order to avoid any similar incidents, the General Chapter ordered the Provincial Priors of Greece and the Holy Land to present each year a written list of all the Dominicans in their provinces and their business there.¹⁷

Under such close supervision, the Dominicans quickly established their presence in Greece. Apart from the main branch of the Order, represented by the convents of the province of Greece under the authority of the Provincial Prior and the

¹⁴ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 416.

¹⁵ *Acta Capitulorum*, I, 281.

¹⁶ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 208, 232 and 271.

¹⁷ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 379.

General Master, the beginning of the fourteenth century saw the introduction of a second offshoot of the Order in Greece. The Society of Pilgrim Brothers for Christ was a Dominican congregation devoted to missionary work amongst the infidels and schismatics, primarily in the near East and the regions around the Caspian Sea.¹⁸ The members of this congregation were primarily of Italian descent, but they came from all of the Order's provinces. The houses belonging to the congregation came together under the authority of a vicar, appointed by the General Master. The Society originally owned two houses in Greece (in Pera and Chios) and another two in Caffa and Trebizond. Despite its rapid expansion, the congregation was suppressed in 1363, only to be re-founded and reinvigorated in 1375.¹⁹ In the interests of convenience and simplicity the houses of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers for Christ will be examined together with the rest of the Dominican convents of Greece.

The Dominicans in Constantinople

It has been asserted that the first Dominican friars to travel to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, did so around 1228 in order to investigate the possibilities for the Order's establishment there and to prepare the ground for the first Dominican foundations.²⁰ The first definite evidence, however, of a Dominican house in the Latin Empire comes from the year 1233.²¹ This Dominican house was situated in Constantinople, but both its exact location and its name are unknown. It has been suggested that the convent was founded by St Hyacinth, St Dominic's disciple, but

¹⁸ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 145-47.

¹⁹ Raymond Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines en Orient au quatorzième siècle et la Société des Frères Pérégrinants pour le Christ', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 2 (1932), 2-83 (pp. 2-3).

²⁰ Demetrios N. Kasapides, 'Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Εγκατάστασης των Δομηνικανών στον Ελληνικό Χώρο: Η Περίπτωση του Ρεθύμνου' ['Contribution to the History of the Dominican Settlement of Greece: The Case of Rethymno'], in *Atti del simposio Rethymno Veneziano*, ed. by C. Maltezou and A. Papadaki (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini, 2003), pp. 211-25 (p. 212).

²¹ R. Loenertz, 'Les établissements dominicains de Péra-Constantinople', *Échos d'Orient*, 34 (1935), 332-49 (p.334).

both Janin and Violante have discarded this possibility. In 1238, the house's prior was a friar named Jacob, who was involved in the transfer of the Crown of Thorns, from Constantinople to France. The following year, the chapter of Clarence assigned some friars to the convent of Constantinople. The majority of Dominican houses in Greece were Italian foundations, but Loenertz points out that the house of Constantinople, like the convents of Thebes and Glarenza were actually French houses. This is not surprising considering the fact that they were founded on the Frankish territories of Greece. As we have already seen, the Latin monastic foundations of Greece, almost invariably shared the ethnic background of the Latin communities within which they existed. In 1244, the convent had a new prior, called Simon. In 1252, a member of this community, friar Bartholomew, composed a tract against the errors of the Greeks, which will be further discussed below. Like most of the Latin religious houses of Constantinople, this convent disappeared when Michael VIII Palaeologos reclaimed Constantinople for the Byzantines, but, as we shall see the Dominicans reestablished themselves in the capital, before the end of the century.²²

As we have already seen, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Dominican General Chapter approved the foundation of several new houses on the lands of the Latin Empire. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell which concession resulted in the foundation of which house, but it is certain that by 1277 the Dominicans owned six houses in Greece: one in Methone, one on Negroponte, one in Glarenza, one in Thebes, one in Candia and a further one in an unspecified location on Crete.²³

St Mary of Methone

²² Loenertz, 'Les établissements', pp. 334-35.

²³ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 66.

According to Violante, the Dominican convent of St Mary in Methone may have been founded as a result of the permission given by the General Chapter of 1249.²⁴ Unfortunately, nothing is known about the house's early history or about its location. In the fourteenth century, the convent of St Mary is said to have been very poor. In 1323, the Venetian Commune decided to make a monthly donation of grain for four years, to Henry, the convent's prior, in order to alleviate the house's expenses.²⁵ In 1327, the Commune also voted for an annual grant of twenty soldi for ten years, to the brothers of Methone.²⁶ It seems that at that time, the friars of St Mary were either expanding or repairing their convent, because another decision by the Commune granted them a quantity of wood for their construction work, which was to be delivered to them through the city's castellan.²⁷ The convent is subsequently mentioned in two wills from Methone, dating from 1339 and 1358: Peter de Verigolis bequeathed to the convent five hyperpers and Catherine, wife of Peter of Cesena, bequeathed another ten hyperpers.²⁸ The house is finally mentioned in the list of expenses made by Count Amadeo of Savoy during his Balkan expedition. In July 1366, when the count passed through Methone he donated four florins to the Dominicans of the city.²⁹

In two references to the house dating from the fifteenth century, St Mary appears to be paying money instead of receiving it: In 1487 the Order's master instructed the prior of the convent to pay two ducats to friar Matthew of Venice, former Provincial Prior of Greece, as a contribution towards his expenses made during his trip to the General Chapter. In 1491, the master ordered that the convent paid a ducat each

²⁴ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 66.

²⁵ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, R. 21/4, f. 204r.

²⁶ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, R. 22/5, f. 69v.

²⁷ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, R. 22/5, f. 82r.

²⁸ Andrea Nanetti, ed., *Documenta Veneta Coroni et Methoni Rogata*, 2 vols, I (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 1999), 125 and 200-02.

²⁹ Golubovich, V, 125.

year to help pay for the studies of friar Thomas of Candia.³⁰ The city of Methone was captured by the Turks in 1500 and that signaled the end of the Dominican convent.

Poor as it may have been, the Dominican house of Methone was certainly not insignificant. As Violante remarks, the Dominican presence in the city resulted in numerous appointments of Dominican bishops to the see of Methone. Four Dominicans are known to have occupied the see in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and another two titular Dominican bishops were appointed after the city was lost to the Ottomans.³¹

The Dominican Convent of Negroponte

The convent of Negroponte was also one of the first Dominican convents to be founded in Greece. It is indeed possible that this convent was founded as a result of the expulsion of the Dominicans from Constantinople in 1261, as it is mentioned for the first time in 1262, and is known to have been the residence of the exiled prior, the Greek born Simon of Constantinople³². Violante speculates that after the fall of Constantinople to Michael Palaeologos and the disappearance of the Dominican convent of Constantinople, the convent of Negroponte became the most important Dominican house of Greece.³³ This was certainly true, at least until the Society of Pilgrim Brothers installed itself in Constantinople. The convent owned a significant library and contributed to the scholarly pursuits of the Dominicans of Greece.³⁴ Amongst its community, for example, was a friar named Andrew Doto, who, with the help of the brothers of the *scriptorium* of Negroponte, translated into Latin the

³⁰ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 141.

³¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 140-41.

³² The convent appears in the 1262 treaty confirming Venetian expansion into the south of the city of Negroponte. See Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, III, 47-48.

³³ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 142.

³⁴ This fact was confirmed by MacKay in his above mentioned paper at *Βενετία – Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε*.

Thesaurus veritatis fidei, published it and sent it to Pope John XXII. The work had originally been composed in Greek, by one of the first Dominican friars and scholars of the province of Greece, Bonaccorso of Bologna.³⁵

In 1334, the General Chapter, appointed the prior of Negroponte, Nicholas de Plano Carlani, general vicar of the province until the arrival of the newly appointed Provincial Prior, Francis of Tuscanella.³⁶ A few decades later, in 1372 an even greater honour was given to the convent, when one of its members, Nicholas Castelli, was appointed Provincial Prior of Greece.³⁷ In 1468, however, the General Chapter punished with imprisonment friar Peter of Negroponte, who along with John Parusco had conspired against and attacked the Provincial Prior of Greece.³⁸ Two years later, with the Turkish conquest of Negroponte, the convent was abandoned.

Amongst the illustrious people who visited or sojourned at the Dominican house of Negroponte, we find friar Venturino Laurenzi of Bergamo, who participated in the crusader siege of Smyrna and died there in 1346 and Count Amadeo of Savoy who donated three florins to the brothers in 1366.³⁹

The convent's exact location is not known, but Pierre MacKay has recently attempted to identify it with the medieval church of St Mary the largest church in medieval Negroponte, which surely corresponds to the church of Αγία Παρασκευή, that still stands in Chalcis.⁴⁰

The Dominican Convent of Thebes

³⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 97 and 142.

³⁶ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 227.

³⁷ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 144-45.

³⁸ *Acta Capitulorum*, III, 317-18.

³⁹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 143 and Golubovich, V, 125.

⁴⁰ MacKay made this suggestion at the above-mentioned conference.

Another early Dominican foundation of Greece, was the convent of Thebes, which is first mentioned in a papal letter of 1253. At the time, its prior was a friar named Stephen Beslin.⁴¹ The house of Thebes, like that of Negroponte, appears to have been a centre of Dominican scholarship in Greece. In 1260, it housed the friar William of Moerbeke, who whilst there concluded his Latin translation of Aristotle's *De Historia Animalium*.⁴² William of Moerbeke was one of the most illustrious representatives of the Order of Preachers in the East. A friend and associate of Thomas Aquinas and a celebrated scholar himself, he assisted in the second Council of Lyons and occupied the episcopal see of Corinth between 1277 and his death in 1286. He is most famous for his scholarly work and especially for his translations of Aristotle, Proclus and Ptolemy, on the merit of which he is seen as a forerunner of humanism; his involvement with the Council of Lyons, however, shows that he also employed his linguistic skills in the service of Church Union.⁴³ William of Moerbeke may be an exceptional example, but in a way his career epitomizes the involvement or at least the aspirations of the Order of Preachers in the East: William's cultural formation, linguistic skills, literary output, unionist activity and hierarchical advancement embody both the goals of the Dominicans in Greece, as well as the methods they employed to attain them.

In 1326, John XXII appointed the Dominican brother and former Patriarch of Antioch Isnardus Taconi archbishop of Thebes. Isnardus had already served as archbishop of Thebes between 1308 and 1311, before his elevation to the Patriarchal

⁴¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 85.

⁴² Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 94.

⁴³ Indeed Delacroix-Besnier surmises that much of Thomas Aquinas's relevant work was influenced and inspired by William of Moerbeke. *Les Dominicains*, pp. 396-98.

throne, but had never taken up residence in his see.⁴⁴ This time around, however, Isnardus not only moved to Thebes, but was also entrusted with important missions, like the negotiations between Robert of Naples, the princes of Achaia and the Doge of Venice, concerning the defence against the Turks and against the adherents of antipope Nicholas V.⁴⁵

The Dominicans in Glarenza-Andravida

According to the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Prince William II Villehardouin celebrated his victory against the Greeks in 1264 by building in Andravida the Franciscan church of St Stephen, the Templar church of St James and the Dominican church of St Sophia.⁴⁶ The church of St Sophia was a large building, which was sometimes used as an assembly place during the reign of William II.⁴⁷ Considering the church's unusual name, Violante has speculated that perhaps St Sophia was a pre-existing Greek church that was donated to the Dominicans, rather than a new church built for them. He has also suggested that St Sophia was only a church, not a convent, and that it was operated by a Dominican convent in the neighbouring town of Glarenza.⁴⁸ This is consistent with the surviving ruins of St Sophia of Andravida, which show no traces of an adjacent convent.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the Dominicans were certainly installed in or around Andravida, even before 1264. In 1262 Urban IV wrote a series of letters to Master B and William de Casa, a canon of Corinth, concerning some debts that the bishops of Lacedaemon and Olena owed to the Apostolic See. The pope

⁴⁴ Raymond Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés Catalans (1311-1395)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 28 (1958), 5-91 (p. 35), and Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 144-45.

⁴⁵ Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras', p. 37.

⁴⁶ Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de los fechos*, p. 77.

⁴⁷ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 6 and Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, p. 67.

⁴⁸ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁹ Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, p. 67.

instructed the recipients of this letter to compel the bishop of Lacedaemon to pay one hundred marks to the prior of the Dominicans of Andravida. The bishop of Olena had already died, without repaying his debt, so Urban asked the archbishop of Patras, his suffragan to pay the two hundred ounces of gold and the two thousand hyperpers owed, to the Dominican prior. At the same time, he addressed the Dominican prior, instructing him what to do once he received the money: he was to pay the hundred marks and the two hundred ounces of gold to certain merchants from Florence and Siena, whilst with the two thousand hyperpers he was supposed to buy silk fabrics of the finest quality and send them to Rome.⁵⁰

Although it is assumed that the Dominicans were installed in both Glarenza and Andravida, it is not actually clear that two separate convents existed.⁵¹ I would tentatively suggest that the Dominican establishment mentioned in Urban's letters of 1262 was the only Dominican convent in the area and was referred to both as convent of Glarenza and as convent of Andravida. After all, the two towns were only twelve kilometres apart and the exact location of either of the putative convents is unknown. It is possible then that there was just one convent, situated in either of the towns (or indeed in between the two towns) and that the two names were used interchangeably. In either case, Violante is probably right in assuming that St Sophia was only a church, not a convent, and that it was operated by the brothers of a nearby house.

St Peter Martyr of Candia

⁵⁰ *Registres d' Urbain IV*, I, 15-16.

⁵¹ Violante bases his assumption that a Dominican house existed in Glarenza, on an obscure reference to a Dominican convent of *Claros*, found in Girolamo Golubovich, 'San Domenico nell' apostolato de' suoi figli in Oriente (Periodo de' secoli XIII-XIV)', in *Miscellanea Dominicana in memoriam VII anni saecularis ab obitu Sancti Patris Dominici (1221-1921)*, ed. by Innocentius Taurizano (Rome: Franciscus Ferrari, 1923), pp. 206-21 (p. 216).

One of the most celebrated Dominican convents of Greece was the house of Candia, dedicated to St Peter the Martyr. Its impressive remains still stand today on the north part of the city, close to the maritime fortifications, and have been studied extensively both by Gerola and by Kitsiki Panagopoulos.⁵² Interestingly, the large convent had been enclosed by a high wall, to prevent any visual contact with the neighbouring Jews.⁵³ The exact date of its foundation is unknown, but it is certain that the monastery was founded towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As Georgopoulou points out, the convent was built as a result of a generous donation by the Commune: in 1248, the Venetian authorities donated to the Dominican Order, a plot of land which covered more than eight hundred and fifty square metres inside the city of Candia. It is perhaps significant, that at the same time, the archiepiscopal see of Crete was occupied by a Dominican friar, John Querini. If the house was originally dedicated to St Peter the Martyr, as is almost certain, then its foundation must be dated a few years after the donation of land: Peter of Verona (later the Martyr) died in 1252 and was canonized (exceptionally fast) in 1253 by Innocent IV.⁵⁴ Thus the convent must have been dedicated in the early or mid 1250s. Further donations of land by the feudatories of Crete followed, in 1257 and 1275; in the fourteenth century, the Venetian state even decided to make an annual donation of twenty five hyperpers to the Dominicans of Candia, to facilitate the celebration of the provincial chapter.⁵⁵

The devotion that the Venetian settlers showed to the house of St Peter is further demonstrated by the extraordinary number of surviving wills, which bequeathed money to the convent. At least one hundred and eighty such wills from between the

⁵² Gerola, II, 125-27 and Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, pp. 87-94.

⁵³ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 141.

⁵⁴ For the canonization of Peter of Verona see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, trans. by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), especially pp. 68-69 and 11-12.

⁵⁵ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 135-36.

years 1312 and 1420 are published in McKee's collection, sometimes bequeathing as much as a hundred hyperpers at a time to the Dominicans.⁵⁶ Indeed, out of all the religious houses of Candia, the Dominican house of St Peter was only surpassed in popularity by the convent of St Francis.

The wills also reveal that many of the Venetians of Crete chose the church of St Peter as their final resting place. Amongst those buried in the church were four of Candia's fourteenth-century dukes: Marco Gradonico (1331), John Morosini (1327), Philip Dorio (1357) and Marinus Grimani (1360). Other members of the nobility also had tombs erected inside the church, whilst many other citizens were buried in the church's courtyard. From the evidence appearing in these wills, Georgopoulou has worked out that the church housed private chapels and altars for the Pasqualigo, the Tulino, the Bono, the Querini and the Albi families.⁵⁷

The same wills and other notarial deeds have preserved the names of many of St Peter's friars: In 1285, the house's prior was named Peter of Regio.⁵⁸ In 1339 we learn of a proctor named Angelus Venetando.⁵⁹ In 1342, the house was ruled by the General Vicar of the province of Greece, Nicholas Ceca.⁶⁰ In 1347 the convent's proctor was a friar named Bernardinus of Parma. In a noteworthy deed, he was paid one hundred hyperpers by one of the monastery's debtors.⁶¹ At the same time, another vicar, named Thomas Querini resided in the monastery, but it is not apparent whether he was vicar general of the whole province, or whether he was just administering the house in the absence of a prior.⁶² In 1349, Nicholas Ceca appears again as prior of St

⁵⁶ See for example, McKee, *Wills*, I, 345-46.

⁵⁷ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 140.

⁵⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 115, f. 64v.

⁵⁹ Charalambos Gasparis, ed., *Franciscus de Cruce: Νοτάριος στον Χάνδακα, 1338-1339* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini et postbizantini, 1999), p. 176.

⁶⁰ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 98, quaderno 2, f. 5 (13)r.

⁶¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 238v.

⁶² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 226r.

Peter and now his proctor was named Marinus Galiardo. Between the 1360s and the 1380s we have a quick succession of priors and proctors: Anthony of Savigliano was prior in 1366, Alexius of Cortonio and then Marinus Galiardo in 1369, Ugolinus of Savoy in 1374, Marco Grisso of Venice in 1376, Marco of Scano in 1378, Louis of Laude in 1382 and Bartholomew of Trano in 1387. During the same period we encounter the proctors Thomas of Rhodes and Nicholas Colona.

Several of these notarial deeds mention the names of the entire Dominican community of St Peter. In 1368 for example, when the community commissioned a canon of Crete to collect a debt of sixty hyperpers for them, the convent housed the friars Anthony of Savigliano, Marinus Galiardo, John of Piacenza, Michael of Candia, Guido of Negroponte, Peter Paulo, Marco of Negroponte, Antoniolus of Glarenza, and Francis of Chanea.⁶³ In a similar deed of 1369 we find the names of Francis of Mutina, Marinus Galiardo, Alexius of Cortonio, Peter Languardo, Peter Paulo, John of Negroponte, Manfred Çapareno, Jacob Colona, and Antoniolus of Glarenza.⁶⁴ In an act of 1387, there appear the names of friars Francis of Vicenza, Bartholomew of Trano, Gabriel of Parma, Anthony of Venice, Manfred Çapareno, Jacob Colona, Philip of Barullo, Peter of Barullo, Nicholas of Treviso, L. of Monopoli, and William of Negroponte.⁶⁵ Finally, in a deed of 1382, we find the names of Michael Rodulpho, Louis of Laude, Benedict of Venice, and George Barocio.⁶⁶ The first striking fact about these lists of friars is that the community is not large enough to constitute a formal Dominican convent. As we have already seen, at least twelve brothers were needed for the formation of a convent. In these cases, however, we see the convent housing eleven brothers at best, and sometimes as few as five. Of course there is evidence that the

⁶³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 137r.

⁶⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 169v.

⁶⁵ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 4, f. 4 (521)v.

⁶⁶ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 136r.

monastery was also populated by lay brothers, *conversi*, as was usual for Dominican houses, but they were not formally members of the community. Nevertheless, this house was possibly the most important Dominican convent of the province in the fourteenth century. We have already seen that this is where the provincial chapters were celebrated, and that Venice made an annual donation to the convent for this reason. More importantly perhaps, it seems that in the fourteenth century, St Peter was the seat of the Provincial Prior of Greece and his vicars. We have seen that one of the house's priors, Nicholas Ceca, was also Vicar General of Greece and that Thomas Querini may have occupied the same post. In 1348, the Vicar General, Nicholas Fermano, signed a quitclaim for twenty hyperpers in Candia.⁶⁷ In 1382, the Vicar General Michael Rodulpho was also apparently living in the convent, although he was not the convent's prior.⁶⁸ Finally, in 1497, Marinus of Treviso, who at the time was Vicar General of Greece, was appointed prior of the house of Candia.⁶⁹ Similarly, two of the Provincial Priors of Greece sign the convent's contracts, even though they were not the convent's priors: friar Francis of Mutina in 1369, and friar Francis of Vincenza in 1387.⁷⁰ Apart from these two, who may or may not have been originally members of the convent of Candia, St Peter the Martyr produced at least three Provincial Priors of Greece: in 1347 the General Chapter of Bologna appointed Nicholas of Cortello as Provincial Prior. In the following century friar Iamdinus of Candia and friar Simon of Candia were also promoted to that post, in 1421 and 1429.⁷¹

Furthermore, the convent of Candia also housed some of the Dominican inquisitors against heresy in Greece. In 1314 friar Andrew Doto was in charge of a case against one of the leading Jews of the city, Sabbetay. Sabbetay had been appointed

⁶⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 295, quaderno 8, f. 1v.

⁶⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 136r.

⁶⁹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 136.

⁷⁰ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 169v and quaderno 4, f. 4 (521)v.

⁷¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 133.

collector of taxes by the duke of Candia, but that enraged the Christian population of the city, who asked Andrew Doto to intervene. The duke, however, protected Sabbetay and stated that the inquisitors had no jurisdiction over the Jews, except in cases where they had committed blasphemy.⁷² In 1387 we hear of another inquisitor, by the name of Gabriel of Parma, residing in the monastery, but we know nothing more of his career.⁷³ Finally, in 1420, the inquisitor friar Anthony dealt with the case of a Christian who had converted to Judaism. Friar Anthony was lenient with the convert, but the ecclesiastic authorities of the island asked for the intervention of Pope Martin V, who imposed a harsher sentence.⁷⁴ By the fifteenth century, the number of friars residing in the convent of St Peter had been raised to fifteen.⁷⁵

Despite the Order's anxiousness to furnish the province of Greece with suitable brothers from Western Europe, St Peter the Martyr was obviously able to recruit friars from within the province of Greece: Marco of Candia, Guido of Negroponte, Marco of Negroponte, John of Negroponte, Francis of Chanea, Antoniolus of Glarenza etc. Amongst all of the religious orders of Greece, it seems that the Dominicans were the best equipped to recruit friars locally, and, as we shall see, their recruits were not only limited to the Latin settlers but also came from the circle of the Greek intelligentsia. The background of the Italian friars of St Peter the Martyr is also interesting: it is obvious that they were not all of Venetian origin, but had also come from Piacenza, Vicenza, Parma, Calabria and Savoy.

Despite the popularity and success of St Peter, or rather because of these, the Dominicans of Candia occasionally clashed with the secular Church. As we saw in the previous chapter, for example, in 1334, the archbishop of Crete complained to Pope

⁷² Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 133.

⁷³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 4, f. 4 (521)v.

⁷⁴ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 133-34.

⁷⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 134.

Benedict XII about the Franciscans and Dominicans on the island, who were infringing on the rights of the secular Church. Benedict replied by urging the prelates of the island to take action against the friars.⁷⁶ Once again, it is not hard to see where the Church's displeasure stemmed from: with the convents of St Francis and St Peter outshining the cathedral church of St Titus and with many of the city's nobles opting to be buried within these convents, the archbishop was losing valuable income. The wills and contracts of Candia show clearly that the Dominican convent was quite rich, at least by the standards of Greece, but it seems that in some cases even individual friars were allowed to hold and administer their own property. In 1367 for example, the Dominican Peter Paulo made a contract by which he leased a vineyard, which he had inherited from his mother, to a citizen of Candia for five years, against the annual sum of twenty three hyperpers.⁷⁷ On the whole, however, such occurrences seem to have been rare and the Dominicans were usually on good terms with the secular Church, not least because several of the episcopal sees of Crete were at times occupied by Dominican friars.⁷⁸ The archiepiscopal see of Crete in particular, was occupied by five Dominicans between 1248 and 1334: John Querini, Angelus Maltraverso, Matthew, Alexander of St Elpidio, and Aegidius of Gallutis.⁷⁹

In the fifteenth century, the Dominicans played a major role in the attempts to secure Church Union, particularly during the council of Florence-Ferrara.⁸⁰ The Dominicans of Candia got involved in this effort as well, when in 1458 and 1459 Simon of Candia was instructed to publish in Crete the papal decree ordering the Greek clergy to include the *Filioque* clause in the recital of the creed. Later, in 1493, friar

⁷⁶ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 119, ff. 179v-180v.

⁷⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 103r. See Appendix II.

⁷⁸ See Appendix I.

⁷⁹ See Appendix I, or Eubel, I, 215-16.

⁸⁰ See below, pp. 248-49. For an examination of the union of Florence-Ferrara see Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

Simon was appointed vicar of the province of Greece, the province of the Holy Land and the Society of Pilgrim Brothers.⁸¹

Like the convent of Methone, the convent of Candia was also expected to share in some of the province's expenses in the late fifteenth century. In 1487 the house was asked to pay four ducats to the former Provincial Prior, Matthew of Venice, in order to help cover his expenses for his trip to the General Chapter. Likewise, in 1491, the convent was ordered to pay four ducats annually for the studies of friar Thomas of Candia.⁸²

The Dominican convent of Candia survived until the fall of the island to the Turks in 1669. By that time, at least two other Dominican houses had been founded in the city of Candia.⁸³ One of these two houses was St Paul, the only Servite convent of Greece, which at some point was donated to the Dominicans.⁸⁴ In Candia of course, there was also the famous Dominican nunnery of St Catherine, whose history will be discussed below.

As we have already seen, the Dominicans probably owned a second, smaller, house in Candia, already from the middle of the thirteenth century. The house has not been identified, but it has been surmised that it was an insignificant house that did not meet the requirements of a formal convent.⁸⁵

St Dominic (St Paul) of Pera

The Dominicans, who were expelled from Constantinople after the Greek reconquest, managed to reinstall themselves in the city by 1299. This time, however,

⁸¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 134-35.

⁸² Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 134-35.

⁸³ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 136-37.

⁸⁴ Flaminius Cornelio, *Creta Sacra, sive de Episcopis utriusque ritus Greci et Latini in insula Cretae*, 2 vols, II (Venice: 1755), 16-17.

⁸⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 66.

the migration was under the auspices of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers for Christ, instead of the Provincial Prior. This second wave of Dominican involvement in Constantinople began with the initiative of friar William Bernardo of Gaillac, who in 1299 installed himself in Constantinople, learned Greek and devoted his energy to preaching against the errors of the Greeks. According to Violante, William Bernardo's activity resulted in the foundation of the Mendicant house mentioned in Pachymeres, which so annoyed Patriarch Athanasius with its preaching, that it was demolished.⁸⁶ After the demolition of this house, the Dominicans moved to the Genoese suburb of Pera and founded the convent of St Dominic around 1307⁸⁷

Janin has concluded that the friary which was demolished by the Greek Patriarch was in fact a Franciscan one.⁸⁸ If he is correct, the location of William Bernardo's original convent in Constantinople must remain unknown. It is certain, however, that William Bernardo moved his community from Constantinople to Pera, early in the fourteenth century.⁸⁹ There has been considerable confusion regarding the name of this new convent, as the documents refer to it both as St Dominic and St Paul, but Janin has concluded that the house's proper name was actually St Dominic, and that it was situated near an older Latin church dedicated to St Paul, in the Constantinopolitan suburb of Pera.⁹⁰ The materials for the construction of the church were taken from an old Greek church, dedicated to St Irene, which was situated on the same site.⁹¹

The convent of St Dominic housed twelve brothers, and thus was recognised as a formal Dominican convent. Amongst its famous inhabitants and visitors, were friar

⁸⁶ Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico*, II, 536-39.

⁸⁷ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 150-51.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 3, p. 134.

⁸⁹ This information appears in a document published by Loenertz, in 'Les missions dominicaines', p. 66.

⁹⁰ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 590.

⁹¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 74-75.

Simon of Constantinople, who died there in 1325, after returning from Negroponte, the illustrious missionary John of Florence who died there in 1347 and Philip of Pera who composed two tracts on the burning issues of contention between the Roman and the Greek Churches: *De obedientia Romane Ecclesie debita* and *De processione Spiritus Sancti*.⁹² In 1327, the General Chapter of Perpignan decided to remove this convent, along with that of Chios, from the jurisdiction of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers, and to unite it to the province of Greece. The decision stipulated, however, that the Pilgrim Brothers would still be received in these houses and be sent forth thence to conclude their missions.⁹³ The following year, the decision was revoked and the house was reattached to the Society of Pilgrims.

Around the same time, the Dominicans were asked to intervene in the case between the rector of St Michael and the Franciscans of Constantinople, who were accused of disobeying Boniface VIII's *Super Cathedram* decree, to the detriment of the secular church. The Dominicans sided with the Franciscans and the case was not resolved until at least 1363.⁹⁴

In 1330, St Dominic was placed in charge of the nunnery of St Catherine of Pera, founded by William Bernardo, which was the only Dominican nunnery belonging to the Society of Pilgrims.⁹⁵

In 1333, the General Chapter ordered the convent of St Dominic to open a school teaching oriental languages, for the benefit of the missionaries to the East, but according to Violante the order was ignored by the brothers of Pera.⁹⁶

The Society of Pilgrim Brothers was suppressed in 1363 and its convents (including St Dominic of Pera) once again passed into the jurisdiction of the Province

⁹² Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 155-56 and Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', p. 12.

⁹³ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 171.

⁹⁴ See Chapter 3, p. 133.

⁹⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 155.

⁹⁶ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 155.

of Greece and its Provincial Prior.⁹⁷ As Loenertz points out, the reason for the Society's suppression was probably the fact that, with only four formal houses (Pera, Chios, Caffa and Trebizond) it was not deemed to be big enough to constitute a proper congregation.⁹⁸

Thus, for the next decade, St Dominic continued its existence as part of the province of Greece. In 1366, we learn that several members of the Balkan expedition led by Amadeo of Savoy were buried in the Dominican church. The count himself donated sixteen hyperpers to the convent.⁹⁹ In 1373, the convent of Pera, along with the other convents that had belonged to the Society of Pilgrims, was placed temporarily in the care of a vicar, friar Luchino of Mari of Genoa. Soon afterwards, however, in 1375, the Society of Pilgrim Brothers was re-founded and the convent of St Dominic was reattached to the congregation.¹⁰⁰ Around the same time, the Venetian *bailus* of Constantinople donated to the convent a church dedicated to St Mark. Pope Gregory XI wrote to the Doge Andrea Contarini asking him to confirm the donation and at the same time addressed the *bailus* praising him for his donation and instructing him to work for the construction of a new Dominican convent around the church, for the 'consolation of the Latins and the conversion of the schismatics'.¹⁰¹ Further donations were made by the Genoese Commune of Pera, who donated a hyperper in 1390 and by Enguerrand VII of Coucy, who in 1397 bequeathed ten ducats to the convent.¹⁰² Enguerrand of Coucy was one of the leaders of the crusade of Nicopolis, whose

⁹⁷ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 416.

⁹⁸ Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', pp. 2-3.

⁹⁹ Golubivich, V, 126 and Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 157.

¹⁰¹ *Lettres de Grégoire XI*, ed. by C. Tihon, 4 vols, II (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1964), 100 and Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 271, f. 10v.

¹⁰² Janin, *Géographie*, III, 592. Janin mistakenly states that the bequest was made by Enguerrand VI of Coucy in 1398, but in fact it was by Enguerrand VII who died in 1397. See Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I, 360, Joseph Marie Antoine Delaville Le Roulx, *France en Orient au XIVe siècle*, 2 vols, I (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886), 313 and André Du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique des maisons de Guines, de Gand, et de Coucy et des quelques autres familles illustres qui y ont esté alliées* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1631), p. 271.

prudent advice went unheeded before the battle, with disastrous consequences for the Christian army. He was captured by Bayezid, along with other French nobles and died in captivity in Brusa in 1397. It is peculiar that Enguerrand chose to bequeath money to the Dominicans of Pera, for he does not appear to have travelled to Constantinople and is therefore unlikely to have had any particular connection with the convent of St Dominic.¹⁰³

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Dominicans of Pera were also operating a hospice for the poor: in 1400, Boniface IX appointed a friar named Louis chaplain of the church and hospice of St Anthony in Pera.¹⁰⁴ From a letter by Eugenius IV in 1436, we learn that the chapel and hospice had originally belonged to the Augustinians of Vienne and that their incomes did not exceed twenty florins.¹⁰⁵ In 1405, there is a reference to a Dominican quarter in Pera. The Dominican convent had grown so much, both in size and importance that it gave its name to the entire quarter where it was situated. In 1407, Gregory XII issued indulgences to those who would visit the house of Pera and help sustain it.¹⁰⁶ In 1437 Nicholas of Ferrara, the vicar general of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers, and Anthony of Oria, inquisitor of Bologna, were charged with reforming the convent. In the 1440s the brothers of Pera were engaged in a dispute with the Percio and Spinola families, who were claiming patronage over the chapel of St Nicholas, situated inside the church of St Dominic.¹⁰⁷

The convent of St Dominic even survived the first years of the Ottoman rule over Constantinople. Eventually, the house was converted into a mosque, but it seems that the Dominican friars remained in possession of St Dominic until around 1476.

¹⁰³ An extract of Enguerrand's will, dated 16 February 1397, is published by Du Chesne in the second part of his work (individually paginated) and entitled *Preuves*, p. 419. This extract, however, does not include the bequest to the Dominicans.

¹⁰⁴ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁵ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Domenicani, I, f. 40rv.

¹⁰⁶ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 158-59.

¹⁰⁷ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 592 and Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Domenicani II, b. 8, f. 204rv.

Soon after their expulsion from St Dominic, the Dominicans founded new convents, dedicated to St Peter and Paul, St Nicholas and St Mary.¹⁰⁸

The importance of the house of St Dominic in the history of the Dominicans in the East is undeniable. As Loenertz points out, it was an essential communication point between the Dominican headquarters and the missionaries in the East. More importantly perhaps it was itself an important centre of missionary and cultural activity. We have already seen that some of the convent's members, like William Bernardo and John of Florence were celebrated missionaries, and that at least one other member, Stephen of Pera, produced theological tracts on the issues that divided the two Churches, meant to be used by the Order's missionaries. This is in accordance with the role of the convent's school, which aimed both to prepare the missionaries for their disputations against the Greeks and also to train them for their missions further eastwards.¹⁰⁹

The convent of St Dominic, however, is most famous for its relations with the Greek intelligentsia. Tellingly, the friars of St Dominic of Pera were on very friendly terms with the Byzantine scholars Demetrius Cydones and Manuel Chrysoloras, whose conversions to Catholicism were amongst the greatest successes that the Roman Church achieved in Greece. Even more significantly, the Greek Dominican Manuel Calecas was himself for a while a member of the community of St Dominic. Likewise, the three Chrysoberges brothers, who will be discussed below, began their careers as Dominican friars in the convent of Pera.¹¹⁰

St Nicholas of Chanea

¹⁰⁸ These convents shall not be examined here, since they fall outside the scope of this study. For further information on these houses see Loenertz, 'Les établissements' and Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 162-72.

¹⁰⁹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 11.

¹¹⁰ Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', pp. 12-15.

Around the time that the Pilgrim Brothers first installed themselves in Pera, the Province of Greece also acquired a new convent. The convent of St Nicholas in Chanea probably started operating around 1303, but the building work was continuing in 1320.¹¹¹ A decision of the Venetian *Avogaria di Comun* from that year, allowed the brothers of Candia to receive two hundred and five pounds worth of wood, for the construction of the beautiful church that they were building in Chanea, at the request of Chanea's citizenry.¹¹² Gerola, who studied the remains of this church and its cloister remarked that St Nicholas was one of the three principal and most ornate churches of the city.¹¹³

Even though the convent of St Nicholas housed a larger community than the convent of Candia, its importance on the island was secondary to that of St Peter.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, at least one provincial chapter was celebrated in Chanea, in 1500.¹¹⁵ The convent of St Nicholas existed until the fall of Chanea to the Turks in 1645. Subsequently it was turned into a mosque.

The Dominicans on Chios

In his examination of the Society of Pilgrims, Loenertz states that we are particularly badly informed about the Dominican convent of Chios.¹¹⁶ In fact, as is apparent from Violante's more recent examination, even though there are certain

¹¹¹ Kasapides dates the first reference to St Nicholas to the year 1303, whilst Violante mentions a reference in 1306. Kasapides, however, seems to misinterpret Violante, and states that according to Violante there was a second Dominican convent founded in Chanea in 1306. What Violante actually says is that St Nicholas was founded in 1306 and that it was the third Dominican convent of Crete, after St Peter of Candia and the unidentified thirteenth century convent. See Kasapides, 'Συμβολή', p. 213 and Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 132-33.

¹¹² ASV, *Avogaria di Comun*, R. 21/4, f. 124v.

¹¹³ Gerola, II, 135-40.

¹¹⁴ According to Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 81 the community of St Nicholas usually numbered between sixteen and eighteen brothers, as opposed to the house of St Peter, which as we have seen accommodated ten or eleven brothers.

¹¹⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 136.

¹¹⁶ Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', p. 24.

aspects of their history that remain obscure, there is an abundance of evidence pertaining to the Dominicans of Chios. Significantly, the cartulary of one of the Dominican houses of Chios has been preserved in the Dominican convent of St Peter of Pera.¹¹⁷

The date of the convent's foundation is unknown, but it was between the years 1304, when the island came under the rule of the Zaccaria, and 1327. In that year, the General Chapter of Perpignan attached the convent to the Society of Pilgrim Brothers.¹¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, however, in 1329 the island was reclaimed by Andronicus III Palaeologos and the Dominicans were expelled. The Greek reconquest was short lived and in 1346 the Genoese were again in possession of Chios. The Dominicans returned to the island, and, as Violante states, were given the Greek church of St Mary Eleousa.¹¹⁹ Delacroix-Besnier thinks that St Mary Eleousa became the second Dominican convent of the island, next to the principal one, dedicated to St Dominic.¹²⁰ Violante, on the contrary, states that the Dominicans were given St Mary and continued to operate it as a church.¹²¹ Violante's position is in accordance with the surviving cartulary. The cartulary begins with an eighteenth century history of the Society, entitled *Piccolo dettaglio di questa nostra Congregazione d' Oriente*, which mentions the donation of the church but not the foundation of a second convent.¹²²

In 1352, the General Chapter of Castro removed the convent of Chios from the jurisdiction of the Society and placed it in the care of the Province of Greece.¹²³ In 1374, along with the other convents that had previously belonged to the Society, the

¹¹⁷ I have had the chance to consult this cartulary, thanks to father Markos Foskolos, who owns a copy of it, made by father Benedetto Palazzo O.P. in 1943.

¹¹⁸ Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', p. 24.

¹¹⁹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 173.

¹²⁰ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 14.

¹²¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 173.

¹²² Archivio Conventuale di S. Pietro in Constantinopoli, Chartularium Chiense, Reg. 4, n. 1.

¹²³ *Acta Capitulorum*, II, 345.

convent of Chios was separated from the Province of Greece, and placed in the care of the General Master's vicar, friar Luchino of Mari of Genoa. The following year, when the Society of Pilgrims was reformed, the convent of Chios was once again united to the congregation.¹²⁴

Between 1410 and 1422, the Dominicans of Chios built a small second house, named St Mary *Incoronata*. Violante points out that towards the middle of the fifteenth century there appear notarial acts mentioning both a convent dedicated to St Dominic and one dedicated to St Mary. Thus he disputes Loenetz's assertion that there existed only one Dominican convent on the island, whose name changed from St Dominic to St Mary.¹²⁵ The archaeological remains of St Mary Incoronata, situated between Karies and Nea Mone, reveal that the house was indeed a small one, built in the western style and surrounded by a cloister that could not have housed a large community. Delacroix-Besnier notes that the convent was uncharacteristically located in a rural area, and one that would have been exclusively Greek.¹²⁶

The Society of Pilgrim Brothers was suppressed for a second time in 1456 and the General Chapter of Montpellier once again attached the convent of Chios, along with the rest of the Society's convents in Greece, to the Province of Greece.¹²⁷ The Society was restored in 1464, but the Provincial Prior of Greece refused to return the convents of Chios to the jurisdiction of the Society's vicar. In the end the General Chapter intervened and allowed the Provincial Prior to retain possession of the convents. In 1471, the island's inhabitants demanded that the Dominican convent was reformed. Sixtus IV replied to the request by assigning the convent to the vicar general

¹²⁴ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 173.

¹²⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 173-74.

¹²⁶ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 15-16.

¹²⁷ *Acta Capitulorum*, III, 266.

of the Lombard congregation, who sent fifteen observant Dominicans to the island.¹²⁸ Sixtus's bull reveals that at that time there was once again only one Dominican convent on the island, surely the original one that had earlier been given possession of St Mary Eleousa.¹²⁹ In 1473 the convent of Chios was finally restored to the Society of Pilgrim Brothers and in 1476 the convent's prior was also the vicar of the Society, friar William of Cherasco. The years 1486 to 1500 saw a quick succession of priors and vicars in the convent: Michael Galli (1486-1489), Anthony of Tabia (1489), Vincent of Levanto (1492), Michael Galli again (1492) and Battista of Mantua (1497).¹³⁰

It is clear from this examination that there is considerable confusion as to how many Dominican convents existed on Chios: there exist references to a convent of St Dominic, a convent of St Mary Incoronata and a convent of St Mary Eleousa. Naturally, it is assumed that the principal convent of the island was that of St Dominic. As we have seen, Loenertz had suggested that there was a single convent on Chios, dedicated to St Dominic, whose name at some point changed to St Mary. Violante has disputed this assumption by showing that in the early fifteenth century a small Dominican convent dedicated to St Mary was indeed founded on the island and that both convents were mentioned in notarial documents in the mid fifteenth century.¹³¹ We have also seen, however, that by 1471, there existed again only one convent on the island. Violante furthermore asserts that after 1500 the principal convent of the island fell into ruin and another one, dedicated to St Mary was the only one left. The only way to reconcile all these different facts, is to accept that a second convent was indeed built in the early fifteenth century, as Violante has asserted, but also that the principal convent did change its name from St Dominic to St Mary, as Loenertz had previously

¹²⁸ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 175.

¹²⁹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Domenicani II, b. 9.

¹³⁰ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 176.

¹³¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 174-75.

surmised, and that sometimes these two names were used interchangeably. Thus we see that the principal convent dedicated to St Dominic, was sometimes referred to as convent of St Mary, after acquiring the Greek church of St Mary Eleousa around 1346. A second, relatively insignificant, convent dedicated to St Mary was then built in the early fifteenth century, but was abandoned by 1471. Subsequently, the main convent, which by that time was usually referred to as St Mary or St Mary Eleousa, was reformed by the Observants and, after the abandonment of St Mary Incoronata, continued to exist as the sole convent on the island.¹³² This conclusion is also supported by the surviving cartulary: the cartulary patently belongs to the principal community of the island; it mentions the acquisition of St Mary Eleousa; it refers to the convent as convent of St Mary, and it attests to the uninterrupted presence of this community on the island, from 1346 until the eighteenth century.

The importance of the main Dominican convent of Chios is undeniable. Firstly, it should be pointed out that the convent of St Dominic/St Mary was surely the most dominant religious foundation on the island. This is despite the fact that the Franciscans, arguably the most popular Order amongst the Latin settlers of Greece, were also installed on Chios.

The importance of the convent may perhaps be best illustrated by the popularity it enjoyed amongst the inhabitants of the island: In 1425, the Dominicans of Chios became involved in a dispute against the island's bishop. The bishop, vexed by the popularity that the Dominicans enjoyed on the island, promulgated a sentence of excommunication against all the faithful who attended services in churches other than the island's cathedral. The Dominicans complained to the pope and Martin V replied

¹³² Delacroix-Besnier claims that the smaller convent of St Mary Incoronata continued to operate until the seventeenth century, and cites three seventeenth century editions which unfortunately I have been unable to consult. *Les Dominicains*, p. 15. If indeed St Mary Incoronata did still operate in the seventeenth century, it is unlikely that the convent enjoyed an uninterrupted existence, for Sixtus IV's bull of 1471 expressly states that at the time only one Dominican convent existed on the island.

with two bulls: The first one gave them permission to administer the sacraments to the island's faithful and to perform funerals, whilst the second one suspended the sentences promulgated by the bishop, for two years.¹³³ In 1426 Martin V wrote to the Dominicans again, this time allowing them to retain any possessions donated or bequeathed to their convent.¹³⁴ Indeed, the donations made to the convent by the faithful seem to have been very generous. Only a few such donations from before 1500 are preserved in the convent's cartulary, but they are impressive: in 1451 for example, the noble lady Bigota, wife of Battista Giustiniani, bequeathed to the convent six *loca* and twenty eight pounds.¹³⁵ The will makes it clear that the word *loca* refers to fields. Even though the dimensions of these fields are not stated, this is surely a very generous donation, especially when one considers that bequests of land to the Latin monasteries of Greece were not all that common. An even more generous bequest was made by lady Violantina, widow of Gabriel Giustiniani, who in 1498 left in her will eight fields to the convent of St Mary.¹³⁶

The fifteenth-century popes were also keen on maintaining the Dominican influence on the island. As we have seen, Martin V wrote to the convent three times in 1425 and 1426 giving the brothers important privileges. In 1437, his successor, Eugenius IV conceded indulgences to all who visited and helped repair the Dominican church.¹³⁷

It is significant, that at certain intervals of the island's Genoese history, the Dominicans monopolised its episcopal see. Between 1304 and 1349 we find three

¹³³ Archivio Conventuale di S. Pietro in Constantinopoli, Chartularium Chiense, Reg. 1, n. 1 and n. 2.

¹³⁴ Archivio Conventuale di S. Pietro in Constantinopoli, Chartularium Chiense, Reg. 1, n. 3.

¹³⁵ Archivio Conventuale di S. Pietro in Constantinopoli, Chartularium Chiense, Documento XXVI.

¹³⁶ Archivio Conventuale di S. Pietro in Constantinopoli, Chartularium Chiense, Documento XXVII.

Many more such bequests have survived from the sixteenth century onwards.

¹³⁷ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 174.

Dominican bishops of Chios.¹³⁸ Delacroix-Besnier points out that in the subsequent period the episcopal throne was usually occupied by members of the noble Giustiniani and Pallavicini families, but nevertheless one more Dominican ascended to the bishopric before the end of the fifteenth century.¹³⁹

The Genoese lost the island to the Turks in 1566, but, as was the case with the Genoese-Dominican community of Constantinople, the Turkish occupation did not bring the Dominican presence on the island to an end. The Dominican convent of St Mary continued to exist (although much reduced in size and importance) until the late eighteenth century.¹⁴⁰

St George of Lesbos (Mytilene)

Another Dominican foundation on Genoese territory in Greece was the convent of St George on the island of Lesbos. The date of its foundation is not known, but it first appears in documents dating from between the years 1393 and 1396, so it was probably founded late in the fourteenth century. It is not clear whether this convent belonged to the jurisdiction of the Province of Greece or the Society of Pilgrims; it appears likelier however that it belonged to the Society, since it seems to have been a satellite convent of the more important convents of Pera and Chios. The convent was well endowed by the local Genoese nobility, who, however, reserved the right to administer the convent's property.¹⁴¹ The church of St George housed the tombs of most of the Gattilusi rulers of the island.¹⁴² By 1457 the Dominicans had also acquired

¹³⁸ Eubel, I, 184-85. The reader will remember that between 1329 and 1346 the island had reverted to the Greeks, so essentially we are talking about a period of twenty eight years.

¹³⁹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 124.

¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 226.

¹⁴¹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 178.

¹⁴² Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 16.

a second church on the island, dedicated to St John.¹⁴³ The important Greek Dominican theologian Manuel Calecas chose to reside in the convent of Lesbos and died there in 1410.¹⁴⁴

The proliferation of the Order's houses in Greece did not stop at the end of the fifteenth century. In Rethymno the Dominicans founded a convent dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, probably late in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁵ The Order also owned a nunnery in the same city. The sixteenth century also saw the establishment of the Dominicans in the Ionian Islands, with the foundation of the small house of St Elias on Zante. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, this was followed by the foundation of a convent on the island of Cephalonia.¹⁴⁶ The capture of Crete by the Turks in the seventeenth century and the subsequent disappearance of the Cretan convents may have ended the existence of the province of Greece, but the two houses of the Ionian See continued to operate, as did the Dominican convents of Chios and Constantinople, who, as we have seen survived until the eighteenth century.

Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans also achieved their greatest prominence within the Italian communities of Greece. The Venetians once again showed themselves keen to establish the Mendicants in their colonies, as is evidenced by the case of St Peter the Martyr of Candia. This important friary was founded on a large plot of land inside the city which was donated to the friars either by the Venetian authorities or by Thomas Fradhello, the feudatory that had previously owned the land.¹⁴⁷ Subsequently, the Commune certainly made further donations of land to the Dominicans, as is proven by the fact that compensation was given to the previous tenants of the donated

¹⁴³ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 178.

¹⁴⁴ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ See Kasapides, 'Συμβολή', pp. 211-225.

¹⁴⁶ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 130-31.

¹⁴⁷ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 136 and n. 23 on p. 313.

estates.¹⁴⁸ Like the friary of St Francis, the house of St Peter the Martyr was very generously endowed by the Veneto-Cretan citizenry and our documents show it to have been one of the most popular religious foundations in Crete. The fact that four dukes of Candia were buried inside its church signifies that St Peter seriously rivalled the prestige of the Franciscan convent of Candia.

Be that as it may, the Dominican convents were fewer and probably less prominent than the Franciscan ones within Venetian territories. The opposite appears to have been the case in the Genoese colonies of Greece. We have seen for example that the Dominicans founded two houses on Chios and maintained one of those until the eighteenth century. The Franciscans were also present on the island, but their convent there appears to have been relatively insignificant. Similarly, both orders operated houses on the island of Mytilene. Both these foundations are quite obscure, but the Franciscan one in particular is only known to us through a single reference. By contrast, the Dominican one appears to have been relatively well-endowed by the island's nobility and was the favoured resting place of the ruling Gattilusi family. Manuel Calecas spent his final days in this convent and completed his *Adversus Graecos* there (which may imply that the convent even owned a library). The Dominican convent of Pera also outshone all the Franciscan establishments of Constantinople and, in terms of scholarly pursuits at least, was one of the most important religious houses of Greece. To be sure, none of these houses (with the possible exception of St Dominic or Paul of Pera) seem to have been as affluent or prestigious as St Francis of Candia, but all of them appear to have been the leading religious foundations within their localities.

¹⁴⁸ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 136.

It is hard to explain this apparent preponderance of the Dominicans in the Genoese territories of Greece, especially when one considers the ecclesiastical policies of Genoa in regards to her Greek colonies. It is often pointed out that social harmony was one of the main objectives of the Italian colonists of Romania, and that they were prepared to sacrifice papal ideals of conversion or Church Union in order to achieve this goal. This is certainly true of the Venetian colonies, where the authorities would oppose ecclesiastical moves that were deemed likely to provoke social unrest amongst the Greeks. It is even more true, however, of the Genoese colonies, where on the whole relations between Latins and Greeks seem to have been much more amicable. This, of course, has partly to do with the manner by which Genoa acquired her Greek territories: all of them were, at least nominally, under the sovereignty of the Emperor and had been conceded to Genoa by treaties and against annual tribute.¹⁴⁹ Under these circumstances, the Greek Church was spared the indignities that it was subjected to under the Venetians; the Latin Church was of course favoured by the ruling Latins, but not at the expense of the Greek Church. In Pera, for example, the Greek churches were under the protection of the Genoese authorities, who even paid a small stipend to one of the Greek priests.¹⁵⁰

Even though it is clear that individual Genoese nobles and officials supported and promoted the Dominicans, the policy of the Genoese authorities towards the Latin Church in general was lukewarm at best. As Michel Balard remarks, for example, at no point do we see any concern on the part of the authorities for the proselytism of the Greek population, whose rights to worship in their own churches and monasteries,

¹⁴⁹ For a history of these territories and how they came under Genoese control see Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols (Rome: Atti della società Ligure di storia patria, 1978).

¹⁵⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, 322.

with their own clergy and according to their own rite were safeguarded.¹⁵¹ More telling still are the concessions made by the Genoese authorities to the Latin foundations of Pera: the religious houses (including those of the Dominicans) were granted the meagre sum of one hyperper each year for the celebration of Christmas.¹⁵² This is a far cry from the generosity of the Venetian Commune, that routinely supported the friars in Venice's Greek colonies and paid for, amongst other things, repairs, provincial chapters and living expenses.

This does not mean that the Genoese were indifferent to the needs of the religious orders in their territories. The promotion of the religious houses may not have constituted official policy, but there certainly existed strong ties of patronage between the local nobility and the priories of these lands. We have already seen, for example, that the Gattilusi of Mytilene favoured the Dominicans on the island and that the priory of St Mary Eleousa of Chios received generous donations from the Giustiniani. We have also seen that in the fifteenth century the convent of Chios was so popular that it clashed with the island's bishop; as is shown by Martin V's bull of 1426, this dispute centred, to a large extent, on the pious donations that the Dominicans were drawing away from the secular Church. Equally, there can be little doubt that the convent of Pera was well-provided for by the Genoese community: the fact that in the fourteenth century the Dominicans of Pera sided with the Franciscans in the dispute over the *funeralia* implies that, like the Franciscans, they were also benefiting from numerous pious bequests at the expense of the secular Church. It is true that the mendicants do not appear as omnipresent in the notarial material from the Genoese colonies as they do in the notarial documents deriving from Crete, and it is doubtful that the houses of

¹⁵¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, 323.

¹⁵² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, 322.

these territories were as affluent as St Francis of Candia for example;¹⁵³ there can be little doubt, however, that the Dominicans were well-endowed by the Genoese colonists, probably much more so than the Franciscans in the same territories.

The success of the Dominicans within the Genoese communities may be accounted for by the involvement of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers. It is no coincidence that all of the above mentioned houses (Pera, Chios Mytilene) formed part of this congregation. Furthermore, the Society's other important houses, those of Caffa and Trebizond, were also located in Genoa's colonies around the Black Sea.

The Society of Pilgrim Brothers was a Dominican congregation devoted to missionary work amongst infidels and schismatics. It was originally formed at the beginning of the fourteenth century and suppressed in 1363, but was reformed in 1375. It was suppressed and subsequently reformed again in the fifteenth century, before changing its name to *Congregation of the East* in 1603. It was finally suppressed in 1857.¹⁵⁴ As Loenertz explains, Dominican missions in faraway lands did not start with the appearance of the Society; they had in fact begun long before. These missions had fallen under the jurisdiction of the Province of the Holy Land, whilst that was still in existence, since the Holy Land was the last Dominican province that could be used as a station by the missionaries on their way eastwards. After the loss of the Holy Land, missionaries were routed through Constantinople (Pera) and through the increasingly important ports of Caffa and Trebizond (that belonged to the Genoese sphere of

¹⁵³ See for example Michel Balard, Angeliki Laiou and Catherine Otten-Froux, eds, *Les Italiens à Byzance: édition et présentation de documents* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1987), pp. 17, 27, 28 and 41. See also Georges Bratianu, ed., *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du XIIIe siècle, 1281-1290* (Bucharest: 1927) and D. Gioffre, ed., 'Atti rogati in Chio nella seconda metà del XIV secolo', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 24 (1962), 319-404. Of course, we also have to bear in mind that the notarial material surviving from the Genoese colonies is much more limited than that deriving from Crete. Thus this relative scarcity of donations and bequests may be due to the fortuitous survival of sources.

¹⁵⁴ For a comprehensive history of the Society see Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', and 'La Société des Frères Pérégrinants de 1374 à 1475: Étude sur l'Orient Dominicain, II', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 45 (1975), 107-45.

influence). Planning and direction for such missions typically befell to the Roman curia, and thus there was no immediate need for a separate organisation to control them. Alternatively, they could have come under the jurisdiction of the Province of Greece, which was now the easternmost Dominican province. The foundation of the congregation, therefore, was not planned but came about as the various priories developed ties amongst themselves. In other words the Society of Pilgrim Brothers evolved out of a network of religious houses that functioned as stations for the travelling brothers. The formal recognition of the organisation came with the appointment of Francis of Perugia as its first vicar in 1304.¹⁵⁵ Thereafter the Society evolved into something that resembled a Dominican province in all but name.

The reasons for the separation of the Society from the Province of Greece were, at first glance, geographical: the Order's missions extended so far Eastwards (even as far India and China) that a separate organisation with its own vicar was needed to control them adequately. This, however, is only a pretext, for a vicar based in Caffa or Constantinople would be no more effective in controlling a mission to India than a Provincial Prior based in Crete or Negroponte. In any case many of the vicars of the Society were absentee leaders, living in the West and delegating their responsibilities to sub-vicars.¹⁵⁶ The real reasons that made the separation inevitable were political: with the re-routing of the Dominican missions to Asia through Constantinople and the Black Sea, the Dominican missionaries found themselves installed in Genoese colonies. Given the tense relations, and sometimes open warfare, between Genoa and Venice, it was surely problematic to lump together Venetian and Genoese convents under the jurisdiction of a (predominantly Venetian) Dominican province. In other words, the Society of Pilgrim Brothers was, in a sense, the Genoese

¹⁵⁵ Loenertz, 'Les missions dominicaines', p. 65.

¹⁵⁶ Loenertz, 'La Société des Frères Pérégrinants de 1374 à 1475', pp. 116-17.

equivalent of the mainly Venetian Province of Greece. This can account for the popularity of the Dominican convents amongst the Genoese colonists, which, uncharacteristically, outshone the Franciscan friaries of the same territories. The Genoese, and especially the leading nobles (like the Giustiniani and the Gattilusi) would surely prefer a branch of the Dominican order which was exclusive to Genoese territories, to the Franciscans, whose Province of Romania was strongly associated with the Venetians.

The wider success of the Society of Pilgrims had of course to do with the congregation's very nature and the ideals that brought about its creation. Missionising and preaching form the core of the Dominican ideal, and those are precisely the activities that the brothers that eventually became the Society of Pilgrims set out to do. There can be no doubt that the friars who set off to preach to the schismatics of Constantinople and the infidels of Caffa and later Persia and India, were amongst the most motivated and, thanks to the Dominican education system, most suitable that the Order had to offer. Whether or not they preached openly to the Greek population can be debated, but they certainly did engage in missionary activity, with some success: as we shall see below, through their disputations and polemic writings they succeeded in converting a small but influential part of the Constantinopolitan intellectual elite, and that marked one of the greatest successes of any of the religious orders in medieval Greece. Their missions further eastwards were, if anything, more successful, especially amongst the Armenians, some of whom embraced Catholicism and founded the order of United Brothers, affiliated to the Dominican order and devoted to the promotion of Church Union. The successes of pioneering friars like William Bernardo of Gaillac (founder of the house of Pera) and Francis of Perugia (founder of the house of Caffa and first vicar of the Society) and the promise of a distinguished apostolate amongst

infidels and schismatics, would naturally attract the most active and devoted elements of the Order to the Society and its missions to the East. It is no surprise then that the Society of Pilgrim Brothers for Christ became the most vigorous and successful strand of the Order in Greece and Asia. As Violante remarks, far from assisting the Dominican Province of Greece, the Society flourished at the Province's expense, by drawing away from it the most energetic and well-educated friars, who desired a career as missionaries in the East.¹⁵⁷

We see then, that the success of the Society of Pilgrims was based on two factors. On the one hand, by installing itself in Genoese territories and subsequently gaining independence from the Province of Greece, the congregation managed to set itself up as a *Genoese-Dominican Province*, thus commanding the devotion of the Genoese colonists at the expense perhaps of the Franciscans, who had strong ties with the Venetians. On the other hand, the congregation's adherence to the Order's ideals and its uncompromising apostolate to the East attracted papal privileges, resources, and the best of the eastern-bound Dominican friars to its territories, thus making the Society's houses the most prominent Dominican priories in Greece and Asia.

* * *

Like the other Latin religious orders, the Dominicans had two roles to fulfil in Greece: to provide pastoral care to the Latin inhabitants of Greece and to bring the Greeks back to the fold of the Roman Church. We have already shown that the Dominicans were very successful in their pastoral activity, often replacing the secular

¹⁵⁷ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 150.

Church as the centre of devotion for the Latin residents of Greece. It now remains to be seen in what ways they pursued their Unionist goals.

One of the main functions of the Dominican Order was preaching. There exists, however, only one direct reference to Latin friars openly preaching to the Greeks: it is the case of the convent of Constantinople, which according to Pachymeres so annoyed the Greek Patriarch Athanasius with its persistent preaching in the early fourteenth century, that he had it demolished. Loenertz has identified this house with one of the Dominican foundations of William Bernardo of Gaillac, but, as we have seen, Janin has concluded that the house was in fact a Franciscan one. The lack of direct evidence about preaching does not necessarily mean that preaching to the Greeks did not take place. The popes, for example, often urged the Dominicans to preach the Union of Churches to the Greeks and these exhortations must have had some effect.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, as we have seen, many of the Dominicans of Greece spoke Greek and some of the convents (especially the Constantinopolitan ones belonging to the Society of Pilgrims) surely taught Greek in their conventual schools. This insistence on learning the language would have been pointless, were the friars not in contact with the Greeks.

This brings us to one of the main fields of Dominican activity and perhaps the one where the Preaching Friars met with the most success: although it is not particularly clear how the Dominicans interacted with the masses of the indigenous population, it is obvious that they actively and successfully pursued a policy of converting the intellectual elite.¹⁵⁹ One of the first Dominicans to establish close relations with Greek religious persons was Simon of Constantinople, who was himself of Greek descent. Simon corresponded with a Greek monk named Sophonias, who, according to William

¹⁵⁸ See for example *Registres d'Innocent IV*, III, 457.

¹⁵⁹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 185-86.

Bernardo of Gaillac, converted to Catholicism and took up residence in the Dominican convent of Pera.¹⁶⁰

A much more important conversion was that of Demetrius Cydones. Cydones was an influential court official and scholar who served under John VI Cantacuzenus and John V Palaeologos and who taught Manuel II Palaeologos. His connections with the Dominicans started when he realised that a better knowledge of Latin was needed amongst the Byzantines, in order to facilitate negotiations with Rome. He decided to learn Latin himself and was taught by one of the Dominicans of Constantinople, possibly Philip of Pera. In the mid-fourteenth century, following the abdication of Cantacuzenus, Demetrius Cydones withdrew from public life and retired to a monastery. Around that time he was converted to Catholicism by an unknown Dominican friar of Spanish descent. Under John V, who was himself a convert to Catholicism, he formed an influential philosophic and theological society, comprised of Greek converts, which, as Delcroix-Besnier points out, played an important role in the evolution of polemic theology in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁶¹

Connected to Cydones's circle of intellectual converts was the Chrysoberges family. The three Chrysoberges brothers, Maximus, Theodore and Andrew, joined the Dominican Order and Theodore and Andrew went on to play very important roles in the Dominican East. It appears that Maximus, the elder brother, may have been the first one to bring the Chrysoberges family in touch with Cydones's group and Catholicism.

After their conversion, the brothers studied Theology in Padua and Venice. Upon finishing his studies, Theodore returned to the East and was appointed vicar

¹⁶⁰ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 189.

¹⁶¹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 189-91.

general of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers, between the years 1406 and 1415.¹⁶² His brother Andrew had to interrupt his studies at Padua in order to attend the Council of Constance. There he delivered two sermons between 1414 and 1417. In 1432 he was promoted to the archbishopric of Rhodes, which he occupied for fifteen years before becoming archbishop of Nicosia. He died in 1456.¹⁶³ Both Theodore and Andrew worked hard through diplomatic missions for the Union of the two Churches.¹⁶⁴ Their brother Maximus, on the other hand, preferred the pastoral field. He worked mainly on Crete, where he tried to devise a Catholic service in the Greek language.¹⁶⁵ Maximus also produced a sermon addressed to the Cretans, entitled *De Processione Spiritus Sancti Oratio* in which he defended the Catholic Church's doctrine on the *Filioque*.¹⁶⁶

Another of Demetrius Cydones's disciples was Manuel Calecas. Calecas was a professor of grammar and rhetoric in Constantinople, who around 1390 joined the circle of Demetrius Cydones and became his pupil and closest friend. Calecas was influenced by Cydones, especially by his translations of Thomas Aquinas, and soon began to learn Latin. In the mid 1390s Calecas, who opposed the official Greek Theology of Gregory Palamas, sought refuge at Pera, and perhaps stayed at the convent of St Dominic.¹⁶⁷ In 1400 he travelled to Crete where he was in contact with Maximus Chrysoberges and where he produced his tract *Adversus Bryennium*. This tract deals with Trinitarian theology and shows its author to be a Roman Catholic.¹⁶⁸ Between 1401 and 1403 Calecas resided in the Benedictine monastery of St Ambrose in Milan,

¹⁶² Raymond Loenertz, 'Les Dominicains Byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l'union des églises grecque et latine de 1415 à 1430', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 9 (1939), 5-61 (p. 8).

¹⁶³ Loenertz, 'Les Dominicains Byzantins', pp. 8-11.

¹⁶⁴ Loenertz, 'Les Dominicains Byzantins', pp. 5-61.

¹⁶⁵ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 191.

¹⁶⁶ MPG 154, 1217-1230.

¹⁶⁷ Raymond Loenertz, 'Manuel Calécas, sa vie et ses oeuvres d'après ses lettres et ses apologies inédites', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 17 (1947), 194-207 (pp. 199-202). See also Raymond Loenertz, ed., *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*, Studi e Testi, 152 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950).

¹⁶⁸ Loenertz, 'Manuel Calecas', pp. 204-05.

where he wrote the *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* and began the composition of the *Adversus Graecos*. Finally, Manuel Calecas retired to the island of Lesbos, where he joined the Dominican convent of St George. On Lesbos, he finished the *Adversus Graecos* and was appointed rector of the chapel of St John. He died in 1410.¹⁶⁹

Another illustrious member of this society of Greek converts and friends of the Dominicans was Manuel Chrysoloras. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Chrysoloras was employed as an ambassador to the West by Emperor Manuel II Palaeologos, in order to secure help against the Turks. Eventually he settled in Italy where he became one of the first representatives of Florentine humanism and a promoter of the Greek language and culture. He participated in the Council of Constance but died before the end of the council, in April 1415. Before his death he had expressed his intention to join the Dominican Order. He was buried in the Dominican convent of Constance.¹⁷⁰

The conversion of a section of the Byzantine intellectual elite by the Dominicans may have failed to turn the rest of the population towards Catholicism, but it did have significant consequences. The conversion of scholars and public officials opened channels of communication between the Dominicans and the Byzantine court. As Delacroix-Besnier notes, these relations were strengthened under John Cantacuzenus, who allowed a Dominican professor to reside inside the imperial palace and teach Demetrius Cydones Latin.¹⁷¹

At the same time, this rapprochement brought a segment of the Greek intelligentsia in direct contact with the theological and philosophical advances of the West, for the first time. Demetrius Cydones for example had translated Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* into Greek and his network of Greek Catholic converts

¹⁶⁹ Loenertz, 'Manuel Calecas', pp. 206-07.

¹⁷⁰ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 192.

¹⁷¹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 194.

was surely influenced by the works of such Western thinkers. It is easy to suppose that the Greeks would have remained largely unaware of these works, were it not for the Dominicans of Pera and their close relations to a part of the Constantinopolitan intellectual elite. Conversely, certain of the Greeks who embraced Catholicism and moved to Italy, like Chrysoloras, reacquainted the West to Greek classical culture, contributing in no small way to the beginning of Italian humanism.

An important role in this Greco-Latin dialogue was played by polemic theological writings, in which the Dominicans excelled. Amongst the members of the Order who devoted works to the disputation of the errors of the Greeks were some of the most illustrious Dominican friars: St Albertus Magnus, for example, dedicated a section of his *De Sacramento Eucharistiae* to the unleavened bread controversy. According to Violante, Albertus, who never visited Greece or conversed with Greeks, may have drawn on the works of the Constantinopolitan Dominicans.¹⁷² St Thomas Aquinas dealt with the schism in much more depth in his *Contra errores Graecorum ad Urbanum IV Pontificem Maximum*. This tract, commissioned by Urban IV and composed in 1264, deals mainly with the *Filioque* controversy, but also dwells on the other issues that divide the two Churches. A second work *De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum* was addressed to the cantor of Antioch and was meant to provide him with arguments against the faiths of the Muslims, the Greeks and the Armenians.¹⁷³ Thomas Aquinas died in 1274 on his way to the Council of Lyon, where he was meant to deliver a sermon against the errors of the Greeks.

¹⁷² Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 255.

¹⁷³ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 257-58.

Even more interesting is the fact that such texts were produced regularly by the convents of Greece. Indeed, the Dominicans are the one Latin religious order whose Greek convents invariably appear not only to have had scriptoria, but to also have achieved a significant literary output.¹⁷⁴ The polemic writings produced in the Dominican convents of Greece (and mainly Constantinople) were to set the tone for the Greco-Latin theological disputations of the age. We have already seen, that Bonaccorso of Bologna, one of the first friars to be assigned to the new province of Greece, had written the *Thesaurus veritatis fidei* in Greek, and that this work was later translated into Latin by Andrew Doto and the other friars of the scriptorium of Negroponte. Like other works that followed, the *Thesaurus* dealt with all the subjects that divided the Greek and the Latin Churches, like the procession of the Holy Spirit, Purgatory, and unleavened bread. A second tract, entitled *De erroribus Graecorum* is also sometimes attributed to Bonaccorso of Bologna.¹⁷⁵

The first polemic tract by a Dominican against the Greeks is a text entitled *Contra errores Graecorum* and sometimes referred to as the anonymous tract of 1252.¹⁷⁶ The tract was composed by an unknown author in the convent of Constantinople. Loenertz has suggested that this too was the work of Bonaccorso, whilst it has even been proposed that it was produced by the combined efforts of the entire community.¹⁷⁷ The tract deals with the usual matters of contention between the two churches (the *Filioque*, the primacy of Rome and the bread of the Eucharist) but for the first time addresses a fourth issue, that of Purgatory. Being the first polemic

¹⁷⁴ The works mentioned here and several others are examined exhaustively by Delacroix-Besnier in *Les Dominicains* and to a lesser extent by Violante in *La Provincia*. The aim here is only to give a brief overview of the intellectual pursuits of the Dominicans of Greece and their contribution to the theological dialogue between Greeks and Latins. For an in depth examination of these works and their authors, the reader should consult the above mentioned monographs.

¹⁷⁵ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 265.

¹⁷⁶ MPG 140, 487-574.

¹⁷⁷ Violante, *La Provincia*, pp. 327-28 and Raymond Loenertz, 'Autour du traité de fr. Barthélemy de Constantinople contre les Grecs', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 6 (1936), 361-78.

tract against the Greeks, and having been written by a friar who was in contact with the Greeks, the *Contra errores Graecorum* was very influential and seems to have been widely circulated. It is believed that both Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas had consulted copies of it when they composed their relevant works.

One of the important Dominicans of Greece, as we have seen, was Simon of Constantinople. Amongst his writings were four small polemic tracts, which he sent to four illustrious correspondents: Emperor Andronicus II, the orator Manuel Holobolus, the *nomophylax* John and the monk Sophonias. As has already been mentioned, Sophonias later converted to Catholicism and took up residence in the convent of Pera.

Simon's pupil, Philip of Pera (who taught Latin to Demetrius Cydones) also had a significant literary production on the subjects that divided the Churches: in 1358 and 1359 he wrote the *De oboedientia Romanae ecclesiae debita* and the *De processione Spiritus Sancti*. Two more tracts have been attributed to him by Kaeppli: *Libellus qualiter Graeci recesserunt ab oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae* and *Hii sunt errores Graecorum*.¹⁷⁸

Finally, there exist two more anonymous tracts, in the same tradition, from the years 1305 and 1307, entitled *De obiectionibus Graecorum contra processionem Spiritus Sancti* and *Contra errores Orientalium et Graecorum*. Although their authors are unknown, Delacroix-Besnier states that there can be no doubt that these texts were produced by the Dominicans of Constantinople.¹⁷⁹

The converted Greek Dominicans also contributed to the polemic writings of the time. As we have already seen, friar Maximus Chrysoberges wrote a sermon addressed to the Cretans, in which he renounced all those who do not accept the

¹⁷⁸ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 271.

¹⁷⁹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 240-49.

primacy of the pope and attempted to show the errors of Patriarch Photius.¹⁸⁰ We have also seen that Manuel Calecas wrote three polemic tracts, amongst which was the *Adversus Graecos*, completed shortly before his death on Lesbos. Delacroix-Besnier has noted that the *Adversus Graecos* stands out thanks to the uniquely Greek perspective that its author brings to the Catholic side of the argument, through a long and expert theological discussion of the Greek fathers.¹⁸¹

It has been noted that, whilst the Dominicans managed to draw the Greeks into a theological and cultural dialogue, the Franciscans showed themselves to be the papacy's most valuable diplomats. Be that as it may, it would be unfair not to mention the prominent role that the Dominican Order also played in diplomatic relations between the Byzantines and the West. This involvement is clearly demonstrated by the role that the Dominicans played in the Church councils that tried to end the schism.

The Dominican participation in such papal missions began at the same time as that of the Franciscans, with the council of Nicaea and Nymphaeum in 1234. The papal delegation sent to the Greeks was comprised, as we have seen, of two Franciscan and two Dominican friars. One of the Dominicans was prior Peter of Sezane, whilst the other one is only identified as friar Hugo. All of the friars were well versed in the Greek theological tradition and, if one believes their account of the talks, were invariably able to embarrass their adversaries. They did this by basing their arguments on the writings of the Greek fathers, copies of which they had brought with them from Constantinople. This indicates that at least one member of the delegation was fluent in Greek. Dondaine has suggested that none of the four friars knew Greek and that the delegation had recruited a translator from the Dominican convent of Constantinople.

¹⁸⁰ MPG 154, 1217-30

¹⁸¹ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 267-71.

He even identifies this putative translator with the anonymous author of the 1252 tract *Contra Errores Graecorum*.¹⁸² One would assume, however, that, had a Dominican friar of Constantinople joined the delegation and played such a prominent part in the negotiations, he would have been explicitly mentioned in the written account of the council.¹⁸³ It seems more probable that the delegation's translator was indeed friar Hugo, whose background is unknown. Whichever the case, there is little doubt that the Greek speaking friar was a Dominican. If that is indeed true, we see that, right from the start, the education and cultural formation of the Dominicans allowed them to play a key role in Greco-Latin negotiations for Church Union.

We have seen that the second council of Lyon in 1274, where a Union of sorts was temporarily achieved, was primarily an accomplishment of Franciscan diplomacy. The Dominicans, however, also played a role. On the 29th of June, friar William of Moerbeke, who had previously resided in the convent of Negroponte, and the Constantinopolitan Franciscan John Parastron recited the Creed in Greek, in the presence of the Greek prelates.¹⁸⁴ The Dominicans would have had a greater involvement in the Union, had Thomas Aquinas not died on his way to the council, where he was to deliver a sermon based on his *Contra errores Graecorum*.

The Dominican presence was much more pronounced in the council of Ferrara and Florence in 1438 and 1439. The Latin side was represented by four main speakers, amongst which was friar Andrew Chrysoberges and friar John of Montenero, Provincial Prior of Lombardy. During the negotiations of Ferrara, Chrysoberges was in

¹⁸² Antoine Dondaine, 'Contra Graecos. Premiers écrits polémiques des Dominicains d'Orient', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 21 (1951), 320-446 (pp. 339-43).

¹⁸³ Dondaine indeed believes that the written account of the council makes clear, if indirect, mention of a retinue of Constantinopolitan friars that joined the papal nuncios. He bases this assertion on the fact that the account of the council often refers to 'one of our brothers' or 'some of our brothers' without specifying that the brother or brothers in question were part of the original delegation of four friars. The hypothesis may be valid, but the phrasing of the account is far from clear.

¹⁸⁴ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 244.

fact one of the chief protagonists of the council. Apart from being the principal speaker for the Latin delegation during the actual negotiations, he participated in the preliminary meetings, whose object it was to organise the sessions and decide which issues would be discussed. As Delacroix-Besnier points out, throughout the entire council, his knowledge of the Greek language and the Greek patristic writings proved to be indispensable.¹⁸⁵ Apart from Chrysoberges and John of Montenero (who assumed the role of main speaker when the council moved to Florence), a multitude of other Dominican friars participated in the council and contributed either as translators or as speakers.¹⁸⁶ The outcome of the council is to this day controversial: Joseph Gill saw it as a clear victory for the Latin side and attributed the failure actually to implement the Union to the embarrassment of the Greek delegation, who refused to admit to their countrymen that they had been defeated by the Latin arguments.¹⁸⁷ Greek historians on the other hand usually accept the view of the Byzantine delegation, who claimed they were held hostage in Florence until they agreed to the papacy's terms. Whatever the case may be, the council of Ferrara and Florence marked the culmination of Dominican unionist efforts. Headed, to a large extent, by the most prominent Greek Dominican of the time the Dominican contingent at the council had the chance to put in practice all the linguistic, theological, cultural and diplomatic experience that they had acquired through centuries of contact with the Greeks.

The Dominican Sisters

As was the case with the Franciscan Order, the Dominicans also founded a few nunneries in Greece. Unlike the houses of the Poor Clares, however, the

¹⁸⁵ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 355-57.

¹⁸⁶ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 362-66.

¹⁸⁷ See Joseph Gill, 'The Freedom of the Greeks in the Council of Florence' and 'Agreement on the Filioque', in *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204-1453)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), pp. 226-36 and 254-63.

Dominican nunneries seem to have achieved a degree of stability. Interestingly, there is no reference to these nunneries in the acts of the Dominican General Chapters. Indeed, with the exception of several notarial documents from Crete, there are very few references to these houses altogether.

One of the Dominican nunneries of Greece was founded in Pera by the tireless friar William Bernardo of Gaillac, who, as we saw, reintroduced the Dominicans into Constantinople after the Byzantine re-conquest. The convent was founded in 1299 (around the same time when William founded his male convent) and seems to have enjoyed a quiet and inconspicuous history. It first appears in our documents in a papal bull by John XXII from the year 1330, by which the Pope committed the nunnery to the jurisdiction of the Dominican Order.¹⁸⁸ At that time, the nunnery was inhabited by thirty sisters and was the only nunnery in existence in the territory of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers. In 1387, friar William Moterii was placed in charge of the nunnery. In 1390, he was replaced by friar Andrew of Caffa, inquisitor of the East, who was later appointed to end a dispute between friar Gerard of Caffa and a nun named Catherine de Castro.¹⁸⁹ In the same year, the Genoese authorities of Pera decided to make a donation of one hyperper to the nunnery, for the celebration of Christmas. The same document reveals that two lay proctors were entrusted with the convent's finances.¹⁹⁰ According to one tradition dating from the seventeenth century, the community of St Dominic moved into St Catherine after it was expelled from St Dominic in 1475. Janin, however, points out that this assumption is not based on any real evidence.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 93, f. 289v. Janin dates this bull to the year 1336, but this is obviously a mistake since John XXII died in 1334.

¹⁸⁹ Violante, *La Provincia*, p. 157.

¹⁹⁰ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 586-87.

¹⁹¹ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 587.

Fortunately, we are slightly better informed about the Dominican nunnery of St Catherine in Candia. Although its buildings have now completely disappeared, we know that it was situated inside the old city of Candia. It was probably founded towards the end of the thirteenth century, since it appears in notarial documents as early as 1294.¹⁹² Most of our information about the nunnery, however, derives from notarial documents dating from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Based on these, and especially the wills bequeathing money to the nuns, we can surmise that the nunnery was one of the prominent religious houses of Candia: we find at least one hundred and five such bequests between the years 1312 and 1420.¹⁹³ Although most of them do not exceed the amount of ten hyperpers, their frequency indicates that St Catherine was indeed a popular foundation. In 1337, one of the testators, Cecilia, widow of Anthony Abramo, asked to be buried in the nunnery and left ten hyperpers to the sisters for the construction of her tomb.¹⁹⁴

It appears that the nunnery owned certain estates on Crete, and rented others. The first significant donation appears to have been made in 1300, when Bartholomew Bono gave his houses and his lands inside the city to the nuns of St Catherine.¹⁹⁵ Subsequently we find the nunnery involved in numerous transactions: In 1335, one of St Catherine's nuns, Agnes Signolo rented a vineyard in the village of Marathyti (Μαραθίτης) for two years, from two brothers named Thomas and John Canachi, against twenty five hyperpers. More importantly, the contract reveals that the village of Marathyti belonged at the time to the nunnery.¹⁹⁶ A different contract from 1371 confirms the village's ownership. At that time, prioress Contessa Mucio gave the

¹⁹² Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 212.

¹⁹³ McKee, *Wills*.

¹⁹⁴ McKee, *Wills*, II, 551-53 and Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 212.

¹⁹⁵ Salvatore Carbone, ed., *Pietro Pizolo, notaio in Candia*, 2 vols, I (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1978), 71-72.

¹⁹⁶ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 102v. See Appendix II.

village and all its incomes to a priest named Alcharinus Villanova and to Philip Piçamano of Venice, to administer as they saw fit. In return they would pay the nunnery two hundred and twenty hyperpers every year. In the contract it is explained that the nunnery was renting out the village to Peter Mussuro and various other landholders, who would henceforth deal with Alcharinus and Philip instead of the nuns.¹⁹⁷ How exactly the nunnery came to own the village is unknown but it is not hard to guess. Tsirpanles notes that according to a bull by Urban IV, this village, along with others, had originally belonged to the Latin archbishop of Crete, but had at some point been usurped by the Venetians.¹⁹⁸ Obviously, the Venetian feudatories proceeded to either sell or probably donate the usurped territory to the Dominican nunnery. We know that the contract between the nunnery and Alcharinus Villanova and Philip Piçamano was indeed honoured, providing the nunnery with a very significant income: in 1372, the convent's prioress signed a quitclaim for two hundred and twenty hyperpers, which were given to her as rent by the two tenants.¹⁹⁹

In 1339, the prioress of the convent sold another vineyard located in the village of Vassilies (Βασιλιές), to the brothers Thomas and Niketas Costomyri, against fifteen hyperpers.²⁰⁰ In 1348, the new prioress, Helena, with the consent of the sisters Nicolota Colona, Phylippa Abramo, Antonia Guilelmo, and Contessa Sabba rented out the above mentioned vineyard in Marathyti, which had belonged to the Canachi family, to George Piloso. In return, he agreed to give to the nuns half of the vineyard's annual production.²⁰¹ Eleven years later, in 1359, prioress Cecilia Passamonte with the consent of sisters Helena Cariola, Phylippa Abramo, Contessa Muçio, Agnes Colona, Phylippa Comes, Haerina Passamonte, Cecilia Bono and Agnes Brixiano, rented out a mill, some

¹⁹⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, ff. 60 (265)v - 61 (266)r. See Appendix II.

¹⁹⁸ Tsirpanles, *Κατάστιχο*, p. 42.

¹⁹⁹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 107 (312)v. See Appendix II.

²⁰⁰ Gasparis, *Franciscus de Cruce*, p. 269.

²⁰¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 304v. See Appendix II.

houses and a plot of land in the territory of Placa to a priest named Andrew Grimani, against the annual sum of forty hyperpers. The contract states that these estates had previously been rented by Kyrlus de Rogerio [Rugiero].²⁰² Another contract informs us that the nunnery possessed even more estates in Placa, near the mill rented by Kyrlus de Rogerio: in 1374 the community leased a second mill, which was said to be completely destroyed at that time, and a plot of land to Costas Marmaras and George Potho, against the annual sum of eight hyperpers. The new tenants also assumed the responsibility to restore the mill and to grind ten *salmas* of grain every year for the nuns free of charge.²⁰³

Even though the Order's constitutions only allowed houses to own property in common, we have several references to Dominican nuns acquiring personal property. We have already, for example, seen the case of sister Agnes Signolo, who leased a vineyard from the Canachi brothers. We also find a few similar incidents in the multitude of wills that were mentioned above. In 1332, for instance, Minoti Longo left six hyperpers to the nunnery of St Catherine, and another four hyperpers to sister Souranne who was cloistered in that nunnery.²⁰⁴ Similarly, in 1348, Marcus de Canale bequeathed one hyperper to each of the nuns of St Catherine.²⁰⁵ This may appear irregular, but the wills of Crete reveal it to have been a common practice, amongst all the orders. Typically, we find that, although testators would bequeath money to the various religious foundations, they would also set aside a sum for a particular friar, especially their own confessors. Of course, we do not know whether these sums (or estates in the case of Agnes Signolo) were actually held by the individuals, or whether they were in fact added to the convents' communal property.

²⁰² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 35r. See Appendix II.

²⁰³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 78 (435)v. See Appendix II.

²⁰⁴ McKee, *Wills*, II, 503-05

²⁰⁵ McKee, *Wills*, I, 286-90.

All of these deeds and bequests indicate that the nunnery of St Catherine must have led a comfortable existence. We saw that the nunnery owned at least one village (Marathyti) and also possessed property in the city of Candia, in the village of Vassilies and in the territory of Placa. The rent collected from just the village of Marathyti amounted to two hundred and twenty hyperpers per year after 1361. It was probably even more than that before the nunnery signed it off to Alcharinus of Villanova and Philip Piçamano, because the two tenants would not have rented the estate if they did not stand to make a profit. To this amount one should also add a relatively stable income from bequests as well as rents collected for mills and plots of land. Bearing in mind that our sources usually list between eight and ten nuns residing in the convent at one time, we have to conclude that these incomes were certainly adequate to support the community. Yet this financial well-being is not reflected in the taxes paid by the nunnery. The surviving register of tithes from Crete for the year 1339-1340 shows that St Catherine only paid four hyperpers to the papal collector.²⁰⁶

As was the case with the nunnery of Pera and most other mendicant foundations, the convent of St Catherine also employed proctors to help with the administration of its property. The names of two of them have been preserved in notarial deeds of that era: in 1350, a layman named Leonard of Pola signed a quitclaim for five hyperpers that had been bequeathed to the nunnery.²⁰⁷ Seven years later, a similar quitclaim was signed by a priest called Bartholomew Milovani.²⁰⁸

The notarial deeds have also preserved the names of some of the nunnery's prioresses. The first prioress whose name has come down to us was called Marchesina

²⁰⁶ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae* 129, *Rationes Collectoriae Lombardiae, Venetiae et Romandiola* 1339-1377, ff. 75r-77r.

²⁰⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 9v.

²⁰⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 1, f. 13v.

Bono (1294) and she was succeeded by Maria Albo.²⁰⁹ As we have seen, a nun named Cecilia Passamonte was prioress in 1359.²¹⁰ She was succeeded in the 1360s by Contessa Mucio (who also appears in the 1359 list of nuns).²¹¹ In 1374, the post was occupied by Phylippa Abramo and a year later by Catherine Passamonte.²¹² This list of names, as well as that of the rest of the community, reveals that at that time the nunnery was populated by descendants of the Venetian families of Crete, and that indeed it probably had close ties with certain of these families. Georgopoulou has noted that just four years before Bartholomew Bono donated his houses and estates to the nunnery, the nunnery's prioress was Marchesina Bono, possibly Bartholomew's sister.²¹³ In the 1360s we encounter yet another member of the Bono family, Cecilia, cloistered in St Catherine. Likewise, in 1370 Ser Christophilus Bartholomei of Candia gave seven and a half hyperpers to prioress Contessa Mucio. The donation was made for the benefit of his daughter, Ançelota, who had just joined the nunnery.²¹⁴ We have also seen that in 1337 a lady named Cecilia, widow of Anthony Abramo, had asked in her testament to be buried in the nunnery. At the same time, Philipa Abramo, a relative, possibly even a daughter, was a member of the Dominican community of St Catherine. Furthermore, we encounter two nuns named Passamonte, Cecilia and Catherine, both of whom eventually rose to the post of prioress. Finally, as we have seen, a contract from 1359 mentions the name of sister Agnes Brixiano. It is probably not a coincidence that the notary who composed the contract was himself named Anthony Brixiano.²¹⁵

All this gives us a measure of the local significance of the convent of St Catherine. Venetian women who opted to follow a monastic vocation only had a choice

²⁰⁹ Carbone, *Pietro Pizolo*, I, 71 and II, 133-34.

²¹⁰ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 35r.

²¹¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 101r.

²¹² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, ff. 73 (403)v and 140 (497)r.

²¹³ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 212.

²¹⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 8 (214)r. See Appendix II.

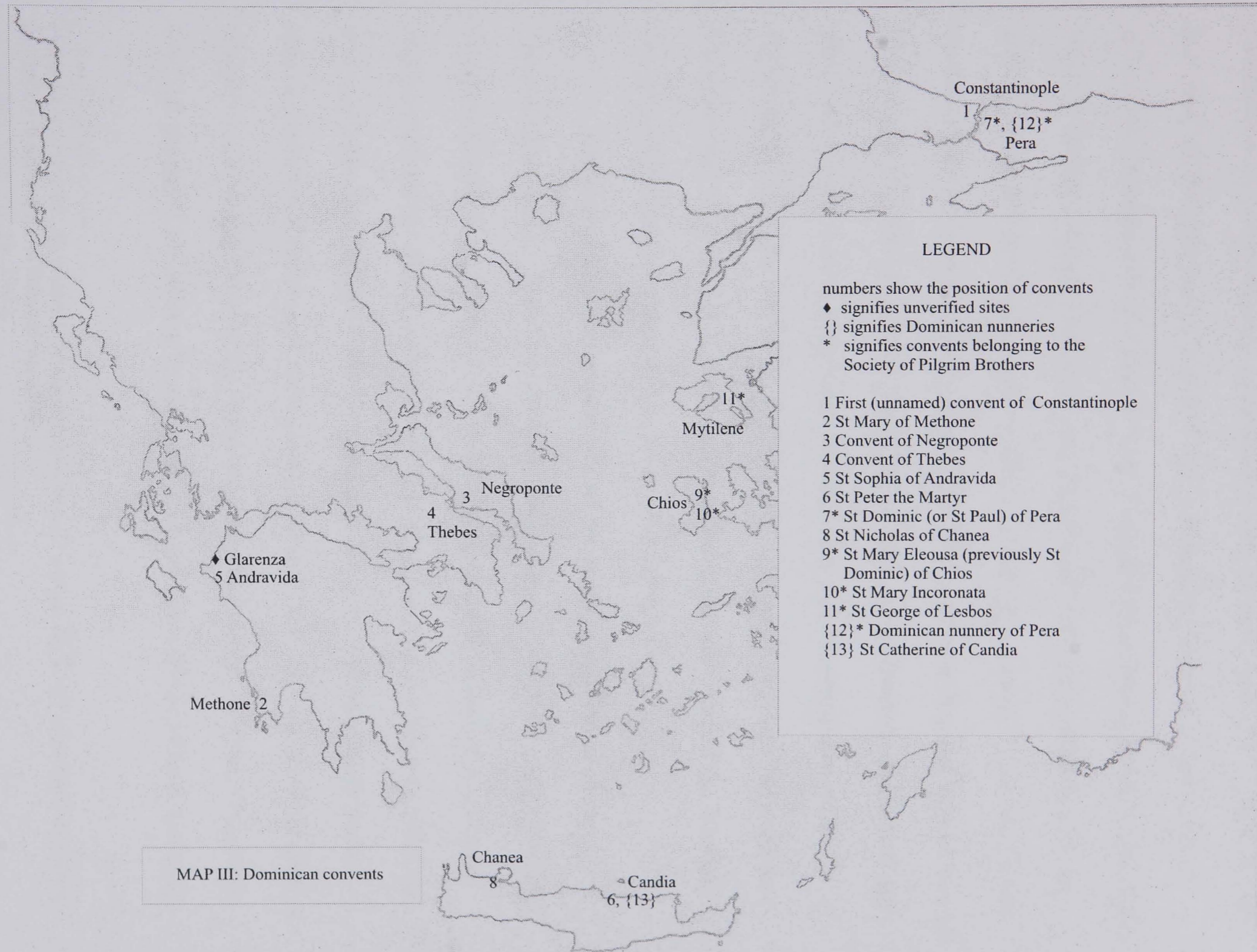
²¹⁵ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.11, quaderno 1, f. 35r.

between two nunneries in Candia at the time and a handful more on the whole island of Crete. Naturally, St Catherine became populated by members of the relatively small Latin community of Candia. Sometimes, as we have seen, several members of the same family joined the nunnery at a time or in quick succession. It is obvious from our deeds that these ladies stayed in touch with their relatives in the city. Indeed their family members appear, as is natural, to have seen the welfare of these nuns and thus the endowment of St Catherine as their own responsibility. It is probably fair to assume, that the endowment and relative success and longevity of St Catherine (and of the other nunneries of Candia) was primarily a result of the interpersonal relations between the Venetian families and the nuns. Such considerations would of course apply to all the religious houses to a certain degree. Most of the male convents, however, especially the larger ones, certainly attracted friars from other parts of Greece and Europe. In those cases, their popularity and success depended less on interpersonal relations and more on the overall popularity of the Orders and the public's appreciation for the friars' pastoral work.

The nunnery of St Catherine survived until the Ottoman conquest of 1669. At the time, there existed one other Dominican nunnery on the island: *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* in the town of Chanea. Unfortunately, the date of St Mary's foundation is unknown. When Gerola conducted his research, there still existed visible remains of the church and cloister.²¹⁶ An inscription revealed that the convent had been restored or perhaps built anew in 1606 by Marussa Mengano and that is all that is known about the nunnery's history.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Gerola, II, 141.

²¹⁷ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', pp. 352-53.



MAP III: Dominican convents

Chapter 5: The Crociferi

The order of the *Crociferi*, or *Ordo Cruciferorum*, as it appears in the Latin sources was an Italian religious order about which very little is known outside of Italy. In a study of their hospital in Venice, Silvia Lunardon summarises what is known about their founding and their first houses.¹ Lunardon cites certain Venetian chronicles, found in the State Archive of Venice and the well-known history of Marino Sanudo and concludes that the Order already existed in the twelfth century.² According to her, the Crociferi were initially based in Rome and a delegation of them moved to Venice in 1154, where they founded the hospital of Santa Maria Cruciferorum. Because of their piety and poverty in those early years, she describes them as precursors of the Mendicants. The Order eventually founded several houses throughout Italy and the Venetian East, went through a re-organisation during the first years of the fifteenth century and was finally suppressed by Alexander VII in 1656.³

The name *Ordo Cruciferorum*, however, is also applied in medieval documents to another, slightly better-known order, that of the Crosiers, or Crutched Friars, or Holy Fathers of the Cross. The bibliography on the Crosiers is also quite limited and most of what is known about them is summed up in a brief article of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*.⁴ The Encyclopedia draws its material mainly from a chronicle entitled *Chronicum Cruciferorum*, written in 1635 by Henricus Russelius, a member of the Order.⁵ According to these sources the Crosiers were founded around 1210 by Theodore of Celles, a former Crusader, who was influenced by St Dominic,

¹ Silvia Lunardon, ed., *Hospitale S. Maria Cruciferorum: L'ospizio dei Crociferi a Venezia* (Venice: Istituzioni di Ricovero e di Educazione, 1984).

² Lunardon, *Hospitale*, pp. 19-22.

³ Lunardon, *Hospitale*, pp. 36 and 57-58.

⁴ Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, eds, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 10 vols, IV (Detroit, London: Thomson/Gale, c2003), 377-78.

⁵ Henricus Russelius, *Chronicum Cruciferorum sive synopsis memorabilium sacri et canonici ordinis Sanctae Crucis* (Cologne: 1635; repr. Diest: Amersfoot printed, 1964).

and who, along with some of his friends, wanted to live under the rule of St Augustine. Their name derives from the crusader's cross that they wore on their habits. Their first house was in Seyl in the Low Countries and was called Clairlieu. In these early years, the Crosiers were a hospital order. Full approbation was given to them by Innocent IV in 1248. Russelius's chronicle publishes a list of Crosier convents according to which the Order owned just two houses around the time of its approbation. Under the new general master, Peter of Walcourt (1248) a set of rules was drawn up, modeled on the Dominican rule, but stressing the importance of the liturgy more than the need for scholarship and university education. It is also stated that in this period the Order was ruled by the houses of Seyl and Paris and that other important houses were founded in the Rhineland and Toulouse. The Order was reformed in 1410. In the centuries subsequent to the Reformation the Order came close to extinction, but it was finally revitalised after the Napoleonic wars. The Crosiers still exist today and are based in the United States.

The connection between the northern European Crosiers and the Crociferi is not clear, but it is certain that they were initially linked and later branched off in two different directions. The obvious link is of course that the two orders shared the same name, at least until the mid-thirteenth century, but there are other elements worth considering as well. Firstly, both the Crociferi and the early northern European Crosiers maintained hospitals and undertook charitable works. Secondly, both orders, if not actually mendicant, were at least permeated by mendicant ideals. In later years, the Crosiers were recognised as canons regular, but in the beginning they shared many common features with the mendicants: At the time of their approbation they inserted certain features of the Dominican rule into their own rule and were considered a mendicant order until the time of their reformation in 1410. Whether the Crociferi were

technically a mendicant order is not clear, but as Lunardon points out, initially they lived under strict discipline and poverty.⁶ Later documents also indicate that the Crociferi were seen as a mendicant order, by referring to their houses as priories and to their superiors as priors. Perhaps more telling, however, is a tradition shared by both orders concerning their founding. Both the Crosiers and the Crociferi traced their early history back to the invention of the Cross by St Helena and the martyrdom of St Cyriacus in fourth century Syria. This tradition can be found both in Russelius's *Chronicum Cruciferorum* and in the chronicles cited by Lunardon.⁷ With all this in mind, we have to ask why this connection is not mentioned by Russelius. There can be no definite answer to this question, but it can be argued that the northern European Crosiers were in fact an offshoot of the Italian Crociferi and that the 1247 and 1248 bulls of approbation by Innocent IV essentially separated the two existing northern European houses from the Crociferi and set them up as a distinct order. One of these bulls reads:

Innocentius Episcopus Seruus Seruorum Dei dilecto filio
Electo Leodiensi et cetera super quod mandatum Apostolicum,
nos qui de approbatione et confirmatione Ordinis Cruciferorum
sub titulo Sancte Crucis per certa indulta Apostolica uerissime
sumus informati, uosque fons et caput totius Ordinis memorati
in loco uestro prope Hoyum, nostre Leodiensis diocesis, per
sedem Apostolicam institui.⁸

It can thus be argued that this house was detached from the Italian order and made the head of a new one, named Order of the Holy Cross. Thereafter, both names

⁶ Lunardon, *Hospitale*, p. 20.

⁷ Russelius, *Chronicum*, pp. 10-23 and Lunardon, p. 22.

⁸ The entire text of all the relevant bulls is reproduced in Russelius, *Chronicum*, pp. 52-62.

(Ordo Cruciferorum and Ordo S. Crucis) continued to be used in reference to this order.

* * *

Whatever the origins of the Order, this study is concerned with the history of its convents in Greece in particular. It is a well-known fact that two houses with hospitals, St Mary Cruciferorum in Candia and Beata Maria Cuciferorum in Negroponte existed already from the thirteenth century and that they were connected to the Italian branch of the Ordo Cruciferorum. The history of the Order in Greece, however, has never been adequately researched. In her definitive book *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* Kitsiki Panagopoulos dismisses the convent of Candia as one of the less important mendicant houses on Crete about whose history very little is known, and focuses instead on the archaeology and architecture of its church, which still survives in the modern day city of Herakleion.⁹ Papadia - Lala, in her book on charitable institutions in Venetian Crete is primarily preoccupied with the later centuries of the *Venetokratia*, a time by which the convent of St Mary had, almost certainly, ceased to function as a Crociferi house. She does, however, convincingly identify one of the better-known hospitals of Candia, that of St Anthony, with one of the hospitals that may have been linked to the convent of St Mary Cruciferorum.¹⁰

The dismissal of the Order's activity in Greece as unimportant may be unjust but it is also understandable, if one takes into account the scarcity of evidence pertaining to the two convents of Candia and Negroponte. If one examines, for example, the convent of St Francis of Candia, one can easily recognise, as we have seen, the evidence of the spiritual activity of the Franciscans on the island: the establishment of an important library, the production of significant scholars, the growth

⁹ Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, pp. 95-97.

¹⁰ Papadia-Lala, *Ευαγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα*, pp. 62-64. For the connection between the Hospital of St Anthony and the convent of Santa Maria Cruciferorum see below, p. 272.

of the cult of St Francis even amongst the Greek population of Crete, etc. Since no such evidence can be found about either of the Crociferi houses, it is not surprising that most scholars have assumed that their activity was negligible.

There does, however, exist a body of hitherto largely overlooked documents, both published and unpublished, which illustrates the long history of the Order in medieval Greece and sheds some light on its more worldly dealings. This body of documents consists of several papal bulls and a large number of notarial documents (contracts and wills) from the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, one hundred and thirty of which are unpublished.¹¹ These documents help us date the arrival of the Crociferi brothers in Greece and offer some insight into their organisation and more importantly, perhaps, their property on the islands.

The earliest of these documents is a bull by Honorius III, dating from 1219.¹² Honorius addresses the Prior of *Santa Maria de Cructaris* in Crete and some other prelates, instructing them to assist the archbishop of Crete and to protect him from his enemies.

Another early bull by Honorius, dating from 1225, is addressed to the prior and brothers of the 'Domus Cruciferorum' in Negroponte and confirms to them the possession of a village called *Grippigadia*, the church of St Angelus in Thessalonica and an island named *Lineio*, so that they would have sufficient funds to build a hospital.¹³

¹¹ This is a very significant number of contracts, especially if one takes into account that all of the published notarial material from the *ASV* from that era does not contain more than perhaps thirty contracts concerning the religious orders. Sally McKee of course publishes notarial material from the *ASV* pertaining to the religious orders in *Wills of Late Medieval Crete*, but as the title implies, the study contains only wills, not contracts.

¹² *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 322.

¹³ *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Reg. Vat. 12, f. 36r, ep. 127. A summary of this bull can be found in *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 126.

In 1228, Gregory IX addressed a bull to the general master of the Order and the brothers of Bologna, confirming to them all of the Order's houses and privileges.¹⁴

Both the convents of Beata Maria Cruciferorum in Negroponte and Santa Maria Cruciferorum in Candia are included in this list of houses.

These bulls reveal that both convents were established early in the thirteenth century, very soon after Venice had gained control of her Greek territories and around the same time when the first Franciscan missions began to arrive. In fact, St Mary Cruciferorum may well be the first of the Latin monasteries of Candia, given the fact that it is mentioned as early as 1219. As we have already seen, St Francis of Candia was also said to have been founded in 1219, but there is no mention of the convent until 1242. These two bulls also show that, as was the case with their predecessors in Venice, one of the main goals of the Crociferi in Greece was the foundation and operation of hospitals.

In order to gain some insight into the organisation and function of these convents and hospitals, one must turn to the collection of notarial acts from the *ASV*. These documents span from 1312 to 1420, but the majority of them was produced in the second half of the fourteenth century. Although these deeds concern exclusively the convent of Candia, one may assume that the convent of Negroponte did not differ too much, at least in terms of general organisation.

Santa Maria Cruciferorum appears for the first time in a will in 1312, in which the testator bequeaths four hyperpers to the convent.¹⁵ It subsequently reappears regularly in both wills and other notarial acts (most frequently in quitclaims for bequests) and is referred to as either 'conventus Sante Marie Cruciferorum', 'monasterium Sante Marie Cruciferorum', 'hospitale Sante Marie Cruciferorum' or

¹⁴ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 14, an. 2, ep. 2.

¹⁵ McKee, *Wills*, I, 465.

variations of the above. The prior of the convent appears as ‘prior conventus et hospitalis Sante Marie Cruciferorum’ at least until 1387.¹⁶ This, along with the fact that the priors themselves sign for all the contracts in which the hospital is involved, indicates that the hospital was ran directly by the convent and not by representatives. The precise activity of the hospital is not stated in these acts, but it can be inferred through what is known about the Crociferi hospitals in Venice and Negroponte. Both of them were ‘hospitales pauperum’, that is, hospices for the care of the poor rather than hospitals for the treatment of the sick. Thus it follows, that Santa Maria of Candia would have performed the same function as its sister houses. The capacity of the hospital is also unknown, but judging from what we know about other contemporary hospitals of Candia, it seems unlikely that it could house more than a handful of inmates. St Anthony of Candia for example, which was a hospice for poor sailors of the Latin faith, could only house four inmates. That number rose to eight in 1422 when the hospice received a generous donation of vineyards.¹⁷

Although our documents do not reveal much about the activity of the convent and hospital, they are very informative on the matter of the house’s finances. Much of this information we owe to a certain brother named John Offida, who became prior of the convent and hospital probably around 1350 and ruled it for the following twenty-five years. Throughout his long term of service as prior, he seems to have gone to great lengths to secure and to augment the convent’s property, and thus has left behind a plethora of enlightening contracts concerning Santa Maria’s funds.

Any examination, however, of the convent’s finances should start with a discussion of pious bequests, which of course were the main sources of income for most religious institutions. The installation of the Religious Orders in medieval Greece

¹⁶ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 4, f. 2 (519)v. This particular contract is not the last one mentioning the convent but it is the last in which the prior of the convent is referred to.

¹⁷ Papadia-Lala, *Εναγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα*, p. 39.

was aided greatly by bequests. The monasteries that had previously been Greek and were taken over by the Latin regular clergy usually retained at least part of their original possessions. The new monasteries that were founded, however, depended on donations and bequests for their survival. In the Venetian territories of Greece in particular, we have seen that mendicant convents were founded following donations of land by private patrons but also by the Venetian commune, as was probably the case with St Peter the Martyr of Candia. It has already been shown, that the most successful of these houses were the ones that managed to forge strong links with the Latin population (especially the higher classes) and attract their patronage.

The circumstances under which the *Crociferi* acquired the core of their property on Crete are unknown (as most of our documentation derives from much later times), but by the fourteenth century they were amongst the main beneficiaries of pious bequests on the island. To be sure, the *Crociferi* do not feature too prominently in the surviving wills of Medieval Crete published by McKee; examining, however, the unpublished quitclaims for bequests from the *ASV* we see that the *Crociferi* 'issue' receipts much more often than any other religious order on the island. If this, admittedly fragmentary, evidence can be trusted we may conclude that the order *Cruciferorum* was a very popular beneficiary of bequests made by Latin residents of Candia. Of course, the Franciscans and Dominicans of Candia surpass by far the *Crociferi* both in the number of wills in which they appear and in the sums of money that they are awarded, but there exist more quitclaims signed by the *Crociferi*, than by most of the other religious orders. The vast majority of wills bequeath money to the Order, but there exist some notable exceptions in which the testator bequeaths an

amount of agricultural produce every year, *in perpetuum*.¹⁸ Thus, if we accept that the frequency of bequests reflects the popularity of an institution amongst its neighbours, we have to conclude that the Crociferi were very highly esteemed by the Venetian members of the Candiote society.

Though there is a notable absence of bequests of real estate to the Crociferi in fourteenth century wills, there is much information about their land tenure to be found in other notarial deeds. Many of these are contracts made under John Offida and they reveal that Santa Maria owned substantial property throughout Crete. The most common type of contract that the convent seems to have been involved in is the leasing of houses. It is clear that the convent owned dozens of houses, in and around Candia, but their exact number is hard to ascertain, as each house may appear in several different deeds. Certain of these houses are referred to in the contracts as ‘small houses’ and would probably consist of a single room. Some are said to be located on the lands of the convent in Candia and from their descriptions we may deduce that the convent was surrounded by an estate that belonged to the religious community.¹⁹ The convent leased out its houses as private residences and sometimes as wine storerooms, usually (but not always) for a term of twenty-nine years at a time. The annual rent for the houses varied between a few grossi and up to five hyperpers.

Apart from its houses, the convent owned an unspecified number of watermills, which it leased for more substantial sums of money.²⁰ The price for one of

¹⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, ff. 118 (323)v and 143 (348)v. In these two contracts dating from 1372 and 1373, John Offida acknowledges receipt of sixty *mouzouria* of grain [‘masures frumenti’] from Ser Francis and Ser John Greco, which their father and grandfather had pledged to the monastery each year and forever. According to Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, p. 139, the Cretan mouzourion was the equivalent of 16.825 litres. If that estimation is accurate, the two brothers were giving 1,009 litres of grain to the convent every year. See Appendix II.

¹⁹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 55 (412)v. See Appendix II.

²⁰ The convent made several contracts concerning mills, but it is not clear whether these contracts all refer to the same mill or different ones.

them, for example is given in a 1374 contract as fifteen hyperpers every three months²¹. Furthermore, at various times it owned fields, furnaces, a fishing boat and a Greek church in the city of Candia, which it also leased.²²

The convent's main source of income, however, must have been the villages that it owned. The notarial acts mention four: *Mandacha*, *Aposelemi*, *Guves*, and *Açupades*. In 1359, the convent leases the village of Mandacha with its appurtenances and the territory of Placoti to two brothers, Nicholas and Thomas Fradhello for five years, against the annual sum of fifty hyperpers.²³ In a 1371 contract John Offida leases the same village to a Greek monk named Coça for one hundred and thirty one mouzouria of corn and fifty mouzouria of barley per year.²⁴ Amongst the village's appurtenances, the contracts list fields, vineyards, forests, springs, fountains and mills, as well as a church named St Mary *Placoti*. The church is excluded from the first transaction, where it is stated that it would remain under the control of the monastery, but is included in the second one. The contracts mentioning Aposelemi, Guves and Açupades reveal that these villages were rented to the Greco family, but their rent does not seem to have been fixed and may have been dependant on each year's harvest. In some acts the Grecos appear to pay as little as forty one hyperpers per year, whereas in others they pay ninety five.²⁵

Apart from the above-mentioned villages, Santa Maria also owned lands in two others, called *Placoti* and *Leopetra*. It may have even owned the villages themselves but the notarial acts are not clear on the subject. Whatever the case may be, it is surprising to find that the Crociferi had any property in these territories, for Placoti

²¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 47 (404)v. See Appendix II.

²² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 54 (259)r. See for example Appendix II.

²³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.11, quaderno 1, f. 34v. See Appendix II.

²⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 78 (283)r. See Appendix II.

²⁵ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.11, quaderno 2, f. 118 (323)v, f. 143 (348)v and b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 135r. See Appendix II.

was situated in Rethymno, and Leopetra in the area of Seteia, more than a hundred and thirty five kilometers away from the city of Candia. That the convent owned property in Seteia is further substantiated by the fact that in 1366 John Offida appointed a representative in Seteia, to deal with the convent's financial matters in that town.²⁶

The importance of these sources for the ecclesiastical history of Crete cannot be overstated, given the fact that very little such evidence has survived even concerning the more prominent monasteries of the island. Unfortunately this also means that a direct comparison between the assets of the Crociferi and those of other orders in Crete is very hard. It can, however, be stated with a degree of conviction, that the convent of Santa Maria Cruciferorum was quite affluent by the standards of that particular age and place. Its property might not have been significant by western European standards, but in Greece, where many of the Latin monasteries reflected the impoverished state of the Catholic Church, any convent with such secure sources of income must have been considered quite wealthy, especially if one takes into account the size of the Cruciferorum community: the contracts reveal, that throughout the second half of the fourteenth century the size of Santa Maria's community ranged from just one to three brothers. Given this fact, it would be interesting to examine what use the Crociferi made of their income. Certainly, they would have used part of their revenues to support themselves, to operate the hospital, and (as certain documents show) to maintain and restore their buildings. One gets the impression that their revenues would be more than adequate for these purposes. The surviving documents, however, do not verify this, neither do they reveal what the brothers did with any remaining funds.

A surviving register of tithes from 1340, found in the Vatican Archives, offers little insight into the financial standings of the Crociferi in relation to the other

²⁶ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 87r. See Appendix II.

Cretan monasteries.²⁷ The convent of Santa Maria and the nunnery of St Catherine are the only Cretan monasteries that appear in the register and they pay three and four hyperpers respectively. This sum seems disproportionately low considering the many sources of income listed above and one wonders whether it was on the merit of special papal dispensations that the Crociferi paid such small tithes.

Despite, however, the apparent affluence of the convent, it appears that the management of its goods was not always profitable. In a 1381 act, one of the priors, brother Stephen of Negroponte, entrusted a representative of the convent with the task of trying to annul all the contracts made by his predecessor.²⁸ These contracts are described in the act as harmful for the religious community. The acts of the trials that ensued reveal that Stephen's predecessor, named Francis of St Severinus, had leased all of the convent's immobile property to Jacob Grimani for twenty years, against an inadmissibly low rent. It appears that the contract had also been approved by the prior of St Mary Cruciferorum of Venice, the mother house of St Mary of Candia. Despite this fact, however, the court ruled in favour of the new prior and ordered that the property was returned to the convent.²⁹ This ruling led to further litigation, as Jacob Grimani demanded that the five hundred hyperpers that he had paid as rent were refunded to him. The convent's proctors, however, showed that the claimant had only paid two hundred (out of the five hundred) hyperpers to the convent and that fifty of those had already been refunded. The court again decided in favour of the convent, and ruled that the brothers would only have to refund the remaining hundred and fifty

²⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae* 129, ff. 75r-77v.

²⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 89r. See Appendix II.

²⁹ Elizabeth Santschi, ed., *Régestes des arrêts civils et des mémoriaux (1363-1399) des archives du Duc de Crète* (Venice: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Hellénique d'Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines, 1976), p. 228.

hyperpers if it could be shown that the whole convent and not just the former prior had benefited from them.³⁰

Although these notarial acts concern primarily financial matters, they sometimes elucidate other aspects of the Order's activity in Crete. In an unusual contract from 1369 Agapitus Franco entrusts his son to the prior John Offida for a period of fifteen years.³¹ It is agreed in the contract that the prior would adopt the boy, with the obligation to feed him, clothe him, and educate him. It is also stated that the prior would be allowed to bring him into the Order and make him a Crosier at the end of the fifteen years, if he so desired. That the friars sometimes undertook the education of Cretan boys, is also attested to by the case of Peter Philargis, who was educated by a Franciscan before joining the convent of St Francis and later becoming the antipope Alexander V. I have not, however, found any other evidence of child oblation in Greece, and it is doubtful that it was a widespread practice. Nevertheless, it seems that the religious orders were successful, to a certain degree, in recruiting locally. Alexander V is, again, the obvious example, but there existed a number of native brothers even within the small Crociferi communities: the names Stephen of Negroponte, John of Negroponte, Zacharias of Candia, Michael of Candia and John Corboldo (further mention of whom is made below) are all mentioned in the documents examined here.

The most interesting example, however, of the Crociferi activity in the social milieu of Venetian Crete is the formation of a *scuola* around the convent of Santa Maria. The Venetian scuole were religious associations, or confraternities, governed by elected laymen.³² Some operated like guilds, reserving membership for those who

³⁰ Santschi, *Régestes*, p. 229.

³¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.11, quaderno 1, f. 178v. See Appendix II.

³² For a detailed study of the Venetian confraternities, see Terisio Pignatti, ed., *Le scuole di Venezia* (Milan: Electa, 1981).

practiced certain occupations, whilst others had a regional character. Most of the population of Venice belonged to one scuola or another, and some of them grew to be very important and prestigious organisations. The main functions of any scuola were to offer charity for the poor and sick and to care for its dead members, by providing them with a decent funeral and saying prayers for them. The motivation for joining such a confraternity was the desire to gain salvation through the performance of good deeds, but also the need for security and solidarity in an unstable and hostile world. Many of the scuole operated their own small hospitals and hospices, for the care of their poor, elderly or sick members. Despite the fact that the Venetian scuole were confraternities for lay people, they had a clear religious character and were a manifestation of their members' faith and therefore needed the services of the clergy.³³ For this reason, many scuole associated themselves with monasteries or churches and maintained altars there, for their own use.

The institution of the scuole was transplanted in Crete by the Venetian settlers. To my knowledge, however, there existed no other scuola in Candia that was named after a monastery or convent, apart from the confraternity of Santa Maria Cruciferorum. This confraternity appears in documents from the fourteenth century and is referred to as *scuola* or *fraternitas S. Marie Cruciferorum*. It is probable that the confraternity's building was situated in the convent's quarter but it is difficult to establish the exact relation between the confraternity and the convent. It seems unlikely, however, (for reasons that will be addressed below) that the connection between them was purely geographical.

The confraternity of Santa Maria Cruciferorum operated its own hospital in Candia. The hospital appears for the first time in a 1343 will and is thereafter

³³ Pignatti, *scuole*, p. 22.

mentioned regularly in both wills and contracts.³⁴ It is referred to as *hospitale scuole fraternitatis S. Marie Cruciferorum*, *hospitale S. Spiritus* and *hospitale novum S. Marie Cruciferorum* and according to Papadia-Lala in later centuries it was renamed hospital of St Anthony and brought under monastic control.³⁵

In time, both the confraternity and the hospital became themselves major beneficiaries of bequests, and important landowners. The charitable activity of the hospital was funded through such bequests. The will of Marco de Canale, for example, stipulated that twenty hyperpers were to be given to the scuola each year in perpetuum, for the benefit of two of the hospital's inmates.³⁶ Fortunately, the notarial archive of Candia has preserved many acts pertaining to the structure and finances of these institutions. The titles used for the administrators of the confraternity and hospital vary (e.g. *guardianus*, *vardianus*, *gubernator* and *procurator*) and are sometimes used interchangeably, making it hard to define each official's responsibilities. It seems, however, that the main officials were two, the guardian of the confraternity, who governed it and who, according to Venetian custom, would be elected by the confraternity's members, and the procurator of the hospital, who would have been responsible for the hospital's administration. Occasionally, both these posts were covered by the same person, as was the case with John Minio, who in 1366 appears as guardian of the confraternity and administrator of the hospital.³⁷ Two notarial acts from 1369 and 1370 have preserved the names of some (presumably leading) members of the confraternity.³⁸ Not surprisingly, all of them are Italian names and some of them, like Sanudo, Cornario, Lando, Querini and Mauroceno (Morosini) belong to famous

³⁴ McKee, *Wills*, I, 251-53.

³⁵ Papadia-Lala, *Εναγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα*, pp. 62-64. Papadia-Lala stresses that this was not the same hospice as St Anthony for poor sailors that was mentioned above.

³⁶ Santschi, *Régestes*, p. 286.

³⁷ Santschi, *Régestes*, p. 112.

³⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.11, quaderno 1, f. 173v and quaderno 2, f. 33 (238)v.

Venetian families. In both these notarial deeds, the confraternity appoints spokesmen to represent it to the Venetian authorities in Venice, in a case between the confraternity and the Cretan commune, concerning some estates that were bequeathed to the confraternity. In a similar act from 1381 the confraternity appointed a representative in Rhodes, in order to secure the money and goods bequeathed by a testator who died on that island.³⁹ Further acts reveal, that, like the monastery, the confraternity also owned a number of houses, wine storerooms and vineyards.

A 1382 contract makes it clear that the hospital was governed and funded directly by the confraternity.⁴⁰ The confraternity's association with the convent, however, is not explicitly stated in any of the documents. Of course, the very fact that the confraternity was named after the convent seems to indicate that the two institutions were related: at the time of its foundation, the hospital is referred to as both hospital of the Holy Spirit and New Hospital of Santa Maria Cruciferorum. Even though the third variation (hospital of the school and confraternity of Santa Maria Cruciferorum) largely replaces these two by the end of the fourteenth century, the initial use of the term 'new hospital' implies a connection with the old one, that is, the Cruciferorum hospital.

Another telling clue can, perhaps, be found in the bequests that the confraternity received. In these we see that a significant percentage of the testators that bequeathed money to the confraternity, also bequeathed money to the convent of Santa Maria. Assuming that the majority of the confraternity's benefactors were also members of the confraternity, we may conclude that there existed a special affiliation between the two institutions.

³⁹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.12, quaderno 5, f. 101v. See Appendix II.

⁴⁰ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 132r. See Appendix II.

As was mentioned earlier, the Venetian confraternities often associated themselves with a religious foundation and maintained an altar there, in order to secure the services of the clergy for their spiritual needs. It is probable that this was also the case with the confraternity and monastery of Santa Maria Cruciferorum.

There can be little doubt that Santa Maria Cruciferorum was a small house, and one of secondary importance when compared with the leading Candiote convents of St Francis and St Peter the Martyr. The notarial documents of Crete, however, reveal it to have been exceptionally active (at least financially) in the fourteenth century. Though its popularity could not have rivaled the main convents of St Francis and St Peter the Martyr, or even the Augustinian convent of the Holy Saviour, Santa Maria was certainly well-endowed. What is particularly intriguing is the amount of landed property that this small convent owned, which, as far as we can tell, surpassed that of any other Latin religious house of Crete. The association of the convent with a scuola – and one that seems to have been prominent and whose members included noble Venetian families- also indicates that Santa Maria was well-connected and occupied a relatively important position in Candiote society. In this case, however, it is difficult to determine where the convent owed its popularity. We have seen that, where ties of patronage developed between monastic foundations and the Latins (either private patrons or the authorities), they often did so because of specific reasons: in some cases –most prominently with the nunneries– the ties were the result of the blood relations between the population and the cloistered ladies; this seems to have been the case with some of the Cistercian nunneries of the Frankish territories and was certainly true of the nunneries of Venetian Crete. Alternatively, the religious houses attracted the patronage of the population and authorities through their work. The Franciscans, for example, were certainly valued by the population for their pastoral work, as is proven

by the fact that their services in many territories of Greece were preferred over those of the secular Church. Moreover, the authorities actively supported them because, as the most virulent strand of Catholicism in Greece, they kept the Latin rite alive in areas where the Latins were threatened by assimilation, and thus preserved the all-important distinction between Latin and Greek identities. The pastoral and spiritual activity of the Crociferi, on the other hand, remains obscure; considering the fact that the community was only made up by two or three brothers in the fourteenth century, it is exceedingly unlikely that the Crociferi formed an indispensable feature of the spiritual landscape of Candia. How then can we account for Santa Maria's significant endowments of land and the convent's long history in Crete? One possibility is that the house enjoyed the favour of particular families that were already connected to the Order in Venice and continued to support it in Crete. Unfortunately we can not test this hypothesis, for we do not know anything about the Order's early history in Crete nor do we know how the convent acquired its estates.

A second, and perhaps more likely possibility is that the convent owed its prosperity to the operation of its hospital. We have seen that the first mention of the convent dates to the year 1219 and the first direct mention of its hospital is made in 1228. It is thus more than likely that the hospital of St Mary Cruciferorum was the first charitable institution to be founded by the Venetians in the colony. The institution of the 'hospices', small foundations ran by confraternities or religious houses, was a key feature of Venetian philanthropy in the metropolis and gradually evolved into a prominent feature of Venetian Crete as well. In the first centuries of the *Venetokratia*, however, only a handful of such foundations existed in Candia. The Franciscans, one of whose main concerns was ministry to the poor, may have been engaged in charitable activity but they certainly did not operate such a foundation in Candia, at least not in

the centuries we are concerned with here. Thus, in the first stages of its history the hospice of Santa Maria must have faced little or no competition in securing funds from testators who wanted to donate to charitable causes. We know from later documents that charitable foundations were indeed very popular recipients of bequests by the Candiotte citizenry; we also know, if the examples of the hospitals of St Anthony and St Lazarus are anything to go by, that such charitable institutions were more likely to receive land donations to help them carry out their duties, than the monastic foundations of Crete, that on the whole appear to have been poor in land.⁴¹ Of course, the hospital of Santa Maria faced tougher competition later on as the charitable institutions multiplied, not least by its sister house, the *New Hospital of Santa Maria* or *Hospital of the Holy Spirit*, which, as we have seen, was founded by the *scuola Sancte Marie Cruciferorum*. It is, however, plausible to assume that Santa Maria acquired the core of its landed property on the merit of operating the first hospital of Venetian Crete and achieved its longevity and popularity through its charitable activity.

The fate of the convent of Santa Maria Cruciferorum in the fifteenth century is unclear, for the relevant notarial acts that I have located only cover the fourteenth century, and I have not found references to the convent in any other documents. According to Gerola, the house gradually declined and was given to the Capuchins during the final stages of the *Venetokratia*.⁴² Its sister house in Negroponte, however, became the centre of an interesting case in the 1440s.

As we have seen, the convent of Beata Maria Cruciferorum was founded early in the 1220s, but subsequent mentions of it in the papal registers are very rare. It

⁴¹ At a time when donations of land to monasteries are very rare, both these hospitals received estates that they subsequently leased, like the Crociferi did with theirs. See Papadia-Lala, *Εναγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα*, pp. 39 and 144-45.

⁴² Gerola, II, 127-28.

reappears, however, in the registers of Eugenius IV.⁴³ Around 1440 Eugenius was asked by the nobles of Negroponte to help them restore the convent and its hospital to its normal operations. The problems seem to have started before the papacy of Eugenius, as his bull refers back to a previous bull by Martin V. It is stated that at some (unspecified) time Bartholomew, the 'governor' of the convent, which was now referred to as 'priory of Beata Maria Cruciferorum' and the hospital, now called 'hospital of St Laurence', had resigned, leaving the convent destitute of monks and the hospital inactive. As there were no other Crociferi living on the island, the general master of the order had briefly taken control of the house, but both he and the nobles of the island had petitioned Martin to appoint a Dominican named John Monzono to the post of prior. He was considered an ideal choice because he knew some Greek, but after his appointment he refused to take up residence in the priory and instead it is said that he 'lived indecently as a vagabond'. Thus, around 1440 the nobles petitioned the pope again, this time Eugenius, asking him to remove John Monzono and to appoint instead a Franciscan professor of Venetian descent named John Corboldo, who was considered to be an even more suitable candidate, because he had grown up on the island and was fluent in both Greek and Latin. The pope agreed to transfer John Corboldo to the order of the Crociferi and to make him prior, with the stipulation that he would reside within the priory. If he failed to do so, he would return to the Franciscan order and lose his post.

Soon afterwards, however, a fifteen year old youth from Venice named Peter Andrew Morosini appeared on the island and, introducing himself as a cleric of Castello, claimed that the priory and hospital rightfully belonged to him. It is not clear where he was basing this claim, but it may be the case that the previous prior (John

⁴³ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, I, 432.

Monzono) had also appealed to the pope against his removal and had been exonerated, just before his death, thus rendering John Corboldo's appointment illegal.⁴⁴ In 1443 the pope removed John Corboldo from his position and installed Peter Andrew Morosini, stating that the former had held his post for three years illegally.⁴⁵ John Corboldo appealed to the pope and in 1444 Eugenius assigned the case to cardinal Bernard of Narnia who found in favour of the Franciscan and re-appointed him, ordering at the same time Peter Andrew Morosini to compensate him for the convent's funds that he had expended whilst he was prior. This time it was Peter Andrew Morosini's turn to appeal. In a final bull, in 1445, Eugenius appointed Peter Andrew to the position of prior, saying that John Corboldo had only won the previous case through lying. By that time, both litigants were accusing each other of having misappropriated the convent's funds, and even of having sold the hospital's beds in order to make a profit. Eugenius based his final decision on the dubious grounds that Peter Andrew Morosini came from a wealthy family and did not need to sell the beds to support himself.⁴⁶

This anecdote may seem amusing to the modern reader, but it illustrates perfectly the anarchic state of the Latin Church in medieval Greece. Poverty, instability, warfare and the scramble for land made even a small priory like this, whose revenues (it is stated) did not exceed ninety florins, a much coveted prize for the Latin clergy.

The priory appears one last time in the papal registers of Pius II only a decade before the island was conquered by the Turks.⁴⁷ At that time, it seemed to have fared a bit better, as its prior is asked to intervene in a case between the Archbishop of Athens and some Greek monks who accused him of having usurped their monasteries. This

⁴⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 428.

⁴⁵ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 320.

⁴⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 428.

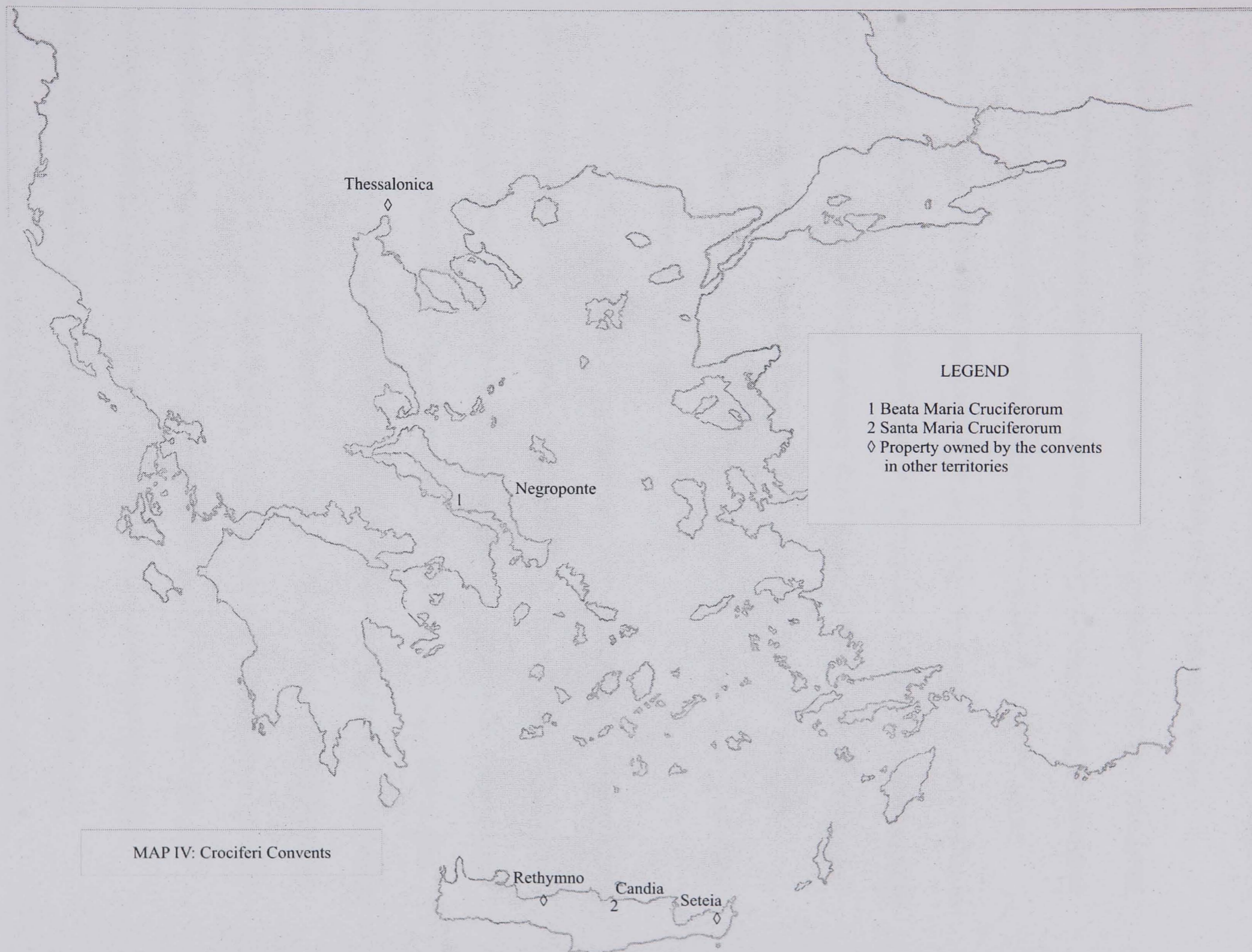
⁴⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 469, ff. 392r-393v and *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, II, 960.

time, the pope refers to the convent as 'Beata Maria Cruciferorum of the Order of St John of Jerusalem'. This indicates that despite the apparent interest in the convent's wellbeing, its situation did not improve after the case mentioned above between John Corboldo and Peter Andrew Morosini and, since no members of the Cruciferorum order lived on the island, the convent was at some point given to the Hospitallers.

All of the above, I believe, should urge us to reconsider the position that the *Ordo Cruciferorum* had had in Venetian Greece. It is true that their spiritual affairs still remain obscure and that not all of their dealings seem exemplary, but one should keep in mind the general state of ecclesiastical affairs in Latin Greece, in which such discrepancies were not uncommon. What is important is that a small order managed to sustain two houses in Greece for two hundred years, and perhaps even more than that; longer that is than the Cistercians, whose presence as we have seen, with the exception of the house of Daphni, died out after just sixty years. Members of the Crociferi Order continued to play a part in the ecclesiastical affairs of Crete even at the time of the convent's decline. Three Crociferi were appointed bishops of Mylopotamos in the sixteenth century: Octavianus Semiteculus, who was a scholar and proctor general of his Order, was appointed in the early years of the sixteenth century. In the 1580s another member of the Order with a reputation as a scholar, Nicholas Stridonio, was appointed to the see and died in Candia as a result of the plague. He was succeeded around 1588 by a third Crociferi, named either Aloysius or Ludovicus Bollanus.⁴⁸ We have seen that both houses owned property which was considered substantial by the criteria of that particular age and place. Furthermore, those houses remained active, in one way or another, despite the small size of their communities. Both convents ran

⁴⁸ Cornelio, *Creta Sacra*, II, 456-57.

hospitals, and, even if they did not always operate smoothly, one can still discern the Order's desire to keep them functional. In fact, the two hospitals of the Crociferi appear to have been the very first charitable foundations that the Latins established in medieval Greece, and were probably highly valued as such by the communities amongst which they existed. Finally and perhaps most significantly, both convents were judged as important by their contemporaries. The popes certainly thought they were important, as in their early days they ensured through privileges and donations that they would have the necessary revenues to perform their work and in later days intervened to restore them to their normal operations. The communities in which they existed also thought they were important: when the priory of Negroponte suffered from neglect, it was the nobles of the city that asked the pope to appoint a more suitable prior and, as we saw, Santa Maria Cruciferorum in Candia was highly esteemed by the Venetian members of the Candiote society, who regularly bequeathed money to the brothers and set up a confraternity around the convent.



MAP IV: Crociferi Convents

Chapter 6: The Augustinian Friars

The Augustinian Order, or Order of the Hermits of St Augustine, was created and recognized as a mendicant order in 1256 by the unification of a number of smaller orders who all lived according to the so called rule of St Augustine. In their international structure, the Augustinians followed the example of the other mendicant orders. Their convents were divided into provinces, they were governed by a General Prior and each of the provinces was governed by a Provincial Prior. The General Chapter convened every three years and each province's representative was required to participate. In addition to the General Chapters, provincial chapters convened regularly and oversaw the operation of the convents. The Provincial Priors were elected by the priors of each convent during these provincial chapters. Initially, the provincial chapters convened every year. After 1438 they convened every second year and after 1453 they convened every third year.

The Augustinians were the last Mendicant Order to settle in Greece and as such it did not benefit from the favourable circumstances created by the existence of a Latin Empire based in Constantinople. Perhaps this can account for the Order's more limited presence in medieval Greece (compared to the other mendicant orders). The Hermits of St Augustine, however, did manage to establish successful and long-lasting communities in the Venetian territories of Greece. Strangely, these communities have never been the focus of scholarly interest, despite the fact that substantial information has survived concerning two of them: the convent of Candia and that of Corfu. The relevant bibliography only deals with the Augustinian province of the Holy Land incidentally and what brief references are to be found are often confusing and sometimes inaccurate. The reason for this may be the fact that, while adequate documentation has survived concerning two of the Greek convents, the traces of others

have disappeared completely and references to the Province itself are very scarce in the sources. In this chapter we shall examine the individual convents of Greece and try to piece together the surviving evidence pertaining to their province, hopefully dispelling some of the confusion surrounding its history and structure.

The Augustinian convents of Greece fell under the jurisdiction of the Province of the Holy Land. As a sixteenth century list of Augustinian convents affirms, the province received its name from the convent that the Order initially owned in Palestine.¹ It seems, however, that the Palestinian convent was the first one to be lost to the Order, and that subsequently the Province of the Holy Land was comprised by the insular convents of Greece and Cyprus. The province itself was sometimes referred to as *Provincia Ultramarina* or Province of Cyprus. The exact date of the province's foundation is unknown, but it was probably before 1317, for in that year we find the first mentions of the province's *Judices Conservatores*.² It is similarly hard to establish the date of the foundation of the first Greek Augustinian convents. In fact, the very identification of the Augustinian convents of Greece is possibly the most problematic issue facing the historian. The most valuable sources available to us for this task are two lists of houses compiled in the fifteenth and mid sixteenth centuries. Though these lists are an invaluable source of information, the discrepancies between them and the forms of place names that they use present us with certain difficulties. To these lists, one must add the references to the Greek convents found scattered in the acts of the Augustinian General Chapters and, finally, the works of the Order's seventeenth-century historians.

¹ 'Catalogus conventuum O.E.S. Augustini tempore prioris generalis Hieronymi Seripandi (1539-1551)', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 6 (1915-16), p. 68.

² David Gutiérrez, *Los Agustinos en la edad media, 1256-1517*, 2 vols, I (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Sancti Augustini, 1977-1980), 63 and 'Catalogus Conventuum', p. 68.

Our first list was compiled, as we saw, in the fifteenth century and it records thirteen convents belonging to the Province of the Holy Land.³ It appears in a manuscript reproducing the acts of the Order's General Chapters between the years 1419 and 1460 and according to the document's editor it seems to correspond to the Order's structure during the final years of this period.⁴ The convents listed are the following: *Chanea*, *Scoca*, Rethymno, Candia, *Slusuz*, Corone, Rhodes, Nicosia, Famagusta, *Turrim*, *Santa Crux*, *Silva* on Cyprus and Corfu. It is stated that the first five amongst these were situated on the island of Crete, but it is difficult to establish to what the names *Scoca* and *Slusuz* actually correspond. Similarly, the place name *Turrim* is not immediately recognizable, but it would be safe to assume that it refers to a location on Cyprus, since it appears in between other Cypriot convents. Thus we see that out of the thirteen convents mentioned in this list, eight refer to Greece: Chanea, Scoca, Rethymno, Candia, Slusuz, Corone, Rhodes and Corfu. Out of these eight, five were situated on Crete, but only three of them are readily identifiable. The remaining five convents of the Province were founded on Cyprus.

The second list dates from between the years 1539 and 1551 and mentions ten convents: Corfu, Crete, Rethymno, Candia, Mylopotamos, Seteia, Skopelos, Rhodes, Cyprus and Nicosia.⁵ The convents of *Crete* and *Candia* could be two different houses in the city of Candia. One of them would be the major Augustinian foundation of Candia, dedicated to the Holy Saviour, and the second one must have been the smaller house of St George of the Venetians, which was apparently built after the middle of the fifteenth century since it does not appear in the previous list. Alternatively, the convent of 'Crete' could refer to the previously mentioned convent of Chanea. Chanea, *Scoca*

³ 'Actas Ineditaz de Diez Capitulos Generales: 1419-1460', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 42 (1979), 7-133 (p. 29).

⁴ 'Actas', p. 8.

⁵ 'Catalogus Conventuum', p. 68.

and *Slusuz* have disappeared from the list of Cretan foundations, and have been replaced by the convents of Mylopotamos and Seteia. The second list mentions only two houses on Cyprus, instead of five. The convent of Corone has also disappeared by this time, but a new one, that of *Skopelos* is mentioned. Thus we see that the two lists only agree on five of the convents that they catalogue: Corfu, Candia, Rethymno, Rhodes and Nicosia. We shall examine, further on, whether these discrepancies arise from the fact that some of the early convents ceased to function and others were founded in the period between the composition of the first and the second list, or whether the lists actually refer to the same monasteries under different names. The identification of these foundations is further impeded by the fact that the two lists only mention place names and not the convents' actual names.

A further list of convents was compiled in 1659.⁶ This list mentions the following convents: Corfu, Rhodes, Suda, Chanea, Rethymno, Mylopotamos, Candia, Seteia, Nicosia, Famagusta. Obviously, this list is very similar to the above mentioned sixteenth century list, the only difference being that instead of the convents of Skopelos and 'Crete' it mentions *Suda* (also situated on Crete) and Chanea. As will be shown, it is probable that the convent of Skopelos was indeed one and the same as the convent of Suda and it has already been speculated that the convent of 'Crete', was in fact the convent of Chanea. If that is the case, this third list corresponds perfectly to the previous sixteenth century list.

Furthermore, Gerola, who conducted a detailed study of the Venetian monuments of Crete early in the twentieth century, identified seven Augustinian churches on the island, as opposed to the five that appear in these lists.⁷ Of course, his focus is mainly archaeological, rather than historical, and in many cases he does not

⁶ Augustin Lubin, *Orbis Augustinianus sive conventuum Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini chronographica et topographica descriptio* (Paris: P. Baudivyn, 1659), p. 32.

⁷ Gerola, II, 112.

date the monuments at all. Thus it is possible that certain of the houses that he mentions were built during later times. The convents listed by Gerola are the following: Holy Saviour of Candia, St George of the Venetians, St Mary of Rethymno, St Mary *de Misericordia* of Chanea, St Catherine of Seteia, St Nicholas of Suda and an unnamed convent in Mylopotamos.

The situation is further complicated by two modern lists published by one of the Order's eminent historians.⁸ It should be pointed out here, that the two lists published by Van Luijk do not completely agree with each other. His 1972 catalogue lists the following convents: St Anthony in Famagusta, the convent of Acre, St Mary of Chanea (which he identifies with the convent of Suda and Skopelos), St Helias in Erodiano, the convent of the Holy Saviour in Candia, the Annunziata of Corfu, the convent of Corinth, the convent of Kythnos, the convent of Mellidoni-Methymne (which he places on Crete), St Augustine of Nicosia, St Mary in Istria (which does not concern us in this study), the convent of Pylos, St Mary of Rethymno, St Augustine of Rhodes, St Catherine of Seteia and the convent of Zara (which also does not concern us). We see then, that this modern list has many differences from the two earliest lists mentioned above. This can be explained by the fact that Van Luijk seems to be mainly drawing from seventeenth century sources, and thus mentions convents that may have been founded after the period examined in his study. In 1973, however, Luijk published a second list, accompanied by a map of the Province of the Holy Land.⁹ Although quite similar to his previous list, the latter one mentions the convent of Skopelos twice, once identifying it with the convent of Chanea and then identifying it with the convent of Suda. Even more confusingly, in the accompanying map, apparently forgetting his

⁸ Benigno A. L. Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien du XIIIe au XIXe siècle* (Holland: Assen, 1972), pp. 26 and 43-44 and *L'Ordine Agostiniano e la Riforma Monastica* (Heverlee-Leuven: Institut historique Augustinien, 1973), p. 21*.

⁹ Van Luijk, *L'Ordine Agostiniano*, p. 21*.

assertion that this convent was situated on Crete, he places it on the island of Skopelos (in the north of the Aegean Sea).

Let us now try to disentangle this complex record of place names and see whether all of the above-mentioned lists can be assimilated into one. Starting with the most obvious mistakes, it is certain that the convent of Kythnos, mentioned by Van Luijk is in fact a convent not on the island of Kythnos, but on that of Chios. We know of this convent because of several references in notarial deeds and archival materials from Corfu. Presumably, Van Luijk mistook the medieval Latin name of Chios (*insula Scivi* or *Sivi*) for that of Kythnos.

The convents of Corinth, Polis and Pylos, also mentioned by Van Luijk, are not mentioned in any of the early lists and unfortunately Van Luijk himself does not cite his sources in these particular cases. We may therefore conclude that they were later foundations or otherwise that these place names too were transcribed incorrectly. There is of course the chance that by 'convent of Pylos' he refers in fact to the convent of Corone, which is also situated in the southernmost part of the Peloponnese.

There is no confusion concerning the convents of Rhodes and Corfu, as all the lists mention them. There is similarly no confusion surrounding the Cypriot convents of Nicosia and Famagusta. One should remember, however, that the first list mentions three more convents on Cyprus: Turrin, Santa Crux and Silva. Apparently, these three convents were short-lived and thus do not appear in any of the subsequent catalogues.

We are left, therefore, with the difficult task of identifying the convents of Crete. Starting with Candia, it is well known that the Augustinians possessed two convents in the city: that of the Holy Saviour and a smaller one, St George of the Venetians, which was founded later and is definitely mentioned in sixteenth and seventeenth century sources. All the sources also agree on the convent of St Mary in

Rethymno. There also existed a convent dedicated to St Catherine in Seteia and a convent named St Mary *de Misericordia* inside the city of Chanea. Perhaps the most difficult task is that of identifying the convents of Suda, Skopelos and ‘Crete’ (mentioned in the sixteenth century list). All evidence points to the conclusion that the so-called convent of Skopelos was indeed situated on Crete and not on the island of Skopelos as one of Van Luijk’s maps suggests. Rather, one should accept Van Luijk’s earlier assertion that this convent was the same as the convent of Suda and is sometimes mentioned as a second convent of Chanea, because Suda is in the wider area of Chanea. This conclusion is also supported by Herrera’s *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, where it is stated that the convent of Skopelos, dedicated to St Mary, was situated on the island of Crete.¹⁰ The convent of the city of Chanea, St Mary *de Misericordia*, is mentioned in the fifteenth century list, and could be the one referred to as ‘convent of Crete’ in the sixteenth century list. Herrera and Gerola also confirm its name and location near the walls of the city. This leaves us with two convents from the first list unaccounted for: Scoca and Slusuz. Although it is difficult to decipher these badly corrupted place names and therefore impossible to be certain about their identification, we could tentatively suggest that ‘Scoca’ refers to the convent of Suda, otherwise known as Skopelos, and that ‘Slusuz’ refers to the convent of Seteia. This would also make sense geographically, since our fifteenth century catalogue would appear to list the convents in geographical order starting from the West with Chanea and finishing at the easternmost part of the island with Seteia. If that is indeed the case, then all of our early lists are almost identical: the only convent that is missing from the first list but appears in all the others is that of Mylopotamos, but it is almost certain that this convent was founded in the sixteenth century anyway. Finally, there exists a mention

¹⁰ Thomas de Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum in quo preclara eremitici ordinis germina virorumque et saeminarium domicilia recensentur*, 2 vols, II (Madrid: Typis Gregorii Rodriguez, 1644), 421.

of another convent in the same area: according to Joseph Lanter there existed in Methymne a nunnery dedicated to St Christopher in 1573.¹¹ This surely is the same convent referred to as Mellidoni-Methymne by Van Luijk, and was also situated in the area of Mylopotamos.¹²

If our assumptions are correct, then they explain most of the discrepancies between the various lists of convents. The comprehensive list of Augustinian convents of Greece that emerges from these assumptions is the following:

St Mary of the Annunciation of Corfu

St Augustine of Rhodes

Convent of Chios

Convent of Corone

St Mary de Misericordia of Chanea

St Mary of Suda-Skopelos (once referred to as Scoca)

St Mary of Rethymno

St Mary of Mylopotamos

St Christopher of Mellidoni-Methymne

Holy Saviour of Candia

St George of the Venetians of Candia

St Catherine of Seteia

St Helias of Erodiano (whose location I have not been able to establish)

To these, one may want to add the convents of Corinth and 'Polis' mentioned by Van Luijk, whose existence I have not been able to confirm. The Province of the Holy Land was completed by the convent of Acre, the five convents of Cyprus

¹¹ Nicolaus Crusenius, *Pars Tertia Monastici Augustiniani Completens Epitomen Historicam FF Augustiniensium a Magna Ordinis Unione usque ad an. 1620, cum additamentis Revmi. P. M. Fr. Josephi Lanteri*, 2 vols, I (Vallisoleti, 1890, 1903), 642.

¹² Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, pp. 26 and 44.

(Nicosia, Famagusta, Santa Crux, Silva and Turrin) and the convents of Zara and St Mary of Istria.

It is agreed that the first Augustinian convents in what was to become the Province of the Holy Land were founded in the final years of the thirteenth century: The Augustinians acquired their first convent in Acre before 1290 and they were operating on Cyprus before 1299.¹³ As was already mentioned, however, we do not know when the Augustinians founded their first convents in Greece. Certainly this must have happened during the first decades of the fourteenth century, and in all probability it was the monastery of the Holy Saviour in Candia that was founded first. In 1317, Pope John XXII replied to a petition made by the General Prior of the Augustinians. John's bull allowed the Augustinian Order to found or receive three convents in Greece, Cyprus, or Crete.¹⁴ It is not apparent which convents were founded as a result of this privilege, but it is possible that this bull signified the beginning of the Augustinian mission to Greece.

Starting from the mid fourteenth century the General Chapters of the Order make occasional references to the Province of the Holy Land. Unfortunately, they never give detailed information about any of the Greek convents; presumably, the various decisions about the individual houses were made at the annual provincial chapters and since the acts of these chapters do not seem to have survived, we are left with no information concerning several of the Augustinian houses of Greece. The acts of the General Chapters, however, do give us a glimpse into the state of affairs in the Province of the Holy Land. Inevitably, the impression that one gets from the examination of the acts is that the Province of the Holy Land was one of the poorest Augustinian provinces and the one that was the hardest for the Order to sustain. Thus

¹³ 'Catalogus Conventuum', p. 68 and 'De Monasteriis ac Sodalibus O.E.S.A. in Insula Cypro', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 1 (1905-06), 93-96 and 118-24, p. 93.

¹⁴ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 66, ep. 3371, f. 96v.

we see that the General Chapter was forced on several occasions to provide the convents of the Holy Land with special dispensations: in 1362, the General Chapter that convened at Vienne decided that each province would be obliged to pay an annual contribution of eighteen florins to the Order, except for the *Province of Cyprus*, which was only liable to pay twelve florins.¹⁵ Similarly, the General Chapter of 1377 in Munich ordered that each province pay an annual contribution of eighty ducats to the Order. Once again, the Province of the Holy Land was excluded from this rule, along with the Provinces of Sicily and Terra di Lavoro.¹⁶ Finally, in 1465 the General Chapter of Pamiers declared that every province would have to make an annual contribution of twenty four ducats, apart from the Province of the Holy Land, ‘which is most poor and has but a few convents’.¹⁷

Similar dispensations were made with regards to the population of the Augustinian convents of Greece and their ability to recruit from amongst the Latin communities. In 1348 the General Chapter of Pavia introduced a regulation by which it hoped to resolve more efficiently the disputes that arose within each province. Every province was required to send a brother to the convent of Avignon, where he would stay and deal with cases from his own province. The Provinces of Naples, Sicily and the Holy Land were excused from this obligation, presumably because of the small number of friars that resided in their convents.¹⁸ The suspicion that the convents of Greece and Cyprus found it difficult to recruit friars locally is confirmed by the acts of the General Chapter of 1374, which convened in Cologne. An appeal was made by that

¹⁵ ‘Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis’, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 4 (1911-12), p. 429.

¹⁶ ‘Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis’, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 5 (1913-14), p. 151.

¹⁷ ‘Acta Capitulis Generalis Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini Appamiis Anno 1465 Celebrati’, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), 106-30, p. 110.

¹⁸ ‘Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis’, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 4 (1911-12), p. 276.

Chapter to the Provincial Priors of all the provinces, to allow any willing brothers in their jurisdiction to emigrate to the convents of the Province of the Holy Land.¹⁹

Despite the difficulties that were facing the Province of the Holy Land, it is obvious that the General Chapter of the Order was eager to sustain the Augustinian communities in Greece and Cyprus. Apart from the above-mentioned special dispensations we occasionally see the General Chapters intervening to ensure that the Province was governed appropriately. In 1467, for example, the General Chapter entrusted the administration of the convents of Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes to friar William Gonem, the Augustinian archbishop of Nicosia.²⁰ The decision came after Reverend C. of Rouen, the Order's protector, complained to the Order about the condition of the convents in question. The archbishop was also allowed to select a few friars of good reputation from Italy and take them with him to help him reform these houses. A year later, the Provincial Prior and brothers of the Holy Land were asked to assess the contribution made by friar Gonem to the reformation of the convents. If his work was judged positively, his special powers would be renewed, otherwise they would be annulled. The convents were also urged to pay for half of the expenses of the Italian friars that Gonem had brought with him.²¹ In 1470 another friar, Master John Jacobo of Venice was made vicar of the Holy Land, with authority superseding that of the Provincial Prior.²²

¹⁹ 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 5 (1913-14), p. 14.

²⁰ William Gonem was very well educated and taught theology in Nicosia. He found favour with the King of Cyprus John II Lusignan but was very unpopular with his Greek wife Helena Palaeologa and was forced to leave the island for Rhodes. There he seems to have been involved in a plot against Helena. Eventually he returned to Nicosia. For a more detailed examination of his turbulent ecclesiastical career see 'De Monasteriis ac Sodalibus O. E. S. A. in Insula Cypri II', in *Analecta Augustiniana*, 1 (1905-06), 118-24.

²¹ 'De Capitulo Generali Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini Appamiis Anno 1465 Celebrati', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), pp. 129-30.

²² 'De Capitulo Generali Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini Appamiis Anno 1465 Celebrati', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), p. 189.

In a similar act, the Provincial Prior of the Holy Land, was given the convent of Chanea for life, with the responsibility to reform and repair it. He was also appointed as the Order's representative to the upcoming provincial chapter and was urged to send to the Order the acts and the decisions made at the Chapter after the election of the new Provincial Prior.²³

The acts of the General Chapters also show that every care was taken to ensure that the Province was administered properly: as we have already seen, for example, the provincial chapters did indeed take place, and their acts were required to be sent to the Order's headquarters. It is also important to note that the presence of the Province's representatives at the General Chapters is usually confirmed by the surviving acts: in 1425, Donatus of Milan represented the Province to the Chapter of Bologna;²⁴ in 1430, Simon of Rhodes was present at the Chapter of Montpellier;²⁵ in 1439, the acts of the General Chapter of Perugia mention the name of Hieronymus of Venice as the Province's representative;²⁶ in 1443 the Holy Land was again represented by Donatus of Milan in Siena;²⁷ in 1455, the Province was represented in Avignon by the afore-mentioned John Jacobo of Venice;²⁸ in 1460 at Siena, the Province's representative was Jacob of Aquila, who was to become Provincial Prior in 1470; finally, Master John Evangelista of Ferrara was the Province's representative at the Chapter of Pamiers in 1465.²⁹ The acts of the General Chapters also prove that when the Order's prescriptions were not put into practice, appropriate measures were taken: in 1434, the Provincial Prior Donatus of Milan failed to present himself to the Chapter

²³ 'De Capitulo Generali Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini Appamiis Anno 1465 Celebrati', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), pp. 129-30.

²⁴ 'Actas', p. 44. It should be noted that Donatus remained Provincial Prior of the Holy Land at least until 1434.

²⁵ 'Actas', p. 55.

²⁶ 'Actas', p. 76.

²⁷ 'Actas', p. 86.

²⁸ 'Actas', p. 114.

²⁹ 'Actas', p. 129 and 'Acta Capitulis Generalis', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), p. 106.

of Mantua, and thus the Chapter sentenced the Province to pay a fine of twenty four ducats. Donatus, however, appeared a few days later and excused himself by saying that he was delayed by bad weather, so the sentence was revoked.³⁰

Having shed some light on the Province's structure and administration, we should now turn our attention to the history of its convents. Unfortunately, as has already been mentioned, we have virtually no information about several of the Augustinian convents of Greece and that is part of the reason why even their identification proved to be such a difficult task. The case of the convent of Corone is a good example. This convent only appears, as far as I am aware, in our list of convents composed between 1419 and 1460 and subsequently disappears from all our sources. Thus, the only information that can be drawn about this house is that it was founded before the mid-fifteenth century and that, since it does not appear in any of the subsequent lists, was suppressed before 1539/51. As we have seen, Van Luijk makes mention of an Augustinian convent in Pylos. It was surmised that perhaps he was actually referring to this convent of Corone. In his list he asserts that the convent was founded in 1380 and was suppressed in 1551.³¹ If indeed he was referring to the convent of Corone, the date of the suppression seems plausible, as it is consistent with the convent's absence from the later lists. Since, however, Van Luijk does not cite his sources, I have been unable to establish the accuracy of these dates.

Fortunately, not all of the Augustinian convents of Greece are as obscure. Predictably, perhaps, we are well informed about the major Augustinian convent of Candia, dedicated to the Holy Saviour, which was also the most important of the Augustinian houses of the Holy Land. As we have seen, the Augustinian convent of

³⁰ 'Actas', p. 67.

³¹ Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, p. 44.

Candia may have been one of the first Augustinian houses to be founded in Greece, and was perhaps founded as a result of Pope John XXII's afore-mentioned bull to the Order. Van Luijk cites 1360 as the year of its foundation, but it surely existed before that.³² The earliest reference to the convent that I have found is in a will from the year 1332. In this will, the testator bequeathed ten hyperpers to the Augustinians, for building work and repairs to their church.³³ The church of the Holy Saviour was without a doubt one of the most important Latin churches of Candia, rivaled only by the church of St Francis, the church of St Peter Martyr of the Dominicans, and perhaps the cathedral church of St Titus. The church's main altar, dedicated to St Augustine, was adorned with gold and with the coat of arms of the Piovene family, who had donated it to the friars.³⁴ The church itself, perhaps the largest Latin church of the city, was, in the beginning of the twentieth century when Gerola visited it, one of the best conserved Venetian buildings of Crete. It stood on what is known today as 1866 street. Later it was modernized and was operating as a school, until the junta government demolished it to make room for a parking lot in 1970.³⁵

The multitude of surviving bequests to the Augustinians of Candia proves that the convent was one of the most important monastic foundations of the city.³⁶ Furthermore, the numerous deeds and quitclaims contracted by the friars of the Holy Saviour have preserved many of the priors' and proctors' names. It is worth noting that several of the friars listed in these documents seem not to have been of Venetian descent, even though the convent has to be considered primarily a Venetian one. Rather, their names indicate that they came from other areas of northern and central

³² Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, p. 44.

³³ McKee, *Wills*, II, 503-05.

³⁴ Gerola, II, 121.

³⁵ Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, p. 94.

³⁶ These bequests are far too numerous to be cited here. See McKee, *Wills*.

Italy. This may be an indication that the Order's plea for friars to be sent to the convents of Greece was indeed heeded by the Italian convents.

In 1345, the convent's prior was a certain Francis of Marchia and its proctor was a friar by the name of Augustine of Apulia.³⁷ Four years later, the convent appointed John Bonensegna as its representative with authority to deal with its financial matters. At that time the Augustinian community numbered eight members: the above-mentioned Augustine and Francis, a lector by the name of Constantius Dimittereli, Gerard of Bologna, Michael of Florence, Jacob of Bologna, John of Spoleto and Augustine of Candia.³⁸ In 1359, we find a new prior, Constantine of Candia, ruling over the community.³⁹ Between the 1350s and the 1380s we have a quick succession of proctors: Thomasinus of Cyprus, Gerard of Bologna, Nicholas of Candia, Nicholas Laçarenus, Stephen of Rimini, Peter of Siena, Thomas of Cyprus and Marcus Sangonaco.

In the 1360s, the community appointed a new representative, a priest named John Sclença. At this time the community was comprised of nine brothers: George Faletro (prior), Andrew of Fermo (lector), George Cigala, Nicholas of Candia, Jacob of Villanova, Nicholas Laçarenus, George of Rethymno, Stephen of Rimini and Peter of Siena.⁴⁰ Out of these nine, Andrew of Fermo was elected bishop of Arkadi in 1369 and George Cigala later became prior of the Augustinian convent of Suda or Skopelos.⁴¹ In 1368, yet another representative was appointed, Ser Leonard Bono of Venice. This time the friars that are named in the list are: the prior George Faletro, Nicholas of Candia, Peter of Siena, Peter of Rhodes and John of Candia.⁴² In 1373 and 1374 the

³⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 179r.

³⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 354v.

³⁹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 31r.

⁴⁰ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 140r.

⁴¹ Crusenius, *Pars Tertia*, p. 384 and Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 421.

⁴² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 72v.

convent was ruled by friar Bonensegna of Candia, who was succeeded by friar Ludovicus of Marchia, who in turn was succeeded in 1381, by friar Bonensegna of Valdagno.⁴³

In the meantime, Francis of Marchia, the former prior of the convent of the Holy Saviour had been promoted to Provincial Prior. We encounter his name again in an unusual deed from 1370: in a quitclaim for a will, a young friar named Jacobellus Sasso stated that because he was between the ages of fourteen and eighteen (younger than the prescribed age after which one could join the Augustinian Order), he had sought and obtained special permission by the Provincial Prior Francis of Marchia, in order to become an Augustinian.⁴⁴ Later, this same youth obtained a second special license from the Provincial Prior Francis of Marchia, the convent's prior George Faletro and the brothers Nicholas of Candia and Anthony of Marchia, allowing him to appoint his mother as his representative who would deal with his financial affairs.⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that this Jacobellus Sasso, who was obviously a nobleman, was the son of Grasseus Sasso, who was for a time the Guardian of the Confraternity of St Mary Cruciferorum and who also features in several notarial deeds of the time.

Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of notarial deeds pertaining to the Augustinians of Candia only concern monetary transactions and it is thus very difficult to extract any information about the monastery's real estate. We do learn, however, that in 1366 a part of a *serventaria* which had passed into the possession of the Augustinians of Candia, was given to Matthew Mudacio.⁴⁶ In 1374, we find the convent's prior, Bonansegna of Candia, acknowledging receipt of nine hyperpers from Ser Peter de Rugerio, as partial payment for a *serventaria* (presumably a different one)

⁴³ See for example ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, ff. 25 (382)r, 102 (459)r. and 150 (507)r and Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 6, f. 92r.

⁴⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 9 (215)r. See Appendix II.

⁴⁵ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 15 (221)r. See Appendix II.

⁴⁶ Gasparis, *Catastici*, I, 178-79.

that he was renting from the convent.⁴⁷ Similarly, in 1488, 1492 and 1508 the Augustinian convent was involved in contracts concerning a plot of land and some houses.⁴⁸ We see then, that the Augustinians of Candia did indeed hold some real estate in Candia, but the relevant sources are too scant to allow us an estimation of its value.

Apart from the Cretan nobility, it appears that the Order itself held the convent of Candia in high esteem and singled it out amongst the other convents of Greece. From its inception, the Augustinian Order attributed great importance to the education of its members and, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Augustinians also tried to found at least one school in each of their provinces. At the General Chapter of 1368 in Avignon, it was decided that the Province's *studium generale* would be in the house of Candia.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, it is unknown whether the plans to create a *studium* in the convent of Candia came to fruition, or whether the Augustinians of Candia possessed a library similar to the one that the Franciscans of Candia had accumulated; the very decision itself, however, demonstrates that the convent of Candia was probably the most prosperous convent in the Augustinian Province of the Holy Land.

As Georgopoulou points out, the conservation and repair of the church of the Holy Saviour depended mainly on the pious bequests of the Candiote citizenry.⁵⁰ Amongst the above-mentioned notarial deeds, many specify that the amounts of money donated to the convent were to be used for the improvement and repair of the buildings and even the commission of paintings for the church. In 1431, the authorities of Venice also agreed to help the Augustinians of Candia, by donating to them a small plot of land adjacent to the south wall of the convent, on which they were allowed to build.

⁴⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 43 (400)v. See Appendix II.

⁴⁸ ANK, Αρχείο Εγγώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 49, τετράδιο 3 and τετράδιο 5.

⁴⁹ 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 4 (1911-12), p. 454.

⁵⁰ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 144.

The donation came after the friars complained that all of the convent's cells were heavily damaged by rain and old age.⁵¹

The convent's church was damaged by the earthquake of 1508 but was subsequently repaired.⁵² The church of the Holy Saviour was transformed into a mosque after 1669, when the island was taken over by the Turks. At that time, the choir's bronze lectern was sent to Venice, but that too has now disappeared.⁵³

The Augustinians also owned a second foundation in Candia, known as St George of the Venetians. Very little is known about this convent, which was situated near the city's arsenals. Gerola has surmised that the convent of St George was founded much later, perhaps in the middle of the sixteenth century, but Georgopoulou claims that it was first mentioned in a notarial deed of 1319.⁵⁴ If this is the case, that would perhaps make the convent of St George the very first Augustinian convent of Greece. She even attempts to identify it with a house referred to as St George of Candia in a document of 1209. This is obviously an error, since the Order itself had not even been formed at the time, and we know that the Augustinians certainly did not begin to colonise Greece until the early fourteenth century. Unfortunately, Georgopoulou does not cite this 1319 source and thus I have not been able to consult it myself. It is difficult, however, to believe that an Augustinian convent existed on Crete as early as 1319 and yet is not mentioned in any of the contemporary Augustinian sources. It is more probable that St George was indeed, as Gerola claims, an insignificant church belonging in later years to the same Augustinian convent. Herrera also attests to the

⁵¹ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 215.

⁵² Gerola, II, 120.

⁵³ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 145.

⁵⁴ Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', pp. 215 and 573.

fact that the first mention of St George was made in 1546.⁵⁵ Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that the church did indeed exist in 1319 or even 1209, but did not yet belong to the Order.

Very few notices have survived concerning the rest of the Augustinian foundations of Crete. Van Luijk cites 1380 as the year of the foundation of St Mary of Rethymno, but according to Georgopoulou there exist notarial documents mentioning it as early as 1340.⁵⁶ Georgopoulou also surmises that the convent's church may have been built using a Byzantine architectural prototype.⁵⁷ Herrera mentions one of the convent's priors, named Bartholomew of Bologna, who ruled over the house in 1387. He also postulates that one of the bishops of Seteia in the early fifteenth century, friar Matthew of Rethymno, came from this convent.⁵⁸ The date of its suppression is not known, but Van Luijk suggests 1551, perhaps because that is the last contemporary mention of it: as we saw it was mentioned in the list of Augustinian convents compiled in that year. It is unlikely however that the convent was suppressed at that time, for, as we shall see, in the same year it acquired the Augustinian convent of Mylopotamos.⁵⁹ As Lanter suggests, it is more probable that, like most of the monastic foundations of Crete, it survived until the capture of the island by the Turks.⁶⁰ During the Turkish occupation, the Ottomans turned the church into a mosque and made several alterations to the building, which had already been remodeled after 1619.⁶¹ The church still exists today.

⁵⁵ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I, 322.

⁵⁶ Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, p. 44, and Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 158.

⁵⁷ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 158.

⁵⁸ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 361.

⁵⁹ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 133.

⁶⁰ Crusenius, *Pars Tertia*, p. 366.

⁶¹ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 158.

The convent of St Mary de Misericordia of Chanea was founded before 1387, but nothing is known of its early history.⁶² It seems that in the fifteenth century, the convent had fallen into a state of decline and disrepair. As we have seen, in 1467, the Order decided to place the convent in the care of the Provincial Prior of the Holy Land, friar Peter Belluco, for the rest of his life, so that it may be conserved and repaired.⁶³ St Mary de Misericordia was, however, demolished in 1583 in order to make space for the new fortifications of the city, which were made necessary because of the frequent incursions of the Turkish armada. Subsequently, and with the financial contribution of the Venetian Senate, the convent was rebuilt, in the south of the suburbs, close to the walls.⁶⁴

As we have already seen, an Augustinian convent, sometimes called Skopelos, existed in Suda. According to Gerola, this convent was dedicated to St Nicholas, but Herrera claims that it was called St Mary.⁶⁵ In this particular case, Herrera's statement is more reliable than Gerola's, for he draws his information directly from the Order's registers. Gerola on the other hand makes his identification indirectly, based on the fact that there existed in Suda a monastery dedicated to St Nicholas and there also existed an Augustinian house. Obviously, these could be two different convents. In 1387, the prior of St Mary of Suda was George Cigala, who, as we saw, was previously a member of the Augustinian community of Candia. This convent is last mentioned in our sixteenth century list of Augustinian houses, compiled between 1539 and 1551.

St Catherine of Seteia was an Augustinian convent situated in the city's suburbs. According to Herrera the convent existed in 1419 and Van Luijk traces its

⁶² Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I, 170.

⁶³ 'De Capitulo Generali Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini Appamiis Anno 1465 Celebrati', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), pp. 129-30.

⁶⁴ Gerola, II, 134-35 and Georgopoulou, 'The Meaning of the Architecture', p. 353.

⁶⁵ Gerola, II, 147 and Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 421.

foundation to the year 1410.⁶⁶ The Order's registers have preserved the name of one of its priors, Nicholas Zancharolus, who ruled over the community in 1419.⁶⁷ The monastic buildings were heavily damaged in the sixteenth century by Barbarossa's attacks, but we do not know when the convent ceased to function. According to Gerola, a Greek church had been built over St Catherine's ruins and was operating when he visited the island.⁶⁸

Finally, there existed, as we have seen two Augustinian convents in the territory of Mylopotamos. One of these was situated in the village of Mellidoni and was a nunnery dedicated to St Christopher and the other was dedicated to St Mary and its location remains unknown. According to Van Luijk, the nunnery of St Christopher of Mellidoni was founded in 1550, and Lanter agrees that it was built before 1573.⁶⁹ At that time, he states, the community numbered eighty nuns.

St Mary's location is unknown, but it is possible that it was in or near the *Castro Mylopotamou*. This may explain why it is usually referred to simply as convent of Mylopotamos, even though Mylopotamos is a territory and not a city. It is also consistent with the fact that the convent was severely damaged by Barbarossa's armada in 1539, at which time we know that the *Castro Mylopotamou* also sustained heavy damage. Following the incursion, the Augustinian brothers wrote to the Venetian Senate, informing them of their plight.⁷⁰ The convent of Mylopotamos does not appear in our earliest fifteenth century list of houses, and thus it must have been built sometime between the mid-fifteenth and the mid-sixteenth century. In June 1551, St

⁶⁶ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 421 and Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, p. 44.

⁶⁷ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 421.

⁶⁸ Gerola, II, 145.

⁶⁹ Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, p. 44 and Crusenius, *Pars Tertia*, p. 642.

⁷⁰ Gerola, II, 148-49.

Mary was 'united' to the convent of Rethymno, which probably means that it became a dependency of St Mary of Rethymno.⁷¹

The Augustinians possessed at least two more convents in the Aegean, one on the island of Rhodes and one on the island of Chios. The convent of Rhodes was dedicated to St Augustine. Van Luijk dates its foundation to 1410, but in fact, although it is hard to find earlier traces of it, the convent of Rhodes was founded almost a century earlier:⁷² As has already been mentioned, in 1317 Pope John XXII issued a bull allowing the Augustinians to found or receive three convents in Greece or Cyprus. A 1320 copy of this bull can be found in the Archive of Corfu.⁷³ The notary's introduction states that this copy was made in Rhodes, at the request of friar Frederick of Tortoreto, prior of the Augustinian convent of Rhodes. Seeing that his convent was undermanned, Prior Frederick had asked the island's authorities to make a copy of John's bull, which he feared would soon be lost or forgotten. Thus we see that the convent of Rhodes was in fact one of the very first (perhaps the first) Augustinian houses of Greece and, since it was already in existence in 1320, was probably one of the convents that were founded as a direct result of John's bull.

Unfortunately, the convent subsequently disappears from the sources until the fifteenth century. In 1436, Eugenius IV wrote to the Prior of the Hospital of St John of Rhodes, instructing him to give the chapel of St Mark, which he had unlawfully taken from a Franciscan brother named Laurence of Candia, to the prior of the Augustinian convent of Rhodes.⁷⁴ A few decades later, however, the pope had to intervene in another case, and this time it was the Augustinians who were in the wrong.

⁷¹ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 133.

⁷² Van Luijk, *Le monde Augustinien*, p. 44.

⁷³ ANK, Ενετοκρατία, Φ. 109.

⁷⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, I, 103.

In 1479 the archbishop and chapter of Rhodes wrote to Sixtus IV, informing him that the Augustinians of the island, armed with certain papal privileges issued by his predecessors, infringed on the rights of the secular Church, insisting that they were allowed to administer the sacraments without any special permission and claiming that they were exempt from all episcopal taxation. In his reply, the pope reveals that according to the tithes paid by the Augustinians, their convent of Rhodes received an annual income of around eighty gold florins, whilst their community rarely numbered more than six members. According to the pope, this income would allow the Augustinians of Rhodes to live far more comfortably than the poor archbishop. Seeing this, Sixtus ordered these practices to stop and absolved the archbishop and his priests from the sentences of excommunication and interdict that their adversaries had imposed on them.⁷⁵ By 1520, and with the Turkish threat growing stronger, the brothers of St Augustine were forced to send all their most valuable possessions to Crete for safe keeping. As Van Luijk remarks, the fact that they had already given instructions for the items to be transported to Venice, should Crete also fall into the hands of the Ottomans, proves that the possessions in question were indeed valuable.⁷⁶ Rhodes was finally conquered by the Turks in 1522 and that signaled the end of the convent of St Augustine. Though only a few notices concerning this convent have survived, one gets the impression that, despite the community's small size, St Augustine was a thriving foundation, whose prosperity and popularity outshone that of the secular Church on the island. There are obvious parallels to be drawn between the above mentioned dispute with the archbishop and other similar cases involving the mendicants (especially the Franciscans) and the secular Church throughout medieval Greece.

⁷⁵ *Bullarium Franciscanum, nova series*, III, 615-16.

⁷⁶ Van Luijk, *L' Ordine Agostiniano*, pp. 91-92.

Information is much more scant concerning the Augustinian convent of Chios. Neither the name, nor the location of the convent is known. According to Herrera, the convent of Chios was founded in 1419.⁷⁷ Van Luijk agrees on the date, but, as we saw, mis-transcribes the name of the island. It is therefore puzzling that this convent does not appear in our fifteenth century list of Augustinian houses. In any case, the convent of Chios was probably a relatively insignificant house. In 1491, when Innocent VIII intervened in a case between the island's bishop and the Observant Franciscans, who did not want to comply with the arrangement that the secular Church had made with the Mendicants on the island concerning the funeral fees, he did not mention the Augustinian convent at all.⁷⁸

A much more important Augustinian convent was St Mary of the Annunciation of Corfu, usually called the *Annunziata*. This house, whose bell-tower still stands today in the centre of the town of Corfu was the most enduring of the Augustinian convents, or possibly of all the Latin convents, in Greece and we are fortunate enough to have its cartulary preserved in the Archive of Corfu.

According to Van Luijk the *Annunziata* was founded in 1410. The truth, however, is that the convent was founded much earlier than that, in 1394. The act by which the founder donated the convent to the Augustinians is preserved in the cartulary and has been published by Asonitis.⁷⁹ The *Annunziata* was built by the initiative of Peter Capece, supreme representative (*Capitaneus*) of the Angevine authorities on the

⁷⁷ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I, 172.

⁷⁸ See the relevant section on the Franciscans of Chios in Chapter 3, p. 158.

⁷⁹ Spyros Asonitis, 'Petrus Capece – Capitaneus Corphiensis (1367), Castellanus Parge (1411)', in *Θ' Πανελλήνιο Ιστορικό Συνέδριο (Μάιος 1988)*, [*9th Greek Historical Conference (May 1988)*] (Thessalonica: Ελληνική Ιστορική Εταιρεία, 1988), pp. 64-81 (pp. 75-77).

island, between 1367 and 1411.⁸⁰ As our document reveals, the convent was dedicated during a solemn ceremony held on 7 January 1394. Present at the ceremony were the representatives of the Venetian authorities, the Latin archbishop of the island, Albano Michael, along with his clergy, the Greek *protopapas* accompanied by his thirty two priests, and a multitude of other people. In a symbolic gesture, symbolising the donation of the convent, Peter Capece gave a sceptre to Nicholas Ruffino, the representative of the Augustinians.⁸¹ Peter Capece, who made the donation for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his parents, also endowed the convent with houses and cells which he had built, sacerdotal vestments, a silver chalice, and lands surrounding the convent's buildings. He also donated to the brothers, a furnace, situated in the city of Corfu, but stipulated that the Augustinians would only take possession of it after his own and his wife's death. In 1400, responding to a petition by Peter Capece, Pope Boniface IX wrote to the general prior of the Augustinians, giving the Order permission to use the friary.⁸² The granting of such a privilege had been made necessary by Boniface VIII, who had forbidden the foundation of new mendicant houses without a license. It is significant to note that the license was granted by Boniface IX retroactively, as it states that the Augustinian brothers who had already been installed in the Annunziata should be free to enjoy their house and all the privileges of the Order.

The archive of Corfu also contains a number of copies of papal bulls which, while not making specific reference to the Annunziata, have to be considered relevant to this convent. The first of these is the copy of the 1317 bull by John XXII (referred to above), by which the Augustinians were given permission to found three convents in

⁸⁰ It has to be noted that during Capece's term of office, the island changed hands and came under the control of Venice.

⁸¹ Asonitis, 'Petrus Capece', pp. 69 and 75-77.

⁸² A copy of the bull is preserved in ANK, Ενετοκρατία, Φ. 109.

Greece and Cyprus. As we have seen, the copy dates from 1320, so it is obviously not this privilege that prompted the foundation of the Annunziata seventy four years later. We can speculate, however, that the Augustinians of Corfu wanted to have a copy of the papal privileges conceded to their order in Greece available to them. This suspicion is further reinforced by a second copy of a bull by John XXII found in the convent's cartulary, which appears to be an amendment of his 1317 bull.⁸³ This bull was issued in 1325 and it declares that the Augustinians were allowed to found or receive another six convents. The Province of the Holy Land and Greece are not expressly mentioned, but it seems logical that those are the territories concerned. This copy is several times removed from the original (the additions made by each of the copyists are included) and dates back to the year 1390. It was made in Crete, at the request of Gabriel de Abbatis, Provincial Prior of the Holy Land. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this copy was commissioned in view of the imminent foundation of the new Corfiot convent. Several other copies of papal bulls, spanning from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, can be found in the convent's cartulary, listing some of the Order's general privileges.

The cartulary has also preserved a further donation of lands, made four years after the founding of the convent.⁸⁴ In 1398, the nobleman Charles de Sancto Morisio, along with Egidius of Paxe, had undertaken to build a new chapel in the convent, adjacent to the right side of the church of St Mary Annunziata. In return, the friars had promised to sing masses every week in the chapel, for the salvation of the souls of Charles's deceased family members. Wanting to endow the new chapel, Charles de Sancto Morisio now donated to the prior of the Augustinians three vineyards in the village of *Skylopiastes*, nine kilometers north of the city of Corfu. According to the

⁸³ ANK, Αρχείο Εγγώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 56, τετράδιο 1.

⁸⁴ ANK, Αρχείο Εγγώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 56, τετράδιο 1.

deed, the first of the vineyards was named *Lofrea* and the donor had inherited it from his late wife. The second vineyard was called *Machieraoti* and was given to the convent along with two serfs, one of whom was called Vassilis Papadopoulos. Finally, Charles donated his half of the vineyard called *de Rapilla*, which he held jointly with a notary named Theodore Mavorani.

This vineyard called *de Rapilla* seems to have caused the convent some trouble in later years. The relevant document is damaged and not all of it is legible, but it appears that in 1413, a man named Ser Peter de la Scopa accused friar Jacob of Matellica, the convent's proctor, of illegally selling grapes from that vineyard that rightfully belonged to him. The proctor admitted that he had sold the grapes, but claimed that they were his to sell, by decision of the previous Venetian bailiff, Robert Morosini.⁸⁵

Another donation to the convent was made in 1435 by the Venetian *Provisor* on the island. On behalf of the Venetian Commune, Anthony Diedo gave to the Augustinian prior, friar Bartholomew of Florence an empty plot of land, adjacent to the church's bell tower, which was said to be twenty four *passus* long and three and a half *passus* wide. The friars were also given permission to build on this new land, but it was stipulated that they were not allowed to sell, rent or otherwise alienate this property.

Despite the generous endowment of the Annunziata, we learn that in the fifteenth century the convent was reduced to great poverty. In a donation made by the Commune in 1482, John Burgius, the Venetian official on the island, described how the indifference and incompetence of previous priors had led the convent to ruin. He explained, however, that recently, through the charity of the faithful and especially through the hard work of the new prior, friar Peregrinus of Venice, the convent had

⁸⁵ ANK, Αρχείο Εγγώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 56, τετράδιο 2.

been restored to its former glory.⁸⁶ This story is also confirmed by another document, pertaining to the Franciscan convent of St Francis of Zakynthos. As we have already seen, in 1506 Donatus of Lecce described in a letter the deplorable condition of the convent of St Francis and the efforts that were being made to reform it.⁸⁷ In the same letter, he states that in reforming the convent, they had followed the example of the Annunziata of Corfu and its reformer friar Peregrinus, who not only restored the convent, but also managed to secure for it many good incomes.⁸⁸ Despite the improvement, however, in 1482 the Annunziata still remained very poor and its annual income amounted to only twenty ducats, which according to John Burgius was insufficient for the community to support itself. For this reason, and also because the convent was judged to be a great asset for the city, the Commune decided to donate to the Annunziata two hundred *modioi* of salt, on a monthly basis.

In another interesting contract, we find out that one of the convent's priors, Nicholas of St Victor, had promised to a knight named Floramons de Sancto Ypolito to assign to him a space inside the church and there construct for him a chapel, with an altar dedicated to St George, at the convent's own expenses. In return, Floramons had promised to donate to the convent one hundred gold ducats. By 1485, the space for the chapel had been designated, on the side of the main altar, and the knight had given the prior forty four ducats. In 1485, Floramons arranged with the new prior, John of Anania, that instead of a second payment of fifteen ducats, he would donate to the convent one of his houses in the city of Corfu.⁸⁹

In 1486, the convent found itself engaged in another dispute over the vineyard of *de Rapilla* in the village of Skylopiastes. Ser Macharietus of Corfu, with whom the

⁸⁶ ANK, Αρχείο Εγγώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 56, τετράδιο 1.

⁸⁷ See the relevant section in Chapter 3, pp. 164-65.

⁸⁸ ASV, Deputazione ad Pias Causas, Reg. 65, *Regolari di Dalmazia e Levante*.

⁸⁹ ANK, Αρχείο Εγγώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 56, τετράδιο 1.

convent was supposed to have joint ownership of the vineyard, challenged the convent's rights over the land. In the end, wanting to find an amicable solution to the dispute, Ser Macharietus agreed to the joint ownership of the vineyard, with the stipulation that the convent would only own four ninths of the land and he would own the remaining five ninths.⁹⁰

Donations and bequests to the convent continued throughout the fifteenth century. In 1500, Gulio Altavilla, baron of Corfu, asked to be buried inside the monastery and bequeathed to it the portion of a vineyard called *απάνω Καμονάς*, which he owned. He stipulated in his will that thirty ducats were to be given to the Annunziata and a beautiful chapel built inside the monastery for his soul. He also left the monastery another ten ducats and asked that they were used for the construction of a crown in honour of St Mary and instructed his executors to give six litres of oil to the brothers every year, so that they would keep an oil lamp burning for his soul. Finally, he asked that if his wife and nephews did not take possession of his house and certain of his lands, these properties should be given to the monastery.⁹¹

Three years later, we encounter some evidence of prior Peregrinus's entrepreneurial skills. Friar Peregrinus of Venice was, as we have seen, the convent's reformer. By 1503, the Annunziata must have been restored to a state of prosperity, for at this time, we find Peregrinus investing a hundred gold ducats in a commercial sea voyage undertaken by a company of Venetian merchants.⁹²

The convent's cartulary has preserved many more similar documents, especially contracts, dating from the sixteenth century onwards. Surprisingly, the

⁹⁰ ANK, Αρχείο Εγχώριας Διαχείρισης, Φ. 56, τετράδιο 1.

⁹¹ Spyros Karydes, ed., *Θεοδώρου Βρανίτη δημοσίου νοταρίου πόλεως και νήσου Κερκύρας οι σωζόμενες πράξεις (1479-1516)* [*The surviving deeds of Theodore Vranites, public notary of the town and island of Corfu Corfu (1479-1516)*] (Athens: Βιβλιοπωλείο Δ. Ν. Καραβία, 2001), p. 96.

⁹² Sophia A. Pantazi, ed., 'Εμμανουήλ Τοξότης, νοτάριος Κέρκυρας. Πράξεις (1500-1503)' ['Emmanuel Toxotes, notary of Corfu. Deeds (1500-1503)'] (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Cofu, 2006), [257] pp. 272-73.

archive of Corfu also includes several large folders of documents, mainly copies of notarial deeds from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pertaining to the Augustinian convent of Candia. Presumably, these too were part of the Annunziata's cartulary. Unfortunately, due to time restrictions, I have not been able to ascertain why these copies are housed in the archive of Corfu. Were these documents moved to the Annunziata, the last surviving convent of the Holy Land, when the Turks occupied Crete? Or could it perhaps be the case that the Annunziata had been given some special position amongst the convents of Greece, maybe as the headquarters of the Province, and thus held copies of official documents pertaining to the other convents? The answer to these questions, and perhaps to others concerning the Augustinian houses of Greece is surely hidden somewhere in the archive of Corfu.

In any case, the Annunziata was indeed the last of the Augustinian convents to survive in Greece. In 1669, the capture of Crete by the Turks wiped out the last surviving convents of the island, and even before that the situation of the Province of the Holy Land was deplorable: in 1524, the plague had killed almost all of the fifty members of the Augustinian Order present in Greece and father Girolamo of Crete was appointed defender of the Province and guardian of its possessions. In 1539, six volunteers were selected, who would try to reform the Province. By 1547, the Province numbered once again sixty members but in 1570 the situation began to deteriorate and the Province was placed under the direct control of the General Prior. In the meantime, disputes had broken out between the convents of Greece and the bishops, who claimed jurisdiction over them. By 1639, only ten Augustinian friars remained in the Province.⁹³ In 1651, father Nicholas Querini, who had been appointed Provincial Prior of the Holy Land, refused to take up his post saying that it was a 'province of fifteen to

⁹³ Van Luijk, *L' Ordine Agostiniano*, pp. 91-92.

twenty members, who litigated, disobeyed and were for the most part illiterate'.⁹⁴ The Annunziata, however, managed to survive all these difficulties, along with certain papal decrees ordering the suppression of the Province. It eventually ceased to operate as an Augustinian house in 1797. This surely makes it one of the most successful and enduring Latin convents of Greece. The treaty of Campo Formio, by which Napoleon abolished the Venetian Republic, also placed the Ionian Islands under French rule. The French subsequently closed down all the Catholic monasteries of Corfu. The Annunziata, however, continued to operate as a church until it was bombed by the Germans in 1943. Subsequently, the city council decided to demolish the church, even though the damage it had sustained was small and despite the protestations of the Catholics on the island. Today, only the bell tower survives. On one of its walls there is a plaque commemorating the Christian soldiers who died in the sea battle of Lepanto in 1571, whose bodies were buried in the Annunziata.

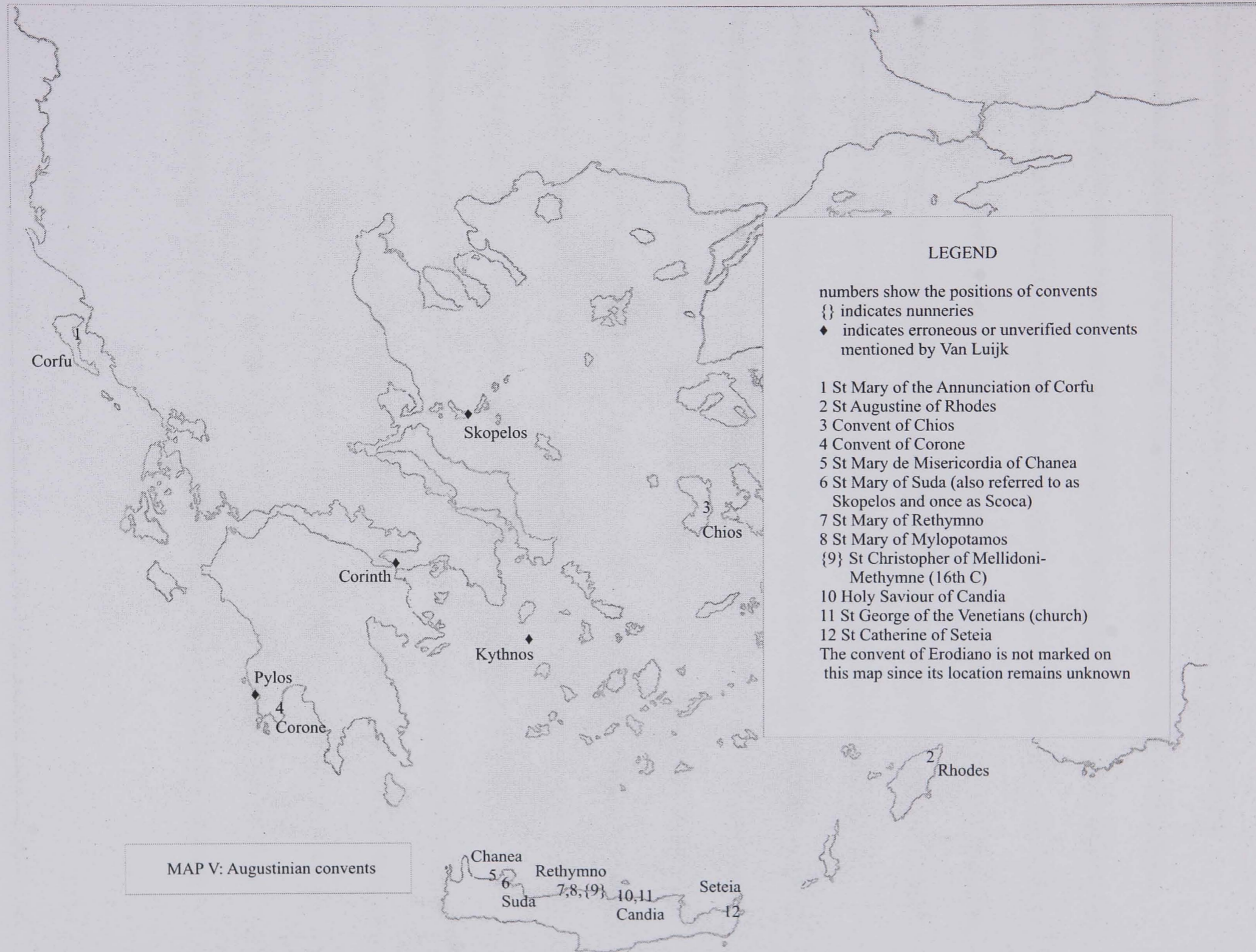
Even though the Augustinians did not achieve the prominence of the Franciscans and Dominicans in medieval Greece, they managed to maintain their presence on the islands for five centuries. The incessant warfare between Latins and Turks in the Aegean meant that, even at the best of times, the Province of the Holy Land was struggling to survive, but despite the difficult circumstances, the Augustinians succeeded in founding some significant houses. The convent of the Holy Saviour in Candia was arguably one of the most successful Latin monasteries in Greece: it was extremely popular amongst the Latin inhabitants of the island, wealthy by the standards of medieval Greece and probably operated a school for the Augustinian brothers of the Province. We have also seen that the Annunziata of Corfu

⁹⁴ Van Luijk, *L' Ordine Agostiniano*, pp. 259-60.

was held in high esteem by the Venetian authorities of the island and that its restoration in the late fifteenth century inspired other mendicant convents of the Ionian Islands to follow its example. It is also worth noting that the Augustinians, like the representatives of the other mendicant orders, were frequently appointed bishops in Greece. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, more than thirty eight Augustinian friars occupied the episcopal and archiepiscopal sees of Greece.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, once again we do not have adequate information in order to investigate the activity of these bishops. It remains certain, however, that the Augustinian presence in Greece was greatly valued both by the local Latin communities and by the Latin authorities, who, as we have seen intervened frequently in order to ensure that the existing convents remained in operation. This zeal of the inhabitants and authorities of Latin Greece was matched by the headquarters of the Order: as Van Luijk points out, even when it was apparent that the Province of the Holy Land was beyond salvation, the Order attempted to conserve its convents and the brothers from the other provinces were always eager to offer their help, in order to preserve the Order's link between Europe and the Holy Land.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ For a list of these bishops and their sees see Appendix I. See also Eubel, and Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*.

⁹⁶ Van Luijk, *L' Ordine Agostiniano*, pp. 91-92 and 259-60.



Chapter 7: Other Orders

The orders that have been examined thus far achieved varying degrees of success in the lands of the Empire. Although their activity in Greece remains obscure in some cases, it is certain that their presence made some kind of impact in the ecclesiastical landscape of medieval Greece. This is due partly to the fact that their migration was, to some extent, regulated, either by the papacy or by the headquarters of each Order. The Crociferi, for example, only owned two houses in Greece, but we have seen that both the papacy, the Order's general prior and the local nobility took an active interest in the preservation of these foundations. Contacts with the West may be much harder to find when investigating the Benedictines of Greece, but the existence of several Benedictine houses, one of which even survived the Turkish conquest, suggests that some planning or at least some supervision did indeed take place in certain cases. In this chapter we shall examine the convents of the Orders that seem to have left little or no mark on the territories that they colonised. To say that these convents were totally insignificant or that their involvement was completely unplanned may be unfair. After all, the very move to Greece under those uncertain circumstances required determination and perseverance, which in many cases was fanned by genuine religious zeal. One is inclined, however, to believe that, had these missions met with any success in Greece, they would appear much more prominently in the relevant sources. As it is, we only find a few casual references to these Orders, which inevitably lead us to the conclusion that their presence in Greece was short lived and mostly inconsequential.

The Canons Regular

The first years of the Latin Empire saw the arrival of several congregations of canons regular. Since, in most cases the canons moved to Romania before the end of

the first decade of the thirteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that their migration was partly prompted by Innocent III's plea for religious men to colonise Greece.¹ Although several of Constantinople's churches must have been taken over by canons regular, the most notable case is that of the monastery of St George of the Mangana. The monastery of St George had been founded by Emperor Constantine Monomachos (1042-1055) and was one of the most famous monasteries of Constantinople. It was probably taken over by the Latins in 1207 or 1208 and was given to an (unspecified) congregation of canons. Immediately, however, the canons became involved in a dispute with the Hospitallers of Constantinople. The controversy concerned a hospital, which was attached to the monastery. In 1208 Innocent III addressed the prelates of Constantinople and asked them to investigate the case.² Unfortunately, Innocent's letter does not specify whether both parties were demanding the right to operate the hospital, or whether they were simply laying claim on the hospital's revenues. In 1244 Innocent IV took St George under papal protection.³ Eighteen years later, the monastery was taken back by the Greeks, when Michael Palaeologos reclaimed Constantinople.

In Thessalonica, the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre acquired the most prestigious church of the city, the basilica of St Demetrius. The donation was probably made by the Cardinal Legate Benedict of St Suzanna, shortly after 1205. The archbishop of Thessalonica objected, but an agreement was finally reached and confirmed by Innocent III in 1212. Amongst other things, the agreement stipulated that the canons would be allowed to retain possession of all the houses that the church had owned under the Greeks, that they would be allowed to keep the donations made to the church of St Demetrius and that they were entitled to a prearranged portion of the

¹ See Chapter 1, p. 35.

² MPL 215, 1362.

³ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 70-72.

money left to the church by the faithful who wanted to be buried there. The archbishop, on the other hand, would have jurisdiction over the church and the prior of St Demetrius would be his subordinate.⁴ The agreement, however, was not observed, because the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre also belonged to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Friction ensued between the canons and the local clergy and in 1218 Honorius III was forced to appoint the Cistercian abbot of Chortaitou to resolve the matter. Honorius addressed the litigating parties several times, instructing them to observe the terms of the agreement.⁵ One of the matters of contention seems to have been the presence of some secular canons in the church of St Demetrius. On, at least two occasions, Honorius sided with these secular canons: in 1218 he took the secular canons of St Demetrius under papal protection and confirmed to them certain possessions in Thessalonica's suburbs.⁶ This privilege does not seem to have quelled the dispute, so in 1222 the pope wrote to the Brothers of the Holy Sepulchre, telling them that, having introduced secular canons to the church of St Demetrius, they also had to concede to them a portion of the church's incomes. At the same time, he confirmed to the Brothers of the Holy Sepulchre the donation of a monastery of Negroponte, made earlier by the Papal Legate Benedict, bishop of Porto and Boniface of Montferrat.⁷ The dispute between the canons regular of St Demetrius and the secular church of Thessalonica, and Honorius's pleas for compromise continued until 1224, the year when Thessalonica was reclaimed by the Greeks.

⁴ MPL 216, 603-605.

⁵ See for example Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, p. 366 and *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 92.

⁶ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 198. Only a summary of the letter is published and thus it is not clear whether Honorius addresses the secular or the regular canons of St Demetrius. Pressutti, however, who has seen the original bull, claims that it is addressed to the secular canons.

⁷ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 92. The monastery, referred to in the letter as St Luke de Stiro, was the Greek monastery of Osios Lukas. The donation of this monastery with its incomes and its possessions, to the canons of St Demetrius had taken place before 1210, but the Greek community was never expelled from the house.

The difficult relations between the canons of St Demetrius and the local clergy do not seem to have damaged the Order's reputation in Rome. Between 1210 and 1218, both Innocent III and Honorius III entrusted important missions to the prior of St Demetrius. Most notably, they asked him to judge the case between the bishop of Gardiki and the Knights of St John who were laying claim over one of the castles in his bishopric.⁸ On another instance, the prior was instructed to investigate the accusations of the Templars against the bishop of Cithonia.⁹ The abbot of the Holy Sepulchre in Athens was also appointed once, in 1224, to resolve a dispute between the bishops of Loretos and Negroponte.¹⁰

Another congregation of canons regular originating from Palestine, the Brothers of the Temple, was also installed in Greece. A letter of Innocent III to the abbot of the congregation, confirming to him the possessions of the congregation in Greece, reveals that the Brothers of the Temple owned five churches in the Empire's lands: St Nicholas de Varvar of Constantinople, the Holy Trinity of Athens, St Nicholas of Thebes, St Nicholas of Negroponte and St Mary de Clusurio in Thermopylae.¹¹ The abbot of St Nicholas of Constantinople was sometimes employed by Innocent III to investigate certain quarrels, but these cases seem to have been markedly less important: In 1208, for example, he was appointed to resolve the dispute between the chaplain of St Michael Bucoleon and some other priests, over certain incomes. At the same time, he was instructed to investigate the case of a mule, which

⁸ MPL 216, 307 and *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 183.

⁹ MPL 216, 330. The Templars were accusing the bishop that he wrongfully imprisoned one of their brethren and kept him prisoner until his death.

¹⁰ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, II, 202.

¹¹ MPL, 215, 1555. The letter, which is addressed to the abbot and canons of the 'Dominici Templi' has occasionally caused confusion, as some have taken it to refer to the Templars. One should, however, bear in mind that when Innocent writes to the Templars, he usually addresses the 'Prior and brothers'. In this case, however, he addresses the 'abbot and canons' which is the usual formula he uses for the congregations of canons regular.

was being contested by certain clerics and the dean of St Sophia.¹² Unfortunately, nothing more can be said about these houses.

Canons regular were also installed in the Peloponnese. In 1209, one of Geoffrey Villehardouin's companions, Simon of Lagny, donated the abbey of the Holy Saviour of Saphadin, which was on his lands, along with half of the tithes of Corone to the Augustinian canons of St Loup of Troyes.¹³ The donation of the monastery was subsequently confirmed by Geoffrey Villehardouin, Anselm the archbishop of Patras and, in 1216, Gervase the Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁴ Guerricus, the man who was appointed prior of the monastery by Geoffrey Villehardouin and the bishop of Corone immediately wrote to the abbot of St Loup asking him to send to the Holy Saviour one of his canons and promising to send back to Troyes a quantity of silk worth twenty pounds every two years.¹⁵ Having studied these documents, Longnon concluded that Simon of Lagny made this donation to the canons of Troyes because he was leaving Greece to return to his homeland, and that he personally brought the donation document along with the afore-mentioned letters to the chapter of St Loup.¹⁶ The monastery of the Holy Saviour does not reappear in our sources until 1519 when it is mentioned in an inventory listing the possessions of St Loup. The inventory states that the Holy Saviour belonged to St Loup and for many years had been ruled by its canons; but now, with the Turkish occupation the memory of this house had been lost (along with its possession presumably).¹⁷ If the information contained in the inventory is

¹² MPL 215, 1377.

¹³ The cartulary of St Loup has preserved several of the documents pertaining to this donation: Charles Lalore, ed., *Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes*, 7 vols, I (Paris: E. Thorin, 1875), 206.

¹⁴ Lalore, *Collection*, I, 206-208 and 227.

¹⁵ Lalore, *Collection*, I, 209.

¹⁶ Jean Longnon, 'Le Patriarcat Latin de Constantinople', *Journal des Savants* (1941), 174-184 (p. 180).

¹⁷ Lalore, *Collection*, I, 303.

accurate, it is extraordinary that the canons regular of Troyes managed to maintain a presence in the Peloponnese for more than two centuries, until the Turkish conquest. Be that as it may, it has to be noted that this little house appears to have been mainly a source of income for the chapter of Troyes, rather than a base of operations for the French canons in Greece. The exact location of the house is unknown. The first documents referring to it place it in the diocese of Corone, but the confirmation of 1216 says it was in the diocese of Methone. Longnon has noted this contradiction, which he believed could be explained by the fluctuation of the diocesan limits and particularly by the adjustments made in 1212 by Innocent III.¹⁸ Both Longnon and Bon have tentatively suggested that the monastery was located in Messenia, south of mount Aetos. Longnon has argued that it was located near a village called *Kephalinou*, whose name could have been corrupted by the Franks to *Saphadin* (*Kephalinou-Céphalin-Saphadin*).¹⁹ According to Bon, it may have been situated near a village south of Aetos known as Monastiri.²⁰

Another chapter of canons regular was installed in Patras around the same time. In 1210, the archbishop of Patras asked for Innocent's permission to install the canons regular of the congregation of St Rufus in the cathedral church of Patras, because he found the secular canons that occupied the church to be unsuitable. Innocent gave his permission, but also made some surprisingly precise stipulations. He demanded that the archbishop gave the brothers lands and vineyards whose grain and wine would be enough for around fifty or sixty people and also stipulated that the canons were to be given sufficient quantities of fish, salt, olives, livestock and that they should be paid two hundred hyperpers per year for clothing. He also made further provisions for the canons to receive extra lands and animals, so that they would be able

¹⁸ Longnon, 'Le Patriarcat', p. 182.

¹⁹ Longnon, 'Le Patriarcat', p. 183.

²⁰ Bon, *La Morée Franque*, p. 430.

to provide hospitality to the poor. Possibly wanting to avoid any future friction between the canons and the archbishop, Innocent expressly stated that the archbishop had jurisdiction over the brothers and that he was responsible for the confirmation of the prior's election. Finally, he made a provision according to which Patras's secular canons were allowed to join the congregation if they so desired. Alternatively, they would still receive a portion of the church's incomes, provided they continued to serve the church of Patras.²¹ This letter illustrates perfectly Innocent's ambitious hopes about the Catholic Church in Greece, and the role that he expected the Orders to play in it. He was eager to see capable and pious religious persons colonise the new lands and be given ample provisions to perform their duties. At the same time, the meticulousness of his stipulations reveals that he was not unaware of the difficulties faced by the Church and the, often, anarchic state of affairs in Greece.

If indeed the pope had predicted trouble with the migration of the brothers of St Rufus to Patras, he was proven right. Upon their arrival, the archbishop installed them in his church as arranged, but the secular canons of Patras, aided by certain monks, ejected them. In 1212, Innocent wrote to Prince Geoffrey Villehardouin asking him to reinstall the brothers of St Rufus in the church of Patras.²² Unfortunately, we do not know whether the canons successfully returned to Patras, for that is the last reference made to them.

One congregation of canons, whose migration to Greece seems to have been, to some extent, organised and ambitious is that of the Premonstratensians. The Premonstratensian Canons had already become involved with the crusading movement and had acquired two houses in Palestine in the twelfth century. After Saladin's re-

²¹ MPL 216, 336-38.

²² MPL, 216, 559-60.

conquest, the canons eventually founded a house on Cyprus and in the thirteenth century they expanded to the Empire of Romania. Initially, the houses of Palestine, Cyprus and Greece fell under the jurisdiction of the *Circaria* or Province of Tuscia and Calabria. Towards the end of the thirteenth century these territories were separated and the Province of Greece and Jerusalem was created.²³

Unsurprisingly, the houses of Romania are the ones about which we have the least amount of information. According to Backmund, one of the houses that were connected with the Premonstratensians was St Nicholas de Varvar of Constantinople. As we have already seen, this house was confirmed to the possession of the congregation of the Brothers of the Temple by Innocent III, in 1209. Nevertheless, Backmund has encountered this house in a list of Premonstratensian foundations dating from between the years 1250 and 1270. It is therefore probable that St Nicholas passed into the possession of the Premonstratensians at some point during the Latin occupation of the city.²⁴ Backmund does not identify this house, but states that it was situated outside the walls of Constantinople. Innocent's letter, however, simply refers to the house as 'Sanctus Nicolaus de Varvar Constantinopoli'. If Backmund is mistaken about the house's location outside the walls, we could probably identify it with the small Constantinopolitan monastery of Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ Βαρβάρᾳ. According to Janin, a small convent of that name existed in the thirteenth century in Constantinople, to the north of St Sophia.²⁵

²³ Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense, id est Historia Circariarum atque Canoniarum Candidi et Canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, 3 vols, I pt 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 498-99. This section draws exclusively on N. Backmund's work. My own research did not yield any new information on the subject. Backmund himself has only discovered a handful of references to the Premonstratensians in Greece. Although it is hard to draw any definite conclusions from this evidence, Backmund's deductions seem plausible.

²⁴ Backmund, *Monasticon*, I pt 2, 504.

²⁵ Janin, *Géographie*, III, 376.

Backmund also states with conviction that a second Premonstratensian house existed briefly near Thebes. In 1212 Nicholas of St Omer donated the village of Hermocastron, near Thebes, to the Premonstratensian abbot and brothers of St Mary of Ponte Parvo in Brindisi. The donation was confirmed in the same year by Innocent III.²⁶ Later, Gervase, the Order's General Abbot, mentioned the existence of some Premonstratensian Canons in that area, in a letter to the bishop of Thebes. Backmund is convinced that this mention refers to a newly founded house in the village of Hermocastron. According to him, the house was not sustainable and was abandoned shortly afterwards, because its mother house in Brindisi had been destroyed.²⁷

Finally, Backmund talks about the foundation of a third Premonstratensian house in Kalavryta near Patras. The canonry was founded by Geoffrey II Villehardouin after 1218. Backmund believes that the Premonstratensians did not build a house there, but occupied a pre-existing Greek house, probably the ancient monastery of Agia Lavra.²⁸ He also surmises that the Latin canons were ousted in 1263 and the Greek monks reinstalled.²⁹

If Backmund's assertions are correct, the Premonstratensian Canons emerge as the only canons regular who attempted with some consistency to colonise Greece. The scarcity of evidence pertaining to the Order, however, indicates that their mission failed to make any impression on the Latin Empire of Romania. Much like the Cistercians, the involvement of the Premonstratensian Canons seems to have been dependent on the power of the Frankish lords. It is therefore reasonable to assume that as Frankish influence waned in Greece, the Premonstratensians were forced to abandon their houses and their interest in the Latin Empire.

²⁶ MPL 216, 591.

²⁷ Backmund, *Monasticon*, I pt 2, 505.

²⁸ It has to be noted here, that this assertion about Agia Lavra is not supported by the relevant Greek scholarship.

²⁹ Backmund, *Monasticon*, I pt 2, 505-06.

The Servants of Mary

The Order of the Servants of Mary, or Servites, whose main objective is the propagation of devotion to the Virgin Mary, was founded in 1233. The Order possessed a monastery in the city of Candia, dedicated to St Paul, but very little is known about it. It was situated in the city's southern suburbs, close to St Mary Cruciferorum. According to Gerola, the plot of land on which the monastery was built was donated to St Anthony of Viterbo by the Cretan nobility. He also states that the monastery was one of the least important monastic foundations of Candia and that that was reflected in the size and quality of its church.³⁰ Georgopoulou has convincingly identified this St Paul with the church that was erected following a pious bequest made by Andrea Dandolo in 1346. The building was completed in 1400, but the church was much bigger than the testator had anticipated, and the money bequeathed did not suffice for the painting of the whole church. It was finally decided that only the main chapel would be painted. A mausoleum of the Dandolo family could be found inside the church of St Paul, attesting to the close relations between the Dandolos and the Servites. According to Georgopoulou the church housed several other tombs, a private chapel for the de Canale family and was the beneficiary of a number of pious bequests in the fifteenth century.³¹ St Paul was given to the Dominicans towards the end of the Venetian reign over Crete. Its ruins could still be seen in the beginning of the twentieth century, when Gerola conducted his research, but have now completely disappeared.

³⁰ Gerola, II, 129.

³¹ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 148-49.

Carmelites

Finally, we have a single reference to a Carmelite convent founded in Constantinople. The convent was probably founded in the early 1360s and it appears that it was situated in Pera. A nobleman of Constantinople, named Obertus de Guagno, had built the monastery for the use of the Carmelites. The friars had used the building for five years, but after Obertus's death in 1369 the neighbouring Franciscans of Pera began to harass the Carmelites. They were complaining that the foundation of a convent so close to their own was in violation of Clement IV's decree, according to which no order would be permitted to build a house in close proximity to a Franciscan convent. The case ended up at the Patriarch's court, but the Carmelites claimed that if they were expelled from their house, they would not be able to build a new one anywhere in Constantinople and they would be forced to abandon the city. In the end, Urban V had to intervene. He appointed the archbishop of Paros to investigate whether the Carmelites were indeed unable to install themselves elsewhere, and if that was the case, he instructed him to allow them to remain in their monastery, despite Clement's decree.³²

The surviving evidence pertaining to these orders, does not allow us to draw much information about their activity in Greece. We cannot tell, for example, how organised their migration to Greece was, or whether their pursuits involved anything apart from quarrels with other representatives of the Church. The lack of evidence itself, however, forces us to conclude that their influence in medieval Greece was minimal.

³² *Urbain V, 1362-1370: Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. by M. H. Laurent, 10 vols, VIII (Paris: de Boccard, 1954-89), 403.

As far as the canons regular are concerned, there exists clear indication that the papacy was keen to see them play a key role in the ecclesiastic affairs of the Empire, as they already had in the Holy Land. Innocent III in particular made many concessions, both to the congregation of St Rufus and the congregation of the Holy Sepulchre. Furthermore, he showed his esteem towards them, by regularly assigning legal cases to their abbots. The prelates and nobles of the Empire also showed themselves sympathetic to the canons regular on occasion. Boniface of Montferrat, for example donated the monastery of Osios Lukas to the Brothers of St Demetrius, Nicholas of St Omer donated Hermocastron to the Premonstratensians and the archbishop of Patras requested the collaboration of the canons of St Rufus in his see. Of course, not all the representatives of the Latin Church favoured the installation of the canons regular in their territory and as a result there often ensued drawn out legal battles. Such occurrences were hardly surprising, and can not be interpreted as indicators of an order's success. After all, the Franciscans, who were amongst the most successful and active orders in Greece, were constantly engaged in litigation with the secular Church.

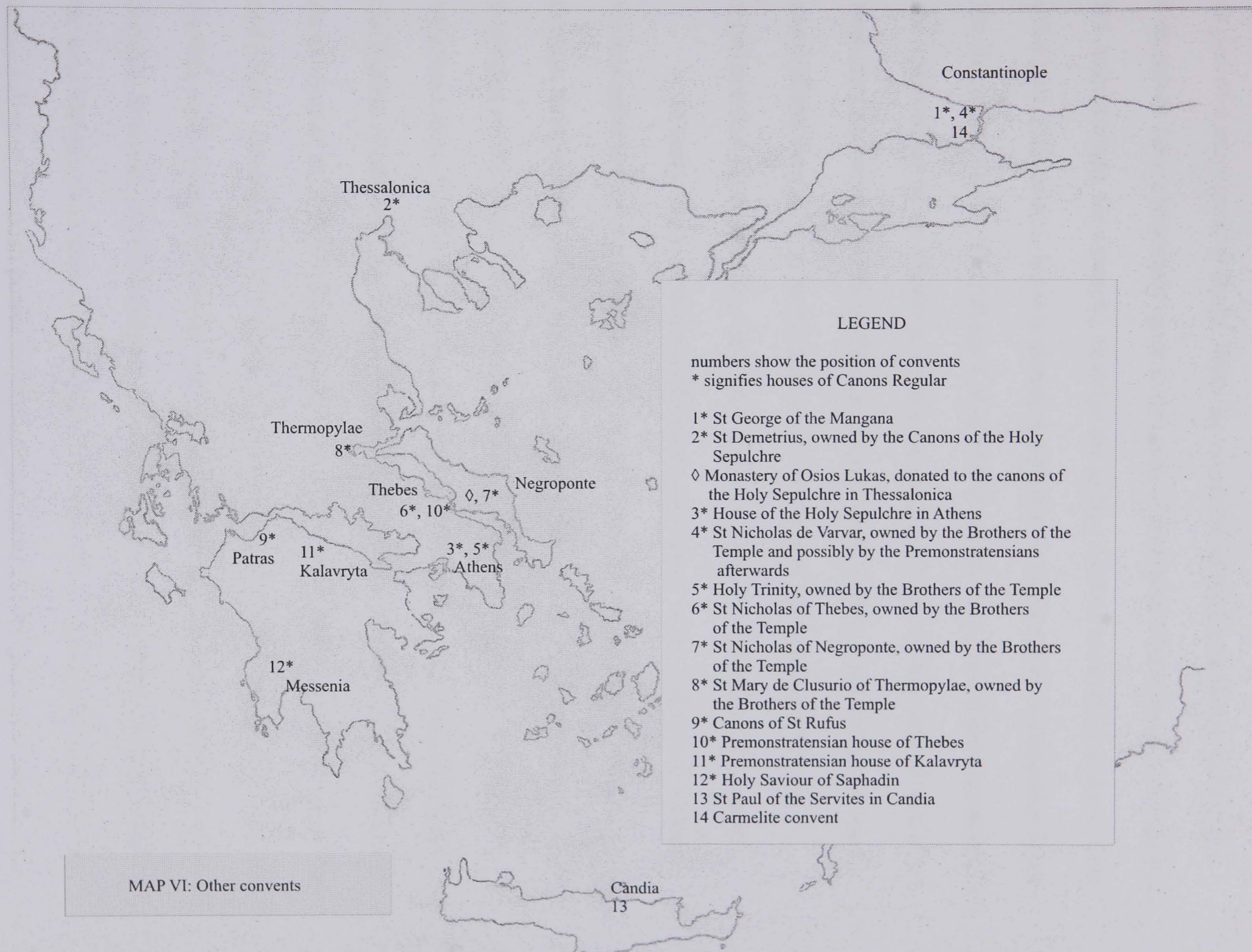
It is not known for how long these congregations of canons remained in Greece. Certainly, their houses in Constantinople and Thessalonica were lost when the Greeks reclaimed those cities; but I have been unable to determine for how long the canons held on to their houses in Patras, Negroponte, Athens, Thermopylae and in any other cities where they may have been installed. It is certain, however, that these congregations of canons are much less conspicuous, after the middle of the thirteenth century. Considering this, and also the fact that all of their known patrons and benefactors appear to have been Franks, it is reasonable to assume, that just like the Cistercians, the canon regulars were dependant on Frankish power in order to survive

in Greece. When that power collapsed, the canons must have lost whatever influence they had during the first years of the Latin Empire. The one exception is the house of the Holy Saviour of *Saphadin* that is said to have existed until the Turkish conquest, and may thus have been the longest surviving canonry of medieval Greece.

The establishment of the Servites and Carmelites in Greece seems to have been even more unsystematic than that of the canons. Unlike all the other major orders, their installation in Greece does not seem to have been planned or regulated by their headquarters or the papacy. Instead, both of the monasteries in question were apparently founded by the initiatives of noblemen who were exceedingly devoted to these orders. Even though St Paul of the Servites in Candia did eventually manage to attract wealthy patrons, it is probably fair to say that both these houses were of minor importance within their communities.

It is significant, however, to note that at least twenty of the episcopal or archiepiscopal sees of Greece were at some point filled by Carmelites. Amongst these sees are some of the most important ones, like the sees of Crete, Corone and Thebes. Most of the appointments of Carmelites took place towards the middle of the fourteenth century. They must have therefore been unrelated to the monastery which was later founded in Constantinople. Unlike the Franciscans, who were sometimes stationed in friaries in Greece before they were created bishops, it appears that the Carmelite bishops were not originally residents of Greece, since there existed no Carmelite house in Greece until the 1360s. At least one of these bishops, Richard of Taussiniano, who was appointed to the see of Christopolis in 1352, was only a titular bishop and therefore probably never traveled to Greece. We also have to doubt whether a certain Philip, who was appointed bishop of Salona in 1332, ever occupied his see, since he was the prior of the Carmelite house of Avignon. As we have seen, it was very

common for members of the regular clergy, especially the mendicants, to become bishops and archbishops in Greece. In the case of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, at least, many of these appointments came as recognition of their important role in the Greek lands. One can not say the same concerning the Carmelite bishops, since, as we have seen, their Order's involvement in Greece was minimal. One can, however, speculate that the appointments of Carmelites to the sees of Greece was in keeping with the effort to sustain the mendicant presence there, since, as is obvious, the mendicant friars were usually the most worthy and successful representatives of the Latin Church in Greece.



LEGEND

- numbers show the position of convents
- * signifies houses of Canons Regular
- 1* St George of the Mangana
- 2* St Demetrius, owned by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre
- ◊ Monastery of Osios Lukas, donated to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Thessalonica
- 3* House of the Holy Sepulchre in Athens
- 4* St Nicholas de Varvar, owned by the Brothers of the Temple and possibly by the Premonstratensians afterwards
- 5* Holy Trinity, owned by the Brothers of the Temple
- 6* St Nicholas of Thebes, owned by the Brothers of the Temple
- 7* St Nicholas of Negroponte, owned by the Brothers of the Temple
- 8* St Mary de Clusurio of Thermopylae, owned by the Brothers of the Temple
- 9* Canons of St Rufus
- 10* Premonstratensian house of Thebes
- 11* Premonstratensian house of Kalavryta
- 12* Holy Saviour of Saphadin
- 13 St Paul of the Servites in Candia
- 14 Carmelite convent

MAP VI: Other convents

Chapter 8: The Western Religious Orders in Greece – An Overview

The topic of the installation and activity of the religious orders in medieval Greece was until recently usually examined cursorily and often only as an afterthought as part of a more general study. With the exception of the Dominicans, the Orders themselves have completely ignored this area of their past. The various publications of the Augustinians, for example, examine the history of their convents in almost every other part of the world, but it is almost impossible to find accurate information about the Hermits in Greece. This absence of scholarly interest has created the impression that the involvement of the Orders in Greece was negligible and in any case of secondary importance compared to the political history of the Frankish, Venetian and Genoese states of the Empire. Yet, as we have seen, the western religious orders were represented in all their variety and with various different roles within these states.

In many ways, as one would expect, the history of the individual orders in Greece reflected the fortunes and roles of each order in Western European society. In Greece, however, the development and the very survival of the religious houses also depended on the unique political circumstances and the balance of power not only between Latins, Greeks and Turks, but also between Franks, Venetians and Genoese in the Eastern Mediterranean. This is well-illustrated by the example of the Cistercians: At the time of the Fourth Crusade, the Order of Cîteaux had reached its apogee of fame and power. Accordingly, it headed (to a large extent) the military expedition and was the first order to benefit from the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. Within a few decades, however, the Cistercians in Western Europe were replaced in importance by the new Mendicant Orders. This decline in prestige in the West coincided with the deterioration of Frankish power in Greece. Once their French patrons were gone from Romania, the Cistercian houses were also wiped out. The Venetians, who were by now

undoubtedly the most powerful group in the Aegean, had closer ties with the Mendicants, and thus it was the friars, and especially the Franciscans that dominated the ecclesiastical landscape. The Cistercian involvement in the Empire of Romania is often described as a failure and we have seen that it is difficult to argue with this assessment. The point, however, should not be overstressed. Firstly, the Cistercians were a contemplative order. Unlike the Mendicants, the Cistercians were often located in remote and isolated areas and we do not know whether they were ever in prolonged contact with the Greeks or even whether this was any part of their mission. As cloistered monks, their prime role was to lead a life of spiritual perfection. Thus, to say that the Cistercians had a minimal impact on the indigenous society may indeed be true, but one should not disregard the fact that perhaps that was not their primary role in the first place. On the other hand, during the six decades of their presence in Greece the Cistercians distinguished themselves as papal agents, especially in the administrative affairs of the Latin Church in Greece: as we have seen, several of the Cistercian abbots of Greece were entrusted with important missions, most notably in disputes between the papacy and the Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople. The shaping and the organisation, therefore, of the Latin Church in the Empire of Romania was influenced significantly by the activity of these Cistercian abbots. Finally, when judging the importance of the Cistercian installation in Greece, we should remember that our knowledge of the subject remains incomplete: although we possess substantial information about certain of the Greek Cistercian houses, others remain very obscure. An obvious example is the monastery of Our Lady of Isova in the Peloponnese. Although the circumstances of its destruction have been preserved in the *Chronicle of the Morea* and its ruins can still be seen today, it is not even known for certain that this

was a Cistercian house.¹ Similarly, we have no information about the Cistercian monastery of Laurus, apart from its name. It has been impossible to establish even very basic facts about this house, like its location and the date of its foundation.² We are only marginally better informed about monasteries like Gergeri and St Mary Varangorum on Crete.³ The greatest, however, lacuna in our knowledge of the Cistercian history of Greece may be our ignorance of the Order's ambitions in the Empire. Innocent III's letter to the prelates of France shortly after the conquest of Greece reveals that the migration of religious persons to Romania aimed (or should have aimed) at the completion of Church Union, which, in the eyes of the papacy had been partly achieved by the armies of the Fourth Crusade. In other words, the clerics and monks of Western Europe would help establish the Latin Church in Greece and draw the Orthodox back to the fold of Rome. Presumably, that was an ambition shared by the Order of Cîteaux. We do not know, however, how the Cistercians planned to achieve this goal. The diplomatic, scholarly and preaching activity of the Mendicant orders leaves little doubt about their goals in Greece and their methods of achieving them. It is difficult, however, to establish whether the Cistercians had another role to play, apart from being adjudicators in disputes within the Latin Church.

The greatest failure of the Cistercian Order in Greece was its inability to maintain a long lasting presence (with the exception of Daphni and maybe Gergeri) after its initial rapid expansion. Perhaps one of the reasons for that was indeed that the Cistercians did not have a clearly defined role to play in the Empire, or even that they neglected customary Cistercian practices, as Bolton has suggested. There can be no doubt, however, that the chief reason for the Cistercian failure in Greece was the unfortunate political circumstances, over which the Cistercian Order had no control. As

¹ See Chapter 2, p. 96-97.

² See Chapter 2, p. 83-85.

³ See Chapter 2, pp. 85-87 and 95.

has already been stated, the Cistercians became redundant in Greece, once their Frankish patrons lost their power in the Empire.

Our knowledge of the history of Benedictine houses in Greece is sadly even more flawed than that of the Cistercians. Most of the Benedictine houses of Greece were so inconspicuous that even their identification is a difficult task. For this reason, it is probably safe to say that our list of Benedictine houses remains incomplete. Even thus, however, there is an evident point to be made about the nature of the Benedictine settlement in Greece, which may explain the failure of the Benedictines to make a more prominent mark on the ecclesiastic affairs of the Latin Empire. Unlike both the Cistercians and the Mendicant Orders, the migration of Benedictines to Greece appears to have been largely unregulated by a higher authority. The foundation of houses seems to have depended less on careful planning and more on the independent initiatives of lay or ecclesiastic magnates. The church of St Mary of Camina in Olena, for example was built and donated to the Benedictines by Prince William Villehardouin and St Mary Virgiottis (Ευεργέτις) in Constantinople was donated to Monte Cassino by the Cardinal Legate Benedict of St Susanna. To be sure, the existence of any house or order in the lands of the Empire depended on such pious donations, but in the cases of the more successful orders, the acquisition of a house was then followed by strict supervision either by Rome or by the orders' headquarters. We have seen, for example, that the General Chapters of Cîteaux instituted stringent regulations for the migration of Cistercians to the East and for the administration of the newly founded monasteries. The Mendicants were even more meticulous, appointing Provincial Priors and vicars and requiring that their houses were supervised by annual provincial chapters as well as by the General Chapters. These regulations, which aimed to safeguard the correct administration of the convents and also to propagate each order's houses in the East,

were lacking within the Order of St Benedict. This, of course, is not to say that the Benedictine houses of Greece were not operating suitably. After all, we are very badly informed about the individual history of most of the houses. It did mean, however, that the Order did not achieve any prominence within Latin Romania, and that the importance of most convents, even at a local level, remains debatable. A noticeable exception is the Benedictine nunnery of St George of the Burg in Candia, which may have been both wealthy and popular. As we shall see, however, this may have more to do with the fact that it was a nunnery than with the fact that it belonged to the Benedictine Order. The suspicion that the success of the Benedictines in Greece was hindered by the lack of central planning and supervision is further reinforced by the example of the one Benedictine monastery that was clearly supervised by the West. St Mary of the Cistern in Pera was united to the congregation of St Justina of Padua soon after its foundation. The relevant documents reveal that for the first decades after the union, and under the close supervision of the congregation, the monastery led a harmonious and indeed affluent existence. The monastery deteriorated and was finally taken away from the Benedictines only after one of its abbots rebelled against the authority of the congregation of St Justina.

In sharp contrast with the unregulated and maybe even opportunistic settlement of the Benedictines in Greece, was the ambitious and influential venture of the Friars Minor. As we have seen, the Franciscans, whose colonisation of Greece began within the first two decades of Latin rule, were the first order to go to the Empire with a clearly defined role to play. One of the first assignments undertaken by the Franciscans in the Greco-Latin East was the participation in the Council of Nicaea and Nymphaeum. Although ineffective in terms of results, the diplomatic-missionary part that the Franciscans played in the talks set the tone for the role they would play in the

following centuries in the East. These efforts culminated in the Union of Lyons in 1274. Although the Union was, on the part of the Greeks at least, primarily a political maneuver, brought about by necessity rather than genuine religious conviction, and was thus flawed, the Franciscan contribution to the whole process can not be overstated. Nor can there be any doubt about the far reaching political impact of the Union, both for Byzantium and the West.

Franciscan activity, however, did not stop there. Many prominent Franciscans were appointed to the episcopal and archiepiscopal sees of Greece, and others were employed as ambassadors even by the lay authorities of the Latin dominions. At the same time, the Franciscans managed to found more friaries in Greece than any other order, and sustain many of them for several centuries. Amongst them was the house of St Francis in Candia, which was surely one of the most important friaries in the East. In the process, the Franciscans became without a doubt the most popular order and a centre for religious devotion amongst the Latin communities of Greece. That is not to say, of course, that the Franciscans never encountered difficulties in Greece. In fact, their history in the East usually paralleled the rise and decline of the Order's fortunes in the West. The Order's initial expansion in the West was mirrored by the rapid proliferation of friaries in Greece around the middle of the thirteenth century. This was followed by the accumulation of prestige and wealth and eventually by serious conflicts with the secular Church, which felt justifiably threatened by the multitude of Franciscan privileges. Of course, not many Franciscan houses in the Latin dominions of Greece attained the wealth and prestige of their western counterparts but the impoverished secular Church felt the effects of Franciscan popularity in comparable ways. The frequent references to disputes between local bishops and the Franciscans of Greece in the relevant sources attest to the fact that even the cathedral churches of

Greece were of secondary importance compared to the Franciscan friaries. Often, as was also the case in Western Europe, the quarrels centered on the right of the parochial churches to receive a portion of the funeral fees paid to the friars, for funerals performed in Franciscan churches. By the fifteenth century the inconsistencies between the Franciscan rule and widespread Franciscan practices created a backlash, both within the Order and in wider society, which gave rise to the Observant movement.⁴ Within a few years the movement had been transplanted to Greece, and by the mid fifteenth century many of the Conventual Franciscans had been replaced by Observants, often at the request of the local nobility.

Despite, however, its tumultuous history and its clashes with the secular Church, the necessity of the Franciscan presence in the Latin East was never questioned either by the papacy or by the local Latin authorities and nobility. The important role that the Franciscans played, not only as ambassadors, but also as a focus for spiritual devotion is made evident by the efforts of the Venetian authorities to sustain even the most impoverished Franciscan friaries, as, for example the house of St Francis on Zakynthos. In a few notable cases on Crete the devotion to St Francis and his Order even transcended the boundaries between Latins and Greeks: the depiction of St Francis on the walls of Greek churches and the insistence of large Greek crowds to celebrate the saint's feast day at the church of St Francis in Candia show that Francis and his followers had achieved a degree of recognition amongst the general populace of Crete, which was otherwise famously adverse to the Roman Catholic Church.

The most significant headway, however, in bridging the gap between Catholic and Orthodox was made by the Dominicans. Like the Franciscans, the Preaching Friars also had a clearly defined role to play in Greece, which was in accordance with their

⁴ Different interpretations of the Franciscan rule and differing opinions as to how strictly it should be followed had, of course, existed within the Order from very early in its history in the thirteenth century.

Order's basic principles and methods: with the production of erudite theological treatises and through their cultural and linguistic formation, the Dominicans aimed, sometimes with extraordinary success, to approach the highest strata of Byzantine society. The cultural exchanges that took place between Greeks and Latins thanks to the activity of the Dominicans of Constantinople had far reaching effects both in Greece and the West. As we have seen, a segment of the Byzantine intelligentsia came in contact for the first time with the advances of European theology and philosophy and conversely, through the migration of Greek converts to the West, Italy was reacquainted with Greek classical culture. The council of Florence and Ferrara marked the peak of Dominican unionist activity. Unlike the Union of Lyons, in which the Greeks essentially had no say, the agreement of Florence was preceded by long discussions between the leading theologians of both sides. Once again, however, pressing political circumstances came in the way of genuine religious sentiment, and thus the Union achieved was not destined to last.

The success that the Dominicans met with in their chosen field in Greece was not fortuitous. It came as a result of careful and meticulous planning. The Dominican installation in Greece was, perhaps, better organised than that of any other religious order. It has been suggested that the Dominicans took the time to train certain of their friars and investigate suitable locations before they founded their first convents in Greece. After their initial installation, the friars followed their Order's practices, and operated conventual schools and libraries in many of their houses. There is also evidence that the most promising friars from Greece were sent to continue their studies in the great universities of the West, as the Order's constitutions required.

In terms of popularity, the Dominican Order was the only religious order to rival the Franciscans of Greece. As such, it too occasionally clashed with the secular

Church, but maybe not as frequently or as conspicuously as the Franciscans. This popularity also meant that the Dominicans were able to sustain their convents through several centuries, even in the face of difficult circumstances. We have seen, for example that the Dominicans continued to operate on Chios and Constantinople for centuries after the Turkish conquest. Once again, however, we should not disregard the political circumstances that allowed the continuation of the Dominican presence in these territories. In the case of Chios and Constantinople, the Dominicans benefited from the privileges granted by the Ottomans to the Genoese communities.

The rest of the Mendicant Orders had a more modest but not always inconsequential history in Greece. The Augustinians Friars, for example, achieved wide expansion and a long lasting presence. Unfortunately much of the information concerning most of the Augustinian convents has been lost, making even their identification a difficult task. It is certain, however, that the Augustinians were still active on Crete in the seventeenth century and on Corfu until the last years of the eighteenth century. Although the surviving documentary evidence does not allow us to draw any significant conclusions about the theological, cultural or social activity of the Hermits of St Augustine, their convent in Candia was undoubtedly one of the most popular and well endowed monastic foundations of the city. Similarly, the documents pertaining to the Annunziata of Corfu reveal the house to have been one of the main foci of religious devotion on the island. Although the convent had greatly deteriorated towards the end of the fifteenth century, it was soon restored to a state of prosperity through the combined efforts and donations of the government, the populace and the members of the Order itself. Donations to the Annunziata continued well into modern times. A topographical map dating from 1821 (the time when it was no longer an Augustinian convent, but only operated as a church) reveals that at that time the

Annunziata owned several hundreds of fields in the territory of Lefkeme, at the southernmost part of Corfu.⁵ Popular devotion towards the Augustinians of Greece was matched by the Order's desire to conserve its convents in the Greek lands. Thus, for example, when in the sixteenth century the Province of the Holy Land was on the verge of disappearance, having been depleted by warfare and the plague, the Order sent volunteers to Greece to institute reforms and revive the Province.⁶

The small Italian Order of the Crociferi only founded two houses in the Latin dominions of Greece: St Mary Cruciferorum in Candia and Beata Maria Cruciferorum in Negroponte. It is worth noting, however, that these were amongst the first Latin convents to be founded in those areas, possibly before the 1220s, and that they survived for more than two centuries. Although their history was sometimes marred by scandal, it is significant that both houses operated hospitals, at a time when none of the other orders had yet developed any social activity in Greece. Despite the fact that Santa Maria of Candia was only a small foundation, sometimes only populated by two or three brothers, it appears to have been a popular and well endowed house. Proof of its status can be found in the fact that one of the most prominent confraternities of Candia was set up around it. Although not quite as important, its sister house of Negroponte also attracted the attention of the local nobility. Tellingly, it was the nobles of the city who wrote to the Pope when they realised that the convent and hospital were not administered suitably.

The Carmelites and the Servites also attempted to colonise Greece. As was the case with the Benedictine Order, the foundations of the Servites and Carmelites seem not to have been the products of a planned effort, but rather the response to initiatives by the Latin nobility. Thus they remained isolated and rather insignificant. It is

⁵ ANK, Λυτά Σχέδια, Τμήμα Συντηρήσεων, Συρτάρι 5, Σχέδιο 25.

⁶ Van Luijk, *L' Ordine Agostiniano*, pp. 91-92.

important, however, to note the religious zeal and devotion that moved the Latin inhabitants of Greece into attempting to transplant every form of Western monasticism to their adopted homelands.

Another religious institution that was transferred to Greece was that of the canons regular (or Augustinian Canons). The case of the canons is an interesting one, because in the first years after the Latin conquest the canons regular seemed set to thrive in the Empire of Romania. Several different congregations of canons moved to Greece at the instigation of the papacy and the request of local prelates. Their churches appear to have been well endowed and their rights safeguarded by the popes in a surprisingly detailed fashion. It is true that in the anarchic state of the Church in the first years after the conquest, the canons regular seem to have been involved in a fair amount of controversy. Equally, however, they were often employed by the papacy as adjudicators in other court cases. It is thus obvious that the papacy envisioned the canons as important contributors to the ecclesiastic landscape of Latin Romania. After all, the canons regular had thrived in the crusader states of the Holy Land under similar circumstances. Yet a few decades after the conquest, the canons all but disappear from the relevant sources. In most cases the causes for this disappearance are evident: most of the congregations of canons had installed themselves in Thessalonica and Constantinople. When these two cities were reclaimed by the Greeks, the canons, like most of the Latin clergy, were obviously driven out of their churches. We know less about the canons who were installed in Patras, Thebes and Kalavryta. We do not know, for example, whether their foundations there achieved any stability or when they finally disappeared. It is certain, however, that they were not important or prestigious houses. Even if they did manage to withstand the turbulence of the thirteenth century, like the

Cistercians, they would surely have faded into insignificance with the disappearance of their Frankish patrons.

We see then, that a variety of parameters affected the careers of the religious orders in medieval Greece. Firstly, of course, we have to take into account the structure of the orders themselves. It is commonplace to note that the new religious orders of the twelfth and thirteenth century were more suitable by their very nature for expansion abroad. The international character of the Cistercian order, with its network of affiliated houses and central supervision by Cîteaux, had marked a revolution in the twelfth century and had resulted in the Order's expansion to the confines of Latin Christendom by the time of the Fourth Crusade. This model of central planning and supervision was further evolved and perfected by the Mendicants in the thirteenth century; in addition, the friars' rejection of the ideal of stability rendered them uniquely suitable for the religious colonisation of faraway lands or frontier territories. It is no surprise then to find that the Cistercians and the Mendicants outdid the older Benedictine and Cluniac orders in the Latin Levant. The Benedictines simply lacked the infrastructure to make a meaningful impact on a land on which the Latin Church had only just been tacked. With no central supervision, few contacts with the West and no networks even amongst the convents of Greece, their houses were doomed to remain isolated and largely irrelevant to the developments in Latin Romania. Similarly, the Cluniac houses and those of the canons regular never managed to form a coherent policy in Latin Romania nor to extricate themselves from the intrigue and squabbling that was endemic in the newly conquered lands. At best it seems that the houses acquired by these orders in Greece served mainly as sources of income for their mother-houses in the West rather than bases of operation for the orders in the East. As Michael Angold points out, this type

of behaviour is indicative of the mentalities prevalent during the conquest. The acquisition of property was for many –lay men and clergy alike- a goal in itself and not a step towards ensuring the viability of the new states and the recently established Church.⁷ The popes (and especially Innocent III) may have made detailed provisions for the establishment of these orders in Greece, but the orders themselves were either incapable or not inclined to do anything more than simply take possession of these houses.

Throughout this thesis I have argued that political –and ethnic- affiliation was one of the most crucial deciding factors for the success or failure of an Order and this can be demonstrated through an abundance of examples. Apart from the Cistercians and the canons regular, whose fate was –it has been argued- inexorably tied with the declining fortunes of the Franks in the Aegean, the case of the Dominicans is also instructive: their successes in Greece and further eastward were partly the result of the Order’s foresight and flair for organisation; equally important, however, was its ability to associate itself with the Genoese colonies in the East, through the creation of the Society of Pilgrims, which was exclusive to Genoese territories. It can be no coincidence that the most successful Dominican convents in the East all belonged to the Society and that they were also the most prominent Latin foundations within their respective territories. The association of the Society with the Genoese colonies not only secured the patronage of the ruling Genoese families of the Aegean islands, but later also ensured that its convents would benefit from the privileges granted by the Turks to the Genoese communities, thus allowing them to survive beyond the Ottoman conquest.

⁷ Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (London: Longman, 2003), pp. 178-80.

The Franciscans, similarly, bound their fortunes in Greece to the fate of the Venetian colonies (as is obvious from the close relations observable between the Republic and the Franciscan Province of Romania). As a result, the Franciscan friaries were unquestionably the most dominant religious foundations in all of the Venetian territories of Greece. By contrast, the Franciscan houses in non-Venetian territories were often overshadowed by the monasteries and friaries of other religious orders. The friaries of Athens and the Peloponnese, for example, never achieved the prominence of their counterparts in Crete and the islands, and in fact we know less about them than we do about the neighbouring Cistercian monasteries. Equally, their friaries in Chios, Mytilene and Pera were of secondary importance compared to the Dominican convents of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers.

Of course, a discussion of the factors that decided the success or failure of the religious orders in Greece, also has to address the issue of patronage, and it is here that we find some of the conditions that make the ecclesiastical landscape of Latin Romania so unique. We have briefly seen, at the beginning of this work, how patronage by the ruling classes was particularly vital for convents founded in so-called frontier territories and how this often resulted (in Spain, the Baltic and elsewhere) in symbiotic relationships that were mutually beneficial for the religious communities and the new conquerors. Such relationships would of course have been desirable in medieval Greece, and to begin with at least, they seemed to be forthcoming; for we have seen that almost all of the Frankish conquerors of mainland Greece appeared eager to install the Cistercians (and to a lesser extent the Benedictines and the canons regular) in their new lands. With few exceptions, however, we can not observe these ties of patronage

continuing past the point of a monastery's foundation.⁸ This may partly be the result of the scarcity of sources, but to some extent it undoubtedly also reflects the reality.

Donations of land were certainly made at the foundation of a monastery, or if it had previously been a Greek monastery the new occupants were allowed to keep part or all of its estates, as was the case with Chortaitou, but donations are very rarely attested later on in the house's history. Conversely, most of these houses never appear in any way involved in the politics of the age nor do they seem to promote the interests or the influence of their founders and benefactors. In other words, the model that made the Cistercians ideal colonists in other, recently conquered, parts of Europe is absent in Greece. One reason for this apparent indifference towards the benefits of cooperation has been given by Michael Angold, who suggested that the donations made by the Frankish nobles to the great monasteries of France were a means of maintaining links with the motherland rather than part of a concerted effort to strengthen the Catholic Church and their own foothold in Greece.⁹ This is undoubtedly true to an extent and it can certainly be demonstrated in a number of cases.¹⁰ The lords that remained in Greece, however, could not have been oblivious to the benefits that they could potentially reap through their association with Cistercian houses (as is evidenced from a few notable exceptions that will be further discussed below); there must therefore have existed further reasons for this apparent breakdown in the ties of patronage that had served both lay lords and Cistercians so well in other European frontiers.

I would suggest that the main problem, from which all others flowed, was quite simply the scarcity of land. Shortage of land was one of the most notorious

⁸ The most obvious exception here (as far as Cistercian male monasteries are concerned) is Daphni, which was the final resting place of successive generations of the de la Roche family.

⁹ Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 179.

¹⁰ There is the case of Simon of Lagny, for example, who donated the monastery of the Holy Saviour to the Augustinian canons of St Loup of Troyes, just as he was leaving Greece and returning home. Clearly he had no interests to protect any more in Greece, and the donation was essentially nothing but a grant of monies to the French house. See Chapter 7, p. 318.

problems that faced the conquerors and the root cause of most friction between the lords themselves and the Church. In fact, many of the less edifying features of the Latin establishment in Greece (both lay and ecclesiastical), which historians usually ascribe to the moral shortcomings of the Franks and their clergy, actually stem from the simple fact that there was not enough available land. One should remember that, unlike other newly conquered territories such as Spain, where the conquerors had completely ousted the former rulers, in Greece many of the *archontes* retained much of their property after the conquest. The fact that some baronies comprised of as little as four fiefs had serious implications for the defense of the realm. Equally, the organisation of the Latin Church did not allow it to function properly when sustained only by the meagre incomes of poor provincial Greek sees. The frequent, and often violent, squabbles between the Latin clergy that appear in our sources, do not paint a flattering picture of the Latin prelates, but they illustrate the penury of the Latin Church rather than the greed of its representatives.

Under such circumstances, the endowment of the Cistercian monasteries of Greece must have remained limited. Certainly, all of these houses would have received fields and in some cases villages that would ensure their survival, but they can not have received the vast tracts of land that made them so important and prosperous in the Iberian Peninsula and other parts of Europe. Deprived of these resources, the Cistercians were unable to play their traditional role as pioneering settlers and nodes of foreign influence amongst the natives. It is here that the abandonment of traditional Cistercian practices that Brenda Bolton has written about comes into play, but it happened through no fault of their own. The scarcity of land meant that the model of Cistercian economy had to be abandoned. With no significant estates they could not attract new settlers on their land and in any case they could not hope to recruit *conversi*

amongst the Greeks. Thus the development and administration of land and the fostering of trade were out of the question, and probably not even needed in Greece, in the way that they were needed in the Baltic for example. In the end, most of the Cistercian houses of Greece were probably self-sufficient but nothing more. They were not given the tools with which to perform their traditional duties in newly conquered areas and consequently their patrons reaped no benefits from the Cistercian involvement in Greece.

Interestingly, the most significant exception to this rule was a nunnery. As we have already seen, St Mary of Percheio is the one Cistercian foundation where strong ties of patronage and reciprocal assistance by the religious community to the lay lords are readily identifiable. That a nunnery, rather than one of the numerous monasteries, should play this role seems strange initially, but it can be explained by the fact that the abbess (and possibly the rest of the community) belonged themselves to the highest Constantinopolitan aristocracy and thus were natural allies to the leaders of the Empire. The case of Percheio appears to verify the suggestion made above concerning the detrimental effects of land shortage to the Cistercian mission and to ties of patronage in general. Here we have a foundation that was uncharacteristically well-endowed by the standards of medieval Greece and that, as a result, seems to have been able to put into practice some of the staples of Cistercian economy: we know, for example, that Percheio owned two granges around Constantinople and there is even a slight possibility that it may have recruited *conversi*. This financial well-being in turn allowed the nunnery to assist the Empire by indirectly funding its defense. So in this one case where a religious foundation was suitably endowed, we see it adopting some of the Order's standard strategies for increasing its wealth and then reciprocating to its benefactors by donating a sum of money that was far beyond the means of any other

monastery of Greece. In other words, we see it operating in a manner that we would expect to see a Cistercian foundation operating in a newly acquired land. One may wonder, of course, why this particular convent was so well-endowed, and why other monasteries were not, if such endowments were possible. The answer perhaps lies once again in the relationship of Percheio's nuns with the Empire's nobility. Martin, Cuozzo and Martin-Hisard have ventured that the nunnery's abbess was perhaps related to the imperial family of Constantinople.¹¹ If they are correct, it would be no surprise to find that the Emperor could endow a religious foundation much more generously than the Lord of Athens or the Prince of Achaia.

Percheio may have been exceptionally well-endowed, but it is interesting to note that most of the nunneries founded in the Empire are much more obviously connected to the Latin communities of Greece than the male religious houses. By contrast, in most cases it is hard to identify close ties between the nunneries and the neighbouring convents of the same orders. Likewise, it is rare to find mentions of the nunneries in the official documents of the orders themselves. This raises certain questions concerning the relations between the nunneries and the orders to which they belonged: were these nunneries founded as part of each order's strategy in Greece? Were they supervised by the orders' headquarters and to what degree was their wellbeing dependant on such supervision? Was their operation regulated by their order or was it perhaps more reliant on the local communities within which they existed?

The scarcity of evidence does not allow us to answer these questions with conviction, but we may draw some conclusions through the examination of individual examples. The only Cistercian nunnery about which we are relatively well informed is the prosperous nunnery of St Mary de Percheio in Constantinople. Even though we do

¹¹ Martin and others, 'Un Acte de Baudouin II', pp. 214-15.

not know the circumstances of its foundation and thus it is not clear whether the house was founded at the instigation of the General Chapter, it is certain that in 1223 the General Chapter intervened and annulled a pact that had been made between the nuns of St Mary and the house of St Mary Magdalene of Acre. Furthermore, the General Chapter placed the nuns under the jurisdiction of Cîteaux and instituted regulations by which the abbot of another Constantinopolitan Cistercian house would be responsible for visiting and supervising the nunnery. Here then we have a nunnery that was clearly supervised by its Order's General Chapter and that had formed ties not only with other convents in its vicinity, but even with a house situated in the Holy Land. By contrast, the General Chapters of the Mendicants, both Dominicans and Franciscans, remain silent about the nunneries they owned in Greece. It is true, that the Dominican nunnery of Pera was committed by Pope John XXII to the care of the Order in 1330 and that it belonged to the jurisdiction of the Pilgrim Brothers, but it is not clear to what extent the Order was involved in the nunnery's operation. The nunnery was, however, founded by William Bernardo of Gaillac, the same Friar who spearheaded the expansion of the Dominican Order in Constantinople. Thus even if we can not state with certainty that the foundation of the nunnery was instigated by the Order's headquarters, we can, at the very least see that it was part of a planned effort to expand the Order in the East.

However, both the cases of St Mary of Percheio and the Dominican nunnery of Constantinople seem to have been exceptions to the rule. The acts of the Cistercian General Chapters make no references to the nunnery of St Mary de Verge and that of Pym in the Peloponnese. Similarly, the Dominican General Chapters do not mention the important nunnery of St Catherine in Candia and the Franciscan sources usually ignore all of the houses of St Clare in Greece. Thus, it appears that the orders' General Chapters usually did not interfere with the operation of most of the nunneries of

Greece. That does not necessarily mean that the nunneries operated independently from their orders; it may, for instance, be the case that any involvement or cooperation between the male and the female branches of an Order happened at a local level. An example of this is the case of the nunnery of St Clare of Chanea. When the nunnery was abandoned by its nuns, the archbishop of Candia placed an Observant friar in charge of the house. The Franciscans of the island attempted to revive the nunnery and when they failed to populate it with Poor Clares, they installed in it a community of Sisters of the Third Order of St Francis. Even though, once again, this is just an isolated case, it is hard to escape the impression that, whilst the monasteries may have formed part of a large scale political and ecclesiastic enterprise, the nunneries were a matter of much more localised interest.

This of course is in accordance with the social role of the medieval nunnery. Nunneries were one of the very few options available to women who wanted to pursue a spiritual career, but they were also an attractive, respectable and sometimes prestigious prospect for unmarried daughters of the nobility and widows. As such, they were an indispensable part of Western European society. Although we are not particularly well informed about the demographics of the Latin nunneries of Greece, the available evidence suggests that their social role was the same. We know, for example, that many of the nuns of St Catherine of Candia were descendants of the noble Venetian families of Crete. The fact that in 1267 the abbess of the Cistercian house of St Mary de Verge was probably a noble Greek convert, named Demeta Palaeologa, suggests that this nunnery too was populated, at least in part, by women that had been born and raised in Greece. Of course, we also know of cases where nuns were relocated from the West. In one notable occasion, the Venetian authorities were forced to import nuns from Venice, to serve as examples to the local nuns who were

bad mannered and disobedient and often abandoned their nunneries and returned to their homes.¹² Even this, however, proves that, as a rule, the majority of the nuns of Greece were members of the local Latin communities.

Our limited evidence also suggests that a high proportion of the nuns were of noble descent. We have already pointed out that many of the names of Cretan nuns (Abramo, Dandolo, Trivixano etc) indicate relations with the Veneto-Cretan nobility. Even though our sources are scarcer, the same seems to have been the case in the Frankish territories. There can be no doubt that the abbess of Percheio was a noble woman and, as we have seen, another noble lady, Margaret of Toucy was cloistered in the nunnery of Pym. The fate of the Cistercian nunneries of Frankish Greece after the Greek reconquest also points to the same conclusion. Both the nuns of Percheio and the nuns of St Mary de Verge moved to southern Italy, where they were well-provided for by Charles of Anjou. One should remember of course that this route was also followed by many of the noble families of the Latin Empire around the 1260s. That many (if not most) of the nuns of the Latin Empire may have been of noble descent should not astonish us, given the high proportion of nobles amongst the colonists of medieval Greece.

It should come as no surprise then that the Latin nunneries of Greece were predominantly the concern of the local authorities and nobility, rather than of the orders themselves. Likewise, it is easy to understand why certain of these houses were so popular and well endowed.

It is perhaps harder to distinguish the reasons why certain of these nunneries thrived whilst others disappeared. Certainly, there can be no doubt as to why the nunneries of Percheio, of St Mary de Verge, and of St Clare of Negroponte and Olena

¹² Xerouchakes, *Αἱ Σύνοδοι*, p. 68.

ceased to exist. Safety and stability is a prerequisite for any kind of monasticism to thrive, but it is even more indispensable in the case of nunneries. All of the above mentioned houses were eventually abandoned because of warfare: the nuns of St Mary of Percheio and St Mary de Verge were driven out of their convents by the Greeks, the nuns of Negroponte by the Turks and the nuns of Olena by pirates. Yet how can we account for the fact that no nunnery of St Clare existed until the fifteenth century in Candia (where a Benedictine and a Dominican nunnery had long been established), that the nunnery of St Clare of Chanea existed only very briefly and then was abandoned, and that there existed no Dominican nunnery in Negroponte (where the Dominicans, as we have seen, operated one of their most prominent houses). Although there can be no definite answer to these questions, it is possible that the same social factors that contributed to the success of certain nunneries also made other houses redundant. We have seen, for example, that one of the factors that allowed St George of the Burg and St Catherine of Candia to thrive, was their social role as retreats for the ladies of the Venetian nobility of Crete. By the same token, it is possible to argue, that these two nunneries catered adequately to this social requirement and there was therefore little need for other nunneries in the vicinity. This would also explain the apparent shortage of Poor Clares in Chanea during the first half of the fifteenth century.

Whatever the reasons behind the differing fortunes of the nunneries, it is certain that the colonisation of Greece by the female branches of the orders began very soon after the Latin conquest. Despite, however, the relative security offered by the existence of a Latin Empire in the East, conditions were still adverse to the spread of female monasticism. As one would expect, the expansion of the nunneries was much slower than that of the monasteries, yet in certain places, where a degree of stability and security had been achieved, the female orders succeeded in founding prosperous

and enduring houses. As was the case with most of the representatives of the Latin Church in Greece, the nuns found the most advantageous conditions on the island of Crete. Initially, there existed two significant nunneries in Candia, the Benedictine house of St George of the Burg and the Dominican one of St Catherine. The later centuries of Venetian rule, however, also saw the successful foundation of other nunneries. The Augustinians, for example, owned a nunnery in Mylopotamos, which in the late sixteenth century was populated by eighty nuns and the Poor Clares eventually came to possess two houses in the city of Candia and even operate an orphanage.

The nunneries, then, attracted the patronage of the Latin communities through their blood relations; the same can not be said about the Mendicants, many of whom were surely strangers to the colonists of Greece. The Dominicans and the Franciscans, however, (and to a certain extent the Augustinian Friars and the smaller orders as well) did manage to forge meaningful ties with the local communities and benefit from the patronage of the nobility, much more successfully than the representatives of the traditional monastic orders. An obvious reason for their success is of course the prominence that these orders had achieved in Western Europe. One of the main concerns of the Latin settlers of Greece (and indeed of medieval 'colonialism') was to replicate the environment of the homeland. By the end of the thirteenth century the Mendicants had become such a dominant feature of the religious landscape of the West that their implantation in the Latin territories of Greece was inevitable. It is, therefore, more than likely that many of the Venetian patrons that linked their names with the mendicant foundations of Crete already had familial ties with these orders in the metropolis. This is demonstrably the case with the Cornario family and the Franciscans.¹³

¹³ Although it has to be said that further research is necessary to substantiate this point.

Ancestral links alone, however, would not have sufficed to ensure the continued patronage by the Italian colonists. After all, the Franks also had ancestral links to the abbeys of France yet the ties of patronage between them and the Cistercian abbeys of Greece appear much more tenuous. The real difference is that, unlike the Cistercians, the friars managed to find a role to play in medieval Greece that made them indispensable for the Italian settlers. The combination of their pastoral work, their (occasionally successful) missionary activity and (more rarely) their charitable work made them a highly visible and integral part of life in the Italian colonies. This compares extremely favourably with the position of the traditional monastic orders in Greece, which seem to have remained at the fringe of Latin society or, at best, central to the lives of only a small elite. As I have argued above, perhaps the greatest appeal of the Mendicants to both noble and non-noble patrons was the fact that they managed to set themselves up as the champions and most worthy representatives of the Catholic Church in Greece. The fact that the Latin rite in general declined in areas from which the friars disappeared was enough to ensure the continued support of the authorities and the population; because for these communities, religious assimilation also entailed the danger of cultural and social absorption.

At the same time, we have to bear in mind that friaries depended on different types of support than Cistercian abbeys in order to operate successfully. Therefore the unfavourable circumstances that rendered the Cistercian houses ineffectual or irrelevant to the Latin communities did not affect the mendicant foundations to the same extent. We have observed that the Cistercians were unable to play a significant role in medieval Greece because land, which was a key component of their success in other frontiers of Latin Christendom, was not available to them in Greece. Land was equally unavailable to the friars, but unlike the Cistercians, the Franciscans and Dominicans

did not depend on huge estates and were in fact forbidden (at least initially) to own such property. Indeed the very ideal of being self sufficient, which was central to remote Cistercian abbeys if they were to play an important social and religious role, was largely foreign to the friars. Instead they depended on the more modest but continuous support of the community, and this incessant interaction was in fact one of the factors in their success.

Having discussed the means by which the religious houses secured the patronage of the laity in medieval Greece, we should now attempt to draw some conclusions concerning the financial rewards that they reaped through this interaction. The estimation of the property owned by the various orders and convents in Greece has been one of my main preoccupations throughout this study. Unfortunately, however, the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence makes it impossible to form anything but a very broadly outlined image of the monastic wealth of the orders in Greece. The task is further hindered by the multitude of currencies appearing in the relevant sources and the fluctuation of their relative values, making accurate estimations almost impossible. In 1238, for example, the nunnery of Percheio lent to the empire 4,300 hyperpers.¹⁴ This was clearly a very significant amount of money, and probably one that exceeded by far the annual revenues of all other Greek houses. If, however, we wish to convert this into a currency that will allow some comparisons, we are faced with the problem that we do not know to what exactly a hyperper amounted at the time. The value of the Constantinopolitan hyperper (which was at the time a money of account) constantly fluctuated in the thirteenth century in relation to the Venetian currencies and we do not know exactly how much it was worth in 1238. Thus, the

¹⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 89-90.

4,300 hyperpers could amount to 154,800 Venetian soldi or to 172,000 soldi. Now if we want to compare these amounts to amounts deriving from territories that did not use Venetian currencies, we are faced with further conversions of uncertain values and thus with ever increasing margins of error.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this particular amount does indeed give us a rare glimpse of the nunnery's finances. In many other cases we have virtually no information about the financial state of our monasteries.

Let us however, turn our attention to what we do know about the assets of the religious foundations of Greece. The first Latin Church prelates to arrive to Greece were appalled at the financial state in which they found their new sees. In their scramble for land, the Frankish knights had alienated most of the Greek Church's property leaving very few assets to the newly installed Latin clergy. Doubtless this was also the case with many of the Greek monasteries that had been abandoned by their communities in the face of the Latin conquest. Though the Frankish lords were reluctant to return the ecclesiastical property to the secular Church, we have seen that they were more inclined to provide for the Cistercian communities that took over some of the Greek monasteries. The first indication of this appears in relation to the monastery of Chortaitou.¹⁶ Although it is not clear whether the monastery retained all of its possessions when it was taken over by the Latins, we know that the first Cistercian abbot sold many of the house's valuables. We also know that at the beginning of the Cistercian occupation the house had owned livestock, an olive grove and had been wealthy enough to support a Greek community of two hundred monks. When the Greek monks returned to the house, they found it stripped of all its

¹⁵ My calculations are based on the exchange rates given in Peter Spufford, *Handbook for Medieval Exchange* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London, 1986), in Cécile Morisson, 'Coin Usage and Exchange Rates in Badoer's *Libro dei Conti*', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 55 (2001), pp. 217-45 and in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae*, 129, ff. 75r-77r. As a result of the difficulties inherent in these conversions, all the sums mentioned in this section are approximate estimations and some may have a significant margin of error.

¹⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 65-66.

possessions, but according to their letters of complaint it had been the Cistercians and not the lay lords who had squandered the monastery's wealth.

Daphni must also have enjoyed considerable wealth under the Greeks, but we do not know how much of it it retained after the installation of the Cistercians. In 1306, Daphni also acquired the church of St Mary of Camina, which had previously been held by the nuns of St Clare in Olena and before that by the Benedictines. A register of tithes from the years 1339 to 1341 reveals that Daphni paid around fifty Achaian hyperpers per year to the papal collector as tithes for the church, which means that the monastery collected incomes of around five hundred hyperpers per year from St Mary.¹⁷

Our first direct evidence of the monasteries possessing land comes from the Cistercians of Constantinople. As we saw, the Venetians had endowed the abbey of St Stephen with an estate called Bacchus and another large plot of land. Unfortunately our documents do not reveal what incomes these lands generated.

Certainly, the nunnery of St Mary de Percheio owned much more significant lands. Honorius III's partial list of the nunnery's possessions reveals that in 1221 the community owned a village, property in at least thirty two other villages in Thrace and Bithynia and granges around Constantinople. Further incomes were generated by significant annual bequests of money, grain, wine and salt. Even though the list is not detailed, it shows the nunnery to have been probably the most affluent religious house

¹⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae*, 129, ff. 71r and 173r. Again we are faced with the difficulty of estimating the value of these 'Achaian hyperpers'. It has to be noted that this is the only reference I have found to this currency. Given the wording of the document ('yperpera in principatu Achaye currentia'), it is unlikely that this actually refers to a type of coin struck in Achaia. Rather, it probably refers to a currency from some different area, which was also used in Achaia. It is possible that these are in fact hyperpers of Methone or of Negroponte. Whatever the case, the collector states that each of these hyperpers was worth twenty soldi. Even without converting these currencies, we can be certain that the sum of fifty 'Achaian' hyperpers was substantial. The same register (ff. 75r-77r) records the tithes paid by the various prelates of Crete. In way of comparison, most of the bishops of Crete paid under twenty hyperpers, whilst the nunnery of St Catherine of Candia only paid four hyperpers (albeit Cretan ones).

of Greece. The loan of 4,300 hyperpers alone seems to have exceeded by far the annual incomes of nearly every other monastery of Greece. It is unlikely that this loan was ever repaid, but even thus it does not seem to have financially incapacitated the nunnery for, as we have seen, three years later in 1241 the nuns appear prepared to buy another batch of relics from the Empire. The nunnery of Percheio was surely an exception amongst the Latin foundations of Greece as far as its economy is concerned. We have seen that its extraordinary endowment was the result of the special relationship it enjoyed with the Constantinopolitan aristocracy, perhaps even with the imperial family. We have also speculated that perhaps this was the only Cistercian foundation that was able to augment its income through the implementation of a successful financial policy.

Though not quite as rich, a handful of other houses appear to have been exceptionally prosperous by the standards of Latin Romania. We can examine, for instance, the case of St Francis of Candia. Once again, our list of the house's possessions is not complete, but it gives us an idea of St Francis's wealth. From rents and bequests made in perpetuum, the friary collected at least 1,400 Cretan hyperpers per year in the fifteenth century.¹⁸ This amount does not include the frequent and generous one off donations made to the friary. Nor does it include the profit that the house must have made from the annual donations of several tons of grain and wine. A register of tithes from Crete from the fourteenth century, states that one Cretan hyperper amounted to half a florin. If the rate of exchange was similar in the early fifteenth century, then St Francis had incomes of at least 750 florins per year. If we assume that the actual incomes (with the inclusion of the one off bequests and donations) were around double that amount, the profit seems impressive even when

¹⁸ See Chapter 3, p. 141.

compared to that of some Western Europe monasteries. Based on the *Rationes Decimarum Italiae* for 1308 to 1310, for example, we can estimate the incomes of the more prominent monastic foundations like Cava and Montevergine to around 3,220 and 2,668 florins per year respectively. It is not surprising, of course, to find that St Francis of Candia could not compare with these two foundations, for they were by their very nature exceptional. However, we can perhaps compare St Francis to some other prominent Italian houses, like the Cistercian monastery of Ferraria which was earning around 1,196 florins per year and the monastery of St Sophia Benevento which earned around 1,840 florins per year.¹⁹ These foundations were amongst the most prosperous Southern Italian houses and the fact that St Francis's wealth was comparable to them is a strong indication of the friary's importance. The description of the friary's luxurious vestments and liturgical objects and of the important relics, found in the inventory, makes it clear that this was a very prosperous house, by the standards of Greece but also by those of Western Europe. It is important, however, to note that, unlike the nunnery of Percheio, the house of St Francis does not seem to have owned significant estates. According to the inventory, the friary only owned one vineyard, one serventaria, half of a village, part of a mill and a few houses. By contrast, the small foundation of St Mary Cruciferorum owned several houses in and around Candia, mills, fields, furnaces and at least four villages.²⁰ We do not know what sources of income St Francis of Negroponte, had, but in the fourteenth century the Italian traveler Nicholas of Martoni commented approvingly that the house was earning 1,000 ducats per year. That is around 2,500 Constantinopolitan hyperpers, or 3,750 Cretan

¹⁹ My conversions of currency are once more based on Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* and on the rates given in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae*, 129, ff. 75r-77r. The sums mentioned in relation to the Italian monasteries have been converted from unciae to florins, at a rate of 4.6 unciae to the florin. Given the fluctuations, the reader should remember that there is again a significant margin of error.

²⁰ See Chapter 5.

hyperpers, or 1,875 florins. Even though such evidence is lacking concerning the rest of the Franciscan houses, or indeed most of the monastic foundations of Greece, it is obvious that the most prominent of the Franciscan friaries of Romania led a very comfortable existence before the advent of the Observants.

On the other side of the spectrum, it appears that after the initial expansion of the orders in Greece, many of the convents fell into decline and were on the verge of destitution by the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The survival of such houses depended predominantly on the good will of the state and it is important to note that in most cases the authorities did indeed provide the necessary support. Thus we see, for example, the Venetian Commune making monthly donations of grain and annual grants of money to the Dominican convent of St Mary of Methone in the 1320s. Similarly, in the late fifteenth century, the Franciscan convent of Zakynthos was reformed by the initiative of the Venetian official on the island, Donatus of Lecce. The reasons for this decline vary. Surely, in certain cases it was brought about by the unstable political and social circumstances. On the other hand, we are informed that some of these houses were reduced to poverty because of the irresponsible or inept administration exercised by their abbots. It is important, however, to note that even these impoverished houses were sometimes considered attractive sources of income by the Latin clergy. We have seen, for example, that the priory of Beata Maria Cruciferorum of Negroponte, whose annual revenues did not exceed ninety florins, was at one point contested by three aspiring priors.²¹ This gives us a notion of how difficult it was for the Latin prelates to find a stable source of income, even a small one, within the ecclesiastical milieu of Latin Greece.

²¹ See Chapter 5.

It appears, however, that a significant portion, perhaps the majority, of the Latin houses of Greece led a modest but not desperately deprived existence. As we have already remarked, the main reason behind the financial difficulties of the monasteries was related to their land tenure, or rather the lack of it. To be sure, we have virtually no information about the wealth of most of the religious foundations on the mainland; what we do know, however, about the houses of the islands and Constantinople suggests that the land holdings of even the most prominent houses (with few exceptions) were unspectacular. Thus we may assume that the more modest houses were even less well endowed in terms of land. This is supported by the notarial evidence of Crete and the cartularies of Chios and Corfu. Certainly, the convents we are talking about owned some vineyards, houses that they rented out and even, in exceptional cases, one or two villages or *serventariae*. These possessions ensured that they received stable incomes and were perhaps enough to even qualify the convents as prosperous within their communities; but by no means could they compare with the large estates that many of the older monasteries owned in the West. One should bear in mind, therefore, that when we talk of prosperous religious foundations in Greece we are usually judging things on a different scale. This is also shown by the dispensations made by the headquarters of the religious orders towards their Greek provinces. The Augustinian General Chapter, for example, exempted the Province of the Holy Land from the annual taxation of twenty four ducats because it was 'most poor and has but a few convents'.²² Nevertheless, the Augustinian friary of Candia was one of the largest and most popular foundations of the city. Similar dispensations were also made by the Dominicans. Yet there can be no doubt that many of these convents were indeed judged both as important and as prosperous by the societies within which they existed. We

²² 'Acta Capitulis Generalis Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini Appamiis Anno 1465 Celebrati', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 7 (1917-18), 106-30, p. 110.

have discussed, for instance, the cases of the Franciscans and Dominicans on Chios. None of those convents were amongst the leading ones of Greece, yet the various complaints by the local bishops show that even these relatively small mendicant convents overshadowed the cathedral church, both in terms of popularity and in terms of wealth. There can be little doubt, then, that the relative poverty of the convents of Greece (in comparison to their western counterparts) did not stop them from playing a prominent and often influential role within the Latin communities of Romania. Admittedly, of course, this was much more the case with the Mendicants, who did not rely on land tenure, than it was with the traditional monastic orders.

* * *

One of the most striking features of the installation of the Latin Church and the religious orders in medieval Greece is the high number of religious that attained the episcopal and archiepiscopal dignities.²³ The role of these monk and friar bishops in the affairs of the Latin Empire and its territories deserves to be examined, but unfortunately it is very hard to draw any definite conclusions about their policies and activities, since no episcopal registers from those areas have survived. Consequently our information about most of these men is very limited and derives mainly from the papal letters of appointment or confirmation and, in more exceptional cases, from papal letters assigning missions to individual bishops. Nevertheless, some observations concerning these bishops and their role can be made.

Our list (which is certainly incomplete) includes the names of no less than three hundred and forty six regulars who became bishops or archbishops in Greece

²³ See Appendix I.

between 1204 and 1500. Out of those, one hundred and twenty nine were Franciscans, one hundred and ten were Dominicans, fifty three were Augustinian friars, twenty two were Carmelites, nineteen were Benedictines and eight were Cistercians. The remaining five were Servites, Canons Regular and Camaldolites.

The appointment of regulars to the sees of Greece began immediately after the conquest. The first such appointment was that of Anselm (probably a Benedictine monk) to the archbishopric of Patras in 1205.²⁴ It is surprising, considering the role that the Cistercians had in the Fourth Crusade and that which they were supposed to play in Greece, that throughout the thirteenth century only three Cistercian brothers were created bishops. Another five followed them in the next centuries, but even thus the Order of Cîteaux was significantly under-represented. It is hard to escape the impression that the failure of the Cistercians to promote themselves to the episcopal dignity in significant numbers reflects the Order's poor record in Latin Romania. This impression is reinforced if we compare the numbers of Cistercian bishops in Greece to those of Cistercian bishops in the Kingdom of Sicily in the thirteenth century. Twelve known Cistercians filled the sees of Southern Italy before 1250 and another eleven, including two archbishops, were elevated between 1250 and 1270.²⁵ By contrast only eight were appointed to Greece in the space of three centuries.

The preponderance, of course, of the Mendicants and especially the Franciscans in our list comes as no surprise. The founders of the two great Mendicant Orders had not envisioned, and indeed had expressed themselves against, the promotion of their brothers to the episcopate. Such a dignity would, in their opinion,

²⁴ For an examination of his career see Zakythinos, 'Ο Αρχιεπίσκοπος Αντελμος και τα πρώτα έτη της Λατινικής Εκκλησίας Πατρών'.

²⁵ Theo Kölzer, 'La Monarchia normanno-sveva e l'ordine Cistercense', in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio in occasione del IX centenario della nascita di Bernardo di Clairvaux (Martano-Latiano-Lecce, 25-27 febbraio 1991)*, ed. by Hubert Houben and Benedetto Vetere (Galatina: Congedo, 1994), pp. 91-116 (p. 116)

directly contravene their orders' main precepts of poverty, obedience and humility. Nevertheless soon after the deaths of St Francis and St Dominic their followers began to be appointed to such positions with increasing frequency. It was the popes themselves who pushed the orders in that direction, partly because the friars were ideal figureheads for the Church, but also because they proved to be indispensable allies in the papacy's conflicts. The Franciscans in particular served the papacy loyally in its struggles against the last Hohenstaufen. Furthermore, they could be counted on, as we have already seen, to serve as valuable diplomats, preachers of the crusade and upholders of orthodoxy in lands where Roman obedience was not firmly established.²⁶

The first Dominican bishops were created by Pope Gregory IX and the first Franciscans were probably elevated to the episcopate by Innocent IV. Appointments of Mendicants became the norm over the following decades, to the point that Boniface VIII elevated forty two Franciscans within nine years.²⁷ The situation appears very similar in Greece, with the first Mendicant appointments taking place during the pontificate of Innocent IV. More followed, but not very frequently throughout the second half of the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, however, Mendicants were appointed to the sees of Greece almost every year.

These appointments are clearly a continuation of the trend that is observable in the rest of Europe, but were there also specific reasons why friars were so frequently promoted in Greece? Was their elevation the result of their orders' activities in Latin Romania? Were the appointees themselves residents of Greece who had advanced through the ranks of the local hierarchy or were they sent from the West? Given the

²⁶ See also Williell R. Thomson, *Friars in the Cathedral: The first Franciscan Bishops, 1226-1261* (Toronto: Pontificate Institute of Medieval Studies, 1975), pp. 16-20 and Badin Gratien, *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Société et librairie S. Francois d'Assise, 1928), pp. 618-40.

²⁷ Paul Remy Oligier, *Les Évêques Réguliers: recherche sur leur condition juridique depuis les origines du monachisme jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris: Louvain, 1958), p. 128.

lack of information about their ecclesiastical policies, and the obscurity of most of these bishops we are forced to examine these questions in a more indirect way.

The examination of the geographical distribution of these Mendicant bishops is an obvious starting point: if their appointments came as an acknowledgment of their orders' contribution in local affairs, we would expect to find these prelates in sees where the friars were installed. Such a connection is indeed apparent in some cases. Predictably, for example, we often find Franciscan incumbents in the sees of Crete, where the Friars Minor had established most of their houses: Ario had seven Franciscan bishops, Mylopotamos had five, Kissamos four, Seteia three, Chanea two and Arkadi had one. Delacroix-Besnier claims that very few Dominicans occupied sees in the Venetian territories and that their presence in Crete was especially low, yet they too were well-represented:²⁸ there were four Dominican archbishops of Crete, and at least another thirteen bishops in the suffragan sees. Yet, as we would expect, their presence is more pronounced in some Genoese territories where they, at times, monopolised the episcopal sees. In Mytilene, for instance, we find five Dominican incumbents within the space of a century and in Chios we find another four between 1329 and 1502. There is evidence then to suggest that Mendicant bishops were likely to be appointed to territories in which the Mendicants had already established a strong presence. The reverse process may also have occurred in certain cases: the Dominicans, for example, are likely to have first established themselves in Candia under the episcopate of a Dominican archbishop. In any case, some correspondence is observable, between areas ruled by Mendicant bishops and those in which the friars had established their convents. The point, however, should not be exaggerated, since we often find successive Mendicant bishops in sees that are not closely related to the

²⁸ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, p. 120.

activities of their orders. Five Dominicans, for example, served as bishops of Melos, and five Franciscans as archbishops of Lepanto, even though there was no particular connection between their Orders and those territories.

The presence of an Order in a particular see and its career there may well have been a consideration in selecting an appropriate bishop, but it was certainly not the only one. Another important criterion was surely that the appointee was *persona grata* to the secular authorities of the territory. To that end, many of the bishops of Latin Greece were selected from amongst the ethnic group of the flock over which they would be placed. The Venetians, for example, routinely put forward –and usually secured the appointment of- their own candidates for their colonies. The same was often the case in the Genoese territories. Several of the bishops of Chios, for instance, belonged to the ruling Giustiniani and Pallavicini families. Often of course, both these qualities – membership in a particular Order and the right ethnic descent- coincided in a bishop. A few such examples can be seen in our list, like the Venetian Franciscan bishop of Ierapetra, John Querini, but certainly many more would be identifiable if we had more information about the descent of these bishops.

Interestingly, we also find very frequent appointments of Mendicants as titular bishops of sees that were no longer under Latin control: five Franciscans and two Dominicans served, for instance, as titular bishops of Christopolis; another four Franciscans and two Dominicans were appointed titular bishops of Salona. This is not surprising: since titular sees had little or no incomes, the appointment of friars to those sees was a convenient way of elevating the Mendicants to the episcopal dignity without flouting the mendicant ideal of poverty.

So far we have established that, as was the case in the rest of Europe, the Mendicants were valued as bishops in Greece, and that the existence of Mendicant

houses in specific territories may have influenced the selection of bishops for those sees. It is much harder, however, to determine whether the appointment of particular Mendicant bishops in Greece came as recognition of the role that they themselves played in the affairs of Latin Romania. The problem, once again, lies in the fact that very little is known about the majority of these bishops. Some conclusions, however, may be drawn if we turn our attention to some of the more famous prelates.

We have already seen that a number of our Franciscan bishops distinguished themselves as papal emissaries in Greece: this is demonstrably the case with William Emergani (bishop of Kissamos) and Anthony Balistario (archbishop of Athens), both of whom played a part in the conversion of John V Palaeologos to Catholicism. William Emergani, of course, had been elevated to the episcopate just before he undertook his first mission to Constantinople, but his subsequent involvement shows that he enjoyed the pope's confidence and was probably selected in order to fulfill this important role. Other bishops, like Eustace of Ancona bishop of Lepanto, had been resident in the Mendicant houses of Greece and had obviously made a name for themselves there.²⁹ Another two Franciscan bishops (Raphael bishop of Arkadi and Francis archbishop of Athens) had obviously already been involved in the affairs of Latin Greece, since at the time of their appointment they were serving as Provincial Ministers of their Order in Romania.³⁰ Francis was elected by the chapter of Athens and supported by the Venetians, who presented him to the pope and asked for his confirmation. Urban V initially refused, for he wanted to safeguard his own right to appoint the archbishop of Athens, but later changed his mind. Francis's case is particularly noteworthy: on the one hand it reveals that, despite their occasional clashes with the secular Church, the Franciscans had much to recommend them as bishops in Greece and the electoral

²⁹ Gollubovich, IV, 388-89.

³⁰ Gollubovich, V, 38 and 110-11.

chapters were aware of this. On the other hand it shows how important political considerations and the support of the Venetians could be in an episcopal appointment.

Another important group of bishops, who were obviously elevated partly because of their special position in medieval Greece, were those friars who were native to the Greek lands. The names of Thomas of Negroponte bishop of Nisyros and archbishop of Thebes, Benedict of Negroponte bishop of Andros, Francisc(in)us Secretus of Candia bishop of Ario and Mylopotamos, Marcus Sclavo of Candia bishop of Tenos and Myconos, Anthony Mina of Candia bishop of Ario, Leo of Naxos bishop of Seteia, Leonard of Chios archbishop of Mytilene and Michael of Candia bishop of Chanea, show these men to have been members of the Latin communities of Greece and products of the local convents. Their promotions attest to the significant role that the Mendicant convents played in the ecclesiastical landscape of medieval Greece and demonstrate that the papacy valued the input of worthy men with local knowledge and connections. More important still, although much fewer, were the promotions of Greek Mendicants to the Latin sees. The career of William Maurococchio, bishop of Kissamos remains obscure, but the cases of Theodore and Andrew Chrysoberges, who were promoted to the sees of Olena and Rhodes are much better known. The Chrysoberges brothers were of course strong advocates of Church Union and played an important diplomatic role in Greece; their promotion to the episcopate, however, was surely important on a symbolic level as well, placing them in the position of figureheads of the United Church.

Of course, not all of the Mendicant bishops of Latin Romania were native to Greece, or stationed there or in any way involved in Greco-Latin relations before their appointments. Many were surely promoted from territories in the West in recognition of their careers there. The disproportionately high number of Carmelite bishops, for

example, is completely unrelated to the Order's negligible activity in Greece. Most of the Latin bishops of Greece (regular and secular) are unknown to us apart from their names. Given the fact that absenteeism was a problem in medieval Greece, we have to wonder how many of the bishops whose names we encounter in the lists, and about whom we have little or no information, actually resided in their dioceses.

Nevertheless, the surviving information about the regular bishops of Latin Romania allows us to draw some tentative conclusions. Firstly, and most obviously, we see that the Mendicant Orders were overwhelmingly preferred over the traditional monastic orders and especially the Cistercians for this role. It seems reasonable to assume that this reflects the different level of involvement that the Mendicants achieved in Greece, compared to the Cistercians and Benedictines.

Let us not forget, however, that, starting with the thirteenth century, the friars begin to be appointed to bishoprics all over Europe with increasing frequency. This trend clearly carried over to Greece. In Western Europe the appointments came as a result of the papacy's esteem for the Mendicants, and the friars' loyalty to papal policy. There is hardly any need to further justify or explain the appointments in Greece, for the Latin Orient was one of the arenas in which the Mendicants had distinguished themselves the most in pursuit of papal interests: their crusade preaching and their unionist-diplomatic activity, along with their education, linguistic skills and visible piety recommended them as ideal candidates for the episcopal sees. Conversely, the financial situation of the Greek sees would have rendered them ideal for Mendicant incumbents. We have already noted that most of the sees of Greece were very poor by Western European standards and that this was problematic for the Latin bishops, who often complained that their impoverished condition did not suit their dignity. The appointment of Mendicants would, therefore, solve two problems: it would allow the

friars to play an important and prominent role without forsaking the ideal of poverty, whilst at the same time averting disputes over property and the need to increase the sees' incomes. Similar considerations may have played a part in the numerous appointments of Mendicants to the poor sees of Southern Italy, starting from the 1260s.³¹

Whether in fact the Mendicants were better bishops in medieval Greece than other regular or secular clergy cannot be answered, but it is important that they never lost the trust of the papacy. Even popes who were less enthusiastic in their support of the Mendicant Orders continued to place friars at the head of the churches of Greece. John XXII, for example, appointed several Franciscan (and Dominican) bishops throughout his pontificate and even annulled the election of an archbishop of Patras in favour of a Franciscan candidate.³² Equally, the secular Church does not seem to have been adverse to its subjection to the friars, despite the frequent clashes between the secular clergy and the mendicant houses of Greece. The selection of bishops for the Greek sees was mainly the prerogative of the papacy (at least after a certain point) and accordingly many of our bishops were appointed, rather than elected; nevertheless, some of our Mendicant bishops were indeed elected by the cathedral chapters of Greece and subsequently confirmed by the popes.³³ Records of such elections are relatively few, but, taken in conjunction with the evident papal and secular support for Mendicant bishops, they do illustrate the point that the friars were often universally considered to be the most suitable candidates for the episcopate.

³¹ For an examination of the appointments of mendicants to Southern Italy see Horst Enzenberger, 'I Vescovi Francescani in Sicilia (sec. XIII-XV)', *Schede Medievali*, 12-13 (1988), 45-62.

³² Gollubovich, III, 189-90.

³³ For examples of such elections, some of which were in breach of the pope's right to appoint bishops to certain sees, see Gollubovich, IV, 388-89, and V, 110-11, 214-15

Our evidence concerning the policies and careers of the bishops of Greece is rather scanty and this makes a proper assessment of their activities and qualities very difficult. What we can state, however, on the basis of the information we have, is that the contribution of the friars in the political and religious affairs of Greece was undisputed and this recommended them for the posts of bishops and archbishops. Though the personal qualities of most of these men remain unknown, it is probable that the structures and institutions of the Mendicant Orders ensured that the level of education, the administrative capabilities and the dedication of their members was higher than that of the average clergyman in medieval Greece. Considering this, in conjunction with the loyalty that the Mendicant Orders as a whole showed towards the papacy and the efforts that they expended in pursuit of papal plans in the East, it is hardly surprising that the friars attained such a prominent position as bishops and archbishops of Latin Romania.

* * *

How then do we assess overall the establishment of the Latin religious orders in medieval Greece? The examination of the Latin convents of Greece shows that, far from being an insignificant side-effect of the Latin conquest of Romania, the involvement of the religious orders affected almost every aspect of the history of the Latin dominions of Greece and also influenced larger-scale international affairs. On a political level, the diplomatic activity of the friars helped shape the relations between the papacy and Byzantium. Although the fate of the Byzantine Empire may have been predetermined ever since the end of the Fourth Crusade, it is undeniable that the unionist efforts of the friars and the leverage they gave to Michael VIII Palaeologos

helped to keep the Empire safe from its western enemies and allowed it to exist for another two centuries. On a cultural level, the endeavours of the Dominicans drew Latin and Greek intellectuals into a fertile dialogue that had not taken place in centuries. Finally, on a more practical administrative level, the activity of the first monks to arrive to Greece was pivotal in organising the Latin Church in Romania, and thus had significant impact on the future of the newly established Frankish and Venetian states. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that even those convents that are considered to have been of minor importance had a role to fulfill within the Latin communities of Greece. Our investigation of the history of the smaller houses has shown that the well being of even the modest foundations, which surely did not have a momentous impact on the religious, social and political affairs of medieval Greece, was a matter of concern both for the papacy and the local prelates as well as the nobility and the secular authorities.

On the other hand, however, it is patently clear that the religious orders failed to achieve one of their main (and arguably the most important) goals in Greece, that is the Union of Churches and the conversion of the Greeks to Catholicism. We have described individual convents as ‘successful’ in the cases where they managed to achieve an enduring, prosperous or prominent existence; yet if we compare their careers to the experience of the religious orders along other European frontiers (e.g. the Iberian Peninsula, the Baltic region or Scandinavia), we see that their presence there was one of the main components of the *Latinisation* of those lands. By contrast, in Greece, despite their efforts the monks and friars failed truly to incorporate the lands of the Empire into Latin Europe. Certainly, many of the conditions encountered by the monks and friars in Latin Greece had their parallels in other lands of conquest; one may cite for example the frequent conflicts between secular clergy, the regular religious and

the military orders, which were also observable in the Baltic region. Such conditions, however, were endemic in newly conquered lands which were politically and militarily unstable. The difference is that, unlike the Latin Empire of Romania, the other European lands of conquest and mission were, not only brought into the orbit of Latin Europe, but eventually ceased to be 'colonial' territories and became lands of Latin Christendom in their own right.

Clearly, of course, the failure to achieve this in Greece was much more a failure of Latin civilisation to imprint itself upon the Byzantines than it was of the religious orders to convert them to Catholicism. The reasons for this failure are obvious. In the first chapter of this study, I tentatively included the Latin Empire of Romania into the lands classed as *frontiers of Latin Christendom*. In truth, however, Byzantium was only such a frontier in the strictest and most literal of senses: it bordered Latin lands but was not one itself. The term *frontier* however, has other connotations none of which apply in the case of Byzantium's relationship to the West. Firstly, it has the connotation of a *periphery*. Byzantium of course cannot be classed as a periphery even in its weakened state; it remained a *centre* even when its satellite states had become more powerful than itself. The fact that its enemies (i.e. the Franks) retained the terminology of Empire and the title of Emperor when they came to power proves that they also acknowledged its centrality.

Most notably, the expansion of Latin Christendom into these so-called *frontier territories* was characterised by the confrontation of two cultures, one of which was more advanced than the other. The conversion of the pagan peoples in northern Europe to Catholicism, for example, may have come at the heels of warfare, but it was also assisted by the desire to belong to what was, and was perceived to be, a more advanced civilisation. This had been one of the key motivations for conversions to

Christianity in Europe ever since Late Antiquity. Such considerations had no place, of course, in the relations between Latins and Greeks, and this is mainly what sets the Latin Empire of Romania apart from other frontiers of medieval Christendom. Byzantium and the Latin West had taken different paths but had evolved side by side. When in the thirteenth century they were brought face to face again, the Latins encountered a people who were equally literate, equally confident in the superiority of their own traditions and, at least as far as their leaders were concerned, equally politically conscious as the Latins themselves. Under such circumstances, and given the manner by which the conquest took place, prolonged contact between the two peoples was unlikely to create a religiously (or culturally) homogenous society. All this brings us back to the subject of Greco-Latin relations and the debate on whether cultural and ethnic divisions remained pronounced throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is undeniable that in most territories a viable *modus vivendi* between Latins and Greeks was developed through the long centuries of co-existence. This extended to most of the spheres of social endeavour, with concessions gradually being made to the Greeks even in the fields in which complete exclusion was initially deemed preferable. The Venetians of Crete, for example, quickly realised that the involvement of their Greek subjects in the colony's trade, could be mutually beneficial.³⁴ More limited, but equally important, was the inclusion of certain prominent archontic families into the aristocratic (and governing) elite of the island. In Frankish Greece, where the conquest had been much more painless, similar compromises had been made even earlier. The guarantee of religious freedom (albeit through a subordinated Church) also averted large-scale conflict.

³⁴ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 256.

On the other hand, however, our sources show that on the whole, the division between Latin and Greek was fiercely maintained by both sides. We certainly have a multitude of examples where a degree of ambiguity is observable in the self-identification and motivation of people, most notably of converts (of both sides) and of Greek *archontes* who were embedded in the social hierarchy of the Latins. Even those, however, can not be seen as more than exceptions, considering their elite social status and the fact that the majority of the Greeks would have had no contact with the Latins except perhaps as their subordinate workforce. The fact remains, that for every Chrysoberges or Calecas we have several *Papadies Rovithou*, whose hatred of the Latins and their collaborators is expressly mentioned in our sources and cannot be ignored. Even during times of peaceful co-existence, dislike and distrust for the Latins and especially the proponents of Catholicism are evident. The example of Michael Apostoles, the fifteenth century convert to Catholicism who taught in Cardinal Bessarion's pro-Catholic school in Candia is an eloquent one: he complained that the Orthodox inhabitants of Candia taunted him whenever they saw him by shouting at him 'behold the pollution, behold the scum'.³⁵ Obviously, by the mid-fifteenth century, conditions were such that a philo-Catholic school for the education of Greek children could operate in Candia; indeed the fact that the school operated until the end of the sixteenth century shows that a number of Greeks were prepared to attend it. The reaction of the rest of the population, however, illustrates the sentiments of the Orthodox majority towards the Latins and those associated with them.

³⁵ Maltezos, 'Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας', p. 132, and Nikolaos M. Panagiotakis, 'Η Παιδεία κατά τη Βενετοκρατία' ['Education during the Venetian rule'], in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός* [*Crete: History and Culture*], ed. by Nikolaos Panagiotakis, 2 vols, I (Herakleion: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 1988), 163-195, (172).

The degree to which the observable divisions were *ethnically* motivated has been disputed in the past, and perhaps rightly so, since the whole debate also hinges on the thorny issue of the creation of national identities. No one would dispute, however, that, whether the friction took the character of ethnic, national, racial or political strife, it was initially formulated along religious lines. In other words, one's political and cultural allegiance was largely defined by one's religious affiliation. Despite instances of rapprochement between the two rites and conversions from both camps, the antagonism between Catholics and Orthodox in most places continued until the eve of the Turkish conquest. Religious tension, of course, was more pronounced in the areas where the Latin installation had come about through a traumatic process. The vehement resistance of the Constantinopolitan clergy to Michael VIII's unionist policies provides us with a good example. Later still, Michael's successor, Andronicus II was forced to give in to the Greek clergy's pressure and drive the Latin friars out of the convent of the Agora.³⁶ This religious antipathy is also well-illustrated by the Greeks' refusal to accept the union of Florence and Ferrara. Conversely, in the Morea, where the Latin conquest happened a lot more painlessly, evidence of religious tension is much harder to find. It is equally hard, however, to find instances of real rapprochement and it is certain that, by and large, the adherents of each creed remained firmly attached to their own Church.

The division was not only due to the intransigence of the Greeks, but was also fiercely maintained by some of the Latin authorities, for whom any such rapprochement could prove problematic. We have seen, for example, that when a Franciscan friar from Candia obtained permission by the pope for the Greeks to celebrate St Francis's feast day in the convent's church, the Venetian authorities

³⁶ See Chapter 3, p. 134.

reacted immediately. What we, along with the Franciscans of the time, see as a successful step in Franciscan unionist policy, the Venetians saw as a dangerous development. Thiriet has explained that the Commune was worried that such a large congregation of Greeks inside a Latin Church might disrupt public peace.³⁷ This is undoubtedly true but the reaction also reflects the Commune's ambivalent position towards Greek conversions. Conversions of Venetians to Orthodoxy were of course undesirable, for they entailed the fear of assimilation into Greek society; but conversions of Greeks to Catholicism could also be problematic for they could disrupt the status quo by bringing increasing numbers of Greeks into the ranks of Venetian society, thus drawing away land and power from the Venetian colonists. Indeed, by the sixteenth century, with the relaxation of the segregation measures, many of the Latin fiefs had devolved to the Greeks (even non noble ones) and had ceased to be effective in their military function.³⁸

The popularity of St Francis's feast day amongst the Greek Cretans and his depiction in murals of Greek churches are often cited as important examples of the rapprochement of the two rites. It is certainly true that they represent major breakthroughs for the Franciscans of Crete, because such shows of devotion by the Greeks to a Latin saint were extremely rare. More than anything, they attest to the Order's vigour and devotion to the ideal of Church Union. We have to remember, however, that this ideal was not necessarily shared by the Latin colonists of Greece. Religious affiliation was the most important distinction and, for both groups, it was a distinction worth maintaining. One of the ways by which this distinction was maintained by the Latin authorities (certainly the Venetian ones) was by the enforcement of segregation measures. Even though examples of integration can be

³⁷ Thiriet, 'Le zèle unioniste', p. 499.

³⁸ Maltezos, 'Η Κρήτη κατά τη Βενετοκρατία', pp. 142-43.

found, we have to conclude that, by and large, the segregation measures were effective. This is surely one of the main reasons why the missionary role of the religious orders was ineffective.

Even though the papacy and the religious orders may have initially shared high aspirations for the role of the Catholic Church in Romania, the Latin territories of Greece were infertile ground for religious rapprochement and the policies of the secular authorities did not alleviate this situation. For the greatest part of their history, most of these territories remained 'colonial' bases or outposts with a settler society superimposed on, but largely separated from the indigenous one. The Latins strove to recreate miniature copies of their homelands from which the natives were –with a few exceptions- excluded. In this environment the missionary role of the orders, though an avowed goal of their initial venture, took a secondary position compared to their pastoral responsibilities. The Mendicants continued to promote Church Union throughout the history of Latin Romania, mainly through their diplomatic missions, but contacts with the indigenous population of Latin-occupied areas do not appear to have been the norm. It is perhaps important to note that the conversion of a segment of the Constantinopolitan elite by the Dominicans, which was of course one of the greatest successes of any of the orders in Greece, did not take place under Latin but under Byzantine rule. So we see that despite initial expectations, Latin rule in Greece did not create the favourable conditions under which the Latin Church and religious orders might win over the Greeks. It is, furthermore, hard to escape the impression that this situation suited perfectly most of the secular authorities, who were much more interested in preserving the political and social status quo than in drawing the Greeks into papal obedience.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising to find that the religious orders, even the most successful of them, did not make a significant impression on the Greek population of the Latin territories. Contrary to what was the case in other *European frontiers*, in most of Romania Latin culture and many of its structures remained the exclusive domain of the foreign settlers. Accordingly, the religious orders, like the rest of the Latin Church in the socially segregated colonies remained relevant only to the superimposed foreign elite, with no realistic chance of converting the Greeks. The structure of the Latin states of Romania meant that, despite the rhetoric of the early days of conquest, the main focus of the religious orders was on pastoral care for the Latins and not on missionising to the Greeks.³⁹ The Mendicants continued to work towards Church Union until the very end, but in most cases their unionist activity consisted of diplomatic negotiations, whilst on the ground, the day to day existence of their convents was geared towards ministry to the Latins.

³⁹ Of course there are some exceptions to this rule, the most notable one being the proselytizing activity of the Society of Pilgrim Brothers in Constantinople.

APPENDIX I

Regular Bishops

The following is a list of the members of the religious orders who became bishops and archbishops of Greece until the year 1500. On compiling this list I have drawn predominantly from Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica* and Fedalto's *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*. In those cases where the two of them disagree, I have usually preferred Fedalto's version. The following catalogue only lists the names, orders, sees and relevant dates (where they are known). More specific information about some of these prelates can be found in the above mentioned works.

Benedictines

Anselm (or Antelmus), archbishop of Patras (O.S.B.?), 1205-

John, archbishop of Neopatras, 1208-1215

Hermannus de Lobio, bishop of Helos in the Peloponnese, 1315-1332

Albertinus, bishop of Corone, 1330-1331

Francis, bishop of Helos in the Peloponnese, 1333

Emmanuel, bishop of Cephalonia, 1350-

Raymond, archbishop of Patras, 1357-1359

Nicholas of Bunzlau, bishop Abelonensis (Avlonari in Euboea), 1390-

Gallus Petri, bishop of Kallipolis, 1396-

Anthony Talenti, archbishop of Athens, 1399-

Henry of Deynhard, bishop of Aegina, 1403-1405

Hilarius, archbishop of Corfu, 1406-1413

Leo Zeno, bishop of Kissamos, 1411

Andrew Didaci de Escobar, bishop of Megara, 1428-

Andrew, bishop of Thermopylae (titular), 1453-

Jacob Ioumondi, bishop of Andros, 1455-1460

Benedict, archbishop of Mytilene, 1459-

Godfrey, bishop of Trikala (titular), 1471-

Augustine, bishop of Argos, 1482-

Cistercians

Peter, archbishop of Thessalonica, 1208-1239

Peter of Weiler-Bettlach, bishop of Syros, c. 1280

Peter Brunaco, bishop of Lacedaemon, 1281

John, bishop of Olena, 1331

Henry Circker, bishop of Thermopylae, 1385-

Francischinus de Folina, archbishop of Athens, 1400-1409

Gerhardus Coci, bishop of Christianopolis, 1411-1417

Nicholas Ruten, bishop of Kallipolis (titular), 1447-

Franciscans

William of Faversham, bishop of Lacedaemon, 1249-

Rainerius of Pavia, bishop of Mani, c. 1255

Haymo, bishop of Lacedaemon, -1278

John, bishop of Lacedaemon, 1299

Anthony, bishop of Ierapetra, 1317-1323

Gerardus, bishop of Ierapetra, 1325-

Nicholas of Machilona, bishop of Karpathos, 1326-

Henry of Apolda, bishop of Livadeia, 1329-

Jacob, bishop of Lidoriki, -1331

Alvarus Pelagii, bishop of Corone, 1332-1333

Matthew, bishop of Methone, 1333-

William, archbishop of Patras, 1337-1347

John of Tolono, bishop of Andravida, 1342-

Amedeus of Alba, bishop of Kos, 1342-1346

Nicholas, bishop of Mylopotamos, 1344-1346

Ludovicus of Orvieto, archbishop of Thessalonica (titular), 1345-

Eustace of Ancona, archbishop of Lepanto, 1345-1347

William Maurococchio, bishop of Kissamos, 1346-

Jacob of Ponto, bishop of Mylopotamos, 1349-

Nicholas, bishop of Kissamos, -1349

William Emergani, bishop of Kissamos, 1349-1358

Raphael, bishop of Arkadi and provincial minister of Romania, 1349-1369

Raimond (Reprandinus) of St Lucia, bishop of Ario, 1349-1353, and bishop of Chanea,
1352-

Francis of Massa, archbishop of Corinth, 1349-1354

Julianus, bishop of Gardiki, 1350-1363

John of Clavaxio, bishop of Seteia, 1351-

John Raolceci, bishop of Corone, 1351-

Hugo of Scuria, archbishop of Rhodes, 1351-1361

Anthony of Fano, bishop of Zeitouni, 1353-

William Albo, bishop of Nisyros, 1353-1365, and archbishop of Rhodes, 1365-1371

Thomas, bishop of Livadeia (titular), -1357

Thomas, archbishop of Naxos, 1357-1372

Nicholas (Offida), bishop of Argos, 1358-

John de Canale, bishop of Chiron, 1359-1373

Manfred of Cocconato, bishop of Chios, 1360-

Peter Fabri of Armoniaco, archbishop of Neopatras, 1361-

Emmanuel of Famagusta, archbishop of Rhodes, 1361-1363

Peter of Piacenza, bishop of Olena, 1362-

John Canali of Ferrara, bishop of Syros, 1364-

Thomas of Negroponte, bishop of Nisyros, 1365-, and archbishop of Thebes, 1387-

Francis, archbishop of Athens and provincial minister of Romania, 1365

Lazarinus, bishop Botroten., 1366-

John, bishop of Domokos, 1366-

Peter Cornario, bishop of Corone, 1367-1383, and archbishop of Patras, 1386-1391

Francis, archbishop of Neopatras, 1369-1373

Anthony, archbishop of Thessalonica (titular), 1370-

Princivallus, bishop of Kea, 1370-

Anthony Balistario, archbishop of Athens, 1370-1388

John of St John, archbishop of Lepanto, 1371-

Francis of Vilhano, bishop of Ario, 1372-1375

Albert of Robua, bishop of Salona, 1373-1379

Andrew Laurentii, bishop of Chiron, 1374-1375

Jacob of Racaneto, bishop of Melos, 1375-1383

Benvenutus, bishop of Monemvasia, 1376-

Matthew, archbishop of Neopatras, 1376-

Simon of Aretio, bishop of Kea, 1376-

Philip Ardizoni, bishop of Davlia, 1376-

Benedict of Negroponte, bishop of Andros, 1376-1385

Francis of Ancona, bishop of Ierapetra, 1377-

Peter of Lerino, bishop of Kissamos, 1383-

John Sarnes, bishop of Cephalonia, 1383-

Hugo of Flavigneyo, bishop of Chios, 1384-

Hugo Varoli, bishop of Seteia, 1384-1400

Albert Mader, bishop of Salona, 1386-

Arnaldus Albo, bishop of Mylopotamos, 1387-

Gerardus Boem, archbishop of Athens, 1387-1388

Stephen, archbishop of Corinth, 1390-1395

Caterinus Barbo, bishop of Chanea, 1390-

John Querini of Venice, bishop of Ierapetra, 1390-1409

Nicholas of Neritono, bishop of Davlia, 1392-

John Coctor, bishop of Christianopolis, 1393-

John of Montelupone, archbishop of Lepanto, 1393, and archbishop of Neopatras, 1394

John Zacow, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1394-

Thomas Bittyler, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1395-

Peter Ioannes de Paludibus, archbishop of Corinth, 1395-1396

Luchinus de Guidobonis, archbishop of Lepanto, 1396-

Peter Ioannes (O.F.M.?), bishop of Cephalonia, 1392-

Walter of Polema, bishop of Syros, 1398-1410

John (Alexii O.F.M.?), bishop of Aegina, 1400-

John Chefalae, bishop of Kallipolis, 1401-

Benedict of Arpino, archbishop of Lepanto, 1402-1404

Francis of Wusen, bishop of Kallipolis, 1403

Ludovicus de Monariis, archbishop of Mytilene, 1405-

Julian of Rimini, bishop of Thermopylae, 1409-

Nicholas Trivisano of Venice, archbishop of Thebes, 1410-

Francisc(in)us Secretus of Candia, bishop of Ario, 1410-1414, and bishop of
Mylopotamos 1414-

Bartholomew of Cremona, bishop of Kastoria, 1411-1423

William of Fonte, bishop of Kallipolis, 1412-

Gerlacus Leon, bishop of Melos, 1413-

Bertraminus of Seraphinis, bishop of Ario, 1414-1418

John de Medicis of Candia, bishop of Melos, 1418-

John of Pontistremulo, archbishop of Thebes, 1418-

Paul of Rome, archbishop of Thessalonica (titular), 1418-

Anthony of Tibure, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, 1418-1428

Bertrandus de Insula, bishop of Aegina, 1420-

Henry of Villacolor, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1422-

Francis (Andreae) of Venice, bishop of Kea, 1422-

Nicholas, bishop of Thermopylae, 1424-

John Raffanelli, bishop Abelonensis (Avlonari in Euboea), 1425-

Peter Fusterii, bishop of Nisyros, 1425-

Berengarius Perrini, bishop of Aegina, 1428-

Jacob of Venice, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, 1428-

Arnold Roberti, bishop of Demetrias (titular), 1429-

Gerardus, bishop of Salona (titular), 1429-

Francis, bishop of Corone, 1430-

Marcus Sclavo of Candia, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, 1430-

- Francis, bishop of Mylopotamos, 1431-
- John de Vannis, bishop of Ario, 1432-1433
- Nicholas Salma of Candia, bishop of Ario, 1433-1434
- Matthew of Sirinno, bishop of Corone, 1434-
- Reginald Polet, bishop of Aegina, 1436-
- Lumbardus de Salis, bishop of Andros, 1436-
- Roderick Regnia, bishop of Demetrias (titular), 1437
- William Aucupis, bishop Abelonensis (Avlonari in Euboea), 1437-
- Anthony Mina of Candia, bishop of Ario, 1438-1467
- Francis Martini, bishop of Kea, 1445-1453
- Antonellus, bishop of Kallipolis (titular), 1451-
- Michael Castault, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1454-
- John Frey, bishop of Salona (titular), 1457-
- John Anthonius Scardametus, bishop of Cephalonia, 1463-1486
- John of Eisenberg, bishop of Thermopylae (titular), 1466-
- Leo of Naxos (Observant), bishop of Seteia, 1469-
- Hieronimus de Camulio, bishop of Chios, 1470-
- Jacob of St Lucia, bishop Philippen. (titular), 1480-
- Erasmus Perchinger, bishop of Salona (titular), 1482-
- Ulricus Brandenberger, bishop of Salona (titular), 1484-
- Alfonso of Spina, bishop of Thermopylae (titular), 1491-
- John of Sorceyo, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1492-
- Stephen, bishop of Santorini, 1494-

Dominicans

Angelus Maltraverso, archbishop of Crete, 1252-1255

William, bishop of Arkadi, 1262-

Peter of Confluentia, archbishop of Corinth, 1268-1278

John, bishop of Negroponte, 1272-

William of Moerbeke, archbishop of Corinth, 1278-

Matthew, archbishop of Crete, 1289-

Jacob Romanus, archbishop of Crete, 1293-

Matthew of Osenio, archbishop of Corinth, c. 1294

Stephen Mangiatero, archbishop of Athens, c. 1300

Boniface Donoraticus, bishop of Chiron, 1306-1328

Bernard, bishop of Kallipolis, 1307-1315

Isnardus Tacconi, archbishop of Thebes, 1308-1311 and 1326-1342

Nicholas, bishop Botroten., 1311

Aymo, bishop of Helos in the Peloponnese, 1311-1313

Aegidius of Ferrara, bishop of Methone, 1311-1319

Rostagnus de Candole, archbishop of Lepanto, 1307-1325

Alexander of S. Elpidio, archbishop of Crete, 1314-1333

Ferrarius of Avella, archbishop of Neopatras, 1323-1330

Bartholomew Pasquali, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, -1327

Gilifortis, bishop of Chios, 1329

Jurefortis, archbishop of Lepanto, 1329-

John, bishop of Chios, 1329-1330, and archbishop of Corfu, 1330-

Matthew, bishop of Avlona, 1330-

Aegidius de Gallutiis of Bologna, archbishop of Crete, 1334-1340

Michael of Verona, bishop of Mylopotamos, c. 1340-1342

Gaddus Pisanus, archbishop of Corfu, 1341-

William of Chalon-sur-Saône, bishop of Salona, 1343-1346

Luke de Manuellis, bishop of Zeitouni, 1344-1347

Nitardus, bishop of Thermopylae, 1344-

John Seguini, bishop of Kos, c. 1347?

Benedict of Pupio, bishop of Chios, 1349-

Bertrand Mercerii, archbishop of Lepanto, 1349-

Jacob Novellus, bishop of Melos, c. 1349

John, bishop of Kastoria, 1349-1354

Peter, bishop of Kea, 1350-1358

John, archbishop of Mytilene, 1353-

Peter, bishop of Zeitouni, 1353-

Henry, bishop of Thermopylae, 1356-

Jacob, bishop Botrotensis, 1356-

Franceschinus, bishop of Megara, 1357-1373

Goswinus de Lubecke, bishop Abelonensis (Avlonari in Euboea), 1359-

Angelus, bishop of Rethymno, 1360-1363

Barholomew, archbishop of Patras, 1363-1364

John of Siena, bishop of Seteia, 1364-1375

Julianus Angeli, bishop of Ierapetra, 1364-1377

Jacob Petri Pigalordi, bishop of Argos, 1367-

John Petri of Piperno, bishop of Avlona, 1370-

Andrew of Benevento, bishop of Santorini, 1373-

Luke Michaelis of St Laurence of Pisa, bishop of Eresos, 1374-

Julianus Angeli, bishop of Chiron, 1377-1381

Hermannus of Klingenberg, 1383-

Peter (Nicolai) of Aginerco, bishop of Olena, 1388-

Thomas (Renda), bishop of Andravida, 1390-

Nicholas of Langres, bishop of Argos, 1392-1395

Faustinus de Richettis, bishop of Megara, 1392-1418

Conrad Flader, bishop of Argos, 1395-

Anthony Cipollonus, bishop of Aegina, 1396-1397

Conrad Lindem, bishop of Christianopolis, 1396-1406

Nicholas Abrahe, bishop of Karpathos, 1399-

Nicholas of Pilsen, bishop of Megara, 1400

Jacob Andrigetti of Lavazola, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, 1400-

Daniel of Leodio, bishop of Kallipolis, 1401-

Ambrose of Abiade, archbishop of Mytilene, 1402-

Bernard Arcuficis, bishop of Kallipolis, 1405-

Angelus Fortis, archbishop of Mytilene, 1405-

John, bishop of Kitros, 1406-

Michael of Treviso, bishop of Andros, 1406-1409

William, bishop of Arkadi, 1406-

Laurence Venerius, bishop of Methone, 1411-1428

Sylvester Calbus de Corono, bishop of Thermopylae, 1412-

Bartholomew, bishop of Corone, c. 1413- c. 1417

George of Cadolfino, archbishop of Corfu, 1413-1428

Theodore Chrysoberges, bishop of Olena, 1418-

Anthony Guido, bishop of Ario, 1418-

John Potosach, bishop of Melos, 1419-

- Anthony Munnoz, bishop of Syros, 1420-
- Proculus de Lepays, bishop of Cheronea, 1420-
- John of Chorono, bishop of Ario, 1421-
- Peter Rainaldi of Ripatransone, archbishop of Corinth, 1421-
- John of Nardo, bishop of Santorini, 1423-
- Peter of Ceno, bishop of Arkadi, 1424-
- Andrew of Aurea, bishop of Andros, 1427-
- Hermannus of Gherden, bishop of Kitros, 1431-
- Paul Thomas, archbishop of Serrae, 1431-
- Huguetus of Valencia, archbishop of Mytilene, 1431-
- Andrew Chrysoberges, archbishop of Rhodes, 1431-1447
- Benedict of Paconato, bishop of Ario, 1434-1438
- Bartholomew, bishop of Argos, 1434-1439
- Leonard of Chios, archbishop of Mytilene, 1444-
- Bartholomew, bishop of Corone, 1449-1456
- Benedict of Adria, bishop of Syros, 1450-
- Michael of Candia, bishop of Chanea, 1451-1479
- John of Sicily, bishop of Kea, 1454-
- Ivo le Manguei, bishop of Megara, 1455-
- Nicholas Langen, bishop of Melos, 1455-1456
- Peter Frigerio, archbishop of Corfu, 1459-1480
- John d'Ivoy, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1461-
- Aloysius Longus, bishop of Methone, 1466-1471
- Julianus de Ubaldinis, archbishop of Rhodes, 1473-
- John Obim, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1474-

Philibertus Villoldi, bishop of Salona (titular), 1474-

Andrew of Arnstedt, bishop of Kitros, 1479-

Dominic Terdonensis, bishop of Santorini, 1483-

Stephen Karrer, bishop of Thermopylae (titular), 1484-

Marcus Stella, bishop of Melos, 1486-

Jacob Polonus, bishop of Lacedaemon (titular), 1491-

Alfonso, bishop of Salona (titular), 1494-

John Pedenhofer, bishop of Melos, 1494-

Paul of Moneglia, bishop of Chios, 1499-1502

John of Krakow, bishop of Lacedaemon (titular), 1500-

Augustinian Friars

Jacob of Prague, bishop of Mani, 1274-

Angelus, bishop of Methone, 1303-1311

John Messerer, bishop of Livadeia, 1312-1317

John Recz of Bochum, bishop of Cheronea, 1312-1338

Nicholas Zenetro, bishop of Karpathos, 1317-

Nicholas, bishop of Argos, 1324-

Thomas, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, 1329-

Benedict, bishop of Gardiki, 1330-1343

Simon of Bologna, bishop of Loretos, 1332-

Andrew Elimosine, bishop of Corone, 1333-1337

Matthew, bishop of Kos, 1349-

Nicholas, bishop of Andros, 1349-

Paul Neri Bessi, bishop of Rethymno, 1357-1360

- Gerard of Bologna, bishop of Ario, 1357-1367
- Bartholomew of Milan, bishop of Rethymno, 1363-1375
- Aicardus de Lasale, bishop of Kissamos, 1366-
- Donatus of Benevento, archbishop of Lepanto, 1367-1371
- Nicholas Teschel, bishop of Kastoria, 1368-
- Andrew of Fermo, bishop of Arkadi, 1369-1375
- Hugolinus Malabranca of Orvieto, bishop of Kallipolis, 1370-1371
- Dominic of Fermo, bishop of Karpathos, 1373-
- John Pizolpassis, archbishop of Lepanto, 1373-
- Angelus de Cotronio, bishop of Cephalonia, 1375-
- Simon, bishop of Kastoria, 1380-1390
- John of Reyo, archbishop of Lepanto, 1382-
- Luke of Cotronio, bishop of Melos, 1385-
- Blasius, bishop of Cephalonia, c. 1385-1396, and archbishop of Corinth 1396-
- Gregory, bishop of Zeitouni, 1389-
- John, bishop of Salona, 1390-
- Martin of Torba, bishop of Gardiki, 1390-
- Melillus de Sabinice, bishop of Andros, 1390-
- Peter of Ficali, bishop of Cheronea (?), 1390-
- Anthony of Macerata, bishop of Olena, 1391-
- Vitalis de Faventia, bishop of Melos, 1389-
- Augustine of Piombino, bishop of Andravida, 1396-
- Jacob of Rome, bishop of Andros, 1396-1402
- John of S. Anna, bishop of Davlia, 1397-
- Matthew of Rethymno, bishop of Seteia, 1405-

Stephen of Fermo, bishop of Karpathos, 1406-

John, bishop of Nisyros and provincial prior of the Holy Land, 1407-

Laurence Alfonsi, bishop of Megara, 1410-

John Piscis, bishop of Aegina, 1411-

Ludovicus, bishop of Chios, 1423-1434

Boetius de Tolentino, archbishop of Rhodes, 1425-

William Capellerius, bishop of Nisyros, 1426-

Peter of Gamundia, bishop Microcomien. (titular), 1437-

John Fabri, bishop of Demetrias (titular), 1441-

John Jacobi, bishop of Cephalonia, 1443-1449

Leonard, archbishop of Naxos, 1446-

Simon of Rhodes, bishop of Santorini, 1448-

John Praefecti, bishop of Syros, 1455-

John de Rubinis Venetus, bishop of Rethymno, 1456-1466

Henry (Schadehoet O.er.S.A.?), bishop of Trikala (titular), 1494-

Carmelites

Philip, bishop of Salona, 1332-1342, and archbishop of Thebes, 1342-1351

Jacob of Venice, bishop Abelonensis (Avlonari in Euboea), 1337-1345

John of St Catherine, bishop of Andros, 1345-

Albert of Nogerio, bishop of Cheronea, 1346-

William of Besso, bishop of Salona, 1346-

Andrew, archbishop of Naxos, 1349-1356

Henry of Volkach, bishop of Megara, 1351-

Richard of Taussiniano, bishop of Christopolis (titular), 1352-

Sibertus of Boppard, bishop of Monemvasia, 1359-

Peter de Thomas, bishop of Corone, 1359-1363, archbishop of Crete, 1363-1364 and
 titular Patriarch of Constantinople, 1364-1366

Dominic Johannis, bishop of Ierapetra, 1363-1364

Nicholas Sorbolus, bishop of Karpathos, 1365-1368

Arnaldus de Molendino, archbishop of Mytilene, 1375-

Francis, bishop of Ario, c. 1388

Marcus Contareno, bishop of Chanea, 1389-

Dominic de Dominicis, bishop of Seteia, 1395-1399

Andrew (Nicholai) de Luca, archbishop of Athens, 1409-

Peter of Haya, bishop of Tenos and Myconos, 1411-

Nicholas, bishop of Syros, 1419-

John Valtemplini, bishop of Melos, 1430-

Henry Daradon, bishop of Kitros, 1490-

Peter of Guynio, bishop of Kitros, 1490-

Augustinian Canons

Martin Bernadini, bishop of Methone, 1428-1430

Premonstratensian Canons

John, bishop of Argos, 1334-

Servites

Luke, bishop of Gardiki, 1363

Hieronimus de Franciscis, bishop of Corone, 1496-

Camaldolites

Marcus de Cavatoreis, bishop of Methone, 1448-1451

APPENDIX II

EDITION OF DOCUMENTS

The following are a selection of unpublished documents found in the notarial archive of Candia (part of the ASV), pertaining to the monasteries of Crete and referred to in the relevant chapters of the thesis. They have been chosen for this appendix either as characteristic examples of a particular type of deed, or (more usually) because they stand out, due to the particularly interesting information that they impart. In preparing them for edition I have adopted the conventions followed in most editions of Cretan notarial deeds.¹ Each deed is preceded by a short summary of its content and a reference to its location in the archive. The texts are reproduced with their original spelling, but in the interests of clarity, I have revised their punctuation and capitalised the initials of proper names. Marginal notes made by the notary appear between double vertical lines: ||. Words that were crossed out by the scribe appear in brackets: []. Most of the words in the originals are heavily abbreviated, but in keeping with the conventions adopted I have presented them here as a running text, without indicating the expansions. Indicating all the expansions would, in any case, only serve to clutter the text and render these documents far less legible. Where the text was unreadable I have indicated this with dots. Dots also appear beneath words about whose reading I was uncertain. The deeds pertaining to each monastery are presented separately, and are listed in chronological order. In the Venetian calendar, the year began on the first of March.

¹ See in particular Alan M. Stahl, ed., *The Documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella, Venetian notaries in fourteenth-century Crete* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000) and Charalambos Gasparis, ed., *Franciscus de Cruce: Notάριος στον Χάνδακα 1338-1339* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini et posbizantini, 1999).

Thus, the years of deeds drawn up in January and February are noted in their headings according to the Venetian and present-day calendars.

Deeds concerning the nunnery of St George of Candia

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 112r

Abbess Diamanda Trivixano leases some houses to Demetrius de Canale for twenty nine years against an annual rent of two hyperpers. Some lines are completely faded and illegible.

16 June 1335

Eodem die. Manifestum facio ego soror Diamante Trivixano priorissa monialium Sancti Georgii de burgo Candide quia congregatis aliis ex monialibus dicti monasterii in loco consueto et consentientibus uidelicet Gisla Urso, Ninda Dandolo, Maria Marangono, Helena de Filio, Agnete Urso cum successoribus nostris do concedo et afficto tibi Dimitrio de Canali macela... habitatori dicti burgi et tuis heredibus illas domos quas in dicto burgo super locum dicti monasterii fecisti laborare que sunt circumcirca passuum uigintiquatuor cum plena uirtute et potestate a modo usque ad annos uigintinouem proxime uenturos completos et ad renouando tibi cartam usque ad alios uigintinouem annos intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, affictandi, disfictandi, affictum inde recipiendi et omnes tuas utilitates in eis et ex eis faciendi nemine tibi contradicente tamen cum onere suo pro quarum terratico siue affictu teneris et debes a modo in antea omni anno dare et soluere mihi et successoribus meis yperpera in Creta currentia due hic in Candida omni occasione remota
 cuiuslibet mensis

Februarii sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino. Super ea est sciendum quod si dictas domos in totum uel partem uolueris affictare uel uendere pro tempore suprascripto per quod illas a me debes habere et ego uel successores nostri illas uoluerio accipere tunc illas mihi uel dictis meis successoribus dare [..... quam aliis] pro eo precio quod eciam ab aliis cum ueritate inuenire poteris quas quidem domos teneris in culmine refutare mihi uel successoribus meis in fine suprascriptorum annorum. Si igitur et cetera pena auri libre quinque. Contractu firmo. Testes. Petrus Calcina, Hemanuel Trachanioti,stachi. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 229r

Sisters Ninda Dandolo and Agnes Urso appoint Nicholas de Ponte as the convent's representative.

3 May 1348

Die tertio. Soror Ninda Dandolo et soror Agnes Urso, monache de monasterio Sancti Georgii de burgo Candide faciunt commissio Nicolao de Ponte, habitatori dicti burgi ad exigendi et recipiendi jura dimissorias et legata dicti monasterii quomodo cumque ei pertinent et spectant, presencia et futura, cartas securitatis et quidquid aliud opportunum fuerit faciendi et cetera. Si igitur et cetera pena auri libre quinque. Contractu firmo. Testes Andreas Bocontolo, Andreas Cornario filius domini Johanis Cornario, Johanes Venerio, Franciscus Faletro, Domenicus de Vigonciis. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 19v

Quitclaim by Nicholas de Ponte, proctor of St George, for a silver chalice worth forty hyperpers, bequeathed to the nunnery by Francis of Osnago, bishop of Chiron.

9 February 1358/59

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego Nicolaus de Ponte procurator et procuratorio nomine monialium Sancti Georgii de burgo Candide cum meis successoribus, uobis omnibus commissariis domini Francisci de Osnago condam Episcopi Kyronensis et uestris successoribus de calice uno argente ualoris yperperorum XL dimissorum monasterio dictarum monialium per carta sui testamenti pro dicto calice emendo et tribuendo dicto monasterio. Nunc autem quia suprascriptum calicem plene habui et recepi a Ser Marino de Damiano, Ser Blasio de Rippa et Ser Marco Delaporta, deputatis per dominium Crete ad executionem dicti testamenti a modo et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes, presbyter Nicolaus Justo et Michael de Fore. Complere et dare. Dedi

Deeds concerning the Dominican house of St Peter the Martyr in Candia

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 103r

The Dominican brother Peter Paulo leases a vineyard that he inherited from his mother in the village of Made to Nicholas Mendrino for five years against twenty three hyperpers per year. The tenant is also required to give a third of the vineyard's produce to the owner of the village.

18 September 1367

Die decimo octauo. Manifestum facio Ego Frater Petrus Paulo, ordinis predicatorum conuentus Candide, quia cum meis successoribus do, concedo atque afficto tibi Nicolao Mendrino bucelario habitatori Candide et tuis heredibus uineam, qua fuit matris mee condam, positam in territorio casalis Made, quam ipsa mater mea mihi per sui testamenti carta dimisit a die primo mensis octubris proxime uenturi in antea usque ad annos V proxime venturos completos, cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, affictandi, disfectandi, affictum inde recipiendi, et omnes alias tuas utilitates in ea et ex ea faciendi usque ad suprascripti temporis complementum, nemine tibi contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Tu uero teneris dictam uineam annuatim, temporibus congruis et consuetis bene et conueniente aptare de omnibus suis neccessariis et opportunis, uidelicet zerpire, zappare, discafiçare, catauoliçare et secundum usum contrate lachiçare et in fine dicti temporis michi in culmine refutare. Teneris quoque per te uel per tuum missum dare et deliberare domino loci uel eius misso annuatim super patiterio tempore uindemiarum totam et integram tertiam partem totius musti et ususfructus ex dicta uinea prouentus sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino, reliquas duabus partibus in te retentis. Pro affictu uero predictae uinee debes dare et soluere michi annuatim per totum quemlibet mensem septembris successiue yperpera cretensia XXIII sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et qualibet paga. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes. Raymondus Blanco et Johannes Staurachi presbyter ac Johannes Similiante. Complere et dare. Dedi.

Deeds concerning the Dominican nunnery of St Catherine in Candia

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 102v

Thomas and John Canachi, villani of St Catherine, lease two parts of a vineyard and a garden to one of the convent's nuns, Agnes Sesendulo, for two years, against half of the property's annual produce.

2 April 1335

Eodem die. Manifestum facimus nos Thomas Canachi et Johanes Canachi, fratres, habitatores in casali Marathyti, uilani monialium Sancte Caterine de Candida, conscentientibus nobis sorore Agnete Grisoni, priorisa dicti monasterii, quia cum nostris heredibus damus, concedimus et affictamus tibi sorori Agneti Sesendulo, moniali monasterii suprascripti et tuis successoribus, conscentientibus tibi ad hoc suprascripta priorisa et aliis monialibus dicti monasterii congregatis in loco consueto ad sonum campane, more solito, duas nostras partes unius uinee site in suprascripto casali super locum dicti monasterii cum tota parte peruoli existentis in ipsa ad nos pertinentis, uidelicet a modo in antea usque ad annos duos proxime uenturos completos, cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi et omnes tuas utilitates in eis et ex eis faciendi usque ad dictum terminum completum, nemine tibi contradicente tamen cum earum [sic] onere. Quas quidem partes uinee tuis expensis bene et conuenienter aptare teneris de omnibus ... necessariis, uidelicet cerpire, çapare, discificare, catauoliçare et omnia alia facere iuxta consuetudinem. Tempore uero uindemiarum de toto usufructu et musto ex eis prouenturorum debes pro tuis expensis habere totam et integram medietatem, alia uero medietas debet esse nostra, de qua quidem nostra medietate tenemini satisfacere monialibus suprascripti monasterii terraticum dictarum partium uinee. Est namque sciendum quod recepimus a te mutuo causa amoris yperpera in Creta currentia uiginti quinque tibi soluenda in fine dictorum annorum hic in Candida salua in terra omni periculo et occasione remota, tenendi te de eis super nos ambos uel unum nostrum sicut uolueris in toto et in parte sub pena

capitale et XX pro centenario yperperorum in racione annua. Et si infra dictum terminum dictas partes uinee et peruoli uendere uoluerimus et eas emere uolueris teneamur ipsas tibi dare duobus hyperperis paucioribus precio quod tunc ab aliis cum ueritate inuenire poterimus. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum uiginti quinque. Contractu firmo. Testes Domenico Ba..... et suprascripti. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 100, f. 304v

Helena, the vicaress of St Catherine, leases a vineyard in the village of Marathyti to George Piloso. The tenant is required to give half of the vineyard's annual produce to the nunnery.

24 October 1348

Eodem die. Manifestum facimus nos soror Helena uicaria monialium monasterii Sancte Catherine de Candida et Nicolota Colona, Phylippa Habramo, Antonia Guilelmo et Contessa Sabba moniales dicti monasterii congregatae simul ad sonum campane more solito in capitulo quia cum nostris successoribus damus et in perpetuum concedimus in gonico tibi Georgio Piloso habitatori in casali Marathyti et tuis heredibus unam uineam positam in nostro casali Marathyti quam tenebat Nicolaus Canachi sicut est trafocopisata ut a modo in antea cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, et omnes tuas utilitates in ea et ex ea faciendi nemine tibi contradicente nulli tamen uendendi nisi dicto monasterio pro precio ab aliis uericiter inueniendo te illam uendere uolente monialibus autem eius emere illam recusantibus liceat tibi eam uendere cuicumque uolueris cum nostro consensu et eius onere. Quam quidem omni anno bene et conuenienter aptare teneris de omnibus ei necessariis

uidelicet cerpire, çapare, descificare, catauoliçare secundum usum ipsius casalis
 lachiçare et in culmine conseruare omnique anno uindemiarum tempore de toto eius
 usufructu et musto tenearis dare et presentare per te uel tuum missum nobis uel nostro
 misso ibi in dicto loco super patiterio integram medietatem reliqua medietate tibi retenta
 sub pena dupli adueniente quolibet termino. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum
 uiginti quinque. Contractu firmo. Testes. Çacharias de Mutina, Laurentius Füle,
 Hemanuel Sanuto. Complere et dare. Dedi. Çacharie de Mutina de consensu
 suprascripri Georgii.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 35r

The prioress of St Catherine, Cecilia Passamonte leases to the priest Andrew Grimani a mill, houses and a plot of land situated in Placa, for five years against the annual sum of forty hyperpers.

17 November 1359

Eodem die. Manifestum facio Ego Soror Cecilia Passamonte Abbatissa monasterii
 Sancte Katerine de Candida quia cum meis successoribus, de licentia et consensu
 sororis Elene Cariola, sororis Phylippe Habramo, sororis Contesse Moço, sororis
 Agnetis Colona, sororis Phylippe Comes, sororis Herine Passamonte, sororis Cecilie
 Bono et sororis Agnetis Brixiano [ad] monialium dicti monasterii professorum, ad
 sonum campane ad capelam more solito congregatarum do, concedo atque afficto tibi
 presbytero Andrea Grimani habitatori Candide et tuis successoribus molendinum,
 domos ac terram uacuum posita in territorio nominato Placa spectante dicto monasterio,
 que molendinum, domos et terram uacuum ad presens tenet Kyrilus de Rogerio a

complemento afflictationis per me sibi facte super inde per cartam usque ad annos V ex tunc proxime uenturos completos, cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, afflictandi, disfictandi, afflictum inde recipiendi et omnes alias tuas utilitates in eis in eis (sic) faciendi, usque ad suprascripti termini complementum nemine tibi contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Tu uero teneris per te uel per tuum missum dare et deliberare michi uel meo misso annuatim pro dictis molendini domorum et terre uacue afflictu yperpera cretensia XL uidelicet ÷ eorum singulis sex mensibus successiue sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et qualibet paga. Teneris in super facere et adimplere michi et domui dicti monasterii omnia et singula qua dictus Kyrlus de Rogerio facere et adimplere tenetur pro afflictatione per me sibi facte de dictis molendino, domibus et terra uacua, illis modo conditione et forma quibus ipse tenetur per carta afflictationis super inde facte et in manutenerere et conseruare debes in culmine dictum molendinum et domos predictas et in culmine restituere in fine dicti temporis si idem Kyrlus eadem molendinum et domos in culmine manutenerere et conseruare tenetur et in culmine restituere per dictam cartam. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes Petrus Barochi, Nicolaus Acardo et Johanes Maçamurdi presbyteri. Complere et dare.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 8 (214)r

Quitclaim by Contessa Mucio, the prioress of St Catherine, for seven and a half hyperpers paid to the nunnery by Ser Christophilus Bartholomei for the benefit of his daughter Ançelota, who had just joined the nunnery.

18 May 1370

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego soror Contessa Mucio Abatissa monasterii Sancte Katerine de Candida cum meis successoribus tibi Ser Christofilo Bartholomei habitatori Candide absenti tamquam presenti et tuis heredibus de yperperis cretensis VII ÷ qua mihi dedisti et soluisti pro prouisione uictus sororis Ançeloti filie tue monialis dicti monasterii nundum professe. Et hac paga est sex mensium qui inceperunt in die nono mensis Maii instante. Nunc autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes, Nicolaus Pelegrino et G. Cauco presbyteri ac Johanes Similiante. Complere et dare.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, ff. 60 (256)v-61 (266)r

Contessa Mucio, the prioress of St Catherine of Candia concedes all the incomes and revenues owed to the nunnery by those renting the nunnery's property in the village of Apano Marathyti to the priest Alcharinus Villanova and Ser Philip Piçamano. The contract makes it clear that the nunnery owned the village and had leased part of it to various tenants. These tenants would now have to pay their rent to Alcharinus and Philip. In return these two agreed to pay the nunnery two hundred and twenty hyperpers each year.

10 October 1371

Eodem die. Manifestum facio Ego soror Contessa Mucio abbatissa monasterii Sancte Katerine de Candida quia de licentia et consensu sororis Phylippe Habramo, sororis Katerine Passamonte, sororis Cecilie Bono, sororis Agnetis Grimani, sororis Magdalene Sasso, sororis Katerine Beaquò, sororis Agnetis Signolo, sororis Marie Mucio et sororis Elene Carauello, monialium professorum in dicto monasterio ad sonum campanelle, ad

capelam, ad cellam mei suprascripte abbatisse ob infirmitatem persone mee congregatarum, cum meis successoribus do, concedo atque afficto uobis Alcharino de Vilanoua, clerico, habitatori burgi Candide et Ser Phylippo Piçamano de Venetiis habitatori Candide et uestris successoribus et heredibus omnes et singulos redditus introitus et prouentus ac affictus quos recipere et habere debet monasterium antedictum a Petro Mussuro condam et a Marco Kyssamiti annuatim pro toto eo quod ipsis datum concessum et affictatum est per sororem Ceciliam Passamonte condam abbatissam monasterii antedicti de casale Apanomarathi et eius locis et territoriis per cartam instrumenti factam manu presbyteri Michaelis Justo, notarii, anno domini MCCCLX mense Octubris, die primo indictione XIII. Ac omnes et singulos redditus, introitus et prouentus ac affictus quos idem monasterium recipere et habere debet a Xenio Marinara et Hemanuele et Johanne Marinara, eius filiis quolibet anno pro toto eo quod eis datum, concessum et affictatum est per predictam sororem Ceciliam Passamonte olim abbatissam dicti monasterii pro dicto casale Apanomarathi et eius locis et territoriis per cartam instrumenti factam per manu predicti presbyteri Michaelis Justo notarii anno domini MCCCLX mense Octubris die II indictione XIII necnon omnes et singulos redditus, introitus et prouentus ac affictus quos predictum monasterium recipere et habere debet annuatim a Georgio Mor....., Georgio Kyssamiti, Costa Fijme condam, Georgio Amarando condam, Janni Psinachi (Psirachi?) et Georgio alio condam ac Hemanuele Kyssamiti pro toto eo quod eis datum, concessum et affictatum est per suprascriptam sororem Ceciliam Passamonte condam abbatissam ipsius monasterii pro suprascripto casale Apano Marathi et eius locis et territoriis per cartam instrumenti factam per manu suprascripti presbyteri Michaelis Justo notarii, anno domini MCCCLXI mense Junii die XII indictione XIII. Ita tamen quia omnes cartas predictas remaneant in suo uigore et omnes tam de casalis quam de locis et

territoriis suprascriptis tenere et habere debeant predicta omnia eis affictata, concessa et data ut prefertur et ipsi respondeant uobis in omnibus sicut eidem monasterio respondebant huçusque. Residuum autem dicti casalis eiusque locorum ac territoriorum quod hactenus reseruatum est ipsi monasterio et illud ad presens tenet et possidet, sibi remaneat a modo in antea usque ad illud tempus et terminum per quod predicti conductores predicta omnia habere et tenere debent uirtute cartarum antedictarum. Renouando uobis cartam affictionis quando renouabitur conductoribus antedictis. Cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, affictandi, disfictandi, affictum inde recipiendi et omnes alias uestras utilitates inde faciendi, usque ad suprascripti temporis complementum nemine uobis contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Vos uero tenemini per uos uel per uestrum missum dare et deliberare michi uel meo misso et successoribus meis pro affictu omnium predictorum, yperperacretensia CCXX annuatim per totum quemlibet mensem septembris successiue sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et qualibet paga, possendo me, super inde tenere ad uos duos seu alterum uestrum prout uoluero in toto et parte in qualibet paga. Si igitur et cetera, pena yperperorum XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes presbyter Nicolaus Pelegrino, Raphael Surrentino et Jani Maurera. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 107 (312)v

Quitclaim by the prioress Catherine Passamonte for the two hundred and twenty hyperpers that the priest Alcharinus Villanova and Ser Philip Piçamano had paid to the nunnery for the property they were renting.

1 October 1372

Eodem die. Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facio ego soror Katerina Passamonte, abbatissa monasterii Sancte Katerine de Candida cum meis successoribus uobis Alcharino de Vilanoua clerico ||habitatori burgi Candide|| et Ser Phylippo Piçamano de Venetiis habitatori Candide et uestris successoribus et heredibus de yperperis cretensis CCXX qua michi dedistis et soluistis pro affictu omnium et singulorum reddituum introituum et prouentuum contentorum in quadam manifestationis cartam quam soror Contessa Mucio condam abbatissa dicti monasterii uobis fieri fecit per manum huius notarii anno domini MCCCLXXI mense octubris die X indictione Xa Candide prout in ea plenius continetur. Et hac paga est pro uno anno qui compleuit per totum mensem Septembris nuper transacto. Nunc autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes Domenicus Triyixano et Marcus Frulani clerici et Franciscus Gradonico. Complere et dare.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 78 (435)v

Catherine Passamonte, the prioress of St Catherine, leases a dilapidated mill and some land to Costas Marmaras and John Potho, against eight hyperpers per year. The two tenants also agree to restore the mill at their own expense and to grind each year ten salmas of grain for the nuns free of charge.

29 October 1374

Eodem die. Manifestum facio Ego suprascripta soror Katerina Passamonte Abbatissa monasterii Sancte Katerine de Candida quia de consensu et uoluntate sororis Phylippe Habramo, sororis Magdalene Sasso, sororis Katerine Beaquō, sororis Agnetis Signolo, sororis Ançelote de Senis et sororis Elene Carauello ipsius monasterii monialium

professorum ad sonum campanelle ad capelam more solito congregatarum, cum meis
 successoribus do et in perpetuum concedo in gonico uobis Coste Marmara et Georgio
 Potho ambobus habitatoribus casalis Delose et uestris heredibus et proheredibus illud
 molendinum totaliter dirrutum usque ad fundamenta pertinentem monasterio antedicto,
 positum in territorio loci de Placa prope aliud molendinum ipsius monasterii, quod tenet
 Kyrlus de Rogerio apud castrum Ma..... cum terra uacua unius mensurate ante illud, a
 die primo mensis Marcii proxime venturi in antea in perpetuum cum plena uirtute et
 potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, affictandi, disfictandi, affictum
 inde recipiendi, dandi, donandi, dominandi, uendendi, alienandi, transactandi,
 commutandi, pro anima iudicandi, in perpetuum possidendi et quodquod aliud inde
 magis uobis placuerit faciendi, tamquam de uestra re propria, nemine uobis
 contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Vos uero tenemini per uos uel per uestrum
 missum, dare et deliberare mihi uel meo misso pro affictu seu recognitione molendini et
 terre uacue predictis yperpera cretensia VIII annuatim, uidelicet dimidietatem in
 principio quorum sex mensium successiue sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et
 qualibet paga. In super molere debetis anno quolibet saumas X frumenti ipsi monasterio
 in ipso molendino absque aliqua solutione accipiendo ipsum frumentum de domo
 monasterii antedicti cum uestro saumario et illud frumentum ad eandem reportando
 domum absque aliquo premio sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino, possendo me tenere
 de predictis omnibus et eorum singulis ad uos II seu alterum uestrum prout uolueris in
 toto et parte, in quolibet termino et qualibet uice uerumtamen a dicto die primo mensis
 Marcii suprascripti in antea usque ad annos III proxime uenturos completos infra quos
 tenemini dictum molendinum construi et hedificari facere et preparari ad molendum
 expensis uestris. Non teneamini aliquid dare de affictu seu recognitione iamdictis neque
 frumentum aliquod dicte domui ibi molere predictum itaque molendinum tenemini in

culmine semper manutenere et conseruare uestris expensis. Si igitur et cetera pena
yperperorum XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes suprascripti. Complere et dare. Dedi.

Documents concerning St Mary Cruciferorum of Candia

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 34v

*Prior John Offida leases the territory of Placoti and the village of Mandacha to
Nicholas and Thomas Fradhello for five years against the annual sum of fifty
hyperpers.*

16 November 1359

Eodem die. Manifestum facio Ego frater Johanes de Offida prior domus et hospitalis
Sancte Marie Cruciferorum de burgo Candide quia cum meis successoribus do, concedo
atque afficto uobis Nicolao et Thome Fradelo fratribus, filiis condam domini Ieronimi
Fradelo habitatoribus Candide et uestris heredibus totum territorium positum in loco
uocato Placoti quod michi spectat de jure ecclesie et hospitalis predictorum seu
monasterii cum casale Mandacha et cum toto suo loco et terra tam domestica quam
siluestri, jardinis, uineis, aquis discurrentibus et fontibus pratis et pasculis ac
molendinis et uilanis, si qui sunt, atque cum omnibus aliis habentiis, pertinentiis,
juribus et jurisdictionibus suis omnique jure re et actione usu seu requisitione utilibus et
dirrectis ipsi territorio modo aliquo pertinentibus uel que in posterum pertinere
noscentur exceptis ecclesia Sancte Marie de Placoti et eius çardino positis super dicto
loco de die primo mensis Octubris proxime uentruri in antea usque ad annos V ex tunc
proxime uenturos. Cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi,

possidendi, affictandi, disfictandi, affictum inde recipiendi in dictis territorio et loco ac terra seminandi per V uices et frumentum inde recoligendi ad jariçandum attamen in anno presenti et omnes alias uestras utilitates in eis et ex eis faciendi nemine uobis contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Vos uero tenemini per uos uel per uestrum missum dare et deliberare michi uel meo misso seu successoribus et procuratoribus per totum affictu annuatim yperpera cretensia L in quolibet festo Sancti Martini successiue hic Candide salua in terra omni occasione remota [in quolibet festo Sancti Martini]. Incipiendo facere primam pagam de anno domini MCCCLXI michi super inde faciendo V pagas sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et qualibet paga possendo me tenere ad uos duos seu alterum uestrum prout uoluerò anno quolibet in toto et parte. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum C. Contractu firmo. Testes Presbyter Johanes Mudacio, Johanes Milouani, Mocenigo et Johanes Miegani. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 87r

Prior John Offida appoints the priest George Marani as the convent's representative in Seteia.

24 March 1366

Eodem die. Committens committo ego frater Johanes de Offida prior domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferrorum burgi Candide tibi presbytero Georgio Marani, habitatori Sithie, absenti tamquam presenti ut a modo in antea pro me nomine conuentus domus et hospitalis predicti plenam uirtutem et potestatem habeas in districtu Sithie petendi, recipiendi et exigendi omnes et singulas dimissorias sibi dimissas qualicumque. Et super inde inquirendi et cetera cartas securitatis de receptis et cetera et

jure quidquid autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes Andreas de Terra et Nicolaus Justo presbyteri. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 1, f. 178v

Agapitus Franco places his son Andrew in the care of John Offida, prior of St Mary, for fifteen years. The prior assumes the responsibility to raise and educate the boy and is given permission to bring him into his Order.

14 October 1369

Die quartodecimo. Manifestum facio Ego Agapitus Franco habitator burgi Candide cum meis heredibus tibi fratri Johanni de Offida priori domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide et tuis successoribus quia affirmo tecum Andream Franco filium meum in tuum filium adoptivum ita quod tecum stare et esse debat tibi que seruare teneatur in ecclesie tue ac domui bene ac fideliter sine fraude hinc ad annos XV proxime uenturos completos. Et quamcumque eum culpabilem in aliquo re...es licitum tibi sit ipsum uerbis et ulteribus honeste ac casue corrigere sic ut a sua stultitia emenderet. Tu uero teneris dictum filium meum docere et doceri facere litteras et bonos mores eumque inducere et calciare et manutenere in expensis oris, sibi que hospitalitatem dare. Et si in terris extra insulam Crete possis ipsum accipere tecum licitumque sit tibi facere eum fratrem ordinis tui. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum X. Contractu firmo. Testes, Johannes Sclença et G. Sancti presbyteri. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 78 (283)r

John Offida, the prior of St Mary Cruciferorum, leases the village of Mandacha and the territory called Placoti to a Greek monk named Coça, for five years. The monk agrees to give the monastery a hundred and thirty one mouzouria of grain and fifty mouzouria of barley every year in return.

20 January 1371/72

Eodem die. Manifestum facio Ego frater Joannes de Offida, prior domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide quia de consensu et uoluntate fratris Zacharie de Candida et fratris Johannis de Nigroponte ordinis cruciferorum, ad sonum campanelle ad capelam more solito congregatorum cum meis successoribus do, concedo atque afficto tibi calogero Coça habitatori casalis Tartaro et tuis successoribus totum locum de Placoti et casale Mandaca, spectantia ad monasterium dicte domus cum ecclesia Sancte Marie de Placoti et cum domibus V que sunt prope ipsam ecclesiam et cum omnibus aliis habentiis et pertinentiis ipsius loci dictique casalis quolibet, exceptis solo modo uilanis quos in me reseruo, a kallendis mensis Januarii instante in antea usque ad annos V proxime uenturos ad jariçandum ibi hoc anno presente cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, affictandi, disfictandi, affictum inde recipiendi, ibidem seminandi et fructum recolligendi et omnes alias tuas utilitates inde faciendi usque ad suprascripti temporis complementum, nemine tibi contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Tu uero teneris per te uel per te (sic) uel per tuum missum dare et deliberare michi uel meo misso, pro affictu predictorum omnium annuatim super arreis mensuras boni et neti frumenti CXXXI et ordeï mensuras L, incipiendo facere primam pagam in arreis de anno domini MCCCXXIII et inde in antea successiue michi in toto faciendo V pagas sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et qualibet paga. Dictas itaque domos infra dictos annos ante complementum eorum reperare et aptare debes ad omnes tuas expenses et ego tenëor iuuare te in earum

aptatione uidelicet dare tibi trabes IIII et docharios L et ipsas domos teneris in culmine
 manutenere et conseruare tuis expensis et in fine dicti temporis eas mihi in culmine
 refutare. Et hinc usque ad finem ipsorum annorum teneris habitare in eisdem domibus
 cum familia tua et si uolueris hedificare prope ipsas domos alias domos, possis hoc
 facere et ego tenear dare tibi trabes ipsis neccessarias ita quod in fine ipsius termini
 omnes domus iamdicte cum totis suis ornamentis remaneant monasterio antedicto. In
 super autem, licitum sit mihi hedificari facere infra dicti temporis domos ibi prope
 absque tua contradictione. In fine autem dicti temporis teneris dimittere tertiam partem
 terre dicti loci et casalis Aiaresti pro jariçando secundum usum. Et si recuperabo terram
 et aliquid aliud ultra ea qua de predictis ad presens possideo in me deueniant. Si igitur
 et cetera pena yperperorum XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes, Andreas Çambella, Johanes
 de Priolis et Leonardus Condopulo. Complere et dare. Dedi

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 54 (259)r

*Manuel de Jordanis returns to John Offida and St Mary Cruciferorum the church of St
 Nicholas and the adjacent cemetery that he was renting from the monastery.*

19 August 1371

Die decimo nono. Manifestum facio Ego Hemanuel de Jordanis habitator Candide quia
 cum meis heredibus ||quanto mea interest pro parte mea|| do, renuntio et refuto tibi fratri
 Johanni de Offida priori domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide,
 presenti et contento et tuis successoribus Ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai cum suo cimiterio
 positam in dicto burgo super territorio monasterii dicte domus, quam Ecclesiam, cum
 ipso cimeterio michi et Herini de Jordano, relicte Nicolai de Jordano, dedisti et

affictauisti per cartam instrumenti factam manu Thome de Vedoacis, notarii, anno domini MCCCLXV indictione IIII, mensis Octubris die XXVI Candide. Nunc autem quia de dictis ecclesia et eius cimiterio me totaliter foris facio, ipsa sub tua potestate et libertate relinquo de quibus facere et disponere possis pro te libito uoluntatis tamquam de re propria monasterii prelibati. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes. Presbyter Donatus de Milano et Georgius Delaporta. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 118 (323)v

Quitclaim by prior John Offida for thirty three hyperpers and four grossi paid by Francis and John Greco. This money was part of the annual rent (fifty hyperpers) that the two brothers owed St Mary Cruciferorum for the villages of Aposelemi and Açupades. The prior also acknowledges receipt of forty mouzouria of grain that the brothers gave to the monastery as per their father's and grandfather's wills.

31 October 1372

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego frater Johanes de Offida, prior domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide cum meis successoribus uobis Ser Francisco et Ser Johani Greco fratribus filiis condam Ser Marini Greco habitatoribus Candide et uestris heredibus de yperperis cretensis XXXIII et grossos IIII que sunt due partes yperperorum L pro affictu loci de Açupade et Aposeleme uidelicet pro paga unius anni quam habere debebam in festo Sancti Michaelis de mense Septembris nuper transacto ac de mensures frumenti XL que sunt due partes mensurarum frumenti L quas Ser Daniel Greco condam auus uester et mensurarum frumenti X quas dictus condam pater uester dimiserunt domui Sancte

Marie Cruciferorum iamdicte annuatim in perpetuum per cartas testamentorum suorum. Et hac paga est unius anni nuper transacti. Nunc autem et cetera dicta autem solutio pecuniaria in aliquot non posit preiudicare juribus monasterii antedicti. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes suprascripti. Complere et dare. Dedi

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 143 (348)v

Quitclaim by prior John Offida to Ser Daniel Greco, for forty one hyperpers and eight grossi that Daniel had paid as rent for the villages Aposelemi and Açupades. John Offida also acknowledges receipt of twenty mouzouria of grain that Daniel Greco gave to the monastery in accordance with his father's and grandfather's bequest.

11 April 1373

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego Frater Johannes de Offida, prior domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide, cum meis successoribus, tibi Ser Danieli Greco habitatori Candide et tuis heredibus de yperperis cretensis XLI et grossos VIII que michi dedisti pro parte te tangente de affictu casalis Aposeleme et Açupade nunc nominato Guves, uidelicet unius anni qui compleuit in festo Sancti Michaelis de mense Septembris proxime transacto ac de mensuris frumenti XX quod soluere te tangit pro tua parte de dimissoriis frumenti per auum et patrem tuos condam dimissis monasterio Sancte Marie Cruciferorum dicti burgi simul pro uno anno nuper transacto. Insuper est sciendum ... quod pro cunctis et omnibus retroactis mihi integre soluisti et satisfacisti quanto ad te spectat pro tua parte de affictu iamdicto et de dimissoriis frumenti iamdictis necnon de sale quod mihi soluere debebas quanto tua interesse de affictu iamdicto pro omnibus temporibus retroactis excepto pro anno nuper

transacto. Nunc autem et cetera. Est tamen sciendum quod presens securitatis carta in aliquo prejudicare non possit juribus Ecclesie mee Cruciferorum pro questione quam mouebam tibi et fratribus tuis. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes, presbyter Nicolaus Triuisano, Georgius Mendreno et Nicolaus Tonisto. Complere et Dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 55 (412)v

Prior John Offida leases a field belonging to the monastery, to a priest named Andrew Barbadico for twenty nine years, against one hyperper each year.

19 May 1374

Eodem die. Manifestum facio Ego Frater Johannes de Offida prior domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide quia de consensu et uoluntate fratris Johannis de Nigroponte ordinis cruciferorum ad sonum campanelle ad capelam more solito congregati nullo alio fratre existente in nostro conuentu cum meis successoribus do, concedo atque afficto tibi presbytero Andree Barbadico, habitatori dicti burgi et tuis successoribus illam partem terre uacue pro curtio que incipit a muro domus per me tibi affictate et est pro tua canipa et uadit uersus austrum usque ad murum domorum monasterii Cruciferorum et postmodum extenditur idem curtio usque uersus leuantem ultra murum dicte tue canipe, dirrecte usque ad quandam balestrieram clausam lapidibus qua est in dicto muro domorum ipsarum eiusdem monasterii a modo inantea usque ad annos XXVIII proxime uenturos completos, cum plena uirtute et potestate intromittendi, habendi, tenendi, possidendi, affictandi, disfectandi, affictum inde recipiendi, dandi, donandi, dominandi, uendendi, alienandi, transactandi, commutandi, pro anima

iudicandi et omnes alias tuas utilitates inde faciendi usque ad suprascripti temporis complementum prout magis tibi placuerit tamquam de re tua propria nemine tibi contradicente semper tamen cum onere suo. Tu uero pro affictu seu terratico dicti curtui teneris per te uel per tuum missum dare et deliberare mihi uel meo misso yperperum cretensem I annuatim per totum quemlibet mensem Augusti successiue sub pena dupli pro quolibet termino et qualibet paga. Et teneris expensis tuis facere murum quo claudatur additus inter ipsum curtium et murum domus suprascripti monasterii uersus ponentis et illum in culmine manutenere quem quidem curtium non possis cohoperire seu cohoperiri facere aliquo tempore. Et est sciendum quod si aliquis prior successor meus uellet hedificare seu hedificari facere aliquod laborerium in ipso curtio pro utilitate et usu monasterii prelibati possit hoc facere ipso soluente tibi fabricam predicti muri per te hedificandi. Si igitur et cetera pena yperperorum XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes, Ser Nicolaus Pasqualigo condam Ser Fantini, Petrus Maripetro filius Ser Thome de Venetiis et Johannes de Abbatis filius Ser Michaelis. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 47 (404)v

Quitclaim by prior John Offida for fifteen hyperpers paid by Ser John of Torcelo as quarterly rent for a mill he was renting from the monastery of St Mary Cruciferorum.

6 April 1374

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego frater Johanes de Offida, prior domus et hospitalis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide cum meis successoribus tibi Ser Johani de Torcelo notario habitatori Candide et tuis heredibus de yperperis cretensis XV que mihi dedisti et soluisti pro affictu molendini monasterii

Cruciferorum quod tenes a me ad afflictum. Et hac paga est pro tribus mensibus que compleuerunt per totum mensem Madem proxime transactum. Nunc autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes. Presbyter Marcus Donçorçi, S. Mendrino et Johanes Similiante. Complere et dare.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 89r

Prior Stephen of Negroponte appoints Ser Philip Piçamano of Venice representative of St Mary Cruciferorum. He also instructs him to annul all the contracts made by prior Francis of St Severinus, his predecessor, which were deemed to be against the monastery's interests.

31 July 1381

Eodem die. Committens committo Ego frater Stephanus de Nigroponte ordinis Cruciferorum, prior monasterii Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide de consensu et uoluntate fratris Simonis de Perusio ipsius ordinis ad sonum campanelle ad capelam more solito congregati tibi Ser Phylippo Piçamano de Venetiis habitatori dicti burgi ut a modo in antea pro me et meo nomine et nomine ipsius monasterii plenam uirtutem et potestatem habeas petendi exigendi et recipiendi omnia et singula legata ecclesie Cruciferorum et dicto monasterio michique dimissa et dimittenda necnon omnia alia bona sua et mea a cunctis eorum et meis debitoribus presentibus et futuris ubicumque et cetera. Insuper eneruandi et eneruari et annullari faciendi omnes et singulas cartas et instrumenta man.... legientie facta per fratrem Franciscum de Sancto Seuerino olim priorem eiusdem monasterii predecessorem meum et per quaslibet alias partes quibuscumque partis in detrimentum et dampnum ecclesie et monasterii predictorum.

Ac defendendi et manutenendi iura sua et mea contra quascumque partas tam ecclesiasticas quam seculares. Et pro predictis effectualiter adimplendis comparendi coram dominio Crete et coram quibuscumque aliis iudicibus et officialibus Candide constitutis semel et pluries prout extitit opportunum de inquirendi et cetera et omnia alia et singula faciendi, exercendi et complendi qua in predictis et circa ea erunt neccessaria et opportuna et si talia forent qua mandatum exigent speciale. Cartas quoque securitatis de receptis et cetera. Et jure quidquid autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes. Marcus Carlo et Bartholomeus de Çobiis presbyteri ac Michael de Molino. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 101v

Marco Mudacio, guardian of the confraternity of St Mary Cruciferorum appoints Ser Nicolas of Prato representative of the confraternity in Rhodes, and commissions him to secure the goods bequeathed to the confraternity by Bernard of Somaya.

9 November 1381

Die nono. Committens committo Ego Marcus Mudacio habitator Candide, guardianus scole fraternitatis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide tibi Ser Nicolao de Prato habitatori Rodi, absentis tamquam presenti, ut a modo in antea nomine dicte scole et suprascripti hospitalis plenam uirtutem et potestatem habeas Rodi petendi, exigendi et recipiendi a commissariis Bernardi de Somaya Florentini qui obiit in Rodo seu ab aliis detentoribus bonorum eius omnes et singulos denarios, res et bona qua dictus Bernardus condam per sui testamenti carta dimisit hospitali nouo scole iamdicte ubicumque et apud quemcumque seu quoscumque dicti denarii, res et bona poterunt reperiri. Et super

inde inquirendi et cetera, cartas securitatis de receptis et cetera. Et jurandi quidquid autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes, Georgius Desde et F. Languardo presbyteri ac Marcus de Aruasio. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 132r

Marco Mudacio, guardian of the confraternity of St Mary Cruciferorum appoints Ser Andrew de Vannis representative of the confraternity in Methone, and commissions him to secure the goods bequeathed to the confraternity by Bernard of Somaya.

10 June 1382

Die decimo. Committens committo Ego Marcus Mudacio habitator Candide, guardianus scole fraternitatis Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide sub cuius scole gubernatione et substentatione regitur hospitale nouum positum in dicto burgo, uirtute et auctoritate testamenti Bernardi condam Nicolai de Somaya ciuis Florentie, scripti in formam publicam manu Auantii filii condam Ser Maynardi Sauii notaii de Glemon.... clerici diocesis Aquilegiensis publici apostolica et imperiale auctoritate notarii facti anno natiuitatis dominice MCCCLXXXI indictione IIIIa die XXII mensis Septembris in burgo Rodi in domo habitationis dicti testatoris condam, per quod quidem testamentum superscriptus Bernardus inter alia instituit sibi uniuersalem heredem predictum hospitale nouum in omnibus aliis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus, juribus et actionibus presentibus et futuris, ad ipsum testatorem spectantibus et pertinentibus uel spectare et pertinere debentibus, quacumque ratione uel causa, existentibus tam in ciuitate Candide et insula Crete, quam aliis quibuscumque locis et terris orientalibus, et cetera prout in ipso testamento a notario infrascripto uiso et lecto plenius continetur, tibi Ser Andree de

Vannis de Mothono ibidem habitatori, absenti tamquam presenti, ut a modo in antea pro me uice et nomine predicti hospitalis noui plenam uirtutem et potestatem habeas petendi, exigendi et recipiendi a Ser Thoma Faletro de Venetiis, nunc Mothone commorante sachos chotoni XVII penes cum existente pertinentes prefato testatori condam, nunc uero spectantes ad prefatum hospitem, jure legati per eundem testatorem sibi dimissi juxta tenorem et continentiam testamenti iamdicti. Et super inde inquirendi et cetera, cartas securitatis de receptis et cetera. Et jurandi quidquid autem et cetera. De predicto autem sapone facere et adimplere debeas secundum quod tibi per meas litteras significo. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes. Leonardus Quirino, Nicolaus Caucanigo et Marcus de Aruasio. Complete et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 12, quaderno 5, f. 135r

Quitclaim by prior Stephen of Venice for ninety five hyperpers paid to the monastery by Ser John Greco as rent for the villages of Aposelemi, Guves and Açupades. He also acknowledges receipt of sixty mouzouria of grain that John Greco gave to the monastery as per his father's and grandfather's will.

8 July 1382

Die octauo. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego frater Stephanus de Venetiis prior monasterii Sancte Marie Cruciferorum burgi Candide cum meis successoribus tibi Ser Johani Greco filio condam Ser Marini Greco habitatori Candide et tuis heredibus de yperperis cretensis LXXXXV que mihi dedisti et soluisti pro affictu locorum Açupade, Guves et Aposeleme et de mensuris frumenti L quod Ser Daniel Greco condam auus tuus dicto monasterio per sui testamenti carta dimisit annuatim in perpetuum et de

mensuris frumenti X quod dictus pater tuus condam eidem monasterio per carta sui testamenti dimisit omni anno in perpetuum. Nunc autem quia suprascripta yperpera LXXXXV et mesures frumenti LX a te plene habui et recepi pro paga unius anni qui complebit per totum mensem Octubris proxime uenturum de indictione VI a modo igitur et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes Georgius Dandolo et Marcus de Aruasio. Complere et dare. Dedi.

Deeds Concerning the Holy Saviour of Candia

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 9 (215)r

Quitclaim by a young Augustinian friar named Jacobellus Sasso for thirty seven and a half hyperpers that Magdalene, widow of Peter Taliapetra, gave to him. This money had been bequeathed to Jacobellus's sister Marula, who had since died, by the late Nicolota, wife of Ser Nicholas Dandolo.

30 May 1370

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego frater Jacobellus Sasso filius condam Grassei Sasso ordinis fratrum heremitarum burgi Candide nundum professus et, quia sub infra etatem annorum XVIII constitutus et ultra annos XIII habenta prius licentia et auctoritate fratris Francisci de Marchia prioris prouincialis ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini prouincie terre sancte, cum meis successoribus tibi Magdalene relicte Ser Petri Taliapetra habitatrici Candide nunc soli commissarie Nicolote olim uxoris Ser Nicolai Dandolo filie tue condam, absentis tamquam presenti, et tuis successoribus de yperperis cretensis XXXVII[÷] que me tangunt pro parte mea per successione infrascripte Marule de illis yperperis CL que dicta condam Nicolota Marule

filie condam suprascripti Grassei consanguinee sue sorori mee, per sui testamenti carta dimisit. Nunc autem quia suprascripta yperpera XXXVII[÷] michi dedisti et soluisti e^o. quod dicta Marula soror mea obiit intestata a modo igitur in antea te securam reddo et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes. Franciscus Coppo, Thomas de Vedoacis et Egidius Valoso. Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 2, f. 15 (221)r

The young Augustinian friar Jacobellus Sasso appoints his mother, Nicolota, as his representative and authorises her to deal with his financial matters and with the administration of his fief.

31 August 1370

Eodem die. Committens committo Ego frater Jacobellus Sasso ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini conuentus burgi Candide professus habenta prius licentia uenerabilis uiri fratris Francisci de Marchia prioris prouincialis prouincie terre sancte fratris Georgii Faletro prioris dicti conuentus, fratris Nicolai de Candia et fratris Antonii de Marchia eiusdem ordinis et conuentus ad sonum campanelle ad capelam more solito congregatorum tibi Nicolote relicte Grassei Sasso matri mee habitatrici Candide ut a modo in antea pro me et cetera petendi et recipiendi et exigendi omnes et singulas dimissorias mihi dimissas per quamcumque partam tam de mobilibus quam de immobilibus ac deinceps dimittandas necnon redditus, introitus et prouentus feudi mihi dimissi ac inquirendi et cetera unum et plures procuratores instituendi cartas securitatis de receptis et commissis et cetera. Et jurandi quidquid autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera

auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes Guillelmus Tonisto et Johanes Similiante.

Complere et dare. Dedi.

ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 11, quaderno 3, f. 43 (400)v

Quitclaim by prior Bonensegna of Candia for nine hyperpers paid by Ser Peter de Rugerio. This money was partial payment of the annual rent of thirty six hyperpers owed by Peter de Rugerio to the convent of the Holy Saviour for a serventaria that he was renting.

13 March 1374

Eodem die. Plenam et irreuocabilem securitatem facio Ego frater Bonensegna de Candida prior conuentus fratrum Heremitarum burgi Candide cum meis successoribus tibi Ser Petro de Rogerio habitatori Candide et tuis heredibus de yperperis cretensis VIII que mihi dedisti et soluisti pro residuo solutionis yperperorum XXXVI pro affictu unius seruentarie dicti conuentus. Et hac paga est pro uno anno nuper transacto. Nunc autem et cetera. Si igitur et cetera auri libre V. Contractu firmo. Testes. Egidius Valoso, Nicolaus Mendrino et Nicolaus Tonisto. Complere et dare. Dedi.

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* The version of this cartulary that I have consulted is a typewritten copy made by Father Benedetto Palazzo in 1943.

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