Coping with the Powerful Other:

A Comparative Approach to Greek-Slavonic Communities of Rite

in Late Medieval Transylvania and the Banat

By

Cristian-Nicolae Daniel

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Marino Sanudo Torsello: *On the islands of Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Rhodes and other islands and in the Principality of Morea, although these places are under the dominion of the Franks and are obedient to the Roman Church, nonetheless nearly the whole population is Greek and inclines to that sect, and their heart is turned to things Greek, and when they will be able to freely show it, they will do so.*[1]

Flavius Blondus: *And those who are neighboring the Danube region, the Dacians Ripenses or the Vlachs, show through their language their origin in which they take pride and which they say is a Roman origin; these [Vlachs], as Christians submissive to catholic doctrine use, when visiting annually Rome and the thresholds of the Apostles, sometimes we are delighted to hear them speaking in this manner, seeing that their language has a scent of a rustic erroneous Latin grammar, which they utter according to their custom of a vulgar and common people.*[2]

INTRODUCTION

As opposed to lands where the rite or pattern of jurisdiction was uniform, the regions where Eastern and Western Christianities met such as southern Italy, the former possessions of the Byzantine empire after 1204 (such as Cyprus, Crete, and Romania), the crusader states, south-eastern Poland, Transylvania[3] and the Banat all experienced an intermingling of rites

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[1] *Nell'isole di Cipri, Candia, Negroponte, Rodi e altre isole e nel Principato della Morea, benchè detti lochi siano sottoposti al Dominio de Franchi e obbidienti alla Chiesa Romana, non dimeno quasi tutto il Popolo è Greco e inclina a quella Setta, e il Cuor loro è volto alle cose Greche, e quando potessero mostrarlo liberamente, lo farianno.* Marino Sanudo Torsello, "Istoria del Regno di Romania," *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Charles Hopf (Berlin: Librairie de Weidmann, 1873), 143.

[2] *Et qui e regione Danubio item adiacent Ripenses Daci, sive Valachi, originem, quam ad decus prae se ferunt predicantque Romanam, loquela ostendunt, quos catholice christianos Romam quotannis et Apostolorum limina invisentes, aliquando gavisi sumus ita loquentes audiri, ut, quae vulgari communique gentis suae more dicunt, rusticam male grammaticam redoleant latinitatem.* Alexandru Marcu, "Riflessi di storia rumena in opera italiane dei secoli XIV e XV," *Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma* 1 (1923): 362-363. Romanians, in their quality of Catholic Christians, were making the annual pilgrimage to Rome and their Romance language had made an impression on the humanist Flavius Blondus. The pilgrims seen by Blondus, who was secretary to several popes starting from 1434, such as Eugene IV, Nicholas V, Calixtus III and Pius II, were most probably Romanians from Banat and Haţeg, where medieval Catholicism left more traces than anywhere else in the territories inhabited by the Romanians.

[3] By Transylvania I mean the territory of the historical voievodeship and later principality of Transylvania, as well as adjacent regions such as Maramureş (to the north of historical Transylvania), Partium and Zarand

and theological traditions.[4] My study will point out both the differences and the similarities between these regions at the level of the ecclesial life of the local Orthodox/Greek rite communities (with a focus on Transylvania, Crete, and Cyprus, with more occasional references to the situation in southern Italy and the lands inhabited by the Ruthenians) and analyze the special conditions for the Greek-Slavonic rite in Transylvania. Understanding the place of the Greek rite/Orthodoxy in medieval Hungary, of which Transylvania was part, requires assessing the impact of high Church politics, the way the local ecclesiastical and aristocratic elites reacted to changes in Church policy, and the manner in which the "Orthodox" themselves were perceived when living in a "Catholic" environment, before the time of confessionalism.[5]

It would be shortsighted to consider the situation of a Church in a territory or the inter-confessional milieu in the same geographical framework as phenomena that can be interpreted by themselves or just by placing them in their local context. Such an approach can only lead to partial results and misunderstandings. Churches are highly hierarchical structures and the transmission of filtered information is one of their specialties. Phenomena such as great

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(nowadays Bihor, Satu Mare and Arad counties, west of Transylvania). For the sake of brevity I will use the Transylvania label (as it is sometimes used in a modern understanding) including the adjacent regions as well as the Banat.

[4] See Jerzy Kloczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 54; Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997) (hereafter Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*); Peter W. Edbury, "Latin Dioceses and Peristerona: a Contribution to the Topography of Lusignan Cyprus," *Kingdoms of the Crusaders. From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999) (hereafter Edbury, "Latin Dioceses"), 45-51; Boris A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) (hereafter Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate*), 43-58; Boris N. Florija, "Les monastères placés sous le patronage des laïcs en Pologne médiévale et en Rusie," in *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaitre, Michel Dmitriev and Pierre Gonneau (Geneva: DROZ, 1996), 419-433; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications Ltd., 1980) (hereafter Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*); Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500* (London: Longman, 1995) (hereafter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*); Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291-1440* (London: Variorum Reprint, 1978).

[5] See the study of Rusu on the situation of the Eastern rite churches in Transylvania before the Reformation. Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Bisericile româneşti din Transilvania şi Ungaria în secolul al XV-lea" [The Romanian churches of Transylvania and Hungary in the fifteenth century], *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1, no. 1-2 (1997): 11-26.

councils and their decisions were reflected quite rapidly down to the level of the suffragan bishops or even further down the Church hierarchy, especially in the case of the Roman Church.[6] Thus, researching a region of inter-ecclesiological contacts reveals a deeper understanding of what inter- and multi-confessional/ritual meant and provides answers for the complicated three-ways (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant) ecclesiology of modern Christianity.

The timeframe stretching from the first conquest of Constantinople (1204),[7] the fourth Lateran Council (1215),[8] via the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–9)[9] to the Council of Trent (1545–63)[10] witnessed the structural development of the Eastern rite/Orthodox confession in Transylvania, which I analyze as a transitional region. The use of this latter term has both advantages and inconsistencies. It allows a much easier, to my taste at least, geographical identification of the regions which it covers and it helps the reader to map my research. At the same time, it does not imply clear-cut borders, and, as the subject it covers, still leaves room for interpretations and later refining.

[6] See Jean Gaudemet, *Droit de l'Église et vie sociale au Moyen Age* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989); Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen & Co Limited, 1966).

[7] Donald E. Queller, Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade. Event and Context* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2003) (hereafter Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*); Angeliki Laiou, ed., *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences – La IVe Croisade et ses consequences* (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005); Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner, ed., *Quarta Crociata. Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero Latino*, 2 volumes (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006).

[8] Raymonde Foreville, *Lateran I-IV* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1970), 265-381; Antonio García y García, *Historia del Concilio IV Lateranense de 1215* (Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Orientales y Ecuménicos "Juan XXIII," 2005) (herafter Foreville, *Lateran I-IV*).

[9] Joseph Gill, *Konstanz und Basel-Florenz* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1967), 259-365; Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: two worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance: studies in ecclesiastical and cultural history* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1976); Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39-1989* (Leuven-Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1991) (hereafter Alberigo, *Christian Unity*); Paolo Viti, ed., *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439. Convegno di Studi, Firenze 29 novembre – 2 dicembre 1989*, 2 volumes (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994); Johannes Helmrath, "Florenz und sein Konzil. Forschungen zum Jubiläum des Konzils von Ferrara-Florenz 1438/39-1989" *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 29 (1997): 202-216; Thomas Ferguson, "The Council of Ferrara-Florence and its continued historical significance," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 43 (1999): 55-77.

[10] R. Po-chia Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). After Trent, the Catholic Church severely regulated the selection and training of the priests, as well as the control mechanisms set up for the higher clergy, increased the control over the faithful by imposing regular confessions and a system of punishments overviewed by the ecclesiastical tribunals.

Transitional regions are to be understood not as locked geographical units but as territories where communities of faith interact.[11] The ecclesiastical landscape in such transitional regions is characterized by the presence of two or more communities of rite which are living, preaching, performing their rituals, and building in the same region, a situation which has been labeled as co-territoriality.[12] Communities of rite in such geographical and temporal contexts have so far and usually been labeled confessions. This usage further complicates the understanding of the relations between communities of different rites as, in the case of the ecclesial communities in the transitional regions, the term confession has been wrongly attributed in discussing realities that it does not apply to, realities that are outside the chronological coverage of this notion.[13] Confessionalism is a historical trademark that applies much better when referring to an ecclesiological situation from the sixteenth century onwards, when with the Reformation the emerging Christian denominations went through a lengthy and painful process of self-definition in relation to other Christian groups.[14]

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[11] This study focuses on the relations between the Greek-Slavonic and Latin rite Christianities. The "regime" of mixed rites definable as "Norman-Crusader" was used in southern Italy, the Venetian possessions and in the Latin kingdoms of the East. See Vittorio Peri, *Orientalis Varietas. Roma e la Chiese d'Oriente* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1994) (hereafter Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*), 43.

[12] Grigorios D. Papathomas, "La relation oppositionnelle entre Église établie localement et Diaspora ecclésiale (L'unité ecclésiologique face à la co-territorialité et à la multi-jurisdiction)," *Contacts* 57, no. 4-5 (2005) (hereafter Papathomas, "La relation oppositionnelle"): 96-132 (further down I will use the pagination of the manuscript copy I received from the author); Idem, "Au temps de la Post-Ecclésialité (La naissance de la modernité post-ecclésiologique : De l'Église Une aux nombreuses Églises, et donc De la dispersion de l'Église à l'anéantissement du Corps du Christ)," *Kanon* 19 (2006): 3-21.

[13] Vittorio Peri, "Le vocabulaire des relations entre les Églises d'Occident et d'Orient jusqu'au XVIe siècle," *Irénikon* 65, no. 2 (1992) (hereafter Peri, "Le vocabulaire des relations entre les Églises d'Occident et d'Orient jusqu'au XVIe siècle"): 194-199; the author draws attention to the fact that until the end of the sixteenth century the terms "orthodox" and "catholic" were used to refer to both the Greek and the Latin Churches.

[14] Michael G. Müller, "Protestant confessionalisation in the towns of Royal Prussia and the practice of religious toleration in Poland-Lithuania," in *Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 262-281; Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalisation and the Rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe," in *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400-1750*, ed. Eszter Andor, István György Tóth (Budapest: Central European University, European Science Foundation, 2001), 21-35; Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, Graeme Murdock, "Religious reform, printed books and confessional identity," in *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, Graeme Murdock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 1-30; Mikhaïl V. Dmitriev, "Catholicisme, Orthodoxie, Protestantisme et les sociétés de l'Europe: questions à poser," in *Etre catholique – être orthodoxe – être protestant. Confessions et identités culturelles en Europe médiévale et modern*, ed. Marek Derwich, Mikhaïl V. Dmitriev (Wrocław: LARCHOR, 2003), 15-38.

The temptation to impose modern notions of group solidarity onto medieval communities is almost irresistible especially since the end of the European Middle Ages was accompanied by religious exclusivity that degenerated later into severe discrimination patterns. Sally McKee observes the insufficient vocabulary of the English language in describing pre-modern group sentiments resulting in a lack of precision when assessing past collective identities. "There has yet to be extensive discussion on ways to describe a large, or a local, social group that was not quite a *nation*; a collective sentiment that was not quite *national*; a heterogeneous society that was characterized by neither one language nor one church; or a *people*, or *ethnic*, or *national* nor regional groups who were as different as Venetians from Florentines, Latins from Greeks, Moriscos from Aragonese, or northern French from southern French. The overlapping problems of civic identity, ethnicity and a sentiment that can only be imprecisely termed *national*, form a knot of problems which still requires untangling."[15]

For the purpose of this study, transitional regions are to be understood as territories where rites interact. Such regions had characteristics that made them different from more homogenous regions. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that such a typology functions only if one takes into consideration the resemblances as well as the differences among what I have labeled transitional regions. Transylvania was part of the Hungarian kingdom, a state that accumulated Christianity of Greek-Slavonic rite as it expanded eastwards. So did Venice or Poland. There are differences in the way these states dealt with the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in their midst (these differences will become apparent in the thesis) while the documents I used give glimpses at how the universal canon law promoted by the Roman

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[15] Sally McKee, "Uncommon Dominion: The Latins and Greeks of Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete," Ph.D. Dissertation (Toronto: Center for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 1992) (hereafter McKee, "Uncommon Dominion"), 207-208.

Church was applied in the crusader states or in the former Byzantine possessions in the Levant.

The Council of Ferrara-Florence which seemed to finally bring together the two Churches was not a fully-fledged success.[16] Nevertheless, its results were applied in areas with Orthodox/Greek rite populations under the control of Catholic states. This process was paralleled by new developments in Orthodox ecclesiology. Though not within the framework of a set of dispositions established canonically, the Greek rite Church had been slowly learning how to survive under non-Orthodox, and even more, non-Christian rule. The three centuries that followed the Fourth Crusade forced the Greek Church to confront a continuous stream of political and ecclesiastical changes such as unionist discussions and councils, the loss of ecclesiastical patrimony, survival in exile, doctrinal disputes (hesychasm), missionary work, and the coming of the Ottomans.[17] I believe all of this proved essential for the development of strategies of survival for Greek-Slavonic rite/Orthodox communities in regions not under Orthodox rule.[18]

The circumstances which made the Greek-Slavonic rite community in Transylvania embark on a path that raised its self-awareness are actually worth exploring, rather than assuming from the start that a sharp confessional delineation existed. The period immediately following the Council of Ferrara-Florence brought into the spotlight the Greek-Slavonic communities of Transylvania. More data about their members is available in the documents of

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[16] Aristeides Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church AD 1071-1453* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1994) (hereafter Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*), 379-390.

[17] Tom Papademetriou, "The Turkish conquests and the decline of the church reconsidered," in *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, ed. Dimiter G. Angelov (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2009), 183-200; Dimitris Kastritsis, "Conquest and Political Legitimation in the Early Ottoman Empire," in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes, Eugenia Russell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 221-245.

[18] Robert F. Taft S. J., "At the Sunset of the Empire: The Formation of the Final *Byzantine Liturgical Synthesis* in the Patriarchate of Constantinople," in *Le Patriarcat Œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVe siècles: Rupture et Continuité. Actes du colloque international Rome, 5-6-7 décembre 2005* (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2007) (herafter Taft, "At the Sunset of the Empire"), 55-72.

the second half of the fifteenth century than for the whole of the previous century. This represents a good example of how high Church policies applied locally contributed to increasing the visibility of these communities in the Hungarian kingdom.[19] This historical process ended with the establishment of the Orthodox bishopric (metropolitanate) of Transylvania at Alba Iulia, at the end of the sixteenth century:[20] a "natural" option since in ecclesiology sacred geography usually follows the political one.[21] Then again the presence of two bishops in the same seat shows the uncomfortable and non-canonical situation (when judged according to the canons of the councils held in the first millennium) that started to perpetuate itself with the Crusades, in the Christian *oikoumene*.

As previously mentioned, I will compare the data regarding the Greek rite Church in Transylvania with similar information from Crete (a Venetian possession from 1207 to 1669) and Cyprus (under the Latin rite Lusignan dynasty, 1191-1489; then a Venetian possession, 1489-1571). Crete presented itself as a somehow ideal case for the comparative approach, as it shared (*grosso modo*) the same ecclesiological destiny as Transylvania. Both regions had an important part of the population following the Eastern rite, and both were under the rule of a state that was officially part of western Christianity, all the way through the major ecclesiological turning points that frame my research. Another important point here is that by the end of the Venetian rule on Crete, members of the two Christianities had coexisted for almost five hundred years in a relationship whose complexity had no rival in the Greek East.

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[19] Marius Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles du Concile de Florence en Hongrie," *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1, no. 1-2 (1997) (hereafter Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles"): 29-62.
[20] Ștefan Andreescu, "Some Reflections on Michael the Brave's Denominational Policy," in *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 1995), 150-156.
[21] John Rinne, "One Bishop – One City," *Kanon* 5 (1985): 91-109; Ciro Tammaro, "La giurisdizione episcopale nell'alto medioevo. Riflessioni sul principio *un solo vescovo per città* sancito dal can. VIII del concilio di Nicea I (325)," *Ius Canonicum* 92 (2006): 623-636.

Another region of interest for my research was Cyprus.[22] The Church there differed from Greek rite Churches in other transitional regions by virtue of its autocephaly granted at the council of Ephesus in 431.[23] The Holy See's involvement in Cyprus began in 1196 when Celestine III (r. 1191-1198), in a flagrant act of violation of the canon law of the undivided Church, abolished the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus and appointed a Latin hierarchy over the island which was to last until the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1570-71.[24] The situation there in the thirteenth century resembled much more the situation in Antioch and, to a lesser extent, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, than the one in the Latin states of Greece or southern Italy. The first Latin bishops on the island had been functioning in the crusader states before their relocation: Alan, the first archbishop of Nicosia, had been archdeacon of Lydda and was consecrated by the archbishop of Nazareth and the bishops of Acre and Bethlehem; his colleague, the archdeacon of Latakia, became the new bishop of Paphos.[25] This had to do with the geographical context, Cyprus being much closer to the Holy Land, and with the actual moment when the island was conquered, after Syria but before Constantinople and other parts of the Byzantine empire. The new Latin masters had to administer to a mainly Orthodox and Greek speaking population, so transplanting the customs prevalent from Jerusalem was not done with ease. The Latin conquest severed the island's Orthodox Church

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[22] For an overview of the Latin Kingdom of Cyrus see Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191 – 1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291 – 1440* (Richmond Surrey: Variorum Reprints, 1978), article 2, 161-171; Peter Edbury, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours," *Kingdoms of the Crusades* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), article XI, 223-242.

[23] Its archbishops were not appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople, but by the Byzantine emperor. This ecclesiastical situation constituted an obstacle to the aim of absorbing the local Greek rite church into the Latin one. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 252; Silouan Ioannou, Misael Ioannou, "The Position of Cyprus in the Episcopal Lists of the Seventh Ecumenical Council," in *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4th-20th Centuries*, ed. Silouan and Misael Ioannou (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

[24] Benedict Englezakis, "Cyprus as a Stepping-Stone between West and East in the age of the Crusades: The Two Churches," in *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4th-20th Centuries*, ed. Silouan and Misael Ioannou, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995) (hereafter Englezakis, "Cyprus as a Stepping-Stone"), 214, footnote 1.

[25] Peter W. Edbury, "Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East," in *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198)*, ed. John Doran, Damian J. Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 142-143.

from mainstream Greek theology and from the Constantinopolitan jurisdictional frame, a similarity shared by all transitional regions.

By means of introduction, I present the advantages of using the comparative method for the study of the history of the Greek rite communities of Transylvania. I also touch upon the lack of terminology and explain how the notion of "transitional region" adds insight to the more familiar and widely used concepts of *conviventia* and "frontier region," and to the more recent one of "rough tolerance,"[26] while also reviewing the terminology that is used in the contemporary documents referring to Greek rite Christians.

In the following part, I discuss the ecclesiological landmarks that shaped the life of the Greek rite communities from the thirteenth century up to the Reformation and the Council of Trent. The papal discourse (and that of other officials of Latin rite) usually moves between schism and union (with some extreme accusations of heresy). I introduce these categories in connection with the transitional regions I am focusing on.

In the second part, I look at the activity of the Greek rite clergy in the transitional regions and the policy of the Latin Church towards this clergy. I analyze the presence or lack of bishops in these regions, as this gives vital information about the organisation of the Greek rite Churches under Latin secular rule and the perils of non-residence. I explore the role of the *protopapades* and priests as agents of the integration of the local Churches and as interfaces with the Latin authorities. Furthermore, I discuss the destiny of the Greek rite monastic establishments and their strategies for adaptation and survival.

In the third part, I analyze the secular policies towards the Greek rite communities in the transitional regions. I also discuss the reaction to these policies of the members (mostly the landed elite) belonging to the communities of Greek rite and their entangled religious options. The cultural identity of these communities is then touched upon also by exploring

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[26] For the discussion of the terminology see the chapter: "The terminological trap. Questions of nomenclature."

some of their external identity markers such as church buildings or iconographical preferences. I further assess the regime of tithes specific to the Latin Church and the ways in which it was used and abused when applied to Greek rite Christians.

The comparative approach

Much historical writing is about comparison. However while some comparison is guided by common sense, without being integrated into a conscious, methodological operation, comparative history is more demanding and self-reflective, being based on the logic of comparison and a reflection about the goals and the compared units.[27]

The method was applied later in historiography, if compared to other disciplines such as literature, religious studies or law. After the Second World War historians became more interested in overcoming the national boundaries of their discipline, which were seen as responsible for such catastrophes. The reception of the comparative method in European historiographies, which reached its peak in the 1980s, was influenced by the appetencies for either a more analytical (Germany, Austria, the Netherlands) or more narrative (France, England, Italy) tradition of research, with the former being at the forefront of this innovative approach, due also to its stronger connections to other social sciences.[28]

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[27] Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, "Comparative Method – a Contested Method", *Historik Tidskrift* 127, no. 4 (2007) (hereafter Haupt, "Comparative Method"): 697-716; see also Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the challenge of reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30-50; Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexité," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 1 (2003): 7-36; Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method. Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1-18; Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984), 60-86; Adam Przeworski, Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1982), 3-13.

[28] Haupt, "Comparative Method," 698-699.

Marc Bloch (joined by Otto Hintze[29] who acquiesced that comparison serves both for finding similarities and dissimilarities) took up the argument of Henri Pirenne against the nationalist historiography[30] and pleaded for a comparative history of Europe. He believed that improving and introducing this method to general use was one of the most pressing necessities of modern historical studies.[31] Comparative history was, and unfortunately still is, considered a part of the philosophy of history or general sociology, disciplines which some historians prefer to avoid. The aim of the comparative method is not to solely search for similarities.[32] This has been actually one of the causes for the disbelief shown by some historians or other scholars as to the actual possibilities and effectiveness of the method.[33]

Comparison means choosing from one or several situations, or historical contexts, two or more phenomena which offer certain analogies between them; then tracing their causes, individuating their similarities and disparities, and explaining them accordingly. Two conditions are necessary to make a comparison possible: a certain similarity between the researched facts and a certain dissimilarity between the situations in which they developed.[34] Because of its flexibility, the method allows going beyond the national framework and researching specific terms of comparison situated in different contexts, terms which are linked by a common problematic, in most cases the *tertium comparationis*,[35] which may lead to the buildup of a typology.[36] The process of comparison is capable of two different uses; either

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[29] Otto Hintze, "The Individualist and the Collective Approach to History," in *The historical essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. Felix Gilbert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 360-367.

[30] Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul ltd, 1949), 1-15.

[31] Marc Bloch, "A contribution towards a comparative history of European Societies", in *Land and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967) (hereafter Bloch, "A contribution towards a comparative history"), 44.

[32] Among other risks of the method are forced analogies, fabrications, arbitrarily postulated parallelisms needed to prove such and such development, or the equivocal aspect of the chosen terms of the comparison.

[33] Bloch, "A contribution towards a comparative history," 58.

[34] Ibidem, 45.

[35] Haupt, "Comparative Method," 700.

[36] Antoon van den Braembussche shows that there are several types of comparison: the contrasting, the generalizing, the macrocausal, the inclusive and the universalizing comparison, with the immediate effect that

selecting societies so far in time and space that the similarities between them cannot be explained by mutual influence or common origin; or making a study of societies which are at the same time neighboring one-another, and contemporary, owing their existence at least partly to a common cause, exercising a mutual influence,[37] and, in the case of the transitional regions, being transformed by agents of the same kind, and accommodating the same policies of coexistence.

Methodologically, the comparative approach is probably one of the most transparent as its research tools have to be made explicit from the start of the inquiry. It situates processes and institutions in broader contexts distancing itself from a view of historic individualities. Proximity to primary sources, discourse analysis, and identifying categories of both self-description or the perception of alterity, which is mostly the case when dealing with sources regarding the communities of Greek rite in question, remain crucial tools of study when using the comparative method. Comparison should also be restrained to a limited number of cases (in this study, transitional regions), especially because of the differences and similarities of the primary sources. The contextualization of several cases would produce a more abstract and thus, less convincing solution, with an increase in the number of compared units.

The comparative method is constructivist in purpose as it chooses specific trends, institutions and/or social agents from multiple contexts in order to answer a given problematic, which guides the research and the narrative. Thus comparison will make sense in two ways: the disappearance or inexistence of the Greek-Slavonic rite hierarchy in Transylvania can be better understood when analyzing the same phenomenon on Venetian Crete; then again the specialization of the liturgical space in the Aegean realm, with the

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the choice of type of comparison determines a specific argumentation and value of the particularities of the researched units. See Anton van den Braembussche, "Historical explanation and comparative method: towards a theory of the history of society," *History and Theory* 28 (1989): 2-24.

[37] Bloch, "A contribution towards a comparative history," 47.

coming of the Franks, has better chances of fitting into a typology when linked with the mixed

iconographical preferences of the communities of both rites in the Eastern areas of the

Hungarian kingdom. Several influential historians who have dealt with the topic point out that

comparison is often invited with the other crusader states in the Levant[38] while others

conclude that in order to understand, for example, the way in which the Florentine union

worked among the Greek/Slavonic communities of rite in Transylvania, one should bear in

mind more information and analogies for this kind of communities from other territories of

Christian "antithesis".[39]

My research on the Greek-Slavonic rite communities started from the available

historical data and from a parallelism of contexts hitherto unapplied. A reevaluation of the

theoretical approach used in previous research became also necessary, especially since the

primary sources regarding the compared unites are not homogenous and do not always cover

the same events or situations identically. How the Christianities dealt with one another is still

a matter of debate.

The comparative grid I use when assessing the ecclesiology of the transitional region

is built on the two categories that made up the communities of rite: the clergy and the laity.

When discussing the clergy I will analyze the situation of the Greek rite bishops (continuous

presence, sporadic mentions, lack of), the role of the *protopapas*/archdeacon as an

intermediary between the Greek rite clergy and the Latin rite hierarchy, and some of the

differences that set up apart the Greek rite clergy from its Latin counterpart. In order to

reinforce the value of the comparative approach I bring examples from the monastic

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[38] Jean Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204-1227)," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, David Jacoby (London: Frank Cass, 1989) (hereafter Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church"), 45; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 266; Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 164.
[39] Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara şi Românii din vremea lui* [John of Hunyadi and the Romanians of his time] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999) (hereafter Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*), 124; Octavian Bârlea, *Die Konzile des 13.-15. Jahrhunderts und die ökumenische Frage* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 105-107.

communities that help the reader understand the blurred and fluid ecclesiological environment of the regions under scrutiny. The shorter analysis of the laity looks at the social opportunities that influenced the construction of identity among the landed elites in the transitional regions. Such identity is perceived as a sum of external cultural markers that the members of the Greek rite communities negotiated as they moved on the social scale and interacted with members of the Latin rite elite. Indirectly, the "opportunism" or the acculturation experienced by members of both communities of rite is a result of the blurred ecclesiology that was analyzed in the first part.

Thus, researching the situation in Crete and Cyprus, has led me to the discovery of similar patterns that characterize transitional regions, patterns which are applicable to Transylvania proper, such as: non-residency of the Eastern rite hierarchy (sometimes even of the Latin one!), monasteries and/or persons from monastic milieux assuming the spiritual leadership of Eastern rite communities when the bishops were not present in the respective regions, use of the same church/building for both rites, loose ecclesiastical control, failure of attempts to Latinize the Eastern Church, and, finally, the building of pre-confessional identities based on the use of liturgical languages and of every-day idioms.

The terminological trap: questions of nomenclature and discussion of previous approaches to the topic

"Conviventia" and "rough tolerance"

The topic under discussion suffers in a chronic way from the sheer lack of terminology especially since the political boundaries of pre-modern Europe did not reflect linguistic, cultural, religious and social homogeneity. Scholars have observed that a cautious terminology is needed when one discusses Catholic-Orthodox relations before the Tridentine council.[40] The two confessional labels: "Catholic" and "Orthodox," as well as their complementary realities have by now acquired a well-defined and easily recognizable historical patina. They are often used to encompass the history and tradition of the two Churches from a modern, confessional point of view, and are rather exclusive and differentiating between the two Christianities. As such, their use or misuse can lead, in my opinion, to anachronistic conclusions and observations when applied to the late medieval period (but not only) and to the transitional regions where these Christian traditions experienced a context that emphasized their common traits rather than their division and differences.

A similar situation, but implying the existence of groups motivated by a different religious ethos/tradition was described through the concept of *conviventia*, connected mostly to medieval Spain[41] but also reflected in studies referring to the Eastern Mediterranean[42] and

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[40] Peri, "Le vocabulaire des relations entre les Églises d'Occident et d'Orient jusqu'au XVIe siècle," 194-199; Ioan-Aurel Pop, *"Din mâinile valahilor schismatici…" Românii şi puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII-XIV)* ["From the hands of the schismatic Wallachians…" The Romanians and power in the Hungarian medieval kingdom (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries)] (Bucharest: Litera, 2011) (hereafter Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*), 274.

[41] Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little Brown, 2002); Juan Pedron Monferrer-Sala, "Les chrétiens d'al-Andalus et leurs manifestations culturelles," and John Tolan, "Une convivencia bien précaire: la place des juifs et des musulmans dans les sociétés chrétiennes ibériques au Moyen Âge," in *La Tolérance. Colloque international de Nantes (mai 1998)*, ed. Guy Sapin, Rémi Fabre, Marcel Launay (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 363-370 and 385-394; Angus MacKay, "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett, Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 217-243.

[42] Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Mediterranean World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) (hereafter Greene, *A Shared World*); Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) (hereafter

the Crusades.[43] Another concept pertaining to the analysis of the relation between different

religions and confessions which was almost worn-out by constant use in the last two decades

is that of border or frontier society.[44] For Lock, Frankish Greece was a frontier society

throughout its existence. A total commitment of the baronial class to the interests of their new

lands and the inability to free themselves from their western thought prevented any but basic

moves towards a hybrid culture.[45] "There was no iron curtain between Greeks and Latins but

there was a fairly broad chasm which could be crossed at some peril."[46]

The coexistence of communities that used the Greek language as a liturgical medium

with communities that used the Latin one is a historically documented fact from the eight

century onwards, when Puglia, Calabria and Sicily were included in the jurisdictional area of

the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. The ecclesiastical and jurisdictional allegiance did not

conform in these regions with the more general pattern that the rite and traditions of the

hierarchy ruling over a diocese were identical with those of the ecclesial communities

subjected to it as the ancient principle of one bishop administering one city and one diocese

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McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete*); Vittorio Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza nell'Italia meridionale," *Kanon* 12 (1994) (herafter Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza"): 8-17.

[43] John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom 1000-1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

[44] József Laszlovszky identifies a third territorial unit, East Central Europe, incorporating a third "historical region" of European monasticism "where the borderline between Latin and Orthodox can be drawn, but it would be better to speak of a border zone or a border region." "Foreword to Mendicant Missions in the Territory of Orthodoxy," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, ed. Katalin Szende, Judith A. Rasson, Marcell Sebők, vol. 9 (Budapest: Central European University, 2003), 199.

[45] The conquerors sought to maintain control through institutions they imported from their homelands while attempting to preserve a racial, linguistic, and territorial distinctiveness from their Greek subjects as stated in several articles of the Assizes of Romania. They did not much alter the society which they found in mainland Greece. There was little attempt to remove the topmost landlords as had happened in Constantinople and the middle ranks of the society showed signs of fusion of race and culture. Life went on as before for the majority of the Greek peasantry who seemed to have acquiesced passively in Latin rule. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 267, 281. See also David Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce medievale. Les Assises de Romanie sources, application et diffusion* (Paris: Mouton & Co, 1971); Julian Chrysostomides, "Symbiosis in the Peloponnese in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantium and Venice, 1204-1453* (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), article X, 155-167.

[46] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 309. See also David Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, David Jacoby (London: Frank Cass, 1989) (hereafter Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania"), 6-16.

would make one believe. Sometimes the two communities of Greek and Latin rites sharing a common territory found themselves in the situation of having as overlords, bishops that belonged to a different ecclesiastical tradition than that of the community over which they ruled.

When Latins constituted a minority group, coexistence seems to have been the norm (there were numerous examples of Latins attending Greek rite services in twelfth century Constantinople which were reprimanded by the pope as back-door Byzantinisation).[47] Tolerance of their rite was what mattered on the Greek side, while the minor liturgical differences could be overlooked as long as they were not forced upon the host congregation. There was a general acceptance that liturgical differences could be harmonized and this accounts for many negotiations over union before and after the Fourth Crusade. The outcome would depend on charity and willingness to compromise and accommodate, which were not always easy to sustain with the rising aggressiveness of the developing papal monarchy and expanding Latin Christendom of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.[48]

The study of the coexistence of two diverse ecclesiastical traditions has often been conducted using methodologies which are appropriate for modern times and thus foreign to the situation they were applied to. This has led to the improper association of the ecclesiology related to uniatism and of the controversies typically associated with the post-Tridentine debates between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches to the history of these communities.

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[47] Tia Kolbaba, "On the closing of the churches and the rebaptism of Latins: Greek perfidy or Latin slander?," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 29, no. 1 (2005) (hereafter Kolbaba, "On the closing of the churches"): 39-51; L.-R. Ménager, "La *Byzantination* religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IXe-XIIe siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands en Italie," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 54 (1959): 5-40.

[48] Robert Bartlett, "The Expansion of Latin Christendom," *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5-23; Gábor Klaniczay, "The Birth of a New Europe about 1000 CE: Conversion, Transfer of Institutional Models, New Dynamics," *Eurasian Transformations, Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries. Crystallizations, Divergences, Renaissances*, ed. Johann P. Arnason, Björn Wittrock (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 99-129.

Peri says: "Tale estensione, almeno da un punto di vista strettamente storico appare impropria."[49]

I find instructive the theoretical approach of Molly Greene,[50] though it seems to me to be more of a revelation for someone without a previous interest in the history of Orthodox Christianity. She adds a different note to the imagined world of the late medieval and early modern Mediterranean, following in the footsteps of Andrew Hess[51] and Fernand Braudel,[52] but at the same time dismissing both. While Braudel writes a history of the Mediterranean from the bottom up, going beyond the conventional boundaries of state, religion, and culture, and argues for a common experience based on shared environmental constraints, Hess observes the unrepresentative model proposed by the former. He states that Braudel rests his account on examples drawn from the experience of Latin Christendom, and thus the image of the Mediterranean world he creates does possess an essential unity but cannot be applied to the sea as a whole. His conclusion is that the separation of the Mediterranean world into different, well-defined cultural spheres is the main theme not only of the sixteenth century but of the centuries to follow, when the chasm between Christianity and Islam only grew wider. Greene completes the circle when she argues for a different view, depicting a world that "had a dynamic of its own" which is not properly conveyed by the struggle between Christianity and Islam. This happened because from the Fourth Crusade onwards (1204), the eastern Mediterranean was the point of intersection for not two, but three, enduring civilizations:

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[49] Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza," 10.
[50] Greene, *A Shared World*, 4.
[51] Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
[52] Fernand Braudel, *Écrits sur l'Histoire* (Paris: Flammarion, 1969), 11-13; Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1986).

Latin Christianity, Greek Christianity, and Islam. This mostly applies to Eastern Europe as well.[53]

More recently, in his latest book, Christopher MacEvitt introduces the syntagm of "rough tolerance" as opposing the colonial vs. European, creole vs. orientalised dichotomies of Western Christianity ruling over Eastern Christians, a description which relies on an understanding of interreligious relations as either oppressive or tolerant.[54] He calls "rough tolerance" the mode of social interaction between local Christians and the Franks in twelfth century Syria and Palestine, a mode which encompassed conflict and oppression but allowed multiple religious communities to coexist in a religiously charged landscape. To my mind the use of the term tolerance presents some methodological risks, partly because it is not adequate and partly because it is an anachronism when put in relation to the phenomena which it intends to evoke and represent.[55] Nevertheless, MacEvitt makes a necessary contribution when he identifies the three principles of rough tolerance which can be traced not only in the Latin East, but also elsewhere. They are: silence covering a variety of absences from both local Christian (identified only by linguistic characteristics which masked the more problematic markers of religious identity at the level of dogma and ritual) and Latin sources; permeability which explains the easy flow of persons and practices across social and religious

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[53] For a more recent overview on religious identities in the Eastern Mediterranean see Catherine Holmes, "Shared Worlds: Religious Identities – A Question of Evidence," in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes, Eugenia Russell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) (hereafter Holmes, "Shared Worlds: Religious Identities"), 31-56.

[54] Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East. Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) (hereafter MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*).

[55] On a discussion of the concept of tolerance see Avishai Margalit, "The Ring: On Religious Pluralism," George P. Fletcher, "The Instability of Tolerance," and T. M. Scalon, "The Difficulty of Tolerance," in *Toleration. An Elusive Virtue*, ed. David Heyd (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 1996), 147-157, 159-165, 226-229. On tolerance in the late medieval and early modern world see Gary Remer, *Humanism and the Rethoric of Toleration* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 1996), 1-41; Bob Scribner, "Preconditions of tolerance and intolerance in sixteenth-century Germany," in *Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32-47; Guy Sapin, "Le concept de tolerance aux Temps modernes," in *La Tolérance. Colloque international de Nantes (mai 1998)*, ed. Guy Sapin, Rémi Fabre and Marcel Launay (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 11-18; Benjamin J. Kaplan, "Coexistence, Conflict, and the Practice of Toleration," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), 486-505.

boundaries (rising from the relative weakness of the elites of the local Christians but not extending to the flow of intellectual exchange); and localization: an attack on an individual or group was never interpreted as an attitude on an entire community or class.[56] Rough tolerance was born out of this combination of conditions: local communities fragmented, isolated, lacking traditional elites, and foreign occupiers strangely uninterested in the peoples over whom they ruled.[57] Such conditions and situations are to be found in all the transitional regions under scrutiny. "The dark, quiet way of rough tolerance"[58] whose end MacEvitt chooses to place, out of convenience, in the second half of the twelfth century is actually very much there, as will become apparent in this thesis, all throughout the medieval period.

"*Conviventia*" and "rough tolerance" are just steps (but important ones) in the endeavour of providing a framework more easily understandable and closer to the documented events, buildings and human actors. With this in mind, I have added a further terminological construction to the discussion, namely the notion of "transitional region," already mentioned in the Introduction. In this study I am following the way in which a series of patterns worked in the transitional regions, setting the phenomena in a broader framework of models.

Questions of nomenclature

The existing sources give little evidence about the daily coexistence of Latin and Greek Christians, and only occasionally mention such obscure matters. Conflicts happened

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[56] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East. Rough Tolerance*, 22-24.
[57] Local Christian communities were prepared for the military aspect of the crusades, but not for the permanence of their presence or for the cultural expectations they brought with them. At the same time the Crusaders were focused largely on the sacred geography of Syria and Palestine, but were little concerned with Christian communities so long established there. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East. Rough Tolerance*, 49.
[58] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 159.

where the Latin and Greek rites were practiced alongside each other, sometimes sharing the same cult place. Though one should not exclude the religious reasons based as they were on ethnic and social factors, Herde believes that "the differences in language and custom must have played a crucial role in conflicts stemming from early forms of national consciousness."[59] Differences between Greeks and Latins were styled in terms of language above all, and the papacy mentioned variations in rite and customs (*ritus et mores*) only as added factors.[60] Most probably, the Latin Christians exhibited a sense of supremacy with regard to their Greek co-religionists. Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) wrote to archbishop Pantaleon of Conza on 23 November 1201 and described a "local schism" that had broken out between the local Latins and Greeks. The two groups refused to attend the services of the other community prompting the pope to direct the local archbishop, together with his suffragans, to find a solution to the issue.[61]

The documents are generally categorizing the local non-Latin Christians by means of the linguistic difference. Latins[62] often did not think about local Christians in a theological framework, but in a linguistic and cultural one. In the crusader states, the Franks treated the Melkites[63] as they had the Armenians and Jacobites in northern Syria, as a community

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[59] 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. G. A. Loud, A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002) (hereafter Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church"), 233. On group identity and the role of language in the development of early nationalism see Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 19-21, 29-34; Ioan Aurel Pop, "Ethnie et confession. Genèse médiévale de la nation roumaine moderne," in *Structura etnică și confesională a Transilvaniei medievale (sec. IX-XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Renaşterea, 2007), 176-235.

[60] Catherine Holmes points out that in the sources regarding the Eastern Mediterranean "very large numbers of the contemporary voices from this period describe, praise, and decry individuals and groups in terms of their religious affiliations, practices, and beliefs, even when apparently non-religious issues are at stake." Holmes, "Shared Worlds: Religious Identities," 33.

[61] [...] *ad audientiam apostolatus nostri pervenit, quod in castro Pulzini, Olettae et Vetri, inter Latinos et Graecos scisma non modicum est* [...]. Theodosius Haluščynskyj, ed., *Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198-1216) e registris Vaticanis aliisque eruit, introductione auxit, notisque illustravit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1944) (hereafter Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*), no. 21, 212.

[62] The designation *Latinoi* or Latins seems to go back to the eight century and the competition between the two churches during the missions among the Slavs.

[63] For the formation of Melkite identity see Sidney H. Griffith, "The Church of Jerusalem and the *Melkites*: The Making of an 'Arab Orthodox' Christian Identity in the World of Islam (750-1050 CE)," in *Christians and*

separated from them by culture and language but not by theology, while terms such as *Graeci* or *Suriani* were intended to erase the multiplicity of local Christian liturgy and customs without explicitly describing them.[64] Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) defined the Greeks as a non-legal entity among the one Christian nation under his jurisdiction.[65] On 17 October 1345, Pope Clement VI (r. 1342-1352) rejoiced in the fact that a part of the Vlachs[66] had joined the Latin Church and that many others were preparing to take this step, referring to them as *Olachi Romani*,[67] using both their exonym as well as the one used by the Vlachs themselves, or maybe indicating that they were perceived as belonging to the Roman Church.[68] A document from Matthias Corvinus's times discussing the military obligations of several communities in the kingdom mixes Vlachs, Ruthenians and other Slavs under the generic term of rural people who held the *fidem Wolachorum*.[69]

Christianity in the Holy Land. From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms, ed. Ora Limor, Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006), 175-204.

[64] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 102-103. For Matthew of Edessa the five nations of the Christian faithful were the Armenians, the Syrians, the Greeks, the Georgians, and the Franks. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 118. For a general overview see also Johannes Pahlitzsch, Daniel Baraz, "Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusale (1099-1187 CE)," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land. From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. Ora Limor, Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006), 205-235.

[65] Alberto Melloni, *Innocenzo IV. La concezione e l'esperienza della cristianità come* regimen unius personae, (Genoa: Marietti, 1990), 154-160.

[66] Adolf Armbruster, *La Romanité des Roumains. Histoire d'une idée* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977) (hereafter Armbruster, *La Romanité des Roumains*), 42-69; Şerban Papacostea, "Conştiinţa romanităţii la români în Evul Mediu" [The Consciousness of Latinity among Romanians in the Middle Ages], *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu Românesc* [The Genesis of the state in the Romanian Medieval Age] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1988), 222-230.

[67] Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342-1352) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1960) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Clementis VI)*, no. 60, 100.

[68] For the earliest ethnonyms used about Romanians see Sergiu Iosipescu, "La Colonia delli Romani Negri che dicono Valacchi. La romanité des Roumains dans la conscience européenne du XIVe siècle," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 18, no. 4 (1979): 673-685; Şerban Turcuş, "Prima mărturie străină despre etnonimul român (1314)" [The first foreign testimony about the ethnonym Romanian (1314)], *Cele Trei Crişuri* 1, no. 7-9 (2000): 1-14; Alexandru Simon discusses the probably late twelfth century ethnonym *Rumeorum* in "Între coroanele Arpadienilor şi Asăneştilor: implicaţiile unui document de la Béla III" [Between the Arpadian and Asenid crowns: the implications of a document from Béla III], *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie* 28 (2010): 127-136. For the use of the adjective Romanian when denoting the language spoken by the Romanians see Michel Balard, "Un document génois sur la langue roumain en 1360," in *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise XIIIe-XVe siècles* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1989), article X, 233-238.

[69] *Item quia quamplurimi Wolachi, Rutheni et Sclavi fidem Wolachorum tenentes rustici, qui alias ad lucrum camera regie numerari asueti non fuissent, tales tam regales, quam aliorum ad presentem exercitum connumerari debeant, et insuper, prout et quemadmodum alias exercituare consueti sunt, exercituare teneantur.*

There seems to have been an objection to the Greekness of the Eastern Church rather than to their ideas; the Greek Fathers were seen as "Fathers" rather than Greeks, while the persistence of Greek congregations in their traditional practices was seen as a voluntary choice rather than a cultural trait. David Jacoby termed the period as "an encounter between two societies" rather than an acculturation.[70] Ethnic categories, such as those used on Crete, represented juridical conditions entailing the presence or absence of property rights. Since the inequity of ethnic ascription was not felt, these categories could not be used as a focal point in the struggle for political independence, nor be transformed into ethnic or national solidarity.[71]

Besides the linguistic differentiation, the documents use and often mix ethnonymes with labels belonging to the field of the ecclesial discourse regarding religious alterity and differentiation, such as heretics or schismatics. MacEvitt observes that there is only one instance in the twelfth century when Eastern Christians (be they Greeks, Armenians, Syrians or Jacobites) were called heretics, and that happened three months after John the Oxite was re-enthroned as patriarch of Antioch in 1098.[72] The agreements of 1220 and 1223 in Cyprus never use the terms *schismatici* or *heretici* when referring to the Greeks, but simply call them *rustici*. The fact of their being Chalcedonians (as opposed to the Syrians or Armenians) could have meant that the Greeks were part of the Roman Church. I believe that the omission of a term such as *ecclesia Graecorum* is important, as the Orthodox were not being considered as

János M. Bak, Leslie S. Domonkos, Paul B. Harvey, Jr., Kathleen Garay, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. 1458-1490* (Los Angeles: Charles Schlacks, 1996), vol. 3, 12.

[70] David Jacoby, "The encounter of two societies: western conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 873-906. See also David Jacoby, "Multilingualism and Institutional Pattern of Communication in Latin Romania (Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries)," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 27-48.

[71] McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete*, 168-177.

[72] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 100-101.

necessarily part of a separate Church.[73] Thus union comes with the mere acceptance of the Latin jurisdiction, which is very different from the latter types of Church unions. A synod in the 1280s criticized the Greek rite clergy (both priests and monks who did not accept the *Bulla Cypria*[74]) for their behavior towards the Latins condemning and labeling them, for the first time since the arrival of Latins, as heretics, with the term used up to that moment being that of schismatic.[75] Examples from documents dating from the pontificate of Clement V (r. 1305-1314), a period which saw a more interventionist move against Greek rite monasteries harboring schismatics, are much harsher in tone, identifying Georgian and Greek schismatics who, calling themselves abbots, had taken over some monasteries in Cyprus.[76]

Pop considers that there was an intended confusion between "heretic" and "schismatic" in the documents of fourteenth-century Hungary as the two notions were being used interchangeably and thus provoked a change of attitudes in Western imagined alterity.[77] On 14 November 1343, Chanadinus, the archbishop of Esztergom asked the authorities to defend the monastery of Cârţa which had been attacked and robbed by schismatics and

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[73] Peter W. Edbury, "The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus and the Indigenous Population," *Kingdoms of the Crusaders. From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999) (hereafter Edbury, "The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus"), article XX, 6.

[74] Jean Richard, "À propos de la *Bulla Cypria* de 1260," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996) (hereafter Richard, "À propos de la *Bulla Cypria* de 1260"): 19-31; Gregorios A. Ioannides, "La *Constitutio* o *Bulla Cypria Alexandri Papae IV* del *Barberinianus Graecus 390*," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 66, no. 2 (2000): 335-372.

[75] *Et quia a pluribus annis quamplures presbyteri graeci et monachi in Insula Cypri fuerunt suspicio notabiles de haeretica pravitate et pluries admoniti ut omnes haereses abjurarent et maxime illam quae damnat confectum in azymis Eucharistiae sacramentum ac redirent ad obedientiam Romanae ecclesiae: quoniam hoc facere contempserunt, latitantes per loca diversa et fugientes et nonnullos veneno pestifero corrumpentes […] in qua non tantum per annum, sed per plurimos annos perstiterunt facie indurate. […] Ne igitur circa pestem hujusmodi negligentes inveniamur aut remissi: jam dictos auctoritate concilii haereticos judicamus.* Theodosius T. Haluščynskyj, Meletius M. Wojnar, ed., *Acta Alexandri PP. IV (1254-1261) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt notisque adornarunt* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1966) (hereafter Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*), no. 46a, 115.

[76] […] *quidam Jorgianus et Graeci schismatici se de Gelia et de Lacrona ac de Sancto Saba monasteriorum Paphen. diocesis dicentes abbates, monasteria ipsa nequiter occuparunt et in superni Regis offensam detinent occupata. Verum, cum eadem monasteria, propter servilem conditionem schismaticorum ipsorum, graviter sint collapsa* [...]. Ferdinandus M. Delorme, Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Clementis PP. V (1303-1314) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1954) (hereafter Delorme/Tăutu, *Acta Clementis V*), no. 6, 11.

[77] Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 287.

infidels.[78] In a document from 22 August 1352, Stephen, the vice-voievode of Transylvania, asked the chapter of Alba Iulia to investigate the complaint of some nobles from Geoagiu de Sus and Galda whose vineyards had been ransacked by Vlachs.[79] Though the accusation was of abuse of property and thus not a religious crime, the perpetrators are named schismatics in the documents. The next decades saw the terms Romanian/Vlach and schismatic becoming almost synonyms and their use as such generalized all over Transylvania.[80]

A 16 January 1400 document, issued in Timişoara, brings to light another linguistic construct when, after addressing the high ranking secular and religious officials in the Banat area (such as the *comes* of Timiş, the castellan of Şoimuş and the *comes* of Arad, etc.) and asking that, because of their unlawfulness, the Slavs and the Vlachs should be captured and killed, their property destroyed or confiscated, their families exiled, etc. it also introduces a subtle and almost poetic difference which was made between *Christicultores* and *malefactores*.[81] It may be that three decades after the measures taken by Louis I in 1366, who tried to impose the Latin rite in Banat leading to pressures on the local Romanian nobles (as every noble had to have a royal donation act and belong to the Latin Church),[82] a new

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[78] […] *inter alias regni catholici ecclesias ecclesiam virginis gloriose de Kercz, in extremo confinio regni Hungarici a parte scismaticorum constructam, que, tam per ipsos scismaticos, quam etiam malos Christiane fidei cultores indicibiliter dilapidata extitit et suis proprietatibus funditus desolata* […]. Ion Ionaşcu et al., ed., *Documente privind Istoria Romîniei. Veacul XIV C. Transilvania*, vol. 4 (1341-1350) [Documents regarding the History of Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1955) (hereafter DIR C, Veacul XIV, vol. 4), no. 192, 160-161.

[79] […] *vineas in eodem monte habere dignoscuntur, quod per gentes scismaticas, videlicet per olacos ad castrum Keechkes pertinentes, in maxima confusione et in necessitate magna essent perpessi, quia noctu dieque vineas ipsorum regere et deffensare per eosdem non possent* […]. Ştefan Pascu et al., ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica C (Transilvania)*, vol. 10 (1351-1355) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977) (hereafter DRH C), no. 141, 147-148.

[80] Pop believes the documents insinuate that the Vlachs were doing such acts precisely because they were not members of the Latin Church. Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 293.

[81] Adrian Magina, "Răufăcători sau… schismatici? Statutul ortodocşilor bănăţeni în jurul anului 1400" [Malefactors or ... schismatics? The statute of the Orthodox from the Banat around 1400], in *Românii în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin şi Occidentul latin): Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei*, ed. Dumitru Ţeicu, Ionel Cândea (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2008), 292-293.

[82] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001) (hereafter Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*), 172.

mentality had appeared among the Latin elite, a mentality which was prone to stigmatize and marginalize the schismatics.

A definite change of tone, displaying the same ambiguity when framing the social and religious background of the beneficiaries, can be observed in a document devised during the reign of Wladislas I which was supposed to serve especially the Romanians, with the official use of the formulation *nobiles valachi*.[83] A later document, in 1468, issued from the royal chancery explicitly addresses Romanian groups and uses a label denoting a difference in their assumed Christianity: *fidelibus nostris universis et singulis schizmaticis ubivis in terris christianorum in partibus Transilvanis*,[84] an appellation that becomes usual afterwards.

Finally, one often finds cases in which Vlachs were put in the same category with the Ottomans (*ipsis Turchis seu Walchis schismaticis*) such as in a 1373 document issued by Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370-1378).[85] This anti-schismatic policy lost part of its impetus during the fifteenth century with the focus moving to the Hussite wars and the impending Ottoman threat. In the 1480s, in a push to enforce Florentine decisions, the inquisitor Nicholas of Casovia was sent to Hungary and invested with the mission of preaching and taking measures *contra hereticos, scismaticos et perfidos Turchos*.[86] A couple of decades before, Capistrano's

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[83] Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Un formular al cancelariei regale din epoca lui Iancu de Hunedoara pentru nobilii români din Transilvania" [A form of the royal chancery in the time of John Hunyadi for the Romanian nobles of Transylvania], *Acta Musei Napocensis* 20 (1983) (hereafter Rusu, "Un formular al cancelariei regale"): 155-171.

[84] Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densuşianu, ed., *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], vol. 2, no. 2 (1451-1510) (Bucharest: Academia Română şi Ministerul Instrucţiunii Publice, 1891) (hereafter Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510)), no. 162, 182; also Antonius Szeredai, ed., *Notitia veteris, et novi capitvli ecclesiae albensis Transilvaniae, ex antiquis, ac recentioribus ervta* (Alba Carolina: Typis Episcopalibus, 1791) (hereafter Szeredai, *Notitia veteris*), 103.

[85] Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370-1378) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit notisque adornavit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1966) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*), no. 71, 131; *Wlachis* in Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densuşianu, ed., *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], vol. 1, no. 2 (1346-1450) (Bucharest: Academia Română şi Ministerul Instrucţiunii Publice, 1890) (hereafter Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450)), no. 152, 207. During the last decades of the fifteenth century the papacy issued documents encouraging individual conversions of the Vlachs, as well as action on behalf of the papal inquisitors against heretics, Turks and, again, schismatics. See Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 68 and 69, 126-128; Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 227, 253-257.

[86] Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 248, 277.

missionary exaltation came to an abrupt change during the siege of Belgrade in 1456, when during a discourse attributed to him by John of Tagliacotio, the friar went beyond the confessional lines and asked for unity against the Ottomans, so that all present in the city, schismatic Serbs, Vlachs, Jews, and heretics, would take arms against the common threat.[87]

The impressive variety of terms that are used in the primary sources, lead to an array of problematic and inaccurate labels in modern scholarship often used in anachronistic ways when applied to constructed confessional or national scenarios. Finding a proper terminology is thus essential and must be an issue constantly addressed in further research on the topic, so that a better understanding of the documented religious groups might be offered. In this work, I will mostly use the terms Latin and Greek (instead of Byzantine) or Greek-Slavonic (for regions where the Slavonic language was preeminent) communities of rite[88] or Churches instead of the more familiar "Catholic" and "Orthodox." The liturgical languages which circumscribed much of the sacramental and religious experience of these communities give a more inclusive and ecclesiologically sound labeling for the Churches in question. The confessional label sets a terminological trap by implying an ecclesiology that was not yet established and a strict identity that was not yet characteristic of pre-Tridentine times.

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[87] *Quicumque nobiscum etiam contra Turcas assistere volunt, amici nostri sunt, Rassiani Schismatici, Valachi, Judaei, Haeretici, et quiqumque infideles nobiscum in hac tempestate esse volunt, eos amicitia complectamur. Nunc contra Turcas, contra Turcas pugnandum est.* Lucas Waddingus, ed., *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, vol. 12 (1448-1456) (Ad Claras Aquas: Quaracchi, 1932) (hereafter Waddingus, *Annales Minorum* 12 (1448-1456)), 407 and 766. See also Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000) (hereafter Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*), 27-29; Norman Housley, "Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century. Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 94-115, 103-104.

[88] Can. 28 - §1. *Ritus est patrimonium liturgicum, theologicum, spirituale et disciplinare cultura ac rerum adiunctis historiae populorum distinctum, quod modo fidei vivendae uniuscuiusque Ecclesiae sui iuris proprio exprimitur.* The definition given in the Code of the Canons of the Oriental Churches asserts that Churches are defined by their heritage of rite which is an expression of the way these Churches are living their fate. See *Codex Canonum Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_19901018_codex-can-eccl-orient-1_lt.html#TITULUS_II (accessed November, 2013).

PART I

Late medieval ecclesiology between East and West

Traditional theology explains the Church as the very body of Christ and, thus, a single articulated whole: many members playing different parts within one organization.[89] Churches are also organizations in which the normative power is the major source of control over their adherents whose orientation to the organization is characterized by a high level of commitment and the internalization of directives accepted as legitimate. Ecclesiastical organizations have to rely mainly on the religious allegiance and identity they are able to generate. Leadership, rituals, manipulation of social and prestige symbols, and resocialization are among the more important techniques of control used.[90]

The apostolicity of a Church is based on three factors: the bishop, the social nexus of the people who form the ecclesial community and the physical stability of that community in a geographically delineated territory, usually called a diocese. Due to historical mutations a Church cannot rely on the diocesan borders sanctioned *in perpetuum* by the canons of the councils or on the hierarchical place in the universal canonical order agreed by the same councils; it cannot even count on the continuous existence of the ethnical, linguistic, communitarian elements of a population and of its social organization. The personal role of the bishop who legitimizes the apostolic succession and is connected with a part of the people

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[89] Boris Bobrinskoy, *Le Mystére de l'Èglise* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2003); Aidan Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches. A Study in Schism* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010) (hereafter Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*), 30. For a short introduction see Matthew Steenberg, "The Church," in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. Mary B. Cunningham, Elizabeth Theokritoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) (hereafter Steenberg, "The Church"), 121-132.
[90] Joseph Franz Macha, "Ecclesiastical Unification. A Study in Leaders and Forces," Ph.D. Dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1970) (hereafter Macha, "Ecclesiastical Unification"), 22, footnote 3.

of God which recognizes his spiritual guidance in a given time and place, represents a more stable characteristic for the temporal continuity of each particular Church when compared to the purely territorial, ethnical or cultural factors. The effective personal link between a bishop and the historical community which he is called to serve remains an essential factor for the existence of a particular Church and its communion with other Churches in space and time.[91]

The estrangement of East and West as it revealed itself during the crusades cannot be explained by conflict alone. It had its roots in the divergent cultural development the two parts of Christendom had undergone over half a millennium of relative isolation from each other, a time which saw the accumulation of differences ranging from dogma, canon law, cult and ritual, to recourse to tradition, political discourse, and mentalities. The two communities of rite had their particularities and were individualized at the social level by these particularities. Political power which was also affiliated at the religious level counterbalanced or led to the supremacy of one or the other of the two groups.[92]

The absence of a unified Christian imperial power, able to ensure the functioning of the administration, made it impossible to peacefully draw jurisdictional borders, especially after the rupture between the eastern and western Churches. The ecumenical conciliar *consensus* doubled by the lack of an executive branch to implement the canonical solution that resulted from such a council – both parts of the domain of the political power – made it very difficult to implement the approved general decisions, which, consequently, the divided "ecumenical" hierarchy was not able to undertake anymore.

The strong relationship between state and Church is a familiar trademark of society in the middle ages with diverse paradigms in both East and West. The emperor of Byzantium as head of the *oikumene* and the viceroy of God on earth embodied many functions which the

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[91] Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza," 17.
[92] Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, 97-106. John Meyendorff, *Rome, Constantinople, Moscow: Historical and Theological Studies* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996).

pope exercised or claimed to exercise in the west. The conflict between the lay and the spiritual authority was unfamiliar to the East; in Lock's words: "western *auctoritas* and Byzantine *oikonomia* did not sit well together."[93]

Both the papacy and the Byzantine Church underwent several transformations during the high middle ages.[94] The picture at the beginning of the thirteenth century differed sharply from the one at the end of the sixteenth century, when new political entities were shaping the map of Europe, national kingdoms started to have a more important say in international affairs (see France), while the Eastern Roman empire had forever passed into the history books.[95] The last crusades, abortive military expeditions, also showed that the religious enthusiasm that had supported papal appeals in the eleventh and twelfth centuries no longer functioned.[96]

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[93] D. M. Nicol, "Byzantine Political Thought," in *Medieval Political Thought c. 350 - c. 1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 51-79; Dimiter Angelov, "The emperor – subject to the church: late Byzantine hierocratic theories," *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 351-416.

[94] For a general overview see Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2003) (hereafter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*); J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) (hereafter Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*), 184-294; Nelson H. Minnich, "Councils of the Catholic Reformation: A Historical Survey," in *The Church, the Councils, & Reform. The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, Christopher M. Bellitto (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008): 27-59; Thomas Wetzstein, "Wie die *urbs* zum *orbis* wurde. Der Beitrag des Papsttums zur Entstehung neuer Kommunikationsräume im europäischen Hochmittelalter" and Klaus Herbers, "Im Dienste der Universalität oder der Zentralisierung? Das Papsttum und die Peripheren im hohen Mittelalter – Schlussbemerkungen und Perspektiven," in *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III*, ed. Jochen Johrendt, Harald Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008): 47-76, 323-344; Dimiter Angelov, "The Donation of Constantine and the church in Late Byzantium," in *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, ed. Dimiter G. Angelov (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2009): 91-157.

[95] For the evolution of the national identity in Late Medieval Europe see Joachim Ehlers, "Sentiment imperial, Monarchie et régions en Allemagne et en France pendant le Haut Moyen Age," and Jean-Philippe Genet, "Le roi de France anglais et la nation française au XVe siècle," in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, ed. Rainer Babel, Jean-Marie Moeglin (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1997), 15-25 and 39-58.

[96] For the later crusades see Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Antony Leopold, *The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Margaret Meserve, "Italian Humanists and the Problem of the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century. Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 13-38; Martin Nejedlý, Jaroslav Svátek, ed., *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge (France, Bourgogne, Bohême)* (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse – Le Mirail, 2009).

The papacy itself changed from the all-powerful pontificate of Innocent III to that of Leo X, who failed to perceive the power of the reforming message announced by Luther.[97] At the beginning of the thirteenth century the papal curia was one of the best organized and impressive central administrations in medieval Europe. A result of constant adjustment and accommodation, the curia was animated by the idea of the rule of canon law and church justice. The claim for universal sovereignty of the papacy lay behind the appropriation and inclusion of several territories (such as Transylvania, Cyprus, Crete, Ruthenia, etc.), some of them formerly under the rule of a Greek rite elite, within the Roman area of jurisdiction. The curia was irritated by the continuous demands of the Constantinopolitan Church for an ecumenical council[98] which, in the latter's view, was supposed to reestablish the communion ruptured by the common excommunication of 1054.[99] The turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries showed that the papacy could not deal as swiftly as before with the fragmentation and increased influence of the secular power posed by rising national kingdoms. This also brought about the Great Schism that was finally settled at the Council of Constance (1414-1418).[100] The aftermath of the Council of Constance was, in the words of

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[97] For a factual overview of this period see K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976).

[98] For the Byzantine support for a council where the two sides would discuss on equal terms the most important theological, ecclesiastical and liturgical points of divergence see John Boojamra, "The Byzantine Notion of the *Ecumenical Council* in the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 80, no. 1 (1987): 59-76; John Meyendorff, "Was There an Encounter between East and West at Florence?," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 153-175; Vasil T. Istavridis, "The historical evolution of the synods in the ecumenical patriarchate," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 24 (1992): 145-157; Nicola Bux, "Il Concilio Ecumenico e la teoria della Chiesa Indivisa del Primo Millennio," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 40, no. 1 (2008): 99-110.

[99] For the 1054 schism see Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956): 28-54; Axel Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004) (hereafter Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit*), 63-106; Henry Chadwick, *East and West: the Making of a Rift in the Church. From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 206-218; Evangelos Chrysos, "1054: Schism?," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI): 24-30 aprile 2003*, vol. 1 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004), 547-567.

[100] For the Council of Constance see Frank Welsh, *The Battle for Christendom: The Council of Constance, the East-West Conflict and the Dawn of Modern Europe* (London: Overlook Press, 2008). On the Great Schism see Hèléne Millet, *L'Église du Grand Schisme (1378-1417)* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 2009); Idem, *Le concile de Pise. Qui travaillait à l'union de l'Ègbise d'Occident en 1409?* (Brepols: Turnhout, 2010).

Walter Ullmann, a period of transition "in which the old was not yet old enough to be replaced by the new which was yet too new to gain a firm footing".[101]

A Church could hold temporal supremacy in a region if the lord of that region embraced it, a *cuius regio, eius religio avant-la-lettre*[102] but without all the intricacies the term acquired during the Reformation period. This political situation did not necessarily lead immediately to the forceful conversion of the inhabitants of the same region to a different rite; still the "state"-backed religious tradition obviously had the upper hand with regard to the others. In my opinion the lack of boundaries between Latins and locals left local communities with no structures and guidance on how relations with the dominant power were to be regulated.

Another important question is how the transitional region fitted in the ecclesiology of the period, as well as how practical was the ecclesiology of the day and who helped apply it at the regional level. The Western institution which the Christian East knew for the longest period was the Latin Church. In its colonies, the *Serenissima* supported a Venetian Church which was highly conditioned by the political power of the state (religion as *instrumentum regni*), with the decisions concerning religious matters being mainly taken by the Senate which, by the fourteenth century, became the most important body of the Venetian state. In Transylvania, an important role was played, as expected, by the Hungarian monarchy and the local Latin hierarchy, but also by the Mendicant mission in the area (such as shown by the conflictual stance between John of Capistrano (1386-1456) and a so-called pseudo-bishop of Greek rite, John of Caffa).[103]

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[101] Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, 305.
[102] This is a highly debated concept meaning: to whom the region belongs, imposes the religion. It was the terminology used in the Peace of Augsburg embodied in the treaty signed in 1555 between the forces of the Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and those of the Schmalkaldic League, determining the religious makeup of Germany in a compromise between Lutherans and Catholics.
[103] Iulian Mihai Damian, "The Greek Rite Transylvanian Church in the 1450': Archbishop John of Caffa and the Crusade in East-Central Europe," in Extincta est lucerna orbis*: John Hunyadi and his Time*, ed. Ana Dumitran,

The reciprocal rupture of ecclesial communion in 1054 involved only two of the patriarchates in the Pentarchy (the patriarchate of Rome and the patriarchate of Constantinople).[104] As the papal elections were freed from lay control in 1059 and, forty years later, the First Crusade under papal leadership conquered Jerusalem, this led to an important extension of western Christianity in the Levant. The rupture extended to the other patriarchates once the crusaders took over Antioch and Jerusalem, at which time it was qualified as schism.[105] Such a canonical understanding legitimized the foundation of homonym Churches in the territories previously belonging to the eastern patriarchates. This would have hardly been possible where there was only a simple rupture in communion. The Crusades brought a new solution and a new problem: co-territoriality.[106] Territory was shared not only with the Greek rite but also with other rites under Roman jurisdiction. In the Holy Land, for example, patriarchates of the Latin Rite and Oriental Catholic Churches existed side by side. They were placed under the trans-border jurisdiction of the Pope. Trans-border means that the patriarchates were created on the jurisdictional territory of a patriarchate other than that of Rome.[107] Some Byzantines were willing to accept a duality of bishops in the great sees, each of these bishops recognizing one another. This is similar to what one observes in today's

Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009) (hereafter Damian, "The Greek Rite Transylvanian Church"), 143-153.

[104] Papathomas, "La relation oppositionnelle," 12.

[105] George Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204* (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), 177-194; Daniel Stiernon, "Le problème de l'union Gréco-Latine vu de Byzance: de Germain II à Joseph Ier (1232-1273)," in *1274. Année charnière: mutations et continuités (Lyon-Paris 30 septembre – 5 octobre 1974)* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1977): 139-166.

[106] The problems of co-territoriality arose even before the Crusader expeditions. In southern Italy the two Churches found themselves, starting with the eight century while in the Eastern Mediterranean only after the Crusades, in the situation of unilaterally redefining their own patriarchal jurisdiction usually by making use of the available political support. During the eight and ninth century, the Lombard principalities of Benevento and Salerno expanded far to the south and the south-east into Calabria and southern Apulia, introducing a Germanic ruling class and Latinising the Church in that area. With the return of Eastern Rome, later in the ninth century, the Latin Church in Apulia had nevertheless loyally surrendered itself to Byzantine rule that left it untouched: though papal jurisdiction had been abolished in the tenth century, the Latin rite and Latin canon law endured. The Latin Church in Apulia was only subject to Byzantium politically, while the Byzantines competed for the loyalty of the Latin bishops, by sometimes offering them archiepiscopal titles. Even under the Byzantines, the archiepiscopal see of Taranto had a Latin archbishop overruling the Greek clergy. Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 215.

[107] Papathomas, "La relation oppositionnelle," 3.

Catholic Church where several rites exist on the same territory or in the Orthodox Church with numerous overlapping jurisdictions.[108] Both then and now, this goes counter to the best ecclesiology. By "economy" (Orthodox) or "dispensation" (Catholic) such a solution would have been acceptable in regions of the Greek East settled by crusaders[109] who had to face instances such as the unique situation of having the Latin, Jacobite and Greek patriarchs of Antioch all resident in the city or its environs at the same time.[110] Since the Greeks were considered members of the same Church as the Franks, separated only by a temporary schism, their hierarchy was treated differently from the Armenian or Jacobite clergy, based on the notion that the latter were heretical groups. Furthermore, though the Greek or Latin patriarchs in the region were equals among themselves, they were in a situation of common dependence in relation to the Patriarchate of Rome.

For the Greek East, the Church was a network of local Churches, each ontologically equal with the other yet ordered in a hierarchy of functions, the bishops being arranged in terms of *taxis* (order).[111] When, during the Crusades, the papacy created the Latin patriarchates, Rome gave the impression she saw herself as the origin of the rights of the patriarchal sees. This is because Rome had never managed to distinguish adequately between her administrative functions as a patriarchal see and the apostolic charge of the Petrine see,

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[108] Papathomas, "La relation oppositionnelle," 21-26; Grigorios Papathomas, "Face au concept d'*Église nationale*, la réponse canonique orthodoxe: *l'Église autocéphale* (Les carences ecclésiologiques au sein de l'*Église nationale* et les faiblesses dans la reception de l'*Église autocéphale*)," *L'Année canonique* 45 (2003): 149-170, available online: http://orthodoxe.free.fr/files/carances_ecclesilioligiques.pdf (accessed October 2013); Pedro Ramet, "Autocephaly and National Identity in Church-State Relations in Eastern Christianity: An Introduction," in *Eastern Christianity and politics in the twentieth century*, ed. Pedro Ramet (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 3-19.

[109] Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 287. Alexander Alexakis, "Official and Unofficial Contacts between Rome and Constantinople before the Second Council of Lyons (1274)," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 39 (2007) (hereafter Alexakis, "Official and Unofficial Contacts"): 122-123.

[110] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 170.

[111] Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 315; Steenberg, "The Church," 123-124.

presenting an image of a centralizing, all powerful force, claims that the East could never accept in that form.[112]

This made the Pope *primus inter inferiores*, a huge canonical change from the ecclesiology of the first millennium when he was *primus inter pares*. In doing this the papacy was inconsistent with its ecclesiastical usages; it promoted, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, two models of jurisdictions, one which was valid on the territory of the Patriarchate of Rome in Western Europe, which was a model of mono-territoriality and mono-jurisdiction and another one which was valid in the territories of the Eastern Patriarchates, which meant co-territoriality and trans-border (multi)jurisdiction. In turn, this co-territoriality was both exterior (extra-communion) and interior (inter-communion).[113] This model was also applied in Transylvania proper in the aftermath of the Council in 1439, with probably a "Uniate" bishop for the Eastern rite residing in Feleacu, modern Cluj county.[114]

The subject of the Florentine Church union is a much debated one, not least because of the contemporary ongoing ecumenical efforts, some of them being more successful than others. It has always been a part of the ongoing inter-confessional dialogue and, maybe

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[112] The universal primate of the pope should be seen as the responsibility entrusted to the pope (by Christ through Peter) for the right functioning of the entire episcopal – and so patriarchal – order throughout the world. Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 316.

[113] Papathomas, "La relation oppositionnelle," 2-3. If prayer in common recognizes bonds of fellowship, intercommunion (*communicatio in sacris*) means acknowledgement of equality and legitimacy of one another's faith, sacraments and ministry. Macha, "Ecclesiastical Unification," 88. See also Enrico Morini, "La Chiesa Greca ed i rapporti *In Sacris* con i Latini al tempo del Concilio di Ferrara-Firenze," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 21 (1989): 267-296.

[114] For an overview of history of the village of Feleacu see Alexandru Simon, *Feleacul* (Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004). Rusu observes three stages of the reception of the Florentine union in Hungary: first the court supported the union among the Greek-Slavonic rite communities; secondly, after the Greek Church had formulated their anti-union position, the papacy continued to act according to the union signed in 1439; finally during the second part of the reign of Matthias Corvinus, in Transylvania only communities or individuals which had already accepted the union were targeted, finally being assimilated. Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 126; At the same time Diaconescu observes three types of consequences of the Ferrara-Florence council: a political one which brought Wladislas of Poland on the Hungarian throne in 1440, a military one which is visible in the grand strategy of John Hunyadi in his struggle with the Ottomans, and a "confessional" one. The latter was felt mostly by the various Greek rite populations inhabiting the medieval Hungarian kingdom: the Romanians did not have a coherent hierarchy but were under the jurisdiction, at least imagined, of neighboring Orthodox bishops; the Serbs in the south had their own ecclesiastical structures while the Ruthenians in the north east had a hierarchy under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church. Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 31.

because of this, it has been tampered and sometimes reinterpreted in highly subjective if not ideological stances that have done very little for a better understanding of the issue. After the first decades of the fifteenth century, the papal chancery had a more conciliatory tone and did not attack the Eastern Church so thoroughly. The text of its letters is of an informative nature and almost always relates to the Ottoman danger. Based on several other attempts in the previous two hundred years, in the fourth decade of the century, both the papal curia and the Constantinopolitan court reached the conclusion that a council must be convened which will soften the doctrinal differences and issue a document of union valid for the entire Christian world.[115] After the Church union act was solemnly announced on 6 July 1439 in Florence, the papacy not only made sure that the decision of the council was made available to most of the Christians. Already in August, a scribe was paid to produce no less than 310 copies of the papal bull "Laetentur coeli".[116]

The Greek rite Churches that survived in the areas where co-territoriality was applied were subjected to a prolonged process of Latinisation. As Peri observes the diffusion of the Roman rite was part of the superior stance exhibited by this Church towards all other rites of other local Christian Churches which were called particular Churches in regards to the principal Church. This attitude was based on the expressed self-consciousness of the Roman Church in relation to its constant orthodoxy as embodied in its *lex credendi* and *lex orandi* which were guaranteed by the special Petrine grace. The orthodoxy, the ethical teachings, the pastoral dimension – both as mission and as sacramental aspect involving the ordained clergy of every rite –, the theological dogmas, the creed, the canon law, and all other aspects that

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[115] Benjamin Weber, "Union religieuse, unité politique et alliance militaire. Les légats pontificaux en Orient au temps du concile de Florence," in *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border (1204-1669)*, ed. Iulian Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popović, Alexandru Simon (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 345-358. Michael Angold, "Byzantium and the west 1204-1453," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 5. Eastern Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 73-77.

[116] Joseph Gill S. J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) (hereafter Gill, *The Council of Florence*), 268. For the text of the papal bull see *Concilio Ecumenico Fiorentino. Bolla d'unione "Laetantur coeli et exultet terra." Firenze 6 luglio 1439* (Florence: A.G.A.F, 1962).

pertained to other Churches besides the Latin one were to be assessed based on models (the Latin ones) which were regarded as absolute in the actuality of their final temporal embodiment/realization. Only cleansed by the Roman Church of the aspects judged incompatible or less used in the West would the rites and teachings of the Oriental Churches be permitted and tolerated in full Catholic communion with the Latin Church, preoccupied as it was to ensure its own historical presence and visibility in uniform terms.[117] This places the Latinization of the Oriental rites as approved by the Roman Church in the *longue durée* perspective of a progressive and uniform *Romanizzazione* which all the ancient Latin rites of the major local Churches in the West had to face (Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Aquilesian, Gallican etc.).[118]

The attempt to Latinize the ritual of Churches using a different sacred language and ecclesial tradition showed even more the jurisdictional interferences and better explains the reaction in those who felt that an already ancient spiritual and cultural Christian identity was under threat.[119] It also helps explain the canonical status which allowed Eastern Christians to be part of the Latin Catholic Church while at the same time continuing to practice the rite and traditions of the Eastern Churches of their fathers. The papal concession was made under

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[117] Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*, 30; see also Jochen Johrendt, "Der Sonderfall vor der Haustüre: Kalabrien und das Papsttum," in *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III*, ed. Jochen Johrendt, Harald Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008): 235-258.

[118] John Meyendorff, "The liturgical traditions: unity in diversity," *Imperial unity and Christian divisions. The Church 450-680 A.D.* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989), 68-76; Giulio Cattin, "La tradizione liturgica aquileiese e le polifonie primitive di Cividale," in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, ed. Cesare Corsi, Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), 117-130; Ludwig Vones, "The substitution of the Hispanic liturgy by the Roman rite in the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula," in Hispania Vetus*: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th-12th Centuries)*, ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 2007), 43-59; Nicholas Paxton, "The Communion rites of early medieval France," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3 (2007): 269-288; Andrew Louth, "Unity in Diversity: the Liturgy of Frankish Gaul before the Carolingians," in *Unity and Diversity in the church: papers read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), 19-30.

[119] Cesare Alzati, "*Graeci Sacerdotes Ambrosianam Tenentes Sententiam*. Constantinopoli nella Coscienza della Chiesa Milanese: L'Esperienza Tardo Antica e I Suoi Riflessi Medioevali," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996): 259-260.

precise conditions: the jurisdictional submission to the local Latin bishop; the prohibition of the mixing of their characteristic sacred rites with that of their Latin coreligionists; the observation of specific restrictions devised by the papal norms and decrees regarding the cohabitation of the two rites.[120]

At the arrival of the crusaders in Palestine, the papal legate[121] Adhémar of Le Puy, instructed by Urban II (r. 1088-1099), promoted a peaceful coexistence between the two rites.[122] Soon a gap appeared between the views of the pope and his advisors about the nature of the Church and those held by the majority of western Christians. The pope's view did not differ greatly from that of the Greek Church (except in their respective interpretations of the role of the Roman see) considering the Catholic (universal) Church as a pentarchy of patriarchates of which Rome was one (albeit the most important one).[123] The Latin Christians on the other side saw the Catholic/Roman Church as co-extensive with the Latin one and regarded other forms of Christianity as deviant or even heretic. This view was almost generalized in the crusader army and this made the realization of the papacy's planned ecclesiastical settlement in Syria impossible to realize, as soon Latin bishops filled sees previously held by the Greeks.[124]

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[120] Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*, 31.

[121] On the office of papal legate see Claudia Zey, "Die Augen des Papstes. Zu Eigenschaften und Vollmachten päpstlicher Legaten," in *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III*, ed. Jochen Johrendt, Harald Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008): 77-108.

[122] For the oriental policy of Urban II see Alfons Becker, "Urbain II et l'Orient," in *Il Concilio di Bari del 1098. Atti del Convegno Storico Internazionale e celebrazioni del IX Centenario del Concilio*, ed. Salvatore Palese, Giancarlo Locatelli (Bari: Edipuglia, 2000), 123-144.

[123] Vittorio Peri, "La pentarchia: istituzione ecclesiale (IV-VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica," in *Bizanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1988), 209-311; Ferdinand R. Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchie-Theorie. Ein Modell der Kirchenleitung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1993); Judith Herrin, "The Pentarchy: theory and reality in the ninth century," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI): 24-30 aprile 2003*, vol. 1 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004), 591-626.

[124] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 9; on the Latin clergy in the crusader states see also Rudolf Hiestand, "Der Lateinische Klerus der Kreufahrerstaaten: geographische Herkunft und politische Rolle," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Munich: R. Oldenburg Verlag, 1997), 48-50.

Whereas sources in the twelfth century still depict a peaceful coexistence between the Latin and Greek Churches in southern Italy, starting with Innocent III a hardening of the official stance can be seen coupled with the growing Latinization of the Greeks in the south of Italy. Despite its long acknowledgement of papal supremacy, the south Italian Greek Church saw a progressive curtailment of its rite especially after the limits set by the decisions of the fourth Lateran Council. At the end of the thirteenth century what was left of the Greek Church in southern Italy was already in decline with only a number of bishoprics such as Santa Severina, Rossano, Oppido, Crotone, Gerace and Bova surviving in Calabria until the thirteenth century or even later.[125] As the pace of Latinization intensified, it is extraordinary to note that the Greek rite managed to hold on in a few isolated bishoprics for over two centuries. Immigration and acculturation, doubled with the loss of contact with the Byzantine Empire were the main factors of the gradual decay of the Greek rite in southern Italy. The campaigns that followed after the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, lasting over two decades in Calabria and Sicilia, led to the destruction of the Greek monasteries in the diocese of Messina, which had already been abandoned by its monks.[126] Nevertheless the Greek rite survived in Italy until the early modern era, with itinerant bishops ordained by the Patriarch of Constantinople or by another Orthodox bishop still present in the area as was revealed by the hearing at Brindisi in 1575.[127] The last see at Bova was only fully Latinized in 1573, while the Greek house of St Bartholomew of Trigona lasted into the eighteenth century. In Sicily, S. Maria della Grotta at Palermo remained a Greek rite house until its collapse in the early

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[125] Stefano Caruso, "Politica *gregoriana*, latinizzazione della religiosità bizantina in Italia meridionale, isole di resistenza greca nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra XI e XII secolo," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI): 24-30 aprile 2003*, vol. 1 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004) (hereafter Caruso, "Politica *gregoriana*, latinizzazione"), 522-523; Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 221.
[126] For the end of French rule in Sicily see Steven Runcimann, *The Sicilian vespers: a history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[127] Vittorio Peri, "La Congregazione dei Greci (1566-1596) e i suoi primi documenti," *Studia Gratiana* 13 (1967): 254.

fifteenth century, while the Holy Savior at Messina remained in use until 1538 when the monastery was transformed into a fortress to defend the port.[128]

Schism and Union

Though the term heretic appears as well, the most common label (except the use of ethnonyms) for the members of the Greek-Slavonic communities is that of schismatic.[129] As Nichols wrote, "to be a schismatic is not in itself to be a heretic; conversely, heresy is not itself schism."[130] While heresy is unorthodox dissent, schism is orthodox dissent expressing itself in the organization of a distinct ecclesial life by people who in all other respects share the faith of the Church.[131] As one of the principal goals of the economy of salvation is the undoing of human divisions, schism matters very much when the issue at stake is the unity of the Church as a central feature of God's design for the world.

In the language of the Eastern Church the rupture between East and West is not called σχίσμα which would signify a complete division but παλαιὸν σκάνδαλον, old scandal, a trap and historical anomaly which the Union would bring to an end. This vocabulary that in Dagron's view lacks specificity and allows both an antithetic understanding as a sort of primary consensus explains why, theoretically at least, no one is an avowed anti-Unionist. The

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[128] Agostino Pertusi, "La chiesa greca in Italia," *Scritti sulla Calabria medievale* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, 1994), 80-81; G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) (hereafter Loud, *The Latin Church*), 511-512.

[129] Urban IV nevertheless preached two crusades against Greek schismatics in 1262 and in May 1264. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 83.

[130] Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 27.

[131] According to the *Summa theologiae* of English Franciscan Alexander of Hales, no rupture in the Church can strictly be called a schism unless it takes the form of sustained and systematic disobedience to the Roman see, in Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 36. For Thomas Aquinas, schism is the sin that leads people to separate themselves from the special unity that supernatural charity creates; see *Summa theologiae*, vol. 3, Secunda secundae (Madrid: La Editorial Catolica, 1956), q. 39, 279-280.

debates revolve about means and the conditions of the ἕνωσις, with the main characters supporting either the imperial policy or that of the traditional circles, with the partisans of Latinism being pushed at the extreme specter of the polemic, as we shall see below.[132]

Neither the controversy between Pope Nicholas I (858-867) and Patriarch Photios (858-867, 877-886) over the proposed addition of the *Filioque* to the Nicene Creed,[133] nor the reciprocal excommunication of Cardinal Humbert (c. 1000-1061) and Patriarch Michael I Keroularios (r. 1043-1058) on 16 July 1054 had brought a permanent rift; the former was put down to linguistic misunderstandings and the latter was seen by the clergy on both sides as a temporary rupture in cordial relations and a personality clash between the patriarch and the papal legate, Cardinal Humbert, rather than a point of no return. There was no formal schism in 1054,[134] the Roman Church was not condemned synodically, the *Filioque*, the papal claims, the Latin deviations in discipline and liturgy have not been condemned by a council and they could not by themselves constitute a state of schism.[135] For those that were not theologians the doctrinal implications and even the papal supremacy were obscure. It was the concrete and visible signs that were important to most of the ordinary worshippers and represented traditions to which they had become attached in their daily battle with evil.[136] The schism between Rome and the Orthodox East was a progeny of the Crusades. Though never ratified

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[132] Gilbert Dagron, "Byzance et l'Union," *La romanité chrétienne en Orient. Héritages et mutations* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984) (hereafter Dagron, "Byzance et l'Union") article XIV, 193.

[133] For an overview see Tia Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics. Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2008); A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque. History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) (hereafter Siecienski, *The Filioque*): 87-110.

[134] In *Misunderstandings between East and West* (Richmond, 1966), George Every concludes that the one who laid the foundations of the customary view that the schism began in 1054 was the Oratorian Jean Morin who analyzed in his *De sacris ordinationibus*, published in 1655, the attitude of the popes and Latin Church to ordinations conferred in schismatic situations; quoted in Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 280, footnote 19. For a more detailed discussion of the immediate reaction to this see Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit*, 107-116.

[135] Yves Congar, "1274-1974: Structures ecclésiales et conciles dans les relations entre Orient et Occident," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 58, no. 3 (1974): 355-356; Alexakis, "Official and Unofficial Contacts," 99-124.

[136] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 194.

by a council, it was formalized by the emergence of competing Greek and Latin hierarchies in three out of four oriental patriarchates (the see of Alexandria received a titular Latin patriarch early in the fourteenth century).

Nichols suggests the use of intermediate labels. They are of great importance to this study and help understand a situation which would otherwise not fit a clear demarcation line of ecclesiastical exclusivity drawn when one talks about schismatics and non schismatics, heretics and non heretics, etc. Thus, the relationship between the two communities of rite is better explained by the use of the concept of "partial schism." This applies to the extent that a Church preserves all the features of an authentic local Church in the apostolic tradition, save the feature of communion with the chair of Peter; in this case such a Church is not in schism with the one true Church. When the bond of communion with the Roman bishop is broken then one is in schism, but a partial one. In terms of Eucharistic communion, this translates into the state of *communio imperfecta*; imperfect communion seems to characterize the situation governing the relations between the two Churches. The same situation seems to be valid between the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian Churches, where one finds the same language differences that seem to pertain less to the faith and more to the definitions of faith.[137]

As an answer to the schism the Greek and Latin Churches tried to find solutions for a possible formal re-union. Identity in the essentials of the belief system is considered *sine qua non* of Church union among Christians. The belief system defines the meaning of rites, so that differences in ceremonial elaboration of the ritual are not necessarily an obstacle to Church

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[137] Nichols also suggests the possible use of the concept of mediate communion: A and B are not in communion; both A and B are in communion with C; this means that A and B are in mediate communion. Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 43-50. The 1724 schism which brought into existence the Greco-Arab (Catholic) Melchites and Rome's directive of 1729 that excluded all common worship with the Orthodox represent the definitive attachment of the Holy See to the Uniate Churches as the only viable form for reunion. *Communicatio in sacris* was pronounced an abuse and a snare. Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 326.

union. When two or more ecclesiastical bodies recognize each other's faith (including the legitimacy of the polities and ministry) as orthodox, they may agree to establish intercommunion giving to ministers and members of one Church the same status in the other Church, without, however, merging their polities or setting up common central institutions. No matter how great the administrative centralization of the episcopal Churches at times may seem to be, the belief in the divine institution of bishops as heads of their particular Churches limits centralization and provides a basis for a reversal of the trend to centralization.[138]

Unions (both *in corpore* and individually) were signed and ratified by representatives of the two sides several times during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and were acknowledged as a fact by the Latin Church and applied in the territories which I labeled as transitional regions. This had nothing or very little to do with the future "Uniatism," though in Crete or Cyprus the popes did foster a *kind* of Uniate Church alongside the Latin one.[139] The papacy was concerned with the replacement of Greek bishops with Latin bishops, more committed to the crusading ideals and to the hierarchies in the West. As few Greek bishops yielded without a struggle, parallel and rival lines of succession competed for dominance in Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem. This fits perfectly the definition of schism of the fourth century AD: the establishment of an alternative altar where another bishop already presides.[140]

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[138] Macha, "Ecclesiastical Unification," 26-27.

[139] Enrico Morini when discussing the pre-sixteenth century "uniatism" identifies two models: first one of *episcopi latini ordinati, episcopi graeci tolerati* functioning mainly on Cyprus, but also sporadically on Negroponte and in the Hungarian kingdom, and a second model of *episcopi graeci in subiectionem Sedis apostolicae pari cum latinis gaudeant privilegio libertatis* valid in the Holy Land form the thirteenth century onwards but also in the Latin Romania. This methodological division is extremely helpful, but at the same time it cannot be totally applied since the documents witness a continuous parallel use of this ecclesiological solutions divised by the papacy. See Enrico Morini, "Le due anime dell'*uniatismo*. Due modelli di unità ecclesiale nella Románia franca del XIII secolo," *Studi e ricerche sull'oriente cristiano* 14, no. 3 (1991): 367-417.

[140] *Inter haeresim et schisma hoc esse arbitrantur, quod haeresis perversum dogma habeat: schisma propter episcopalem dissensionem ab Ecclesia separetur*. Jerome, "Commentariorum in Epistola ad Titum" (3, 10-11), *Patrologiae Latinae* 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 633. See also Everett Ferguson, "Attitudes to schism at the council of Nicaea," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest: papers read at the tenth Summer Meeting and the eleventh Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge

The Maronite Church is the archetype of the formation of Catholic Eastern Churches. The Maronites became the first "Uniate" Church in communion with Rome but maintaining a separate hierarchy, liturgy and canonical traditions. It nevertheless united with Rome not as *pars pro toto* but *en bloc*.[141] This was very different from post-Tridentine Unions where the Uniates constituted alternative Orthodoxies, living side by side with the original Orthodox communities and sometimes in rivalry with them.[142]

Several instances provide examples against the schism of 1054 as a realistic start of a complete break between the Latin and Greek Christianities.[143] With a host of liturgical and cultural differences distinguishing them – and often more significant than theology – the two communities of rite nevertheless continued to co-exist as perceived members of the same Church. In the first kingdom of Jerusalem, the symbiosis between Latins and Greeks functioned well before 1187. On the practical side, accommodation was still possible, as the Latins turned a blind eye to Greek usages and even allowed Greek rite bishops in their territories. They were, nevertheless, expected to acknowledge papal supremacy, which happened in some cases, and were placed under the authority of Latin bishops, an action which finally created schism between the two groups.[144]

University Press, 1972), 57-63; Andrew Louth, "Unity and Diversity in the Church of the Fourth Century," in *Unity and Diversity in the church: papers read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), 1-17.

[141] K. S. Salibi, "The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and its Union with Rome," *Oriens Christianus* 42 (1958): 92-104; Jean Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998) (hereafter Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*), 47; Richard van Leeuwen, "The Crusades and Maronite Historiography," in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context-Contacts-Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, Herman Teule, vol. 1 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1996), 51-62.

[142] Vittorio Peri, "Sul carattere sinodale dell'Unione di Brest," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 27-28, no. 2 (1995-1996): 769-826 also discusses the terminology of the terms unio and "uniate," 778-780; Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 325.

[143] For the theological and the differences of rite between Greeks and Latins around 1054 see Brett Whalen, "Rethinking the schism of 1054: authority, heresy, and the Latin rite," *Traditio* 62 (2007): 1-24; Kolbaba, "On the closing of the churches," 39-51, as well as the reactions to this article J. R. Ryder, "Changing perspectives on 1054," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35, no. 1 (2011): 20-37 and Tia Kolbaba, "1054 revisited: response to Ryder," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35, no. 1 (2011): 38-44.

[144] Latin bishops would not have welcomed Michael VIII's proposal that ecclesiastical revenues should be divided equally between Greeks and Latins, a direct consequence of the creation of uniate churches: *Item de*

The same can be said about southern Italy where, due to the papacy respecting ancient local ecclesiastical traditions, a more or less peaceful coexistence of the Latin and Greek Churches took place in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[145] From the thirteenth century onwards, a major part of the papal correspondence focusing on matters pertaining to the Greek rite touched mostly upon the Churches of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Greek Church of southern Italy had been united (to use Latin terminology) with Rome and, thus, related to a place of lesser importance in the context of the evolving relations between the papacy and the eastern patriarchates.[146] The fourth Lateran council confirmed the privilege of tolerating the customs and rite of the Greeks, insofar as they identified with what the Latins considered to be the divine commandment (a principle which had been in force in Sicily for over a century). Innocent III limited this by stating that one should not give way to the Greeks in matters that would endanger the salvation of souls or undermine ecclesiastical integrity.[147]

The pontificate of Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241) saw controversy over the Greek forms of baptism and confirmation, as one of the Pope's letters to the archbishop of Bari shows.[148] The

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ecclesiis, scilicet Antiochiae, Cyprensis et Jerusalemitana, ut quilibet in sua ecclesia pacifice regat suum ovile et non habeat Latinus facere contra Graecum nec Graecus contra Latinum et sine lite dividant ecclesiasticos redditus. Et si fuerit Praelatus latinus in aliqua ecclesia et moriatur, quod fiat iterum alius latinus; si vero graecus moriatur, quod fiat iterum graecus; eodem modo fiat de his qui praesunt in monasteriis. Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261-1276) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1953), no. 50, 136, (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X*).

[145] The synod of Melfi in 1089, convened by Pope Urban II, brought together around 70 bishops and 12 abbots. Besides passing various decisions on ordination age, it also supervised negotiations concerning the Greek clergy under Norman rule. Loud, *The Latin Church*, 144.

[146] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 225.

[147] *De superbia Graecorum contra Latinos*: *Licet Graecos in diebus nostris ad obedientiam sedis apostolicae revertentes, fovere et honorare velimus, mores ac ritus eorum, quantum cum Domino possumus, sustinendo, in his tamen illis deferre nec volumus nec debemus, quae periculum generant animarum et ecclesiasticae derogant honestati.* IV Lateran Council, canon 4, Norman P. Tanner S. J., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. Volume One: Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990) (hereafter: Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*), 235-236.

[148] *Consultationi tuae breviter respondemus, quod Graeci, qui sub hac forma verborum: Baptizatur talis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizati ab aliquot exstiterunt, non sunt, cum non fuerint secundum formam evangelicam baptizati et ideo tam illos quam de cetero baptizandos sub hac forma: Ego te baptize in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti praecipimus baptizari.* Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Honorii III (1216-1227) et Gregorii IX (1227-1241) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio

aim was to assess the validity of the Greek baptismal formulae and to convince them to adopt a unified practice, at a time when rebaptism was not required.[149] After continuous debates with the Greek delegation from southern Italy and with the Greeks from the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the pope decided to tolerate Greek baptismal rites to prevent the case from dragging on any further and gave the same archbishop of Bari instructions to that effect.[150] In a letter to Germanos II (r. 1223-1240), the patriarch of Constantinople in exile at Nicaea, the same pope acknowledged the use of leavened bread in the celebration of the Eucharist, as in his opinion both kinds of bread were transubstantiated into the body of Christ.[151] The existing documents do not give enough evidence if other theological matters of debate between the two Churches (such as the epiclesis, the mixing of water and wine for the Eucharist, the purgatory) had any impact in southern Italy. The examples seem to indicate that as long as the traditional discipline of the local communities was left undisturbed by the Church that regulated the "union," the differences did not become obstacles to integration.

Innocent IV and Alexander IV (r. 1254-1261) came close to setting up Greek "uniate" Churches at Antioch during the 1240s[152] and in Cyprus in the 1250s. Innocent instructed his legate, the Franciscan Lorenzo of Orte to take the Greeks in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem under his protection, and to defend them of any injury caused by the Latins.[153] He,

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Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1950) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*), no. 170, 225.

[149] Annick Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine (IXe-XIVe siècle): une acculturation en douceur* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2009), 532-533.

[150] *Missos nuper a te Graecos ad nostrum praesentiam super forma baptismatis audivimus diligenter, sed quoniam expectatio plenioris indaginis decisionem protrahere poterit quaestionis, remittimus illos ad propria, sustinentes eosdem super praemisso in sui ritus tollerantia interim non turbari.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 178a, 235; see also no. 178, 234-235.

[151] *Sed utique panis simplex ante sacrificium panis est, transubstantione vero facta per verba dominica, panis non est, et ideo nec fermentatus nec azymus dici potest.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 193, 267.

[152] As Hamilton states: "the pope's policy showed hope and despair for the future of Greek-Latin relations in Syria; hope on the part of the Greeks which seemed to have not objected against acknowledging papal primacy as long as they could keep their autonomy, and despair on the part of the Latin clergy who refused to allow the Greeks parity of jurisdiction with themselves." Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 319.

[153] *Ideoque mandamus, quatenus Graecos illarum partium, quocumque nomine censeantur, auctoritate apostolica protegens, turbari eos violentiis vel quibuscumque molestiis non permittas, iniurias quaslibet et*

nevertheless, met with the opposition of the Latin hierarchy, and ruled that if Greek clergy wished to be subject to the Roman see, those who had been previously under Latin bishops should remain subject to them, while those who had never taken an oath of obedience to the Latin hierarchy should be directly responsible to the pope alone, *nullo medio*.[154]

The regulations which Innocent IV wanted to impose on the Greek rite clergy in 1254 allow us to gain an idea of the possible shortcomings of this clergy in general, but also on the toleration of technicalities belonging to the Greek rite.[155] The situation changed again during the pontificate of Alexander IV who, already in 1255, was urging the suffragans of the Church of Nicosia, both Greek and Latin,[156] to obey the Latin archbishop, thus placing the Greek rite Church of Cyprus not only under the obedience to Rome, but also to Rome's surrogate on the island, archbishop Hugh. Archbishop Germanos Pesimandros (died 1283 or 1286) - the last Greek archbishop of Cyprus until the Ottoman conquest, whose election happened under papal authority - refused to appear before the Latin archbishop and instead placed his flock

offensas a Latinis illatas eisdem plenarie faciens emendari et Latinis ipsis districte praecipiens, ut a similibus decetero penitus conquiescant. Theodosius T. Haluščynskyj, Meletius M. Wojnar, ed., *Acta Innocentii PP. IV (1243-1254) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt notisque adornarunt* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1962) (hereafter Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Innocentii IV*), no. 31, 73.

[154] *Ut illi ex eis, qui... Anthioceno seu... patriarchae Jerosolimitano, qui fuere pro tempore, aut aliis Praelatis latinis olim subiecti fuisse noscuntur, ipsi astricti ad debitam oboedientiam et reverentiam teneantur. Illos autem, quos eisdem patriarchis seu praelatis noveris non fuisse subiectos, ad oboedientiam Ecclesiae Romanae recipias, aliorum per omnia iure salvo.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Innocentii IV*, no. 39, 82-83.

[155] The clergy were allowed to maintain their custom of anointing the newly baptized all over the body (article 2); the chrism was to be prepared by the bishops themselves; the custom of the Greek Church, with the chrism was prepared by the archbishop/patriarch and his suffragans, was also permitted (articles 4 and 5); the Greek rite clergy were allowed to keep their customs regarding the celebration of the mass (article 8); the custom of drying the Eucharist which was then kept for an entire year for the use of the sick was allowed (article 9); married priests were allowed to hear confessions and to impose penances (article 16); Greek rite bishops were to confer seven orders instead of the traditional four (article 19); the priests could grant a specific benediction to those marrying a second or a third time (articles 20 and 21); Innocent asked that the Greek clergy would use the term purgatory from then on (articles 23-25); the rules of ordination for Orthodox monks, which were laid down by the Holy Fathers, were to be observed by monks and abbots (article 26). Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Innocentii IV*, no. 105, 173-177.

[156] *Sane Venerabili fratri nostro Germano Graecorum regni Cipri archiepiscopo etc ... ac ... procuratoribus venerabilis fratris nostri Nicosiensis archiepiscopi in nostra praesentia constitutes.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 91-92.

under the protection of the Apostolic See and traveled to Rome to defend their stance.[157] They

desired that the Greeks of the said kingdom might lead a quiet life with the Latins, in

obedience to the Roman Church.[158] Strong attacks were made on his position based especially

on the canonical ruling of Lateran IV.[159] In 1260, Alexander IV issued the *Bulla Cypria* which

stated that only four Greek rite bishops were allowed to remain on the island (one archbishop

and three bishops). These bishops should be subordinate to the Latin hierarchy, but at the

same time they had the right to choose their bishops from among the Greek rite clergy.[160]

      The Second Council of Lyons (1272-1274)[161] and the union signed there, though

without any important impact on the Constantinopolitan Church, had an influence on the

Greek Church in Latin dominions.[162] During the pontificate of Martin IV, the council of Melfi

in 1284 asked the Greek clergy to add the *Filioque* clause to their liturgical books.[163] The

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[157] On Germanos of Cyprus see Richard, "À propos de la *Bulla Cypria*," 22-24, 30.

[158] *… et sub oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae Graeci praedicti regni tranquillam vitam ducerent cum Latinis.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 94.

[159] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 298.

[160] *Volumus et mandamus episcopis Graecis, ut diligenter considerent, quod sit eorum officium: et causam quare, cum Latini episcopi sint per Romanam Ecclesiam in Cypri insula ordinate, ipsi in eadem insula sint tolerati: ut et ea ad quae tenentur, securius et diligentius exequatur; et illa quae ad ipsos non pertinent, non usurpent.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46a, 104-105

[161] Hans Wolter, Henri Holstein, *Lyon I/Lyon II* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1972), 141-258; Deno John Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West. Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 195-223; Burkhard Roberg, *Das Zweite Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1990); Zvjezdan Strika, "Der päpstliche Primat und die Pentarchie: die west-östliche Debatte im Vorfeld und auf dem Zweiten Konzil von Lyon," *Forum Katholische Theologie* 24 (2008): 161-204; Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "Consideraţii privind relaţiile papilor de la Avignon cu românii din Transilvania" [Remarks concerning the relations of the Avignon papacy with the Transylvanian Romanians], *Sargetia* 39 (2013): 192-214 .

[162] The synodal statutes concerning the Greeks were formulated there within the framework provided by the earlier legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council and the decretals of Innocent III. Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X*, no. 41, 116-123. See also Vitalien Laurent, Jean Darrouzès, ed., *Dossier grec de l'union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Paris: Institut Français d'études byzantines, 1976), Şerban Turcuş, "Conciliul Lyon II-1274. Implicaţii în Europa Central-Orientală" [The Concilium Lyon II-1274. Implications in Central-Eastern Europe], *Acta Musei Napocensis* 35-36 (1998-1999): 9-32.

[163] Ferdinandus M. Delorme, Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ab Benedictum XI (1276-1304) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1954) (hereafter Delorme/Tăutu, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ab Benedictum XI*), no. 60, 114-115. For the context of the synod, as well as for an edition of its constitutions see Peter Herde, "Die Legation des Kardinals Gerhard von Sabrina während des Krieges der sizilischen Vesper und die Synode von Melfi (28 März 1284)," *Studien zur Papst- und Reichsgeschichte, zur Geschichte des Mittelmeerraumes und zum kanonischen Recht im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 2005), 469-525.

clause was missing even if it had been agreed upon at the Council of Lyons, but there were probably very few Latin clergymen who would have been able to actually check whether the Greeks pronounced the Creed with the added text. An inquiry carried out in the 1570s at the request of the archbishop of Brindisi concluded that the local diocesan Greek clergy still recited the creed without the *Filioque*.[164]

Any attempt to reestablish the union was announced from Rome as *reductio Graecorum* and implied that the Greek rite Christians who had ended up under papal jurisdiction accepted the papal primacy over the entire Christian Church; this acceptance was asked from every bishop and every local Church.[165] The subsistence of the Greek rite communities was permitted as long as they did not produce any inconvenience to their Latin co-religionists and to the activity of the Latin clergy. During the schism of the Western Church at the end of the fourteenth/beginning of the fifteenth century, the papacy reserved an important place to the relation with the Eastern Christians and the dialogue towards an ecclesiastical union among the instruments it used in order to come to an understanding with the princes, the conciliarist party and the theological masters. The Roman Strategy underwent a profound modification, replacing the concept of *reductio Graecorum* that appears in the pontifical documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the more supple and realist one of *unio*.[166] The mutation was already visible in 1423 at the Council of Siena[167] which used

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[164] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 235. For the Filioque debate around and after Lyon II see Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 111-150; Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: the Filioque controversy in the patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1986).
[165] Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "La question de l'Union des Églises (13e-15e siècle): historiographie et perspectives", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 61 (2003): 5-48.
[166] Daniel Barbu calls the concept of *reductio Graecorum* "classical" in "La Valachie et le Concile de Bâle," *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essais sur la production politique de la fois au Moyen Age* (Bucharest: Éditions Babel, 1998), 153; Aristeides Papadakis, "The Problem of Religious Union and its Literature," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 38, no. 2 (2006): 304-306.
[167] Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena 1423-1424* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002).

the intermediary formula: *ecclesiam Orientalem reducere ad unionem universalis ecclesiae*,[168] while Pope Martin V, in a letter to the Byzantines, talks about: *ecclesiarum Latinae Graecaque unionis*.[169] Starting with 1434, Eugene IV will systematically and exclusively use the term *unio* when talking about the possibility of reconciliation with the Byzantines.[170]

The Ferrara-Florence union of 1439 was actively supported by the imperial milieu in Constantinople and by the patriarchate there.[171] In 1440, Patriarch Metrophanes (r. 1440-1443) sent letters to the Greek rite Christians of Methoni and Crete endorsing the union.[172] The unclear succession of local metropolitans in the fifties of the fourteenth century in Moldavia, some of them (such as metropolitan Gregory I) at least acknowledging the Church union, and the silence on behalf of those in Wallachia are a result of the uncertainty, but also of the success of the union.[173] In Latin Romania and the Venetian islands, the union was also

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[168] Under the heading *Statuta super materia reductionis Graecorum.* in Joannes Dominicus Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 28 (Venice, 1785), 1062. Online edition: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k51612w/f540.image (accessed October 2013).

[169] Under the heading *Instrumentum Relationis de ambaxiata facta ad Graecos ex parte domini Papae, & continet novem conclusiones.* Ibidem, 1064.

[170] Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification. A Theoretical Framework together with Case Studies from the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1974) (hereafter Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification*), 124, footnote 8.

[171] George E. Demacopoulos, "The popular reception of the Council of Florence in Constantinople 1439-1452," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 43 (1999): 37-53; for the opposition to the Union see Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "L'Église byzantine à la suite de l'Union de Florence (1439-1445). De la contestation à la scission," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007): 79-123.

[172] Miguel Arranz, "Circonstances et conséquences liturgiques du Concile de Ferrare-Florence," Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 419; Georg Hofmann S. I., "Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit auf Kreta im XV. Jahrhundert?" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 10 (1944) (hereafter Hofmann, "Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit"): 94-95; Georg Hofmann, ed., *Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio Florentino annis 1438-1439 gestis*, Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes, vol. 2 (Rome: Pontifical Institute for Eastern Studies, 1944), no. 215.

[173] Emilian Popescu, "Completări şi rectificări la istoria bisericii Moldovei şi la relaţiile cu Bizanţul în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea" [Additions and corrections to the history of the Moldavian church and its relations with Byzantium in the first half of the fifteenth century], *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Bucovinei* 3 (69), no. 4-7 (1993): 135-156; Flavius Solomon, "Das moldauische Fürstentum und das Problem der christlichen Einheit (Ende 14./Anfang 15. Jh.)," in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998), 136-155; Dan Ioan Mureşan, "Notes critiques sur l'histoire de l'Église de Moldavie au XVe siècle," in Extincta est lucerna orbis*: John Hunyadi and his Time*, ed. Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009), 122-123. Also Georgius Fedalto, ed., *Acta Eugenii Papae IV (1431-1447) e Vaticanis aliisque regestis collegit notisque illustravit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo, 1990) (hereafter Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*), no. 421, 229-230, no. 421, 229-230 and no. 422, 230. Some of the locals in Moldavia and Wallachia might have left the schism to join the Roman Church as attested in a papal letter of 1444: *et in Moldauiae (Partibus), in quibus tam a longis*

carried on. In 1443, the pope ordained a missionary bishop named Sava, of Cretan origins, who was entrusted with the specific mission of supporting the union.[174] After several inconclusive attempts, Venice finally accepted the opening of a Greek rite church in the city.[175] The Genovese treated the Greek Church in their possessions in an amicable way. The Latin Church there was favored by the ruling authorities, but not at the expense of the Greek rite Church. Michel Balard observes that the Genovese seem not to have been concerned with proselytism among the Greek rite communities whose rights to worship in their own churches and monasteries, with their own clergy, and according to their rite were safeguarded.[176]

Isidore, the metropolitan of Kiev and later a cardinal, played a very important role in promoting the union in Hungary and Poland.[177] After the Council ended, he arrived in the Hungarian kingdom in 1440, en route to his seat, and met several important figures among the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. While in Buda, Isidore appealed to the Orthodox in the Balkans in favor of the Church Union and sent an encyclical letter to the members of his diocese announcing the union and its consequences.[178] He met king Wladislas III Jagiello in Cracow, on 5 April 1440, and soon after presided over a solemn liturgy in the Eastern rite held in the main cathedral of the city, thus proclaiming the acceptance of the Church union in

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pestiferum virus Schismatis, quod adhuc nonulos illarum partium populous, qui ad Romanae Ecclesie unitatem nuper redierunt in Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 587, 700.

[174] Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification*, 131.

[175] See Cesare Alzati, *În inima Europei: studii de istorie religioasă a spaţiului românesc* [In the heart of Europe: Studies of the religious history of the Romanian space] (Cluj-Napoca: Fundaţia Culturală Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1998), 118. For the unionist clergy in Crete see also the bibliographical review of Z.N. Tzirpanlis, Τὸ κληροδότημα του καρδιναλίου Βησαρίωνος για τους φιλενωτικους της Βενετοκρατουμένης Κρήτης (1439 – 17 ος αι.) (Thessaloniki: 1967) in *Byzantinoslavica* 30, no. 2 (1969): 346-347.

[176] Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*, vol. 1 (Rome: Atti della Società ligure di storia patria, 1978), 323; Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, "La politique religieuse de Gênes," *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997) (Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*), 96-105.

[177] For a detailed overview see I. Peleshenko, "Metropolitan Isidore and the Union of Florence," *The Ukrainian Review* 44, no. 2 (1997): 32-50; Maria Pia Pagani, "Isidoro di Kiev, il chierico vagante," *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa* 30 (2001): 21-44; Idem, "Il *perfido* protagonista: Isidoro di Kiev al Concilio di Firenze del 1439," in *L'età di Kiev e la sua eredità nell'incontro con l'Occidente*, ed. Gabriele De Rosa, Francesca Lomastro (Rome: Edizioni Viella, 2003), 157-180.

[178] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 359.

the Polish kingdom.[179] On 22 March 1443, the same king Wladislas, now also of Hungary, issued an edict form Buda which recognized equal rights with the Latin clergy for priests in Poland and Hungary belonging to the Greek and Ruthenian rites.[180] Wladislas' death at Varna in 1444 meant that this process came to a sudden stop. Nevertheless, in Poland at least, it was continued by metropolitan Isidore, who after having escaped from Moscow, ordained "uniate" bishops at Chelm, Przemysl, Brest-Vladimir, Lviv before leaving for Rome. The decree stating the equality between the two Churches in the Polish kingdom was reconfirmed in 1504 and 1543.[181]

The Hungarian bishops reacted in the same way as the Polish ones, trying to put into practice the Florentine decisions, but actually reacting to their own context and limitations, which can very well constitute one of the motives for the union's unsuccessfulness. After the attempts made starting from the thirteenth century to impose the Latin rite in various parts of Hungary, with the last one, just before Ferrara-Florence, having been conducted by James of the Marches, who was in Transylvania at the end of the 1430's looking for Hussites and schismatics, no more missions were sent to the Greek rite communities during the first decade after the council, the activity having moved further east to Moldavia, as attested by the Franciscan documents.[182] The union was perceived as a *fait accompli*, especially since it had

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[179] Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate*, 44. For a general overview see also Sophia Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine. Volume II: 1300 to the Union of Brest* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2011); Michael Lacko S. J., *The Union of Užhorod* (Cleveland: Slovak Institute, 1966), 33-37.

[180] *Universis Ecclesiis earumque Episcopis seu Vladicis, Praelatis, Clero, et caeteris personis Ecclesiasticis ejusdemque Ritus Graeci et Ruthenorum haec omnia Jura et Liberates, modos, consvetudines et immunitates universas duximus in perpetuum concedendas, et praesentibus concedimus, quibus omnes Ecclesiae Regnorum Nostrorum Poloniae et Hungariae etc. earumque Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Praelati et caeterae personae Ecclesiasticae Consvetudinis Romanae Ecclesiae uti fruuntur atque gaudent.* Michaele Harasiewicz, ed., *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* (Leopoli: Typis Instituti Rutheni Stauropigiani, 1862) (Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*), 79-80.

[181] Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate*, 74. The unionist party in Kiev strongly based on the presence there of metropolitan Isidore maintained itself for a long period after he had left the place, giving to the Russians the pretext of proclaiming their autocephaly from Constantinople.

[182] Petru Malciuc Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica nei territori della Moldavia nell` epoca medievale (secc. XII-XV)* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1999); Claudia Dobre, "The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land: a Case Study of Moldavia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Annual of Medieval*

the signature of the Byzantine emperor. The Latin hierarchy considered the decisions taken at Florence as a *de iure* and *de facto* reality, leaving the local authorities to supervise and solve any specific issues that might arise.

There is of course the odd document in a time of religious zeal and bigotry inspired by John of Capistrano's visit to Transylvania. On 6 January 1456, he urged the bishops of Alba Iulia and Oradea, as well as the nobles and other high officials in the region, to burn the Greek rite churches, labeled as "synagogues of Satan" and to chase away any Greek rite priests that refused to convert.[183] The measures urged by Capistrano were unnecessary by Florentine standards and showed an incomplete adoption of the irenic spirit of the council. There must have been here a gross misunderstanding to what the Union actually entitled with regard to the Greek rite which some of the Latin hierarchs wanted completely integrated. Capistrano later boasted to the pope that he had converted some tens of thousands of schismatics.[184]

The anti-unionist reactions which started during the council itself, continued for the next half century until 1484, when in an official synod the Patriarchate of Constantinople, with the support of the Ottoman sultan, unilaterally renounced the agreement reached in

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Studies at CEU, ed. Katalin Szende, Judith A. Rasson, Marcell Sebők, vol. 9 (Budapest: Central European University, 2003) (hereafter Dobre, "The Mendicants' Mission"), 225-248.

[183] […] *precipue contra scismaticos i walachos et rascianos et hereticos hossitas pro cognitione veritatis Jesu Christi domini nostri ad salutem eorum. Que quidem res et mihi et fideli cuique catholico gratissima est. Ea de re vos omnes et singulos, tamquam filios Sancte Romane ecclesie hortor, oro ac in visceribus Jesu Christi obtestor, ut fervorem fidei vestre nunc demonstretis, cum potestis. Nam es magnifici domini Joannis wayuode comitis Bistriciensis et aliorum baronum regni Hungarie moveri debetis, quia sinagogas sathane eorum scismaticorum comburi mandarunt ubique in dominiis suis, querentes, quod sacerdotes scismatici aut baptizentur aut omnino expellantur.* Béla Pettkó, "Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal" [John of Capistran's letters to the Hungarians], *Történelmi Tár* (1901) (hereafter Pettkó, "Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal"): no. 34, 187-188.

[184] Lucas Waddingus, ed., *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, vol. 13 (1457-1471) (Ad Claras Aquas: Quaracchi, 1932), 184 (*Scimus quod malorum animos sua praedicatione immutavit, nam schismaticorum innumerosissimam multitudinem ad fidei unitatem reduxit*) and 267 (*Hi reliquentes infidelitatis, haeresis, schismatis pravitatem*). Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 25. In his 1625 autobiographic letter Stephen, the Catholic bishop of Transylvania, reminds the reader that Romanians in the region of Lugoj and Caransebeş had been converted by John of Capistrano and that some of these communities were still present in the seventeenth century. Andrei Veress, ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei şi Ţării Româneşti* [Documents regarding the history of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia], vol. 9 (Bucharest: Fundaţia Regele Carol I, 1937), no. 216, 272.

Florence.[185] The fact that it took such a long time to finally come to a decisive position towards what happened in Florence proves that even if there had been critics of the union, these opinions had never been clear enough and never managed to gather the necessary support to reverse the synod's decision until the patriarchate was "safe" in Ottoman hands, and thus one of the reasons for the union – the military aid promised by the Western Church – had failed to materialize itself.[186]

Ovidiu Ghitta observes that there were two main solutions as part of the papacy's strategy of undoing the broken unity of the Church: the transfer of Greek sees to the jurisdiction of Latin bishops (which was the case in regions under a firmly established Latin secular control) and the union which targeted regions mostly beyond the control of Latin overlords and was founded on the dialog between the two symbolic leaders of the two Christianities.[187] When researching the history of Church Union, the general view is that East and West confronted each other. Actually, one is discovering a staggering dissymmetry between the partners, as the main actors were the emperor on one side and the pope on the other. This happened not because the emperor was the only one who was able to represent the Byzantine Church, but because for Byzantium the Union was less about the unification of the Churches and more about the reunification of the Christian world under its spiritual head, the pope, and its temporal head, the sole emperor. Thus, from its official inception, the problem of

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[185] Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 320; Charalambos Dendrinos, "Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 39, no. 1 (2007): 135-152.

[186] See Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 353-354 and 376, footnote 3 for the discussion on the two synods that were allegedly held in 1443 and 1450, in Jerusalem and Constantinople, and had rejected the union. The union was rejected by the Muscovites (under Basil II), followed by the patriarchate of Ohrid, Moldavia and Mount Athos and finally by the common decision of the four Eastern Patriarchs of 1484. Nevertheless, even in 1498, Patriarch Niphon II of Constantinople, in a letter addressed to the metropolitan Joseph Bolharynovič of Kiev, was advising the latter to respect the union as long as his Church preserved the Greek rite and thus to benefit from the royal privileges that were conferred on his church after the Council of Florence. See Waclaw Hryniewicz, "The Florentine Union: Reception and Rejection. Some Reflections on Unionist Tendencies among Ruthenians," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 525-526.

[187] Ovidiu Ghitta, *Naşterea unei biserici. Biserica greco-catolică din Sătmar în primul ei secol de existenţă (1667-1761)* [The birth of a church. The Greek-Catholic church in Sătmar during its first century of existence (1667-1761)] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001), 32-34.

the Church Union presents this paradox of introducing in all discussions between East and West the imperial mediation and, as an effect, of sterilizing the debate or rather of transforming it into an internal debate of the East. This is visible both at Lyons II and even more at Ferrara-Florence, where the meetings with the Latins become rhetorical battles, while the important discussions always take place among the Greeks and in the presence of John VIII. This is maybe why in Byzantium the Union was always under the suspicion of being a lay initiative and gave the impression of being nothing more than a victory of the temporal over the spiritual.[188]

The Council of Trent gave the definitive *coup* to the politics of Church union promoted until then by the Roman Church. Sacred rites and specific usages of the Orthodox Churches, recognized and guaranteed by the Western Church at the Council of Ferrara-Florence were perceived as errors and abuses which the Catholics had to correct and eradicate, especially among those Orthodox dwelling in lands ruled by the Latins.[189] The ecclesiological stance of the council completely identified the Catholic Church with the new Roman Tridentine Church which was imagined as directly connected to the already existing canonical and hierarchical structures and was imbued through the pontifical primacy with an immediate universal jurisdiction over any local Church, or Christian person for that matter, in the world.[190]

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[188] Dagron, "Byzance et l'Union," 193.

[189] For the period between Florence and Trent see Nelson Hubert Minnich, "Councils of the Catholic Reformation (Pisa I to Trient): An Historiographical Survey," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 32, no. 2 (2000): 303-337; Nelson Hubert Minnich, *Councils of the Catholic Reformation: Pisa I (1409) to Trent (1545-63)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2008). For the ecclesiological changes brought by Trent see Giuseppe Alberigo, "L'Ecclesiologia del Concilio di Trento," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 18 (1964): 227-242; Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*, 141; Dorothea Wendebourg, "Die Ekklesiologie des Konzils von Trient," *Die eine Christenheit auf Erden* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 147-163; Vittorio Peri, "Chiesa latina e Chiesa greca nell'Italia postridentina (1564-1596)," in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno Storico Interecclesiale (Bari, 30 Apr. – 4 Magg. 1969)* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1973), 413-419.

[190] Hubert Jedin, "Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?," in *The Counter-Reformation*, ed. David M. Luebke (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 37-40; Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*, 32.

It is necessary to understand how the established late medieval regime with a Roman Church which, until the modern age, had not allowed the freedom of rite for a Church or Christian group suspected of either schism or heresy, could nevertheless justify the presence of ecclesial communities organized along the lines of the rituals and traditions of the Greek Church. Peri believes this was possible because the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the time either permitted or at least tolerated such a situation. None of the canonical solutions used from the sixteenth century onwards, which were applied in order to regulate the peaceful coexistence of two Churches of different rites, different rituals and even different jurisdictional allegiance to a non-Latin hierarchy, all on the same diocesan territory, had attempted to legitimize the public existence of a Church that advertised itself as divergent in its theology from the Latin one, as it was upheld by the one and only Catholic Church.[191]

In 1596, pope Clement VIII approved the regulations compiled by the "Congregation for the reform of the Greeks living in Italy and the monks of the monasteries of the Order of Saint Basil the Great" (instituted two decades earlier, in 1573, by Gregory XIII) for the members of the Catholic Church of Greek rite in southern Italy, and extended it to the members of the Greek-Slavonic rite Ruthenian Church that had subscribed to the Union of Brest. Two canonical notions that would enjoy long and ambiguous fortunes in the post-Tridentine ecclesiology were outlined in this text: the notion of "rite" as an ecclesiological category parallel and equivalent to that of the particular local Church, and a universal and generalized classification of the *Italogreci* which was independent of all assumed ethnicity and language. The Italo-Greeks were not the only "Catholics" distinct from the Latin "majority" as a result of the authorized preservation of their own rite: by the 1596 regulations,

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[191] Vittorio Peri, "Il concilio di Trento e la Chiesa Greca," in *Il Concilio di Trento nella prospettiva del terzo millenio*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Iginio Rogger (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1997), 403-441; Ernst Christoph Suttner, "Das Abrücken von der Ekklesiologie des Florentiner Konzils bei der ruthenischen Union von 1595/96 und bei der rumänischen Union von 1701," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 9, no. 2 (2005): 135-145.

the same holds true of Greek rite Christians in Poland and Lithuania, or in the principalities of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia.[192]

This individualization was exclusively based on the rite and the liturgy used by the Greek Church,[193] and at the same time was independent of the actual existence of the Constantinopolitan Church as an actualized theological and pastoral reality. The liturgical rite was seen as a relic of tradition which was practiced by a number of minority Christian communities, which were often treated as a second-hand Christianity, of little political importance and marginalized institutionally. Cardinal G. A. Santoro attempted to devise regulations based on those established earlier for the members of the Greek Churches in Cyprus and the crusader states which had been included in the Latin Church of the East already in the twelfth century.[194] The label of "Italogreci" was a practical compromise used by the Roman curia which needed a unitary system of rules to be conveyed to the Italian bishops which had to apply the reforms of the Council of Trent to areas inhabited by Christians of a different rite. It remained completely inadequate as it suggested a simple ritualistic and folkloric conservation, instead of reflecting the ecclesiastical problem that it was actually covering.[195]

The synonymous relation between the notions of "rite" and a "particular Church" has a long evolution in the West which was emphasized especially after the fourth Lateran Council with its ninth canon on *de diversis ritibus in eadem fide*. The canon rests on the conviction

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[192] In the seventeenth century the Jesuits discovered that Latin rite communities in Banat were holding the services in the Greek rite. *Unde tra Sebis et Carasseuvo vi è l'una villa detta Slatina, ove sono trenta case di cattolici del rito Romano, la gente bona et semplice, benchè le feste fanno alla Greca.* István György Tóth, ed., *Relationes missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1627-1707)* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete; Rome: Római Magyar Akadémia, 1994), 220.

[193] Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza," 14.

[194] Vittorio Peri, *Chiesa Romana e <Rito> Greco. G. A. Santoro e la Congregazione dei Greci (1566-1596)* (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1975).

[195] A rite is conditioned by a Church that adopts and uses it. It cannot appear and exist concretely without a Church, but at the same time cannot substitute the Church that uses it. This is why the Eastern Churches united with Rome have remained Churches *pleno iure* in stark contrast with the dominant ecclesiology of the Roman Church after the Council of Trent.

(otherwise legitimate) that a plurality of rites and canonical ordinances traditionally exists in the one Catholic Church. Peri observes that such a definition does not fit the patristic vocabulary and even today remains incomprehensible to the terminologies used by Orthodox ecclesiology which, though formulating the same concept, renders it in a different manner as *de eadem fide in diversis Ecclesiarum ritibus*. Post-Tridentine Catholic ecclesiology situated the two notions of "particular Church" (having to do with ecclesiastical organization) and "rite" (related to ceremonies) on such synonymous positions that the second Vatican Council in 1965 used them interchangeably several times in its documents: *Ecclesiae particulares seu ritus*.[196]

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[196] "Decreto Orientalium Ecclesiarum," article 2, in *Documenti del Concilio Vaticano II, Decreti*. See http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_orientalium-ecclesiarum_lt.html (last accessed in November 2013). For an overview see Mark Morozowich, "Ecclesiology and Liturgy as Interpretative Keys for *Orientalium Ecclesiarium* at Fifty," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 43, no. 2 (2011): 395-406.

PART II: THE CLERGY

Greek rite bishops in the transitional regions. Absentees and collaborators

Before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). The beginning of co-territoriality

There is a dearth of information about the members of the Greek-Slavonic rite hierarchy in Transylvania during the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. As will become apparent in this chapter only a few names of Greek-Slavonic rite bishops before the second half of the sixteenth century have been recorded, and sometimes the names are all that is left (there are less than ten bishops attested for almost three hundred years). The Transylvanian hierarchy was thus sporadically attested until the Reformation. These hierarchs appear randomly over time in connection to monasteries, and to areas where the Greek-Slavonic rite elite and population was more numerous. Their presence in the documents, as will be apparent below, depended mostly on the attitude of the local authorities (the Latin clergy and the Latin rite nobility) towards the Greek-Slavonic rite Church. Attitudes ranged from hostility to indifference, the former being mostly responsible for much of the information at our disposal.[197]

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[197] Milan Şesan, "Jurisdicţia bisericească în părţile româneşti în secolele XI-XIII" [The ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Romanian lands in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries] *Mitropolia Ardealului* 26, no. 1-3 (1981): 35-42; V. Iorgulescu, "L'Eglise Byzantine Nord-Danubienne au Début du XIII Siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996): 53-77; Răzvan Theodorescu, "Roumains et Byzance provincial dans la civilisation du Bas-Danube au XIII-e siècle," *Roumains et balkaniques dans la civilisation sud-est européene* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), 197-211; Viorel Achim, "Structuri ecleziastice şi politici confesionale în spaţiul balcano-carpatic în secolul al XIII-lea," [Ecclesiastical structures and denomination policies in the Balkan-Carpathian Space in the thirteenth century], *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 20 (2002): 115-138; Şerban Turcuş, "La storia delle diocese in ambito romeno. Bilancio storiografico," in *Storia della chiesa in Europa tra ordinamento politico-amministrativo e strutture ecclesiastiche*, ed. Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005): 29-49; Bogdan Murgescu, "Biserica şi viaţa religioasă" [The Church and religious life], *Istorie românească – istorie*

The scarcity of the documentary information has led Murgescu to suggest that the original characteristic of medieval Christianity in the regions inhabited by Romanians was the absence of an indigenous Church hierarchy. The situation resembles, in such a case, a bottom-up Christianization that allowed for a great diversity of religious practices. Local interpretations of Christianity, of which we have again little knowledge, had preeminence over canonical, institutionalized ones right until the official set up of the metropolitanate of Wallachia in the middle of the fourteenth century.[198]

Though they had from an early stage been under the influence of the ecclesial tradition of the Greek rite Church (be it Byzantine or Bulgarian),[199] the Romanian communities were for a long time without a properly institutionalized hierarchy. They suffered from the lack of a unifying center; they received varied influences, and thus developed diverse rituals, in the framework of the Byzantine tradition.[200] Local initiatives, and the inclusion of popular customs, unhindered by the checks and balances of a hierarchy, as well as the lack or rarity of the books necessary for the cult (which was most probably the norm, rather than the exception), led to a diversity of rituals that persisted in the life of the Romanian Churches. Priests, *protopopades* and sometimes bishops were the clergy that appeared in the sources. At times condemned by the Latin documents as pseudo clergy, they would have been probably contested by the Constantinopolitan Church as well, at least until the end on the fourteenth

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universală (600-1800) [Romanian history – universal history (600-1800)] (Bucharest: Editura Teora, 1999) (hereafter Murgescu, "Biserica şi viaţa religioasă"), 74.

[198] Murgescu, "Biserica şi viaţa religioasă," 72.

[199] Răzvan Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale româneşti (secolele X-XIV)*, [Byzantium, the Balkans, the Occident at the beginning of Romanian medieval culture (tenth to fourteenth centuries)] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974) (hereafter Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident*), 66-74.

[200] See the chapter on *Protopapades and priests*.

century, or even later in Transylvania, which acquired a truly institutionalized hierarchy only in the sixteenth century.[201]

The Greek rite Church in the lands conquered by the Hungarians has its beginnings in the tenth century and when a bishopric was created during the 948 visit to Constantinople of Gyula, the tribal leader of the Hungarians that settled in the valley of the Mureş river. Gyula was baptized in Constantinople and took back home with him a monk by the name Hierotheos who had been consecrated bishop of Tourkia by the patriarch Theophylact (r. 933-956).[202] This bishopric which was elevated to the rank of metropolitanate in 1018 continued to exist until the twelfth century when due to the Latinization it became the second archbishopric of the Hungarian kingdom with its see in Kalocsa.[203] Several other monasteries in the kingdom were affected by this process which went hand in hand with the collapse of Byzantine authority in the northern Balkans and the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the crusaders.

Latinization was not a feature characteristic only of the Hungarian kingdom. A similar situation can be observed in other transitional regions. Following the expansion of Latin Christianity in areas formerly under the jurisdiction of Greek rite Churches that started in the tenth-eleventh centuries with the creation of the Norman kingdom in southern Italy and the subsequent re-organization of the Greek bishoprics in that region into metropolitan provinces

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[201] Şerban Papacostea, "Întregiri la cunoaşterea vieţii bisericeşti a românilor în Evul Mediu (secolul XIV)" [Further information about the ecclesiastical life of the Romanians in the Middle Ages (the fourteenth century)], *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu Românesc* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1988), 221.

[202] Gyula Moravcsik, "The role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary," *Studia Byzantina* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 328-330; László Várady, "Revision des Ungarn-Image von Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos. Textanalysen und Reinterpretation zu den Aussagen des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos über die Politikgeschichte der Ungarn," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 82/1-2 (1989): 22-58; Alexandru Madgearu, "The mission of Hierotheos: location and significance," *Byzantinoslavica* 66, no. 1-2 (2008): 119-138.

[203] Nicolas Oikonomides, "À propos des relations ecclésiastiques entre Byzance et la Hongrie au XIe siècle: le métropolite de Turquie," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1971): 527-533; István Baán, "The Metropolitanate of Tourkia. The Organization of the Byzantine Church in Hungary in the Middle Ages," in *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950-1453. Beiträge zu einer table-ronde des XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen 1996*, ed. Günter Prinzing, Maciej Salamon (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 45-53.

according to Latin canon law, an expansion that culminated with the creation of the Latin Empire, a number of the dioceses formerly under the jurisdiction of one of the four patriarchates in the East found themselves territorially included in the network of the new Latin states.[204] Though tolerated and accepted by the new masters, the Churches in the region - and especially their hierarchies - had to deal with new challenges and decide to whom they pledged their allegiances.

In many cases, the first move of the Latin rulers, without being necessarily backed by any canon or ecclesial urgency, but based on a practical approach to subduing the acquired lands and their people, was to replace the local hierarchy, mostly of the Greek rite, with the more loyal and familiar Latin rite bishops. For the Latin canonists, while the Greek rite bishops, as schismatics, were illegal occupants of their dioceses, the diocesan sees were nevertheless legally erected as well as their suffragan bishoprics. The logical step from that point onwards was to give a legally ordained bishop to the already established local sees. Providing a canonically recognized successor (be it Greek or Latin) to a Greek rite bishop that up to the Latin conquest had not been under the jurisdiction of the Roman See meant to reestablish the *ius*.[205] Such replacements affected in the long run the social standing of the Greek hierarchy, even when it did accept the papal jurisdiction.

In southern Italy papal and Norman policies towards the Greek Church did not always match. By the oath of allegiance sworn in 1059 by Robert Guiscard to Pope Nicholas II, the former promised to transfer to papal rule all the churches and their property in his new realm.[206] In the centuries after 1080, the Greek Church there was influenced by the power play

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[204] Vitalien Laurent labels this situation as a Greek-Latin *condominium*. Vitalien Laurent, "L'Église de l'Italie méridionale entre Rome et Byzance à la veille de la conquête normande," in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno Storico Interecclesiale (Bari, 30 Apr. – 4 Magg. 1969)* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1973), 5-24, here 20.

[205] Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 1 (Verona: Casa Editrice Mazziana, Verona, 1973) (hereafter Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*), 193-194.

[206] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 217.

between Rome, Constantinople and the Normans, while no uniform policy towards the Greek clergy was ever consistently followed. Both king and pope favored at times the Greek communities in Sicily, and since the Greek Church had been eliminated by the Muslims, it is difficult to accuse the papacy or the Norman kings of anti-Greek policies as they reconstructed the Church there based on the Latin model.[207]

In Apulia, at first, the dukes supported Latin Christian churchmen by converting bishoprics from the Greek to the Latin rite or by subjecting Greek monasteries to Latin ones, especially to those they had personally founded.[208] After the conquest of Sicily, Greek Christians living there were favored by the new masters. With the Norman conquest of Palermo in 1071, the Greek archbishop Nicodemus was reinstated in the former cathedral of the town. Nevertheless, his successor, in office by 1083, was Latin (of French origin). This trend of reinstating Greek rite bishops continued during the second half of the eleventh century. While Bari was still in Byzantine hands, several sees on the Adriatic coast formerly held by Greek bishops (such as Otranto and Gallipoli) were given over to Latin prelates mostly for strategic reasons , as it was important to avoid that such towns (and ports) might be used by the Byzantines to bring reinforcements from the Balkans.[209] Once the Norman takeover was complete there is little evidence for deliberate hostility among the conquerors to churches and churchmen of the Greek rite. Robert Guiscard (c. 1015-1085) confirmed the election of the Greek bishop of Tropea in southern Calabria in 1066, at the same time granting to that see extended immunity from taxation and secular control.[210] While Otranto remained a

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[207] Roger I founded the Holy Saviour monastery in Sicily, while Pope Alexander II confirmed the Greek archbishop Nicodemus of Palermo. Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 219.
[208] Loud, *The Latin Church*, 495.
[209] Salvatore Fodale, "L'Église et les Normands en Italie du Sud et en Sicile," in *Les Normands en Méditerranée dans le sillage de Tancrède*, ed. Pierre Bouet, François Neveux (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 1994), 171-178, here 174-175.
[210] Daniel Stiernon, "Basile de Reggio, le dernier métropolite grec de Calabre," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 18 (1964) (Stiernon, "Basile de Reggio"): 199-203.

Latin see, Gallipolli received a Greek bishop after Bohemond's Byzantine expedition in 1115, and was only converted to the Latin rite in 1513.[211]

Not all Greek bishops were easily reconciled with their new masters. At the Synod of Melfi in 1089, Basil, the archbishop elect of Reggio Calabria, agitated for his installation and also refused to submit to the papacy.[212] He was thus not allowed to take his see on grounds that he had been sent there from Constantinople and not elected by the local clergy.[213] Since earlier canons[214] stipulated that only the bishop of Rome could ordain Italian bishops, Pope Urban II accused Basil of having been uncanonically ordained by the patriarch of Constantinople, a fact which was contested by the Greek bishop. In cases where Greek bishops and clergy publicly, or even tacitly, accepted the papal jurisdiction and right to consecrate all Italian bishops, and the pope's primatial supremacy, they were allowed to keep their offices and continue performing their rite. Herde observes that even if the Greek bishops were, from the thirteenth century onwards, required to say an explicit oath of allegiance to the Roman Church before their consecration, there was no systematic effort to Latinize the Greek Church.[215] Where the Church had been Latin it stayed so; where it had to be built from scratch like in Sicily, the hierarchy became Latin; after the first wave of conquest when some of the Greek bishops were replaced, the position of the remaining ones consolidated. This happened even in dioceses where Latin prelates replaced Greek ones, as at Reggio, where the Greek rite survived in other churches of the bishopric.[216]

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[211] G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 2000) (hereafter Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*), 267.

[212] Caruso, "Politica *gregoriana*, latinizzazione," 511-520.

[213] Stiernon, "Basile de Reggio," 199-203.

[214] On the history of the southern Italian bishoprics before they were removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman see by Leo III, in the eight century see Agostino Pertusi, "La chiesa greca in Italia," *Scritti sulla Calabria medievale* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, 1994), 71-82.

[215] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 222-223.

[216] Julia Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni dopo la conquista della Sicilia (1080-1130)," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 73 (2006) (hereafter Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni"): 49-51.

In the first week of October 1098, Pope Urban II held a council at Bari – now under Norman rule –, where Duke Roger was also present. The discussion of Latin-Greek relations was, given the nature of his dominions, a matter of considerable concern to the latter.[217] Thus the issue of the relations with the Greek part of the Church which had been raised at the council of Melfi, was one of the principal subjects of business at the council of Bari. Urban wanted to restore relations with the Church of Constantinople. His concern with southern Italy was fairly basic. He simply wanted the Greek churchmen to recognize papal authority and be obedient to papal mandates. If they acknowledged this, they were allowed to continue in their office undisturbed.[218]

Basil of Reggio recorded that the Greek archbishops of Rossano and Santa Severina recognized papal jurisdiction at the council of Melfi and that Pope Urban II had confirmed them as the legitimate incumbents of their sees, as he was prepared to accept Greek prelates.[219] Thereafter, the leaders of the Greek Church in Calabria remained within papal obedience. Bartholomew, the abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria Pathirion, near Rossano, went to Rome in 1108 seeking a privilege for his abbey from Paschal II (r. 1099-1118). The archbishops of Rossano and Santa Severina attended the Lateran synod of 1112 and were present at the election of Pope Gelasius II (r. 1118-1119).[220] Duke Roger Borsa (1060/1-1111) attempted to appoint a Latin successor at Rossano after the death of Greek archbishop Romanos (who had submitted to Urban II at Melfi) in 1094, but he faced the resistance of the local population and gave up on the idea. Rossano remained in Greek hands until the early

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[217] Gerardo Cioffari, "Il Concilio di Bari del 1098. Uomini ed eventi," in *Il Concilio di Bari del 1098. Atti del Convegno Storico Internazionale e celebrazioni del IX Centenario del Concilio*, ed. Salvatore Palese, Giancarlo Locatelli (Bari: Edipuglia, 2000), 109-122.

[218] Carmelo Capizzi, "Il Concilio di Bari (1098): riflessi e silenzi nella tradizione bizantina e nella storiografia orientale," in *Il Concilio di Bari del 1098. Atti del Convegno Storico Internazionale e celebrazioni del IX Centenario del Concilio*, ed. Salvatore Palese, Giancarlo Locatelli (Bari: Edipuglia, 2000), 69-90, especially 70-83; Idem, "Il concilio unionistico di Bari (1098): tra la scarsezza di notizie dell'Occidente ed il silenzio dell'Oriente," *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 3, no. 1 (1999): 111-134; Loud, 214-215.

[219] Stiernon, "Basile de Reggio," 194.

[220] Loud, *The Latin Church*, 215.

fourteenth century and the Greek rite continued to be celebrated in the cathedral until 1461. The situation at Otranto and Reggio was exceptional, as Latin incumbents were only installed when a Greek bishop died or the see became vacant.[221]

The appointment of Latin rite bishops did not necessarily imply Greek-Latin hostility. At Squillace, the first "Latin" bishop, John *de Nichiforo*, was probably bilingual and, thus, a tactful choice. Though his nomination was pushed by the papal vicar of Calabria this did not immediately mean that there was papal pressure.[222] After 1100, the pace of Latinization slackened. From 1096 until Umbriatico after 1164, no other Greek see received a Latin bishop.[223] In 1165, Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181) gave the Latin archbishop of Reggio in Calabria the right to consecrate both the Latin and the Greek bishops in his diocese which included the Greek sees of Gerace, Oppido, Bova and Crotone.[224]

Pope Honorius III (r. 1216-1227) allowed the Greek Bishop John of Crotone to hold services in both Latin and Greek, providing that by this no precedent be established either for his diocese, where the Greek rite was still predominant, or for the Greek canons.[225] The bishop was explicitly required to master both Latin and Greek. Thus, even in a Greek environment, Latin was making headway and slowly replacing the Greek rite. No conscious

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[221] Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, 265-266.

[222] Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni," 52-54; Loud, *The Latin Church*, 499.

[223] In 1164, the charter witnessing the Latinisation of the bishopric of Umbriatico was signed by Bishop Robert and seven canons, all of them bearing "western" names, but the charter itself was written in Greek. Loud, *The Latin Church*, 500.

[224] *Rogerius II … Huic Alexander III Pontifex Maximus nobile concessit privilegium Dat. Caietae an. 1165 13 Kalen. Decemb. eidemque, ac succesoribus confirmavit et festis quibusdam diebus ac die natalis sui praescripsit consecrationisque episcoporum sibi suffraganeorum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum eidemque omnia iura suae Ecclesiae ab imperatoribus et regibus concessa affirmavit. Ecclesias Hieracensem, Sumanam, Oppidensem et Crotoniensem Rheginae Ecclesiae in posterum suffraganeas ac subditas fore apostolico scripto asseruit. Hocce privilegium non vidi, meminit tamen illius huius Ecclesiae dyptica. Acta Romanorum Pontificum a S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (+ 1198)* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1943) (hereafter *Acta Romanorum Pontificum a S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (+ 1198)*), no. 389, 802-803.

[225] *Cum per Dei gratiam utriusque linguae, graecae videlicet et latinae, peritiam habeas et utriusque linguae populus in tua diocese commoretur, praesentium tibi auctoritate concedimus, ut in utraque lingua, cum videris expedire, tibi divina liceat celebrare, nullum exinde ecclesiae tuae vel canonicis eius graecis praeiudicium generando*. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 8, 26.

policy of Latinization on behalf of the Latin Church or the lay authorities connected to it was necessary. In a Latin environment the isolated Greek rite was forced gradually to assimilate, a trend visible in Greek liturgical manuscripts as well.[226] At this stage, the bishopric was in an intermediate situation with the Greek bishop having learnt Latin and holding services according to both rites. At Crotone, it took little more than half a century for the Greek rite to disappear. In 1239, at the election of the new Greek archbishop of Rossano who had asked for papal confirmation, the archbishop was required to swear an oath of fealty to the Roman Church, using a formula sent by the pope.[227] The last Greek bishop, Nicholas of Durrës, served Popes Alexander IV and Urban IV (r. 1261-1264) as envoy to Michael VIII Palaiologos (1223-1282) and played an important role in the controversies between the two Churches until Clement IV (r. 1265-1268) suspected him of adhering to "the heresy of the Greeks" and had him deposed, after he had been already dispatched to Constantinople.[228]

In the newly carved crusader states, Frankish leaders did not treat local patriarchs, bishops, or monks as representatives of heretic and rival religious institutions that challenged the Latin authority.[229] "They treated them as they did the landscape itself: as peaks whose position and purview could become part of the bedrock of Frankish power that must be built upon before someone else usurps the position."[230] Far from considering indigenous Christians to be heretics or schismatics, Frankish clergy incorporated local hierarchies into their own as

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[226] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 227.

[227] *... recepturi ab eo pro nobis Romanae Ecclesiae fidelitatis solitae iuramentum, iuxta formam quam vobis sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusam.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 260, 337.

[228] Deno John Geanakopols, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258-1282. A Study in Byzantine-Latin relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 177-179. See also Tia M. Kolbaba, "Repercussions of the Second Council of Lyon (1274): Theological Polemic and the Boundaries of Orthodoxy," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intelectual History 1204-1500*, ed. Martin Hinterberger, Chris Schabel (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 59-61.

[229] Annetta Ilieva, Mitko Delev, "La conscience des croisés et l'altérité chrétienne. Essai typologique sur les conflits pendant la Première Croisade," in *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 109-118.

[230] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 106.

Greek sees were filled by Latin incumbents.[231] Of course, there were exceptions to the rule, such as in the case of Bethgibelin, where a bishop was appointed for the Greek rite community in 1172 at the latest.[232] Seemingly, neither Meletos (the elected bishop), nor Josbert (the leading Latin clergyman in the area) were aware of the theological and liturgical issues that theoretically should have separated them; they chose to ignore them and showed no evidence of being affected by them. Ultimately, for the Hospitallers and Templars, a Melkite bishop was better to have than a Latin one, for someone like Meletos presented no challenge to their own authority over the Latin population, would not claim the right to tithe, and could serve as a liaison to the local Christian communities they governed.[233] Another famous exception was that of the already mentioned Patriarch John the Oxite (r. 1090-1100; then in exile in Constantinople) who was re-enthroned in Antioch in 1098 by the crusaders, and served for a short time as the Greek patriarch of Antioch for both Greeks and Latins. This episode shows that, at least in the first stages of the conquest of Palestine, the Latins were sensitive enough to the local realities and networks of jurisdiction.

The situation changed with the death of the papal legate on 1 August 1098, and with the crusaders proceeding to electing and even creating bishoprics as they expanded their possessions. In September 1098, Raymond of Toulouse captured the city of Albara, fifty

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[231] Under the terms of the legate Adhémar of Le Puy's settlement with Patriarch Symeon II of Jerusalem and Patriarch John IV of Antioch the position of the Latin clergy at Antioch, was analogous to that of the Latin clergy of Jerusalem who served the needs of western pilgrims before the first crusade: they would observe their own rite, but acknowledge the canonical authority of the Greek patriarch. Adhémar's conciliatory policy in respecting the canonical rights of the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem and in restoring the Greek patriarch of Antioch was abandoned in late summer 1098, after the legate died of plague, and the crusaders found out that the Byzantine army had abandoned its march to Antioch and left the crusaders to deal alone with the Muslim relief force arriving from Mosul. Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, The Boydel Press, 2000) (hereafter Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*), 195-198; Isabelle Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens, & Francs au temps de la croisade. Politique religieuse et reconquête en Orient sous les Comnènes 1081-1185* (Paris: Geuthner, 2007) (hereafter Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens, & Francs*), 58-67, 112-115.

[232] Ronnie Ellenblum, "Frankish settlements and the collection of tithes," *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) (hereafter Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*), 143.

[233] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 114-115; Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens, & Francs*, 119.

kilometers south-east of Antioch and instigated the election of Peter of Narbonne, a Provençal priest, as bishop of the town.[234] Albara had not had a Greek rite incumbent for some time, so at least there was no conflict of jurisdiction there, and it seems that the candidate was immediately sent to Antioch to be ordained there at the hands of Patriarch John the Oxite whose authority he thus recognized.[235] The episcopal election at Albara stands out because it was carried without previous consultation of a papal legate and without a canonically prescribed chapter house. It was an act of pragmatism, where the lay authority proceeded with the nomination and organization of a new bishopric in an emergency situation following the conquest of a new territory.

A second step towards a breach with the traditional jurisdiction patterns in the region was taken at Ramla, with the setting of the precedent for imposing Latin bishops in sees that had been or were at the time of crusader conquest held by Greek incumbents. Here, in 1099, a general assembly of the army chose a Norman priest, Robert of Rouen, as bishop of the neighboring Lydda. This time, the new Latin bishop was not sent to be consecrated by any Greek hierarch in the area. He also had to govern the city which was situated at an important road junction through which any relief army from Egypt would have passed on its way to Jerusalem.[236] These two steps proved more important precedents than the one set up at Antioch and a new Latin patriarch was elected in Jerusalem after the fall of the city in 1099. No effort was made to re-establish the Greek rite patriarch.

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[234] *Ove occidit omnes Saracenos et Saracenas, maiores et minores, quos ibi reperit... novissime elegerunt quendam honorabilem et sapientissimum virum et duxere illum in Antiochiam ad consacrandum. Gesta Francorum*, X, 31, 36-8 quoted in Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 1, 95.

[235] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 10. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 38-39. Johannes Pahlitzsch believes that the bishopric might have been founded as autocephalous, as no Latin bishop could be subordinated to a Greek one, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 88-89, footnote 135.

[236] Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 1, 97.

At the arrival of the crusaders, there were few Greek bishops left in Palestine. More Greek rite bishops were to be found there after the crusader conquest than in the previous century. The ecclesiastical records including the seats of the dioceses over which the Greek patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem had been ruling dated from Late Antiquity and had little connection if any to the demographic realities of the eleventh-twelfth centuries.[237] The lists of diocesan seats were, nevertheless, translated into both Latin and Old French, as they could be used to advertise the imagined jurisdictional power and prestige of the newly installed Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem. Only a few dozens of dioceses out of the hundreds existing on paper were filled throughout the existence of the crusader states.[238] The only Greek rite prelate whom the Franks recognized as a full diocesan bishop was the archbishop of Sinai, especially since no Latin rite Christians lived in his diocese which extended over the Sinai peninsula. In official ecclesiastical lists, the Greek archbishop of Sinai appeared as a suffragan of the Latin metropolitan archbishop of Petra.[239]

On the surface, relations between the Franks and their Greek rite subjects in the kingdom of Jerusalem appeared to be good. Thus, in the Latin cathedrals of Jerusalem and Antioch the gospel was sung first in Greek and only then in Latin, as a sign of the unity of faith in the diversity of languages while co-residence of the bishops of the two rites seems to have been allowed in Jerusalem for a short time.[240] At the same time, the monks at the Mount Sinai monastery were praying during the liturgy for the Greek rite patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch. Hamilton explains this by a fundamental divergence

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[237] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 19.
[238] Ibidem, 19.
[239] *Quartus autem metropolitanus est Petracensis, unum solum habens suffraganeum episcopum grecum in monte Synai, ecclesie beate virginis Catharine et monachis eiusdem monasterii prefectum.* Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, tr. Jean Donnadieu (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008) (hereafter Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*), chapter LVI, 232-233. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Le Monastère du Sinaï: creuset de culture chrétienne (Xe-XIIIe siècle)," in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context-Contacts-Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, Herman Teule, vol. 1 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1996), 116-118.
[240] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 111-112.

of attitude. While for the Latin hierarchy Sinai was a suffragan see of the Latin archbishop of Petra, the Greek archbishop of Sinai saw himself as member of the Orthodox communion and prayed not for the Latin patriarch in Jerusalem, but for the titular Greek patriarch residing in Constantinople; moreover, they did not commemorate the pope at all. Thus, at least some of the Greek rite hierarchy were prepared to grant the Latin bishops *de facto* recognition, while inwardly they did not assent to their authority.[241] High ranking Greek rite clergymen kept their cultural ties with Byzantium, and they were informed about the growing hostility towards the Roman see, especially since at the local level they had had the monopoly on high offices in Jerusalem before the first crusade and had, subsequently, been deprived by the Franks.[242]

While at the start of their presence in the Holy Land, the crusader leaders had made little difference between the Greeks and members of the other Eastern Churches, by the time they decided to establish a Latin Church in Syria, they had adopted the official teaching of the papacy which held that the Greeks formed part of the same Roman Church to which they belonged. Unlike Urban II, the crusaders were uneasy with the idea of having a Greek rite bishop exercising spiritual authority over them. The Latin bishops who were appointed in the newly conquered towns and cities were, thus, regarded as legitimate heirs to the Greek ones they had dispossessed.[243] Having to accept the jurisdiction of the indigenous Greek hierarchy was not an option for people who had come there as conquerors and considered that their spiritual leaders should be elected from their own race. On the other hand, the Armenians,

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[241] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 185.
[242] On the Greek rite hierarchy in the Holy Land before the coming of the Latins see Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 454-464.
[243] The Latin hierarchy in the crusader states automatically became the "official" hierarchy in the eyes of the papacy; see Rudolf Hiestand, "Der Klerus des lateinischen Ostens auf den allgemeinen Konzilien von Lateran I bis Vienne," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 38, no. 1 (2006): 145-182.

Maronites and Jacobites received greater autonomy.[244] The lesser Greek clergy such as parish priests and monasteries, who were not a danger to the political establishment and had no positions of power, retained religious freedom while being in full communion with the Latin Church and subject to the canonical authority of Latin bishops.[245]

1204

The year 1204 brought an important change in the way that the Venetians, as well as other Latins, were present in the Levant, because of the military conquest of some territories formerly belonging to the Byzantine Empire, and the juridical issues that appeared with this conquest. As in other territories taken over by the knights of the Crusades, the Latin Church organized itself based on the existing diocesan network and thus substituted the Greek Church.[246] The Latin Church considered itself as legally constituted and successor of the Greek Church and thus owner of its possessions.[247]

The replacement of the Greek higher clergy, from patriarchs to bishops, by Latin incumbents and the adding to the basic structure of a Latin cathedral clergy was one of the unforeseen results of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople. The conquest of Constantinople was, to Innocent III, the just judgement of God on the Byzantines.[248] In his

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[244] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Latin and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099-1291," *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006) (hereafter Kedar, "Latin and Oriental Christians"), article V, 210-217; Herman G.B. Teule, "*It is not right to call ourselves Orthodox and the others heretics*: ecumenical attitudes in the Jacobite Church in the time of the Crusades," in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context-Contacts-Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Herman Teule, vol. 2 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1999), 23-27.

[245] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 18-19.

[246] Giorgio Fedalto, ed., *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente. Documenti Veneziani*, vol. 3 (Verona: Casa Editrice Mazziana, 1978) (hereafter Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*), 5.

[247] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 17.

[248] Michael Angold, "Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, David Jacoby (London: Frank Cass, 1989), 67; William O. Duba, "The Status of the Patriarch of Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 71-91.

letters, he offered some practical suggestions for the organization of the Latin Church or the rapprochement with the Greeks and did not enquire on the fate of the still living incumbent of Constantinople, John X Kamateros (1198-1206).[249] Within a year of 1204 there were two patriarchs of Constantinople: the Greek incumbent John X Kamateros, living ignored in the city suburbs, and Thomas Morosini (r. 1204-1211), a Venetian noble in minor orders, uncanonically appointed but confirmed by the Pope.[250] In August 1206, Morosini banned all Greek services in Constantinople after he learned that his name was omitted from their prayers.[251]

In 1208, Michael IV Autoreianos (r. 1206-1212) was chosen in Nicaea as the legitimate Greek rite successor to Kamateros and partially recognized all over the Orthodox world (with the exception of Demetrios Chomatenos, archbishop of Ochrid, r. 1216-1236).[252] The schism had arrived physically and was consequently exported around the Aegean in the following decade by the Latin appropriation of the Greek Church.[253] The papal policy of procrastination and *post factum* reaction had created a new office in the hierarchy of western

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[249] Lock calls the period between 1204 and 1207 as the time of the "phoney union". Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 196-197. Nichols states that "the policy of the Latin Church in the fifty years following the Fourth Crusade was so incompetent as to beggar belief," *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 287.

[250] On the election of Morosini see Rainer Murauer, "Papst Innocenz III. und die Wahl des ersten lateinischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Thomas Morosini (1204/1205)," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 50 (2008): 179-195. In 1302 the Latin patriarchal office of Constantinople was united with the archdiocese of Crete, while in February 1314 Clement V transferred it to the diocese of Negroponte and this was its location until 1470, when the island was overrun by the Ottomans. The patriarchal rights were reserved to the pope and the patriarchal residence was transferred officially to Venetian territory. By the late fifteenth century the patriarchal residence moved to Venice itself, while the title was reserved for one of the College of Cardinals. In the aftermath of the Council of Florence the title was conferred on three prominent Greek uniate prelates in succession: Gregory Melissenos or Mammas (1453-59), Isidore of Kiev (1459-63) and Bessarion of Trebizond (1463-72). Thus, late in the day and only for a short period of twenty years the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople can be said to have fulfilled the original hopes of Innocent III, but by that time there was no empire of Constantinople, either Greek or Latin, in existence. The titular Latin patriarchate of Constantinople continued until 1965 with its residence in Rome. See also Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 10. See John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

[251] Charles A. Frazee, "The Catholic Church in Constantinople, 1204-1453," *Balkan Studies* 19 (1978), 33-49, especially 34-35.

[252] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 199 and 207.

[253] John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216). To Root Up and to Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) (hereafter Moore, *Pope Innocent III*), 130-134.

Christendom (i.e. the Latin patriarch of Constantinople) and had failed to accommodate the Greek clergy or to discover their inclinations. In the first months of 1205, the pope showed he had little if no understanding either of the religious issues at hand, or of the effect of appointing a Latin patriarch without reference to the Greek situation. "The aim got confused with the means; negotiation with complete subjection; a Latin patriarch with the union of the churches."[254]

In 1204, Innocent III proposed that the assets of the Greek Church be simply frozen, at the same time allowing the Latin Church authorities a free hand in their dealings with the Greeks.[255] Submission to the Roman Church was rewarded by a confirmation of income and privileges. In case individuals were not prepared to swear canonical obedience, their properties and revenues would be transferred to a Latin incumbent who had to discover for himself their nature and extent. A Latin Church was created and its clergy found itself in competition both with the former Greek incumbents, who continued to draw revenues relying on the unfamiliarity of the incoming Latin bishops, and with the lay conquerors on which they depended. All dioceses in the Aegean were taken under papal protection in the first two decades after the Latin conquest of Constantinople; what was regarded as a privilege in the West became a necessity in Greek lands.[256] As a general rule, the Churches in Frankish Greece were asking for a papal confirmation of their privileges, as soon as these privileges had been obtained.[257]

Though the pope requested it in his letter of 7 November 1204,[258] little protection of Greek ecclesiastical property was envisaged. During early 1205, it seemed as if any Church

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[254] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 202; Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 168-169.
[255] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 64, 277.
[256] Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 53.
[257] Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania," 24-25.
[258] *Attentius provisurus, ut ecclesiastica bona, tam immobilia quam mobilia, diligenter facias et fideliter custodiri, donec per nostrae dispositionis arbitrium salubriter ordinetur, ut quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo, sine confusione reddantur*. Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 64, 277.

organization that would emerge in Constantinople, be it Latin or unionist, would be poorer than the former Greek Church and would be subject to lay control, since the conquerors held the purse strings and had already disposed of the patriarchate. Little is known about how the appropriation of cult places was conducted and there are more questions than answers regarding this situation. It seems that there were no negotiations with the Greek dignitaries of the cathedral churches, that continuance in office or reconciliation of the Greek cathedral posts with the Latin chapters was not offered. The Greek clergy had mostly followed the example set by their bishops and fled their parishes. On the other hand the Latins usually chose to ignore Greek dignitaries and their functions.[259]

In 1206, Morosini had requested help in ethnically directed episcopal appointments; Innocent replied that in Greek majority dioceses Greek bishops were to be preferred, provided they had personally acknowledged the primacy of Rome, whilst in the areas of mixed population Latins were to be appointed. Before any such new appointments were to be made, the Greek incumbent had to have abandoned his diocese or refused to recognize papal supremacy.[260]

There was nothing unavoidable about the establishment of the Latin Church in Greece. The general impression was of uncoordinated creations of Latin bishoprics with the momentum coming from the Latins in Greece rather than in response to a formulated plan for a Latin diocesan structure. At the start, there seems to have been a complete lack of knowledge regarding the borders of Greek dioceses, though the situation improved afterwards and the dioceses created after 1207 followed the existing Greek pattern.[261]

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[259] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 207; Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 52.
[260] […] *in illis ecclesiis, in quibus sunt solummodo Graeci, graecos debes episcopos ordinare, si tales valeas reperire, qui nobis et tibi devoti et fideles existant, et a te consecrationem velint recipere humiliter et devote. In illis vero, in quibus cum Latinis Graeci sunt mixti, latinos praeficias ipsis Graecis*. Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 91, 319.
[261] Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 48.

Provision was made for those bishops prepared to Latinize and the advice to Morosini in March 1208 was to make the whole process as uncomplicated as possible; this showed a growing awareness in Rome that Greek bishops were not going to flock into the Latin Church and needed to be enticed.[262] Only a few Greek incumbents acknowledged papal supremacy and continued in their dioceses (such as John of Rhaidestos, Benedict of Kephalonia, Theodore of Euripos on Negroponte, the archbishop of Neopatras and the bishop of Zakynthos).[263] These bishops, together with the circle of Greek clergy in Thessaloniki and the unknown number of proponents of a dual patriarchate along the lines of that established in Antioch in 1100, showed that there were Greeks prepared to compromise but that concessions from Rome were required in order for their number to grow.[264] Such bishops were awarded the same jurisdictional power as their Latin counterparts (as Innocent III wrote to the bishop of Rhaidestos[265]), as long as they showed themselves obedient to the Roman See and were consecrated according to the Latin ritual which included the unction. In several letters to Morosini in 1206 and 1208, to the Latin archbishop of Larissa in 1208 and to the Latin archbishop of Athens again in 1208, Innocent III asked the Latin bishops to refrain from imposing the unction as long as the Greek bishops accepted the jurisdiction of the Roman Church.[266]

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[262] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 109, 341.
[263] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 198, 432; no. 122, 353-354; no. 100, 328-329. Angold believes that Benedict was not Greek, Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 171, footnote 49.
[264] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, 190-2; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 207.
[265] *Cum ad oboedientiam apostolicae sedis redieris, ut quod audisti alii dicas: veni, et trahas quasi cortina cortinum, frat[ernitati] t[uae] presen[tium] aucto[ritate] m[andamu]s, qu[atenus] episcopos tuos, nec non monachos et clericos graecos, ut ad oboedientiam sedis apostolicae revertantur, exhortantionibus sedulis efficaciter moneas, et prudenter inducas, ita quod diligentia tua clareat in effectu, et gratiam nostram merearis plenius et favorem.* Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 199, 433.
[266] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 91, 319 (1206); […] *si hii qui iam consecrati sunt induci nequeunt, ut recipiant unctionem, id in hac novitate sub dissimulatione poteris pertransire*. Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 109, 341 (1208); *Super episcoporum consecrationibus et abbatum, ac monialium graecorum benedictionibus* […] *quos consecratos vel benedictos inveneris, in suo statu dimittas*. Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 120, 352 (letter to the archbishop of Larissa); Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 121, 353-354 (letter to the archbishop of Athens). On the Latin archbishopric of Athens see Raymond-Joseph Loenertz O. P., "Athènes et

With the exception of the four dioceses of Thermopylae, Salona, Megara and Andravida, the newly established Latin Church attempted initially to base itself on existing Greek dioceses, providing a Latin bishop wherever there had been a Greek one and maintaining the boundaries of existing Greek dioceses. This policy was questioned by Morosini in 1206, as he pointed out that Greek dioceses were both too numerous and, often, too poor to be adequately staffed and a more flexible policy permitting diocesan amalgamation was desirable, as some Greek dioceses could not support a western bishop in the style which his Church expected. Innocent III conceded the point but reiterated that the borders must be kept.[267]

As Constantinople was collapsing under the assault of the Fourth Crusade, a letter from April 1204 written by Innocent III to the Latin bishoprics of Oradea and Veszprém shows that the pope entertained the idea of having the Greek rite monasteries in the Hungarian kingdom, which had fallen into disrepair due to the negligence of the local Latin rite bishops, put under the care of a Greek rite bishopric.[268] The bishop was supposed to be under the direct jurisdiction of the pope, a situation already functioning in southern Italy.

The papacy was also concerned about the jurisdictional rights of the incumbent of the Constantinopolitan see. A papal letter of Innocent III addressed to the archbishop of Kalocsa in 1205, one year after the attempt of organizing a Greek rite diocese in the region, actually described such a bishopric, situated on the lands of the sons of a certain knez Bela (*in terra*

Néopatras I," *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, P.-M. de Contenson, Enrica Follieri, Peter Schreiner, ed. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978): 183-303.

[267] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 91, 319.

[268] *Significavit nobis karissimus in Christo fil[ius] n[oster], […] Rex Ungarorum illustris, quod quaedam ecclesiae monachorum Graecorum in regno Ungariae constitutae per incuriam dioecesanorum episcoporum, et per ipsos Graecos, qui valde sunt, sicut asserit, dissoluti, penitus destruuntur, a nobis supplicans humiliter et devote, ut auc[toritate] n[ostra] unus fieret episcopatus ex ipsis, qui nobis nullo mediante subesset; vel abbates aut praepositi latini constituerent in illis, per quorum studium et diligentiam eorundem ecclesiarum status posset in melius reformari.* Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 60, 269-270.

filiorum Bele kneze), which was under no apparent jurisdiction.[269] As starting from 1197 the Latin bishopric of Oradea was part of the abovementioned archbishopric, it is possible that the two documents are referring to the same situation. The pope asked the archbishop to verify whether the Greek rite bishopric was under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople (at that time already having a Latin incumbent). If such was the case then the rights of the Constantinople patriarchate had to be preserved, as it had recently returned to unity with the Holy See. This Greek rite bishopric represented a local form of ecclesiastical organization which had been cut off from Constantinople (or another major see) because of the distance and the other events in the Balkan Peninsula.[270] No further news related to how this situation was finally solved has survived.

Innocent III also tried to re-organize the Greek Church in southern Italy based on the arrangements made during the organization of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople after the crusader's conquest. As before Greek bishops who had submitted to the pope were allowed to keep their sees only in dioceses with a majority of Greek population. In a letter to the archbishop of Tarnovo in 1204, Innocent III decreed that whilst Greek bishops who accepted the papal supremacy did not need to be anointed once again, newly ordained Greek bishops should be anointed according to the Latin rite.[271]

As such papal letters came to be included into decretal collections, this presented the canonists with the opportunity to discuss the issues raised by the papacy but, as Herde

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[269] *Colocensi Archiepiscopo. Ex parte tua nostris fuit auribus intimatum, quod quidam episcopatus in terra filiorum Beleknese consistit, quem cum nulli subsistit metropoli ad devotionem ap[ostolicae] se[dis] intendis reducere, ac iurisdictioni ecclesiae subdere Colocen[si], dummodo tibi super hoc nostrum praebemus assensum.* […] *Provideas autem attentius, ne episcopatus ille sit ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae subiectus, quia cum ipsa Constantinopolitana ecclesia nuper ad ap[ostolicae] se[dis] redierit unitatem, eam nolumus suo iure privari.* Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 78, 300-301. Also Ion Ionaşcu et al., ed., *Documente privind Istoria României. Veacul: XI, XII şi XIII C. Transilvania*, vol. 1 (1075-1250) [Documents regarding the History of Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1951), no. 47, 29.
[270] Borcea believes this Greek rite bishopric was a remnant of the Church organization in place before the Hungarian conquest. Liviu Borcea, *Bihorul medieval* [Medieval Bihor] (Oradea: Editura Arca, 2005) (hereafter Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*), 61.
[271] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 52, 258-259.

observes, their glosses and *summae* cannot provide detailed information about the Greek

Church in southern Italy, and most decretalists would have known little, if at all, about the

situation there. Nevertheless, the glosses are useful since they present the way in which Latin

canon law tried to explain particular questions pertaining to the Greek rite and ecclesiology.[272]

As the Greek Church did not use the Ember days for ordination, the popes' objections went

mainly along the lines of failure to observe the proper intervals between the ordination to

lesser orders and the first of the *ordines maiores*, and the intervals between the ordinations to

the other higher orders. With the exception of the canonically required age limit for

ordination, the Greek Church seemed not to have deemed necessary to observe these intervals

for ordinations from one order to the other. Though from the point of view of the Latin

glossators of the *Compilatio tertia* the Greek Church upheld some heretical ideas, they

favored the toleration of the Greek rite, and their canonical solution was practical as

"scandals" were avoided in this way. The canonists always distinguished between the Greek

Church in Byzantine territory (and in the Latin Empire of Constantinople) and the "uniate"

Greeks of southern Italy, although the limits were fluid.[273] There seems to have been

continuity as tiny numbers of Greeks gaining preferment within the Latin Church; in 1299, a

certain Demetrios secured election to the archdiocese of Corfu,[274] while the scholar-prelate

Simon Atumanno was transferred from a diocese in Calabria to the archdiocese of Thebes by

Pope Urban V (r. 1362-1370) in 1366.[275] The arrangements made by Greek bishops who had

accepted the papal authority are unknown; some of them, like Theodore of Negroponte,

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[272] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 243.

[273] Ibidem, 248, footnotes 141-142.

[274] For the establishment of the Latin Church in Corfu see Antigoni N. Papanikolau, "The Latin Church and the Greek Orthodox Church in Angevin Corfu, at the end of the thirteenth century," *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 42 (2008): 95-112.

[275] His predecessor as archbishop of Thebes had been promoted to the rank of Latin patriarch of Constantinople. Aloysius L. Tăutu, *Acta Urbani PP. V (1362-1370) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit*, vol. 11 (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1964), no. 95, 157-159, (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Urbani V*); Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 210-11.

employed Greek cathedral staff such as the Greek vicar who tried to restore one of the redundant Greek dioceses.[276]

The Latin Church in Greece was not a missionary Church. Pope Innocent III was disappointed that the Greeks failed to learn the lesson of the capture of Constantinople and clung to their own traditions even more closely and saw the Latins as polluters. Latins complained that some of the Greeks associated the Latins with unclean animals (pigs, dogs), washed altars used by Latin priests and rebaptized children in their own rite.[277] The Latin Church came into existence as a sort of consolation prize: it ministered neither to the indigenous population, nor to the massive Latin settlement which failed to arrive. Its prime function seemed to be its own survival and it remained mostly the Church of the conquerors.[278]

The ninth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council. Multiple jurisdictions

The presence of the Greek clergy and hierarchy in the transitional regions under scrutiny presented several problems to the Latin hierarchy there. In the crusader states, the Latins could simply decide not to appoint a Greek bishop and exert direct jurisdiction over the members of the Greek rite communities, as they did in Antioch; elsewhere Greek bishops were left in their respective sees provided they had acknowledged the authority of the Latin patriarch; coadjutors without territorial jurisdiction were ordained, and assisted the Latin hierarchy in ministering to Greek rite communities (a practice adopted at some time in the twelfth century by the Latin Church of Jerusalem). Hamilton observes that, based on these

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[276] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 212. For the Venetian regime on the island see David Jacoby, "La consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négrepont (1205-1390): un aspect de sa politique coloniale," *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th-15th Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2009), article IX, 151-187.
[277] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 173, 403.
[278] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 221; Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 172-173.

challenges to the traditional Latin view on the election of a bishop - challenges which presented similarity to precedents from southern Italy - a compromise was made with Latin bishops being nominated for vacant Greek sees, at the same time as Greek rite bishops kept their dioceses in some localities.[279]

By 1211, there was a double hierarchy in Cyprus as well. After the 1191 conquest, several bishoprics were amalgamated into larger Latin dioceses by the incoming Latin clergy. The Greek hierarchy was drastically reduced in number (instead of 14 sees only 4 remained), while the new Latin dioceses replaced older Greek sees.[280] The four remaining Greek bishops in Cyprus, though retaining their titles were regarded in effect as coadjutors to the Latin bishops above them. Their titles were taken from villages in remote localities, but within the four dioceses of the Latin bishops: Solea in the region of Nicosia, Arsos (Arsinoe) in that of Paphos, Amathus-Lefkara close to Limassol and Rizokarpaso (Karpasia) in the region of Famagusta.[281] They ordained and blessed Greek clerics on behalf of the Latin bishops, who delegated this particular authority to them.[282] New abbots in Greek monasteries performed an act of obedience to their Latin diocesan bishop, who granted then the blessing whereby they were empowered to govern their monasteries, but here occasionally the Greek bishops officiated on behalf of the Latin bishops.[283] The changes were seemingly based on the custom of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the situation was not truly analogous. While in Jerusalem the Greek rite Christians could regard subordination to a Latin hierarchy as preferable or in some ways identical to government by the Greek rite bishops, the Greek rite Church of Cyprus only saw this as a terrible blow to its earlier autonomy, followed – based on what had

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[279] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 182.
[280] Edbury, "Latin Dioceses," 49.
[281] Ibidem, 45.
[282] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 275.
[283] Jean Richard, "Un monastère grec du Palestine et son domaine chypriote: le monachisme orthodoxe et l'établissement de la domination franque," *Croisades et États latins d'Orient* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), article VII, 61-75.

happened in Constantinople a few years before – by the gradual imposition of Latin beliefs and usages.[284]

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) passed ecclesiastical legislation that aimed at putting an end to double hierarchies in the same provinces by decreeing that the pope was the head of all the patriarchs in the East and that no see must have but one bishop.[285] The ninth canon of the same Council had unequivocally specified that only one bishop could head a diocese.

> *On different rites within the same faith*. Since in many places peoples of different languages live within the same city or diocese, having one faith but different rites and customs, we therefore strictly order bishops of such cities and dioceses to provide suitable men who will do the following in the various rites and languages: celebrate the divine services for them, administer the Church's sacraments, and instruct them by word and example. We altogether forbid one and the same city or diocese to have more than one bishop, as if it were a body with several heads like a monster. But if for the aforesaid reasons urgent necessity demands it, the bishop of the place may appoint, after careful deliberation, a catholic bishop who is appropriate for the nations in question and who will be his vicar in the aforesaid matters and will be obedient and subject to him in all things. If any such a person behaves otherwise, let him know that he has been struck by the sword of excommunication and if he does not return to his senses let him be deposed from every ministry in the Church, with the secular arm being called in if necessary to quell such great insolence.[286]

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[284] Hamilton believes that the conflict between Latins and Greeks in Cyprus did more to worsen relations than Frankish activities in Greece after the fourth crusade. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 319. For the Greek-Latin conciliar discussions before 1215 see Hermann Josef Sieben, "Basileios Pediadites und Innozenz III. Griechische versus lateinische Konzilsidee im Kontext des 4. Lateranense," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 27-28, no. 1 (1995/96): 249-274.

[285] Norman Tanner, "Pastoral care: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215," in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), 116; Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, 288; Foreville, *Lateran I-IV*, 349-351. For an ethnocentric approach and a papal policy towards the Greek rite evaluated as aggressive see Alfred J. Andrea, "Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite, 1198-1216," in *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences – La IVe Croisade et ses consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris: Lethielleux, Paris, 2005) (hereafter Andrea, "Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite"), 111-122.

[286] Canon 9, Lateran IV (1215): *De diversis ritibus in eadem fide. Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eandem civitatem atque dioecesim permixti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores, districte praecipimus ut pontifices huiusmodi civitatum sive dioecesum, provideant viros idoneos, qui secundum diversitates rituum et linguarum divina officia illis celebrant et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrant, instruendo eos verbo pariter et exemplo. Prohibemus autem omnino, ne una eademque civitas sive dioecesis diversos pontifices habeat, tanquam unum corpus diversa capita, quasi monstrum; sed si propter praedictas causas urgens necessitas postulaverit, pontifex loci catholicum praesulem, nationibus illis conformem, provida deliberatione constituat sibi vicarium in praedictis, qui ei per omnia sit obediens et subiectus, unde si quis aliter se ingesserit, excommunicationis se noverit mucrone percussum, et si nec sic resipuerit, ab omni ecclesiastico ministerio deponatur, adhibito, si necesse fuerit, brachio saeculari ad tantam insolentiam compescendam.* From Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 239.

In those dioceses where Latins and Greeks lived alongside one another, the bishops were to put suitable clerics at the disposal of each group.[287] The most important criterion for belonging to one group was language, which also brought liturgical and pastoral implications; these clerics were to celebrate services according to the respective rites in various languages, dispense sacraments and teach their communities by word and example. Such a clergyman owed obedience and was subjected to the Latin bishop for under no circumstances could there be two bishops ruling over the same diocese (an important change, compared to two bishops in the same diocese). In case of contravention, the canons threaten excommunication and deposition. The decree was aimed at those Greek bishops who had initially coexisted with the Latin ones, but who afterwards retreated to smaller localities or to cave-churches, and continued to operate as if part of an underground parallel hierarchy.

Thus, in dioceses where both Latins and Greeks were living side by side, the local bishop could appoint a *catholicus praesul*, acting as his vicar for that part of the population which did not follow the bishop's rite. Herde observes that the terminology of the ninth canon is vague since *praesul* was also used as a synonym for *episcopus*; he nevertheless states that the wording of the canon expressly declares that the *praesul* could never be a second diocesan bishop. He was no more than the bishop's substitute, owing obedience and submission to him. At best, he was an auxiliary bishop – similar to the earlier *chorepiscopus*[288]– who lacked full episcopal jurisdiction.[289] Herde quotes the opinions of several canonists who were interested in the position of *praesul*, which seemed to have caused problems of interpretation connected with the episcopal functions related to this title (even if several cases of episcopal deputies with unclear canonical status were debated in the period). Tancred, who equated the term

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[287] Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, 241-242.

[288] Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., ed., "Chorepiskopos," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) (hereafter *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*), 430-431.

[289] The vicar mentioned in the canon might have also been related with the then emerging general vicariate. Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 248.

praesul with *episcopus*, explains that the diocesan bishop might appoint at times an appropriate cleric (*discretus vir*) to take care of the believers of the other rite or ordain for them a bishop, who would be his vicar.[290] For Johannes Teutonicus, the vicar had jurisdictional powers similar to an archdeacon. The vicar was supposed to be ordained by the diocesan bishop and not by the metropolitan archbishop.[291] In cases of the dioceses where both rites were used, the Latin bishops could appoint itinerant Greek bishops, like the *episcopus Cathamarsiliensis* (this see has not been identified so far on the ground[292]) in the area of Otranto, with an unclear juridical status, but who acted as the spiritual leader for the Greek communities under a Latin diocesan bishop.[293] For Cardinal Hostiensis (1190/1200-1271)[294] the term *praesul* could only refer to a bishop, even if not a diocesan bishop but only a vicar.[295]

Referring to the situation in the crusader states, James of Vitry writes that fear from the secular arm seems to have been the most important factor in keeping together the two

[290] (Laurentius) and Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 173r and Bamberg, Can. 19, fol. 136 v): s. v. *ordinare: ita superordinatum est postea quod nullo modo duo episcopi in eadem civitate vel diocesi (sint), sed, si episcopus loci viderit expedire propter necessitatem hominum vel linguarum, in eo casu vel aliquem discretum virum illis preficiat vel episcopum eis ordinaret, quem vicarium suum faciat, qui eidebet in omnibus esse obediens et subiectus, ut in constitutione domini Innocentii "Quoniam in plerisque"* (= Conc. Lat. IV c. 9 =IV Comp. 1. 13. 2). *T(ancredus)* in Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 249, footnote 146. On Laurentius Hispanus and Tancred see James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London: Longman, 1997) (hereafter Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*), 221 and 227-228.

[291] Johannes Teutonicus ad IV Comp. 1. 13. 2 (Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 289r etc.): s. v. *vicarium: tamen habet ordinariam potestatem et facit ad hoc, quod archidiaconus habet ordinariam potestatem, licet dicatur vicarius episcope, ut extra I de officio archidiaconi c. II […] Sed a quo consecrabitur iste episcopus? A suo episcopo, non a metropolitano, cum non subsit ei*, in Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 249, footnote 147. See also Stephan Kuttner, "Johannes Teutonicus, das vierte Laterankonzil und die Compilatio quarta," *Medieval Councils, Decretals, and Collections of Canon Law* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), article X, 608-634. On Johannes Teutonicus see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 219-220.

[292] Horst Enzensberger, "I Greci nel Regno di Sicilia. Aspetti della loro vita religiosa, sociale, economica alla luce del diritto canonico latino e di altre fonti latine," 17 (Rassegna Storica online 1, 2000), http://www.medioevoitaliano.org/enzensberger.greci.pdf (accessed December, 2013).

[293] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 249-250.

[294] On Hostiensis see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 214; Clarence Gallagher S. J., *Canon Law and the Christian Community. The role of Law in the Church According to the Summa Aurea of Cardinal Hostiensis* (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1978), 22-45.

[295] Hostiensis Comm. ad X. 1. 31. 14: s. v. *presulem: id est prelatum sive rectorem, non tamen pontificem; nomen enim presulis generale est […] Goffr(idus). Ego intelligo etiam pontificem, id est episcopum, alioquin non posset ordines celebrare. Non tamen erit episcopus istius loci, sed episcopi vicarius*, in Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 250, footnote 147.

Churches which were nominally in communion and professing obedience to the Latin hierarchy and the Roman see.[296] The Greek rite hierarchy does not seem to have attached much importance to the purely ecclesiastical sanctions which was all that the Latin bishops could impose if unaided by secular support. The Latins while demanding formal obedience from the Greeks and formal recognition of the papal primacy did not attempt to force Latin usages on them, as they continued to recite the Nicene Creed, to celebrate the Eucharist with leavened bread, and to allow priests to perform confirmations instead of the bishops, however little they approved of such practices. On the other side, the Greeks did not openly challenge Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction and did not publicly criticize the Latin Church in the matters of the use of the azymes or of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit.[297]

James of Vitry also records the presence of Greek rite bishops (*habent enim proprios episcopos Grecos*[298]), maybe coadjutors, in thirteenth century Acre and Sidon. Though evidence about their existence in the twelfth century is scarce, it seems that a few cases were nevertheless recorded: Meletus the Syrian, archbishop of Jabin and Gaza (and also a member of the Hospital), Paul of Antioch, bishop of Sidon, a bishop of Lydda and a Syrian archbishop that came to greet Richard I in 1192.[299] The Syrians, though it must have been a matter of indifference whether a Latin or Greek bishop was titular of the patriarchal see of Jerusalem, received an unexpected support from the Latin rulers.[300] In a reversal of the custom before the crusader conquest, Syrian bishops were preferred for sees that were usually reserved to Greek rite bishops (who as bishops were separated from the Syrian communities by language and

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[296] *Latinorum autem prelatis in quorum diocesibus commorantur non corde sed ore tantum et superficialiter se dicunt obedire, timore scilicet secularium dominorum*. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, chapter LXXV, 298.
[297] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 316-317.
[298] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, chapter LXXV, 298.
[299] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 183; Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens, & Francs*, 119.
[300] Jean Richard, "Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979) (hereafter Richard, "Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre"): 166-171; Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens, & Francs*, 71-76.

rite). This was a solution that the Latin hierarchy may have devised at an early stage in order to reconcile the Greek rite communities in the kingdom to the jurisdiction of the Latin Church.[301]

The function of the Greek bishops in the kingdom of Jerusalem was not completely analogous to that of Lusignan Cyprus, where almost the entire population was of Greek rite and where there had been a large network of bishoprics (fourteen) at the time of the Latin conquest. Nevertheless, since a major part of the nobility of the new kingdom came from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the agreement with the local Church was based on the prevailing practice there, as opposed to the arrangements made in Latin Greece.[302]

The papacy tried to apply this canonical solution of integrating Greek rite bishops and their bishoprics in the Roman Church in the Hungarian kingdom during the first half of the thirteenth century.[303] In letters to the archbishop of Kalocsa (in March 1229)[304] and to the bishop of Cenad (in March 1232),[305] pope Gregory IX asked the hierarchs to check the jurisdictional situation of the Greek-Slavonic rite bishoprics in Mitrovitza, Belgrade and Braničevo. In the letter of 1229, the pope asks that the local Greek rite bishop (*quae Graecorum ritum tenet et nondum Sedi Apostolicae oboedivit*) should be brought under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Kalocsa but also to the Latin rite (*ut Sclavi et Graeci, qui*

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[301] Dorothea Weltecke criticizes the use of the term "cordiality" for describing the relations between Latin and Syriac Christians in "Contacts between Syriac Orthodox and Latin Military Orders," in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context-Contacts-Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Herman Teule, vol. 3 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2003), 74-76.

[302] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 271.

[303] For the papal efforts to impose the decisions of the fourth Lateran council see Antonio García y García, "El gobierno de la Iglesia Universal en el concilio IV Lateranense de 1215," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969): 50-68; Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implemantation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1216-1245: Watchmen on the Tower* (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1995); for the missions to the Cumans and the Romanians see Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, 20-26.

[304] *Quocirca discretioni tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, si in ecclesia illa sit episcopus et sub Ecclesiae Romanae oboedientia esse voluerit, sine praeiudicio iuris alieni, recipere non postponas. Quod si non sit episcopus in eadem, vel si existat ibidem et noluerit Sedi Apostolicae oboedire, praedicto novo episcopatui, auctoritate nostra suffultus, adiicias ecclesiam memoratam.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 162, 214.

[305] […] *dolemus non modicum et turbamur quod ... Albae et ... Brandusii Bulgarorum episcopi, nulli nisi Pontifici Romano subiecti, iamdiu ab unitate Ecclesiae declinantes, post greges sodalium evagando, ipsius magisterio se subducunt.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 175, 231.

inhabitant terram illam, in divinis officiis et ecclesiasticis sacramentis ad Latinorum ritum et

oboedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae, si potest fieri, convertantur). If he refused submission to

the Latin Church then the territory under his jurisdiction was to be annexed to the new Latin

diocese of Sirmia Citeriore.[306] A similar situation can be observed on the island of

Negroponte, where Pope Honorius III asked the archbishops of Thebes and Athens to stop the

Latin bishop of Negroponte from a direct takeover of the Latin bishopric of Loretos, and

instead to supervise the creation of a Greek rite vicar according to the Lateran decisions.[307]

The Romanians seem to have been generally open to the Latin missions (*convertibiles*

ad observantiam verae fidei christianae)[308] as long as the preaching and the administration of

the sacraments were done in vernacular. In 1234, Gregory IX was contemplating the idea of

ordaining a bishop for the Romanians living on the borders of Hungary. The Romanians

mentioned in the papal letter were already under the jurisdiction of Greek rite bishops

(*pseudoepiscopis*) which were also ministering for the Germans and Hungarians living in the

region.[309] Such a situation was unacceptable in the eyes of the pope who wrote to King Béla

IV (1206-1270) asking him to force the *Walati* to receive the bishop that would be sent to

them, and that part of the royal revenues paid by this community should be used for the

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[306] On the Latin rite bishops of Sirmium see [Boris Stojkovsky] Борис Стојковски, "СРЕМСКИ БИСКУПИ 1229-1534" [The bishops of Srem 1229-1534], ИСТРАЖИВАЊА 23 (2012): 161-180.

[307] […] *quendam etiam graecum presbyterum in spiritualibus et temporalibus vicarium in episcopate nihilominus constituens Loretensi* […]. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 123, 166. Richard believes the Greek rite vicar must have been a *protopapas* and that his ordination was a subterfuge used by the Latin bishop of Negroponte to extend his direct jurisdiction over the bishopric of Loretos, Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 48.

[308] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 118, 223 (letter of Gregory XI to Louis of Hungary, October 1373).

[309] *In Cumanorum episcopatu, sicut accepimus, quidam populi, qui Walati vocantur, existunt, qui etsi censeatur nomine christiano, sub una tamen fide varios ritus habentes et mores, illa committunt, quae huic sunt nomini inimica. Nam Romanam Ecclesiam contemnentes, non a venerabili fratre nostro ... episcopo Cumanorum, qui loci dioecesanus existit, sed a quibusdam pseudoepiscopis Graecorum ritum tenentibus, universa recipiunt ecclesiastica sacramenta, et nonnulli de regno Ungariae, tam Ungari quam Theutonici et alii orthodoxi, morandi causa cum ipsis, transeunt ad eosdem et sic cum eis, quasi populus unus facti cum eisdem Walatis, eo contempto, praemissa recipiunt sacramenta, in grave orthodoxorum scandalum et derogationem non modicam fidei christianae.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 209, 284. On the thirteenth century use of the term *populus*, as well as its connection to the *pseudo-episcopi* see Daniel Barbu, "*Quidam populi, qui Walati vocantur*. Les Roumains en 1234," *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essais sur la production politique de la fois au Moyen Age* (Bucharest: Éditions Babel, 1998), 93-101.

upkeep of this bishop.[310] He would be appointed according to the fashion of that nation, and in the spirit of the fourth Lateran council as a coadjutor to the Latin bishop of Cumania.[311] The Latins are not likely to have appointed Greek bishops either in places where there were no Greek rite congregations, or where there had been no Greek see before, so that almost certainly there was not a Greek rite coadjutor in every Latin see in the transitional regions. The statutes of the Synod of Melfi in 1284 confirm that the decrees of 1215 were not always observed. There were cases of abbots, or other members of the clergy who had in their care Latin churches and communities of Latin rite, which they entrusted to Greeks as they were asking for smaller wages.[312]

The Greek rite hierarchy in Cyprus at the middle of the thirteenth century also tried to move under the direct jurisdiction of the papacy, in order to avoid the jurisdiction of the Latin rite bishops on the island. The Greek bishops never left Cyprus for good as it happened on Crete, although during the thirteenth century they sometimes had to suffer self-imposed exile.[313] In full accordance with the ninth canon of the fourth Lateran council, the papacy asked for the abolition of all Greek bishoprics, stating that each diocese on Cyprus should be headed by a Latin bishop.[314] Thus the Greek rite priests and deacons were supposed to obey the Latin archbishop, and whichever Latin bishop might preside. This is a pastoral image that encapsulates the papacy's view of the ideal relationship between the Latin Church and members of the eastern Christian denominations, these denominations being regarded merely

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[310] Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 209, 285.

[311] *Ne igitur ex diversitate rituum pericula proveniant animarum, nos volentes huiusmodi periculum obviare, ne praefati Walati materiam habeant pro defectu sacramentorum ad schismaticos episcopos accedendi, eidem episcopo nostris damus litteris in mandatis, ut catholicum eis episcopum, illi nationi conformem, provida deliberatione constituat sibi, iuxta Generalis statuta Concilii, vicarium in praedictis, qui ei per omnia sit oboedientes et subiectus.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 209, 285.

[312] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 227; Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 48-49.

[313] For a similar situation on Rhodes see Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, "Il decreto fiorentino di Unione e la sua applicazione nell'Arcipelago Greco. Il caso di Creta e di Rodi," *Thesaurismata* 21 (1991): 43-88; Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, "À Chypre et à Rhodes, les deux hiérarchies coexistaient," *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*, 94-95.

[314] *Cum in regno Cypri, sicut accepimus, unus metropolitanus et tres episcopi latini eius suffraganei sint auctoritate Legatorum Sedis Apostolicae institute* [...]. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 87, 116.

as different rites; the papacy would not tolerate the idea of institutional or jurisdictional separation, but accepted the differences in rites. The agreement with the local Greek Church was a compromise, with four Greek bishops (vicars) - appointed in each of the newly configured Latin sees - remaining in Cyprus with "our consent [the pope's] and by the will of both parties."[315] The Greek archbishopric was not formally abolished, but this was implied since all four remaining hierarchs bore the title of bishop, the office must have been downgraded. As already mentioned above the Greek bishops were transferred to sees in the countryside, away from the main towns of their respective dioceses.

The Greek rite bishops were an administrative convenience and had no formal territorial jurisdiction. In Coureas's interpretation this annulled their full episcopal status, as it violated the canons of Lateran IV and allowed the existence of two bishops in the same diocese (the situation is described by Pope Honorius III as intolerable as one body with two heads[316]). My understanding is that the plenitude of office resides first of all in the ordination service that was bestowed on the future bishop.[317] Though the candidate had to be assigned a see, it has happened many times that this was done just in name, with situations such as non residence or holding honorary titles being very common. The actual solution of ordaining the Greek bishops for other localities than the ones where their Latin counterparts resided shows indeed the care not to infringe the letter of the Lateran canonical solution, but it also provides a good example of how rules can be broken. As pointed out in the first part, the actual

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[315] *Ad haec quatuor tantum episcopi graeci, qui de consensu nostro et voluntate utriusque partis semper remanebunt in Cypro, oboedientes erunt Romanae Ecclesiae et archiepiscopo et episcopis latinis, secundum consuetudinem regni Hierosolymitani, qui habitabunt in locis competentibus inferius nominatis. Loca autem sunt haec: in diocesi Nicosiensi in Sulia, in diocesi Paphensi in Archino, in diocesi Nimochiensi in Lefkara, in diocesi Famagustana in Carpasio.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 108, 147.

[316] *Quare talia de caetero sustinere nolentes, cum monstruosum esset, sicut in constitutionibus dicitur Concilii Generalis, unam et eandem diocesim diversos habere pontifices, tamquam diversa capita unum corpus haberet.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, 115-116, no. 86. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 302.

[317] On the Byzantine bishops see Hans-Georg Beck, "Der Episkopat," *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959) (hereafter Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*), 67-74.

problem here, which arose with the Crusades and was never met since then, was co-territoriality. Bishops would be ordained on behalf of different seats, thus abiding by the ninth canon of Lateran IV, but due to the mixed nature of habitation and rite practice it was practically impossible to create two dioceses that would not geographically superimpose one another.

Three main Latin issues were identified as problematic by the Greek clergy regarding ordination: Greek bishops having to kneel and place their hands in submission into those of Latin bishops; Greeks being appointed to ecclesiastical office only with the consent of the Latins; Greek clergy and laity having the right to appeal to the Latin archbishop against the verdict of a Greek diocesan court.[318] The letters of Patriarch Germanos, then in Nicaea, offer an overview on the attitude that the Greek clergy should adopt in regards to the Latins. The picture we have is that of a politics of compromise, the local Greek clergy was encouraged to support the Latin hierarchy with revenues and incomes, thus maintaining the integrity of their religion; it was laudable "to exchange material loss for spiritual gain just as brass is exchanged for gold. For maybe by greasing their palms they will relieve you as regards the matter of giving hands."[319] The situation in Cyprus was complicated further by the existence of other communities of rite, such as Syrians, Jacobites, and Nestorians. Thus, the pope addressed Latin hierarchs such as the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Caesarea and the bishop of Bethlehem urging them to bring under one jurisdiction the different Christian communities on the island as they obeyed neither the Church of Rome nor the archbishop of Nicosia, but kept to their customs and teachings, "drifting around like headless people."[320]

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[318] Chris Schabel, "Religion," in *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (hereafter Schabel, "Religion"), 193-194.

[319] "Η Γερμανού επιστολή Α," in K. Sathas, ed., *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice: 1872-1894), vol. 2, 8 quoted in Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 269, footnote 62; see also Schabel, "Religion," 15.

[320] […] *quod in dioecesibus eorundem Suriani, Jacobini, Nestoriani et quidam alii commorantur, qui nec Ecclesiae Romanae nec praedictis archiepiscopo et Praelatis nec ecclesiis obediunt Latinorum, sed tamquam*

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During the pontificate of Innocent IV, the Greek rite Church of Cyprus was treated almost as a modern Uniate Church. Because of the differences in rite and doctrine, as well as its many obstructions to the life of Greek rite communities, the Latin Church on the island failed to integrate the Greeks. The papacy believed that direct subordination to Rome would resolve part of the issues. As before the Latin conquest, the Greek rite Church on the island would maintain its traditional rites while observing direct subordination to the papacy in doctrinal and spiritual matters.[321] Such a solution would have led to a far more effective union of Greek Christians with the Roman Church, as it allowed the preservation of familiar rites and the Church language, and would have had an impact in the rural areas as well, where most of the Greeks lived.[322] At the same time it would have greatly reduced the income of the established Latin Church and military orders on the island, while putting in danger the existence or need of a Latin Church in Cyprus. Innocent IV's policy proved effective as the Greek hierarchy wanted more than anything else to have financial and jurisdictional independence from their Latin counterpart and was prepared to renounce the autocephaly of their Church and submit to papal authority on their own accord in return for that.[323]

Pope Alexander's IV *Bulla Cypria* (1260) gave Archbishop Germanos independence from any kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the Latin Church of Cyprus, but placed Greek bishops under the control of their Latin counterparts. The Greeks could elect their own bishops, but they still had to be confirmed by the Latin hierarchy who would also summon the other Greek rite bishops to their consecration. Greek rite bishops had to swear obedience to both the reigning pope and the Latin archbishop of Nicosia, thus overturning the

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acephali evagantes, suis sectis antiquis et erroribus innituntur. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 88, 117-118.

[321] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 287.

[322] There were perhaps twelve Latin parishes in the rural areas of Cyprus during the thirteenth century. Richard, "Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre," 162.

[323] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 291.

policy of *nullo medio* started by Innocent IV. Latin bishops had the prerogative of annulling the elections of their Greek counterparts if they considered them uncanonical. At the same time the condemnation, deposition, translation, or retirement of a Greek bishop were papal prerogatives.[324] While the Latin bishops were seen as lawfully ordained by the Roman Church, the Greeks barely made it into a tolerated category that had to be put up with.[325] Latin bishops were allowed to appoint priests to vacant Greek parishes, but only if their Greek counterparts had neglected to do so for a period of three months, and then only if the candidate was a member of a community of Greek rite.[326] The Greek bishops would be coadjutors of the Latin ones and entrusted with the supervision and "care of churches, monasteries, the clergy and the people of the Greeks."[327] Greek bishops were required to attend the synods of their Latin counterparts once a year and to observe the statutes issued by these synods which did not obstruct the Greek rite,[328] though as Coureas states, the matter of who would judge whether they did or not was left open.[329] Visitations of the Greek bishops by their Latin counterparts were not encouraged, as the promulgators of the bull kept in mind the poverty of the Greeks as "the goods of their churches had been conceded to the Latin bishops."[330] Though a consistory for each Greek see was prescribed, some cases were reserved exclusively for the Latin courts. The Greek ecclesiastics had the right to appeal to

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[324] *Sane graecorum pontificum dampnatio seu depositio sicut et translatio ac cessio soli Romano Pontifici, iuxta praerogativae apostolicae privilegia reservetur.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 95.

[325] *In primis volumus et mandamus episcopis Graecis, ut diligenter considerent, quod sit eorum officium: et causam quare, cum Latini episcopi sint per Romanam Ecclesiam in Cypri insula ordinate, ipsi in eadem insula sint tolerati,* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46a, 104.

[326] Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 95-96.

[327] […] *episcopalem sollicitudinem atque curam monasteriorum, ecclesiarum, cleri et populi Graecorum in sua civitate atque diocese.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 95.

[328] […] *quae tamen Graecorum ritibus, fidei catholicae non adversis et a Romana ecclesia tolerates non obvient.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 96.

[329] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 299.

[330] *Verum, licet procurationum numerum, visitationis gratia debitarum, considerata ipsorum paupertate Graecorum, duxerimus miseratione provida taliter moderandum, quia tamen latinis episcopis ad hoc sunt ecclesiarum bona concessa.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 97.

Latin diocesan bishops, to the Latin archbishop and ultimately to the papal curia.[331] The right

to collect tithes belonged to the Latins which only helped to increase the difference in wealth

between the two Churches.[332]

Archbishop Germanos, and his suffragans, agreed to the new situation of the Greek

Church, and also accepted the abolition of his own office to the effect that after his death no

other archbishop would be nominated for the Greeks of the kingdom of Cyprus.[333] It seems

that the liberties gained by the Greeks through the *Bulla Cypria* were to be valid only during

the life of Germanos who was emancipated from the jurisdiction of his Latin peer, Hugh of

Fabiano, and was also allowed to reside at the church of St Barnabas while in Nicosia.

Germanos had the right to appoint Greek bishops, who were also expected to be confirmed by

the Latin bishops, and enjoyed rights of visitation similar to the Latin archbishop of Nicosia,

but was not allowed to interfere in cases pertaining to the exclusive jurisdiction of Latin

courts.[334] He also had to swear obedience to the Latin archbishop in his capacity as bishop of

Solea, but both the latter and his Latin suffragans were expressly prohibited to infringe on his

rights.[335]

The removal of the Greek rite bishop to the countryside was also effected at Koroni,

this time under Venetian supervision. During the Venetian rule the local Greek rite bishop had

his regular residence outside the walls of the town. Thus, at times, such as in 1436, when

news came to Venice that the bishop was residing in the town of Koroni, he was directed to

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[331] Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 96.

[332] Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 97.

[333] *Atque statuimus, ut ipso Germano cedente vel decedente, nullus in praefato regno decetero Graecorum archiepiscopus ordinetur.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 97.

[334] Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 98-99.

[335] Coureas considers that the *Bulla* was actually a form of bribe, which secured the victory of the Latin Church in Cyprus over the policies of Innocent IV. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 301; see also Edbury, "The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus," 6-7.

leave the city as his presence there could lead to dangerous situations.[336] The regulations concerning the double jurisdictions that were set up at the Fourth Lateran Council, and the interpretation that the ninth canon of this council received in places such as Cyprus or Koroni, set up a precedent that was largely implemented in Transylvania as will become obvious in the chapters below.

The lack of Greek rite bishops in the transitional regions before the Reformation

Very little information survives for the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth concerning the Greek-Slavonic rite hierarchy in Transylvania. The gradual Latinization of the Greek rite monasteries in the Hungarian kingdom can be traced in several documents, such as those mentioned above but even later ones. In 1344, Pope Clement VI invited the Latin rite bishop of Nitra to take under his care the stauropegial monastery[337] of Saint Demetrius in the archbishopric of Kalocsa. The monastery's abbot had died ten years before and no replacement arrived from Constantinople.[338]

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[336] [...] *cum dominus episcopus grecus Coroni, per certum ordinem antiquum, teneatur et debeat habitari extra Coronum ad miliaria 4 vel quinque, quod quidem fuit bene factum et ad bonum respectum; sed a certo tempore circa, idem dominus episcopus grecus se reduxit ad habitandum in burgo Coroni, ubi continue sit concursus et adunantia multorum Grecorum, quod non est pluribus respectibus tollerandum. Vadit pars quod ex nunc captum sit et ordinatum quod ipse dominus episcopus Coroni grecus et successors sui decetero habitare debeant extra locum nostrum Coroni et stare in loco ubi prius habitare solebat.* Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, vol. 2, (1364-1463) (Paris: Mouton & Co La Haye, 1971) (hereafter Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes*, vol. 2), no. 1357, 319. A few years after, the affair became clearer: the Greek rite bishop had moved to the monastery of Saint John where a conflict started with a hieromonk, Theodore Cardea, (considered to be loyal to Venice) who wanted to remain abbot there. The Council of Ten decided that the presence of the bishop in the monastery does not affect the abbot's function, and that the abbot should be allowed to stay as long as he pays the agreed rent: *nam licet provisum fuerit quod idem episcopus possit habitare in dicta abbatia, non tamen pro hoc debet ipse abbas incidere electus expelli de facto de dicta abbatia pro intromittendo in eam ipsum episcopum qui non erat nec fuit abbas, sed solummodo ipsam habebat in commendam ad tempus et solvebat yperpera decem, ubi idem papas Teodorus solvit yperpera L in anno.* Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes*, vol. 2, no. 1379, 320

[337] "Stauropegion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, 1946-1947. W. Becket Soule, O. P., "The Stauropegial Monastery," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 66, no. 1 (2000): 147-167, especially 147-157.

[338] [...] *ibi ponebatur abbas Graecus per patriarcham Graecorum; qui abbas non oboediebat in regno Ungariae alicui Praelatorum, sed solum patriarchae praedicto.* Tăutu, *Acta Clementis VI*, no. 33a, 58. See also Tăutu, *Acta Clementis VI*, no. 33, 57.

There is little information about a bishop for the Romanians in the eastern parts of the Hungarian kingdom surviving for the next century. An Archbishop Gelasius appears in an inscription in the second layer of painting of the church of the Greek-Slavonic rite monastery at Râmeţ (modern Alba county), for the year 1377. The inscription mentions the name of the painter (Michael from Crişul Alb) and of the Hungarian king (Louis I): "I wrote it myself the most sinful servant of God Mihul, that is the painter from Crişul Alb, with the consent of the archbishop Gelasius in the days of king Louis in the year 6885 (1377) the month of July 2."[339] The mentioning of the king cancels, in my opinion, the possibility of the existence of an unofficial (or in the "catacombs") Greek rite hierarchy. As a parallel to other transitional regions, such a bishop could have only been active in the area as a vicar to the local Latin rite bishop, having his residence most probably in a Greek-Slavonic monastery in the area (as was the case in Cyprus).[340]

A few years earlier, on 13 October 1374, Pope Gregory XI sent two letters, one to Louis I and the other to the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa regarding the mission

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[339] ПИСА(Х) МНОГОГРѢ/ ШНИ РАБЪ БЖЇИ/ МИХУЛ(Ъ) И ЗУГРА/ФЪ БѢЛОКРИШЬ/ ЦЬ ПОВЄЛЄНЇЄМ(Ъ)/ АРХЇЁПVСКУПО(М)Ъ/ ГЄЛАСЇꙌНЪ. ВЪ/ ДНИ ЛꙌДꙌВИКА КРА/ ЛѢ SꙌПЄ/ М(С)ЦА ЇЮЛА Б. Monica Breazu, "Studiu epigrafic," 49 and Liana Tugearu, "Biserica mănăstirii Rîmeţ (sat Valea Mănăstirii, înglobat satului Rîmeţ, com. Rîmeţ, jud. Alba)," in *Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România (sec. XIV-1450)*, ed. Vasile Drăguţ, vol. 1, (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucharest, 1985), 149-172. Also Vladimir Agrigoroaei, "An *Interpretatio Wallachica* of Serbian Cultural Patterns," in *Transylvania in the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: Aspects of the Formation and Consolidation of Regional Identity*, ed. Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2012) (hereafter Agrigoroaei, "An *Interpretatio Wallachica*"), 114-122.

[340] Dan Ioan Mureşan and Daniel Barbu find it difficult to believe that Gelasius was a real bishop given the religious policy of Louis I of Hungary. They make a parallel between his case and the life of Paul Tagaris, a monk who pretended to be the patriarch of Jerusalem and caused a lot of confusion in the relations between Constantinople and Rome in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. For Mureşan, Gelasius could well have been a simple priest who dreamt of being archbishop. Dan Ioan Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs. Aspects des relations de Sigismond de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue," in *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World*, ed. Ekaterini Mitsiou, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Alexandru Simon (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010) (hereafter Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs"): 49. Daniel Barbu, "La production politique de l'Orthodoxie. Note liminaire," *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essais sur la production politique de la fois au Moyen Age* (Bucharest: Éditions Babel, 1998), 19-20.

among the Romanians.[341] The documents describe the situation of the Romanians mostly in

the old bishopric of Milcovia (established in 1332), but they could also reflect an overall

situation.[342] The Pope identified at least two reasons for the unsuccessful mission in the area:

the lack of a cathedral church and of a bishop who would know the Romanian language[343] and

the relatively low level of success among the locals of the mission performed by the

Hungarian friars and priests in the area.[344] The Minorites were encouraged to continue their

mission since they knew the Romanian language.[345] Gregory XI had plans to ordain the

Minorite Anthony of Spoleto a bishop for the Romanian communities. The latter had already

learned their language and customs, and had converted a large number of them (*qui linguam

dicte nationis scire asseritur*).[346] A similar request for a bishop who knew the language of the

locals had already been sent by Louis the Great to Pope Urban V in 1362.[347] Ultimately, no

bishop was ordained but members of the clergy were most probably recruited from among the

Romanians (as, fifty years later, Ladislaus of Basarath in 1448, canon of the chapter house of

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[341] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 118 and 118a, 223-225; Aurel Răduţiu et al., ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica C (Transilvania)*, vol. 14 (1371-1375) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2002) (hereafter DRH C), no. 354, 492-493.

[342] […] *certa pars multitudinis nationis Wlachonum, qui certas metas regni tui versus Tartaros commorantes, secundum ritus et schisma Graecorum vivebant* […]. Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 118, 223. On Milcovia see also Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident*, 180-195.

[343] […] *circa metas Regni Hungariae versus Tartaros est multitudo quorumdam populorum, qui Valachones vocantur, et viuunt secundum ritum et Schisma Graecorum, et sunt simplices hominess, sed conuertibiles ad conuersionem, et obseruationem verae fidei Christianae;* […] *tamen ipsi conuersi non habent Antistitem, nec proprios Sacerdotes, et de sacerdotibus Hungaris, licet paucis, interdum accedentibus ad eos pro ministrandis Ecclesiasticis Sacramentis, aut diversitate linguarum, aut morum, vel ex aliis causis non sunt bene contenti;* […] *et quod propterea expediret eisdem populis Episcopum praefici Catholicum, scientem eorum linguam et in lege Domini eruditum, eiusdemque fidei Zelatorem praecipuum; qui sciret et vellet in dicta fide et virtutis operibus praefatos conseruare conuersos, et ad conuersionem aliorum anhelaret – caritatis ardore, nec non Sacerdotes idoneos promoueret ad curam huiusmodi populorum et alia faceret, quae ad pontificale officium pertinerent;* […] *et in quo loco erigenda sedes Episcopalis, quomodoque dotanda Ecclesia Episcopalis huiusmodi, et sub quibus finibus eius Dioecesis distinguenda, limitanda, et cui Metropolitano subiicienda.* Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 169, 220-221.

[344] […] *si in partibus eorumdem Wlachorum erigeretur ecclesia cathedralis et episcopus praeficeretur eidem, cum ipsi Wlachones, ut dicitur, de solo ministerio sacerdotum Ungarorum non sint bene contenti.* Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 118a, 223.

[345] Dobre, "The Mendicants' Mission," 233.

[346] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 118a, 223.

[347] *Supplicat Sanctitati Vestrae humilis filius vester Ludovicus rex Ungariae illustris, quod cum dioecesis Bosnen. inter schismaticas et nationes sit haereticas constituta et episcopus habere affectet personas idoneas et sufficientes ac in idiomate praefatae nationis eruditas, quae ipsis verbum divinum sciant exponere et una secum contra eosdem viriliter dimicarei.* Tăutu, *Acta Urbani V*, no. 7, 12.

Arad),[348] while others learned their language and were thus capable of offering spiritual consolation and guidance in the vernacular.[349]

No better comparison could be done, in this respect, but with the situation of the Greek rite Church in Crete. There, the Venetians were present from 1207 to 1669.[350] The indigenous clergy were simply tolerated and placed under Venetian domination. Except for Koroni and Methoni in the Peloponnese, few other Greek bishops kept their seat uninterruptedly in Venetian territories.[351] The Latin clergy took over the archbishopric of Heraklion (Candia), and other diocesan seats all over the island, forbidding the presence of any Greek bishops. The papacy clearly stated that it expected the Latin archbishop of Crete to have jurisdiction on both the Latin and Greek rite clergy there.[352] Between 1252 and 1387, twelve out of sixteen archbishops of Candia were Venetians. The Latin Church kept only ten of the older Greek sees: a move that followed the pattern of amalgamation of previous Greek bishoprics elsewhere in the Latin Eastern Mediterranean.[353]

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[348] Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 618, 748.

[349] Borcea states that the old faith, the Eastern Christian one (*ó hit*, as it was later called by the Hungarians) had also kept its churches and priests and its own hierarchy. He finds it difficult to believe that the Patriarchate of Constantinople had not been present in the area of Bihor through its missionaries, and that a court like the one at Biharea had no local hierarch. He believes that the existence of Greek rite bishop remained in the collective memory up until the Latin rite bishopric was founded in Oradea and that there was confusion between the two hierarchies up until the twelfth century. Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 60.

[350] David Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIIIe siècle: une nouvelle approche," *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th-15th Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2009), article IV, 297-313; Charalambos Gasparis, "The period of Venetian Rule on Crete: Breaks and Continuities during the Thirteenth Century," in *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences – La IVe Croisade et ses consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris: Lethielleuxs, 2005) (hereafter Gasparis, "The period of Venetian Rule on Crete"), 233-246; Giorgio Ravegnani, "La conquista veneziana di Creta e la prima organizzazione militare dell'isola," in *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre – 5 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), 33-42.

[351] Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne au Moyen Age: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe-XVe siècles)* (Paris Éditions E. de Boccard, 1959) (hereafter Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*), 284.

[352] […] *declaramus eidem archiepiscopo de iure competere spiritualem et temporalem iurisdictionem in omnibus clericis et personis ecclesiasticis, graecis seu latinis, et eorum legitimis liberis, tam clericis quam laicis archiepiscopatus Cretensis et episcopatus Sancti Myri eidem archiepiscopatui uniti* […]. Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X*, no. 5, 11-12.

[353] Thiriet counts six Latin bishoprics remaining on the island: Chania (Agia/Canea), Rethymno (Calamone/Rettimo), Ario, Mylopotamos, Gortyn, Ierapetra, and a possible seventh one at Sitia; Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 284, footnote 2. Fedalto counts 1 archbishop and 10 suffragans on page 104, and then 12

Soon after the Venetians got possession of the island a 1224 document mentions ten bishops in the towns and one archbishop in the capital of Crete. Out of the Greek rite bishops before the Latin conquest three had fled the island during the short-lived Genoese domination, three had died, two were seeking alms and two other still remained in their dioceses.[354] These bishops who had accepted the obedience of the Latin Church were thus allowed to retain their seats for a short time. The last bishops that might be of Greek rite appear again in 1224 and 1237, in the letters of popes Honorius III[355] and Gregory IX (a certain Cortatius who was elected bishop by the Greek chapter of the cathedral of Hersonissos).[356]

There is little information about Greek bishops in Crete starting from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. Not only Greek bishops but also Greek rite monks found it difficult to enter the island. One source asserts that such monks who were ill-disposed towards the Roman Church and the Latin rite were secretly sowing the seeds of dissension between Greeks and Latins.[357] In 1299, at the end of the revolt of the important Calergi family, *archontes* in Crete,[358] the above mentioned family received under their care the Greek monasteries in western Crete, and the right to nominate the bishop of Ario.[359] This promise

bishops in *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente. Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. 2 (Casa Editrice Mazziana, Verona, 1976) (hereafter Fedalto, *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*), 276-277.

[354] *In civitate vestra erat archiepiscopum et decem episcopis de foris et* [...] *tribus episcopis fugierunt, in tempore jenuensi, ad aliam insulam ad parentes suos, ideo quia nullam iusticiam ipse faciebat. Illi episcopi qui remanserunt, tribus de illis mo(rierunt), alii sunt in terra vestra, duobus de illis vadunt querendo elemosinam, et alios duos adhuc vivunt de episcopatu suo.* Giorgio Fedalto, "La Chiesa latina a Creta dalla caduta di Constantinopoli (1204) alla riconquista bizantina (1261)," Κρητικά Χρονικά 24 (1972): 152; 21 bishoprics are recorded for Crete in Jean Darrouzès, ed., *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 1 (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981) (hereafter Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum*), 15 and 221-222.

[355] Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 124, 167.

[356] [...] *eadem ecclesia graecum Capitulum et parrochianos graecos habet et latinos.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 219, 294.

[357] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 53, 39.

[358] For the history of the Calergi family see Alfred L. Vincent, "The Calergi Case. Crime and Politics in Western Crete under Venetian Rule," *Thesaurismata* 31 (2001): 211-292; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete*, 74-82.

[359] *Item damus et concedimus tibi omnia monasteria comunis que sunt ultra scalas Strubulii versus ponentem… item de episcopatu Ariensi vacante pastore ad presens, quem petis pro uno episcopo Greco.* C. Mertzios, "Ἡ συνθήκη Ἐνετών-Καλλέργη", in Κρητικά Χρονικά, vol. 3, 1949, 262-275, quoted in Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 135. See also: *Item de episcopatu Ariensi uacante pastore ac presens, quem petis pro uno episcopo Greco, quod signoria faciet suum posse, quod archiepiscopus de tibi ipsum secundum tenorem suarum*

seemed not to have been kept. Later documents talk about a papal plan to have a Greek vicar appointed. Pope John XXII (r. 1316-1334) wrote to the Latin archbishop of Candia about the ordination of Greek priests there. In April 1326, he instructed the said archbishop to appoint a Greek (Catholic) vicar who would minister to the Greeks on the island.[360] Since on Crete there were several legitimate rites within the same faith, it was necessary (according to the fourth Lateran council) to have a Greek vicar who would accept the Greek rite as modified by the Roman Church, including Latin customs such as the confirmation by a bishop, conferment of all seven orders, and anointing. A further document from 1357, issued by the notary Giovanni Girardo, tells us about a: *frater Macarios, episcopus Grecorum cretensis*.[361] No further information is available, and his presence there must have been short and largely unnoticed.

While the presence of Greek bishops on Crete is rather exceptional, such bishops can be detected in the documents regarding the colonies of Methoni and Koroni and their hinterland, until the end of the Venetian presence there, in 1503.[362] There, the Greek rite

litterarum; alioquin quod tu et tui heredes et tui debeatis facere cum archiepiscopo, episcopis et clericis, quicquid uolueritis; quod signoria non intromit[t]et se nec laici de hoc. Ernst Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia in Königl. Staatsarchiv zu Venedig*, (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1899), 123.

[360] *Intelleximus quod in tuis civitate et dioecesi ac provincia permixti sint populi diversarum linguarum, Latini videlicet atque Graeci, sub una fide varios ritus et mores habentes quodque, licet praefati Latini in oboedientia Romanae Ecclesiae consistentes eiusdem Ecclesiae ritibus in omnibus se conforment tuoque atque Vicariorum tuorum regimine salubriter gubernentur, dicti tamen Graeci caruerunt et carent catholico Praesule graeco qui eis ecclesiatica Sacramenta ministret eosque instruat iuxta mores eiusdem Romanae Ecclesiae verbo pariter et exemplo. Nos igitur zelum animarum habentes easque lucrifacere Domino ferventibus desideriis affectantes, fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus in provincia tua in Cretensi insula consistente aliquem catholicum virum graecum Praesulem dictis Graecis auctoritate nostra provida deliberatione constituas tibi Vicarium in praedictis, qui tibi per omnia sit oboediens et subiectus ac in omnibus oboedientiae dictae Ecclesiae se conformet dictosque Graecos iuxta more eiusdem Romanae Ecclesiae verbo pariter instruat et exemplo eosque ad oboedientiam eiusdem Ecclesiae inducat ac eis omnes Ordines conferat ac Confirmationis et alia ecclesiatica Sacramenta ministret. Non permittendo deinceps quod praemissa per aliquem schismaticum Praesulem exerceantur in insula memorata.* Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1952) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Ioannis XXII*), no. 81, 165-166.

[361] Flaminio Corner, *Creta sacra sive de episcopis utriusque ritus graeci et latini in insula Cretae*, vol. 1 (Venice: Typis Jo. Baptistae Pasquali, 1755), 211.

[362] Koroni and Methoni were conquered by the Franks in 1204-1205, after a campaign led by Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffroy de Villehardouin; the two cities and the territory surrounding them were never completely swayed under the feudal system being established at the time in the former Byzantine possessions, as in 1207 Venice occupied in its turn the area. The treaty of Sapienza, concluded by Venice with Geoffroy de Villehardouin only reinforced this, the Venetian possessions being clearly demarcated territorially; the bishops of the two towns were supposed to take over all the property of their Greek predecessors. Some of these properties

bishop was not allowed to reside in the city.[363] Despite this arrangement his relation with the

Venetian authorities was amicable. In August 1361, a Greek bishop Mark asked the Venetian

Senate for better taxing conditions and obligations (right of pasturing for the local *castellani*)

for his Greek flock in the area.[364]

The Venetian Republic was a master in the art of peace and of establishing

equilibrium,[365] and tackled with subtlety the political and other essential aspects of its social

make up, without excluding the *conviventia* and the religious values. The official documents

produced during the fifteenth and sixteenth century bring to light, at least in the city of

Venice, solutions for religious freedom that were far away from the mentality of the day, but

were situated outside the control of Venice, but they were sanctioned by Geoffroy, while the bishops were considered as vassals to the prince of Achaia. Silvano Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, 1966), 28-31 for the chronology; Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania," 3, 11; G. L. Fr. Tafel, G. M. Thomas, ed., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Fontes rerum austriacarum, vol. 13, part 2) (Vienna: Aus der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1856), 97- 99. See also the introduction of Andrea Nanetti, ed., *Documenta Veneta Coroni & Methoni Rogata. Euristica e critica documentaria per gli* oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum *(secoli XIV e XV)*, vol. 1 (Athens: Istituto di Ricerche Bizantine, 1999) 33-55; Andrea Nanetti, "Modone e Corone nello Stato Veneto (1207-1500 e 1685-1715). Per una esegesi esemplare delle fonti della Grecia veneziana," *Studi Veneziani* 62 (2011): 15-112.

[363] On 4 October 1356 the Venetian Senate replied to the questions made by Griffon d'Arezzo regarding the rights of the Greek schismatic bishop of Methoni indicating that he should not be allowed to perform his functions in an unrestrained way; he was not allowed to enter the church of St John of Methoni but on the occasion of the processions in honour of the State according to the customs in place since the annexation of the city: *4. Item quod non permittatur manere in terra Motoni, nec eius districtu, quidam episcopus Grecus sismaticus qui se facit episcopum Motonensem, eundo per terram signando et benedicendo cum cruce, more prelati, et alios actus eclesiasticos exercendo ad episcopum spectantes in obprobrium Romane eclesie. Dicti consiliarii et capita. Quod respondeatur quod licet non fuerint hactenus observatum, tantum pro reverentia domini cardinalis, sumus contenti et placet nobis quod dictus episcopus Grecus non possit intrare eclesiam Sancti Iohannis de Motono nisi cum fiunt processiones et laudes soliti et hoc pro conservatione iurisdictionum comunis Venetiarum solitarum sic servari a tempore quo habuimus castrum in protectione nostra. Et mandetur rectori presenti et successoribus quod sicut dictum est debeat facere observari.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 171, 76-77; Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, vol. 1 (1329-1399) (Paris: Mouton & Co La Haye, 1958) (hereafter Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1), no. 307, 84.

[364] Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, 99.

[365] Giorgio Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecllesiastica dei Greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1967) (hereafter Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*), 7. For the religious policy of Venice in Crete see also Chryssa Maltezou, "Contributi documentari alla storia della Chiesa ortodossa durante il periodo della venetocrazia," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007): 325-336, here 333-335; Nicolaos 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. Agostino Pertusi, vol. 1, part 2 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1973), 783-800.

very actual to the modern sensitivities.[366] Even if remaining in a climate of rigorous acceptance of the official religious authority, the republic tended to overlook the rigidity of the dogmas, bringing the argument to the level of juridical relations that necessitated an accommodation. The Republic wanted to protect the rights of the Latin Church but was at the same time preoccupied by its existence as a state which had to be maintained on a complicated international scene: the relation with the papacy was never easy also because of the alliances and interests that Venice had to protect or maintain.[367]

Religious life, as any other aspect of life in Venice and its colonies, was supposed to be inserted in the framework of the state. The Venetian Church in the city and the colonies of the *Serenissima* was a state Church, which was nominated, controlled and checked by the political power.[368] The Senate was very much aware about where ecclesiastics, bishops or canons were to be found. It is not surprising to find in the documents deliberations about the movements of such persons.[369] With fidelity to the state, which was required above anything, came the liberty to practice one's rite. Fidelity to the Republic was the golden rule for the Venetian clergy in the Levant, so if the archbishop of Candia would act contrary to the "honor of our realm," the Senate would intervene against him. The Republic transgressed the rights of the Church on landed properties and the Senate was also involved in the inheritance problems of archbishops and bishops.[370] The religious policy, attentively followed by the Venetian Senate, was not restrained by aprioristically constructed schemes of an absolute character. This policy was determined by the local conditions which had to be dealt with and accommodated to, by the international conditions, and the different perspectives of the Roman

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[366] Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*, 8.
[367] Giorgio Fedalto, "I veneziani tra Chiesa greca e Chiesa latina," in *Quarta Crociata. Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero Latino*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner, vol. 1 (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), 277-298.
[368] Gasparis, "The period of Venetian Rule on Crete," 243.
[369] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 16.
[370] Ibidem, 18.

Church (alternating from the desire of reconciliation with the Greek Church to a more canonically rigid stance).[371]

The brotherhoods (*fratalee*) were also restricted for reasons of security and because they could generate religious hatred. Because of the complexity of the legislation the state tried to keep the locals in a quiet stance, without accentuating the differences, but favoring a harmonization of will and fidelity towards the state, and the ways of the Latin Church, if local conditions did not ask otherwise. For example, in 1423, the city of Thessaloniki demanded that the Greek archbishop and the Greek clergy in the city maintained its privileges; or in 1492, a Greek bishop was elected at Methoni and he was confirmed by the Senate.[372]

After the 1430s (mainly because of the Ottoman danger and the end of the Great Schism in the Western Church), the Venetian policy changed to a certain extent. Beforehand, the College and the Senate of the metropolis were the ones that received and examined the candidates for diocesan seats. They elected those that seemed most suitable for the Republic's interest, and then sent the recommendation letters to Rome.[373] While until then the norm was that all the nominees for bishoprics or canons in Romania were supposed to be Venetians (the titular of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople had to take an oath in this regard), after Rome took the upper hand, the Senate would vote to elect the candidates which were to be presented to the Curia.[374] From then on, the nomination of the bishops was done in Rome, and the Republic was just sanctioning or refusing the nominee, in case he was undesirable.

The Venetian policy regarding the election of Greek rite clergy on Cyprus was based on earlier arrangements. Benjamin Arbel remarks that a 1300 document regarding the election

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[371] Ibidem, 10.
[372] On 28 August 1492 the Venetian authorities confirmed the election of Ioannes Phisindino *vir apprime catholicus et dominio nostro fidelissimus* as Greek bishop of Methoni *et sit cum omnibus modis, conditionibus, pertinentiis et prerogativis predecessorum Grecorum episcoporum civitatis nostre Mothoni*. Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 708, 284.
[373] Ibidem, 285.
[374] Ibidem, 13-15.

of the bishop of Amathus-Lefkara (Limassol) gives a detailed account of an otherwise normal procedure: the dean, the canons and the other clergy of the cathedral, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, following the indications of the Latin bishop of Limassol and after consultations with the respectable citizens, elected the new bishop who was afterwards confirmed by the same Latin bishop of Limassol to whom the Greek bishop was supposed to swear an oath of loyalty.[375] The same procedure seemed to have been observed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the occasion of their consecration the Greek bishops also had to present a gift (usually in coin) to the Latin hierarchy, followed by other annual contributions. Since they were not entitled to the tithes which were a privilege of the Latin bishops they were mostly living off the offers given by their clergy (*papades*) and faithful.

After the Venetian takeover of Cyprus in 1489 the procedure dramatically changed. The Venetian state inherited the ecclesiastical setup of the kingdom of the Lusignans which was a reflection of the by then secular political and social hegemony of the Latins, but adapted the process to their system.[376] The four Greek bishops continued to exercise their jurisdiction over the island even if they had been relegated from the main diocesan sees (a situation that was not rigorously observed). When a Greek bishop died, the Venetian rectors of Cyprus were supposed to elect (*a bossoli e ballote*) three candidates for the vacant see – from among those that presented themselves in front of the council –, while the final choice rested with the Venetian Senate. Arbel observes that this might take its inspiration from a custom which could have been already in use during the last years of Lusignan dominance, when the Greek bishops were elected by the royal council and then the decision was sanctioned by the king.[377]

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[375] Benjamin Arbel, "L'elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro durante la dominazione venziana," in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idée (XIII-XVIII sec.)*, ed. Chryssa Maltezou, Angeliki Tzavara, Despina Vlassi (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2009) (hereafter Arbel, "L'elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro"), 374.
[376] Jean Richard, "Chypre du protectorat à la domination vénitienne," *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age. Etudes et documents* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999 edition), article XII, 657-677.
[377] Arbel, "L'elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro," 375-376.

It is not known if this method ever functioned completely since only a few years after the 1506 document a certain *papas* Andrea managed to obtain from the Senate the see of Famagusta after having offered 500 ducats.[378] The old habits of buying ecclesiastical offices were difficult to change. The system introduced or perfected by Venice on Cyprus was similar to the one used for the election of Latin clergy which was also conducted by the Senate, with a fundamental difference: for the election of the Greek bishops no papal confirmation was needed.[379] The Venetian documents even leave aside the role of the Latin bishops in ordaining or confirming the election of their Greek counterparts.

Linking the Western Church to its colonial destiny was a political move made by Venice. For the Republic, it was important that the colonists kept their religious affiliation and that the local clergy's influence would be diminished by submitting it to the Latin Church. The Latin clergy (bishops, priests, monks) had to be docile auxiliaries of the Venetian civil administration which, on the other hand, undertook their protection and ensured their privileged position.[380]

The Reception of the Florentine Council in the Hungarian Kingdom

The fifteenth century witnessed an impressive array of influences regarding the jurisdiction over the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in Transylvania. Sometime in the 1390s the metropolitan of Târgovişte in Wallachia was promoted by the Constantinopolitan patriarchate to the rank of ἐξαρχος πάσης Οὐγγρίας καὶ Πλαγηνῶν[381] extending thus his

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[378] Ibidem, 376.
[379] Ibidem, 377.
[380] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 284.
[381] Jean Darrouzès, "Ekthésis néa, manuel des pittakia du XIVe siècle," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 27 (1969): 46, footnote 18; Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum*, 193.

jurisdiction over the entire Hungarian kingdom.[382] Dan Ioan Mureşan relates this patriarchal

decision to the visit of the Hungarian royal embassy to Constantinople in 1391-1392 and

identifies the second part of the title as the diverse territories which were submitted to the

Hungarian crown.[383] The title thus included not only the Romanians in the Hungarian

kingdom but all the Greek-Slavonic rite communities. This move aimed at curtailing the

jurisdictional authority of the Serbian patriarchate of Peć, whose political representative,

Prince Stephen Lazarević, was allied with the Ottoman sultan. In theory, at least, the

jurisdiction of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in Hungary was in the hands of the

metropolitan of Wallachia until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and was afterwards

reactivated in the first decades of the sixteenth century.[384] If and how this jurisdictional

authority ever functioned cannot be determined with certainty.[385]

As shown below, only in the second half of the fifteenth century and then in a post-

Florentine context did the Hungarian kings encourage the establishment of a Greek-Slavonic

rite diocese in Transylvania, possibly by extending the authority of the metropolitanate of

Severin to this region, at that time under Hungarian suzerainty. While the Florentine decisions

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[382] Niculae Şerbănescu, "Titulatura mitropoliţilor, jurisdicţia, hotarele şi reşedinţele mitropoliei Ungrovlahiei" [The titles of the metropolitans, the jurisdiction, the boundaries and the residences of the Metropolitanate of Wallachia], *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 77, no. 7-10 (1959): 698-721.

[383] Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs," 50-54.

[384] Dan Ioan Mureşan, "Le Royaume de Hongrie et la prise de Constantinople," in Extincta est lucerna orbis*: John Hunyadi and his Time*, ed. Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009), 484-486. The castellan of Hunedoara informed the authorities of Sibiu that Ioan of Peşteana was crossing the mountains in 1553 to be ordained as bishop in Târgovişte, by the metropolitan of Wallachia: *Is venerabilis dominus Ioannes presbyter de Pesthyana, presencium ostensor (cui Walachorum istius regni transsilvanensis episcopatus per dominum Wayvodam est condonatus) nunc profecturus est in Transalpinum; pro cuius negocio et nos domino Myrche Wayvode scripsimus.* Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Iorga, ed., *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor. Acte şi Scrisori din arhivele oraşelor ardelene (Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiu)* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians. Documents and letters from the archives of Transylvanian towns (Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiu)], vol. 15, no. 1 (1358-1600) (Bucharest: Ministerul Cultelor şi al Instrucţiunii Publice şi Academia Română, 1911) (hereafter Hurmuzaki 15/1 (1358-1600)), no. 918, 495.

[385] The jurisdiction of the Wallachian metropolitanate was probably exercised mostly in Ţara Făgăraşului, in the south of Transylvania, which was for a long time under the suzerainty of the Wallachian princes. Antal Lukács, *Ţara Făgăraşului în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVI)* [The Country of Făgăraş in the Middle Ages], (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), 129. See also Jonathan Shepard, "The Byzantine Commonwealth 1000-1500," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 5. Eastern Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 26-27.

saw a certain degree of acceptance by both Churches and were applied wherever possible, soon after the council they were challenged in some of the regions where they were supposed to be applied. One of the first disputes was centered on the canonicity of the episcopal jurisdiction of Latin bishops over communities belonging to the Greek rite. As there was no resident Transylvanian Greek rite bishop, or at least no Greek rite bishopric recognized by the Latin Church existed in the province, the care for the newly pacified community of rite was *de jure* in the hands of the Latin bishop of Alba Iulia.

The move towards establishing a bishopric for the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in Transylvania might have its roots in the precedent created by the shifting fortunes of the see of Severin, which had titulars of both rites during the second half of the fourteenth century[386] while the Banat of Severin was disputed between the Hungarian kingdom and the principality of Wallachia.[387] The presence of Latin rite suffragans for Severin in the fifteenth century offers a possible solution for a much debated ecclesiological situation rendered by a lost inscription on the northern wall of the church at Ribiţa. The inscription mentioned that the church was built during the time of a pope, Gregory, and of another person (most probably a bishop) named Anastasius. The year given in the inscription was difficult to decipher with

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[386] The Greek rite bishopric of Severin was established by the synod of the Constantinopolitan church in 1370. See Haralambie Mihăescu, Radu Lăzărescu, Nicolae-Şerban Tanaşoca, Tudor Teoteoi, ed., *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae. Scriptores et Acta Imperii Byzantini. Saeculorum IV-XV* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1982) (hereafter FHDR), no. 13, 208-210. Eubel mentions a first Latin rite bishop in 1382. *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum [1605] perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita per Conradum Eubel*, vol. 1 (Regensburg: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1914) (hereafter Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*), 449; Viorel Achim, "Ecclesiastic Structures and Political Structures in 14th Century Wallachia," in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998), 123-135.

[387] Maria Holban, *Din cronica relaţiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII-XIV* [Excerpts from the history of Romanian-Hungarian relations in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981) (hereafter Holban, *Din cronica relaţiilor româno-ungare*), 126-154; Viorel Achim, "Despre vechimea şi originea banatului de Severin" [On the origins of the banat of Severin], *Revista Istorică* 5, no. 3-4 (1994): 233-248; György Galamb, "La politique des rois angevins de la Hongrie et le vicariat franciscain bosniaque," in *La diplomatie des états Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Zoltán Kordé, István Petrovics (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, JATEPress, 2010): 171-178.

Ödön Nemes (who first mentioned the inscription) reading it as 1404.[388] Other suggestions ranged as far as 1414 or 1417. The restoration of the church in 1993 revealed an inscription on the northern wall of the altar mentioning the year 1407.[389] The latter date fits better the regnal years of Pope Gregory XII (r. 1406-1415), while the bishop (allowing for a minor distortion of his name) might be the Athanasius of Severin which disappears (together with his bishopric) from Greek or Slavonic sources after 1403 when he was defrocked by the patriarchal synod in Constantinople as a result of his involvement in the deposition of Patriarch Matthew of Constantinople on the side of the "Latin" party of Makarios of Ancyra (r. 1397-1410).[390] Accepting this hypothesis would entail either a direct subordination of Anastasius/Athanasius to the papacy (for which there are rare examples, such as Archbishop Germanos of Cyprus) or the existence of a double hierarchy under the jurisdiction of the local Latin hierarchy (possibly the archbishop of Kalocsa), again a common feature in the transitional regions. The latter suggestion may help explain the presence of Athanasius in the area, as he was allowed to exercise his prerogatives in the southern regions of Transylvania where communities of Greek-Slavonic rite existed. One possible solution here, would be a jurisdictional transfer of the bishop from the patriarchate of Constantinople to the Archbishopric of Kalocsa which seems plausible in the light of previous such transfers in other regions. Such a move would have offered Athanasius the possibility to keep his prerogatives especially after the Banat of Severin was occupied by Sigismund of Luxembourg

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[388] *Épittetett Gergely pápa és Anastazius lelkészsége alatt 1404*. Ödön Nemes, "A ribicei templom 1404-ből" [The Church of Ribiţa from 1404], *Hazánk s a Külföld* 4, no. 4 (1868): 63-64.

[389] Irina Popa, "Les peintures murales du Pays de Zarand (Transylvanie) au début du XVe siècle: Considérations sur l'iconographie et la technique des peintures murales," ed. Jean-Paul Sodini, Catherine Jolivet-Lévy (Paris: DEA de l'Université de Paris I, 1995), 24, quoted in Agrigoroaei, "An *Interpretatio Wallachica*," 111.

[390] Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Biserica românească de la Ribiţa (judeţul Hunedoara)" [The Romanian church in Ribiţa (Hunedoara county)]. *Revista Monumentelor Istorice* 60, no. 1 (1990): 7. For Athanasios, the metropolitan of Severin see FHDR, no. 33, 228-229. He was first mentioned in 1389, last mentioned with the occasion of the 1405 synodal condemnation of Makarios of Ankyra and his supporters, FHDR, no. 2, 332-335.

in November 1419.[391] With the increasing Ottoman threat, the Latin suffragans of Severin as well as the titular-bishops of Vidin usually resided in Transylvania, until after the middle of the fifteenth century,[392] and were under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Alba Iulia, a trademark of its missionary importance in that period.[393]

There was no unified policy of the Constantinopolitan Church against the Union in the area. The Greek-Slavonic rite hierarchy in the region is practically unknown for that period, while the local communities lacked a united and educated leadership and were never sufficiently supported from outside the Hungarian kingdom. The relations of the communities of rite of the Romanian Transylvanians with the Churches of Wallachia and Moldavia seldom appear in the documents of the period, and are more rarely attested than any other aspects of the connections between the three regions.[394] The lack of a hierarchy made things much easier for the Latin Church, but at the same time more fluid and difficult to follow through. Without a possible local competitor and as a consequence of several union attempts between the Greek and Latin Churches during the previous centuries, the Latin Church in Transylvania found itself in a position of almost full control over the population of both rites. This situation was not used to its full potential, mainly because of institutional inertia and difficulties in applying

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[391] Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 236; Konrad Eubel mentions four names for the bishopric of Severin at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the last two bishops (Nicholas and Jacob) appear in the documents in 1399 and then in 1412. The gap in between might be more than just a coincidence, *Eubel, Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 1, 449.

[392] Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 530 and 531, 276 (letters to Latin rite bishops of Severin); Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 2, 236.

[393] *Nos Jacobus dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Buedouensis suffraganeusque Albensis* […] *datum in Braschouia* […]. Gustav Gündisch, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 5 (1438-1457) (Bucharest Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Românïa, 1975) (hereafter Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch*), no. 2761, 334. *Nos Matheus divina providentia et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Transiluanus* […] *Praesentibus ibidem testibus pro testimonio vocatis reverendo patre domino Petro episcopo Zwriniensi suffraganeo nostro* […] Ibidem, no. 2839, 391-392. *Nos Valentinus dei* […] *apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Daryensis reverendique in Christo patris et domini Mathei episcopi eadem dei gratia in pontificalibus suffraganeus generalis in Christo nobis.* Gustav Gündisch, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 6 (1458-1473) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Românïa, 1981), no. 3147, 32-33.

[394] Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Il Patriarcato di Constantinopoli e la Chiesa Ortodossa della Transilvania (XIV-XVII sec.)," in *Le Patriarcat Œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVe siècles: Rupture et Continuité. Actes du colloque international Rome, 5-6-7 décembre 2005* (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2007): 103-115.

the decisions of a synod – such as the Ferrara-Florence one – that integrated into the Roman Church an important number of communities, not to mention clergy or sanctuaries. The relative failure in implementing the Florentine decisions by the local Latin Church was doubled by the attitude of the Latin rite nobility. As it was the only supporter of the Greek rite communities on its lands, and thus the only actor that could influence the success of the union, the nobility further prevented the realization of the Florentine policy.[395]

The Franciscans asked for the nomination of a Greek-Slavonic rite bishop in the spirit of the Florentine decisions, an idea that, as discussed above, occurred to the Papal Curia well before 1439.[396] Having such a bishopric meant also having a clergy that would have command of the Romanian language, as only such clergy would be able to take care properly of the Romanians. Even if the synod of Florence had asked that one bishop should be responsible for a single diocese, Transylvania was not an exception in having two bishops with overlapping jurisdictions on the same territory, for communities of different rites.

The presence of the Greek-Slavonic rite higher clergy, both bishops and *protopapades*, is recorded in the mid-fifteenth century, this time in the south-west of Transylvania, on the occasion of the strong Latin mission in the area led by John of Capistrano. The necessity to expel the Greek rite clergy is stated as the primary condition for any future successful mission among the envisaged group. Capistrano asked John of Hunyadi to expel them from his domains: *ut e suis dominiis pseudo presbyteros expelleret, et Wladicam tandem comprehenderet*.[397]

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[395] See the chapter on the "Members of the communities of rite and their entangled religious options."
[396] For an overview of the papal policy in Hungary during the second half of the fifteenth century see Benjamin Weber, "La papauté en Hongrie (1453-1481) engagement financier ou militaire?," *Transylvanian Review* 18, no. 3 (2009): 21-31.
[397] *Valachi difficulter reduci poterant, dum pseudopresbyteri perpetuos instillabant errores, atque hi hauriebant a pessimo et subdolo viro, Joanne de Capha Wladica, pseudo-Episcopo, summae auctoritatis in populo.* Waddingus, *Annales Minorum* 12 (1448-1456), 365-366.

John of Caffa, the bishop that Capistrano "discovered" in the south-west of Transylvania, was described as someone who followed neither the Roman nor the Greek rite. Diaconescu suggested that the hidden anti-unionist campaign of George Branković (1377-1456) may also have provided the background for the activity of the bishop John of Caffa in southern Transylvania.[398] More convincing is Rusu's suggestion that John of Caffa had John Hunyadi's approval for his activities in the Hunedoara region, especially since the bishop's residence and, even more importantly, his property and wealth were on the domains of the latter.[399] John Hunyadi would not have tolerated the presence of an un-canonical bishop on his lands, a bishop whose rite and sacramental standing had not been validated by the conciliar decisions of a few years earlier. If John had indeed moved to Transylvania from Caffa it might also be important to point out that the Armenians there had accepted the union in 1444, and that the union remained valid at least until the conquest of that city by the Ottomans in 1475.[400] The ensuing conflict between John of Capistrano and John of Caffa was a result of mostly the former's misunderstanding or plain lack of knowledge of the local realities driven by an exaggerated sense of one's aims and mission, a sense which appears to have changed by the battle of Belgrade, where Capistrano's speech constitutes an early example of ecumenical spirit. The differences between the two were not irreconcilable, as became obvious from John of Caffa's probable return to South-Eastern Europe after a sojourn in Buda and Rome.[401]

Damian discusses at large the destiny of this bishop.[402] He was arrested by Hunyadi in 1456 at Capistrano's instigation. He then repented in Buda, and was re-ordained in Rome - with a recommendation from John of Capistrano - by the ecumenical patriarch Gregory III

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[398] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 36, 40-41.
[399] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 114.
[400] Georg Hofmann, ed., *Epistolae pontificiae de ultimis actis Concilii Florentini annis 1440-1445 et de rebus post Concilium gestis annis 1446-1453*, Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes, vol. 3 (Rome: Pontifical Institute for Eastern Studies, 1946), 91.
[401] Damian, "The Greek Rite Transylvanian Church," 147.
[402] Ibidem, 143-153.

Mammas (r. 1443-1450 in Constantinople; 1451-1459 in exile as Latin patriarch) as archbishop of Gothia (*Archiepiscopus Gothensis*).[403] At the time of his arrest, Bishop John had already been active in the area around Hunedoara for some time having ordained priests (*omnes presbyteros valachorum per Wladicam ordinatos* […] *et ante hoc presbyteri non fuerunt*) and enjoying an authority acknowledged both by his clergy and his enemies. Capistrano calls him *princeps Schismaticorum et haeresiarcha inter Valachos infideles*,[404] as well as *Episcopo, haeresiarcha et Magistro omnium schismatum et haeresum*.[405] Accustomed with general formulas applicable to a wide range of real or imagined enemies of the Church,[406] Capistrano was probably content to have discovered such a formidable foe in the region. Diaconescu observes the uncanonical character of John of Caffa's jurisdiction in the area, similar in his eyes to other cases pertaining to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He explains John's presence there as a result of the anti-unionist campaign which used missionary methods to keep the congregations away from the Florentine Union.[407] The problem here is the timing of Capistrano's "discovery" and the difficulty that arises in understanding who had the power of ordaining the clergy in the absence of itinerant bishops, such as John. In my opinion one must reconsider the attitude of the local communities towards

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[403] Ibidem, 147.

[404] Waddingus, *Annales Minorum* 12 (1448-1456), 367.

[405] Waddingus, *Annales Minorum* 12 (1448-1456), 367.

[406] György Galamb, "San Giacomo della Marca e gli eretici di Ungheria," in *San Giacomo della Marca nell`Europa del` 400*, ed. Silvano Bracci (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1997), 211-220; Idem, "Franscescani, eretici e repressione antiereticale nell`Ungheria del 15. Secolo," *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged* 2 (2002): 39-57.

[407] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 40-41. George Branković had gained a papal privilege from Pope Nicholas V in order to build nine monasteries in Hungary under the pretext of reinforcing the Union among the Greek rite communities, but actually housing clergy with little sympathy for the Union: *Gloriatur proinde habuisse a praefato praedecessore vestrae sanctitatis bullam aedificandi novem loca in regno Hungariae, ubi manutenere vult calogeros graecos, qui omnino dicunt Spiritum sanctum non procedere scilicet a filio; qui negant purgatorium esse, qui inficiantur animas quorumcunque sanctorum nullam gloriam usque ad diem iudicii habere; nec animas quorumcunque damnatorum aliquam poenam pati usque ad iudicium, et multa alia, quae longum esset enarrare*, wrote John Capistrano to Calixtus III; see Eusebius Fermendžin, ed., *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1725*, (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1892) (hereafter Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*), 224.

such a jurisdiction. These communities were either complacent in accepting whoever might show up with a tenable claim, or rather they accepted the custom of applying solutions at hand which allowed a certain flexibility in the way things were done. Such an approach would diminish the risk of using confessionally harsh labels of un-canonical or deviant.

The existence of such a bishop who seems to have been endowed with generous means of living and was so conveniently found right at the time of Capistrano's mission to Transylvania, is better understood when put in connection with the presence in Hunedoara in the years 1455-1456 (but maybe already earlier) of the niece of George Branković, the promised bride of Hunyadi's son, accompanied by her retinue.[408] John of Caffa's mission in the area and the knowledge about his presence there were a result of common interests (political, material and matrimonial) shared by John Hunyadi and George Branković. The bishop seems to have been easily accepted by the local Greek rite communities and by the clergy, including the local hierarchy organized in archdeaconates (usually called *protopapas*; see below for a discussion on these terms).

Damian dismantles the earlier suggestion that John was the same person as Iohanutius or Ioanucius (very likely the Latin version of the Greek name Ioannikios) who was bishop of Belgrade and had an effective authority over the Serbs and Romanians of Transylvania and Maramureş, as well as Matthias Corvinus's support.[409] After the arrest of the bishop, the opposition of the local clergy towards the Franciscan mission continued under the leadership of the archdeacon Peter of Hunedoara (*Petrus archidyaconus presbiterorum valachorum de*

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[408] George Branković, the Serbian despot, asked as the first condition in the marriage contract of his niece Elizabeth with the son of John Hunyadi in 1451, that the bride might keep her Greek rite and that she is allowed to keep Greek rite clergy with her. *Volumus tamen, et dum et quando volente Domino praefata puella Elisabeth neptis nostra in domum dicti domini Gubernatoris traducetur, ipsa in ritu fidei Graecorum permaneat et semper cum ea, et in eius obsequiis stent presbiteri ex Graecorum ritu, ac nobiles et etiam dominae et puellae, quos nos et filii nostri adhoc eligere maluerimus et voluerint*. Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 3, 5.
[409] Damian, "The Greek Rite Transylvanian Church," 150-151.

Hwnyad).[410] The rebuilding of his church, a few months after the death of John Hunyadi, must also be seen as a sign of improving relations between the local Greek-Slavonic rite community and the Franciscans.[411]

By the second half of the fifteenth century, the Greek-Slavonic *protopapas* in the area of Beiuş (modern Oradea county) was under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishopric of Oradea, as this became a suitable solution in the post-Florentine Church and as there was no Greek rite bishop in the vicinity.[412] This should not come as a surprise since already a century earlier, in 1349, the Latin bishop of Oradea allowed Peter, the voivode of Vintere, to host a Romanian priest on his lands.[413]

On 16 January 1458, Pope Callixtus III (r. 1455-1458) decided to reorganize the metropolitanate of Kiev, and brought to life an older bishopric, that of Galitzia or Halych (in modern Ukraine), with the first incumbent being a certain Greek or Serbian monk from the

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[410] *Rursumque revocans facere renuebat, sed verecundatus ultimo Blasio Castellano de Lippa facietenus iniunxit, ut sine dilatione quantocius complere debeat, quod V. P. R. scripto voceque viva firmissime promiserat sponsione, et en nunc prestolor ut finem res habeat diu expectatam, siquidem nisi ipsi pseudopresbiteri et novella et antiqui extirpentur et conversio gentis scismatice non sortietur effectum, quoniam et in pertinentiis Hwnyad et Dewa, quem vulgus satis ad conversionem foret inclinatum, si Petrus archidyaconus presbiterorum valachorum de Hwnyad suis sermonibus cauterinis aliter non suaderet, de quo, ut relata veridico percepi, timentes, populi converti non auderentur, potius enim ignem intrarent ut cligaia (sic!) consulit, quam baptesimum suscipiant in forma ecclesie romane.* Pettkó, "Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal," no. 43, 195.

[411] *Quia nos, ad humilime supplicacionis instantiam Rascianorum et Wolahorum nostrorum, scilicet iobagionum in Hwnyad commorantium, id concessimus ut ipsi in loco pristine unam capellam edificare et ordinare valeant atque possint, ymmo concedimus praesencium per vigorem.* Privilege given in Timişoara in November 1456 by Matthias Corvinus. Nicolae Iorga, ed., *Scrisori şi inscripţii ardelene şi maramureşene* [Letters and inscriptions from Transylvania and Maramureş] (Bucharest: SOCEC & Comp., 1906) (hereafter Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscripţii*), no. 3, 278.

[412] Vince Bunyitay, "Biharvármegye oláhjai s a vallás-unio" [The Vlachs of Bihor county and the religious union], *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréböl* 15, no. 6 (1892): 14-15. *Dan, Presbyter Valachalis de Segesfalva, Archidiaconus Presbyterorum nostrorum Valachalium de pertinentiis Belényes*. Vince Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története* [The History of the Diocese of Oradea], vol. 1 (Oradea: Imprimeria de Vest, 2000 (reprint of the 1883 edition)) (hereafter Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 1), 349, footnote 1.

[413] *Nos Demetrius dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Waradiensis significamus tenore praesentium quibus expedit universis, quod nos terram seu possessionem nostram Felwenter vocatam populorum multitudine intendentes decorare, Petro Woywodae, filio Stanislai, iudici eiusdem villae Felwenter hanc gratiam specialem duximus concedendam, ut unum presbiterum olachalem, donec nostrae placuerit voluntati, sine omni collecta et exactione qualibet nobis jure domini provenire debentibus possit et valeat conservare.* Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 1, 192, footnote 1.

monastery of Saint Cyprian in Constantinople, Makarios.[414] The bishopric had been taken over by the Latins in 1412,[415] but it was restored to the Greek rite under the jurisdiction of Kiev by metropolitan Isidore. At the end of the same month, Isidore gave up his metropolitan seat in Kiev, which was given to another Constantinopolitan monk, Gregory from the monastery of Saint Demetrios.[416] In September 1458, the new pope, Pius II (r. 1458-1464), asked the Latin archbishop of Lviv and the bishop of Przemyśl to transfer to Makarios the tithes and other goods that pertained to the diocese of Halych (resulting that in Poland the two Latin bishops were the ones entitled to receive the tithes from the Greek rite Ruthenians).[417]

The old Greek rite metropolitanate of Halych (which was incorporated by 1401 into the metropolitanate of Kiev, Halych and Russia) had until 1391 jurisdiction over the Greek rite communities in northern Hungary and possibly the northern parts of Transylvania and

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[414] Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, vol. 1 (1075-1953) (Rome: Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni, 1953) (hereafter Welykyj, *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, vol. 1), no. 78, 138-139 and no. 79, 140 (*dilecti filii Macharii de Seruia, electi gallicensis, tunc monasterii sancti Cipriani constantinopolitani ordinis sancti Basilii, ordinem ipsum expresse professi et in sacerdotio constitute, de eorundem fratrum nostrorum consilio, prefata auctoritate providimus ipsumque illi prefecimus in episcopum et pastorem, curam et administracionem dicte ecclesie sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo*). Some Romanian historians have tried to identify Halych with the village of Galaţi (there were two villages with this name in Transylvania, one close to Bistriţa, the other in the vicinity of Făgăraş), see Nicolae Iorga, "O episcopie de suprimat: cea de Galaţi (Făgăraş)" [A bishopric to suppress: that of Galaţi (Făgăraş)], *Revista Istorică* 10, no. 7-9 (1924): 178-179; Ioan Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni* [The eccleasiastical history of Transylvanian Romanians] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1995 (reprint of the 1918 edition)), 41.

[415] Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Pseudopontificum Clementis VII (1378-1394), Benedicti XIII (1394-1417), Alexandri V (1409-1410) et Johannis XXIII (1406-1415) e regestis Avenionensibus, Vaticanis, Lateranensibus et supplicationum aliisque fontibus collegit, notis aliisque subsidiis adornavit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1971) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Pseudopontificum*), no. 151, 152, 153, 154 and 154a, 208-210. Antipope John XXIII decreed that several Greek rite bishoprics in Eastern Europe should be under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Halich, with its see moved to Lviv. *Volumus autem statuentes, quod, si qua ex Premisliensi, Chelmensi, Camenecensi, Wlodimiriensi, Ceretensi et Kyoviensi seu aliis secundum ritus grecorum viventibus ecclesiis supradictis alicui Metropoli christianorum subiecta existeret.* Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 402, 487-490; see also Tăutu, *Acta Pseudopontificum*, no. 155, 210-214.

[416] Dan Ioan Mureşan, "Bessarion et l'Église de rite byzantin du royaume de Hongrie (1463-1472)," in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, ed. Christian Gastgeber et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 77-92.

[417] *Quocirca fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus omnes huiusmodi ocultos detentores decimarum, censuum, fructuum, redditum, proventuum et aliorum bonorum predictorum, ex parte nostra publice in ecclesiis coram populo per vos vel per alium seu alios moneatis, ut infra competentem terminum, quem eis prefixeritis, ea prefato episcopo a se debita restituant et revelent ac de ipsis plenam et debitam satisfacionem impendant.* Welykyj, *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, vol. 1, no. 89, 153-154.

Maramureş. After this date, the jurisdiction passed (partially at least) to the monastery of Hrushevo in historical Maramureş (modern Zakarpattia Oblast, Ukraine), a stauropegial monastery under the canonical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Greek rite communities in the rest of Transylvania were nominally under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Wallachia, who was also a patriarchal exarch for the region.[418] Diaconescu supposes that the territories inhabited by Greek rite Christians (mostly Romanians and Ruthenians) in Hungary and Transylvania were part of the jurisdiction of the Halych bishopric with the re-establishment of the diocese under Pope Calixtus III.[419]

Most probably because of the opposition of the Polish king, but maybe also because the region was considered as part of his jurisdiction, Makarios moved to Transylvania. In 1466, he was complaining to the pope that, notwithstanding the Florentine decisions, the Latin bishop of Transylvania, Nicholas, as well as other local clergy and lay people impeded his activity in the region. Makarios had also been dispossessed of goods, money and other properties that were his by virtue of his episcopal rank.[420] The pope ordered the archbishops

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[418] Şerban Papacostea, "Bizanţul şi cruciata la Dunărea de Jos la sfârşitul secolului XIV" [Byzantium and the crusade at the Lower Danube at the end of the thirteenth century], in *Evul mediu românesc. Realităţi politice şi curente spirituale* [The Romanian Middle Ages. Political facts and spiritual trends] (Bucharest: Corint, 2001), 47-70; Ştefan Andreescu, "Exarhatul. Geneza instituţiei în Ţara Românească şi Moldova" [The Exarchate. The Genesis of the Institution in Wallachia and Moldavia], *Revista istorică* 19, no. 1-2 (2008): 21-27; Emilian Popescu, *Titulatura şi distincţiile onorifice acordate de Patriarhia Constantinopolului mitropoliţilor Ţării Româneşti (sec. XIV-XVIII)* [The Honorary titles and distinctions awarded by the Patriarchy of Constantinople to the metropolitans of Wallachia] (Bucharest: Editura Basilica a Patriarhiei Române, 2011).

[419] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 48. An important preliminary step in asserting the jurisdiction of a pro-union bishop was taken with the conversion of the metropolitan of Moldavia, Gregory, who accepted the Filioque clause and professed the Roman faith before 10-11 March 1436. Consequently, Eugene IV entrusted him with the mission to rebuild the unity among the "Greek" Christians be they *Valacos, Vulgaros et Moldovachos in regno seu confinibus Ungarie in presenciarum existents*, in Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 421, 229-230. Such a task could not have been conceivable if the pope had not been sure or persuaded of the (at least) neutrality, if not even support, of the Hungarian king.

[420] *Tamen venerabiles fratres nostri: Nicolaus episcopus Transylvaniensis et nonnulli alii ecclesiarum praelati ac clerici, etiam religiosi et laici Transylvaniensis diocesis ipsum Macharium episcopum, quominus pontificalia officia exercuit ac pacifica possessione huiusmodi frui et gaudere possit, impedire cumque contra tenorem dicti decreti multipliciter vexare ac perturbare praesumserunt hactenus et praesumunt ac etiam ipsum Macharium episcopum nonnullis bonis, pecuniarum summis et rebus aliis, ad mensam episcopalem Gallicensem spectantibus nequiter spoliaverint sibique quasdam alias graves minas irrogaverint, pariter et iacturam maiorem suorum peculiorum.* Augustin Bunea, *Ierarhia Românilor din Ardeal şi Ungaria* [The Hierarchy of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary] (Târgu Lăpuş: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2010 (reprint of the 1904 edition)) (hereafter

of Esztergom and Kalocsa to make an enquiry regarding this situation whose outcome remains unknown.

The same document mentions that Makarios had taken over Church properties that were to be found on the territories of the dioceses of Oradea, Transylvania and Eger. He had also taken seriously his duties as a bishop and had preached to the Greek rite communities under his jurisdiction (*illis qui secundum ritum graecorum vivunt*), as well as having taught them the tenants of the faith according to the decisions of the Florentine council (*iuxta decretum concilii ycumenici florentini*).[421] Such a settlement was meant to improve Makarios's position in relation with the bishop of Alba Iulia. This was a common institutional reflex trying to settle the problems arising from the local competition in collecting Church tithes.

His activity in Transylvania must have been the result of a compromise with the Latin bishop of Alba Iulia, as in 1468, the Greek rite communities living on lands owned by Latin rite faithful had to pay the tithes to the Latin bishop.[422] This mandate was ambiguous as the

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Bunea, *Ierarhia Românilor*), 286. See also Érdujhelyi Menyhért, "Magyarországi görög katholikusok a mohácsi vész előtt." [The Greek Catholics of Hungary before the battle of Mohács], *Katholikus Szemle* 11 (1897) (hereafter Menyhért, "Magyarországi görög katholikusok"): 52, footnote 1.

[421] *Ipseque Macharius episcopus possessionem, vel quasi regimen et administrationem bonorum dictae ecclesiae, seu maioris partis ipsorum: videlicet quae in Varadiensi et Transilvaniensi ac Agriensi diocesi consistunt, assecutus extiterit et tamquam verus episcopus Gallicensis ab omnibus tentus et reputatus existat, ac pontificalia officia et ea quae sunt ordinis et jurisdictionis, exercuerit, omnibusque illis qui secundum ritum graecorum vivunt, et suae iurisdictionis existunt, omnia praedicaverit, dixerit ac decreverit, quae tenet, approbat et observat sancta romana ecclesia, iuxtam decretum concilii ycumenici florentini, dudum celebrati*. Bunea, *Ierarhia Românilor*, 285-286. See also Menyhért, "Magyarországi görög katholikusok," 28-56, 46, footnote 1.

[422] *Mathias Dei Gratia Rex Hungariae etc. Fidelibus Nostris, Universis, et Singulis Schizmaticis, ubivis in Terris Christianorum in Partibus Transilvanis Regni nostri, commorantibus, salute et Gratiam. Exponitur Nobis in persona honorabilis Capituli Eccl. Alben. Transilvan. quomodo Vos Decimas, e medio Vestri, ipsi Capitulo, more alias Consveto provenire debentes eidem persolvere recusassetis, recusaretisque etiam nunc in praejudicium ipsius Capituli, et damnum. Et quia Nos volumus, ut hujusmodi Decimae, quae in Patrimonium Christi Ecclesiis dedicatae sunt, per Vos ipsi Capitulo effective persolvantur. Ideo Fidelitati Vestrae firmiter Committimus, et Mandamus, quatenus visis praesentibus, praefatas Decimas e medio Vestri, ut praefertur, annotato Capitulo provenire debentes, eidem, aut hominibus ejus ad id deputatis, plene, et integre reddere, et persolvere debeatis, alioquin commisimus et praesentibus firmiter commitimus Fidelibus Nostris Magnificis Vajvodis, et Vice Vajvodis dictarum Partium Transilvanarum regni nostri, ut ipsi Vos, et quemlibet Vestrum, ad praemissa omnia facienda, etiam cum gravaminibus Vestris in talibus fieri solitis, Armis compellant, et adstringant, auctoritate nostra ipsis in hoc concessa mediande secus non facturi praesentibus perlectis exhibenti restitutis.* Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 162, 182.

majority of owners of landed properties, with the notable exceptions of Haţeg and Maramureş, adhered to the Latin Church. Makarios had to content himself with the revenues collected mostly from the Romanians living on the royal domains. The generalization of the tithes for Greek rite communities in the entire kingdom led to revolts later on and the situation had to be settled with the help of the royal authority in the last decades of the fifteenth century.[423]

A few years later, in 1469, John Pongrácz, the voivode of Transylvania, ordered the magistrate of Sibiu to assist the bishop Makarios in the collection of the tithes and other revenues which were owed by the Romanian priests in the vicinity of the city: *quia is reverendus Makarius Episcopus Gallicensis super presbyteros wolachales certam taxam et proventus suos exigere habet*.[424] This shows that Makarios's jurisdiction was extended into a territory that belonged canonically to the archbishopric of Esztergom, and thus surpassing the jurisdictional boundaries set up in the previous document. The bishop was also backed by the secular arm which shows that his position in the area was fully legitimate and perceived as such by the officials of the kingdom. No other Greek rite bishop in the kingdom before Makarios has ever appeared in so many documents connected to his activity in Transylvania. Makarios disappears from the sources after 1470, but he was the first bishop canonically ordained (from the Roman point of view) for the Romanians and Ruthenians living in the Hungarian kingdom.

The next bishop we know about in the region is the metropolitan Iovanchyk (very often called Ioannikios in the secondary literature) of Belgrade.[425] In 1479, he asked the

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[423] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 51.

[424] *Quia is reverendus Makarius, episcopus gallicensis, super presbyteros wolachales certam taxam et proventus suos exigere habet, igitur Vestris Dileccionibus committimus et mandamus quatenus, dum ipse Makarius episcopus huiusmodi proventus suos super dictos presbyteros wolachales in medio vestri exigere voluerit, in huiusmodi exaccione eidem omni vestro auxilio adesse debeatis. Secus non facturi.* Hurmuzaki 15/1 (1358-1600), no. 125, 71.

[425] This bishop was the source, and to some extent in some circles it still is, of bitter historiographical discussions regarding his diocesan seat which appears in the sources as Nandoralbensis (the Hungarian name for Belgrade). Orthodox historians have tried to identify Belgrade with Alba-Iulia or even with a small village in Hunedoara

Hungarian king Matthias to exempt the Romanian priests in Maramureş from all taxation.[426]

The Serbian metropolitan's request in favor for the clergy in a county so far from his seat may be interpreted as an attempt of the hierarch to fill in the gap after Makarios's disappearance.[427]

On the other hand, Rusu believes that Makarios's succession can be identified on the basis of his episcopal church. The premise that he is using is ecclesiologically sound, meaning that one can theoretically safely assume that every bishop must serve in a cathedral church and cannot just wander around. Thus, in Rusu's opinion the best candidate for the cathedral would be the church in Feleacu, a village situated on the territory of the royal city of Cluj-Napoca, which had a Greek rite bishopric functioning in the 1480s on autonomous land that was under the direct rule of the central power. The church itself was built in the best Gothic style available, and has no architectural analogy among other churches built by Romanian ktetors or communities.[428]

In the case of Feleacu, the secular authorities have done more than before for a Greek rite bishopric (an institution never officially acknowledged in the Hungarian kingdom). The episcopal authority had been recognized, installed and supported as such, while the church was most probably built with important financial contributions from the king,[429] and not as

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county, called Nandoralbensis. See also Zenobie Pâclişanu. "În jurul ierarhiei românilor ardeleni în secolul XV" [About the hierarchy of the Transylvanian Romanians in the fifteenth century], *Revista Istorică Română* 13, no. 2 (1943): 9-16.

[426] *Nos Mathias Dei gratia rex Hungariae, Bohemiae etc. memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes, quibus expedit, universis, quod nos, tum ad humillimae supplicationis instantiam fidelis nostri reverendi Iovanychik metropolitani Nandor Albensis nostrae propterea porrectae maiestati, tum vero ex gratia speciali universos et singulos Valachos presbyteros fidem Graecam tenentes in comitatu Maramarosiensi existentes presentes et futuros de solutione quarumcunque taxarum tam ordinariarum quam extraordinariarum per ipsos in medium regnicolarum nostrorum solvi maiestatique nostrae ab eisdem provenire debentium perpetuis futuris semper temporibus gratiose duximus eximendos et supportandos, imo eximimus et supportamus praesentium per vigorem.* Ioan Mihályi de Apşa, ed., *Diplome Maramureşene din secolele XIV şi XV* [Fourteenth and fifteenth century documents from Maramureş] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Societăţii Cultural Pro Maramureş "Dragoş Vodă", 2009) (hereafter Ioan Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome Maramureşene*), no. 313, 753.

[427] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 53.

[428] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 102. See also Eugenia Greceanu, "Influenţa gotică în arhitectura bisericilor româneşti de zid din Transilvania" [The Gothic influence on the architecture of the Romanian masonry churches in Transylvania], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 18, no. 1 (1971): 33-59.

[429] According to Păcurariu, Matthias Corvinus had asked an unnamed Orthodox metropolitan of Transylvania to move his residence next to Cluj. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [The History of the

suggested before from Moldavia.[430] The royal privilege dating to 1468[431] which exempted the village of Feleacu from paying the tax of the *quinquagesima*[432] and confirmed older privileges, exactly at the time of Makarios's most intense period of activity could not have been just a coincidence.[433] The jurisdiction of the bishopric of Feleacu was probably acknowledged by the Greek rite communities in the north of Transylvania, as well as by the lay authorities of the Hungarian kingdom. Diaconescu believes that the creation of this bishopric was a direct result of an attempt to solve the lack of ecclesiastical authority that appeared after Makarios's presence in the area ended.[434]

The growing attention received by the community of Feleacu in the fifteenth century (new privileges were given to the rural community, officially directly subordinated to the king, the coming of a new bishop, the building of a new church) was unprecedented among the usual practices of the Hungarian kings in connection to Transylvania. Feleacu must have been a newly established bishopric and not one that had relocated there.[435] Furthermore Feleacu must have been the seat of a Greek-Slavonic rite bishopric of the Romanians in

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Romanian Orthodox Church], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1991) (hereafter Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*), 296. This suggestion is not supported by existing sources.

[430] Marius Porumb, "Vechi biserici româneşti din secolele XIII-XVI" [Old Romanian churches from the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries], in *Monumente istorice şi de artă religioasă din Arhiepiscopia Vadului, Feleacului şi Clujului*, ed. Ştefan Pascu et al. (Cluj-Napoca: Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă Română a Vadului, Feleacului şi Clujului, 1982) (hereafter Porumb, "Vechi biserici româneşti"), 86; Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în ţările române* [The History of the Medieval Art in the Romanian Countries], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1959) (hereafter Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale*), 567.

[431] *Cum Villa Felek in Sylva Civitatis nostrae Colosvar existens, ac Universi Volachi in eadem commorantes, juxta Continentias Literarum Serenissimorum Principum Dominorum Ludovici, et Sigismundi Regnum Hungariae coram nobis in specie productarum eidem civitati nostrae Colosvar cum omnibus suis Juribus applicata, Jurisdictionique et Potestati ejusdem Civitatis nostrae et Civium ejus Plene comissa ac propter custodiam Viae, quamin Sylva ipsa contra latrones et alios malefactores facere et continue exercere habent, ob ipsorum proventuum Quinquagesimalium, et alterius cujusvis Solutionis onere et exactione exempta et emancipata esse cognoscatur.* Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 166, 185.

[432] See the chapter on "Greek rite Christians and the regime of tithes."

[433] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 102.

[434] As opposed to the suggestion that the presence of a new diocesan seat in Transylvania may have been the result of the external pressures of the Serbian metropolitan. Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 54.

[435] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 104. A good comparison here with the situation of Cyprus or Methoni.

Transylvania, founded in the spirit of the Ferrara-Florence council and on the same pattern of co-territoriality as previous foundations in other transitional regions.

At the same time as the bishopric of Feleacu was coming into existence, another bishopric further north was being established. Thus the district of Maramureş and the churches of the Romanian and Ruthenian Orthodox there came under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Mukacheve. In 1494, the monastery of Hrushevo asked the royal court to give a confirmation of the privileges it had received from the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. This confirmation was needed due to the recent conflicts that arose with the creation of the Greek rite bishopric of Mukacheve;[436] the confirmation was given on condition that the abbot of Hrushevo shows due respect to the bishop in Mukacheve and submits the monastery to the archbishops of Transylvania.[437] Bunea's suggestion was that the bishop of Mukacheve was of Greek rite but united with the Latin Church according to the Florentine canons and believes his superior to have been the Latin bishop of Alba Iulia,[438] though he fails to explain why this latter bishop was called *archiepiscopo*, a title which the said Latin bishop never achieved, never appears in the documents as such, and which was known to the royal chancellery. Diaconescu constructs his argument around the buildup of an anti-unionist movement in eastern Hungary, which had at its center the creation of two Greek rite dioceses, one at Feleacu and the other one at Mukacheve.[439] Thus, the abbot of Hrushevo avoided the jurisdiction of the nearby seat of Mukacheve, and chose the somehow distant and unknown hierarch of Transylvania.

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[436] This diocese could have been created there as a result of one of the several visits paid by Isidore of Kiev to the Hungarian court. See also Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 119.

[437] *Ita tamen quod ipse frater Hilarius Prior, et sui succesores Episcopo de Munkats sui ordinis reverentia, Archiepiscopo vero de Transylvania, modernis et futuris, veluti superioribus suis debitam subiectionem et oboedientiam praestare debeant et teneantur*, in Bunea, *Ierarhia Românilor*, 169-170.

[438] Bunea, *Ierarhia Românilor*, 170-171, 178-182.

[439] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 54-56.

I believe the solution is halfway, with a Greek rite seat founded on the basis of the Florentine union at Feleacu continuing its existence into the beginning of the sixteenth century, while around it attempts were being made at curtailing the progress of the Union by the foundation of dioceses (such as the bishopric of Vad, or the one at Mukacheve, if Diaconescu's interpretation is correct) under the patronage of personalities outside the Hungarian kingdom. The Hungarian authorities must have been much more interested and knowledgeable of a hierarchy that was in tone with the ecclesiological stance accepted at the Florentine Union, than bishops that had as their missionary scope the undoing of the decisions of the same council. At this point I suggest identifying the archbishop of Feleacu as the *archiepiscopo vero* in question.

Several other names of bishops residing in Feleacu at the end of the fifteenth century and during the first half of the sixteenth century have been preserved, such as Mark, Daniel, Danciu (*Dancho Episcopus*), maybe Stephen[440] and Peter. Rusu also mentions a Matthew who in his view could be the same person as the Latin bishop of Alba Iulia in the middle of the fifteenth century, Matthew of Labiszyn (r. c.1444-1461) of Polish origin.[441] Mark appears in one document dated Christmas 1550 as *quidam Grecus Episcopus nomine Marcus* and written during an inheritance trial, a document kept in the archive of the priests in Feleacu.[442] In this document, Mark is said to have lived at the same time as the grandfather of the priest John, who was the initiator of the document. Rusu believes that Mark and Makarios could well be

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[440] Identified with Danciu by Adrian Andrei Rusu, in *Ctitori şi biserici din Ţara Haţegului până la 1700* [Ktetors and churches in the Haţeg region up to 1700] (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997) (hereafter Rusu, *Ctitori şi biserici*), 75-76.

[441] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 104; also János Temesváry, *Erdély középkori püspökei levéltári kutatásai alapján* [Medieval Transylvanian bishops accordind to the archival research] (Cluj, Ny. Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Részv.-Társaságnál, 1922), p. 354-372, p. 368; András Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, ecclesiastical institutions and relion in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999) (hereafter Kubinyi, *Főpapok*), 72-74.

[442] Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densuşianu, ed., *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], vol. 2, no. 4 (1531-1552) (Bucharest: Academia Română şi Ministerul Instrucţiunii Publice, 1894) (hereafter Hurmuzaki, vol. 2/4 (1531-1552)), no. 313, 507.

the same person, given the fact that the document is written almost one century after the aforementioned bishop lived in Feleacu, and also because this monastic name is extremely rare, if not unique in the territories inhabited by the Romanians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As both Makarios and Mark are mentioned in the documents as Greeks, this can only support the identification. A similar confusion had already been accepted by modern historians when referring to Danciu, mentioned as former bishop in the same document from 1550, as Daniel, bishop of Feleacu mentioned at the end of the fifteenth century. A 1488 note on a gospel book belonging to the church in Feleacu mentioned the existence of the archbishop "Kir Daniil" who had ordered the book itself and had built a church in the village: "By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and with the work of the Holy Spirit, this book of the four gospels was made at the request of our most sanctified archbishop kyr Daniil in the days of king Matthias. It was written in the name of Feleacu, close to the city of Cluj, where a church has been built as well dedicated to the most holy mother Paraskevi. In the year 6997 (1488) the month of October, 25 days."[443]

The bishopric of Feleacu seems to have preserved its wide Transylvanian jurisdiction conferred to Makarios through the privileges set upon him in the 1470s, including most of the districts inhabited by Romanians. At the end of the fifteenth century, a bishop of Feleacu was asking support from an official of Braşov, so that he could collect the tithes owed to him by

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[443] Произволенїьм wтца и поспѣшенїе(м) с(ы)на и дѣист(е)ом св(ѧ)таго, съвръшис(ѧ) сѣи н(а)ш(е)га архиеп(ис)к(о)па кур данıила, въ дьни вел(и)каго крал(ѣ) матїаша. въ пѣси(?) на имѣ фалѣцѣ влизу мѣста коложвар, идеже и цр(ъ)ква създа пр(ѣ)п(о)д(о)внѣи м(а)т(е)ри нашеи параскеви. Влѣт(о) зцчз м(ѣ)с(ѧ)ца wк(томврїа) к̃е д(ь)н(и) in Victor Popa, "Consideraţiuni critice cu privire la mitropolia Transilvaniei din secolul al XV-lea şi al XVI-lea şi a raporturilor ei cu Moldova" [Critical remarks regarding the Metropolitanate of Transylvania in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and its relations with Moldavia], *Mitropolia Banatului* 8, no. 7-9 (1958) (hereafter Popa, "Consideraţiuni critice"): 408-409. See also Mircea Păcurariu, "Din istoria legăturilor bisericeşti ale Transilvaniei cu Moldova" [Moments in the history of ecclesiastical ties of Tansylvania with Moldavia], *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei* 44, no. 11-12 (1968): 642-663, 643-644. Already in 1906, Nicolae Iorga suggested that Danciu and Daniel (Daniil) was the same person in *Sate şi preoţi din Ardeal* [Villages and priests of Transylvania] (Bucharest: Saeculum I. O., 2007 (reprint of the 1902 edition)), 235.

the Greek-Slavonic rite priests in the Bârsa district.[444] The extended jurisdiction of the Feleacu see in the south-western corner of Transylvania is further proved by the fact that a priest from the Haţeg region (popa *Filip ot Haţag*) inscribed his name in 1516 on the pedestal of the altar in the cathedral church of the village.[445]

The bishopric of Feleacu predates the one of Vad, only eighty kilometers away to the north. The geographical closeness and the fact that the latter bishopric was founded on lands belonging to the voivodes of Moldavia, who by that time had renounced any adherence to the Florentine union, shows to my mind that the two bishoprics were meant as competitors and not as foundations of the same ktetor (Stephen the Great). The bishopric of Vad was created in order to offer, to the Romanian Greek-Slavonic rite communities, Orthodox spiritual guidance and a bishop that supported the undoing of the Florentine union. Ultimately the bishopric of Vad managed not only to outlive the bishopric of Feleacu, but also to substitute it. Thus, in 1536, Anastasie was already styling himself "bishop of Vad and Feleacu".[446] In Rusu's opinion, this represented the end of a process that had started a few decades before and led to the complete assimilation of the bishopric of Feleacu to the one in Vad, while Ştefan Meteş believed that the episcopal title mentioned above was just reflecting a temporary administration measure, when there was no bishop in Feleacu.[447]

As the union was failing to prove its sustainability over time, the bishopric in the village of Feleacu lost its importance and it finally disappeared. The one thing that did not end

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[444] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 106.

[445] ВЪЗБД ПИСАЛ МНѾГРАШНІ ПѾ(П) Ф(И)ЛИ(П) ѠТ ХАЦАГА ВЪСІЄЛГѾ АСТАЛАСЛЬОУ КРАЛЬ ВЬ ВЬДНИ ПРѢѾСЩЄНИА МИТ(Р)ОПОЛИ К(Р) Щ. In Popa, "Consideraţiuni critice," 410. See also Porumb, "Vechi biserici româneşti," 89.

[446] *1536-ban birtokosa Anasztazius révi és feleki görög keleti püspök*. Károly Tagányi, László Réthy, József Kádár, ed., *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monográfiája* [The monography of the Szolnok-Doboka county], vol. 5 (Dés [Dej]: Demeter és Kiss Könyvnyomdájában, 1901), article *Révkolostor*, 550. Available on DVD format, *Arcanum Könyvtár IV. családtörténet, heraldika, honismeret*.

[447] Ştefan Meteş, *Istoria Bisericii şi a vieţii religioase a românilor din Transilvania şi Ungaria* [The History of the Romanian church and of the Romanian religious life in Transylvania and Hungary] (Sibiu: Librăria Arhidiecezană, 1935), 67, footnote 3.

with the see of Feleacu was the idea of a bishopric for the Romanians in Transylvania, an idea which was wholeheartedly accepted by the authorities in the province. It seems thus that the "Uniate" bishopric of Feleacu and not the Orthodox one of Vad created the official canonical precedent for the existence of the Romanian Church hierarchy in Transylvania.[448]

Protopapades and priests. Local Churches and issues of integration

Greek-Slavonic rite priests in the transitional regions and their social position

With the gradual Latinization and disappearance of Greek-Slavonic rite bishoprics in the eastern parts of the Hungarian kingdom, starting from the thirteenth century onwards, the communities of Greek-Slavonic rite were deprived of their traditional hierarchy. The acts of the synod of Buda in 1279 (later reproduced by a Polish council in 1282) dealt with the schismatic clergy in the kingdom. In its 126th canon, the synod ruled that such priests were not allowed to hold religious services in any church or to build new churches without the approval of the diocesan bishop; they were allowed to minister their Sacraments only to other schismatics, and never to Latins; Latins were prohibited from attending religious services held by schismatics and from receiving the Sacraments from their priests; the "Christians" were

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[448] For further information on sixteenth century Orthodox bishops in Transylvania please see Ştefan Meteş, "Episcopia Geoagiul de Sus (1557-1957). Comemorarea de 400 ani" [The bishopric of Geoagiul de Sus (1557-1957). The 400 years commemoration], *Mitropolia Ardealului* 2, no. 9-10 (1957): 654-661; Ştefan Lupşa, "Mitropolia Ardealului în veacul XVI" [The Metropolitanate of Transylvania in the sixteenth century], *Mitropolia Ardealului* 5, no. 7-8 (1960): 573-598; Mircea Păcurariu, "Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe transilvănene cu ierarhia şi domnitorii de peste munţi" [The relations of the Transylvanian Orthodox church with the hierarchs and princes beyond the mountains], *Mitropolia Ardealului* 13, no. 1-3 (1968): 6-35, 6-14; Florin Dobrei, *Istoria vieţii bisericeşti a românilor hunedoreni* [The ecclesiastical history of the Romanians in the Hunedoara region] (Reşiţa: Editura Eftimie Murgu, 2010): 180-189.

not supposed to keep company with schismatics, otherwise they would be deferred to the secular law for punishment.[449]

In the light of the recent Union of Lyons, the use of the term schismatic, especially with the papal legate Philip of Fermo present in Buda, seems problematic, since it does not indicate, as before, the peoples who were part of the schismatic communities.[450] Turcuş believes that the canon was referring to those individuals and communities that were not part of the jurisdictional area of the recently restored Byzantine patriarchate in Constantinople. Consequently they fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church as groups without any canonical support from the Latin rite hierarchy in the dioceses where they were present, at the time of the Buda council.[451] The canon itself would have been difficult to put into practice, especially regarding the construction of new churches which continued, but also when controlling the common liturgical habits of the two communities of rite. At this stage in the thirteenth century the canon was just another witness of the on-going joint sacramental celebrations which were observed before and would continue to be one of the main points on the agenda of the mendicant orders active in the area.

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[449] *De sacerdotibus schismaticis. Perpetuo prohibemus edicto: quod schismatici sacerdotes in terris nostrae legationis officiare ecclesias non sinantur; nec permittantur habere vel aedificare absque dioecesanorum, in quorum dioecesibus vel jurisdictionibus commorantur, licentia et consensu nova oratoria vel capellas, et christianis vel schismaticis ministrare ecclesiastica sacramenta. Ipsique christiani prohibeantur districtius ipsorum schismaticorum officia audire, vel ad ea accedere, aut ab eis etiam aliqua recipere sacramenta. A quibus dictis omnibus schismaticis per censuram ecclesiasticam arceantur, quam si forte contempserint, per seculare brachium a talibus compescantur.* Şerban Turcuş, *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)* [The General Synod of Buda (1279)] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001), 212. For the synod of Buda see also Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, "Rome and the Church in Hungary in 1279: The Synod of Buda," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 22 (1990): 68-85; János M. Bak, "National synods in Hungary in the Arpad age: with special reference to the Synodus Budensis of 1279," in *Christianity in East Central Europe, 2. Late Middle Ages/La Chretienté en Europe du Centre-Est. Le Bas Moyen Age. Proceedings of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée Lublin 1996*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, Paweł Kras, Wojciech Polak (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1999), 33-39.
[450] On the activities of the papal legates in medieval Hungary see Gergely Kiss, "Les aspects des activités des légats pontificaux en Hongrie aux XIe-XIIIe siècles," *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged* 9-10 (2011): 38-54; idem, "Les légats pontificaux en Hongrie au temps des rois Angevins (1298-1311)," in *La diplomatie des états Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Zoltán Kordé, István Petrovics (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, JATEPress, 2010): 101-116.
[451] Şerban Turcuş, *Sfântul Scaun şi românii în secolul al XIII-lea* [The Holy See and the Romanians in the thirteenth century] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001) (hereafter Turcuş, *Sfântul Scaun şi românii*), 167-170.

The crucial issue was that, whatever the theological problems complicating the relations between Rome and Constantinople, most Latins and Greeks considered themselves to be part of one and the same Church. Given the demographic situation of most of the transitional regions, it was inevitable that Greek clerics were subjected to Latin diocesan bishops and vice versa.[452] Where the Greek clergy were subordinated to Latin bishops or Greek bishops that had accepted papal authority, there the Greek rite was still perfectly acceptable, and the prayers of the Greek clergy and monks were deemed just as efficacious as those of the Latins. Despite occasional worries about Greek theology, or some practices such as the use of leavened bread at the Eucharist, the papacy tended to tolerate Greek observance even if at some times, such as under Innocent III, attitudes seemed to harden.[453]

In the crusader states, most of the local Christian clergy chose to cooperate closely with royal and local authority in order to harness Frankish power for their own benefit.[454] The silence of Latin sources was, thus, not the result of a lack of knowledge or interest on the part of Frankish leaders, but a deliberate silence that allowed the continued Frankish domination over the local clergy.

Inadvertently, in areas with a strong presence of Greek rite communities, Latin rite bishops found themselves as overlords of Greek priests which constituted the majority of their clergy. In southern Italy several instances are known starting from the eleventh century. In 1094, when Tristan of Tropea was appointed bishop, Duke Roger made it clear that the clergy of the former see of Amantea, now also subject to him, were Greeks. Duke William confirmed the rights of the archbishop of Cosenza in 1113 and included among them jurisdiction over all priests, both Greek and Latin. Messina had a Latin bishop and later archbishop from 1096

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[452] On switching allegiances and solidarities see Richard C. Trexler, "The Construction of regional solidarities in traditional Europe," in *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali*, ed. Jacques Chiffoleau, Lauro Martines, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), 263-283, here 274-276.

[453] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 224-5; Andrea, "Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite," 121.

[454] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 106.

onwards (when the see was transferred there from Troina), yet it remained an overwhelmingly

Greek city.[455]

Greek clergy, both priests and deacons,[456] were supposed to render canonical

obedience to the Latin archbishop of Cyprus and his suffragans, according to the custom in

the kingdom of Jerusalem, under the second article of the agreement initially promulgated in

Limassol, Cyprus, during October 1220, and in a revised form in Famagusta in September

1222 (although its final confirmation by Honorius III was in January 1223).[457] A papal letter

of 30 December 1221 to Queen Alice praised the efforts of the bishop of Famagusta in

effecting the agreement with the Greek Church. The pope then demanded that the Greek

clergy subjected to one Latin archbishop with jurisdiction over all Cyprus, thus rejecting the

queen's request that some Greek bishops should remain in office.[458] Another letter of 3

January 1222 to the patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishops of Tyre and Caesarea, even

criticized the Greek bishops who renounced on the obedience they had initially pledged to the

Latin bishops of their dioceses, and accused them of having reverted to the errors of the

Greeks.[459] The letters of Urban IV (r. 1261-1264) show that he was preoccupied with the

application of the *Bulla Cypria*,[460] and that while the submission of the Greek or Syrian

population to the Latin clergy was not necessary connected to the formal submission

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[455] Vera von Falkenhausen, "The Greek Presence in Norman Sicily: The Contribution of Archival Material in Greek," in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud, A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 264-265.

[456] For the social origins of the Greek rite secular clergy see Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, 325-335; Cyril Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of the New Rome* (London: Phoenix, 1980), 121; Angeliki E. Laiou, "Priests and bishops in the Byzantine countryside, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," in *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, ed. Dimiter G. Angelov (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2009): 43-57.

[457] [...] *sed canonicam oboedientiam facient archiepiscopo et episcopis latinis et ecclesiis suis, quilibet archiepiscopo et episcopo in cuius diocese morabuntur et oboedientes erunt in omnibus spiritualibus archiepiscopo et episcopis latinis ac ecclesiis eorundem, secundum quod in regno Hierosolymitano graeci sacerdotes et levitae bene oboediunt vel oboediverunt latinis episcopis* [...]. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 108, 145-146.

[458] Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 86, 115.

[459] [...] *quidam episcopi graeci absque mandato apostolico et latinorum praesulum qui tunc erant assensu fuerunt in eorundem Latinorum diocesibus et civitatibus instituti, qui nec Ecclesiae Romanae nec Praelatis vel ecclesiis obediunt Latinorum, sed, quod deterius est, Graecorum errores pristinos imitantes* [...]. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 87, 116.

[460] Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X*, no. 14, 49.

performed by their clergy, the Greek rite priests were holding in contempt the obeisance they owed to the Latin archbishop on the island.[461]

One episode of 1295 is telling for the way the two clergies understood to carry on their pastoral duties and for how the Greek clergy viewed its submission to the Latin one. The Dominican Berard, who was the Latin bishop of Limassol, visited the Greek cathedral of Lefkara, which was in his diocese. When he asked the Greek clergy to swear an oath on the truth of the Latin belief concerning the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist he was duly refused. Though he instituted proceedings against Matthew, the Greek bishop, who was ultimately excommunicated three times, this was to no avail as the Greek bishop continued to occupy his seat, seeking refuge in the diocese of Nicosia, with the Latin Archbishop John of Ancona,[462] and, even more, signed letters to his Greek rite peer in Jaffa, as *proedros* of Limassol and Kourion, as though his Latin counterpart was not present.[463] On the other hand, there were instances when the Greek clergy sought the confirmation of their bishops by their Latin counterparts, in accordance with the bull of Pope Alexander IV.[464]

[461] *Ecce siquidem ipsi Graeci et Syri, nequitiei spiritu ducti, quos presbiteros et clericos graecos, pro eo quod ipsam Ecclesiam, omnium magistram et matrem fidelium, venerantur et sanam eius doctrinam recipiunt reverenter ac super hoc salutaribus mandatis et monitis fratris nostri Nicosiensis archiepiscopi acquiescunt, a sua communione reppellere ipsosque haereticos et schismaticos proclamare ac eis, ab officiis divinis exclusis, consuetos redditus, qui oblationes dicuntur, ex quibus sustenari solebant, ipsis subtrahere eorumque domos demoliri ac vineas extirpare praesumunt, eos suis bonis et iuribus spoliantes ac alias ipsos eorumque ecclesias et familias afficientes gravibus iniuriis et pressuris et ad paupertatem deducentes extremam, ut dictus archiepiscopus pietate cogatur, ne praefati presbyteri et clerici suis persecutoribus nimis inhumaniter videantur exponi, eos interdum sua domo recipere ac ipsis continue alimenta praestare.* Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X*, no. 4, 6.

[462] A. Tăutu, F. Delorme, ed., *Acta Romanorum Pontificium ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276-1304) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1954), 195-199.

[463] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 311, footnote 208.

[464] Fedalto, *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, 178. The attitude of the patriarch in Nicaea at the time was a dual one. Notwithstanding the consent he had initially given to the submission of the Greek bishops to their Latin counterparts, he wrote several other letters to the Cypriots exhorting them to resist the Latin domination. Neophytos, the Orthodox archbishop of Cyprus, writes to John Vatatzes about the agreement made with the ecumenical patriarch regarding the status of the Greek rite hierarchy on Cyprus as well as about the martyred Greek monks: "The blessed…ecumenical patriarch… allows us no peace, but disturbs us and all the people by his letters every time… I say that the ecumenical lord and his Holy Synod have given their consent to the present sin of bodily submission, which we have done for the preservation of the church, and the people (i.e. the placing of the hands into those of the Latin bishops). Regarding our martyred and renowned brothers, the monks, we give

While the Greek rite clergy on Cyprus could still hope to receive guidance from a Greek rite hierarchy, even if under Latin jurisdiction, on Crete the local Latin Church and the Venetian establishment had one thing in common: they never wanted to have a non-Catholic Greek bishop at large on the island.[465] The authorities promoted a twofold attitude towards the Greek rite clergy on the island: on the one hand it was important to cut all possible ties between the local priests and the hierarchy residing in the Byzantine empire (this was done by prohibiting the priests to be ordained by a Byzantine Greek bishop), and on the other they kept an eye on the Greek rite priests coming from regions outside the control of Venice. Entry to the island of Greek bishops, priests and monks was forbidden while within the island priests were to be ordained only to fill in the places of the dead and the chronically sick. In my opinion the Greek rite clergy had to accommodate to the institutional pressure of the Latin hierarchy by compromising on jurisdictional issues, while at the same time preserving their rite.

Such a situation can also be observed in the work of Bartholomew of Averna, vicar of the Franciscan province of Bosnia[466] (written most probably during 1379-1382[467]). His letters shed some light on the life of the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy in the regions of Banat, Serbia and Vidin in the second half of the fourteenth century.[468] In 1372, the friar was sending to the

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witness… that neither by our word, nor deed, nor in thought, nor by our will did their martyrdom take place. For they willingly gave themselves over to death, abusing their captors foully." Quoted in Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 284, footnote 105.

[465] The Venetians, following their tradition of caution and relative indifference, did not want the Church on Crete to become powerful. "It mattered little, in the end, whether their subjects followed the Latin rite or the Greek rite, provided that they were loyal and faithful" to the *Serenissima* says Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 403.

[466] Dionysius Lasić, O.F.M., "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna, Vicarii Bosnae, 1367-1407, quaedam scripta hucusque inedita," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 55 (1962) (Lasić, "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna"): 59-81.

[467] Şerban Papacostea, "Întemeierea Ţării Româneşti şi a Moldovei şi românii din Transilvania: un nou izvor" [The founding of Wallachia and Moldavia and the Romanians of Transylvania: a new historical source], *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu Românesc* [The Genesis of the state in the Romanian Medieval Age] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1988) (hereafter Papacostea, "Întemeierea Ţării Româneşti şi a Moldovei"), 91.

[468] For an overview of the relations between Serbia, Byzantium and the Angevins in the fourteenth century see Elisabeth Malamuth, "Byzance, Serbie, Angevins de 1308 à 1366 et le bouleversement de l'échiquier

Holy See a list of *dubia* arising as part of the Franciscan missionary practice and requested official solutions. He asked whether the friars, as they were too few in comparison with the population around them, had acted rightly in employing local priests who were willing to follow the Roman ritual when baptizing, even if these priests were ignorant and not canonically ordained. Regarding the Greeks and other schismatics the Franciscans had asked if the local bishops could make the chrism and the priests consecrate the body of Christ. In all cases they received an affirmative reply from the papal court. They were also advised not to disturb the faith of the simple folk baptized in the Greek rite and not to be too scrupulous about the technicalities of their services and teachings.[469]

While the author seems to have been convinced of the necessity of converting the Romanians, the Serbians and the Bulgarians in the region by any means, the main obstacle in accomplishing this were their clergy (especially the monks, as well as those who did not wish to use the Latin rituals since some of the local clergy had already helped the friars in their baptizing activity) which the vicar repeatedly asks to be chased away from his province. Extremely scrupulous with the local clergy, Bartholomew observes that according to the Latin canons they were not properly ordained: "but, as they are fake and deceiving, and as they have completely lost their ecclesiastical rite and the form of the sacraments, because of their rustic ways, especially among these Slavs and Romanians, as said below, and this people cannot be saved in this sect, even more since they think their sect is better than ours."[470]

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géopolitique dans l'Orient chrétien," in *La diplomatie des états Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Zoltán Kordé, István Petrovics (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, JATEPress, 2010): 171-178.

[469] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 34a, 71-77. See also Joseph Gill, "John V Palaeologus at the court of Louis I of Hungary (1366)," *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204-1453)* (London: Variorum, 1979) (hereafter Gill, "John V Palaeologus"), article IX, 35.

[470] *Quod vero obicitur de sacerdotibus et prima eorum fide, dico, quod si illi eorum sacerdotes essent rite ordinati, et in illa eorum secta esset aliqua spes salutis, recte obiceretur. Sed, cum sint falsi et deceptores, et iam propter suam rusticitatem perdiderunt omnem ritum ecclesiasticum et formas sacramentorum, maxime inter istos Sclavos et Vlachos, ut dicetur infra, et populus ille in hac secta salvari non possit, maxime qui credunt suam sectam meliorem nostra.* Lasić, "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna," 71-72.

The friar even quotes the emperor John V Palaiologos (1332-1391) who, passing by on his way to Buda in 1366, allegedly sanctioned the Franciscan mission in the area, since the locals were neither under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church nor the Constantinopolitan one;[471] when the Athonite monks chased by the Ottomans took refuge in the area they also seemed to support the need for mission among this people describing allegedly the local clergy as: *Isti non sunt sacerdotes, sed canes*.[472] The presence of such a clergy among the locals posed a threat not only to the spiritual salvation of the faithful of the Greek rite, but also of the Latins living among them, which often espoused their traditions and rituals.[473] In the eyes of the Franciscans, their errors were mostly related to the way they performed the sacraments. The author remarked the great variety of the baptismal formulas used by the clergy, and stated that one can hardly find two priests who baptize in the same manner.[474]

The excerpts above render a vivid, though probably biased, image of how some of the members of the Latin clergy reacted when confronted with a rather rural and poorly trained clergy. This clergy was attached to a minimal set of rituals which it perceived to be essential

[471] On the conversion of John V to the Latin Church see Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), 195-199; Tia M. Kolbaba, "Conversion from Greek Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism in the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 19 (1995): 122-123.

[472] *Etiam Ioannes, Imperator Constantinopolitanus, quando ad regem venit, dixit, audientibus multis: "Bene facit rex baptizare istos Sclavos, quia nec Graecam nec Romanam formam sequuntur." Insuper pridie in Ceni coram fratribus nostris dixerunt calugeri, venientes de confinibus Greciae, contra isto[s] sacerdotes: "Isti non sunt sacerdotes, sed canes; nec vere baptizant."* Lasić, "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna," 75; see also Ioan Dani et al, ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica C (Transilvania)*, vol. 13 (1366-1370) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1994) (hereafter DRH C), no. 417, 631, which registers the visit of John V Palaiologos in Caransebeş (*Tandem dominus Dionisius voyuoda veniens, adduxit secum imperatorem Grecorum, quibus per preceptum domini nostri regis tantam hospitalitatem prebuimus, quod cum tantis expensis dominum nostrum regem delicare valuissemus*).

[473] *Insuper, dicti schismatici non solum ipsi pereunt, sed etiam nostros christianos, cum quibus conversantur et matrimonia contrahunt, ducunt ad perditionem. Quare innumeri, ut nobis constat, negantes catholicam fidem, facti sunt schismatici et ab eis rebaptizati. Unde non solum ad fidem veram cogendi sunt, sed nolentes et protervi, tamquam membra putrida et oves morbidae et infectae de medio tollendae. […] Ergo omnibus modis cogi debent pro earum salute, vel expellendi sunt tales protervi, ut puta falsi sacerdotes et pseudo religiosi ne alios inficiant.* Lasić, "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna," 71.

[474] *Sed unusquisque format sibi verba, sicut sibi videtur; et dum infundit aquam super caput baptizandi, unus legit: "Beati quorum;" alter: "Asperges me;" alter legit: "Quotquot baptizati estis, Christum induistis;" alter vero: "Alleluia" tribus vicibus; alter: "Baptizatur servus Dei nomine sancti Petri vel Demetrii," sicut vult, quod habeat nomen. Et de XX vix invenies duos concordes in baptizando, sed unusquisque laudat se super alios. Et tot truphas super baptizando faciunt, quod christiano intelligenti abominabile est scire vel videre.* Lasić, "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna," 66.

to their practiced Greek-Slavonic Christianity. It must have been a rather usual sight among communities that had for decades been lacking the touch of a more institutionalized ecclesiastical institution, but had nevertheless kept their religious option.

Joseph Gill believes that the missionaries' policy, founded as it was on verified theological principles, was to baptize only those who had not been validly baptized. As the Roman Church recognized the validity of the Greek sacrament of baptism, the friars did not rebaptize those who had been baptized in the Greek rite. If some, validly baptized according to the Greek form, were rebaptized, it was by mistake, owing to the inability of distinguishing them among the mass of the non-baptized.[475]

The activity of Bartholomew of Averna in Banat was preceded by a measure taken by King Louis I on 20 July 1366, at Lipova (surviving in two copies addressed to the counties of Kovin and Caraş), which also targeted the Greek-Slavonic communities in the region.[476] The document instructed the nobles and other land holders, as well as the castles and royal towns on whose territories Slavic or schismatic priests were to be found, to gather and bring them, together with their families, on a prearranged date to be examined by the *comes* Benedict Himfi.[477] The measure was mostly directed against Greek-Slavonic rite priests who had taken refuge in Banat from Serbia.

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[475] Gill, "John V Palaeologus," 36. See also Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 34 (article 3), 72.

[476] Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "From *kenezii* to *Nobiles Valachi*: The Evolution of the Romanian Elite of the Banat in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, ed. Katalin Szende, Marcell Sebők, vol. 6 (Budapest: Central European University, 2000): 109-128; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Elita românească din Transilvania în secolele XIII-XIV. Origine, statut, evoluţie" [The Transylvanian Romanian elite during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries], in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania/Az erdély roman nemesség* [The Romanian nobility in Transylvania], ed. Marius Diaconescu (Satu-Mare: Muzeul Judeţean Satu Mare, 1997), 36-55. At that particular moment (end of the fourteenth century), the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in Banat were under the Patriarchy of Peć created by Stephen Dušan immediately after he proclaimed himself tsar in 1346 and then anathematized by the patriarch in Constantinople. This actually put the Gree-Slavonic rite Church in the region in a position of double schism, both with Constantinople and with Rome. See also J. Pierre Pipoche, "Louis le Grand de Hongrie et l'orthodoxie," in *Louis the Great. King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy, Géza Grosschmid, Leslie S. Domonkos (Boulder: East European Monographs and New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 91-101.

[477] […] *verbo nostro vobis demandabit, omnes Sclauos sacerdotes apud vos existentes, cum eorum pueris, uxoribus, et rebus omnibus, absque omni dampno, lesione et deturpatione, duci facere debeatis eidem magistro*

The same Greek-Slavonic clergy was targeted a few decades later in a document issued by Sigismund of Luxemburg in Caransebeş on behalf of the Observant Franciscans of the vicarage of Bosnia, in December 1428. The royal act forbade mixed marriages, as well as the practice of the priests of the schismatics (*schismaticorum sacerdotes*) to baptize among the members of the Latin rite communities in the district and ruled on the expulsion of the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy from the region.[478] This document was not a simple reactivation of Louis' measures, but a turning point in Sigismund's confessional policy.[479] One possible conclusion shows the impact that priests of the Greek-Slavonic rite (wealthy enough to be subjected to the confiscation of their goods) had on the local population belonging to the Latin Church. The proselytism carried on by the Greek rite communities is only acknowledged here

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Benedicto vel fratri suo, nostro nomine presentandos, et aliud facere non ausuri. DRH C, vol. 13, no. 121, 226-227; Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 90, 132. On Benedict Himfi see Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "Medieval Nobility in Central Europe: The Himfi Family," Ph.D. Dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, May 2004), 58-71.

[478] *Nec etiam aliquis huiusmodi presbyterorum schismaticorum in ipsa provincia de Sebes, aut in aliqua ipsius parte pergere queat, neque possit animo suis perversis dogmatibus catholicos seducendi et ad ritum schismaticorum attrahendi, cunctis nostris castellanis et officialibus de dicta Sebes praesentibus et futuris harum mandantes vigore, ut amodo per antea omnes presbyteros schismaticos, qui intentione seducendi populum catholicum et ad ritum schismaticum pervertendi in ipsa provincia de Sebes morantur, aut hinc inde vagantur, reperierint, detineant et privent eorum bonis universis, nec sinant ipsos, aut ipsorum aliquem intra metas ipsius provinciae alicubi residere; statuimus insuper decernentes, ut in tota hac provincia de Sebes nullus catholicus possit contrahere matrimonium cum aliqua schismatica, nec vice versa schismatica cum catholico cuiuscunque modi, status, vel conditionis existat, nisi prius schismaticus aut schismatica a presbytero catholico communionem sanctae romanae ecclesiae habente fuerit baptizatus vel baptizata. […] Decernimus denique per expressum iniungentes, ut quilibet nobiles Kenesiorum, vel etiam rusticalium personarum faciat suos infantes per schismaticos baptizare; neque quis audeat aut quovismodo praesumat infantem suum vel alterius cuiuscunque infantem ad sacerdotem schismaticum pro baptismatis susceptione portare, poenis privationum bonorum suorum sub praemissis. Immo et ipsis sacerdotibus schismaticis, ubicunque in terris regnorum nostrorum existentibus, per hanc nostram interdicimus personam, ne et ipsi quempiam de districtu Sebes baptizare praesumant; hoc etiam edicimus, ut nullus schismaticorum sacerdos aliquem catholicum districtuum Hathusak et Mihold debeat baptizare, et si quispiam eorumdem his contrarium facere attentaverit, coërceatur immo et puniatur privatione suorum bonorum per castellanos in Sebes et in Mihold constitutos.* Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*, no. 679, 129-130. Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Naţiunea română medievală. Solidarităţi etnice româneşti în secolele XIII-XIV* [The Romanian medieval nation. Romanian ethnical solidarities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), 91-93.

[479] Regarding Sigismund's policy towards the Orthodox states in the Balkans and Eastern Europe see Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 231-238. Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs," 62-74. On his policy towards the Latin rite Church in Banat see Adrian Magina, "Parohiile catolice din Banat în epoca lui Sigismund de Luxemburg" [Catholic parishes in the Banat in the time of Sigismund of Luxembourg], *Analele Banatului, S.N., Arheologie-Istorie* 20 (2012): 173-188.

with superficial punitive measures that bring testimony to the persistence of such practices.[480] The persecution, if indeed it took place must have been local and was not recorded in neighboring counties, such as Haţeg.

Actually, during the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in that particular district were just entering the spotlight of the Latin chancelleries in Transylvania. There is lack of information regarding the presence of a Latin rite clergy in the area, a clergy which had to be under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishopric of Alba Iulia. An archdeaconate covering the northern part of the Haţeg region, under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishopric of Alba Iulia, appears in the documents the latest at the end of the thirteenth century. It was mentioned for the first time in 1265[481] as belonging to the chapter house of Alba Iulia and having jurisdiction over the Latin parishes in the settlements of the lower nobility and royal *hospites* that were founded earlier in the valley of the Mureş river and around the mouths of Strei and Cerna rivers.[482] The headquarters of the archdeaconate moved, just as those of the county, from Hunedoara to Deva, where already during the fourteenth century the priest of the local parish church of Saint Martin held the rank of archdeacon.[483] Nevertheless, it made little impact on the world of the local Greek-Slavonic rite communities.

The south-west of Transylvania was not the only region lacking a real Latin parish network. Looking at the Latin clergy in Frankish Greece one can see that it consisted entirely

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[480] Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului în secolul al XV-lea" [Romanian Orthodox priests from the Haţeg district in the fifteenth century], *Mitropolia Banatului* 32, 10-12 (1982) (hereafter Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului"): 646.

[481] Ion Ionaşcu et al., ed., *Documente privind Istoria României. Veacul XIII C. Transilvania*, vol. 2 (1251-1300) [Documents regarding the History of Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1952), no. 66, 71-72.

[482] The archdeaconate of Sebeş (Caransebeş) had only ten parishes by 1333-1335, covering a huge surface with hundreds of villages stretching from the east of Timişoara to the border of the voivodeship of Transylvania.

[483] The rank of archdeacon of Hunedoara could also belong to any other clergy subordinated to the bishopric in Alba Iulia; in such a case the parish priest of Saint Martin became the vice-archdeacon. DRH C, vol. 14, no. 149, 222.

of cathedral or conventual clergy. In urban centers Greek cathedral officers and functionaries seem to have been ignored or dismissed and Latin capitular organization installed with Latin archdeacons attested in six chapters. They seem not to have confined their attention to Latin priests, who must have virtually been non-existent in the countryside, but to have assumed some responsibility for the Greek parish clergy as well. This would have involved visits to Greek communities and it was presumably from such men that information on the status of the *papades* and their children, which was discussed at the parliament of Ravennika in 1209, derived.[484]

Not just the local Latin diocese was being rather ineffective in the south-west of Transylvania but also the Franciscans whose presence was recorded without much impact. Their monastery in the town of Haţeg seems to have survived until late in the fifteenth century and was disbanded only after it was sacked by the Ottomans in 1479.[485] With such little success the only ones who could have been responsible for preserving the Latin cult or jurisdiction would have then been outsiders to the area. While Latin clergy in Frankish Greece and elsewhere was present in the urban areas from the thirteenth century onwards, the first officials connected to the chapter house in Alba Iulia started arriving in Haţeg only around 1404.

After 1420, with the monopoly of issuing official documents moving for good into the hands of the Latin chapter house of Alba Iulia, the attributions of the local provincial assemblies of the Romanians[486] in Haţeg were reduced. The documents after 1440 witness

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[484] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 211.

[485] See Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Mănăstirea franciscană din Haţeg" [The Franciscan monastery of Haţeg], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 3 (1993): 137-144.

[486] Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Dovezi pentru continuitatea adunărilor româneşti din Ţara Haţegului după mijlocul secolului al XV-lea" [Evidence for the continuity of the Romanian assemblies in Haţeg after the middle of the fifteenth century], *Sargetia* 18-19 (1984-1985): 169-180; Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Instituţii medievale româneşti. Adunările cneziale si nobiliare (boiereşti) din Transilvania în secolele XIV-XVI* [Romanian medieval institutions. The assemblies of knezes and nobbles (boyars) in Transilvania during the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1991).

such an interest in the region that some of the notaries of the Transylvanian bishopric become "specialized" on Haţeg.[487] As the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy in the Haţeg area were part of the decision making process in the assemblies of the region, the notaries who wrote down these decisions must have been recruited from among the clergy as well. The situation improved later on, with the local assemblies continuing well into the sixteenth century but the role of the priests did not surface anymore.

Rusu states that the fifteenth century saw the golden age of the Greek rite Church (which he calls Orthodox) and its clergy in the Haţeg region. Even if they were apparently at odds with the official rite of the Hungarian realm, their presence and activity in the area cannot be overlooked.[488] Due to the small number of documents that can be used, the mere mentioning of a Greek-Slavonic rite priest constitutes a notable event, as the official acts were issued by the chapter houses and convents of the Latin bishoprics and the large abbeys which seem to have had little interest in the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy.[489] Being mentioned in the official documents produced by the local assemblies meant that their priestly office was acknowledged from a juridical point of view. In 1496, one reads about a certain *popa* John[490] performing the job of witness and charged with accompanying the delegates of the Latin

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[487] The notaries seem to have continuously avoided official practices in favor of local ones, suggesting that at least some of them were recruited from among local families. This category was always present in documents that were produced outside their area of origin. Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica în secolul al XV-lea (exemplul haţegan)" [The Romanian nobility and the church in the fifteenth century (the example of Haţeg)], in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania/Az erdély roman nemesség* [The Romanian nobility in Transylvania], ed. Marius Diaconescu (Satu-Mare: Muzeul Judeţean Satu Mare, 1997) (hereafter Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica"), 140. On the recruitment of the Latin rite clergy in medieval Hungary see Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises à la fin du Moyen Age* (Budapest: Publications de l'Institut Hongrois de Paris, 2003) (hereafter Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises*), 145-149.

[488] Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 653.

[489] We know of few priests from the fourtheenth century, with a dedicatory inscription at Streisângeorgiu (modern Hunedoara county) mentioning a "popa" Naneş during the first half of the century. For the church in Streisângeorgiu see Radu Popa, "Streisîngeorgiu. Mărturii de istorie românească din secolele XI-XIV în sudul Transilvaniei" [Streisîngeorgiu. Testimonies of eleventh-fourteenth centuries Romanian history in southern Transylvania], *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice şi de Artă* 1 (1978): 9-32.

[490] Magyar Országos Levéltár - Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary, Q szekció, dl. 46331, available online: http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start, (accessed November 2013).

chapter house in Alba Iulia who were conducting local surveys or were investigating local problems. Thus a Greek-Slavonic rite priest, named by the king or the voivode, associated with a Latin rite friar or priest and they carried out a common juridical task together. The situation can be explained if interpreted in the framework of the post-Florentine agreement. To this one can add the capacity of the locals to integrate into the social nexus of offices that seem at odds with each other if analyzed from a confessional point of view.

The word *popa* does not denote the family name or any genealogical link, especially as in the Haţeg region the formation of family names among the lesser nobility and the ordinary folk was just at the beginning. The Romanian nobles in the area, with the few exceptions of the Cânde – Kendefy, Cândreş – Kenderesy, Muşina – Musinay families, were given names in the official documents that are derived from toponyms. Just as in other parts of Transylvania, the priests were members of important families of knezes.[491] This fact brought with it the adoption of the locality where they owned land. Peşteana, due to the transmission of the priestly function in the family, might constitute the exception as already in 1519, when many from the elite of Haţeg were summoned to bring testimony in a dispute between the Cânde family and the nobles of Râu Bărbat, there were two people from Peşteana named Petru Pop and Toma Pop.[492] The Greek-Slavonic rite priests of the region were not celibate like their Latin counterparts and therefore numerous families bearing the last name "Pop" (priest) exist in the region (an important mark of their activity at the time, or of the existence of a priest among the direct relatives). Such was the case of David of Leordina, a married priest with

[491] Camil Mureşanu, "Rumänische knesate, woiwodschaften und distrikte im mittelalterlichen Siebenbürgen. Zur Rechtslage der Rumänen auf dem Sachsenboden," in *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen. 500 Jahre siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nationsuniversität*, ed. Wolfgang Kessler (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 161- 175.
[492] Magyar Országos Levéltár - Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary, Q szekció, dl. 30551, available online: http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start, (accessed November 2013).

children mentioned in 1476 (*Davidis presbyteri Valachi*),[493] or Lawrence of Tereblja in 1485.[494]

Romanian priests of Haţeg and Maramureş appear in the documents of the fifteenth century more than ever and are recorded as land owners or witnesses. A royal donation of 10 March 1444, given in Buda on behalf of the knezes from Nălaţvad, rewarded the deeds of arms of a local named Philip. Among his many brothers (*fratibus suis carnalis*) who were listed among the other beneficiaries of the donation there was a Thomas the priest (*Thoma presbiter*).[495] Rusu observes that this is the first time in a document issued by the Hungarian royal chancellery mentioning a Greek rite priest from the district of Haţeg. The landed possessions were confirmed by the priest Demetrios from the Latin chapter house in Alba Iulia, and by Dionysius Cândreş of Streisângeorgiu. Such priests were often in contact with the secular authority which only acknowledged their social status and official quality; their priesthood was most probably rarely mentioned in the official documents. The Greek-Slavonic rite clergy are missing from the large number of documents issued by John Hunyadi which rewarded the deeds of arms of many of his Romanian soldiers.[496] This absence could also be associated with the social changes happening in Haţeg during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the nobility seems to have converted to the Latin rite while the Greek-

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[493] Ioan Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome Maramureşene*, no. 309, 747.

[494] […] *fidelium nostrorum Laurentii presbyteri, Petri, Bricii et Lucae fratrum suorum Valachorum* […]. Ioan Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome Maramureşene*, no. 328 (329), 804.

[495] *Philippo et per eum annotato Balul, Thoma Plebano, Michaeli, Balotha, Demetrio et Miloik* (maybe Vlaicu?) *fratribus suis carnali*. Magyar Országos Levéltár - Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary, Q szekció, dl. 29478, available online: http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start, (accessed November 2013). See discussion in Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 648. Another Toma (*presbiterum Wolahorum*) appears in a document issued in 1448. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A Kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289-1556)* [The registers of the monastery of Mănăştur], vol. 1 (1289-1484) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), no. 634, 348.

[496] The same John Hunyadi received in 1445 the right of patronage for all the churches belonging to the domain of the citadel of Şiria (*Ecclesiarum et Capellarum tam christianorum, quam Wolochorum*), see Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 596, 718.

Slavonic rite priests were more and more pushed towards the lower echelons of the social scale.[497]

A document from 1462,[498] issued by king Matthias Corvinus, rewarded the merits of Ladislaus (a member of the court) and of his brothers Dobrotă, Simeon and Iarul (Iaroslav), on behalf of their father Costea, who was the third son of the archdeacon Dobrotă, mentioned in 1411 (see below). Their priestly office was mentioned three decades later in 1494[499] when another document states that the same Ladislaus, Simeon and Dobrotă were priests of the Romanians (*presbiteri wolachi*). Thus, while under Matthias Corvinus the priests from Râu Bărbat moved up the social echelon from being knezes to becoming nobles (their nobility being based on their possessions in the villages of Râu Bărbat, Hobiţa, Uric and Livadia), at least one of the grandsons of Dobrotă had served John Hunyadi in his quality of Greek rite priest. Other priests mentioned for the locality of Peşteana are Michael (1479-1486) alongside Theodore (*Thodorpap*) for 1492-1499, as well as Nicholas in 1505 and Peter in 1508.[500] In 1496, a dispute of the Cânde family[501] with the Romanian nobles from Nălaţvad involved a priest, *popa* Dan (*pop Dan*) from Sălaşu de Sus.[502] Another priest in the same year is mentioned for Livadia among the neighbors of the same Cânde family (*Dominicus de Osztro, Presbyter nobilis de Livad*,[503] followed in another document from the same year by *N*

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[497] Rusu considers this to be a problematic issue since the need for the clergy who would have transmitted and supported the anti-Ottoman war ideology cannot be completely neglected. Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 648.

[498] Dl. 29515, quoted in Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 645, footnote 16.

[499] Dezső Csánki, ed., *A Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The historical geography of Hungary in the time of Hunyadi], vol. 5 (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1913) (hereafter Csánki, *A Magyarország történelmi földrajza*), 157.

[500] Csánki, *A Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, vol. 5, 217.

[501] In 1479, the sons of Stoica, the priest of the Romanians in Valea Dâljii (*Sthoyka presbiter wlahys de Walya*) addressed a complaint to the vicevoivod of Transylvania against Mihail Cânde of Râu de Mori, who had sacked their house, imprisoned and tortured their father, and took away their cattle. Magyar Országos Levéltár - Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary, Q szekció, dl. 32391, available online: http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start, (accessed November 2013).

[502] Magyar Országos Levéltár, dl. 31157, quoted in Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 651, footnote 30.

[503] Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 334, 379.

presbyter nobilis de Lywad[504]): both documents stress the fact that the priest was also a noble. In 1517, the brothers Cândea and Danciul, asked the voivode of Transylvania, John Zápolya, to help divide their properties in Şerel and Râuşor; the two were the sons of Ladislaus, the former priest of Şerel who is also mentioned as a Romanian priest.[505]

Elsewhere, in Cyprus, the Greek rite clergy also received endowments from the Lusignan nobility. The number of Greek landowners, free peasants, and Greek monasteries that continued to own land continued to be important.[506] Some of the properties described as donations may simply have been those not confiscated in the initial stages of the Latin conquest. The attitude of the Lusignan secular power was to protect the Greek Church from the demands of the Latin one (even though it belonged to the latter), while at the same time cooperating with the Latin Church when common interests demanded.[507] One of the articles of the 1220s agreements safeguarded any further encroachment on property belonging to the local Greek Church.

In south-western Transylvania the Greek-Slavonic rite priests were locals and were chosen from among the knezes and noble Romanian families. The Romanian clergy in Haţeg was wealthy enough to afford ordering a silver chalice covered in gold, with a Slavonic inscription saying: *This cup was made by Theodora the priest's wife and by Mary the priest's wife. Year 7004* (1496). The chalice ended up in the later Reformed church in Chendu, Mureş county.[508] A list of dowry objects from 1512, made on behalf of Ana Sărăcin from Sălaşu de

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[504] Csánki, *A Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, vol. 5, 107.

[505] *Exponitur nobis in persona nobilis Kende filii quondam Ladislai Presbyteri de Serel, quomodo ipse cum nobilibus Presbytero Valacho* […]. Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densuşianu, ed., *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], vol. 2, no. 3 (1510-1530) (Bucharest: Academia Română şi Ministerul Instrucţiunii Publice, 1892), no. 207, 268.

[506] Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Innocentii IV*, no. 74, 130-131.

[507] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 265-266.

[508] СІЖКУ ПАСЪТВѠ РИПРИВИТЄ ѲЄѠ ѠІАП ПРИВИТЄРА МАЖ ВЛТ ѠЗ̆Д. Marius Porumb, Nicolae Sabău, "Vechi inscripţii româneşti din judeţul Mureş (sec. XV-XVIII)" [Old Romanian inscriptions from the Mureş county], *Marisia* 8 (1978): 108-109, figures LXV and LXVI.

Sus mentions priestly vestments worked with golden thread and decorated in silver and three small silver tabernacles covered with gold.[509]

The nobility of Haţeg was continuously interested in the Church and saw some of its members being ordained as clergymen. The priestly office became hereditary, and there are examples of this (from father to son at least) for localities such as Râu Bărbat, Peşteana or Ruşor.[510] These are practices that are well known in other places in Transylvania such as Şcheii Braşovului, Feleacu, and Hunedoara and led to the creation of a strong bond between ecclesiastical and noble privileges. This is an example of how the knezes later overtook all social positions that were normative for the life of the villages in their domains, positions that both justified and strengthened their authority. On one side, the knezes saw their authority and control over the communities they were ruling enhanced; on the other, due to their ties with the privileged nobility, the Romanian priests found it easier to make compromises.[511] While in 1360, the priests still seemed to form a social category apart from the nobles and the commoners (though some of them can still be identified as members of the knezes families), the documents of the fifteenth century define their double quality of both nobles and clergy,[512] as well as establish the category of noble priest: such as Vâlcul of Ruşor (1435), Ladislaus, Simeon and Dobrotă of Râu Bărbat (1462-1494), Michael, Theodore and John of Peşteana (1479-1496), Dan of Sălaşu de Sus (1496-1508), or Stanciu of Valea Dâljii.[513]

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[509] *Unum ornamentum dictum keczele cum auro filato et argento ornatum;* […] *reliquiarum tecas duas argenteas inauratas, tertiam habentem in lapide serpentino more greco sculptas certas imagines inclusam et circumdatam auro.* Miklós Barabás, "Megyericsei János kolozsi föesperes" [János Megyericsei archdeacon of Cluj], *Erdély Múzeum* 24, no. 1 (1907): 129-130; Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 144.

[510] Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 142.

[511] Ibidem, 142-143.

[512] *Koztha, nec non Sthanchul, et Volkul sacerdos, alias Keneziis de Ryusor Districtus Hatzag.* Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 152, 207; Adrian Andrei Rusu, Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Drăgan, ed., *Izvoare privind Evul Mediu Românesc. Ţara Haţegului în secolul al XV-lea (1402-1473)* [Historical sources regarding the Romanian Middle Ages. The district of Haţeg in the fifteenth century (1402-1473)] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1989) (hereafter *Izvoare privind Evul Mediu Românesc*), no. 71, 88.

[513] Rusu, *Ctitori şi biserici*, 65.

Protopapades

Since the Greek rite bishops were a rarity in transitional regions such as Transylvania, or completely disappeared on Crete, one should ask who was in charge of the Greek rite clergy appearing in the documents of this period. In Haţeg, there was a regional Church made up of the totality of the parishes, which had as leader a priest with the rank of archdeacon.[514] Romanian historiography has usually equaled the archdeacon to the more familiar Orthodox rank of *protopapas*.[515] Such a synonymy is terminologically problematic since it alludes to a confessional division between the two communities of rite before the sixteenth century. This division might mirror the Latins' misinterpretation of the Greeks' official Church titles based on an improper knowledge of what they actually rendered. It could also reflect the misuse of ranks among the Greek-Slavonic clergy since we find in the documents concerning the transitional regions several titles seemingly denoting the same position such as: *archydiaconus*, and *protopapas*, but also *archipresbyter*.[516]

[514] Several priests and numerous churches used by the Romanians existed in Haţeg in the fourteenth century. Their number is in deep contrast with what was happening in Wallachia at the same time, where (as well as in Moldavia for that matter) a similar network of priests and parishes was set up only during the first half of the sixteenth century by the prince Radu the Great and his bishops. The model for the situation in Haţeg should then be found among other local structures, believes Rusu, such as the Latin one. This can be a plausible explanation, since the imitation of church organization and administration is traceable in other regions and has not directly lead to dogmatic compromise. Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 133. Also Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 644-653. For the role of the archdeacon in the Latin rite bishopric of Alba Iulia see Adinel Dincă, "Vicarii generali ai episcopatului Transilvaniei în secolul al XIV-lea. Consideraţii generale" [The general vicars of the bishopric of Transylvania in the fourteenth century. General remarks], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Bariţiu" din Cluj-Napoca* 47 (2008): 29-42, especially 36-39; Péter Erdö, "Tribunali ecclesiastici medievali (XIII-XVI secolo) nell'Europa Centro-Orientale," *Annuario dell'Academia d'Ungheria* (1997): 45; Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises*, 145-143.

[515] Hans-Georg Beck, "Die Bischofsämter," *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, 100; Petru Maior, *Protopapadichia*, ed. Ioan Chindriş (Cluj-Napoca: Editura "Clusium," 1997 (reprint of the 1865-66 edition of the 1795 original)); Silviu Dragomir, "Cei mai vechi protopopi români" [The earliest Romanian *protopapades*], *Revista Teologică* 5, no. 19-20 (1911): 531-534; Ana Dumitran, "Instituţia protopopiatului în biserica românească din Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea" [The institution of the *protopapas* in the Romanian church in Transylvania in the seventeenth century], *Apulum* 32 (1995): 315-325; Ana Dumitran, "Titlul de vlădică şi semnificaţiile sale în lumea românească medievală" [The title of *vladica* and its meaning in the medieval Romanian world], *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1, no. 1-2 (1997): 63-68; Ana Dumitran, "Des considerations concernant les titres employés par les prélats de l'Église rooumaine de Transylvanie jusqu'en 1700," in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998), 34-54.

[516] For a discussion of the interchangeable use of the terms *papas* and *presbyter* (sometimes thought to refer to Greek rite clergymen, and respectively Latin rite clergymen) as well as examples from the sources see McKee,

A 1373 papal letter[517] points out that the *archipresbyter* was essentially an office reserved for clergy in rural areas, with limited or no episcopal presence. Enrico Morini calls such an ecclesiastical structure a missionary one, and compares it to the similar one discovered in the ninth century by Cyril and Methodius among the Central European Slavs who were ecclesiastically governed by Frankish bishops but through their archpriests.[518] The *protopapades* in the areas inhabited by the Romanians may thus be official representatives of faraway episcopal seats (though there is not much documentary evidence to support this), and were chosen from among the members of the local Greek-Slavonic rite clergy. Even more, their existence and jurisdictional role are testimonies to the lack of well-organized monastic communities, as was partially the case in southern Italy and then in Crete.[519]

The first archdeacons in the Haţeg region were mentioned in documents from 1360[520] and 1411 (the documents were issued by the assembly of the Romanians in the district, probably under the patronage of the voievodes of Transylvania). The fact that the names and positions of those who took part in the Romanian provincial assembly of 1360 reached us, proves that the priests or at least their participation were normal factors in the process of

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Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete, 112-113. *Item volo et ordino quod presbyter Theodhorus, papas Georgius et papas Andreas sint in mea sepultura, quibus dimitto cuilibet ipsorum yperperum unum.* Sally McKee, ed., *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete 1312-1420*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998) (hereafter McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete*), 617.

[517] *Dilecto filio Nicolao de Petraka de Stana archipresbytero archipresbyteratus ruralis Terrae Martinae, Tarentin, dioecesis, salutem etc.* Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 70, 128-129. Tăutu believes that the office of *archipresbyteratus* is the same with the office of the *protopapas*, and that it denotes a member of the Greek rite clergy. For the office of *protopapas* in southern Ialy see Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni," 69, footnote 122; Roger II removed the Greek rite communities from the jurisdiction of the Latin rite bishop of Reggio and placed them under his authority; the only condition was that the Greeks chose their own *protopapas* who, afterwards, had to be confirmed by the Norman count. For the office of *protopapas* and *archipresbyter Graecorum* in Latin Romania and its connection with Sicily and southern Italy see Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 45-47; Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 175.

[518] Enrico Morini, *La chiesa ortodossa: storia, disciplina, culto* (Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 1996), 233-234 in Turcuş, *Sfântul Scaun şi românii*, 151, footnote 1. For the double patronage of the mission to the Slavs see Christian Hannick, "Les enjeux de Constantinople et de Rome dans la conversion des Slaves méridionaux et orientaux," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI): 24-30 aprile 2003*, vol. 1 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004), 171-198.

[519] Turcuş, *Sfântul Scaun şi românii*, 151, footnote 1.

[520] For the context and interpretation of the document from 1360 please see Holban, *Din cronica relaţiilor româno-ungare*, 238-240.

decision making that regarded the entire community.[521] In 1360, the office of archdeacon was occupied by Peter of Ostrov who was also member of the county's court in the town of Haţeg together with five other priests.[522]

In 1411, the *archdeacon* Dobrotă from Râu Bărbat is named together with his sons Vlad, Iaroslav, Costea, Gabriel and Lazăr, and other relatives asking for the right of ownership over a part of the lands around Râu Bărbat and Hobiţa.[523] It seems that their request was not successful as the assembly supported the social ambitions of another member of the community, Barbu the son of Lel. Dobrotă enjoyed thus a modest, but not at all humble social situation. He was the priest of the Romanians (*presbiter volachorum*), their archdeacon (*archydiaconus*) and permanent priest of the church of Saint Nicholas in Râu Bărbat (*plebanus perpetuus ecclesie sancti Nicolai de Barbaduizy*). His endowment, which he was to hold until his death, together with his office of archdeacon were privileges conferred to him by an authority unknown to us.[524]

One possible interpretation here might be that the same provincial assembly of privileged Romanians could have had administrative if not jurisdictional competences over the local church. As the document of 1360 also talked about an archdeacon, Peter of Ostrov, one could conclude that at least at this institutional level, there was a continuity of office, without that office being necessarily linked to a specific locality. The archdeacon did not have a permanent seat somewhere in the region, rather the office was passed from one person to the

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[521] Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 645. The process is paralleled in Crete as well, where the Greek priests often appear in the documents and were treated as representatives of their communities, or where they had their parishes; see Gasparis, "The period of Venetian Rule on Crete," 243.

[522] […] *Petrus, archidiaconus de Oztro, Zampa de Clapatiua, Balk de Possana, Dalk de Domsus, Dragomyr de Tusta* […]. Ştefan Pascu et al., ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica C (Transilvania)*, vol. 11 (1356-1360) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981) (hereafter DRH C), no. 482, 507.

[523] [...] *Tunc boni viri dabrota presbiter volachorum et Archydiaconus eorundem plebanus perpetuus ecclesie sancti Nicolai de Burbaduizy, ac vladul et Jarizlo necnon Cozta ac Gauirel et lazar filius eiusdem, ac Neg et Jarizlaus fily Jarizlai auunculi eiusdem predicti presbiteri, et petrus vanchia et demetrius fily Zeri fily sororis annotati presbiteri* [...], in Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete, "Vázlatok az oláh-kenézi intézmény története- és ismertetésé-hez" [Sketches for the history and exposition of the office of Wallachian knez], *A Hunyadmegyei történelmi és régészeti társulat*, vol. 2 (1884): 25. *Izvoare privind Evul Mediu Românesc*, no. 30, 61.

[524] Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 645.

other, depending on their authority and maybe age. The ecclesiastic setup replicated thus the political and military organization of the land, as at the start of the voievodeship, the leadership was passed from one family to the other following the change in political fortune and authority.[525]

While the archdeacons were obviously in charge of the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy in the south-west of Transylvania, a further question is under whose jurisdiction were they placed? With the discontinuous presence of the Greek-Slavonic hierarchy in the region, the archdeacons or *protopapades* as they are called in late fifteenth century documents might have carried episcopal duties and substituted for the bishops, at least for certain periods. Another solution comes from Crete. Here no Greek rite bishoprics (such as in Cyprus) were created. The local Greek clergy was dependent on the Latin bishopric, but at the same time kept being attached to the memory of the Byzantine empire.[526] The Greeks were left to keep their liturgical usages and their priests, while the number of the clergy was controlled and religious influences from the outside were rigidly excluded.[527]

Undoubtedly, the leaders of the local Greek priests, such as the *protopapas* of Crete and the one of Negroponte, were nominated by the Greek rite clergy in accord with the Latin archbishop, with the opinion of the civil authorities being always decisive when a compromise could not be achieved.[528] After the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople relocated to Negroponte, with the fall of the city to the Byzantines in 1261, the local Greek clergy continued to enjoy all of their liturgical liberty.[529] In 1383, the Greek Church on Negroponte was declared united

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[525] Radu Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Ţara Haţegului* [At the beginning of the Romanian middle ages. The District of Haţeg] (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1988) (hereafter Popa, *Ţara Haţegului*), 247.

[526] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 289.

[527] Freddy Thiriet, "La situation religieuse en Crète au début du XVe siècle," *Byzantion* 36 (1966): 204-5.

[528] Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) (hereafter O'Connell, *Men of Empire*), 104.

[529] Eleftherios Despotakis, "Il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli e le conflittualità ecclesiastiche a Negroponte (15° sec.)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 71 (2013): 187.

with the Roman Church, having to pay 50 *hyperpyra* on an annual basis to the Latin bishop there.[530] Also in 1383, a certain Jani Paraschi, procurator in the name of the pope, and the *protopapas* Georges Agiomaniti, on behalf of all the Greek priests in Negroponte, addressed a petition to the Senate asking that the Venetian officials stop their molestations, and that they would be allowed the freedom of cult. The Senate ordered the Baillie to protect them: *Quod scribatur regimini Nigropontis quod non permittat clericos grecos nostre insule molestari contra debitum rationis, quod habeat eos recommissos*.[531]

The *protopapas* of Candia, as first-priest in the capital, occupied the highest position permitted to the Greek Church on Crete by the *Serenissima* after the expulsion of the Greek hierarchy. Naturally, the *protopapas* had to be a *persona grata* with the Venetian authorities.[532] Venice accepted and imposed acceptance on the government of Crete that the Latin archbishop of Candia possessed certain villages and other properties and that 130 *papades* were under his jurisdiction. All other *papades*, the great majority, were under civilian administration. On 13 March 1324, the regimen yielded that the latter *papades* were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, but only to the same degree as lay folk. The head of the non-archiepiscopal *papades* was a *protopapas* (archpriest, and not a bishop), assisted by a *protopsaltes*.[533]

Several times the Senate enforced that the *protopapas* of Crete was elected by the Greek rite priests, and had to obtain the approval of the regime, such as in 1379, when a so-called *pseudo-protopapas*, George Rampani, together with his son, who posed as the

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[530] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 289; for an overview of the Venetian presence on Negroponte see Silvano Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana* (Venice: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 2007).

[531] Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 663, 161.

[532] Peter Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete," Paper at the *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines.* (Athens, 1976) (hereafter Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins"), 19.

[533] Georg Hofmann S.J., "Wichtige Kanzleiurkunden des lateinischen Erzbischofs von Kreta für die ihm untergebene griechische Geistlichkeit. 1497-1509," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, vol. 18 (1952): 281-282 and 292.

protopsaltes, caused troubles because of their preaching.[534] Rampani figures prominently in several letters written in July 1368 by Pope Urban V to Francis, the former archbishop of Candia, by then transferred to the Patriarchate of Grado.[535] Francis had made Rampani a *protopapas* on account of his conversion to the Roman Church. Impressed by Rampani's visit to the curia, the pope asked the patriarch of Grado to do all in his power to restrain any Greek priests from acting without due permission from Rampani if he was found suitable to be *protopapas*. He also instructed the patriarch to substitute with Latin priests the Greek canons who had refused to enter a Latin church at the weekly public procession of the icon of Our Lady Mesopanditissa on the streets of Candia.[536] Instances of the various clergy processing together around the city at times of crisis are attested for Jerusalem as well in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries.[537]

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[534] On 4 July 1379, the duke and counsellors of Crete were asked to watch them more closely as such preaching can only be dangerous for the Venetian domination. Even though the Greeks had the right to choose one of them as leader of their church this should not be done without the approval of the *Regimen* of Crete, which had to undertake an inquiry regarding these two individuals and make sure that disorder and schism are avoided: *Facta est nobis conscientia per personas fidedignas quod est de pridie in insula nostra Crete quidam papa Rampani, qui se tenet protopapa Grecorum Crete, et quidam eius filius prosalti, qui ponunt maximas scismas et errorem inter Grecos insule Crete, quod est valde periculosum tempore moderno et posset esse causa magni periculi […] sed quod remaneat in libertate omnium Grecorum, cum beneplacito semper et autorictate vestra vel regiminis Crete eligendi et constituendi unum Grecum, iuxta ritum et consuetudinem eorum, et extrahere anconam in qua est picta ymago Beate Marie Virginis, die qua sit processio.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 293, 123-124; Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 599, 147-148.

[535] Tăutu, *Acta Urbani V*, no. 149-152, 154, 247-255.

[536] Aspasia Papadaki, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta durante il dominio veneziano* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2005) (hereafter Papadaki, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche*); see the chapter on the "Processione dell'icona della Madonna Mesopanditissa," 145-162. The procession was taking place every Tuesday morning, and was started most probably after the defeat of the Greek rebellion of 1261-1265 and lasted until the Ottoman conquest of the seventeenth century. The icon was housed in a chapel of the Saint Titus cathedral in Candia. The icon was taken from the church of Saint Titus to the central square of the town, where the *laudo* for Venice was chanted, and the name of the pope and of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople were solemnly mentioned. The icon was afterwards carried to the Greek churches in the town and the surrounding villages, where alms from the faithful were collected. The procession finished at the Saint Titus cathedral, where during the entry of the icon a "laudo" for the Latin Archbishop of Candia was sung. Several documents from the late fifteenth and sixteenth century shed light on the way the alms were divided between the *protopapas*, the archbishop and the rest of the clergy, as well as on the efforts of the Venetian authorities to discipline the Greek clergy in Candia to attend the procession. Also Maria Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 3 (1995): 479-496, especially 486-488.

[537] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 119.

The pope asked the patriarch to make sure that Rampani, a "true Catholic priest" (*verus catholicus est presbyter*)[538] was, after a careful examination, reinstated as *protopapas* and received his salary, though he could technically not perform any religious functions since the papacy had imposed an excommunication on all those participating in the divine services of the Greeks.[539] The papal letters confusingly show that, after his conversion, Rampani was a "Catholic" priest, he was married, he had also acquired several canonries for himself and his sons, and followed the Greek Catholic rite, though he probably could not celebrate in Latin as he knew only Greek, and no Greek translation of the Latin mass existed at that moment. Together with other priests who had pledged their support to the Roman Church he was taking part in the weekly procession of the icon of Our Lady.[540]

Another case that reflects the interest of the Latin hierarchy in the choice of the *protopapades* surfaced in 1394. The Latin archbishop of Candia, Marco Giustinian, complained that the *protopapas* Andronic Cortazi had been elected without the archbishop being consulted beforehand. The rights of the secular authority were brought to the attention of the archbishop who had to abide with the agreed order of things.[541] The local Greek rite clergy had to be protected from feeling dominated by the Latin clergy, with the state trying to balance the problem of confessional opposition. After a controversy as to who should appoint

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[538] Tăutu, *Acta Urbani V*, no. 154, 255.

[539] Tăutu, *Acta Urbani V*, no. 152, 252.

[540] Joseph Gill, "Pope Urban V and the Greeks of Crete," *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204-1453)* (London: Variorum, 1979) (hereafter Gill, "Pope Urban V and the Greeks of Crete"), article VIII, 468.

[541] (No. 363; 13 April 1394) The Archbishop asked that previous documents on this issue should be consulted. Pietro Mocenigo, the duke of Crete, claimed that Cortazi did not have to be confirmed by the Latin archbishop; the archbishop has to observe the regulations of the Venetian civil establishment: *Domino archiepiscopo, Literas reverende paternitatis vestre recepimus continens in effectu quod vigore literarum nostrarum alias destinatarum regimini nostro Crete, consiliarii nostri Crete absque conscientia et voluntate nobili viri ser Andree Dandullo, tunc duche Crete, instituerunt quosdam in protopapam et protosaltum contra Deum, iusticiam et omnem equitatem, quod electio et institutio dictorum protopapi et protosalti spectant et pertinent iurisdictioni vestre, et cetera, et in conclusione quod dignemur mandare regimini nostro Crete quod restituat vois iura vestra et dicte ecclesie Cretensis.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 363, p. 146-147; Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 848, 201; see also no. 862 (11 August 1394), 204. On 12 October 1395, the *Regimen* of Crete was mandated to discipline the Latin archbishop Marco Giustinian who had described the island as his and the church's own property (*nostra civitas, nostra provincia*). Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 889, 209.

the *protopapades*, by a decision of 8 June 1402, the *Signoria* asserted its right to carry on with the nomination, while the nominee was never to be drawn from among the 130 archiepiscopal *papades*.[542]

The local Church was, thus, relatively free regarding the Roman authorities, but dependent on the secular power which guaranteed all the goods of the Church. The attitude of the latter towards the Roman see could not but please the local priests. There were good signs of *bon voisinage* and of tolerance, as Venice protected the Eastern religious order, even when not keeping in line with the policy of the Holy See.[543] The Venetian magistrates veiled that the autonomy of the local Greek Church was respected. By the end of the fourteenth century Venice tended to decrease the authority rights of the Roman Church. Long struggles between the archbishop of Candia and the regime of Crete were not uncommon. The dispute regarding which side had the rights over the churches, monasteries, and hospitals of the dioceses of Candia and Saint Myron required three arbitrations, in 1266, 1321, 1382, until being finally settled.[544] The Venetian state reduced the rapports between the Latin and Greek Churches to the difference of rite. Not much interest was shown in the theological questions; the obedience to the pope, asked by the Latins from the Greek bishops and clergy, was not overvalued. [545]

Though such clear data regarding the organization and attributes of the Greek rite *protopapades* (archdeacons) are lacking for Transylvania, at least for the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century, the way in which the Cretan clergy reacted to the rarefied but evident presence of the Latin hierarchy can only be an example that in the face of limited choice, compromise was a solution. The acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Latin rite

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[542] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 407, 163; Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, vol. 2 (Paris: Mouton&Co La Haye, 1959) (hereafter Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 2), no. 1060, 29.
[543] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 290.
[544] Ibidem, 285.
[545] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 11, 20.

hierarchy was unavoidable, and the local communities of rite were subordinated to it in a looser or tighter way, depending on the administrative tools and on the interest of the Latin rulers.[546]

Perhaps the best example comes from the region of Bihor, west of Transylvania proper. In the aftermath of the Ferrara-Florence council the improving climate of protection against abuses must have led or at least influenced the appearance or legitimization of yet another archdeaconate, this time for the Romanians of the domains of the Latin bishops of Oradea.[547] The juridical status of the Romanian priests on the domains belonging to the Latin bishopric and to the chapter house of Oradea changed by the middle of the fifteenth century. The knezes and the voievodes, as well as the commoners were allowed to choose their priests, and in 1442 the Latin bishops exempted the Greek-Slavonic clergy from any form of taxation or other feudal obligations they had previously been subjected to.[548] Later on, they were exempted from paying the *quinquagesima*, but had to give some belts, a knapsack and a saddle girth.[549] Other priests further south of Bihor, on the domain of the castle of Şiria, had to give an ox to the castle every third year in case they had a church (*tenens ecclesiam*) where to perform the rituals and sacraments.[550] This decision put the Greek-Slavonic rite priests in the

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[546] In 1217, Honorius III wrote a letter to the Latin rite bishop of Oradea after the latter had been acused of simony by a local *archipresbyter* (most probably of Greek-Slavonic rite), *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 16, 34.

[547] Liviu Borcea, "Obştea sătească din Bihor, voievozii şi cnezii ei în secolele XIII-XVII," *Crisia* 12 (1982): 144-145.

[548] Vince Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 2 (Oradea: Imprimeria de Vest, 2000 (reprint of the 1883-1884 edition)) (hereafter Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 2), 300; Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 160.

[549] *Valachorum quoque presbiteri – idest Popae – a solutione Quinquagesimae liberi sint, ita tamen ut connumeratori – idest Exactori Quinquagesimarum – unam palmam coreorum, unam manticam videlicet Izsák - nunc szöráéltalvetö – et unum heueder dare debeant.* Magyar Országos Levéltár, Mohács elötti gyüjtemény, Q szekció, dl. 37032. quoted in Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 160, footnote 478; also Hurmuzaki, vol. 2/4 (1531-1552), no. 257, 423.

[550] *Omnis olah pap tenens ecclesiam omni tertio anno tenetur dare ad castrum bouem vnum triennium*. See David Prodan, "Domeniul cetăţii Şiria la 1525" [The Domain of the Şiria Castel in 1525], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj* 3 (1960): 45, 101.

same tax category as the knezes, but without the clergy receiving any material advantages to surpass the latter income-wise.

With the Romanians appealing more often to the local courts for solving their disputes, the Latin bishopric of Oradea intervened at the middle of the fifteenth century. The alleged reason for this reform of the Romanians' juridical customs was motivated by the desire of the bishop to put in proper order the unclear and bad habits of the locals.[551] In 1442, John Vitéz (c. 1408-1472), future bishop of Oradea and archbishop of Esztergom, assigned a tribunal made up of twelve judges under the presidency of a voievode or vice-voievode to deal with all the cases regarding the Romanians in the district of Beiuş.[552] In case of an appeal, this had to be made directly to the bishop's court in Oradea and not, as before, to the castellan of Beiuş. Borcea suggests this to have been caused only by the desire of the bishop to have a direct control on the revenues and fines that could be obtained through the juridical process,[553] but at a closer look one sees that such a change was happening precisely after the Ferrara-Florence council, and it may be interpreted as part of the post-Florentine policies of integration and accommodation of the Greek rite communities.

Two parallel trial systems for the Greek-Slavonic rite communities of Bihor were thus in place at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Both the clergy and laity were assigned new institutions, while older institutions received new authority and juridical power over the communities or professional groups they represented. The Romanians in the district were thus put on a juridical equal footing with the Latin rite communities, and placed directly under the surveillance of the Latin bishop. The same process happened in connection to the Greek-

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[551] *Volachorum malas et confusas dispositiones ac incertas consvetudines continue reformare et ad bonum statum, atque ordinem reducere simul et deducere cordialiter optavimus.* Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 2, 300, footnote 4.

[552] *Primo inter ipsos Walachos praelibatae provinciae constituantur ex keneziis duodecim iurati kenezii, qui una cum Vaida vel vice vaida in loco sedis iudiciariae omnium litigantium causas audiant, iudicent, declarent et fine debito diffiniant, terminent et concludant.* Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 2, 301, footnote 4. For the activity of this bishop see Kubinyi, *Főpapok*, 80-86.

[553] Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 162-163.

Slavonic rite priests who were placed under the jurisdiction of an archdeacon, himself directly subordinated to the bishop of Oradea. In 1503, Bishop George Szatmári re-confirmed the existence of such an archdeaconate for the Romanian clergy in the area. The archdeaconate was situated in Seghiște and the titular was a certain priest named Dan (*presbyter valachalis de Segesfalva*).[554] The document asked the local authorities to respect the rights of the Romanian priests in the district of Beiuş, as the archdeacon and his priests were exempted from any payment or taxation. The archdeaconate and the tribunal of the Romanians were submitted to the direct authority of the Latin bishop of Oradea at the same time being removed from the authority of the castellan of Beiuş (but also from that of the local knezes and voievodes). The latter became responsible only for the Latin rite villages and towns. The archdeacon was supposed to judge any cause involving the Romanian priests, while the Latin bishop of Oradea had the power to deal with him in case of juridical matters. Appeals against the *protopapas* were to be judged by the Latin bishop or his adjunct.[555] The archdeaconate appears again in the documents in 1538, when it was reconfirmed by George Martinuzzi at the request of the priest John, and then in 1554 in the time of Matthias Zabardy, the last Latin

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[554] *Conquestus est nobis Discretus Dan, Presbyter Valachalis de Segesfalva, Archidiaconus Presbyterorum nostrorum Valachalium de pertinentiis Belényes, quomodo vos eundem et suos Presbyteros, sibi subiectos diversis tribulationibus et birsagiis, ac aliis solutionibus et gravaminibus impediretis et vexaretis, atque contra iura et libertatem Sacerdotii ipsorumbirsagia et onera iudicialia super ipsum et Presbyteros sibi subditos extorquere velletis; et quia nos exlitteris antecessorum nostrorum intelleximus, quod dictus Archidiaconus, et praefati Presbyteri Valachales fuerunt exempti ab omni solutione birsagiorum, et etiam ab omni potestate Capellanorum, Vajvodarum et aliorum officialium quorumcunque.* Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 1, 349, footnote 1. See also Endre Veress, ed., *Acta et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia*, Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum, vol. 4 (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R. T. Nyomása, 1914), no. 54, 66-67; Liviu Borcea, "Un manuscris inedit cu privire la istoria bisericii din Seghiște-Bihor" [An unpublished manuscript regarding the history of the church in Seghiște-Bihor], *Orizonturi Teologice* 2, no. 3 (2001): 19-23.

[555] *Si vero Presbyteri ... ales in aliquo delinquerit et aliqui quidpiam agere ... extunc talis ... Presbyteros coram Archidiacono ipsorum, qui iudicium et iustitiam ipsi querulanti de Presbyteris Valachalibus ... strabit. Post haec, si qua partium iudicio Archidiaconi contenta non fuerit, ad nos, aut vice-gerentem nostrum, seu personam nostram representantem pro tempore scilicet hic constitutos provocet et apellet, cui nos aut dicti vicegerentes nostri omnimodam iustitiam impertiri faciant.* Bunyitay, *A Váradi Püspökség Története*, vol. 1, 349-350, footnote 1.

bishop of Oradea before the Reformation swept that Catholic bishopric away.[556] Besides being probably the first center of education for Romanians in the area, Seghişte would continue being an important cultural center during the next century.[557]

By the early sixteenth century the office of the archdeacon appears in the documents under the label of *protopapas*. Two letters from 1506[558] and 1526[559] bring testimony about Peter, the priest of *Zoczath*, who was at the same time the *protopapas* of the priests of the Romanians in the district of Hunedoara. No novelty so far; what differs from earlier documents is the mentioning of the authority who promoted and confirmed Peter in his function: in both cases we are dealing with lay aristocrats (Beatrice of Frangepan, the wife of John Corvinus in the first instance and then George, margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Beatrice's second husband) of Latin rite. This is further evidence regarding the status of the local hierarchy which was semi-autonomous (in regards to its dependence on a Greek rite bishopric), familiar with the local Latin rite authorities and important enough for its position to be validated by these authorities.

Nor was this the only case when the Latin rite authorities intervened in the nomination of the *protopapas*. On Crete this also became a tool in the hands of the Venetian authorities which they tried to encourage Greek priests who seemed to be favorable to the Ferrara-

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[556] David P. Daniel, "Calvinism in Hungary: the theological and ecclesiastical transition to the Reformed faith," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 217-218.

[557] Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 166.

[558] *Nos Beatrix de Frangepan* […] *attentis et consideratis vn ... virtute, morum honestate ac secundum morem Rascianorum litteralis sciencie sufficienti pericia aliisque probitatum meritis discreti Petri praesbyteri Walahorum de Zoc[zat]h, quibus ipse apud nos nonnullorum fidelium nostrorum fidedigno testimonio meruit commendari, eundem, veluti personam idoneam et benemeritam, ad officium prothopapatus ecclesiae Wolahorum oppido nostro Hwnyad vocato fundate, ad praesens de iure et de facto vacantis, simul cum domo, etc., prothopapatus, auctoritate nostri iuspatronatus, duximus nominandum, eligendum et confirmandum.* Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscripţii*, no. 4, 278-279.

[559] *Nos Georgius, Dei gratia marchio brandemburgensis, Slesie, Prusie, etc., fidelibus nostris Andree litterato de Senthymreh et Ioanni Bekws, castellanis castri nostri Hwnyad eorumque successoribus in tali officio constitutis, benivolenciam. Cum nos ex speciali meritorum praerogativa Petrum protopopum de Zoczath inter praesbiteros Walachorum in districtu Hwnyad in verum protopopum eligimus et constituimus rursusque auctoritate iuris patronatus nostri eumdem confirmamus et donamus.* Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscripţii*, no. 5, 279.

Florence Union.[560] On 18 September 1439, Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431-1447), gave to Fantinus Valaresso, archbishop of Candia, the apostolic mission of a *legatus a latere* for the island.[561] The Greek patriarch of Constantinople, who had also signed the Union act, informed the faithful of Candia about it in June 1440.[562] In 1452, Mark Paulopoulos, sincere propagator of the Union, was appointed *protopapas* by the secular Cretan authorities after a bitter argument that lasted several days.[563] In 1458-1459, the friar Simon of Candia, former plenipotentiary of the Byzantine emperor during the meetings with the pope in 1434-1435, was charged to publish in Crete the apostolic constitution which urged the Greek clergy to add the *Filioque* to the Creed.[564] After 1452, Isidore of Kiev, Latin patriarch of Constantinople, multiplied his efforts to support the Uniate propaganda in Negroponte and Crete.[565] Cardinal Bessarion, Latin patriarch of Constantinople from 1463, founded in Crete a religious house, which had to train 16 Catholic priests of Greek rite, able to teach the Roman doctrines and among whom the *protopapas* would be chosen.[566] He also instituted an annual financial contribution for the support of Greek priests that accepted the Florentine Union, a financial support which was supposed to be continued by the Republic: *Cardinalis Nicenus favebat certam annuam contributionem nonnullis presbiteris Grecis catholicis*.[567] On 30 March 1461, the Venetian

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[560] R. J. Loenertz, "Manuel Calecas, sa vie et ses oeuvres d'après ses lettres et ses apologies inédites," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 17 (1947): 195-207. Already in c. 1397, Demetrios Kydones died in Crete after proclaiming his attachment to the Union of the Churches. Judith R. Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones. A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 160-161.

[561] Hofmann, "Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit," 95-96.

[562] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 429.

[563] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 627 and 628, 246-247.

[564] For the discussions on the *Filioque* at Florence see Michael Kunzler, "Die Florentiner Diskussion über das Filioque vom 14.3.1439 im Licht des Palamismus," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 21 (1989): 334-352; Luigi Chitarin, "La questione del Filioque al Concilio di Ferrara-Firenze, 1438-1439," *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 3 (1999): 53-99; 5 (2003): 43-89; Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 151-172.

[565] Henri Dominique Saffrey, "Pie II et les prêtres uniates en Crète au XVe siècle," *Thesaurismata* 16 (1979): 39-53.

[566] Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*, 383-384.

[567] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 676, 266.

senators discussed the situation of the Greek rite priest John Plusiadenos[568] and his twelve companions, who became "Catholics" the moment the Union was proclaimed, and who, for this reason, were molested by the other Greek rite clergy.[569] On June 27, the Senate rewarded them with land close to Chania.[570]

The fall of Constantinople and the Byzantine Morea had important repercussions on Crete and other territories dependent on Venice.[571] A great number of refugees arrived on the island. The afflux of Greeks to Crete relates to the revolts of 1452-1453. Among the condemned, following the revolts there, were also eight priests and two monks. The Council of Ten attributed to the Greek priests the start of the rebellion on 13 November 1454, stopping all ordinations for the next five years, and ordering the expulsion of schismatic priests that were not indigenous to the island. On 27 February 1458, the Council of Ten asked the duke of Crete to expel a hierodeacon who had come from Constantinople to Crete and was preaching the Greek faith and advising against the Union. Curiously enough, the same deacon was

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[568] Hofmann, "Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit," 105-111; M. Manoussakas, "Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadenos. Joseph de Méthone, 1429?-1500," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 18 (1959): 28-51.

[569] *Quod scribe possit in Romanam curiam, quemadmodum fuerit necessarium, in commendationem XII presbiterorum Grecorum Cretensium, qui obediunt Romane ecclesie et servant catholicam fidem.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 650 and 652, 255-256.

[570] *Post celebratum consilium causa uniendi ecclesiam orientalem cum sancta ecclesia Romana catholica, in universa insula nostra Cretensi, XII tamen presbyteri Greci remansserunt obedientes ecclesie Romane, qui a presbyteris Grecis maximas persecutiones patiuntur et non sinuntur ut aliqualiter ipsi XII participent in aliquo minimo emolumento ecclesiastico, et quum moriuntur fame, sit eis favendum ut conservari valeant in bona obedientia ecclesie Latine, et potius multiplicent quam diminuantur, sicuti iam visum est huic consilio, in quo captum est scribe in eorum favore in Romana curia, ut ad eorum victum provideatur, ipsique pauperes sint, nec possent sine maxima difficultate accedere et stare in Romana curia, et in districtu et territorio Canee insule Crete sit quoddam casale nostrum, nuncupatum Stillo, concessum aliquibus caloyaris et comino sancti Johannis Palmoye, subditis Teucri, quod longe melius staret in manibus dictorum XII presbyterorum catolicorum quam dictorum caloyarorum, vadit pars quod mandetur auctoritate huius consilii regimini nostro Canee et successoribus suis ut, recepto presenti nostro mandato, licentiet de dicto casali Stilli suprascriptos caloyaros et ipsum consignet suprascriptis XII presbyteris, qui obediunt Romane ecclesie, per eos cum usufructibus et redditibus suis tenendum et possidendum, quousque perseveraverint in obedientia Romane ecclesie predicte.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 651, 255-256.

[571] Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

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denounced by the *protopsaltes* Peter Gavalla - a fellow coreligionist one could say -, who went to Venice afterwards and even collected a reward.[572]

The transitional region witnessed the increased role of local leaders of the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy who were acting as intermediaries between their communities and the Latin secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Where bishops were unavailable, *protopapades* or archdeacons took over the leadership of the clergy. The existing evidence suggests that their activity in relation to the Latin rite authorities was characterized by flexibility. In my opinion, they were holding a quasi-episcopal status and were responsible for ordinations as well. It is difficult to ascertain how much of the episcopal status they usurped and whether they were exercising the episcopal function on a continuous basis. The immediate acceptance of a bishop, such as John of Caffa, in Hațeg, a region where the sources usually place the Greek-Slavonic rite archdeacons, shows that such an exercise was at best intermittent.

Ordinations

The lack of Greek rite bishops raises yet another problem: the ordination of the clergy. Already in the twelfth century, a letter of Celestine III to the archbishop of Otranto shows that, in the southern part of the Italian peninsula, Latin priests were being ordained by Greeks and Greeks by Latins, according to their own respective local rite, thus resulting in a mix of

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[572] *Quod scribatur duche, capitaneo et consiliariis Crete: sumus informati quendam ierodiaconum venisse de CPli in Cretam et ibi predicare fidem grecam et multa facere contraria catholice unioni et, inter cetera, preponit patriarcham constantinopolitanum romano pontifici in laudibus et alia multa facit que producunt scandalum et novitatem ac seditionem inter illos nostros fideles, quod, si ita est, displicet valde nostro dominio; nam, cum jusserimus papates forenses non posse venire in insula Crete sub pena, pro non scismaticando, non placet nobis quod iste ierodiaconus faciat ea que sunt prohibita papatibus. […] Quod, attentis his que relata sunt a protopsalta et etiam consiliario de cha Erizo de scandalis et novitatibus que ierodiaconus scismaticus CPnus facit in insula Crete, mandetur regimini Crete quod illum ierodiaconum debeat de insula Crete receptis presentibus licentiare de insula nostra Crete in perpetuum, sub illa pena que papalibus est definite, et quod ser Pietrus Gavalla, protopsaltis noster Crete, habeat provisionem justam et convenientem, quia in Venetiis denuntiavit multa mala facta a ierodiacono.* Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes*, vol. 2, no. 1536, 214 and 328.

the two rites. The pope ordered that such a combination should not be used again in the future.[573] The issue came up again in one of the letters of Innocent III. The pope looked at the possibility of a Greek or Latin member of the clergy under the jurisdiction of a Latin diocesan bishop being ordained by a Greek bishop according to the Greek rite. Such an ordination carried with it the disregard for the canonically set (on the Latin side) intervals of time between ecclesiastical offices and the established dates for ordination.[574] The pope indicated that if a Greek had been ordained to priesthood by a Greek bishop, without following the Latin canonical arrangements and without the permission of the Latin bishop in the diocese where he lived, he was not allowed to perform his ministry. The papal decision absolved such a priest from any guilt if his uncanonical ordination had been carried out with the permission of the local Latin bishop (acknowledging thus the validity of the Greek sacrament of ordination), who was in turn to bear the blame and responsibility for this breach of ecclesiastical discipline. A similar issue was addressed in August 1204, when, in a letter to the bishops of southern Italy, the pope referred to ordinations carried out by Greek bishops without anointing and at other times than the Ember Days (the proper days for ordination in the Latin Church).[575] Again he decreed that members of the clergy who had been ordained in this way, without the knowledge of their local Latin bishop, should be suspended from office or should have the ordination service completed by a Latin bishop (this meant adding the unction which was missing from the Greek consecration rite). The papacy tried to impose the exclusive use of Latin canon law and rite for both Greek and Latin clergy as it instructed Latin bishops to forbid ordinations of either Greek or Latin priests by a Greek rite bishop. Such an

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[573] *Quia vero, sicut dicitur, in partibus Calabriae et Latini a Graecis et Graeci a Latinis secundum alterutrius institutionis observantiam* […] *Nolumus autem de cetero commixtiones et consuetudines rituum in ordinibus observari, nec sumi ab aliis in exemplum, si cum isto duxeris misericorditer dispensandum. Acta Romanorum Pontificum a S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (+ 1198)*, no. 400, 817.

[574] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 18, 208.

[575] *Provideas tamen attente, ne clericos tuae dioecesis ab episcopis graecis ulterius ordinari permittas, et si praeter tuam licentiam ab eis se fecerint ordinari, tu eos suspendas perpetuo ab executione ordinum taliter susceptorum.* Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 61, 271.

arrangement was very much to the disadvantage of the Greek clergymen as it restricted the use of the Greek rite and canon law to dioceses under Greek rite bishops, and set the boundaries of papal toleration for the Greek rite.[576] In 1238, Gregory IX had already asked the Latin patriarch of Antioch to instruct his bishops to withdraw licenses from Greek rite priests who had not taken an oath of obedience to the Roman Church in the presence of their congregation and abjured all heresy, especially that of branding Latins as heretics for using unleavened bread during Mass.[577]

Such policies effectively prevented the development of a indigenous Church elite in the transitional regions. Lack of bishops on Crete made ordination very difficult (unless candidates were willing to accept ordination from a Latin bishop) and this led to a certain amount of irregularity. Some of the Cretans had to leave the island if they wished to be ordained by a Greek rite bishop. It was the Republic's desire that they would go to the Peloponnese, also under Venetian control, where Greek bishops were permitted, and secure their ordination there. Still, some of them preferred to go to areas under Byzantine and later Ottoman control and receive ordination there. In rare cases, a Greek bishop would arrive undetected on the island and ordain candidates in secrecy. Such a bishop was active during the pontificate of Pope Benedict XII (r. 1334-1342) who wrote to the Doge in 1335 asking that he was expelled from Crete.[578] Nevertheless, these were exceptional cases and Pope Gregory XI

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[576] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 242-243.

[577] *Cum nonnulli Graeci subditos suos in perpetuae mortis interritum, multiplicis erroris exemplo, transmittant, mandamus, quatenus omnibus episcopis ultramarinis in patriarchatu Antiocheno constitutis, ut quilibet eorum in sua dioecesi nullum sacerdotem graecum, nisi prius odedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae in praesentia suorum iuraverit subditorum et abiuraverit omnem haeresim, specialiter illam qua Latinos pro eo quod in azymis celebrant haereticos mentiuntur, celebrare aliquatenus non permittat percipere, auctoritate apostolica procuretis.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 230, 310-311.

[578] […] *quod quidam graecus schismaticus, se asserens episcopum, ad insulam Cretensem, in qua temporale dominium exercetis, per illum schismaticum qui se nominat patriarcham Constantinopolitanum transmissum* [...]. Aloysius L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Benedicti XII (1334-1342) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1958) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Benedicti XII*), no. 3, 4.

observed in 1373 that, even if the situation of the clergy was rather unsettling, the regulations concerning the bishops were duly kept.[579]

We know of Greek priests that were ordained outside Cyprus as well, an action which was also very much contested by the papacy. Greeks leaving the island for ordination, without the knowledge of their lords, could have their ordination suspended by the local Latin bishops upon return, and were therefore forced to revert to their initial state of servitude.[580] The 1223 version of the agreements goes even further adding that if a Greek serf was ordained on Cyprus by a Greek bishop, without the permission of his secular lord and the Latin diocesan bishop, the Latin bishop should suspend the right of the Greek bishop to confer orders and the person ordained was to be reduced to his initial state of servitude. The Latins were merely applying the practices of their countries of origin where, unless first freed by their secular lords, serfs were not allowed to become members of the clergy.[581]

Even if the number of persons entering Greek rite service was restricted by the feudal lords, the Greek clergy were given material incentives: Greek priests and deacons were exempted from paying the poll tax or from performing menial tasks.[582] As a small comfort after being progressively divested of income and properties by the Latins in the first decades after the conquest, the remaining Greek churches and abbeys were allowed to keep their alms, possessions and lands free and unencumbered, provided that they had been granted to them by

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[579] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 91, 176-177.

[580] *Si quis vero de villanis graecis, ignorante domino suo, extra regnum se fecerit ordinari et postea revertatur in Cyprum, episcopus dioecesanus latinus ipsum ab officio sic furtive suscepto suspendat et ad consuetum servitium domini sui redire compellat quod praesumptuose praesumpserat declinare*. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 108, 146.

[581] Schabel, "Religion," 192.

[582] *Praetera omnibus sacerdotibus, diaconibus graecis libertatem donavit, ita quod de personis suis nec dabunt chevagia nec angarias facient sicut ante facere consueverant* […]. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 108, 145.

Latin lords.[583] On Negroponte, the number of the clergy increased because of the tax exemption.[584]

The standard of education in Greek rite schools, if they existed at all, was very low, and in Cyprus Greeks would attend Latin schools if available.[585] Tăutu stated that the lack and/or poor quality in education of the Greek rite clergy are some of the reasons for the decadence of the institutions of the Greek rite Church. The feudal lords forbade the sons of cultivators and of serfs to go to schools. Institutions suffered thereby from a dearth of suitable candidates.[586]

In 1360, measures were taken by the public authorities in order to improve the recruitment of the Cretan clergy. A college of four *papades*, elected from among the most respected, was set up with the purpose of examining the candidates for priesthood. These four priests could not be chosen from among the 130 *papades* which were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Candia.[587] The college thus constituted had to examine the candidate, but could not recommend his ordination: *nisi prius habita licentia et consensus dominationis*. The candidates had to leave Crete in order to be ordained and upon return they had to present an

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[583] *Si quas autem elemosynas, possessiones et terras seu bona a tempore dominorum latinorum qui fuerunt et sunt in Cypro habuerunt et habent ecclesiae et abbatiae Graecorum ex concessione et dono dominorum latinorum, eas liberas et francas in posterum habeant et possideant libere et quiete, salvis iustitiis et consuetudinibus quas domini locorum consueverunt percipere ratione temporalium in eisdem.* Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 108, 147.

[584] Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 2, 151.

[585] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 313-317.

[586] Delorme/Tăutu, *Acta Clementis V*, 11, footnote 4.

[587] *C.F.P. in consilio rogatorum quod, cum sit necessarium et honestati consonum quod illi qui se promovere intendunt ad gradum sacerdocii, diligenter examinentur ut, cum bona et matura deliberatione et examinatione, fiant sacerdotes illi qui fuerint sufficientes et digni, observari debeat decetero talis ordo, videlicet quod per dominationem eligantur quatuor papates greci sufficientes et fide digni, qui non sint de numero CXXX clericorum grecorum subditorum jurisdictioni domini archiepiscopi cretensis; et ipsi quatuor papates penes vicarium domini archiepiscopi cretensis debeant diligenter examinare omnes et singulos illos qui se voluerint effici papates; tamen ipsi quatuor non possint comendare unum nec presentare aliquem ut fiat sacerdos, nisi prius habita licentia et consensu dominationis, sub pena yperperorum centum pro quolibet eorum et qualibet vice.* Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, vol. 1 (1160-1363) (Paris : Mouton & Co La Haye, 1966), no. 668, 247-248 and 322.

official paper attesting the place where they had received the ordination.[588] On the same day, measures were taken in order to prohibit the access on the island of monks coming from outside so that the secular authorities could control the process of ordination for the Greek rite clergy in light of the adopted regulations.[589]

In 1368, one of the letters of Urban V pointed out that, if there was a Greek Catholic bishop on Crete, then he would have to employ the modified Greek rite in all his ministrations and hence his ordinations. Thus, the priests ordained by such a bishop would follow the same rite as him. In addition, Pope Urban insisted not only that the modified Greek ritual be used in such occasions, but also that only those candidates willing to use such a modified Greek rite should be admitted to ordination. He also tried to make conversion materially attractive and help *papades* who acknowledged the authority of the Roman Church while he urged the secular authorities to protect them.[590]

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[588] The ordination of the clergy was a cumbersome process. The candidate had to leave Crete and after appearing before the Venetian authorities in Koroni or Methoni; when back in Crete, he had to present to the authorities there written proof of his undertakings while away from the island. On 23 September 1402 the castellan of Koroni informed the duke of Crete that Iohannis Varango has been ordained priest by the Greek bishop of Koroni, according to the Greek rite: *Egregii et nobiles amici karissimi. Iuxta requisitionem literarum vestrarum, nobilitates vestras informamus quod per episcopum nostrum Grecorum facta fuit nobis fide et consciencia quod ipse episcopus fecit et ordinavit Iohannem Varango presbiterum grecum iuxta eorum ritum, pro quo nobis scripsit id ut solitum denuntiari sapientie vestre. Iacobus Trevixano castellanus. Data Coroni, die 23 septembris 1402.* Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Duca di Candia. Ducali e Lettere Ricevute (1358-1360; 1401-1405)* (Venice: Comitato per la publicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1978) (hereafter Thiriet, *Duca di Candia. Ducali e Lettere Ricevute*), 11. Another document on the same topic from 16 June 1403 when the rector of Koroni and Methoni informed the duke of Crete that Manoli Patharuli has been ordained priest by the Greek bishop of Methoni, according to the Greek rite: *Egregii et nobili amici carissimi. Iuxta fidem et conscienciam nobis factam per episcopum nostrum Mothoni quod, per ipsum, Manoli Patharuli ordinatus et creatus est in officio sacerdotalis iuxta morem grecum, pro quo nobis vestris literis descripsistis, idcirco iuxta requisitionem ipsarum vestrarum, curavimus vobis intimare. Augustinus Quirinus provisor et rector Coroni et Mothoni. Data Coroni die .XVI. iunii 1403. Coroni et Mothoni.* Thiriet, *Duca di Candia. Ducali e Lettere Ricevute*, 68. Again on 24-29 July 1424 the castellan of Koroni and Methoni informs the duke of Crete that several Cretans (Johannes Clisiarcho, Giorgio Desso, Giorgio Falier, Michael Xartopoulos and Nicholas Perdichizi) had been ordained priests by the Greek bishop of Methoni (*per nostrum episcopum grecum*), according to the Greek rite. Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes*, vol. 2, no. 1272, 150. For the role of the castellan in the Venetian possessions see Monique O'Connell, "The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete," *Thesaurismata* 33 (2003): 161-177.

[589] Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 669, 248.

[590] […] *inhibeat, ne aliquis scholaris seu laicus litteratus graecus de insula supradicta insignantur decetero charactere clericali vel promoveatur decetero ad quosconque Ordines, nisi per Latinum episcopum aut Graecum catholicum, per cuius litteras de sua promotione faciat plenam fidem; et hii qui ex talibus fuerint in presbyteros ordinati, missas et alia divina officia iuxta ritum quem praefata Romana servat ecclesia debeant celebrare,*

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Material privileges such as exemption from taxation and forced labor were just some of the benefits that came with becoming a member of the clergy. In my opinion a career in the holy orders presented itself, besides its obvious religious character, as a choice for an easier life path. In case a Greek bishop was not available, then candidates must have been interested to receive the ordination from the Latin hierarchy. As already shown above, they had to promise obedience to the Roman Church. Their ordination would be carried out by a Catholic Greek bishop according to the Greek rite with its Latin modifications as put forward by the Lateran council and then repeated by several popes. As a consequence, such clergy was supposed to use the same Greek rite with modifications when ministering to their congregations.[591]

Though the letter of Urban V points out the institutional requirements for setting up a proper bishop for the Greek rite clergy, the documents offer no further indication that this actually became reality. The same is valid for the Transylvanian context. A certain type of hierarchy must have existed since the priests had to be ordained by someone, while their churches had to be consecrated by a bishop, most probably of the Greek rite. As shown above the Romanian *protopapas*/archdeacon's hierarchical subordination is unclear. Popa suggests that the *protopapas* of Hațeg must have exercised some of the functions of a bishop, especially at times when the relations with external Greek rite bishoprics[592] were made difficult or impossible, due to the circumstances. The Romanian Church in such a "țară" (Țara

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adiiciens quoque inhibitioni iam dictae, quod nullus calogerorum seu sacerdos Graecus, praefatum ritum non servans, decetero audeat confessiones audire vel populo praedicare. Tăutu, *Acta Urbani V*, no. 153, 254.

[591] Gill, "Pope Urban V and the Greeks of Crete," 466.

[592] A possible connection towards the south via Banat-Vidin-Ochrid or via the bishoprics in the Danube-Târnovo region was suggested by Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident*, 74-80. For the relations between the see of Ochrid and other Churches in the Balkans see Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, "L'archevêché autocéphale d'Ochrid: ses relations avec le patriarcat de Constantinople et les autres Églises dans les Balkans," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007): 419-436; Tit Simedrea, "Unde și când a luat ființă legenda despre atîrnarea canonică a scaunelor mitropolitane din Țara Românească și din Moldova de arhiepiscopia de Ohrida" [Where and when did the legend appear about the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Ochrid over the metropolitan sees of Wallachia and Moldavia], *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 85, no. 9-10 (1987): 975-1003.

Haţegului is rendered as the land/country of Haţeg) can also be thought of having a quasi-diocesan structure, as was the case with the ecclesial structure on the "land of the sons of Bela the knez"[593] or the father superior of the monastery in Hrushevo, Maramureş. Such an ecclesial structure was run by *protopapades* with episcopal privileges or, as shown above, by bishops residing in one of the local monastic establishments.[594]

There are documents in fifteenth century Crete that allow such an interpretation. The future priests were usually directed to the Greek rite bishops in the Venetian dependencies in the Peloponnese (Koroni and Methoni). As mentioned above, on Crete, most of the priests were directed to go to the mainland Peloponnese for ordination. Gill, who tries to depict a clear confessional line, cannot explain where the Greeks who had not joined the Roman Church were going to receive their ordination. The government of the *Serenissima* forbade them to leave the island unless they had a special leave.

But as this was not always possible, the *protopapades* or even other priests are recorded to have asked from the *Serenissima* a confirmation of their right to ordain other priests, a situation very much at odds when considering the accepted view that only a bishop can ordain other members of the clergy. A decision of the Senate in 1429 forbade any candidates from Candia, looking for ordination to priesthood, to travel either to the newly established Greek bishopric of Maïna in the Byzantine despotate of Morea, or (as it was earlier the case) to the bishop in Koroni.[595] Most probably as a reaction to this, permission was given by the Venetian authorities to local Greek rite clergy to ordain priests,[596] a highly

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[593] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 78, 300-301.
[594] Popa, *Ţara Haţegului*, 248. He also suggests that *horepiskopoi* or traveling bishops (*periodeuti*) were periodically visiting the area, though there no primary sources to suggest such a situation yet.
[595] The government of Crete was asked to take the appropriate measures that this decision is observed (the fine was set at 200 ducats). Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 557, 214; Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 2, no. 2171, 268.
[596] On 10 April 1432, the *papas* Nicoletus Mauromati, citizen of Candia, asked to be allowed to ordain priests *more Greco*, in special cases, acknolledging that this was usually done by the Greek bishops of Koroni or Methoni: *et nunc fidelis subditus noster Nicoletus Mauromati, civis et habitator Candide, qui dudum fuit et est*

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unusual situation, that nevertheless represents the practical side of having to deal with a disruptive and half institutionalized ecclesiology. If such a solution came to be sanctioned by the secular Latin authorities, one can only imagine the extent to which ordinations were carried out by other senior clergymen in regions where little information has survived. This clergy must have been facing the same problems when lacking a proper hierarchy and having to provide for the lack of priests. Very little is known about the organization and hierarchy dependence of the Orthodox Church in Maramureş as well, especially in the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, but quoting Radu Popa: "this region lies at the extreme periphery of the Orthodox world where the canons of the oriental rite have been deviational enough."[597]

Clerical celibacy

The issue of clerical celibacy represented a fundamental difference between the two Churches. While the Greek Church maintained the freedom of continuing their marriages for priests or deacons, the Latin Church had from the end of the fourth century prohibited

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clericus Grecus ac, sicut exponit, habet ius patronatus, simul cum aliquibus attinentibus suis in quadam ecclesia vocata Sancta Anna, que est in civitate Candide, et in una alia in burgo Candide, vocata Sanctus Michael, humiliter supplicaverit ut sibi licentiam concedere dignaremur quod possit assume ad sacerdotium et creari sacerdos pro celebrandis divinis in dictis duabus ecclesiis [...] quor detur licentia et libere concedatur dicto Nicoleto Mauromati, fideli nostro, sicut supplicat, quod effici et creari possit sacerdos, more Greco, sicut est in similibus casibus consuetum, cum hac speciali conditione quod non possit effici vel creari sacerdos per manus vel cum autoritate alicuius alterius, quam per manus episcopi Greci de Corono vel Mothono. Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 566, 217-218. On 10 June 1434 permission was given to two *papades* to ordain priests for a village and monastery close to Candia: *Quod concedatur viro nobili ser Marino Faletro, quondam ser Marci habitatori Candide, quod cum habeat unum suum casale vocatum de Isiago, in quo habitant LXX familie et ultra, et etiam in dicto casali sit unum monasterium in quo habitant 40 moniales, et in eo soliti errant stare due presbiteri Greci, qui mortui sunt, propter quorum mortem divina officia celebrari nequeunt, quidam Georgius Cutagioti, filius quondam prothopape Manoli Cutagioti, et quidam alius Georgius etiam Cutagioti, filius pape Michali, possint examinari in locis nostris, et recepti sufficientes ordinari papates sive presbiteri, secundum morem Grecorum pro officiando ipsam ecclesiam et in casali predicto ministrando ecclesiastica sacramenta, et mandetur regimini Crete, quod de hac causa bene se debeat informare. Et si sic esse repererit, permittat fieri quod requiritur.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 573, 221.
[597] Radu Popa, "The stone church of Cuhea and some issues concerning the 14th century history of Maramureş," in *La începuturile Evului Mediu Românesc* [At the beginning of the Romanian Middle Ages], ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, Angel Istrate (Alba Iulia: Editura Altip, 2008) (hereafter Popa, "The stone church of Cuhea"), 31.

cohabitation with spouses for bishops, priests and deacons; and from Leo I (r. 440-461) onwards for subdeacons as well.[598]

A papal letter of Innocent III from 5 September 1205 to the archbishop of Acerenza became part of canon law and addressed the issue of celibacy among the Greek clergy living in the south of Italy.[599] The canons of Anglona had elected the cantor of Tricarico, a Greek, as their bishop. His father had been a married Greek priest who, according to Greek canon law, continued his marriage after being ordained as a priest and had sons. The fact that his son was born after his ordination to priesthood made him an illegitimate child by the standards of Latin canon law. Innocent III acknowledged the custom of the Greek Church of having its clergy remaining married if the sacrament of marriage was performed before the sacrament of ordination to higher ecclesiastical positions. In his reply to the archbishop who had made an investigation into the election, the pope instructed him to confirm and ordain the new bishop-elect of Anglona, with the Latin Church approving the different approach to clerical celibacy of the Greek Church.[600] The same rule applied to the Greek clergy under Latin rule in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Latin Empire of Constantinople.[601] A century later on 31 March 1304, Pope Benedict XI allowed the prior of the Dominicans in Hungary to give a dispensation to two friars, sons of Greek rite priests, so that they could be promoted in the order.[602]

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[598] There are nevertheless sixteenth century examples for Latin priests taking concubines or even properly married in the Szekler Land and Moldavia. Cesare Alzati, *Terra Romena tra Oriente e Occidente: Chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500* (Milano, Jaca Book, 1982), 62-63.

[599] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 238.

[600] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 40, 240-1.

[601] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 91, 317-320.

[602] *Cum sicut nobis existit intimatum, nonnulli fratres tu ordinis sint filii sacerdotum latinorum, quos patres ipsorum ex matrimonio ab eis contracto ante susceptionem sacrorum ordinum, secundum ritum Grecorum, in sacerdotio genuerunt, discretioni tue, de cuius circumspectione fiduciam gerimus in domino specialem, dispensandi auctoritate nostra cum duobus ex eis defectum huiusmodi patientibus, quibus ad hoc propria merita repereris suffragari, quod eodem non obstante defectu ad aministrationes, prelaturas et officia predicti dumtaxat ordinis, citra, tamen officium provincialis prioris eiusdem ordinis, assumi licite valeant, plenam concedimus tenore presentium facultatem. Ion Ionaşcu et al., ed., Documente privind Istoria României. Veacul XIV C.*

The canonists have made many references regarding the papal prerogative of confirming and consecrating a Greek priest's son who had been elected as bishop only if it was considered inoffensive to local customs. According to Innocent IV and Hostiensis, a married Greek clergyman in higher orders was allowed to continue his marriage if his stay among Latin Christians was temporary. In order to avoid any scandal, he was either supposed to return to his Greek community as soon as possible or divorce his wife. A Latin cleric was not allowed to remain married regardless the community he served, be it Greek or Latin.[603]

In dioceses where Latin and Greek communities co-existed, the Latin clergy often took advantage of this mixed approach to ordinations. The Latins bypassed the rules of clerical celibacy set by the Latin canons by marrying after receiving lower orders from a Latin bishop, afterwards transferring to the Greek rite, and continuing their marriages when ordained to the deaconate or priesthood by Greek bishops.[604] The situation was discussed at the synod that met at Melfi on 28 March 1284, where it was decreed that married members of the clergy who could not prove that their parents were Greeks and refused to give up their marriage were not allowed to be ordained anymore to higher orders. In case this new canon was breeched, both the bishop ordaining such persons and those who had been consecrated were to be punished. Still, even as late as 1570, the Latin archbishop of Otranto complained that there were still Latin priests who had had married according to the Greek rite and living with their offspring but were barely able to read any Greek.[605]

Transilvania, vol. 1 (1301-1320) [Documents regarding the History of Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1953), no. 46, p. 38.

[603] Innocent IV Comm. ad X 1. 11. 9 s. v.: *Nolumus:* [...] *et nota, quod ordinatus a Greco et utens matrimonio contracto secundum Grecos in sacris ordinibus, si brevem moram tracturus sit apud Latinos, tolerandus est utens contracto matrimonio; si vero longam moram traheret, non esset tolerandus propter scandalum et numquam debet sibi dari ecclesia Latinorum, nisi primo continentiam promittat. Latinus autem nec apud Grecos nec apud Latinos matrimonio utetur contracto.* Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 240, footnote 112.

[604] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 238.

[605] Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," 239.

The perils of non-residency

At the parish level, the Greek rite continued to be exercised in very much the same way as before the conquest of 1204.[606] There is nevertheless evidence that in the transitional regions Latins attended the services of the Greek Church and had to make recourse to Greek priests for the rites of passage in the absence of a qualified Latin clergy because of many cases of non-residence. Such a situation contradicts a clear division between Latins and Greeks on the basis of the Church they worshipped in.[607] In Crete examples of wills, where testators with a clear Latin background or obvious non-Greek names leaving goods to Greek rite churches or clergy are not rare and they "cast doubt on the reliability, and even relevance, of religious adherence as a criterion of group membership."[608] Situations encountered by travelers to the Eastern Mediterranean such as Felix Faber, who visited Cyprus during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the 1480s and met a priest who was performing religious services for both Greek and Latin communities in their respective churches of the same village, were probably more common than the sources allow us to see.[609]

The non-residence of canons was a wide spread and persistent problem in Frankish Greece anywhere outside of Constantinople. In the mid-fourteenth century, the number of

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[606] Taft, "At the Sunset of the Empire," 55-72.

[607] Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania," 23-26.

[608] McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 124-125.

[609] *Transivimus autem in unam ecclesiam Graecorum, quae erat prope hospitium, ut in ea post orationem paululum in umbra quiesceremus. Nobis in ea sedentibus, venit clericus quidam, et latina lingua dixit nobis: quid, inquit, facitis in ecclesia graeca ? Hic prope est alia ecclesia latina de ritu vestro, in qua orare et pausare debetis. Surreximus ergo, et cum eo in ecclesiam latinam venimus. […] Didici autem, quod clericus ille erat monachus, quod tamen habitu cognoscere non potui, quia toga de schamlotta opertus erat, et fuit ambarum ecclesiarum plebanus, graecae et latinae, et per omnia se regebat secundum utrumque ritum. Nam dominicis celebrabat primo Missam in ecclesia latina, et conficiebat more occidentalium in azymo. Illo officio finite transibat ad ecclesiam graecam, et more orientalium conficiebat in fermentato. Hoc mihi plurimum displicuit, et judicavi sacerdotem illum haereticum pessimum, seducentem populum hinc et illinc. Sunt enim illi duo ritus incompatibiles in una persona, et vix compati se possunt in una civitate, propter difformitatem in multis gravibus et magnis articulis.* Felix Fabri, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Sumtibus Societatis Litterariae Stuttgardiensis, 1843), 176-177. Online edition available at http://books.google.hu/books?id=ztUWAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0 #v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed January 2014).

Latin provinces and suffragan bishoprics rose from 11 and 40 representing an increase of almost 30 per cent from the early thirteenth century figures at a time when Latin Greece was diminishing in area.[610] No Latin parochial structure developed in Greece and this reflects the failure of the Latins to colonize the countryside. By 1217 at the time of the legateship of Cardinal Colonna, the principle that Latin cathedral clergy would be sufficient to serve the needs of Latin communities seems to have been accepted and acted upon. At the same time the Church was doing very little for the training of its own clergy, and took no steps in the formal re-training of Greek clergy. In letters of Innocent III to the archbishops of France and the masters of the University of Paris, the pope asked for suitable men recommended by their life and learning to go to Greece and strengthen the Christian religion. The proposals were directed at the persuasion of Greeks rather than the pastoral needs of the Latins.[611] The legate Benedict was appointed to discuss religious issues with the Greek clergy and, to this end, he held seminaries in Constantinople, while Latinized Greeks, like the bishop John of Rodosto, were also employed.[612]

Pope Alexander IV specified that marriages between Latin and Greeks had to be celebrated in Latin churches.[613] This might have happened because the contrary was taking place, with the Greek clergy being probably more willing to marry those whom the Latin Church had refused. The confirmation of the Latin laity may have been a problem as in the West it was a prerogative reserved to bishops, but in the Greek Church it was part of the baptismal ceremony and was performed by the priests. This fundamental difference troubled the papacy: in 1336 it was noted in Rome that Latin parents on Euboea were attending Greek

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[610] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 543-4.
[611] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 4, 501.
[612] Haluščynskyj, *Acta Innocentii III*, no. 198, 432.
[613] Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Alexandri IV*, no. 46, 111-112.

churches for the confirmation (chrismation or unction) of their children due to the scarcity of Latin bishops.[614]

A document from 24 October 1418 observes that, as the Latin clergy was not any longer residing in the villages and castles of Crete, the Latin faithful there had to resort to asking the Greek clergy for religious services. This was thought to be a real danger as with Latins choosing the Greek rite the Latin faith was diminishing. The Venetian authorities asked that better payment and benefices should be provided for the chaplains so that they would move to these localities.[615] The state intervened in arranging religious festivities, both Greek and Latin. This happened especially when discipline among the clergy itself decreased.[616]

The Republic put continuous pressure on the Latin clergy to reside in the offices of which they were titular. Several documents attest to this continuous preoccupation such as in 1410 when the Latin clergy in the Levant were urged to take up residence in their parishes, bishoprics, as the ecclesiastical buildings and the local Latin rite communities were in a desolate situation,[617] or in 1417 when the rectors of Crete were instructed by the Senate to sequestrate the revenues of unoccupied ecclesiastical offices, such as the bishoprics of Agia (Chania) and of Arkadia (Rethymno).[618] The matter surfaced again in 1425.[619] Residence was

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[614] Tăutu, *Acta Benedicti XII*, no. 11, 18-19.

[615] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 491, 187. A similar situation in Cyprus, where some of the women of Frankish households attended Greet rite or other Eastern churches, Peter W. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 86.

[616] A document of 10 March 1390 notes that members of the Latin monastic orders on Crete did not wear their clerical vestments in public and commited many sins, an attitude which should not go unpunished from then on. Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 342, 138; Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 769, 185. Also in Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 22.

[617] *Cum alias captum foret in hoc consilio et provisus quod deberet dici domino archiepiscopo Cretensi et domino archiepiscopo Corphiensi et similiter omnibus aliis episcopis et prelatis partium Levantis quatenus deberent ire ad ecclesias suas et ibi facere residentiam [...] quod inducit inconvenientiam maximam, quia non faciendo residentiam sequuntur et sequi possent de rebus non honestis nec licitis, et ecclesie vadunt in desolationem, vadit pars quod omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi et alii prelati, qui habent ecclesias sue sedis sub terris et locis nostri dominii a parte maris teneantur et debeant recedere de Venetiis per totum mensem aprilis et ire ad ecclesias suas, ubi faciant residentias sicut tenentur.* Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 451, 176-177.

[618] Three people were supposed to be chosen to administer the revenues and divide them among the Latin priests in the vacant dioceses. Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 2, no. 1656, 155.

[619] The Venetian Senate notes that lack of Latin clergy and non-residence in the Levant leads to a diminishing impact of the Latin Church there. All clergy should reach their parishes by March 1426, otherwise the local

required from the Latin rite clergy, as non-residence was thought to imperil the souls of the faithful which would change the Latin rite for the Greek one. At the same time non-residence meant financial pressure on the government which had then to provide for the high clergy from its own treasury.[620] The exceptions to this request were the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the archbishop of Patras, after he rented his city to the Venetians.

The Venetian authorities tried several approaches in order to make their domination more bearable, such as winning over the Greek clergy or at least assuring their neutrality, and searching for a better relation with the local aristocracy. With the passing of time, the attitude of a number of Greeks was more favorable to the Republic.[621] Sources from the sixteenth century note with satisfaction that Greeks and Latins frequented each other's churches, which had not been the case in the past. Latin attendance at Greek churches was considered beneficial because, by showing support for Orthodoxy, the Latins could win the trust of Greeks, and thus state officials were urged to attend Greek churches as often as possible. The Latin clergy were not allowed to use their pulpits to speak against the Orthodox faith.

In one of the main areas of interest for this thesis, in the Haţeg Land, the Latin communities are traceable to the second half of the thirteenth century. The only parishes recorded at the middle of the fourteenth century were those of Haţeg, Sântămăria-Orlea and Bretea,[622] which were under the jurisdiction of the archdeaconate of Hunedoara in the bishopric of Transylvania. These communities were made up of *hospites* of modest social condition, and did not pursue missionary activities among the neighboring communities. More than that, a document from 2 December 1428 allows the supposition that due to lack of

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authorities should take care that services are still held in the vacant parishes and that the buildings are taken care off. Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 534, 204.

[620] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 18-19.

[621] *Ibidem*, 301; see also Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*, 34-43, 113-115.

[622] Ion Ionaşcu et al., ed., *Documente privind Istoria Romîniei. Veacul XIV C. Transilvania*, vol. 3 (1331-1340) [Documents regarding the History of Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1954) (hereafter DIR C, Veacul XIV, vol. 3), no. 56, 129.

Catholic clergy in the area, several parishioners invited Greek-Slavonic rite priests to baptize their offspring. This phenomenon was happening even though there was a Franciscan friary a few kilometers away in the town of Haţeg proper.[623] The opposite situation can also be encountered, but rarely appears in the sources. In 1476, still in the post-Florentine context, Sixtus IV instructed the Latin rite clergy in the Hungarian kingdom to show compassion towards their Greek rite co-religionists and allow them to be buried in the same cemeteries as the Latins, as well as hearing their confessions if their communities did not have priests. At the same time, the pope instructed the clergy that such sacramental favors were to be made using the Latin ritual.[624]

The level of the Latin mission in the Haţeg was limited; to a certain extent, the same is valid for the depth or sincerity of the local conversions, especially among those that did not leave the region. It took on a rather formal character which helps explain the lack of evidence for an established Latin Church life, but also lays the foundation for what happened during the Reformation.[625] From 1439 onwards, members of the chapter house in Alba Iulia start returning to the Haţeg area after a century when the number of their recorded visits fell below ten. A few monks or friars specialized themselves in issues related to the region, so much so that they put the customs of the place above their own.[626]

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[623] Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 646.

[624] […] *in ea parte Hungarie, que Servie est contermina, multi christiani ritu Greco baptizati inter catholicos habitant, illisque sunt permixti* […] *Quocirca vobis tenore presentium iniungimus, et apostolica auctoritate mandamus, quatenus huiusmodi christianos in vestris diocesibus constitutos non permittatis clam vel palam a predicatoribus, vel aliis quibuscumque prefata occasione vexari, sed eos benigne, mansueteque tolerantes, in vestris cimiteriis et ecclesiis, dum ad hoc fueritis requisiti, humari sepelirique permittatis, deficienteque ritus eorum sacerdote, in confessionibus audiri, absolvique facere in forma Romane ecclesie debeatis, nec sacramentum baptismatis ritu Romano, dum requisiti fueritis, degenetis, ut sic presentes et futuri ad amplectendum ritum catholicum alliciantur et incitentur.* Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis*, vol. 2 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859) (hereafter Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram*), no. 637, 454.

[625] Rusu coined a new label for the local Latin practicing communities, that of Heterodox. Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 144.

[626] Some documents were most probably written by Romanians since the scribes accomplish true performances in writing down Romanian personal names or toponyms. There must have been an important influence in the

Non residence was an important problem for the Latin rite establishment in regions such as Crete or Frankish Greece. Where the lack of the Latin clergy in parishes put in peril the survival of some communities the Latin monastic orders catered for the liturgical needs. Their impact on the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in the transitional regions is difficult to ascertain. In hindsight it seems that it was negligible. The contemplative nature of observance of the Latin monastic communities that established themselves in the countryside, which avoided pastoral duties, prevented the development of further contacts with the Greek-Slavonic rite communities. On the other hand, the mendicant communities which undertook pastoral duties were mostly active in the towns where few members of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities lived.[627]

The role of the monastic milieu. Adaptation and survival

The monastic milieu, by its virtue of being a more attentive and active participant in the preservation of ecclesial tradition and, sometimes, orthodoxy of faith and teaching was among the main factors which promoted and sustained the Greek-Slavonic communities of rite in the transitional regions. Monasteries were places where temporary congregations were created by bringing together members of the communities of rite who took religious vows. At the same time they were interfaces between the tradition of rite they were practicing, the geographical context in which they were active, and the secular and religious overlords of these regions. The case of the Holy Land is symptomatic for the convergence of several

development of Romanian language and writing that should be linked to the local communities being integrated in at least some of the structures of the Latin Church. Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 121.

[627] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 247; Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*, 120-122.

monastic traditions which, although theoretically separated by belief and practice, served Frankish, Armenian, and Syrian laity who founded churches and monasteries, priests, and monks to be conduits of divine grace irrespective of theology.[628]

In this chapter I do not aim to give an exhaustive overview of the monastic tradition of the Greek-Slavonic rite in Transylvania or any other transitional region for that matter (monastic communities or their members have already been discussed above). Instead I will discuss exemplary situations involving Greek-Slavonic rite monasteries which underline the characteristics of their survival under Latin rule. One should not expect a complete reversal or disappearance of local monastic traditions in the transitional regions. In my opinion, even if the initial reaction from some of the monastic communities in regions formerly under the rule of Greek rite landowners was to flee, many other tried and found a *modus vivendi* with the new overlords.

Behind the restrictions and loss of influence of the Greek rite secular and ecclesiastical elite there were many instances, some of them quite extraordinary, when members of the Latin secular and ecclesiastic elite continued to support Greek rite monasticism, though they were not personally members of the Greek rite communities at an official level. In southern Italy, on Cyprus and on Crete, as well as in the Hungarian kingdom there are countless such cases.[629]

The counts of Sicily but also other members of the new Franco-Norman nobility patronized Greek monasteries.[630] Roger I founded or assisted in the foundation of fourteen Greek monasteries in Sicily while six more were founded by others during his reign. In comparison, only three, maybe four, Latin foundations were attested in the same period on the

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[628] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 133, 135.
[629] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 177-179.
[630] For an overview see Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni," 55-63; Agostino Pertusi, "Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell'ambiente monacale greco dell'Italia meridionale," *Scritti sulla Calabria medievale* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, 1994), 159-173.

island (including the great abbey on Lipari and the cathedral priory of Catania).[631] These new Latin monasteries had to bring monks from the mainland, while the Greek houses existed to serve the needs of the indigenous Christians.[632]

In Sicily, the Greek abbey of the Holy Savior at Messina was founded by Roger II. In May 1131, the king decreed that this abbey should become the mother house of a congregation of subordinate abbeys, and that its head should have the title of archimandrite, being directly subjected to the throne.[633] In February 1133, eighteen houses in Sicily and four in Calabria were directly subjected to the Holy Savior abbey as cells (*metochia*), while thirteen more houses on the island and four more on the mainland were to retain their abbots under the supervision of the archimandrite.[634] The federation thus formed might have been of Benedictine inspiration or even based on an Athonite model. Further donations made the Greek rite monastery at Messina one of the wealthiest landowners in Sicily,[635] second only to the monastery of Monreale.[636] Even with Latin becoming the language of the royal chancery after 1150, there were still Greek officials sympathetic to Basilian monasteries such as

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[631] Loud, *The Latin Church*, 501.

[632] Countess Adelaide, widow of Roger I, continued his patronage of Greek houses, in particular the abbey of St. Philip of Fragelá, an ancient house refounded by Roger in 1090. The abbey of St. Bartholomew of Trigona, near Mileto was patronized by Robert, son of Rao, lord of Sinopoli. The Greek abbey of Carbone in Lucania benefited from the generosity of the lords of the Clermont (Chiaromonte) family and the Hauteville dynasty, particularly Bohemond I. Cases of Greek rite monasteries being favored by the administration: a Latin rite nunnery in Taranto was subjected to the Greek rite monastery of Carbone under abbot Nilos, in January 1126, by the same Bohemond. In 1172, the Latin bishop Richard of Anglona decided a dispute between Carbone and a Latin rite house in favor of the former. Carbone's benefactors were as much Franco-Norman as Greek, while both Greeks and Latins were buried in the monastery. Loud, *The Latin Church*, 503; Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni," 61.

[633] Becker, "La politica calabrese dei primi conti normanni," 62.

[634] Vera von Falkenhausen, "L'Archimandritato del S. Salvatore in lingua phari di Messina e il monachesimo italo-greco nel regno normanno-svevo (secoli XI-XIII)," in *Messina. Il ritorno della memoria. Catalogo della mostra Messina, Palazzo Zanca 1 marzo-28 aprile 1994* (Palermo: Novecento, 1994), 41-52.

[635] Roger II allowed the Greek rite monastery of San Salvatore in Messina to export wheat to Africa. David Abulafia, "The Crown and the Economy under Roger II and his Successors," *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean 1100-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), article I, 5.

[636] Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily. A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 58-59; Loud, *The Latin Church*, 507-508.

Eugenios the master of the *duana baronum*,[637] son of George of Antioch, or Eugenios Calì, another senior financial official who was employed in the central administration of Sicily.[638]

As mentioned above the gradual Latinization of the formerly Greek held bishoprics was not equivalent with an anti-Greek movement on the part of the new Latin prelates. There were cases when the Latin bishops even took the side of the Greek rite monasteries in legal matters. The Latin bishops of Anglona and Cassano decided in favor of the Greek monastery of Carbone in July 1144 in a dispute the monastery had with a nobleman of French descent.[639] In January 1168, William II entrusted the abbot of Carbone with authority of archimandrite over all the Greek monasteries of Lucania and the southern part of the principality of Salerno. In 1181, Carbone was subjected to the new archbishopric of Monreale which Loud thinks could have been a mark of esteem for the monastery rather than a suppressive move on the part of the Latin Church.[640] There is little to suggest that there was any conscious policy to the detriment of the Greek rite on the mainland. The situation actually shows that the coexistence of Greek and Latin Christians continued throughout the Norman period. There was a tendency for Greek abbeys to become part of the expanding congregations of the more important Latin

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[637] On the *Duana baronum* see Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), 145-155.

[638] Kings William II in 1185 or Tancred in 1191, 1192 and 1193 reconfirmed of gave further endowments to Greek houses both in Sicily and on the mainland. Further congregations of Greek houses were created. In 1168, the abbot of Carbone had been given general supervision over the Greek monasteries of Lucania and the south of the principality of Salerno, suggesting that even in a predominantly Lombard area there were still Greek houses to be found. During William II, another congregation was subject to the monastery of St Adrian, near Rossano, but the title of the archimandrite had been transferred by 1192 to the abbot of S. Maria of the Pathirion, which subsequently became the focus of Greek monasticism in northern and central Calabria. St Nicholas of Casole acquired its own congregation in the Terra d'Otranto which was sixteen strong by the early thirteenth century. At the same time twelve other Greek houses in the region had been subjected to the Benedictine abbey of S. Maria at Nardo, a fact that did not prevent them keeping the Greek observance into the fourteenth century. Another proof of no intrinsic hostility at the royal court was that between 1177 and 1181 the archbishop of Taranto, which had kept its Latin-rite clergy even under Byzantine rule, was Bail, a Greek. Loud, *The Latin Church*, 509-511.

[639] Loud, *The Latin Church*, 499-500.

[640] Ibidem, 504.

monasteries, but this did not immediately lead to the elimination of Greek observance therein.[641]

In Frankish Greece, there seems to have been no overt move against all Greek rite monks. Those of Daphni were expelled, but in other places, the monks had already fled.[642] At Rouphinianai in Bithynia the monks left after being asked to acknowledge papal supremacy.[643] The monastery of Chortaiton near Thessaloniki was restored to Greek monks in 1207 and taken under papal protection in 1213. Administratively, the hierarchy of the Latin Church had gained much experience in dealing with Greek priests and monks in southern Italy, so that Greek rite monastic communities were allowed to function, apparently under the direct oversight of the pope or his legate. Monasteries of Greek observance received the same confirmation of their possessions as the Latin ones; once taken under papal protection, they enjoyed the same rights as any other monastery of the Roman Church. In cases of complaints regarding monastic discipline, the pope ordered visitations which were sometimes undertaken by Greek bishops.

The activity of the Latin bishopric of Oradea which was founded, among others, in order to convert the *schismatics* in its area produced an important change in the life of the local Greek-Slavonic rite communities. As a consequence many monasteries were closed or taken over by the Latin rite. Such was the case of the monastery of Dionysius (*Dienusmonostora*) which before the thirteenth century belonged to the St. Theodosius the

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[641] The monastery of St. Elias at Melicuccà, in southern Calabria, was given to the Latin monastery of St. Euphemia by Robert Guiscard, as part of the original endowment of that house in 1062. The house flourished in time; in 1163 it had a Greek abbot and thirteen monks and it remained staffed by monks of the Greek rite until the fifteenth century. Some Greek houses were donated to Latin ones because they had been deserted or impoverished. In November 1086, a donation sanctioned by the Greek archbishop of the place, gave a Greek family monastery near Rossano to the Latin house of Cava Kyrozosimi. Loud, *The Latin Church*, 505-507.

[642] For Cistercians taking over deserted Greek houses see Brenda Bolton, "A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania," *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), article IX, 169-181, especially 176-177.

[643] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 168.

Cenobite monastery in Berria, Palestine.[644] Sometimes, the Greek rite was kept for a period of time before the monasteries changed to the Latin one.[645]

A similar fate was shared by Greek rite monasteries in Cyprus. Some of them were taken over by the Latins (Benedictines or Augustinian canons), while others continued to exist but had to give up some of their landed properties to the newly established Latin Church. As in southern Italy, the establishment of a Latin Church in Cyprus led to a certain impoverishment of the Greek one as the flight of the Byzantine nobility deprived the Greek establishments of future endowments. Neophytos the Recluse condemnă in several writings, in a harsh tone sometimes, the Latin presence on the island, a testimony to the importance of monasticism in the preservation of the Greek rite. Nevertheless, in 1214, the *typikon* of Neophytos's own monastery (Enkleistra) appointed King Hugh I of Cyprus custodian (*epitropos*) of this monastic community.[646]

The main beneficiaries of the despoliation of the Greek Church in Cyprus were the crown and the nobility, and not the Latin Church. This was fought against by the Latin Churches in the East, while the papacy, through the protection extended to the Greek monasteries in the Holy Land and Sinai (which had dependencies on Cyprus), indirectly prevented further expropriation of Greek rite property by the crown and the nobility.[647] It is also worth to observe that both the Lusignan kings as well as the Venetian Republic allowed

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[644] Adrian Andrei Rusu, Nicolae Sabău, Ileana Burnichioiu, Ioan Vasile Leb, Mária Makó Lupescu, ed., A. Rusu, *Dicţionarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crişana şi Maramureş* [The Dictionary of the monasteries in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară, 2000), 129. The same seems to have been the case with the monastery in Sânicolau de Beiuş. For the original document see Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densuşianu, ed., *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], vol. 1, no. 1 (1199-1345) (Bucharest: Academia Română şi Ministerul Instrucţiunii Publice, 1887), no. 45, 61.
[645] Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 80.
[646] Holmes, "Shared Worlds: Religious Identities," 43; Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 256.
[647] Edbury, "The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus," 3-4; Gilles Grivaud, "Les Lusignan patrons d'églises grecques," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007): 257-269.

the abbots of the Greek monasteries on the island to be elected, according to older traditions, by the monks of their respective establishments.[648]

The arrival of Latin monastic orders on the island[649] sometimes fueled dissensions between the members of the two communities of rite. A seemingly unique incident happened in 1231, when thirteen Greek monks from the monastery of Kantara, including one who had come from Mount Athos, were burnt at the stake in Nicosia after having first been dragged through the streets of the town by horses and mules, because they would not relent on the question of the unleavened bread. It was the only recorded instance of Greek rite Christians in the Latin East suffering martyrdom at the hands of their Latin co-religionists, and can be seen rather exceptional than typical of the methods of Latin missionaries. The ferocity of the act can be attributed to the outbreak of the civil war on the island, the exile of the archbishop, the fear of heresy and the presence on the throne of an inexperienced king, Henry I, who had not yet come of age.[650]

Not all the relations between Greek monastic communities and the Latin ecclesiastical or lay authorities were this unfortunate. The monastery of St Margaret of Agros, in the diocese of Nicosia was put under papal protection by Innocent IV already in the first half of the thirteenth century, and after the Ferrara-Florence Union its Greek rite abbot asked pope Nicholas V that the monastery and its property should be transferred from the jurisdiction of

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[648] Though in 1559 there was a request made by the Venetian authorities in Cyprus to include the election of the abbots among the *ius patronatus* of the Republic, nothing changed until the fall of the island to the Ottomans a few years later. Arbel, "L'elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro," 379.

[649] For an overview of the activity of the Latin monastic orders in the Eastern Mediterranean see Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis, *The Latin religious orders in medieval Greece, 1204-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) (Tsougarakis, *The Latin religious orders*), 275-310. During the pontificate of Honorius III the Latin Church assumed a markedly more interventionist role in its relations with Greek speaking congregations: both the Dominicans and the Franciscans arrived in 1226, and the Cistercians sometime before 1220. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 279; see also Jean Richard, "The Cistercians in Cyprus," *Francs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), article XVIII, 199-211.

[650] Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* , no. 179a, 240-248; Edbury, "The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus," 7; Schabel, "Religion," 196; Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 282-283.

the Greek bishops of Solea to that of the Latin archbishops of Nicosia, a request which was dully confirmed by the papacy.[651]

The same post-Florentine context offers another relevant example for the shifting of religious allegiances not only of monastic property, but also of the members of monastic communities, namely that of the already mentioned monastery of the Saint Archangel Michael in Hrushevo.[652] The monastery there was made a stauropegial one (directly dependent on the patriarchate of Constantinople) and its abbot (καθηγούμενον) Pachomios elevated to the rank of patriarchal exarch in 1391 by a privilege granted by Anthony IV, patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1389-1390; 1391-1397), at the request of the monastery's *ktetors* Baliţă and Dragoş.[653] Pachomios was made a patriarchal exarch (ἔξαρχον) over most of northern Transylvania (τὸ Σελατζίον, τὸ Ἀρτούντιν, τὸ Ὄγγοτζα, τὸ Ἰουμπερέκιν, τὸ Τζιτζόβιν, τὸ Παλβανέτζιν καὶ τὴν Πίστραν). At the same time the monastery was exempt from the jurisdiction of local bishops (τῶν τοπικῶν ἀρχιερέων), most probably the Greek-Slavonic hierarchs of Halich. The election of a bishop for the see of Halich was put under the supervision of the same Baliţă and Dragoş.[654] The monastery remained under the protection of other Romanian nobles after 1405, when the founders emigrated from Maramureş. The local Church had a leader in the abbot of the monastery which was under the direct jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, as the monks eagerly showed in 1494, when they had the privilege translated into Latin and asked for its royal confirmation.[655]

[651] Nicholas Coureas, "The Greek monatery of St Margaret of Agros in Lusignan Cyprus: its relations with the Latin Church and the Papacy," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 67 (2009): 217-223 here 218, 221-222.
[652] Vasile Rus, "Giovanni Corvino di Hunyad ed il monastero di Peri," in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, ed. Christian Gastgeber et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 63-69.
[653] FHDR, no. 34, 230-233; Radu Popa, "Zur kirchlichen Organisation der Rumänen in Nordsiebenbürgen im Lichte des patriarchalischen Privilegiums von 1391," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 24, no. 4 (1975): 309-317.
[654] FHDR, no. 35, 232-233. See also Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs," 47-48.
[655] Bishop Makarios could have well been the first intruder who abused the rights of the stauropegial monastery in Peri, having been the cause of the introduction and translation in Latin of the patriarchal privilege in the

Two documents from 1442 are telling for the way the monastic community in the monastery of Hrushevo was perceived by the Latin rite establishment after 1439.[656] One of them, a royal charter, characterizes the Greek rite monks as in a state of union: *fratres seu calugerii* […] *nunc Deo propitio nobiscum fide uniti*, while it also shows that the donation to the monastery was given at the request of the Romanians in the region: *ad nonnullorum nostrorum fidelium wolachorum terre nostre Maromarosiensis instantiam et supplicationem humillimam*. The documents reflect the acceptance of the union by the Romanian nobles and the local Church in the region, at least from the point of view of the authorities, while the dogmatic issues were probably not discussed.

In 1456, the monks of Hrushevo feature again in the sources, this time being favored during their trial with the Latin rite inhabitants from Câmpulung la Tisa. The conflict between the monastery of Hrushevo and neighboring town (mixing abuses, violent fights and usurpation of rights given to the monastery by the royal chancellery) might have found its roots in the new post-Florentine ecclesiological configuration.[657] The trial involved the king and the *comes* of Maramureş, as well as the monk Symeon from that monastery. His identity is always mentioned in the documents as *Simonis sacerdotis Kallugeri in claustro Beati Michaelis Archangeli prope possessionem Absa*, a reflection that the monastic community continued to function in the post-Florentine ecclesiastical set up.[658] The union had a good chance of success since there was no strong opposition among the ranks of the Greek-Slavonic monastic communities in the area.

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document of 1494. Diaconescu assumes that the monks at Hrushevo could have submitted to a request that came directly from Constantinople. "Les implications confessionelles," 36.

[656] Magyar Országos Levéltár - Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary, Q szekció, dl. 13687 and dl. 13688, available online: http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start, (accessed November 2013). For the interpretation see Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 34, footnotes 22 and 23.

[657] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 47.

[658] Ioan Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome Maramureşene*, no. 229 (230), 546-547 (gives a document from 9 March 1607, issued by the *comes* Valentine of Homonna who records that the monastery of Hrushevo has always been the residence of Romanian bishops), no. 231, 554; no. 238, 570-571.

Other monastic communities adapted as well: such was the case of the monks of the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai who owned landed estates on Crete (especially in the region of Candia[659]), Cyprus and in Egypt. Their property rights where sanctioned by the Roman pontiffs already in the thirteenth century. Both Pope Honorius and his successors defended the rights and immunities of Greek monasteries, particularly that of Mount Sinai, against Latin archbishops and bishops.[660]

After the capture of Crete by the Venetians and the setting up of the Latin hierarchy there, the papacy was very careful to curtail any abuse done by the ecclesiastical or lay authorities on the goods and properties belonging to, and granted the monks exemption from tithes on all fishponds, orchards, and gardens owned by them. Afterwards the monks on properties belonging to the St Catherine monastery enjoyed all the advantages of the Latin clergy.[661] The pope did not attempt to impose Latin usages on Sinai as compensation for his help; the monks were treated as fellow co-religionists for whom the pope had a special care.[662]

Lay authorities also took care in protecting the Sinai monks. At the moment of the Venetian conquest, the doge Pietro Ziani increased the monastery's properties and exempted it from taxation.[663] In 1378, when the tax collectors wanted to levy the tax on the vineyards of monastic community, the latter addressed the Senate which reminded the authorities in Candia

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[659] *Extra urbem (Candiae) prope est mons, in quo est monasterium magnum calogerorum ordinis et regulae S. Basilii sub abbate monasterii S. Catharinae sub monte Sinai, ad quod etiam omnes decimae totius insulae spectant, quas contulit eis quidam archiepiscopus Cretensis ob devotionem ad S. Catharinam. Vidi in eadem ecclesiam etiam bullam papalem, in qua indulgentiae dantur porrigentibus manus adiutrices illi monasterio; et apud me satis miserabile est, quod decimae et indulgentiae dantur personis non catholicis. Notum enim est omnibus, qui in monte Sinai fuerunt, quod monachi illi non subsunt romanae ecclesiae, nisi fingant se propter lucrum subesse, Fratris Felicis Fabri evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1849), 282 quoted in Hofmann, "Wie stand es mit der Frage der Kircheneinheit," 100.

[660] Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* no. 17, 35-37; Gill, "Pope Urban V and the Greeks of Crete," 463.

[661] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 21; Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 171, 76-77; Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 307, 84.

[662] Nicholas Coureas, "The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai and Papal Protection of its Cretan and Cypriot Properties," in *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996) (hereafter Coureas, "The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai"), 475-484.

[663] Coureas, "The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai," 476.

about the privileges of the monks.[664] Another document of 30 March 1481 again exempted from taxation the properties of Saint Catherine of Sinai in Crete.[665] Exemptions were also given to the monks of the monastery of Saint John of Stillo (in the district of Chania) who were sending each year one thousand measures of wheat to their brethren in the monastery of Saint John of Patmos. Ioannikios, a monk representing the mother house in Patmos, traveled to Venice to defend this privilege.[666] The monastery in Stillo seems to have been under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishop of Rethymno until the start of the fifteenth century, when a letter of the doge to the duke of Crete changed this.[667]

Lay authorities in the Hungarian kingdom also protected Greek rite monks. In 1444, John Hunyadi granted to the priest Gherasim and the monks of the Greek-Slavonic rite monasteries of Vodiţa and Tismana, both in Wallachia, the right to travel at will in the Hungarian kingdom, under royal protection, with no one being allowed to harm them,[668] while in 1476, Greek-Slavonic rite Christians were placed under royal protection against abuses made by the Minorites.[669]

Greek Christianity existed in Venetian Crete in a peculiarly truncated form: while the Church hierarchy was entirely absent, the monasteries and the lesser clergy were allowed to

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[664] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 292, 123; Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 597, 147.

[665] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 688, 273.

[666] Thiriet, Regestes, vol 1, Doc 705 (17 November 1385), 170 taken from Misti, reg. 40, f. 6.

[667] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 92, 178; Thiriet, *Duca di Candia. Ducali e Lettere Ricevute*, 26-27.

[668] Ştefan Pascu et al., ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica D (Relaţii între Ţările Române)* [Relations between the Romanian Countries], vol. 1 (1222-1456) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977) (hereafter DRH D), no. 276, 384-387. For the relations of the Greek-Slavonic rite monastic community at Tismana and the Hungarian kings see Virgil Ciocîltan, "Înţelesul politic al *minunii* sfântului Nicodim de la Tismana" [The political meaning of the *Miracle* of Saint Nicodim of Tismana], *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 22 (2004): 153-168.

[669] *Quocirca vobis tenore presentium iniungimus, et apostolica auctoritate mandamus, quatenus huiusmodi christianos in vestris diocesibus constitutos non permittatis clam vel palam a predicatoribus, vel aliis quibuscumque prefata occasione vexari.* Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram*, vol. 2, no. 637, 454.

survive and the former, in later centuries, even flourished.[670] Generally speaking, monastic

life in Crete must have benefited from the gradual softening of Venetian attitudes towards the

Greek Church on the island, as the Ottoman threat grew. The Venetians encouraged the

founding of new monasteries or the strengthening of older ones, especially in remote areas

(such as Akrotiriani, named Toplu "with canons", in the far east of the island), where they

could play a role in the defense of the island.[671] One possible conclusion is that during the

Venetian rule over the island, the monasteries assumed the spiritual leadership of the Greek

community, and such a position was not easily surrendered. This became rather obvious

during the conflict between the Sinai monks at St Matthew in Candia and the newly

established Orthodox hierarchy of the island (after the Ottoman conquest) led by Neophytos

Patelaros, native of Chania and monk of Arkadi, as archbishop of the island with seven

Orthodox bishops under him.[672] The monasteries experienced a period of economic and

intellectual revival beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, and Crete began to

produce so many abbots that Saint Catherine's at Sinai in Egypt was effectively run by

Cretans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[673]

    In some cases, the monks continued to be at the forefront of resistance against

attempts to proselytize on the part of the Latin orders.[674] Though Greek rite monks and clergy

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[670] A document from 23 April 1357 lists the Greek monasteries recognized by the *Regimen* on the island of Crete: *Monasteria vero sunt hec. Agnis. Matala. Aia Paraschi. Osios Marçallos. Cali Limione. Aia Theotocho. Christo. Aio Nicola. Opios Lithinos. Aia Kyriachi. Gorgopacussa. Aia Erini. Aios Andonis*, in Paola Ratti Vidulich, ed., *Duca di Candia. Quaternus Consiliorum (1350-1363)* (Venice: Comitato per la publicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 2007), 151.

[671] Nikos Psilakēs, *Monasteries and Byzantine Memories of Crete* (Herakleion: Karmanor, 1994): 27. See also Greene, *A Shared World*, 177, footnote 10.

[672] Greene, *A Shared World*, 178, footnote 14.

[673] The Cretans were by no means cut off from the larger Orthodox world. They were active participants in the world of Church politics in Constantinople, and later they went on to fill some of the highest positions in the Church hierarchy. Two examples were the patriarch of Alexandria, Meletius Pegas (1549-1601), who was a pupil at the school in Candia run by the Sinai monks, and Cyril Loukaris (1572-1638), one of the most famous patriarchs of Constantinople. Greene, *A Shared World*, 177, footnote 11.

[674] On 10 January 1408 the *bailo* of Corfu, Domenico Contarini, was advised not to license any other Greeks to become members of the clergy, except to replace the deceased ones, otherwise the Catholic faith on the island would diminish, and in a short time all the Greeks on the island would become priests or monks and thus the

from places occupied by the Ottomans were sometimes welcome in Crete, there are examples of hardening attitudes. A decision of the Council of Ten in Venice, on 4 January 1334, limited the access on Crete for Greek refugee monks because of their well-known anti Latin sentiments, as they were allegedly provoking mutinies among the locals and preaching against the Latins.[675] Such situations occurred also in Frankish Greece where members of the monastic communities were sometimes identified as agents of the Byzantines. Thus, in April 1244, Guy de la Roche (the duke of Athens) made an appeal to pope Innocent IV concerning the removal of a community of Greek monks from a certain village because they were passing on information to Epirote Greeks.[676]

Greek monasteries sometimes assisted runaway slaves, which McKee sees as suggesting a strong connection between slavery and ethnic identity. The enslavement of Christians who did not belong to the Latin rite was tolerated, while Latin Christians enslaving other Latin Christians was forbidden by Roman canon law.[677] Decisions of the Venetian Great Council (*Maggior Consiglio*) in the fourteenth century allowed the authorities to search Greek rite monasteries suspected of harbouring slaves, indicating that slavery was associated, at least in the Latin perception, with being Greek.

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devotion for Catholicism would have to suffer. Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 2, no. 1293, 75.

[675] *Et quia manifestum est quod caloieri, qui aliunde sunt profugi et in dictam nostra insula advenerunt, malam doctrinam et voluntatem contra Latinos in suis figmentis et hortationibus seminarunt, scribatur duche et consiliariis antedictis quod utile crederemus quod per illum modum cautum et honestum qui fieri posset cum minori scandalo, nunc et quando eis videretur et quomodo studerent, caloieros forenses facere exire de insula, et ordinarentur quod de cetero aliquis caloierus non intret in ipsam, cum simus certi quod ipsi tamquam provide viam invenirent aptam et sine scandalo ad hanc nostram intentionem implendam. Tamen quia de omnibus que sunt necessaria ad conservationem status pacifici insule sunt plenius informati, relinquimus in ipsorum arbitrio quod in facto predicto in totum faciant sicut eis pro bono statu insule videretur opportunum.* Fedalto, Vol. III, Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, no. 53, 39.

[676] *Ex parte dilecti filii, Nobilis viri Guidonis de Rocca, domini Athenarum, fuit propositum coram nobis, quod quidam monachi graeci, in quodam casali suo, quod Laragiae vulgariter nuncupatur, vicino Graecis infidelibus, commorantes, secreta saepe Graecis revelant eisdem, ex quo magna pericula fidelibus oriuntur. Quare nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut eosdem monachos in aliis abbatiis Graecorum terrae praedicti Nobilis collocari ac in eorum monasterio latinos monachos, seu alios clericos saeculares poni paterna providentia faceremus.* Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Innocentii IV*, no. 11, 19.

[677] McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete*, 125.

Nevertheless, with the notable exceptions when the differences between the two Churches came to the fore, the Greek-Slavonic monasteries in the transitional regions seem to have been able to continue their activity even where a Greek rite hierarchy was missing or barely present. Greek rite monks, such as Jana Kalogeros, fought on the side of the *Serenissima* in the revolts of 1363-1364, then against the Turkish pirates and finally against Padua. Kalogeros even received from the Republic a small island.[678] Another similar case is that of the monk Emmanuel Capsodassi who together with his sons Leon and John Mirochiafaliti fought in the revolts of 1363-1364 as well, the wars against Padua (1371) and Genoa (1378-1381) also receiving grants of land.[679]

The life of many monastic communities of Greek rite continued during or under Latin rule. The monasteries were subjected to the authority of the Latin Church,[680] and perceived as functioning on the basis of accepted canon law regulations that permitted the existence of several rites. Though there were cases when Greek rite monasteries were taken over by their Latin counterparts (many others were not) and actively tried and often succeeded in establishing a functioning relation with the new rulers. With Greek monasticism exhibiting social, as well as religious divergences from the Latin one,[681] this relation went beyond strictly defined confessional borders. Beside the practicality of it all, various points of resemblance between the two communities of rite counted more than the differences. All through the period in question amicable links were maintained between the papacy and the community of Mount Sinai. This is even more important to underline since the main monastery in Egypt was never under the control of the Latins.

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[678] Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 526 (30 October 1373), 131.
[679] Thiriet, *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, vol. 1, no. 935 (1 July 1397), 219. On rewards given by the Venitian state see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 97-102.
[680] [...] *abbates et monachi, in sacerdotali vel diaconali ordine constitute, debent esse in omnibus spiritualibus obedientes archiepiscopo et episcopi latinis* [...]. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 108, 146.
[681] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, 335-349.

The problems of Greek monasticism were not always caused by official hostility or indifference. In Sicily, they were caused by the intrinsic weaknesses of many houses, to which one adds an overenthusiastic wave of foundations in the immediate aftermath of the Norman conquest, not maintained by subsequent recruitment, as well as by a slow change in the demographic balance of the island which led to a slow decline of the local Greek rite monastic communities.[682] Elsewhere, such as on Crete, the papal and secular provisions in favor of the Greek monks and monasteries revealed the strength of the Greek rite communities on the island even when bereft of their hierarchy.[683] In Transylvania, Greek-Slavonic rite bishops such as Gelasius in the fourteenth century and later on the hierarchs in Feleacu, Vad and Geoagiu are mostly connected to monastic communities which offered them a place of residence otherwise forbidden in the towns. As shown above the situation was paralleled in Methoni.

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[682] After the Norman conquest Sicilian Muslims converted mainly to the Greek rite with the Graecophone area on the island contracting especialy after 1200. Jeremy Johns, "The Greek Church and the conversion of Muslims in Norman Sicily?," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995): 133-157.
[683] Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins," 13.

PART III: THE LAITY

Members of the communities of rite and their entangled religious options

The historical experience of towns and villages in the Levant shows societies in which a religious community was only one of a number of groups and associations in which a person might participate, with Middle Eastern cities not segregated by religious community.[684] With the creation of the crusader states, the Franks simply added to the mix another community, language and religious identity.[685] Attempts have been made to blame the existence of such mixed communities on the lawlessness and ignorance – intentional or otherwise – of their members, or on the lack of vigilance and attention on the side of the local authorities, be they ecclesiastical or secular. Explaining the existence of these communities through geographical isolation or cultural marginality, in which entire groups had subsisted for centuries and had remained "Orthodox" or "Catholic" without the central Church governments in Rome or Constantinople having any knowledge of it, seems an extremely far-fetched explanation. These are examples of a romantic and pacifist interpretation that is not backed by the sources.[686]

The Frankish Levant was a world where religious and social identities were flexible, and in which violence and tolerance were not exclusive characteristics, but strategies often

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[684] For the newly created social balance and the apparent toleration in the Frankish Levant after the First Crusade see Andrew Jotischky, "Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People," in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context-Contacts-Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Herman Teule, vol. 3 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2003), 1-19.

[685] "The radically other is merely other, the proximate other is problematic, and hence of supreme interest," says Christopher MacEvitt in *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 12-13.

[686] Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza," 11.

employed simultaneously.[687] The assumption that social groups prefer those who are similar to them and feel antagonism towards those who are most different does not apply in all historical situations. On the contrary, when looking at centuries of sharing the same territory by communities of different rites, one finds that affinities were developing towards the different neighbor or the intimate enemy.[688] The ethos of those communities was one of acceptance of the other (with the occasional, but hardly avoidable outburst of sectarian violence, usually sponsored from outside),[689] and not one determined by their ecclesial tradition which was more of a fashion and tended to be discarded where the pressure of integration was applied more. They were communities of silence, as MacEvitt so rightly labels them, which allowed different religious communities to live side by side, but also permitted the Franks to exile, oppress and even massacre local populations with little backlash.[690]

The cultural[691] rift between Greeks and Latins proved difficult to cross, and the Latin hierarchy in Jerusalem did not manage to integrate the Greeks into a true Church union. Legally, the members of non-Latin communities of rite were considered socially inferior, while Franks were the privileged one and equated with Christians of the Latin rite. Such

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[687] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 13.

[688] Jonathan Z. Smith, "What a Difference a Difference Makes," *Relating Religions. Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 251-302.

[689] David Nirenberg, *Communities of violence: persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[690] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 20-21.

[691] On issues of cultural identity as marker see Sally McKee, "Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian World," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin, Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 291-300; Aspasia Papadaki, "La storia di Creta sotto il dominio Veneto: il punto di vista della storiograpfia greca," in *Narrazione e concetti della storiografia greca sul periodo del dominio veneziano*, ed. Chryssa Maltezou, Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Ellenico, 2001), 71-82; Dimitrios Tsougarakis, "La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identità culturale," in *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre – 5 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), 509-522. On issues of cultural identity see Anthony P. Cohen, "Culture As Identity: An Anthropologist's View," *New Literary History* 24, no. 1 (1993): 195-209; for an overview of the concept with relevant literature for historical studies see Florin Curta, "Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology," *Early Medieval Europe* 15, no. 2 (2007): 159-185, esp. 163-173.

attitudes prevailing, allowing the Greeks ecclesiastical parity must have been unacceptable.[692]

A Greek rite Christian could enjoy equality with the Franks, if he became Christian of the

Latin rite. This must have been very difficult to achieve, since the Greeks could not be

received as converts into a Church to which they already belonged. Even so, such technicality

still emphasized the division between Latins and Greeks, since the latter could not achieve

equality with the former without giving up their religious identity and becoming Latin.[693]

Though the Latins treated their Greek co-religionists as equals at the start of their

conquests in Palestine, Hamilton believes that the difficulty in accepting such an equality of

status must have persisted at the unconscious level. It was as such easier for a member of the

Jacobite, Maronite or Armenian churches to become a Latin Christian and thus aspire to social

and legal equality with a Frank, than for a Greek Christian who was already in full

communion with the Roman see. The frustration must have only increased when, in the

thirteenth century, parts of these Churches came into communion with Rome and preserved

their autonomy under the pope, *nullo mediante*.[694]

Even more vehement is Coureas who chooses to present the relations between Latins

and Greeks as very much a colonial type of arrangement.[695] Even if, as shown above, the

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[692] "The Greeks are exceeding devout, and for the most part greatly honour and revere their Prelates. I have heard one of their Patriarchs say in my presence: We would willingly live in obedience to the Church of Rome, and venerate it; but I am much surprised at my being ranked below the inferior clergy, such as Archbishops and Bishops. Some Archbishops and Bishops wish to make me a Patriarch, kiss their feet, and do them personal service, which I do not hold myself bound to do, albeit I would willingly do so for the Pope, but for no one else," wrote Burchard of Mount Sion sometime during 1272-1284. Burchard of Mount Sion, [Descriptio Terrae Sanctae] *A.D. 1280*, tr. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society, 1896), 104. Online edition at: https://archive.org/details/libraryofpalesti12pale (accessed December 2013).
[693] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 187.
[694] Ibidem, 330-331.
[695] For a different view see Benjamin Arbel, "Résistance ou collaboration? Les Chypriotes sous la domination vénitienne," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), article VII, 131-143, especially 132-137. See also Jean Richard, "Culture franque, culture grecque, culture arabe, dans le royaume de Chypre au XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècle," *Francs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), article XXI, 235-245; Nicolas E. Karapidakis, "I rapporti fra *governanti e governati* nella Creta veneziana: una questione che può essere riaperta," in *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre – 5 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), 233-244.

Greek rite Church on Cyprus had attempted that same type of *nullo mediante* arrangement with the papacy during the thirteenth century and was backed up by the formal acknowledgement, under archbishop Germanos, of both the papal supremacy and that of the Latin hierarchy on the island, this agreement had done little to bring the members of the two communities closer, exacerbating actually the differences between them.[696] The authority of the Latin Church was further diminished with the lack of secular support, which further diminished after the thirteenth century and the coming of the Venetians, and the increased non-residence among the Latin bishops. The actual impediment for a complete integration of the Greek Church was its Latin counterpart on the island; throughout the Lusignan and Venetian periods, in the words of Coureas: "the Latin Church remained a richly endowed and highly resented intermediary between the Orthodox and the papacy, inadvertently keeping the two apart, until it was swept away by the Ottoman conquest of the island." The two communities lived in a no more than formal union, which was not fully acknowledged, but, at the same time, made possible the existence of a separate Greek rite Church, formally subject to the Latin one, "but in practice an impoverished and resentful rival to it."[697]

Gill Page and Sally McKee are among the scholars that reassessed the role that ethnicity played in the everyday life of Greek and Latin communities in Frankish Morea and on Crete. Such research follows the instances of convergence between the two communities instead of the points of tension when the differences came out. Gill Page shows that the term *Romaios* declined in political significance and came to denote a group whose self-awareness was influenced by a shared religion and the continuous contact with another group (the Latins). In Frankish Morea this ethnic self-identification was not the defining factor when it

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[696] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 309.
[697] Ibidem, 317.

came to relations between Latins and Greeks and played no part in creating political allegiance.[698]

While Gill Page explores how the mode of self-identification changed from before the Latin conquest and subsequent domination, McKee focuses on the issue of identity during the fourteenth century. Crete is described as a much more integrated society, and that the turbulences mentioned in the sources, especially in the fourteenth century are not to be linked to ethnic strife, but to the repositioning of the local elites concerning land ownership and access to resources. External ethnic markers such as religion, language and fashion are insufficient to denote pre-existing assumed ethnic categories. They are more important identifiers of a cultural identity which, far from being circumscribed by labels such as Latin or Greek, was highly fluid allowing for adoption of the cultural markers of the other community as seen in the examples below.

The two currents of tension and coexistence crossed in Cretan society touching on the question of dual cultural heritage displayed via external cultural markers.[699] Existing sources show the tension between the higher status accorded to the Latins and the economic and political handicap inflicted on the Greeks. The conquest *per se*, the installation of the colonists, opposing characters and customs, and the economical rivalry were just some of the reasons for this rivalry. The two communities (Latin colonists and local Greeks) were supposed not to mix and, in the case of the Latins, preserve their privileged position; a proclamation of 1360 outlined the penalties for Greeks posing as Latins.[700] The colonists were

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[698] Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 277-281.

[699] On the question of material cultural transfer in Transylvania see Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Identifying Material Culture Transfers in Medieval Elites: Preliminary Sketches for a Medieval Regional Identity in Transylvania," in *Transylvania in the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: Aspects of the Formation and Consolidation of Regional Identity*, ed. Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2012), 11-25.

[700] *Die xxvij Octubris, indictione xiiij. Clamatum fuit publice per Iohannem Marino gastaldionem in lobio et extra portas civitatis quod quilibet grecus qui amodo quando sibi preceptum fiet per precones ad respondendum alicui fecerit sibi precipi pro latino cadat pro qualibet vice qua sibi'sic precipi premisserit et fecerit pro latino in*

even directed to express defiance and superiority concerning the local Cretans.[701] They took over the dominant position previously held by the Byzantine elite, together with the latter's estates and the non-free peasantry.[702] This led to further antagonism and only the wealthiest among the local *archontes* managed to preserve their privileges and lands, after bitter fighting during the thirteenth century. The tension between the attempt to maintain ethnic boundaries and the advantages of co-opting the Greek elite led to the variance in the interests of the *Serenissima* and those of the colonists.[703] Nevertheless, the developing ties between the members of the two communities of rite ran against the government's attempts to preserve the distinct privilege of being Latin and, on the margins, differences between Greeks and Latins were blurred. The minor importance of the ethnic label and the flexibility in adopting or preserving external cultural markers are indispensable tools for understanding the "unorthodox" or compromise type of attitudes that characterize members of both communities of rite in the transitional regions.

pena yperperorum quinque. Archivio di Duca di Candia, Proclami e Banni, Busta 14bis, n. 28, f. 60r, 17 October 1360 quoted in McKee, "Uncommon Dominion", 125, footnote 343.

[701] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 129, 138.

[702] Charalambos Gasparis, "*Catastica Feudorum Crete*: Land Ownership and Political Changes in Medieval Crete (13th-15th Centuries)," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 56-59.

[703] Topping believes that church affiliation – either Catholic or Orthodox – was the basic criterion that differentiated the two communities (besides the already laid out legal framework) on Crete. Notwithstanding a "harsh regime of exploitation" a certain accommodation between Greeks and Venetians was slowly at work in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries aided by a policy of religious toleration. In Morea, the integration into a Greco-Latin "nation" only affected a small part of the landholding elite. Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins," 22-23.

Political factors and strategies of social becoming among Greek rite elites in Transylvania

This flexibility in the adoption or preservation of the cultural markers (including religion) can explain the "opportunistic" attitudes and evolution of the Romanian secular elite in Transylvania during the late medieval period. This group appears constantly in the documents as *nobiles valachi*. They belonged to the nobiliary estate of the kingdom which was inclusive and leveled the ethnical background.[704] The historiography of the Romanian nobility of Latin rite had a curious destiny. When one of the three terms (Catholic Romanian noble) was accepted, the other two were immediately denied, observes Rusu. The national-Marxist historiography opposed the association of these terms wholeheartedly and dismissed any possibility of existence of such a socio-religious identity. Lay historians refused to admit the appearance of a category of traitors who had "betrayed" their nation. The historians of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches tried to capitalize on this notion in order to explain statements of self-justification and historical importance for the preservation of the Romanian nation in Transylvania. The latter were seeking historical justifications for the union at the end of the seventeenth century, and saw in these Romanian "Catholics" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a kind of visionary ancestors, even if none or very little connection can be made between the two historical epochs. For the Orthodox, the same Romanian nobles were embarrassing examples who compromised the image of the institution that presented itself as the champion of "national" resistance in occupied Transylvania. As Rusu says, these

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[704] Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440 – 1514* [The Romanian nobility of Transylvania during 1440 – 1514] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000) (hereafter Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*), 114-117; Rusu, *Ctitori şi biserici*, 24; Rusu, "Un formular al cancelariei regale," 155-171. For a parallel with Cyprus see Benjamin Arbel, "The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth century: A New Interpretation," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), article X, 175-197.

historiographical visions had incorporated ideological orders that valued the historical fact not as historical truth, but as a tool to better justify the present.[705]

The Hungarian kings had sometimes tried to impose as a rule for landholders, at least in some areas of their realm such as Banat, that they belonged to the official Church of Latin rite; otherwise, their property would be forfeited. Attitudes of both the Church and, when it made use of it, the administrative power varied from indifference to open violence and control.[706]A measure taken by King Louis I on 28 June 1366 indicated that the Romanian knezes were in danger of losing their privileges unless acknowledged as nobles by royal diplomas.[707] In December 1428, Sigismund confirmed another royal decree of Louis I from 1366. The decree stipulated the exclusion of those who were not "true Catholics" and did not

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[705] Rusu, "Nobilimea românească și biserica," 131-132; A quite different approach was taken by historians of the Romanian literature. The problem of the origins of certain translations or printed books, researched side by side with their content – even though sometimes superficially done – lead to the conclusion that the discussed concepts must have had a common influence on the emergence of quite unorthodox textual traditions. The same historians were lacking the arguments to foster their results, sometimes because their peers had failed to or refused to find the generating cultural trends behind their own objects of research. See also Ioan Drăgan, "Studiu introductiv: Nobilimea românească din Transilvania – o problemă controversată în istoriografia română" [Introductory study: The Romanian nobility in Transilvania – a controversial issue of the Romanian historiography], in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania/Az erdély roman nemesség* [The Romanian nobility in Transylvania], ed. Marius Diaconescu (Satu-Mare: Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, 1997), 5-35.

[706] The most important moments of the anti-schismatic campaign, as Pop calls it, were the following: the subordination of the Eastern Church to the papacy as a result of John V Paleologos' trip to Buda in 1365-1366; the condition that one could not be a noble if he did not belong to the Latin Church, followed by the instigation of capturing the Romanian villains in 1366; the imprisonment of Slav or schismatic priests (1366); the plan devised by the papacy to build cathedral churches and provide a bishop and clergy better adapted to the needs of the Romanian communities (1374); imposing the Latin baptism of Vlachs and Slavs, blocking the contacts between them and communities of the same language and rite outside the kingdom (1370-1380); capturing, killing and destroying the property of the Slav and Vlach villains (1400); property rights only for the Catholics, exile of the schismatic priests, interdiction of mixed marriages, the obligation to have the sacraments performed by Latin rite priests, the interdiction of becoming schismatic: all measures taken by Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1428. All these led to an identification of the Latin Church with the Hungarian kingdom and communities, and reduced the appetite for conversion or integration among the Romanians, at the same time placing the latter on the edges of Transylvanian society in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 311-312.

[707] [...] *ubi unusquique kenezus, per nostras literas regales in suo keneziatu roboratus, pro uno vero nobili acceptetur* [...]. DRH C, vol. 13, no. 92, 159-161. Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, 99; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Un privilegiu regal solemn de la 1366 și implicațiile lui" [A solemn royal privilege from 1366 and its implications], *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1, no. 1-2 (1997): 69-86; Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "The Nobility as Bearers of Regional Identity in Fourteenth Century Transylvania," in *Transylvania in the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: Aspects of the Formation and Consolidation of Regional Identity*, ed. Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2012), 57-58.

confess the faith as preached by the Roman Church from any kind of property right on lands, noble titles or privileges in the district of Caransebeş.[708]

Establishing a mandatory connection between being a noble and belonging to the Latin faith, on one side, and starting a state-backed persecution against the Greek-Slavonic clergy, on the other, were two sides of the same coin: removing the Greek rite Church from the political life of the region. For the first time in the life of the province, a ruler introduced the principle of an officially sanctioned Church (*religio recepta*), a principle that became afterwards an essential piece of the political life of medieval and early modern Transylvania.[709] At the same time, though the king had set up a policy with strong anti-schismatic tones in the neighboring Banat, the knezes of Haţeg which at the time had scarce contacts with the Hungarian royal house were not touched by the king's decrees and no trace of persecution can be identified in the documents.[710]

This measure of "internal crusade" was probably aimed at disowning the strong Romanian nobility of Banat, where Sigismund had planned to establish the Teutonic Order.[711] The order was, thus, supposed to reinforce the southern frontier of the kingdom. As this order was never carried out, it seems that during the fifteenth century at least a part of the local nobility had managed to keep their Greek-Slavonic rite because of its military undertakings –

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[708] *Ut in tota provincia seu toto districtu de Sebes nullus alter nisi vere catholicus et fidem quam Romana tenet et profitetur ecclesia fideliter colens, possessiones aliquas sub titulo nobilitatis aut sub titulo kenesiali tenere posset et conservare*. This decision was taken by the king at the request of the Franciscans in Caransebeş, see E. Lukinich, L. Gáldi, A. Fekete Nagy, L. Makkai, ed., *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum* (Budapest: Inst. Hist. Europae Centro-Orientalis, 1941) (hereafter *Documenta historiam Valachorum*), no. 160, 207-208; Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*, no. 679, 127-130. The privileges of the Franciscans in Caransebeş were renewed by Matthias Corvinus in 1478, see Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*, no. 1162, 289-290.

[709] A confession, the Orthodox one, and a nation, the group of nobles that practiced this confession, were both excluded from the system of government of the region says Papacostea, "Întemeierea Ţării Româneşti şi a Moldovei," 86-88.

[710] Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 133.

[711] Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, 100; for the Romanian nobility in Banat see Viorel Achim, "La féodalité roumaine du royaume de Hongrie entre orthodoxie et catholicisme. Le cas du Banat," *Colloquia* 1, no. 2 (1994): 17-29; Ligia Boldea, "Înnobilare şi confesiune în lumea feudală românească din Banat (sec. XIV-XVI)" [Ennoblement and confession in the Romanian feudal world of the Banat], *Banatica* 13, no. 2 (1995): 27-44.

which qualified it as durable defensive solution against the ever growing Ottoman threat −. The royal policy against the Greek-Slavonic rite communities lost part of its importance during the fifteenth century mainly due to two factors: the Ottoman danger and the conclusion of the Church union. Deciding who was "Catholic" or "Orthodox" was not the issue at stake anymore, as there were no generalized schemes that could function for everyone. The process was in direct relation with the military needs of the kingdom at certain times.

The transition to the Latin Church was paralleled with a social evolution, a *cursus honorum* from a simple knez to a knez with an endowment document and, finally, to nobleman. Nevertheless it was not always required to change one's religious affiliation in order to become a noble. Thus, the Romanian knezes in Maramureş had already acquired their titles of nobles by the end of the fourteenth century. There are cases such as the Dolhay family, the Drágffys, the Bilkeys, or of Michael, son of Tatul of Ialova, whose careers can be explained through religious opportunism and took place after the Florentine Union.[712] The majority of the cases in Banat or Haţeg can be explained by a natural evolution of the nobility: with the perspective of social climbing, the social opportunism was accompanied by a religious one, while the cases of conversion to the Latin rite, especially among the nobility in Banat, are more numerous after the Florentine union. The differences in time between the different areas are due to the different moment when the local elites started their social development.[713] Despite such measures taken by the royal authorities to ensure the mandatory equivalence between the Latin faith and being a noble, the Romanian nobility seems to have kept the Greek rite in its majority.[714]

Dealing with the indigenous nobility was also one of the tasks that Venice had to face on Crete. A common feudal law system for all the territories of Latin Romania was drafted

[712] Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, 296-298, 306-307.
[713] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 60.
[714] Ibidem, 57.

during the first half of the thirteenth century. Only Venice instituted a different system which meant the existence of a centralized government, which had all the prerogatives, political, juridical and fiscal, its administration falling into the hands of the officers/clerks of the Commune.[715] On Crete, the introduction of Latin bishops, priests, and monks which were endowed with properties seized from the Greek Church was done in order to strengthen the Venetian colonies. At first, the Venetians tried to impose a policy of strict social and religious separation from the local population. The self-awareness of the locals who often resisted the foreigners lead by important figures among the *archontes* (many of them descending from important Byzantine families) tested several times Venice's determination of holding the island.[716] The presence of many Greek rite Christians in the Venetian territories has led some to believe that the *Serenissima* was practicing a religious tolerance similar to that of modern times: a prefiguration of what would come to be defined as freedom of religion.[717] No other Latin state at the end of the fifteenth century allowed, to such an extent, the existence of heretical or schismatic Christian communities.[718]

Sigismund's allegedly public support of the Greek rite Church which he expressed at the conference of Luck (in modern Poland) shows a different side of the religious policy that the king had pursued during his reign. In his view the only differences between Latin and Greek rite Christians were the fashion of having beards and the marriage for the clergy, otherwise they were sharing the same faith.[719] The fifteenth century historiographer Jan

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[715] Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania," 2-3.
[716] Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins," 12.
[717] On the originality of the Venetian policy of tolerance towards members of Greek rite communities see Gaetano Cozzi, Michael Knapton, *La Republica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517* (Turin: UTET, 1986), 186-187; Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*, 81-89.
[718] Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*, 53.
[719] *Sollicito - inquit - summum pontificem, ut concilium pro reduccione Bohemorum et reformacione Ecclesie faciat, iturus ad ilud si consenserit, si dissenserit auctoritate mea illud congregaturus. Nec reduccioni Grecorum intendere expedit, cum unam fidem nobiscum profiteantur, barbis duntaxat et uxoribus a nobis secreti sunt, id tamen illis vicio non est, una enim uxore Grecorum presbiteri contenti sunt, Latini decem et amplius tenent.* Jan

Długosz observed that Sigismund's declaration encouraged the Ruthenians to continue practicing their rite.[720] Such outbursts of "honesty" might not be enough to qualify Sigismund's religious policy towards the Greek-Slavonic rite communities as having a clear goal and as based on ecclesiastical canons and regulations.[721] He was as pragmatic in his religious policy as in his diplomatic endeavors.[722]

This policy went hand in hand with the continuous demands of the papacy that made sure to remind the Hungarian kings of their duty of converting pagans and schismatics in and outside the kingdom.[723] On 11 July 1433, the emperor asked Pope Eugene IV to renew the privileges that his ancestors had received from the Holy See on behalf of the Franciscan province of Bosnia: *pro conversione scismaticorum in confinibus partibus eiusdem Hungarie.*[724] The privileges were confirmed through the bull *Cuncta mundi* of 30 September, which also stated the results of the Franciscan missionary activities in the Balkans, namely, that a lot of schismatics (also Romanians among them) and Hussites had been returned to the fold of the Latin Church in several districts including Orşova, Kovin, Sebeş and Haţeg.[725] On 21 July, Sigismund had also asked the pope for the remission of sins of all the members of his

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Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 11 (1411-1430) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2000) (hereafter Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*), 250.

[720] *Scandalisavit hic sermo Ruthenos populous ritu viventes Grecorum et in suis confirmavit erroribus, propter quod regem Sigismundum sanctum vocabant, deducentem fidem Grecorum esse prestanciorem quam Latinorum, eratque in ore omnium ac sermone Ruthenorum Sigismundus rex, summis laudibus illum efferencium, quod Grecorum ritum propensiorem quam Romanum iudicasset.* Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 11, 250.

[721] Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs," 89.

[722] Gerald Schwedler, "Rituelle Diplomatie. Die persönlichen Beziehungen Sigismunds von Luxemburg zu benachbarten Königen und den Herrschern des Balkans," in *Kaiser Sigismund (1368-1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, ed. Karel Hruza, Alexandra Kaar (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012): 411-427.

[723] There was also an enforced attitude building up against the schismatics, as the Hungarian kings were constantly asking (such as Charles Robert of Anjou on 17 January 1339 – see DIR C, Veacul XIV, vol. 3, no. 422, 498-499, - or Louis I on 7 May 1343 – see DIR C, Veacul XIV, vol. 4, no. 145, 128), that they and their armies would receive the remission of sins when dying in battle against them or the Tartars, pagans etc.

[724] Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 204, 125-126.

[725] […] *in de Harabko, Alsan, Kabol, Kewi, Orsva, Kevesd, Chery, Sebes, et Haczak terris eidem Regi subjectis, in quibus haeretici, et schismatici plerique, nec non populus veram Dei notitiam non habens moram trahunt, Evangelisationis ministerium prosequi, ac salutaribus hujusmodi populum monitis, et doctrinis ad eandem fidem reducere, in illoque firmare ferventius insistatis.* Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 481, 579.

Dragon Order, either from Hungary or abroad, who would defend the kingdom *sicut crucesignati passagio* against Ottomans, heretics, schismatics and unbelievers, according to the statutes of the *societas Draconis*.[726]

Sigismund had also been involved in the preparations leading to the Ferrara-Florence council both as German emperor and as king of Hungary, and even offered Buda as a possible venue for the future council, as well as undertaking the financial support of the Emperor John VIII and of the patriarch of Constantinople.[727] An important part was played by the papal inquisitors of those years who were tools of the official propaganda and discourse and who followed the papal policy of rapprochement to the Greek Church such as James of the Marches (or Fabian of Bachia), whose fight was directed mostly towards the Hussites,[728] while schismatics had only to be brought to the righteous way of the Catholic religion.[729]

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[726] *Quia quilibet e societate draconica vi statutorum et praestiti iuramenti obligatur ut contra Turcos, schismaticos et haereticos ac infideles personam suam exponat, supplicat ut illi de praedicta societate necnon omnes et singuli tam regni Hungariae quam aliarum nationum qui pro defensione regni Hungariae profiscentur, sicut crucesignati in <passagio>, plenam remissionem culparum et poenarum habeant.* Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 209, 129. […] *sequacium et militum paganorum vtputa et schismaticorum aliarumque nationum Orthodoxae fidei ac Crucis Christi ac regnorum nostrorum aemulorum* […]. György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 10, part 4 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1841), no. 317, 682-693. Mihailo Popović, "The Order of the Dragon and the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević," in *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World*, ed. Ekaterini Mitsiou, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Alexandru Simon (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010): 103-106.

[727] Márta Kondor, "Latin West and Byzantine East at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Emperor Sigismund and the Union with the Greeks," in *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács, Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009), 79-96. Mureşan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs," 89. For Sigismund's previous engagement with the Constance council see Ansgar Frenken, "Der König und *sein* Konzil. Sigmund auf der Konstanzer Kirchenversammlung. Macht und Einfluss des römischen Königs im Spiegel institutioneller Rahmenbedingungen und personeller Konstellationen," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 36, no. 1 (2004): 177-242; Peter Erdö, "La *bolla del Concilio di Constanza* e il supremo patronato dei re ungheresi nella ricerca di Vilmos Fraknói," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 36, no. 1 (2004): 167-176.

[728] Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 507, 604; no. 512, 607; no. 589, 706-708; no. 599, 723-725. See also Viorel Achim, "Ortodoxie şi Catolicism în Ţările Române. Ordinul Franciscan în Ţările Române în secolele XIV-XV. Aspectele teritoriale" [Orthodoxy and Catholicism in the Romanian Principalities. The Franciscan order in the Romanian Principalities in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Territorial aspects], *Revista Istorică* 7 (1996): 391-410; Cristian Daniel, "Misiunea husită în Moldova" [The Hussite mission in Moldavia], *Altarul Reîntregirii* 2 (2007): 145-183.

[729] […] *et Hussitarum sectam tenentibus, pullulabant, suis maximis, diligentissimisque et sudorosis laboribus reprobauit, et circa conuersionem eorumdem haereticorum, et etiam multorum Schismaticorum, ad fidem catholicam reductorum, tamquam pugil Christi* […]. Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 513, 608.

After the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg, the situation of the Greek rite communities in the kingdom further improved, especially with the conclusion of the Church union at Florence. Rusu points out that in the Hungarian kingdom further steps were taken to block older anti-schismatic attitudes and introducing new approaches of a completely different tone.[730] As the synod had an important echo in the Christian world, it is virtually impossible that it remained without effect in the Hungarian kingdom, and thus in Transylvania, where the ground had been so well prepared by Sigismund of Luxemburg.[731] Most of the Hungarian bishops were not present in Florence as they were supporting the cause of the conciliarists in Basel. Still some clergymen had been there, as was the case with a certain Valentine who was ordained archdeacon of Turda by the pope on 25 March 1439, in Ferrara.[732] Furthermore, a special copy of the Bull of Union had been sent to King Albert[733], the successor of Sigismund, while the Pope had personally informed the queen Elizabeth about the outcome of the synod.[734]

As mentioned before, most probably as a result of Isidore's suggestions during his visits to Buda in 1440 and 1443, on 22 March 1443, Wladislas I issued a privilege in favor of the Ruthenian priests in Poland and Hungary who were awarded the same privileges, rights and immunities as their Latin counterparts, as a direct consequence of the Ferrara-Florence Union. The document reflects the underprivileged position of the Greek/Slavonic clergy compared to the Catholic one, and is an indicator of the local situation, while at the same time complementing the decisions of the council at the regional level.[735] Disregarding the

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[730] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 82.
[731] The historiography of the consequences of the union of Florence is almost non-existent in Hungary. For example, when talking about Romanians and Ruthenians, Mályusz is mostly interested about the geography of their settlements, ethnic assimilation and taxation than anything else. Elemér Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn, 1387-1437* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 299-305.
[732] Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 5, no. 2338, 27.
[733] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 268.
[734] Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 5, no. 2334, 25.
[735] Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, 79-80.

opposition of the Greek Church, manifest mostly in Constantinople or Russia, the Latin princes effectively put in practice the decisions reached by the Council, especially in kingdoms such as Hungary or Poland, where communities belonging to the two Churches, signatories of the union, were both present, directing the local bishops and other authorities to tackle any ensuing problems. Nevertheless, none of the Hungarian kings of the later fifteenth century were able or willing to invest in a consistent policy that would see the union fully embraced by the Greek rite communities in the kingdom.[736]

As a background of the activities enforcing the union, the royal court and the papacy directed their attention to those Romanians, politically important, that were able to participate and support the anti-Ottoman war effort.[737] The union was accepted mostly where it coincided with the aspirations and interests of the Romanian aristocratic elite. During the life of John Hunyadi the union was successful in Haţeg, Hunedoara, Banat, and possibly also in Maramureş. The effects on the Transylvanian Romanians did not affect extensively their ethnic destiny, rather they were the result of a set of factors that combined pressure, social seduction and imagined aspirations.[738]

Barbu believes that the western religious options of the Romanian nobility cannot be perceived as a social opportunism or as an act of renunciation to Romanianness. It was not the result of political pressure, or the imposition of a new religious identity, or a mark of their willingness to become assimilated to the kingdom's mostly Hungarian nobility, but a consequence of a spiritual option. The small nobility of Transylvania and Banat was not able to accomplish its military vocation in the traditional framework of Eastern Christianity. More

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[736] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 108.

[737] One author even suggests that the relation between the papacy and the Romanians in the times of Stephen the Great of Moldavia was conducted in an "ecumenical" spirit, an attitude which could well have been an echo of the post-Florentine ecclesiology. A. L. Tăutu, "Spirit ecumenic între papalitate şi români pe vremea lui Ştefan cel Mare" [The ecumenical side of the relation between the papacy and the Romanians in the time of Stephen the Great], *Buna Vestire* 1 (1965): 9-10.

[738] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 127.

than being a circumstantial alignment to the royal decrees, their attachment to the Roman faith seems to be scrupulous and motivated.[739] The frontier war, the passage against the infidels could not be lived as a historical experience but as part of the Latin Christianity which starting from Saint Augustine had moved towards conferring a sacral character to the war as long as it was carried in the name of a just cause. The *nobiles valachi* of Transylvania and Banat as a military corporation almost acknowledged officially by the royal authorities in 1432-1433 must have been highly interested in this religious option.[740] For Barbu, the move from the Greek-Slavonic rite to the Latin rite among the Romanian nobility in the Hungarian kingdom was motivated by the possibility of being able to participate in wars as Christian nobles, and it offered the foundation of being part of a *universitas*, of constituting a real political body sanctioned by law, which was not possible as members of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities.[741]

The anti-Ottoman wars were part of the Later Crusades which, as such, were included together with the policies of union in the ecclesiological debates of the day. This policy was promoted in Hungary by John of Capistrano, who seemed to have arrived in the area with a very radical set of ideas and how to implement them, but after experiencing the local realities changed drastically and took another tone and attitude towards the diverse backgrounds of the members of the crusading army.[742] In Belgrade, he included all those who took arms against

[739] Daniel Barbu, "Pelerinage à Rome et Croisade," *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essais sur la production politique de la fois au Moyen Age* (Bucharest: Éditions Babel, 1998) (hereafter Barbu, "Pelerinage à Rome et Croisade"), 178.
[740] Rusu, "Un formular al cancelariei regale," 165-166.
[741] For a different view on the common belief that the concept of holy war was not known to the Byzantines see Tia Kolbaba, "Fighting for Christianity: holy war in the Byzantine empire," *Byzantion* 68, no. 1 (1998), 194-221.
[742] Francisc Pall, "Le condizioni e gli echi internazionale della lotta antiottomana del 1442-1443, condotta da Giovanni di Hunedoara," *Românii şi Cruciada târzie*, ed. Ionuţ Costea (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2003), 100-130; János M. Bak, "Hungary and Crusading in the Fifteenth Century," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century. Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 116-127; Iulian Mihai Damian, "L'osservanza francescana, I valacchi e la battaglia di Belgrado: Fonti e ideologia della crociata dei minori," in Extincta est lucerna orbis: *John Hunyadi and his Time*, ed. Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009), 445-462; Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453-1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

the Ottomans among those who were worthy of the friendship of the Latin Church, and his personal intercession on their behalf.[743]

In face of the Ottoman danger, the differences between the Venetian masters and their Greek subjects already fading by the beginning of the fifteenth century were further reconciled.[744] Especially in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century the attitude of the *Serenissima* towards the Greek rite softened (following probably the efforts after Ferrara Florence in 1439). The *Serenissima* also changed to a more tolerant attitude regarding the Greek Church, as it became more important to have on one's side the local population and the local clergy. The Venetian state had to build an ecclesiastical scheme that would include the Greek rite communities. Though defended from the danger of the Ottomans (the bigger evil), these communities were still under the domination of the Latin Church and perceived the Franks (be they Venetians, French or Catalans) as the hated Westerners who usurped their goods, hierarchy, monasteries and local buildings of worship.[745]

The union must have been known to John Hunyadi especially since he was the most important military commander fighting the Ottomans in the Balkans. The religious union was the key of the entire internal Romanian policy put in place by Hunyadi, as he himself was a product of an age that proclaimed Christian unity as a solution to the external common enemy.[746] As an offspring of a Romanian noble family, he may have been subjected to the conversion process, and thus understood its consequences and its importance given the possibilities of those times. He was a moderate supporter of John of Capistrano's policies, tolerated the presence of a Greek rite bishop in Hunedoara and its environs, had Romanian

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[743] Waddingus, *Annales Minorum* 12 (1448-1456), 407 and 766.
[744] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 302.
[745] Fedalto, *Documenti Veneziani*, 20.
[746] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 109.

priests in his immediate entourage,[747] promoted Romanian administrators to Romanian autonomous districts (in Banat, Haţeg, and Maramureş), constantly endowed Romanian nobles and redrafted the official documents regarding the Romanians.[748] He also actively supported Greek rite communities in Wallachia,[749] Belgrade and Bereg.[750]

Matthias Corvinus continued the Romanian policy of his father, endowing with lands and privileges both the laity and the Romanian churches.[751] Both Makarios and Ioannikios of Belgrade received privileges from the king, the latter asking that the priests of Maramureş be exempted from paying taxes: *universos et singulis Valachos presbyteros fidem graecam tenentes*.[752] The lack of any action against the Ottomans on behalf of Matthias Corvinus led to an alienation of the Greek rite communities from the union's cause as they lost any hope for freedom.[753] The papacy and Latin propaganda tried to use the Latin origin of the Romanians as a positive factor in favor of the union policy, testifying to the close links between Rome and its remote descendants.[754]

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[747] Rusu, "Preoţi români ortodocşi din districtul Haţegului," 649.

[748] Rusu, "Un formular al cancelariei regale," 155-171.

[749] DRH D, vol. 1, 384-387.

[750] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 110.

[751] Ioan Drăgan, "Aspecte ale relaţiilor dintre români şi puterea centrală în timpul lui Matia Corvinul" [Aspects of the relations between the Romanians and the central power in the time of Matthias Corvinus], *Revista Istorică* 3, no. 9-10 (1992): 905-916; Ionuţ Costea, "Consideraţii privind elita românească din Transilvania în timpul domniei lui Matia Corvinul (1458-1490)" [Remarks regarding the Transylvanian Romanian elite during the reign of Matthias Corvinus], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 1 (1997): 13-20; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Les Roumains de Transylvanie et leurs privileges accordés à l'époque de Mathias Corvin," in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, ed. Christian Gastgeber, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Alexandru Simon (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 93-101. For the Banat see Ligia Boldea, "Aspects du *Cursus Honorum* dans le Banat à l'époque du roi Matthias Corvin: noblesse patrimoniale et noblesse de fonction," *Banatica* 20, no. 2 (2010): 77-96.

[752] Ioan Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome Maramureşene*, 753.

[753] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 112; see also Dan Ioan Mureşan, "Croisade, Union des Églises et humanism dans le royaume de Hongrie pendant la première moitié du règne de Matthias Corvin," in *Church union and crusading in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, ed. Christian Gastgeber, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Oliver Jens Schmitt, Alexandru Simion (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2009), 339-366; Michel Balivet, "Georges de Trébizonde: un Grec ottomanophile au temps de Matthias Corvin," *Transylvanian Review* 18, no. 3 (2009): 47-49.

[754] Armbruster, *La Romanité des Roumains*, 46-60.

Maintaining and upholding, even formally, the Florentine establishment as it was understood in Transylvania, and more particularly in Haţeg, constituted a way of blocking any attempt to invalidate the nobility's social status. This fact and the historical process through which some of the Romanian nobles set themselves apart from their communities contributed to the success of the Latin mission in the region. What the strict measures of the fourteenth century failed to do was achieved a century later when the local elites themselves chose this path.[755]

Of course, there is the other side of the story, where Romanian nobles that had previously embraced the Latin Church returned to their communities of Greek-Slavonic rite and rejected the union. In 1500, two Romanian nobles from Banat decided to return to the Greek rite after a Latin experience of several decades. Michael and Nicholas of Porecha lost their properties as a result, according to the law and custom of the kingdom.[756] Ovidiu Pecican observes that the anti-unionist sentiments of at least a part of the Romanian nobility in Maramureş can be observed in the range of chivalric literature they were reading in the fifteenth century (such as the *Gesta of Roman and Vlahata*, written sometime during 1440-1500, or the *Alexandria*, already in circulation since the thirteenth century).[757]

The Union was a compromise: as long as the rite stayed unchanged, the Romanian nobles seem not to have been too interested about their new "confessional" label of Greek rite

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[755] The local nobles collaborated wholeheartedly with the Latin Church. Romanian families such as the More-Ficior based in Ciula would receive very important dignities during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, one of them even (Philip of More) becoming the bishop of Pécs during 1520-1526. Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 137.

[756] [...] *ex eo quod iidem Myhaylo et Nicolaus contempta Religione fidei Christiane, dampnabili secte scismatice Wolachorum sive Rascianorum adhesisse dicuntur, Ad nos consequenterque collacionem nostram Regiam, Juxta antiquam et appobatam eiusdem regni nostri Hungarie legem et consuetudinem rite et legitime devolute esse prohibentur* [...]. Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 376, 448.

[757] See Ovidiu Pecican, "Lecturile istorice ale nobililor maramureşeni" [The historical readings of the nobles from Maramureş], in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, ed. Marius Diaconescu (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997), 177-183; Ovidiu Pecican, "Ethnicity and Faith in the Romanian-Slavonic Literature of the 14th to the 15th Centuries," in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998), 156-165.

Catholics.[758] The religious opportunism (backed by the political and social one) of the Romanian nobility in the Haţeg area, described by Adrian Rusu, can be traced in the Banat as well.[759] The social compromise made by the nobility came as an effect of the collaboration with the kingdom's officials, which was rewarded, as before, with a confirmation act of the knezes privileges and social status. On the religious side, the compromise at the level of the slightly marginalized and less endowed theologically – when compared with the level of intricacies of the Florentine discussions – must have been negligible. After the conclusion of the Union, the only side that had to revise its attitudes in the region was the Latin Church, which needed to adopt a more tolerant attitude and exercise patience so that things might develop in the desired direction.[760]

Intermarriage

Several Romanian nobles such as Jacob of Măcicaşu and his wife Anna[761] or John of Mâtnic and his wife Dorothy[762] were received as members of the tertiary order of the Franciscans in the second half of the fifteenth century.[763] The privilege given to the monastery of Hrushevo in 1442, was received due to the requests of the many Romanian faithful in the

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[758] See Viorel Achim, "Catolicismul la românii din Banat în Evul Mediu" [Catholicism among the Romanians in the Banat], *Revista istorică* 7, no. 1-2 (1996): 41-55.

[759] Rusu, *Ctitori şi biserici*, 27-28.

[760] Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 135.

[761] *Honesto viro Jacobo de Macskas una cum Anna conjuge sua* […] *recipiendi quoscunque devotos nostri Ordinis ad Confraternitatem Fratrum minorum de observantia nuncupatorum, et sororum Minorissarum, et Sanctae Clarae, seu Sancti Damiani de observantia nuncupatarum.* Frigyes Pesty, ed., *A szörényi bánság és szörény vármegye története*, vol. 3 [The History of the Banat of Severin and of the county of Severin] (Budapest, Akadémia Könyvkiadó, 1878) (hereafter Pesty, *A szörényi bánság*), no. 72, 70-71.

[762] […] *carissimo Nobili Johanni de Mothnok* […] *eapropter ego qui licet indignus curam prefate custodie gero Te vnacum generosa domina Dorothea Consorte tua ad nostram confraternitatem et ad vniuersa et singula dicte Custodie fratrum suffragia in vita recipio partier et in morte plenam vobis carismatum et spiritualium bonorum omnem participacionem.* Pesty, *A szörényi bánság*, vol. 3, no. 100, 104-105.

[763] Such cases of acculturation are characteristic of the transitional regions. There are at least two cases from thirteenth century Acre where Oriental Christians are bequesting property or donations to Latin rite establishments. See Kedar, "Latin and Oriental Christians," 220.

land of Maramureş,[764] which means that the fact that the monastery had accepted the Florentine union did not seem to bother the population and/or its neighbor and leader of the nobility in the region, Michael the son of Tatul of Ialova (who remarried at an older age and embraced the Latin rite). The Psalter from Şchei contained the *Filioque* clause which proves that the compromise of Florence had been accepted in Transylvania.[765]

Such confessional shifts were not exceptional situations anymore, but were part of decisions taken by members of the same group, or by a whole group in its entirety, as a strategy of status-acquisition and social inclusion (according to Rusu, not more than fifteen families had members who became Catholics).[766] The families that had started down this road would usually remain members of the Latin Church, later even reformed, and never return to the Greek rite, attempting thus to fully integrate in the nobility of the kingdom, and not isolate themselves as a different group.[767] The impulse for their choice may have come first from the ranks of the local Greek-Slavonic rite Church authorities, especially if at times the Greek-Slavonic ecclesial micro-hierarchies were integrated in the local structures of the Latin Church. The religious change did not alter the communities of rite in the villages which continued to keep and advertised their confessional specificity. This allows us to see the Latin rite-Greek rite relations in a new framework where, though the Latin Church was exerting a continuous pressure on the Greek-Slavonic rite communities, positive episodes of tolerance were not as unusual as one would expect. The confessional option of the nobility was not without repercussions among the ordinary Romanians. The triumph of the Reformation in the

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[764] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 34.

[765] P. P. Panaitescu, "Începuturile scrisului în limba română" [The beginning of writing in Romanian], *Studii şi articole de istorie medie* 4 (1960): 147.

[766] Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 141.

[767] On 24 July 1489, two members of small local noble families, Catherine of Cîrneşti and John More of Zeicani got married according to the rite of the Latin Church (*ritu sancte romane ecclesie*). Dl. 29865 quoted in Rusu, "Nobilimea românească şi biserica," 138, footnote 19.

districts of Hațeg and Banat presupposes the existence of a strong Catholic tradition, a Catholicism of Romanian language which was ignorant of Hungarian.[768]

Similar tendencies among the Greek rite elite on Crete and Cyprus can be observed. The government considered adherence to the Greek Church a reliable indicator of membership in the Greek community, because the majority of the Greeks followed the rites of the Byzantine Church and the majority of the Latins did not. Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, membership of the Greek rite communities became a source of expressed resentment against the Venetian regime. Among the measures that Venice took in order to keep the colonists from becoming assimilated was the prohibition of the sanctioned unions between Greeks and Latins. Over the course of the thirteenth century, Greek noble families fought and acquired the right to marry their children to Latins, as for example at the end of the revolt led by some *archontes* headed by Alexios Calergi in 1299.[769] At the same time as Greek families of the elite switched allegiance to the Latin Church, there is little evidence that support for Greek rite clergy and foundations among the Greek population was in any way diminished by the complete subordination of the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy to that of the Roman Church.[770]

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[768] Barbu, "Pelerinage à Rome et Croisade," 180. For the Transylvanian Reformation see Katalin Péter, "Tolerance and intolerance in sixteenth-century Hungary," in *Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249-261; István György Tóth, "Old and New Faith in Hungary, Turkish Hungary, and Transylvania," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), 214-216; Ovidiu Ghitta, "Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania (Secolul al XVI-lea – a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea)" [The Orthodox Church in Transylvania (the sixteenth century-the second half of the seventeenth century)], in *Istoria Transilvaniei* [The History of Transylvania], ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop, vol. 2 (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2005), 369-392; Graeme Murdock, "Central and Eastern Europe," in *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformations*, ed. Alec Ryrie (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 37-56.

[769] *Item quo tu et omnes qui fuerunt rebelles possitis facere parentelas cum latinis.* Quoted in McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 114, footnote 309.

[770] Coureas sees the thirteenth century as the most polarized period in Cypriote history ever, with great rifts (national, spatial, economic and social) appearing in all aspects concerning life on the island, as the two communities spoke different languages and used different liturgical languages. The Latins were mostly predominant in towns, while the Greeks lived in the countryside; economically, the Latins were consumers and middlemen, constituted the high echelons of nobility, while the Greeks were primarily farmers/peasants. This polarization lasted at least until the war with Genoa in 1374, after which one can witness an improvement

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the Latin lords needed the support of the archontic class in order to control the majority Greek population, they were prepared to forego rights over the Greek Church and not impose the Latin ways on their new subjects. The sense of otherness in the two groups was aided by the common economic and class interests and aspirations. They had more in common as landlords than either being part of the feudal system or accepting the Roman primacy.[771]

The different standing in the social system can be even more pronounced on the local level. The social rank and prestige of a community of rite depended largely on the social status of its membership. Macha stated that: "the tendency of individual social climbers to join socially higher ranking Churches does not offset the lag between the ranking of a Church and the level of social status of its membership. On the other hand, a Church may retain the stigma of its humble origin, while its membership had achieved relatively greater affluence and power."[772]

The way forward for intermarriage was further opened in the thirteenth century, when Venice granted fiefs to members of Greek noble families, which also allowed them to take seats on the feudatory councils.[773] There are signs that Venice tolerated in practice a good deal of intermarriages among the two elites. For the *archontes*, certain Greek priests in towns or abbots of Greek monasteries, as well as for a few free Greek townsmen and peasants, a state of rather satisfactory coexistence with the Latins seems to have been attained by the end of the

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regarding the legal status of the peasants and an increase concerning the number of Greek town dwellers in high offices. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 310.

[771] Lock believes such a materialistic approach might be thought as provincial. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 277-78.

[772] Macha, "Ecclesiastical Unification," 55.

[773] "The lesson that Crete offers to historians interested in pre-national sentiment is that ethnic identity provided no more of a basis for group solidarity than the status of married, single or divorced does today. Marital status is a juridical category for which society prescribes certain behavior and for which it establishes certain conventions. Regardless of whether the individual chooses to conform or not to the social conventions, an individual's identity is in many ways associated with being married, divorced or single. Marital status, though not an immutable characteristic of a person, nevertheless constitutes a juridical category which people and the government use to identify an individual's place in society." McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 206-207.

first century of Venetian domination, concludes Topping (especially since intermarriage was permitted).[774]

Unlike anywhere else in western Europe, the condition of an illegitimate child in Venetian Crete followed the condition of the father, and not of the mother. If a son could prove that his father was a Latin, even if he was born of a servile Greek mother, he was declared of free status, because Latins could not be enslaved. This has led historians such as Freddy Thiriet to assume that the colonial government drew a very sharp line between the two major ethnic communities on the island.[775] McKee believes that the question is to see how much the distinction made by the authorities between privileged Latins and subordinated Greeks reflected actual differences. Illegitimate children were a result of the two communities living together in one society. While illegitimate daughters seemed to have been perceived less Latin than illegitimate sons, the latter, in case they managed to assert their Latin paternity, had to refrain from wearing a beard or from attending the Greek rite religious services. Whatever the reason for this innovation, which was peculiar to Crete, it raises the possibility that the Cretans were accustomed of thinking in terms of "public religion" (Latin Christianity), traced through the male line, which brought certain benefits, and a "private religion" (Greek Christianity), which was maintained by the women of the family.[776]

Such a situation can be observed in a fresco from the Panagia Theotokos church in Galata, Cyprus. It portrays a mixed marriage[777] depicting the donor Polos Zacharias, a Cypriot nobleman, with his wife Magdalene, probably descending from the Lusignans, holding a Latin

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[774] Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins," 21. While intermarriage among the elite was tolerated, some marriages were more preferable than others especially where the value of the dowry was high (a Venetian man marrying a Greek woman was a better bargain since that would have brought Greek property into Latin hands). McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete*, 58-74.
[775] Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 287-98.
[776] Sally McKee, "Greek women in Latin households of Fourteenth Century Venetian Crete," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993): 237.
[777] Benjamin Arbel, "Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: The Case of the Synglitico Family," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), article XIII, 325-337.

rosary and next to her, her daughter with an open book at her hands with the Akathistos hymn related to the Greek Church practice. The practice of holding religious books is characteristic of Western medieval art providing evidence on how such influences were entering into the decoration of the Byzantine churches.[778]

A continuous demonstration of the privileged status was required by the Venetian authorities - even in cases where the Latin paternity (which determined the free status of a child) was common knowledge - and often relied on external features thought as defining a certain ethnic group. This also shows that the ability to differentiate between the two communities was based on a small number of subjectively chosen "cultural" characteristics.[779] The adoption of mixed external cultural markers is evident in the well-known case of Leonardo Dellaporta, a fourteenth century poet whose family had been among the early Venetian colonists of the island, who received an education both in Greek and Latin, wrote poems in Greek and who declared to be Cretan and also Orthodox.[780] His example is important as it shows that city dwellers were also using Greek, and that the Greek-speaking population was not isolated in the countryside. Tsougarakis also perceives the signs of the *Hellenization* of some of the Venetians which started as soon as they learned and spoke the Greek language.[781]

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[778] Charalampos G. Chotzakoglou, "Unveiling the Venetian art-image: Remarks on the Painting and its religious background of Cyprus during the Period of the Venetian Rule (1489-1571)," in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idée (XIII-XVIII sec.)*, ed. Chryssa Maltezou, Angeliki Tzavara, Despina Vlassi (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2009) (hereafter Chotzakoglou, "Unveiling the Venetian art-image"), 427-439, here 434.

[779] McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 110-111. When deciding on cases of disputed paternity, the judges were more interested in the attendance to Greek rite religious services or personal external appearance, than the language used by the defendant. *Si dictus Nicolaus non vivet secundum morem latinorum vel ibit ad officium grecorum aut portabit babam quod ipse debeat esse villanus comunis*, Archivio di Duca di Candia, Memoriali, Busta 29, fasc 2, f. 32r (10 May 1324) quoted in McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 123, footnote 339.

[780] Λινάρδος έναι τόνομα τό επίκλην Τελλαμπόρτας και χριστιανός ορθόδοξος και Κρητικός υπάρχω, in M. Manousakas, *Praktika of the Athenian Academy* 29 (1954): 34; quoted in Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne*, 302, footnote 2.

[781] Dimitris Tsougarakis, "Cultural Assimilation through Language Infiltration: Some Early Examples from Venetian Crete," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995): 191-192.

Wills and inheritances

By the fourteenth century, intermarriage and the numerical superiority of the Greek community meant that the boundaries which set off the elite from the Greek population were becoming increasingly transparent. Thus, it is much easier to recognize Greek cultural characteristics in the wills of Greek women after they had married Latin men. In their wills bequests to the Greek Church, which was a hallmark of membership in the Greek community, appear side-by-side with a pious concern for the Latin Church. Maintaining a connection to the culture of the community in which these wives were born was made all the easier by the presence of Greeks in and around the households of their Latin husbands. The bequests to people outside the immediate circle of heirs suggest that Greek women in Latin households were enmeshed in an environment that was as much Greek as it was Latin.[782]

McKee surveys several cases of wills with dual external cultural markers. The wills left by Elena Mudacio, Marina Çancaruolo, or Agnes Cornario (daughter of Alexios Calergi) show the double adherence and attachment to both the Latin and Greek rites of these prominent ladies. They left money to the Franciscans or expressed their wish to be buried in the Franciscan church in Candia, while at the same time bequeathing sums to the monasteries of St Sinai, to Greek priests, confessors and *papades*. Their connections to the Greek rite remained very strong even after marriage in the Latin Church and households.[783] Other cases include that of a certain Johannes de Rugerio who, in 1340, left money to the Franciscans to say masses for his soul, but also to the Greek priests of two churches.[784] Stephanus Bono, a wealthy notary and a member of the Great Council, left small amounts to the Dominicans and

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[782] McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete*, 67-68.
[783] McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 119-121. McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete*, vol. 1, 223; vol. 2, 538-540 and 541-543.
[784] *Item dimitto Fratribus Minoribus yperpera quinque pro missis dicendis pro anima mea. Item dimitto papati ecclesie de Chiera Chosti pro anima mea. Item dimitto papati Georgio Pendamati yperpera duo pro missis dicendis pro anima mea.* McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete*, vol. 2, 569-570.

Franciscan churches of Candia, as well as to the church of St. Michael the Archangel where he had studied Greek. The names of his children: Dominicus, Petrus, Francisca, Stephanus and Pothiti show the mixture of the two cultures.[785]

Only one such document survives from the fifteenth century that gives us an insight in to the flexibility of adopted cultural markers of the military elite on the eastern borders of the Hungarian kingdom. *Patermannus de Longocampo, armiger Argensis diocesis*, identified as Peterman (Petărman/Petriman)[786] a Saxon from Câmpulung,[787] left his belongings to the monastery of Cozia, in Wallachia on 17 July 1425. Barbu observes that his will which was written in Slavonic used two formulas. The testament itself as a deed of piety, the invocation of the testament: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" and the rendering of the date: "17 July, on the day of Saint Marina," are specific to Latin documents. On the other hand, the language in which it was written, the way the conclusion was phrased in the *poena spiritualis*: "if someone will misuse this letter, may that one be destroyed and killed by God here and in the age to come, may he be cursed by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the 318 Holy Fathers of Nicaea, may he be with Judas and with Arius and may the Holy Trinity be hostile to him" are characteristic for the Greek-Slavonic tradition (one of the witnesses, *popa* Stoico, might well have been a member of the local Greek-Slavonic rite clergy).[788]

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[785] *Imprimis omnium dimitto pro anima mea Fratribus Predicatoribus yperpera in cretensia currentia vigintiquinque pro misis celebrandis pro anima mea. Similiter Fratribus Minoribus yperpera in cretensia currentia vigintiquinque pro misis celebrandis pro anima mea. Item dimitto yperpera in cretensia currentia viginti ecclesie Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, ubi volo sepeliri, quia ibi doctus fui litteras grecas.* [...] *Totum residuum omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium sit Francischine, Pothiti, Dominici et Petri, filiarum et filiorum meorum.* McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete*, vol. 2, 543-544. McKee, "Uncommon Dominion," 115-6.

[786] Barbu, "Pelerinage à Rome et Croisade," 166.

[787] For the history of the town of Câmpulung see Laurenţiu Rădvan, *Oraşele din Ţara Românească până la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea* [The towns of Wallachia until the end of the sixteenth century] (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2004), 395-412.

[788] Бъ имѧ ѿца и сына и свѣтого духа. […] Исписа сѧ сїє въ лѣт, ҂ѕцлг, мєсѣца иоулїа зі дьнь на свѣтѫѧ Маринѫ. […] Єщєжє и по съмръти моєн, аще кто разорит сїє записанїє, то таковаго Богъ да разорит и да оубиєт и здє и въ бѫдѫщом вѣцѣ, да єст проклѧт ѿ ѿца и сїна и свѣтого духа и ѿ тйі свѣтых ѿць иже

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Peterman's story does not end here though. Eight years later, after a period of service as notary in the royal chancellery of Sigismund of Luxembourg, Peterman went on a pilgrimage to Rome where he asked for a papal indulgence for the pilgrims and those who gave donations for repairing the church of St James in Câmpulung (S. Iacobi de Longocampo), for letters confirming the complete remission of their sins, and for the right to have a portable altar.[789] His double religious option is characteristic for a time when an act of piety of Western inspiration could be very well expressed in a Slavonic environment, when the Latin parish in Câmpulung and the Greek-Slavonic rite monastery of Cozia were treated in the same way by the same person.[790]

And he was not the only one visiting the pope at that time. Several other pilgrims from Transylvania, Banat and Wallachia had come to Rome and met Pope Eugene IV on 13 July 1433 making for various pious requests. Among them, Peter of Orăştie, a warrior in the service of Sigismund of Luxembourg, asked for several privileges and religious paraphernalia for himself and his family.[791] The issue of the double baptism stands out in this case. The

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въ Никєи и да єст Іоудинь и Арїин и да му є съпостать свѣтаа троица. P. P. Panaitescu, Damaschin Mioc, ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica B (Ţara Românească)* [Wallachia], vol. 1 (1247-1500) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966) no. 57, 112-113.

[789] *Patermannus de Longocampo, armiger Ariensis diocesis: supplicat ut visitantibus eccl. S. Iacobi de Longocampo in festo dicti sancti et pro conservatione eiusdem eccl. manus porrigentibus adiutrices indulgentiae conferantur. Item cum uxore sua Margaretha supplicat ut concedantur litterae confessionales cum facultate absolvendi et concedendi in articulo mortis plenariam remissionem peccatorum, utque permittatur altare portabile super quo per idoneum sacerdotem missae vel alia divina officia celebrentur.* Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 208, 128.

[790] Barbu, "Pelerinage à Rome et Croisade," 169.

[791] *Petrus, filius Blasii de Orastiia, miles serenissimi domini imperatoris, qui pridem erat in fide Grecorum et in festo Sancte Trinitatis in ecclesia beati Petri, ad fidem christianam per eundem dominum imperatorem fuit baptizatus, quatenus ei, qui pro fidei catholice et christianorum defensione contra perfidissimos et infideles Turcos et Hussitas hereticos pugnare habet et bellare sitque de ipsius more laudabili ut tenetur confessiones et eucharistie sacramenta, ante huiusmodi belli ingressum percipere ac missas et alia divina officia per idoneum sacerdotem in sua et suorum familiarium ac sibi adherentium presentia, etiam aliquando ante lucem diurnam, inimicorum invassorum necessitate urgente celebrari facere;* he asked the pope: *ut confessor quem vel quos ipse cum sua familia et sibi adherentibus duxis eligendum, ipsum et familiam ac sibi adherentes ab omnibus eorum peccatis, etiam si talia essent, propter que sedes apostolica merito esset consulenda, ante huiusmodi belli ingressum quotiens fuerit oportunum absolvere et eis ac eorum cuilibet penitentiam salutare iniugere;* and for the privilege: *idem orator altare portabile habere super quo missas et alia divina officia in locis congruis et honestis etiam ecclesiastico interdicto subpositis et ante diem in galli cantu et post, per propium et alium sacerdotem idioneum, in sua ac suorum familiarium presentia celebrare facere posit et valeat;* and: *quantenus*

Latin Church did not require this as a proof of embracing its creed. Nevertheless, it was a common missionary practice in regions with an important Greek-Slavonic rite community.[792] Kings like Louis of Anjou acted as witnesses/godfather to some of their nobles, such as in the case of *Sorban* (Şerban) *de Ochwa* in 1366.[793] The same must be valid for Sigismund of Luxemburg who, on 7 June 1433, witnessed the baptism of Peter of Orăştie in the church of Saint Peter in Rome. The same Peter later dedicated his church in *Halmas* (either Hălmagiu in the Zarand district or Almăj in the Almaş district) to a Balkan saint, Demetrios.[794] Many donations and landed property were bestowed through royal diplomas following baptisms such as that of the Romanian Stephen of Aciua (Arad) who received an extra property after he changed to the Latin Church.[795]

Places of worship

Nowhere else are external cultural markers more visible than in the way people built and decorated their places of worship. Church architecture and iconography also bring

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omnibus et singulis christifidelibus contritis et confessis parochialem ecclesiam Sancti Demetrii martyris de Halmas, diocesis Chanadiensis, in dicto sancto et cancellarie sanctitatis vestre festis devote visitantibus et pro ipsius reparatione et fabrica manus porrigentibus adiutrices, tres annos et totidem quadragenas de vera indulgentia perpetuis temporibus duraturis per signaturam concessas; and, finally: *quatenus ei ut certas sanctorum reliquias ab hac alma Urbe recipiendi et illis quorum interest sibi dandi causa devotionis ad partes suas deferendi et portandi.* Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 207, 127-128.

[792] Adinel Dincă, "Antroponimie şi etnie în Transilvania Medievală (Epoca Angevină)" [Anthroponymy and ethnicity in Medieval Transylvania (the Angevine age)], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Bariţiu din Cluj-Napoca* 51 (2012): 42.

[793] [...] *fidelis noster Olachus, Sorban vocatus de Ochwa* [...] *in ritu katholico bapthizathus*, *Stephanum fecimus appelari*. DRH C, vol. 13, no. 59, 100; *Documenta historiam Valachorum*, no. 148, 189.

[794] Two more nobles from the bishopric of Transylvania were received by the pope on 13 July 1433. Mathias Franki de Cwzed Fabwa asked for the concession of an indulgence for the visitors and donors of the church of Saint Nicholas de Suaswar. John, the son of Balthazar of Aiud, asked that his hospice in the town, situated *in medio schismaticorum et prope Turcorum*, receives an indulgence and the right to choose a confessor who will celebrate the mess before the dawn and give the absolution *in articulo mortis* and in other special cases. Fedalto, *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, no. 205, 126 and no. 206, 127.

[795] DRH C, vol. 13, no. 59, 100-101.

important evidence regarding cult and ritual. The transitional regions under scrutiny witnessed the proliferation of mixed iconographic programs and the common use of ecclesiastical buildings such as the Cretan double churches. [796]

In Transylvania, the period around the middle of the fifteenth century has little correspondence until the eighteenth century in what concerns the construction of new buildings by the Romanian elite and communities. The frescoes of some of the Greek-Slavonic rite churches in the region are also a mirror of the times when they were depicted.[797] The three Hungarian Holy kings (Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislaus) appear frequently in the mural paintings of Greek Slavonic rite churches, such as Ribiţa, Crişcior (Zarand), or Chimindia, dating from the fourteenth fifteenth centuries.[798] In 1471, the old Greek-Slavonic rite church of Cuhea, in Maramureş, had the Holy Hungarian king Stephen as a patron, in a time and region where the sources place mainly Romanians.[799]

This peculiarity which apparently contradicted the iconographic canons was seen by most of the scholars as a tribute of the local Greek-Slavonic feudal lords to their Hungarian overlords.[800] The arguments is not easily defendable especially since, as already shown above,

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[796] See Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell' isola di Creta*, 4 volumes (Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1905-1932) (hereafter Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti*); K. Gallas, K. Wessel, M. Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1983).

[797] Elena-Dana Prioteasa, "Western and Eastern Themes in the Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei (Hunedoara County, Romania)," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, ed. Katalin Szende, Judith A. Rasson, Marcell Sebők, vol. 9 (Budapest: Central European University, 2003): 181-196.

[798] See Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa*, ed. Michel Pauly, François Reinert (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 319-330, in particular 326-329; Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects of the Mural Representations of sancti reges Hungariae in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, ed. Katalin Szende, Judith A. Rasson, vol. 16 (Budapest: Central European University, 2010): 93-119; Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIII. századtól a XVII. századig" [The cult and iconography of the holy Hungarian kings between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries], in *Az ezeréves ifjú. Tanulmányok szent Imre herceg 1000 évéről* [The thousand-year-old youth. Studies on St Emeric's millenium], ed. Tamás Lőrincz (Székesfehérvár: Szent Imre templom, 2007), 79-123.

[799] Popa, "The stone church of Cuhea," 31.

[800] For the reasons of this iconography see Elena Dana Prioteasa, "The Holy Kings of Hungary in Medieval Orthodox Churches of Transylvania," *Ars Transsilvaniae* 19 (2009): 41-56. Authors such as Silviu Dragomir went as far as to consider the presence of these frescoes as an iconographical error. "Vechile biserici din Zarand şi ctitorii lor în secolele 14-15" [The Old Churches of Zarand and their ktetors in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries], *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secţia Transilvania* (1929): 223-264, 235.

one knows very little about the organization, jurisdiction and hierarchy of the Greek-Slavonic communities of rite in Transylvania and Maramureş. While in the Zarand area, the Romanian nobles seem to have adopted even before 1439 the holy Hungarian kings as part of the iconography in their churches and, as discussed above, recognized a double jurisdiction, both Greek and Latin, in Haţeg things happened with some delay. There, the Romanian knezes who had just started to call themselves nobles decided to act in the traditional framework of the local Church, a framework that had been set up two centuries before. The phenomenon reached its peak around 1450, when a great number of churches had been built, rebuilt or repainted.[801]

In my opinion the particular reactions of the Romanian nobility towards the court, other fellow nobles or the Latin Church prove a diversification of the social possibilities available to this group, and they should always be placed in the bigger picture of the historical context. The fact that some of the Romanian nobles seem to have a bipolar approach to religion, being acknowledged as Catholics in the official documents, but then recognized as Orthodox in Slavonic inscriptions seems to be rather the norm than the exception.[802] Changing confession did not immediately mean losing the cultural/religious identity. Most of the members of the Romanian elite had good connections with their environment; they supported the Greek-Slavonic rite Church and its micro-hierarchy as they were also ruling their villages either in person or through their delegates. As shown above, an important part of the Romanian clergy was also part of the feudal elite, in places such as Banat, Haţeg or Maramureş.

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[801] Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei sees forms of religious syncretism, heterodoxy, together with subtle messages of self-defense. Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Implicaţii sociale şi politice în iconografia picturii medievale româneşti din Transilvania secolelor XIV-XV. Sfinţii militari" [Social and political meanings of the iconography of medieval Romanian painting, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. The military saints], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 28 (1981): 24-30.

[802] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 118.

The frescoes of Remetea were characterized as a witness to the Orthodox-Catholic tendencies of union by Virgil Vătăşianu.[803] Some former Latin rite churches were painted with frescoes of Serbian-Byzantine influence.[804] The church of Sântămăria-Orlea, formerly belonging to a Latin rite community, made up by colonists who had arrived in Haţeg in the thirteenth century, was painted in the fourteenth century and bearing Latin inscriptions and graffiti was given after 1447 to the Cândeştii of Râu de Mori family by John Hunyadi as a donation, together with the whole settlement.[805] The nobles of the family of Cândea Râu de Mori are some of the few who adhered to the Latin Church; nevertheless, after 1447, when they became the masters of the village of Sântămăria-Orlea the Cândeşti sponsored the partial transformation of the church by having the altar painted with new frescoes of Serbo-Byzantine influence adorned with Slavonic inscriptions.[806] This would have been very difficult but for the context provided by the acceptance of the Florentine decisions in Transylvania. At least two other churches, those of Gurasada (modern Hunedoara county) and Zlatna (modern Alba county) were taken over by Greek-Slavonic rite communities during the Middle Ages.

Churches in Cyprus present ways of understanding dogmas and other theological positions that were treated differently by the two churches. The church of the Holy Cross (Timios Stavros) tou Hagiasmati in Platanistasa (end of fifteenth/beginning of sixteenth century) has the iconographical theme of the Trinity in the western type *Gnadenstuhl* which the painter Philippos Goul has placed on the upper part of the apse, as well as in another

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[803] Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 761.

[804] Marius Porumb, "Ctitori şi artă românească în Transilvania secolului al XV-lea" [Ktetors and Romanian art in fifteenth century Transylvania], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 23 (1980): 97-121, here 118.

[805] On this family see Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Cnezi români din Transilvania în epoca lui Iancu de Hunedoara - Cîndeştii din Rîu de Mori" [Romanian knezes from Transylvania in the time of John Hunyadi – the Cândeşti of Râu de Mori], *Revista Istorică* 37, no. 6 (1984): 557-568.

[806] Rusu, *Ctitori şi biserici*, 36, 311-313; Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Miscellanea Hatzegiana (Informaţii şi reinterpretări privitoare la istoria Ţării Haţegului în evul mediu) (II)" [Information and reinterpretations regarding the history of the Haţeg district in the middle ages], *Acta Musei Napocensis* 24-25 (1987-1988): 272-273.

sixteenth century church, the Holy Cross in the village of Hagia Eirini. The scene also appears on Crete in the church of the Holy Virgin (1390-1391) in the village of Roustika (Rethymno district) and in the monastery at Prevelis. Chotzakoglou observes that in the Cypriot case the painter's or donor's preference was to depict the breath of God the Father to be directed only to the Dove – Holy Ghost, which could be interpreted as an artistic expression demonstrating that the Holy Ghost was proceeding only from God the Father, thus rejecting the *Filioque* clause.[807] The depiction of the martyr and theologian Hippolytus of Rome (antipope 217-235) and of Pope Adrian I (r. 772-795), who held the pontifical office before 1054, and who were known for their preference towards the views of the Orthodox Church, together with other local saints in the north apse (*prothesis*) of the St. George of the Greeks church in Famagusta (late fifteenth century) may also be a proof of a subtle anti-Latin sentiment doubled with a strong identity marker.[808]

Anti-Uniate frescos are to be found in the narthex of the Holy Virgin church in Moutoulas (sixteenth century), in the narthex of St. Sozomenos (sixteenth century) in Galata and on the west wall of the Holy Virgin Katholiki church in Pelendri, depicting Uniate or Latin priests in hell. In the same context can be interpreted the preference of emphasizing St. Andrew, alleged founder of the Church in Constantinople, who is placed first in the row of Apostles instead of St. Paul such as in the church of Hagia Mavra (late fifteenth century) in Koilani, and in the Holy Virgin Podythou (sixteenth century) in Galata where he is painted taller than the other disciples.[809]

The usual practice in regions where the Latins took over was to continue using and not to remodel existing Byzantine churches. This shows that the Latins could recognize the sanctity of Greek churches and tombs and use them. The deliberate reconstruction of churches

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[807] Chotzakoglou, "Unveiling the Venetian art-image," 435.
[808] Ibidem, 437.
[809] Ibidem, 436.

on older Byzantine sites, as at Bethany and Ascalon (in the crusader states),[810] suggests both

that the Franks worked with local masons and that they consulted the populations about how

the churches should look like, thus linking their regime to the Byzantine and Christian local

past of Syria and Palestine, a deliberate and explicit message signaling Frankish participation

in a shared Christianity.[811]

In Frankish Greece, the churches were reused with minimal structural adaptation

which is perhaps surprising since most of them were ill-suited to Latin ritual and processions

and suited only small congregations. The dedications of the churches were important and

there is evidence that these were changed: the church of Hagia Fotini in Thebes became the

church of Saint Lucia, the church of Hagia Paraskevi in Negroponte became San Marco, and a

church in Andravida was rededicated to Saints James and Stephen. There was no campaign of

church building to match the four hundred churches built or rebuilt in Palestine by the

crusaders.[812] Some churches were built or repaired but using Greek craftsmen working in

Greek style.[813]

Celebrations kept in common were part of the politics of rapprochement and

proselytizing practiced by the Latin Church in regards with the Easterners.[814] There is

information about Latin patronage of Melkite churches and monasteries in the Holy Land (the

case of Amalric).[815] In small towns and rural communities, the Latins and indigenous

Christians attended the same small churches, even services (such as the "anchor" church in

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[810] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) (hereafter Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*), 62-64, 125-126.
[811] MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 130.
[812] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, 1.
[813] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 219.
[814] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: the Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templars," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi, József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2001), 89-100.
[815] Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens, & Francs*, 75-76

Tiberias). At al-Taiyiba, 'Abud, Tekoa, Jifna the same church was used by both communities, one apse for the Latins, the other for the Greeks.[816] James of Vitry writes about cases when the Greeks and Syrians were washing the altars which were used by the Latins before using them themselves.[817]

Very little information has been preserved about Latin clergy celebrating in Greek rite churches: *Missam in ecclesia audiverunt, ubi ex alia parte altaris, quod in temple medio erectum est, graecum itidem sacrum celebrabatur*,[818] and also on celebrations to which faithful of both rites would take part because of the importance of a certain saint or icon at local level[819] (such is the case of the Messopanditissa icon[820]). A note of Pietro Pisani, bishop of Sitia and Ierapetra, which he sent to the pope, says that in the cathedral of Ierapetra there were three altars, and one of them was used by a *papa Greco*.[821] This altar was a permanent one and the *papa Greco* celebrated according to the Greek rite, which was (in the circumstances) the Uniate rite.

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[816] Ellenblum, "Mixed Frankish and local Christian settlements," *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 119-144; MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, 125-129.

[817] *Cum igitur tam Greci, quam Suriani, ut predictum est, omnes Latinos excommunicatos reputent, altaria supra que Latini celebraverunt divina priusquam in ipsis celebrent abluere consueverunt*. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, chapter LXXV, 302.

[818] Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti*, vol. 2 (1908), 13, note 22.

[819] Eftichia Arvaniti, "Orthodoxe und Katholiken in einer Kirche. Das Zusammenleben der Dogmen und die Doppelkirchen auf den griechischen Inseln (13.-18. Jh.)," in *Junge Römer – Neue Griechen. Eine byzantinische Melange aus Wien. Beiträge von Absolventinnen und Absolventen des Instituts für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien, in Dankbarkeit gewidmet ihren Lehrern Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, Otto Kresten und Werner Seibt als Festgabe zum 65. Geburstag*, ed. Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag, 2008), 27-43.

[820] Papadaki, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche*, 148.

[821] Maria Mondelou, "Ὄψεις της καθολικής εκκλησίας στη Σητεία και την Ιεράπετρα μέσα από την έκθεση του επισκόπου Pietro Pisani (1630)" (Aspects of the Catholic Church of Sitia and Ierapetra in the report of the bishop Pietro Pisani), *Acts of the ninth international congress of Cretan studies*, Iraklio, 2004, vol. 2/1, 307, quoted in Olga Gratziou, "Evidenziare la diversità: chiese doppie nella Creta veneziana," in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idée (XIII-XVIII sec.)*, ed. Chryssa Maltezou, Angeliki Tzavara, Despina Vlassi (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2009) (hereafter Gratziou, "Evidenziare la diversità"), 758, footnote 5. On the Venetian bishops in Crete during the first half of the seventeenth century see Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Politica e carriere ecclesiastiche nel secolo XVII: i vescovi veneti fra Roma e Venezia* (Bologna: Società editrice Il Mulino, 1993), 24-25.

The Cretan landscape is dotted with a special type of structure, the double church. The oldest version of this kind of church goes back to the end of the fourteenth century.[822] Churches with two naves, one larger and higher than the other, with a typical asymmetrical disposition on the outside were built up to the end of the first half of the fifteenth century.[823] From the second half of the fifteenth century, the churches were built with two parallel and equivalent naves. These are actually the cases that deserve to be named double churches.[824] The oldest type is represented by those churches that were obtained through adding a second nave to an older church with a single nave, usually by opening up the southern wall of the primitive building. The double churches have a sanctuary that has two separated rooms (the case of Roustika). Though there are some differences in the building's ground plan, one can see that the builders strove to achieve a certain symmetry and equivalence of the two parts that make up the double church. The fact that this architectural model continued to be used during the Venetian regime shows that this was not a conjectural solution, but the projection of a precise plan. Olga Gratziou concludes by saying that, besides providing room for two different religious communities, this type of a church had the scope of visualizing the equivalence of the two confessions,[825] especially since the church was also dedicated to two saints.

Only in recent years have the double churches been interpreted as being used by the two rites. This happened for two reasons mainly: the architectural type of the double church was in use also in the nineteenth century, when the problem of two confessions was no longer

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[822] Gratziou, *Evidenziare la diversità* Gratziou, 759.

[823] There are five churches still extant, all of them in central Crete (Panaghìa in Kastrì, Milopòtamo, the remains of the church of Saint Michael the Archangel at Axos, the first phase of the church of the Panaghìa at Merona-Amari, the second phase of the church of the Panaghìa at Valsamonero, and the church of Saint Haralambos at Paliama-Valsamonero).

[824] Gratziou, *Evidenziare la diversità*, 759.

[825] Ibidem, 760.

extant[826] and earlier research failed to see the relation between the double church and the needs of two religious communities.

Building churches with spaces destined for the use of two communities became a tool of mission used by monastic circles pertaining to both traditions. Such is the case of the Franciscans, active on the island.[827] In 1626, the church of Christ the Savior, used by the Orthodox, was claimed by the Catholic community in Ierapetra. One of the Franciscan monks built a chapel adjoining the church in question, and communicating with it. This chapel was used for the mass and resolved the dispute between the two communities of rite.[828] The monasteries of Saint Anthony at Neapoli, and that of Saints Demetrios and Nestorios at Katochori Kidonias also show the attempt made by the Franciscans to draw the Orthodox to their churches by providing services according to the Greek rite at separate altars. The monasteries lodged by monks of the Basilian rule provide the same example, such as in the case of Saint Anthony at Vrondissi or the famous monastery at Arkadi. The objectives were to attract faithful of both traditions, increase the income and enhance the social prestige of the monastery. It could also be, as in the case of the churches, a testimony of a *de facto* situation which had been going on for four hundred years. The success of the double churches can be related to the Union signed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence.

Olga Gratziou interprets the use of distinct spaces in the same church as a proof of the failure of the Florentine church union.[829] In my opinion the use of different spaces is a proof of the existence of two communities differentiated through rituals, but it is not conclusive

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[826] The churches built at this later date are the expression of the neo-hellenic architectural eclecticism which in Crete gained a strong neo-Venetian character, which can also be found in the civil architecture. Gratziou, *Evidenziare la diversità*, 761.

[827] Tsougarakis, *The Latin religious orders*, 308-309.

[828] Anastassia Stouraiti, ed., *La Grecia nelle raccolte della Fondazione Querini Stampalia* (Venice: 2000), 25, 249-251, quoted in Gratziou, *Evidenziare la diversità*, 762, footnote 13.

[829] Gratziou, *Evidenziare la diversità* Gratziou, 763.

regarding the Union. The problem here revolves again around what the concept of Church Union denotes throughout the period in question.

Greek-Slavonic rite Christians and the regime of tithes

In its 53rd canon, the Fourth Lateran Council stated the obligation of Greek rite Christians - who had been exempted before and who were under the jurisdiction of Latin rite bishops - living on the lands of Latin rite lords to pay the ecclesiastical tithe.[830] At the same time this was intended to meet the situation in Frankish Greece and Cyprus where many landowners were Greeks. It should have been applied to Greek rite Christians living in the crusader states as well and Honorius III tried to impose it in Antioch,[831] but local custom proved stronger. The non-payment of tithes by Greeks was thus acknowledged and their incorporation within the system seen as a challenge.[832]

The tithes (*decimae personales* and *decimae reales* or *praediales*) were a financial obligation which every Latin rite Christian was required to pay to the Church.[833] In the Byzantine Empire, the tithe corresponded to the *kanonikon*[834] which was "an annual tax levied

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[830] *In aliquibus regionibus quaedam permixtae sunt gentes, quae secundum suos ritus decimas de more non solvunt, quamvis censeantur nomine christiano. His nonnulli domini praediorum ea tribuunt excolenda, ut decimis defraudantes ecclesias, maiores inde reditus assequantur. Volentes igitur super his ecclesiarum indemnitatibus providere, statuimus ut ipsi domini talibus personis et taliter sua praedia excolenda committant, quod absque contradictione decimas ecclesiis cum integritate persolvant, et ad id, si necesse fuerit, per censuram ecclesiasticam campellantur. Illae quippe decimae necessario sunt solvendae, quae debentur ex lege divina vel loci consuetudine approbata.* Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 259.
[831] *Eapropter fraternitati tuae concedimus, ut Graecos in tua dioecesi consistentes, ad solvendum decimas iuxta consuetudinem Latinorum, tam auctoritate nostra quam tuas valeas coartare*. Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 140, 186.
[832] Tăutu, *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, no. 108, 145.
[833] On the collection of tithes in Latin Romania during the fourteenth century see Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 1, 352-62.
[834] "The kanonikon was first mentioned in the eleventh century as an ecclesiastical tax levied annualy on all laity in the diocese for the bishop's maintenance. Under Alexios I the amount of produce and money was regulated by

on villages and varying in proportion to the number of families there and calculated in terms of what they were supposed to be able to afford."[835] This was paid directly to the bishop. At the same time, in the west, the principle that the tithe was payable to the parish was just emerging.

As this was a system originally unknown to them, the paying of tithes was not well received by the Greek Church in southern Italy. The payment and collection of the tithes was a hassle and continued to be so, as imaginative landlords devised ways to cheat this financial obligation. The same 53rd canon of the Fourth Lateran Council assumed that some lords took advantage of the Greek refusal to pay tithes: they would lease their land to Greeks, and then demand higher payments on the basis of their tenants' freedom from tithes. The difference would then remain in their pockets. In the Latin East, it was usually not the lease holder (frequently a non-Latin Christian or a Muslim) but the landowner who paid the tithes directly to the diocesan Church.[836] Some financial compromises happened nevertheless, such as the willingness of the Latin bishops to allow their Greek rite subjects not to pay tithes, though they were obliged to do so.

Latin Christians in Antioch were employing Greeks and Armenians to cultivate their lands. They were deducting the payment owed to their tenants from their overall revenues and paid tithe only from the amount that remained after the deductions, since Greek rite Christians, by custom of the principality, did not have to pay tithes. Disregarding the ruling of Lateran IV, the local Latin hierarchy seems to have accepted this practice and was content

the number of hearths in each village. There was resistance to the tax as until then such tributes from the faithful (usually offerings of the first fruits) were largely voluntary as emphasized by previous imperial and canonical legislation. The kanonikon was also imposed on priests (one nomisma per year) and on all monasteries except stauropegial foundations." "Kanonikon," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, 1102-1103. See also Nicolas Oikonomides, "Tax exemptions for secular clergy under Basil II," *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2004), article I, 320.

[835] Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, 333-334. It could also be a payment of one gold coin and two silver ones, one goat, eighteen bushels of wheat and barley, six measures of wine and thirty fowls from each community of thirty hearths.

[836] Ibidem, 145-150.

with receiving at least the tithes owed by the Latin rite rulers as long as they did not completely avoid paying them.[837]

As the system of tithes for the Greek rite Christians in Latin Cyprus was the one already implemented in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, there was no direct taxation of the Greek rite Christians as their taxes were being paid by their feudal lords,[838] if they were paid at all, and calculated as one tenth of the income extracted by the respective lords from the peasants. In this respect, the peasants of Cyprus were faring better than their counterparts in Greece, whose tithes were exacted as a direct portion, namely a tenth of their own income. Nevertheless the landowners, such as the Greek monasteries or the small Greek nobility had little choice but to pay the tithe,[839] as it was more important for the beneficiaries to tax the land than the actual person. Free peasants on Cyprus paid tithes directly to the Latin Church, which was instructed to transfer a proportion of the collected revenues to the Greek bishops.[840] The tithes were paid directly to the bishops, even if difficulties arose in their collection from the secular authorities, while the prebends for the canons were deducted from ecclesiastical revenues, managed by the Latin diocesan bishop.[841]

Keenness to avoid paying the tithes was one of the causes for the unsuccessful aftermath of the Florentine union in Transylvania, as the main supporters of the Transylvanian

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[837] Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 317; Ellenblum, "Frankish settlements and the collection of tithes," *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 145-156.

[838] Jean Richard, "Le paiement des dîmes dans les états des croisés," *Francs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades* (Ashgate Variorum, 2003) (hereafter Richard, "Le paiement des dîmes dans les états des croisés,"), article XVII, 77-80. Schabel, "Religion," 202.

[839] Richard, "Le paiement des dîmes dans les états des croisés," 79.

[840] *Decimas vero, quas archiepiscopus et episcopi latini a monasteriis Graecorum de laboribus ipsorum, quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolunt, necnon et a Surianis et Graecis liberis regni Cypri exigunt, petierunt omnino dimitti eorundem archiepiscopi Graecorum et suffraganeorum suorum usibus profuturas*. Haluščynskyj/Wojnar, *Acta Inocentii IV*, no. 74, 131.

[841] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 277; for the situation of the Greek rite peasantry in Cyprus see Peter W. Edbury, "The Franco-Cypriot Landowning Class and its Exploitation of the Agrarian Resources of the Island of Cyprus," *Kingdoms of the Crusaders. From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), article XIX, 1-7.

Greek-Slavonic communities of rite proved to be the Latin rite landholders.[842] A Franciscan friar, from the circle of John of Capistrano, stated that the nobles were not interested in supporting the union of the Greek-Slavonic rite Christians.[843] They were not willing to share with the Latin Church the taxes and other duties that the Greek-Slavonic rite peasants had to pay or perform, and rather encouraged the latter to keep their old faith.

The tithes were surely not the best incentive for the Greek-Slavonic communities and there are several examples of conciliatory attitudes under the patronage of the papacy or local rulers. In a papal document of 1328, John XXII asked the prelates of the Hungarian kingdom to control their longing for worldly benefits and meanwhile focus on their spiritual goals. This came as a reply to a letter sent by Charles Robert of Anjou, who had asked the pope in Avignon to lower or completely cancel the tithes owed by Cumans, Vlachs and Slavs. These people had recently been received in the Latin Church, and some of them were willing to embrace the Latin faith, but refrained to do so since the tithes were too burdensome.[844] Pop believes this showed that the Latin mission was at least partly successful among non-Latins.[845]

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[842] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 125; Béla Köpeczi et al., ed. *History of Transylvania* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1994), 219-220.

[843] *Volachi, ut percipitur, ad conversionem prompti existunt, dum regis baronumque et nobilium regni accesserit voluntas, ceteris necessariis adiectis, proinde si labor V. P. R. non defuerit ... non ambigo multarum salus gentium.* Pettkó, "Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal," no. 39, 191.

[844] *Iohannes episcopus etc. Venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, necnon dilectis filiis electis, abbatibus, prioribus ac aliis ecclesiarum prelatis in regno Ungarie constitutis, salutem etc. Significavit nobis carissimus in Christo filius noster Carolus rex Ungarie illustris, quod vos, cum contingit aliquos ex Cumanis, Olachis et Sclavis et aliis infidelibus ad fidem catholicam divina gratia et dicti regis inductione converti, ab huiusmodi taliter conversis et in fide catholica predicta novis decimas integras nimis rigorose exigitis, et etiam extorquetis, propter quod neophiti et conversi huiusmodi ex eo, quod solvere decimas ante conversionem eorum non consueverunt, interdum asserunt, quod ad fidem catholicam predictam assumendam ex eo invitantur, ut dent clericis bona sua, et multi, qui ad fidem ipsam libenter converterentur, a conversione huiusmodi propterea retrahuntur. Quare dictus rex nobis humiliter supplicavit, per nos super hoc de oportuno remedio provideri. Nos igitur nolentes, quod predicti infideles ab huiusmodi conversione ipsorum ad fidem catholicam propterea retrahantur, universitati vestre per apostolica scripta districte precipiendo mandamus, quatenus in exigendo decimas predictas ab huiusmodi de novo conversis vos sic benigne et curialiter, quousque conversi ipsi in fide predicta perfecti, et in ea plenarie roborati fuerint, vos geratis, quod conversi ipsi se gravatos non reputent, quinimo benignius pertractari, alios infideles ad predictam fidem catholicam assumendam inducant, et ipsi in fide predicta devotius perseverant.* Ion Ionaşcu et al., ed., *Documente privind Istoria României. Veacul XIV C. Transilvania*, vol. 2 (1321-1330) [Documents regarding the History of Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1953), no. 503, 257.

[845] Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 286.

Nevertheless, there was a fiscal side to proselytism and those who were targeted wavered in their spiritual choice when subjected to the tithes. In 1351, Louis I obtained from Pope Clement VI an exemption from tithes for "schismatics, philistines, Cumans, Tatars, pagans and other unbelievers" living in Hungary or the surrounding countries where the king aimed to spread the Latin faith and build churches.[846]

Exemptions were awarded in cases where the communities had recently accepted the Latin rite. In 1358, with the knight Nicholas Lachk reporting he had supported the building of three churches in villages situated in modern Arad county "among the Vlachs," the pope approved that three quarters of the tithes collected from these villages would be left at the disposal of the local parish priests.[847] The priests were thus motivated in making sure the community remained part of the Latin Church.[848]

Another example is that of the Romanians in the district of Medieşu Aurit (modern Satu Mare county). In 1377, Pope Gregory XI approved the request of a certain Catherine, widow of Simon, owner of the citadel and the above-mentioned district which had been taken from the schismatics allegedly around the year 1200.[849] She wanted to be allowed to donate three parts of the tithes collected from the town and surrounding villages to the parish

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[846] *Supplicat S. Vestrae Ludovicus rex Ungariae, quatenus, cum in regno et prope regno suum Ungariae schismatici, Philistaei, Cumani, Tartari, pagani et infideles multi existant, quos ipse ad sacrum Baptisma et fidem catholicam suscipiendam inducere et pro ipsis ecclesias parochiales construere, fundare et dotare intendit;* Tăutu, *Acta Clementis VI*, no. 186, 290; see also DRH C, vol. 10, no. 45, 40-41. See also Viorel Achim, "Consideraţii asupra politicii faţă de ortodocşi a regelui Ludovic I de Anjou, cu referire specială la chestiunea dijmelor" [Remarks regarding king Louis I of Anjou's policy towards the Orthodox, with special reference to the problem of tithes], in *Vocaţia istoriei. Prinos profesorului Şerban Papacostea*, ed. Ovidiu Cristea, Gheorghe Lazăr (Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei, 2008), 69-79.

[847] *[…] parrochiales ecclesias in terra sua, in medio Olachorum inter naciones protervas, quarum alique de novo sunt ad fidem catholicam conversi […]*, DRH C, vol. 11, no. 226, 235-236; *Item supplicat idem miles, quod […] quatinus dictarum quatuor ecclesiarum rectoribus concedere dignemini, ut quilibet eorum decimas infra limites parrochie sue provenientes, quarta suo diocesano reservata, integre recipere possit et retinere […]*. DRH C, vol. 11, no. 229, 238.

[848] This was an important financial stimulus, as the bishops were the ones collecting the tithes and then distributed to their clergy anything between one eight and a quarter of the collected sum or even kept the whole amount for themselves.

[849] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 227, 227a, 227b, 227c, 227d, 434-442.

churches that had in the meantime converted to the Latin rite.[850] At Medieşu Aurit, the

benefits belonged at first to the king of Hungary, most probably Bela IV (1235-1270), and

were then given to Catherine's ancestors. The pope granted her permission to transfer three

quarters of the tithes to the hands of the local parishes, thus providing financial support for the

priests who had in their care the souls of the *schismatic* community.[851]

A century later, the same issue was on the friars' agenda in Transylvania this time in

connection to the Florentine union. Since the introduction of the tithes which were not

customary among the faithful belonging to the Greek-Slavonic communities was unpopular,

the Franciscans informed the papacy that introducing the tithes was not a good strategy as the

population might perceive the Florentine union as equivalent to new fiscal burdens.[852]

John Hunyadi, in 1446, and then Michael Szilágyi in 1458 tried to propose a

compromise by transferring the royal tax of the fiftieth in Transylvania to the bishopric of

Alba Iulia. This was an important step in building up close relations between the Latin

bishops and their Romanian subjects.[853] Rusu observes that this provision was identical with

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[850] Lay owners, especially when they had built a church on their land at their own expense, had the right of patronage over the building and disposed on their own account and will off the tithes, without prior approval from the local bishop. The tithes would usually be divided among the landowner, the bishop and the local priest. This privilege has been opposed by popes and councils since it took away benefits from the church. Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 289.

[851] Tăutu, *Acta Gregorii XI*, no. 227a, 436. See also Aloisie L. Tăutu, "Ţara Oaşului românească de secole. Cinci documente cu privire la vechimea Românilor din Ţara Oaşului" [The centuries old Romanian district of Oaş. Five documents about the Romanians in the Oaş district], in *"Bună Vestire" Omagiu canonicului Aloisie Ludovic Tăutu cu ocazia împlinirii etăţii sale de 80 de ani*, vol. 1 (Rome: Tipografia P.U.G, 1975), 286-306; Şerban Turcuş, "Caterina de Medieş, i Francescani ed i Romeni di Medieşu Aurit oppure sulle vicende ecclesiologiche transilvane dei secoli XIII-XIV," *Revue roumaine d'historie* 40-41 (2001/02): 21-29.

[852] Păcurariu also mentions the problems of the tithes in the context of a possible Uniate background, but otherwise he completely avoids the issue and considers it superfluous for the aims of his book. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 288.

[853] For the 1446 document see Magyar Országos Levéltár - Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary, Q szekció, dl. 31142, available online: http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start, (accessed November 2013). *Quemadmodum aliis nostris Litteris mediantibus Vobis scripsisse recolimus in eo, ut proventus quinquagesimales Fisco Regio provenire debentes, iuxta indulta Dominorum Regum, et Spectabilis ac Magnifici Domini Joannis de Hunyad, Gubernatoris Regni Hung a populis, et Jobbagionibus valachalibus Honorabilis Capituli Eccl. Alb. Transilv. exigere, et exig. facere, nequaquam praesumeret, sic et praesentibus in persona Regiae Majestatis, et authoritate Gubernatoratus, strictius mandantes Committimus, aliud habere nolentes, quatenus hujusmodi proventus quinquagesimales Fisco Regio provenire debentes, memorato Capitulo ... exigere, extorquere, exigique facere,*

those taken in royal documents when a country was becoming Christian, setting up the stage for the future subordination to the Church of the newly Christianized flock.

In 1476, the king's ambassador was complaining to the pope that the Greek rite communities in the southern parts of the kingdom were persecuted by the Latin clergy, and as they were close to the Ottoman border, the Latin bishops were supposed to be more lenient. Pope Sixtus IV even asked the Hungarian clergy to stop persecuting the Greek rite Christians, and allow them to be buried in the cemeteries belonging to the Latin Church, as well as performing baptisms and confessions for them where necessary.[854] Another law of Matthias Corvinus from 15 July 1481, which was implemented in the kingdom with the exception of Transylvania, ruled that the newly arrived Serbs and other schismatics be exempted from the payment of tithes.[855]

There were nevertheless cases, as we shall see below, when Greek-Slavonic rite Christians had to pay the tithes as well.[856] Usually the Romanians had to pay or to provide some specific taxes or non-financial obligations which were not imposed on the Latin rite population. Both in Transylvania and Banat, but also in other areas where they were living, the Romanians were subjected to a special tax: the *quinquagesima ovium* or the "fiftieth."[857]

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aut eosdem ... impedire, molestare, perturbare nusquam, et nunquam praesumatis, ... Datum in Lippa Sabbat ...A.D. 1458. Szeredai, *Notitia veteris*, 97.

[854] *[...] in ea parte Hungarie, que Servie est contermina, multi christiani ritu Greco baptizati inter catholicos habitant [...]. Quocirca vobis tenore presentium iniungimus, et apostolica auctoritate mandamus, quatenus huiusmodi christianos in vestris diocesibus constitutos non permittatis clam vel palam a predicatoribus, vel aliis quibuscumque prefata occasione vexari, sed eos benigne, mansueteque tolerantes, in vestris cimiteriis et ecclesiis, dum ad hoc fueritis requisiti, humari sepelirique permittatis, dificienteque ritus eorum sacerdote, in confessionibus audiri, absolvique facere in forma Romane ecclesie debeatis, nec sacramentum baptismatis ritu Romano, dum requisiti fueritis [...].* Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 219, 244-245.

[855] *Item quod Rasciani et ceteri huiusmodi scismatici ad solutionem decimarum non astringantur et neque per comites parochiales instar aliorum ad huiusmodi decimarum solutionem compellantur. Quodque ad Christianos, in quorum medio tales scismatici morantur, aut econtra ratione ipsorum scismaticorum et non solutionis decimarum interdictum ecclesiasticum non imponatur.* F. Dőry, György Bónis, Géza Érszegi, Zsuzsa Teke, ed., *Decreta Regni Hungariae (1458-1490)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 247.

[856] Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 291.

[857] Alexandru Doboşi, *Datul oilor (quinquagesima ovium). Un capitol din istoria economică a românilor din Transilvania* [The quinquagesima ovium. A chapter of the economic history of the Transylvanian Romanians], (Bucharest: Imprimeria Naţională, 1937).

In the region of modern Bihor, Greek-Slavonic rite Christians also paid different taxes than the Latins.[858] Their most important tax, the *quinquagesima (decimam partem ovium suarum, ratione quinquagesime)*,[859] was paid at the time of the Pentecost. On 8 September (Nativity of the Virgin), each household had to give a sheep symbolizing the right to inhabit their house.[860] In December, they had to give the tax on pigs.[861] The knezes had different obligations according to their specific convention with the chapter house.[862] As a community, the Romanians on the estates of the Chapter House had to give one horse per year.[863]

Though there are voices which stated that, before the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Greek rite Christians were not paying the tithes, there is earlier evidence that the papacy had tried to impose it. A papal document from 1354 required Louis I to force the schismatics on the territories belonging to the archbishopric of Kalocsa (under whose jurisdiction were territories inhabited by Romanians and Slavs in the eastern and south-eastern parts of the realm) to pay the ecclesiastic tithes they had refused to pay so far.[864]

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[858] *Ne autem nostri subditi diverso iure censeri videantur, reducendi sunt omnes in fertonum, terragiorum et munerum dacione ad unum modum, preter subditos nostros Olahales, qui ritu adhunc gentilitatis viventes, differunt omnino ab Vngaris in dandis collectis.* DRH C, vol. 14, *Statuta Capituli Varadiensis*, no. 367, 700.

[859] *Ipsi pro censu annuo tenentur singuli singulariter annis singulis circa festum Penthecostes dare decimam partem ovium suarum, racione quinquagesime.* DRH C, vol. 14, *Statuta Capituli Varadiensis*, no. 367, 700.

[860] This tax was also paid by some of the Hungarians before 1241, the so-called "sons of the Iobagiones of the Holy King." On the change of status of the *jobagiones* see János M. Bak, "Louis I and the Lesser Nobility in Hungary," in *Louis the Great. King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy, Géza Grosschmid, Leslie S. Domonkos (East European Monographs, Boulder; Columbia University Press, New York, 1986), 70-71.

[861] [...] *circa festum vero nativitatis beate Marie virginis singule mansiones oves singulas ac racione descensus, et de mense Decembris vel circa similiter decimam porcorum suorum.* DRH C, vol. 14, *Statuta Capituli Varadiensis*, no. 367, 700.

[862] *Kenezii vero tam ad ovium, quam porcorum prestacionem astringuntur iuxta convencionem factam inter nos et eosdem, et ultra hoc idem Kenezii singulariter de more consuetudo dant circa annis singulis medium lodicem, unum philtrum pro sella et unum caseum.* DRH C, vol. 14, *Statuta Capituli Varadiensis*, no. 367, 700.

[863] *Communiter vero Olatzii nostri dant nobis in die Strennarum in signum dominii annis singulis equum unum.* DRH C, vol. 14, *Statuta Capituli Varadiensis*, no. 367, 700.

[864] [...] *archiepiscopo Colocensi conquerente percepimus, quod nonnulli laici schismatici suae diocesis decimas, ad quas tenentur eidem solvere, sibi contumaciter contradicunt et quod processus quos idem archiepiscopus spiritualiter fecit hactenus contra ipsos, duxerunt et ducunt penitus in contemptum.[...] Serenitatem Tuam attente rogamus, quatenus eidem archiepiscopo circa decimarum exactionem huiusmodi tuum, pro reverentia Dei et Nostrae interventionis obtentu, impertiaris iuste auxilium et favorem.* Aloysius L. Tăutu, *Acta Innocentii PP. VI (1352-1362) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, 1961) (hereafter Tăutu, *Acta Innocentii VI*), no. 33, 62.

Romanians living on the *fundus regius* were subjected by the Saxons to the payment of the tithe, and exempted of the *quinquagesima*. Also those living on the lands of the Latin bishopric of Alba Iulia (*Valachi episcopales et ecclesiastici*) and in the so-called *terrae Christianorum* were paying the tithes to the Latin rite authorities. The fiscal situation of the non-Latins living on the *fundus regius* or on lands belonging to the Latin bishoprics was settled by Sigismund of Luxembourg through one of his decrees in 1398.[865] In this case, some Transylvanian nobles requested that they keep the tithes paid by the Romanians to the Latin bishop of Alba Iulia. The king opposed this because of an increase on the expenditure on the part of the bishop and the chapter house for the local *banderia*. On 8 April 1468, Matthias Corvinus asked that the tithes be collected only from Romanians living on the lands of Latin rite nobles.[866] The royal command was addressed to *fidelibus nostris universis et singulis schizmaticis ubivis in terrae Christianorum in partibus Transilvanis regni nostri commorantibus*,[867] suggesting that the tithes had before been collected from all the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in Transylvania.

In May 1456, the Hungarian king Ladislaus V (at the request of the archbishop of Esztergom) ordered the *comes* of the Szeklers to take the necessary measures in order that the inhabitants of four villages which used to be schismatic Romanians, but were now "Christians," should pay the required tithes.[868] Diaconescu believes this was a direct result of Capistrano's activity which resulted in a hostile attitude towards the Greek rite communities,

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[865] *Inter alia tamen vestrae fidelitati ingratius apparere non debet, quod nos instantibus adhaec satis ipsis vestris nunciis decimam Valachorum Episcopalium et Ecclesiasticorum exigere distulimus, causis rationalibus subsistentibus, his videlicet, quod Episcopus Banderium proprium, Capitulum autem et alii viri ecclesiasticales summas pecuniarum ratione exercitus solvere et propter illas expediendas eorum Valachos exactionari habent.* Hurmuzaki 1/2 (1346-1450), no. 334, 400; György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 10, part 3 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1838), no. 199, 213-214.

[866] Orthodox Serbs had also received facilities in paying their tithes, in 1466. Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 47.

[867] Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 162, 182; also Szeredai, *Notitia veteris*, 103-104.

[868] [...] *villas Zent Mihali Nagyfalw Turkester et Bachfalw quidam Valachi schismatici inhabitassent, tamen postea pulsis eisdem Valachis ipsae villae ad manus Christianorum deuenissent, qui quidem Christiani decimas suas prediales parochiali ecclesie Sancti Michaelis in prefata possession Zent Mihaly fundate iure soluere deberent.* Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 55, 69.

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but it could also be the indication of a locality with mixed population where, with the acceptance of the Union, the former schismatics were immediately subjected to the tithes.[869]

Later documents are also proof that financial obligations were met by the non-Latin Christians. A document from 1500 tells us that the Greek-Slavonic rite inhabitants of Sebeş and Caran had paid a fixed amount to the bishopric of Cenad.[870] In 1539, the Romanians from the village of Marin, on the river Barcău (modern Sălaj county) had several obligations to the Latin monastery of Şimleu Silvaniei.[871]

Finally, the Romanians inhabiting the *terrae Christianorum* were asked to pay the tithes because their possessions had belonged first to Latin rites owners who used to pay their financial obligations to the Latin Church. One example from the beginning of the fifteenth century is telling in this respect. On 10 January 1415, the sons of the Romanian noble Demetrios Dan, complained to the pope that the bishop of Cenad had committed an abuse when he collected the tithes from several Romanian villages owned by the plaintiffs, villages that had beforehand been exempted by King Louis I.[872] The villages had been received by Dan of Duboz (the ancestor of the plaintiffs) as reward for embracing the Latin faith. As the inhabitants of the villages belonged to the Greek rite they were exempted from paying the tithes. A possible solution to this situation was offered by Viorel Achim, who related the request of the Duboz family to the changing status of the so-called *terrae Christianorum*. The village of Duboz must have been settled by *hospites*, who were members of the Latin Church and thus directly subjected to the payment of tithes. As such settlements were often

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[869] Diaconescu, "Les implications confessionelles," 46-47.
[870] Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 377, 449-450; Viorel Achim, "Românii din regatul medieval ungar şi decimele bisericeşti. Pe marginea unui document din *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*" [The Romanians in the Hungarian medieval kingdom and the ecclesiastical tithes. Remarks on a document from the Acta Romanorum Pontificum], *Banatul în Evul Mediu* (Bucharest: Editura Albatros, 2000) (hereafter Achim, "Românii din regatul medieval ungar"), 129-144.
[871] Each three *iobagiones* had to give a three year old ox or to pay one florin. For St Michael day the *iobagiones* had to pay one florin. At Christmas, they had to give a chicken to the monastery. Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, 159.
[872] Achim, "Românii din regatul medieval ungar," 142-144.

assimilated by the surrounding populations or the settlement proved unsuccessful, they disappeared as Latin rite communities without leaving the bishopric's tax roll. Thus, at the time of the complaint, there were probably no Latin rite parishioners left, and as the bishopric tried to collect its tithes this led to complaints from the new settlers who had different privileges.[873] Practice met theory almost a century later when finally a decree of king Wladislas II, dating from 1500, defined the *terrae Christianorum* in Transylvania as those properties that had been owned by the (Latin rite) "Christians" but were inhabited by the Greek rite Christians (labeled schismatics).[874]

There was no written law or any other similar document that expressly enforced the exemption from payment of Greek rite communities on lands belonging to Latin lords – who had the canonical obligation to pay the tithes. The Lateran canon was not observed, nor really enforced in all the transitional regions. This decision, such as many others, was not observed in a constant or complete manner. The actual enforcement on tithes seems not to have been too efficient neither on Cyprus, as Coureas stated, nor in Latin Greece, as supported by Richard.[875] The Greek rite monasteries were also not accustomed to the Latin system of paying tithes. So it might be that, though in theory there was a pressure on the Greek communities to pay the due tithes, in practice Greek rite monasteries and communities were

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[873] *Item supplicat quod, cum ipse ob reverenciam Omnium sanctorum in Zaad et beate Marie in Aruahigh, ac beati Michaelis archangeli et beati Nicolai in Zenthmiclos, parrochiales ecclesias in terra sua, in medio Olachorum inter naciones protervas, quarum alique de novo sunt ad fidem catholicam conversi, de bonis a deo sibi collatis edificari fecerit et bonis propriis, dotaverit easdem, quatinus omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui in […] festivitatibus et in errundem ecclesiarum singularum dedicacionibus, ipsas ecclesias seu aliquam ex eis, devotate visitaverint, ad plebis devocionem augmentandam, quinque annos et quinque quadragenas de iniunctis sibi penitenciis relaxare dignemini, cum omnibus clausulis oportunis.* DRH C, vol. 11, no. 226, 235-236.

[874] *Uladislaus Rex novo mandato edicto Universis Schismaticis, seu Valachis, ubivis in Terris Christianorum in Partibus Transilvanis commorantibus ut Decimas frugum, Bladorum, et aliarum rerum decimari solitarum, ex illis scilicet Terris, et Vineis, quae prius a Christianis cultae sunt, et quas nunc illi colerent, et inhabitarent.* Hurmuzaki 2/2 (1451-1510), no. 374, 447.

[875] Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church," 56-57; Richard, "Le paiement des dîmes dans les états des croisés," 83.

generally exempt from paying tithes on possessions acquired before the time of the fourth Lateran council.[876]

The flexible treatment of the ecclesiastical tithes represents another common characteristic of the transitional regions, which saw a variety of reaction to the imposition of this tax, part of a fiscal system hitherto unknown to the Greek rite communities. These were subjected under the canonical framework created by the Lateran IV council to regulations that were unfamiliar and that on the long run proved impossible to be applied consistently or generally. As in the case of the Florentine decisions, the issue of the tithes rested in the hands and goodwill of the land holders who, as we have seen, never tired to devise new ways of going around the law, using intermediaries or simply disregarding the canon completely. The Greek-Slavonic communities were left to their own devices as long as they observed other taxes and obligations that were of direct interest to their Latin rite overlords. The integration went half way and further allowed the persistence of the communities' interest in their traditional rite.

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[876] Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, 264.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to analyze the history of the communities of Greek-Slavonic rite in Transylvania by comparing them with other Greek rite communities in regions that I chose to call transitional regions. By evaluating the existing evidence for late medieval Transylvania with comparable information available in the sources (the vast majority of which were produced by the Latins) I have laid the basis for a typology of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities in such regions. This was a necessary undertaking in order to expand the knowledge on how these communities functioned.

This was achieved, first of all, by proposing to the reader to step out of the historiographical trend which uses labels such as "Orthodox" and "Catholic" and, at the same time, by identifying the sources that underline the peculiarity and originality of the ecclesial communities in the transitional regions. I have thus challenged opinion in Romanian historiography that reject any possibility of having the clergy and faithful of the Greek-Slavonic rite under the jurisdiction of the Latin hierarchy (on the grounds that they were canonically prohibited from entering in such a relation) or of Latin bishops supporting the erection of Greek rite churches on territory under their jurisdiction (since the faith of the Greeks was often considered a danger for the Latin rite Christians). Taking into account the cases discussed in this study, such an approach has been proven inadequate.

Much of the historiography of the Orthodox-Catholic relations in Transylvania rests on attempts of proving the separate existence of the two Churches there. These attempts trace this dichotomy in time as far back as possible. Such a historiographical approach that pursues the conviction that ethnical and, thus, "confessional" identities preexisted in the region, points to the tenth century as a start of a possible hierarchy for the Orthodox Church in the region - with the founding of the already mentioned bishopric of Tourkia, headed by the almost anonymous Hierotheos. This bishop is then refashioned into the precursor of all other

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Orthodox sees in Transylvania. Without taking a distance from the confessional mindset that animates most of the debates on the topic and without looking at the details of the often complicated but, all in all, functioning relation between the two branches of Christianity in the transitional regions, further research on the topic has every chance to stall.

At any moment during their long coexistence, these ecclesial communities were able to preserve their rite, sacred language, and other customs due to an ever adapting Latin canonical regime that had the power to authorize the institutional existence and legal exercise of a public cult. This regime aimed at ensuring the visible communion of the local Churches in the one universal Church, defined as such by the Creed used by both the Greek and Latin Churches, and devised by the common conciliar Tradition. While during the eight to the eleventh centuries the Byzantine emperors were the ones that subjected the dioceses of southern Italy to the patriarchate of Constantinople, allowing them to keep their Greek or Latin rites, after the Norman conquest,[877] the Church of Rome was in charge of defining the type of union appropriate for the Greek Churches there, and in other transitional regions, and tried to accomplish this by ever-adapting its policy. Later on, the most important transformations were brought by the councils of Florence and Trento.

This coexistence has been at times conflictual,[878] as the Latin Church had a superior vantage point due to its institutional support and organization, and together with the secular power had usually played the active and offensive part in this bipolar ecclesiological landscape. The Latin Church exercised a *de jure* control over territories where the Greek-Slavonic rite Christians were living, and desired as a maximal aim the subordination and assimilation of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities and churches under its sway and beyond.

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[877] Michael McCormick, "The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, A.D. 650-950," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler, Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University Press, 1998), 17-52.
[878] In Rusu's words, medieval Transylvania experienced the "chronic rupture" that emerged from the co-existence of the Greek-Slavonic and Latin rites. Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 77.

In hindsight, this policy was overall unsuccessful which can be also attributed to an efficacious passive force which was well rooted in the life of the Greek-Slavonic (mostly rural) communities. The immobility of the Greek-Slavonic rite communities could also be the result of a weak and undetermined policy of conversion on behalf of the active Latin Church, as well as of a tolerance that drew its inspiration from the similarities between the two Churches which overwhelmed the differences, at least during the fifteenth century and in the social contexts discussed above. The differences were mostly resurgent during conflictual situations and were usually known to the privileged few among the theological elite venting their idiosyncrasies in councils or doctrinal debates opened only to the political or the monastic milieus.

The similarities, as well as the continuous contacts with the Latin rite Christians, led to attempts of a *de facto* integration of the Greek-Slavonic communities especially at the level of the hierarchy. The general trend imposed by the Latin rite Church (based on eleventh century precedents and the decisions taken in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council) was to integrate the Greek-Slavonic rite bishops in the jurisdictional structure of the Latin Church, while at the same time gradually marginalizing them. Few of the Greek rite bishops managed to retain their sees and exercise their jurisdiction over a canonically defined territory. Most of those who stayed lost the territorial aspect of their function. They were removed from towns and relegated to monasteries in the countryside or to villages, and exercised their jurisdiction over communities of rite, rather than including the territory inhabited by these communities. In Transylvania and Crete the Greek rite bishops were pushed out completely. When they do appear in the sources, they are considered unreliable characters in the eyes of the Latin rite political and ecclesial establishment and rapidly dealt with, either through reconversion or by being expelled. Even when they were allowed to hold office, like in Transylvania in the aftermath of the Florentine Council, the institutional reflex was so strong that the bishoprics

of Feleacu and Vad were erected in villages. The Greek-Slavonic rite hierarchy in the transitional regions was reduced to a largely monastery based one.

The transitional region witnessed the increase of the role of intermediaries at the level of church hierarchy. Where bishops were unavailable, *protopapades* or archdeacons became leaders of the clergy at regional level. Though, with the exception of a few documents, the evidence is largely lacking, I believe that the *protopapades* were holding a quasi-episcopal status and were responsible for ordinations as well. With the loss of the territorial function of the bishop's office such a transfer of function was relatively easy to achieve. It also shows that coexistence in such a region lead to flexibility and adaptation of the members of the communities of rite. The monastic environment adapted even faster, and was supported by various prominent Latin rite personages such as the popes or secular rulers of Hungary and Venice.

In the 1430s the Hungarian monarchy took up policies of reconciliation with the Greek Slavonic rite communities for reasons connected to events elsewhere in Europe, namely the Union of Ferrara-Florence. Even though in the higher echelons of Church hierarchy, and especially from the 1450s onward the Union was considered a failed attempt, in territories under the rule of Latin rite states where Greek rite communities were living, the situation was acknowledged as an accomplished fact. Except for cases which implicated extremists on both sides and created but brief moments of tension the communities of Greek rite in the transitional regions continued to live and prosper undisturbed.

The lack of an educated philosophical-theological tradition and the late development of formal schools contributed to the relatively low level of interest in matters of ecclesiology or high flying dogma with the Greek-Slavonic rite clergy in the transitional regions. To put it bluntly, the Greek-Latin theological differences must have made little impression on the local Churches. Such dogmas did not reflect the internal exigencies of ecclesiastical life in these

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dioceses. The clergy and population in the transitional regions were mostly left outside the grand ecclesiological debates of the late medieval age. The most visible signs of their religious identity were the rite they were practicing with its exterior appearances, the rituals and litanies, the language, the religious feasts, etc., which were much closer to the everyday religious experience of the ordinary believer.

The picture emerges of linked, cooperating communities, not fully integrated or assimilated into each other, with only limited need for a shared liturgical language, a model familiar in contemporary cities and on other frontiers. In such circumstances maintenance of identity did not imply intolerant exclusivity. The contacts between communities were administrative or personal, not communal or cultural, usually intermediated through village headmen or estate managers, local clergy and interpreters, or through employment of individuals.

At the end of the Latin presence in Cyprus, a few years after the Council of Trento, the local Greek rite bishop Logaras allegedly stated the following to the emissary of the Latin rite archbishop on the island: "My son, boundaries have been set between us Greeks and you Latins and jurisdictions have been drawn between us and our flocks, so that the care of my Greeks belongs to me and that of the Latins to your archbishop. The eighth and ninth councils were called to settle questions relevant only to you Latins and are of no concern to us."[879] This statement shows the rejection of the councils of Ferrara-Florence and Trent at the level of the local hierarchy in a region that had been under Latin dominance for over three centuries and a half.

The above cited phrase is a somehow unexpected corollary of the typology constructed in the preceding chapters. It underlines the attitude of the Greek rite hierarchy in the

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[879] Fra Angelo Calepio, *Vera et fidelissima Narratione del successo dell'espugnatione & defensione del Regno de Cipro*, in Estienne de Lusignan, *Chorograffia et breve historia universale dell'isola de Cipro ... per in sino al 1572*, Bologna, 1573, quoted in Englezakis, "Cyprus as a Stepping-Stone," 214, footnote 1.

transitional regions in the early decades of confessionalism, with the historical process of *commixtio rituum*[880] drawing to a close. After centuries of coexistence the Greek rite communities in the transitional regions faced different destinies, which depended on the new political configuration of south and eastern Europe. After Trento their canonical position was different from the regime of toleration towards the rite and ceremonies of the Greeks which had been devised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and used for the following centuries during the Middle Ages.

In Cyprus, Frankish Greece, and later on Crete, the Greek rite communities were reintegrated in the Church of Constantinople as the Ottomans slowly, but decisively, pushed the Byzantines, Franks, and Venetians out of the Eastern Mediterranean. In these regions the Latin-Greek coexistence was over, as duly noted by the Cypriot bishop noted above. In southern Italy the newly arrived Albanian communities were put under the jurisdiction of bishops ordained as metropolitans of Agrigento by the patriarchs of Constantinople or Ochrid.[881] This led to a new canonical and jurisdictional situation, much in tone with what is happening nowadays, with the united Latin and Greek Churches sharing jurisdiction on the same territory. The Greek rite communities were deprived of their last bishopric at Bova in 1573, and then were slowly acculturated and integrated by the end of the eighteenth century.

Elsewhere, such as in Transylvania and among the Ruthenians, the Greek-Slavonic rite communities continued to have to cope with the powerful other of Latin rite, and compromises were devised in the form of church unions. The ecclesial communities of rite which entered into unions with the Catholic Church had been for long under western influence

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[880] Peri, "Modelli storici della convivenza," 8-13..

[881] Vittorio Peri, "I metropoliti orientali di Agrigento. La loro giurisdizione in Italia nel XVI secolo," in *Bisanzio e Italia. Raccolta di studi in onore di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan: Università Cattolica di Milano, 1982), 274-321; Attilio Vaccaro, "Riflessi di cultura religiosa bizantina nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia: il caso degli albanesi (secoli XV-XVI)," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 72 (2005): 83-137.

within the boundaries of the Habsburg Empire and of Poland-Lithuania. In these cases cultural integration seems to have preceded ecclesiastical integration.

Researchers of the relation between the two Churches still have a long way to go before they can clearly explain how the various canonical traditions have permitted the existence and perpetuation of such coexistence on the territories of alleged Catholic states and inside the borders of established Latin dioceses a long time after the two Churches had "officially" separated. Much is still to be done in order to properly define the terminology and to better understand the geographical distribution of such communities, their ethnical/cultural composition, and the social changes these communities had to face during their long existence. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the analysis of the communities of rite in the framework of the transitional regions adds a further tool to the ongoing process of refining and redefining the theoretical tools at our disposal.
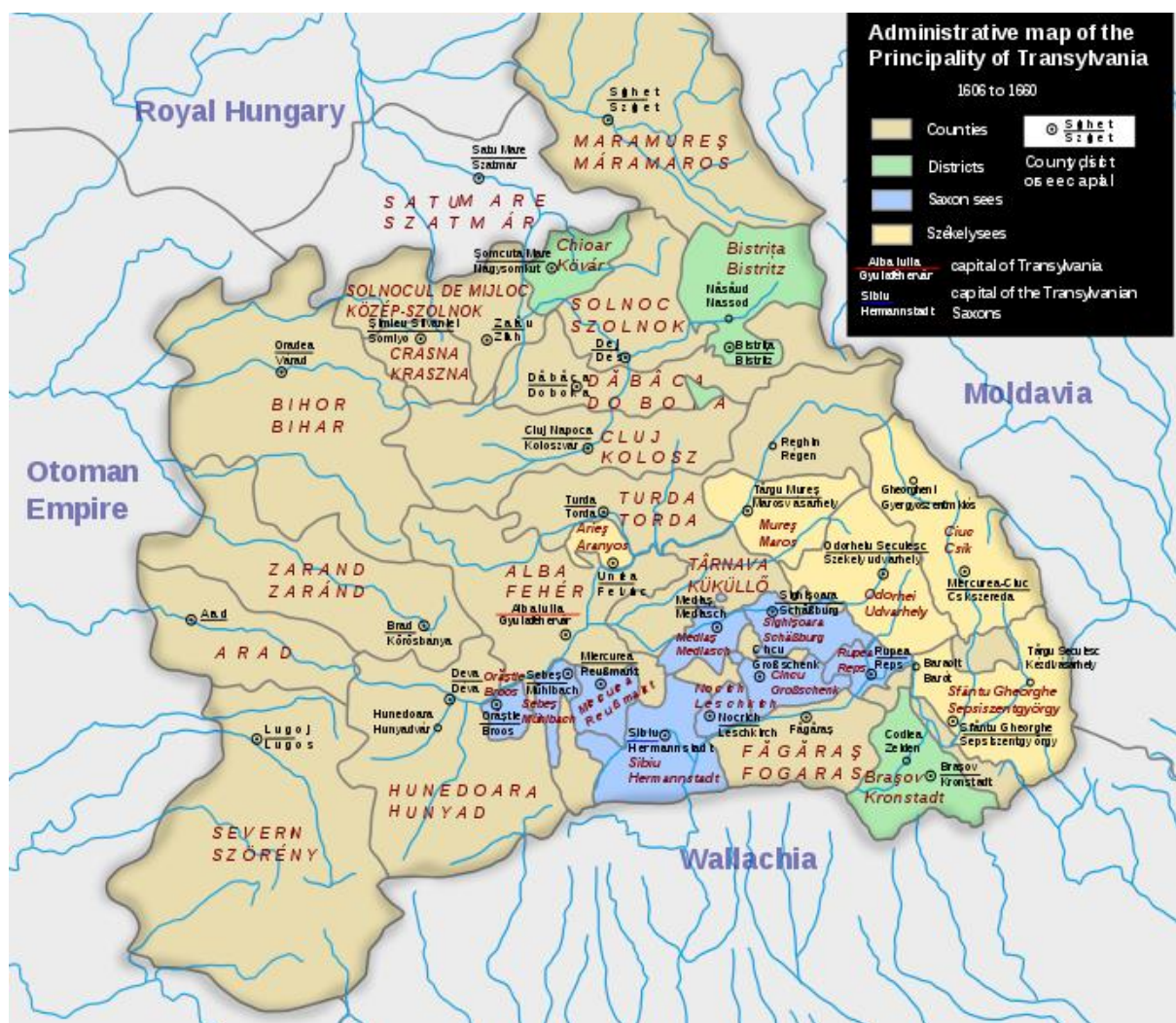
Appendix 1 - Maps

Map 1: Ecclesiastical jurisdictions, c. 1450

Source: Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 43.

Map 2: Administrative map of the Principality of Transylvania

Source: http://hiphi.ubbcluj.ro/Public/File/syllabus/seminar_IMR/11_Transilvania.jpg

Map 3: The sub-division of the Latin rite diocese of Transylvania in the fourteenth century

Source: Gábor Barta, István Bóna, László Makkai, Zoltán Szász, ed., *The History of Transylvania* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 210.

Map 4: Map of Romanian churches and ecclesiastical centers in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries

Source: Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [The History of the Romanian Orthodox Church], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1992).
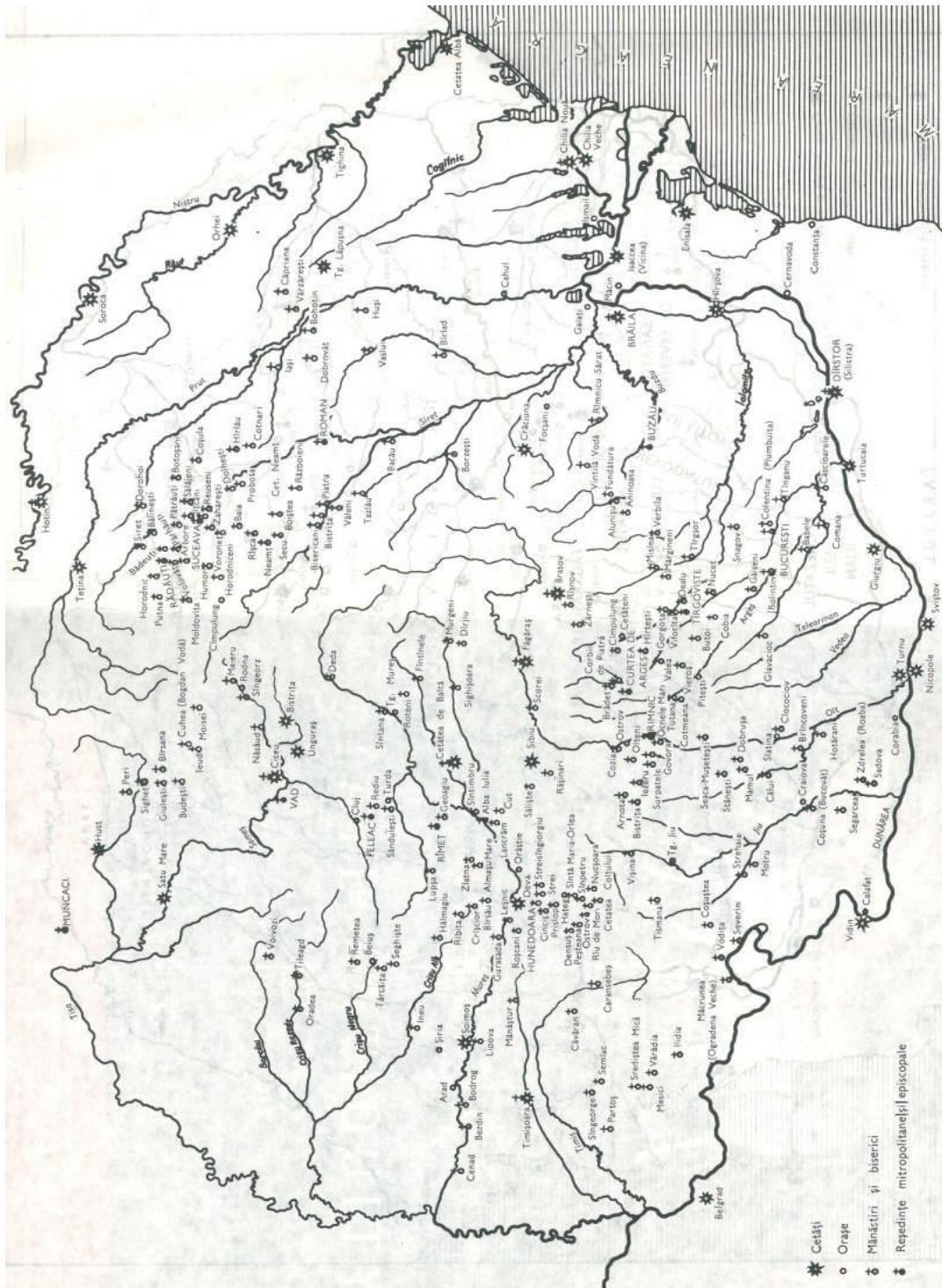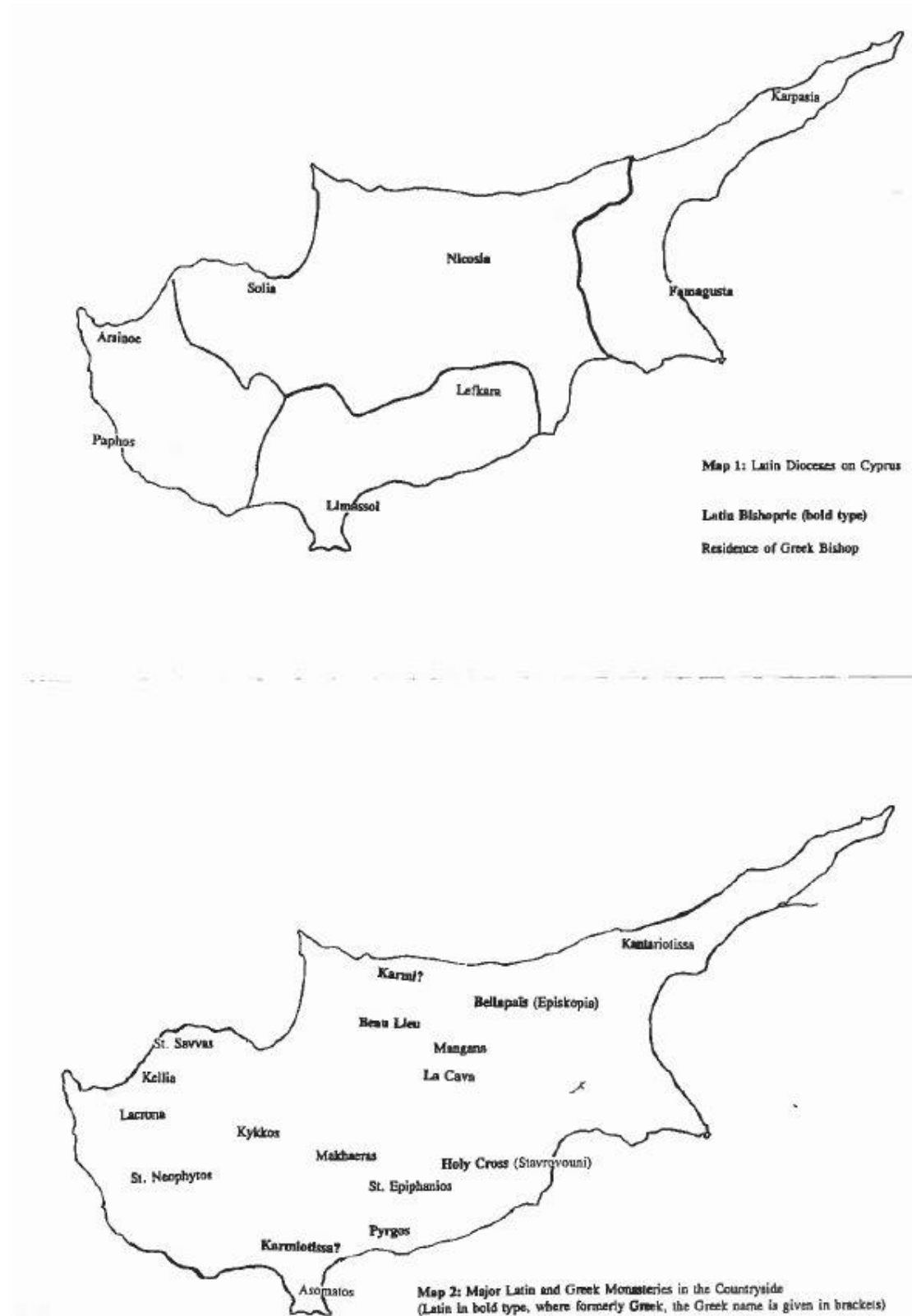
Map 5: Bishoprics and major abbeys in southern Italy

Source: G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), xiii.

Map 6: Latin Dioceses on Cyprus; Major Latin and Greek monasteries in the countryside

Source: Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), xii and xiii.

Map 1: Latin Dioceses on Cyprus

Latin Bishopric (bold type)

Residence of Greek Bishop

Map 2: Major Latin and Greek Monasteries in the Countryside
(Latin in bold type, where formerly Greek, the Greek name is given in brackets)

APPENDIX 2 – Figures

Figure 1: Life-giving Spring (Izvorul Tămăduirii) church (14 c.), Râmeţ, Alba county, Romania

Figure 2: Saint Paraskevi church (16 c.), Feleacu, Cluj county, Romania

Figure 3: The Dormition of the Theotokos (Adormirea Maicii Domnului) church (15-16 c.), Vad, Cluj county, Romania

Figure 4: Virgin Mary (Panaghia) and Savior church (14 c.), Roustika, Crete, Greece

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APPENDIX 3 - Comparative table of place names

A-Arabic; Al-Albanian; An-Anglicized; G-German; Gr-Greek; H-Hungarian; He-Hebrew; I-Italian;
R-Romanian; S-Serbian; Sk-Slovak; T-Turkish; U-Ukrainian

Contemporary/ Anglicized	Arabic/Greek/ Italian	German	Hungarian	Romanian	Turkish/Ukrainian
Avram Iancu (R)			Ácsva	Aciua	
Acre (An)/ ʿAkko (He)	ʿAkkā (A)				
Alba Iulia (R)		Weissenburg	Gyulafehérvár		
Antakya (T)/ Antioch (An)	Anṭākiya (A)				Antakya (T)
Arad (R)		Arad	Arad		
Beiuş		Binsch	Belényes		
Beograd (S)/ Belgrade (An)		Belgrad	Nándorfehérvár	Belgrad	
Bayt Laḥm (A)/ Bethlehem (An)					
Braşov (R)		Kronstadt	Brassó		
Bretea Română(R)		Brettendorf	Oláhbrettye	Bretea	
Buda (H)		Ofen		Buda	Budin (T)
Feodosiya (U)/ Caffa (An)	Theodosia (Gr)				Feodosiya (U)
Caransebeş (R)		Karansebesch	Karánsebes		
Câmpulung (R)		Langenau	Hosszúmező		
Câmpulung la Tisa (R)			Hosszúmező		
Cârţa (R)		Kerz	Kerc		
Cenad (R)		Tschanad	Csanád		
Χανιά (Gr)/ Chania (An)	Canea (I)				Hanya (T)
Chendu (R)		Grosskend	Nagykend		
Chimindia (R)					
Cluj-Napoca (R)		Klausenburg	Kolozsvár		
Constance (An)		Konstanz			
Crişcior (R)			Kristyor		
Bogdan Vodă (R)			Izakonyha	Cuhea	
Deva (R)		Diemrich	Déva		
Duboz (R)			Temesdoboz		
Durrës (Al)	Durazzo (I)				
Esztergom (H)		Gran		Strigoniu	Estergon (T)
Feleacu (R)		Fleck	Erdöfelek		
Florence (An)	Firenze (I)	Florenz		Florenţa	
Galda (R)		Hahnenberg	Gáld		
Geoagiu de Sus (R)			Felgyógy		
Gurasada (R)			Guraszáda		
Halych (U)		Halytsch	Halics	Halici	
Haţeg (R)		Wallenthal	Hátszeg		
Hălmagiu (R)			Halmágy		
Χερσόνησος (Gr)/ Hersonissos (An)	Chironissos (I)				
Ηράκλειο (Gr)/ Heraklion (An)	Candia (I)				Kandiye
Hobiţa (R)		Thierdorf	Hobica		
Hrushovo (U)				Peri	
Hunedoara (R)		Eisenmarkt	Vajdahunyad		

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Ialova (R)					
Ιεράπετρα (Gr)/ Ierapetra (An)	Ierapetra (I)				
Kalocsa (H)		Kollotschau		Calocea	
Κορώνη (Gr)/ Koroni (An)	Coron (I)				
Kovin (S)		Kubin	Kevevára	Cuvin	
Latakia (An)	al-Lādhiqīyah (A)				
Leordina (R)			Leordina		
Lipova (R)		Lippa	Lippa		
Livadia (R)			Mezőlivádia		
Lod (He)/ Lydda (An)	al-Ludd (A)				
Lviv (U)		Lemberg		Liov	
Marin (R)			Máron		
Măcicaşu (R)			Macskás		
Medieşu Aurit (R)			Aranyosmeggyes		
Μεθώνη (Gr)/ Methoni (An)	Modone (I)				
Mâtnic (R)			Mutnok		
Mukacheve (U)		Munkatsch	Munkács	Muncaci	
Nălaţvad (R)			Nalácvád		
Εύβοια (Gr)	Negroponte (I)				
Iznik (T)/ Nicaea (An)	Νίκαια (Gr)				
Nicosia (An)	Λευκωσία (Gr)				Lefkoşa (T)
Nitra (Sk)		Neutra	Nyitra		
Oradea (R)		Großwardein	Nagyvárad		Varat (T)
Orăştie (R)		Broos	Szászváros		
Orşova (R)		Orschowa	Orsova		
Ostrov (R)			Nagyosztró		
Πάφος (Gr)/ Paphos (An)					Baf (T)
Peşteana (R)			Nagypestény		
Ramlāh (He)/ Ramla (An)	ar-Ramlah (Ar)				
Râmeţ (R)		Einsiedl	Remete		
Râu Bărbat (R)		Schnellbach	Borbátvíz		
Râuşor (R)			Rusor		
Remetea (R)			Magyarremete		
Ρέθυμνο (Gr)/ Rethymno (An)	Retimo (I)				Resmo (T)
Ribiţa (R)		Kellerdorf	Ribice		
Rufiniani					
Sălaşu de Sus (R)		Ober-Dorfsbach	Felsőszálláspatak		
Sânicolau de Beiuş (R)			Belényesszentmiklós		
Sântămăria-Orlea (R)		Liebfrauen	Őraljaboldogfalva		
Sebeş (R)		Mühlbach	Szászsebes		
Seghişte (R)			Szegyesd		
Severin (R)			Szörény		
Sibiu (R)		Hermannstadt	Nagyszeben		
Σητεία (Gr)/ Sitia (An)	Sitia (I)				

Streisângeorgiu (R)			Sztrigyszentgyörgy		
Şcheii Braşovului (R)		Belgerei	Bolgárszeg	Bulgărimea	
Şerel (R)		Scherl	Serél		
Şimleu Silvaniei (R)		Schomlenmar kt	Szilágysomlyó		
Şiria (R)		Hellburg	Világos		
Şoimuş (R)			Solymos		
Tereblja (U)			Talaborfalu	Talabor	
Tekirdağ (T)/ Rodosto (An)	Ραιδεστός (Gr)				
Timişoara (R)		Temeswar	Temesvár		Temeşvar (T)
Uric (R)		Gross-Thierdorf	Urik		
Vad (R)			Révkolostor		
Valea Dâljii (R)		Dilsental	Vályadilsi		
Vintere (R)			Venter		
Zlatna (R)		Schlatten	Zalatna		

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