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Doctoral Dissertation

Negotiating Catholic Reform: Global Catholicism and Its Local Agents in Northern Ottoman Rumeli (1570s-1680s)

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I. 1. Introduction

In 1627, a Jesuit missionary reported the following about some local Catholics from the region of the Banat: "They do not integrate into our rites, because they follow old customs. But they fast as we do, and on Saturdays they abstain from meat; they make the sign of the cross, they observe Lent, and light candles for the dead. Thus, they consider that only by keeping these customs, they are faithful Catholics."[1] Throughout the seventeenth century, similar accounts kept reaching the Roman papacy from different parts of Ottoman Europe (or Rumeli, in Ottoman parlance)[2] about the practices and beliefs of the various Catholic groups who lived there.

What did it mean to be a Catholic in different contexts throughout the world in the early modern period? What were the criteria according to which someone was regarded as belonging to one denomination or the other in the eyes of religious authorities? And what was the basis of one's claim to be one or the other? How did global, local, and microregional variants of Catholicism interact and shape one another? Such questions have been central in the international research on early modern global Catholicism in recent decades,[3] but so far, they have been seldom—if at all—been asked in the context of the highly atomized research on Ottoman Europe. Accordingly, new scholarship has yielded important results in the study of Catholic missions to the Americas and Asia,[4] however, missions within Europe in general and within Ottoman Europe in particular, for the most part have remained outside this new trend.

[1] Lucian Periș, "Documente din arhiva Curiei generale a ordinului iezuit din Roma. Spicuiri din corespondența misionarilor George Forro și George Buitul," In I. Mârza and A. Dumitran (eds.), *Spiritualitate transilvană și istorie europeană*, (Alba Iulia: Muzeul Național al Unirii, 1999), 176-197; 190.

[2] Within the framework of this dissertation, I use the term 'Ottoman Europe' to designate the Southeast European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. On the spatial and temporal flexibility of the concept, see Andreas Helmedach, Markus Koller, Konrad Petrovszky, and Stefan Rohdewald (eds), *Das osmanische Europa. Methoden und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung zu Südosteuropa,* (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2014), 9-23.

[3] In the last couple of decades, the study of early modern global Catholicism, i.e., how Catholicism operated on an international scale between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, has become a dynamic field, with a primary focus on the most essential vehicle of Catholicism's global reach—the missions.

[4] Latest publications on the topic include: Nadine Amsler, Andreea Badea, Christian Windler, and Bernard Heyberger (eds), *Catholic Missionaries in Early Modern Asia: Patterns of Localization,* (London: Routledge, 2019); Nadine Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs: Domestic Worship in Early Modern China,* (Washington: UWP, 2018); Ines G. Županov and Pierre Antoine Fabre (eds), *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2018); and Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien: Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.–18. Jahrhundert),* (Cologne: Böhlau–Verlag GmbH, 2018).

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In my dissertation, I address these issues and I examine the plural manifestations of Catholicism in seventeenth-century Ottoman Europe, with a focus on Bosnia, southern Hungary, and the Banat (hereafter, I refer to these regions collectively as 'northern Ottoman Rumeli'), which in the analyzed period corresponded to the Ottoman-governed *eyalet*s of Bosnia, the southern parts of Kanije and Budin, and Tımışvar. My principal aim is to analyze the complexity and contested nature of these regional variants of Catholicism and situate the area in the history and historiography of early modern Catholic missions. Drawing primarily on published and unpublished Catholic missionary letters and reports and cross-reading them with other types of primary sources (of mostly Ottoman and to a much lesser extent Orthodox Christian provenance), I focus on how the sacramental reforms of Trent—one of the many organizing categories of early modern Catholicism[5]—were received, contested, and negotiated in the religiously, ethnically, and legally pluralistic context of seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. In particular, the analysis will focus on different missionary expressions of doubt regarding the local practices of administering the sacraments, i.e., on questions that were addressed to the congregations of the Roman Curia and which are commonly referred to as *dubia circa sacramenta* in canon law. At the same time, my objective is to bring to the fore the multilayered local contexts and multi-confessional agency that could create such local variants of confessional meaning-making in the first place.

[5] On this issue, see Marc R. Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization. Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism", *JEMH* 1, no. 4 (1997): 315-343.

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I. 2. The Conceptual Framework: Situating Catholic Missions in Northern Ottoman Rumeli in a Global Context

When it comes to the issue of approaching early modern Catholic missions in the Ottoman Empire, there is still a lingering misconception in the international scholarly milieu that 'mission' equals 'proselytization,' hence the primary target of Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman lands must have been the 'infidel' Muslims or at least, the 'schismatic' Orthodox. The contemporary ideal of mission, however, entailed a lot more than mere proselytization. It included the evangelization of the pagans of the New World, it involved projects directed towards the Eastern Christian churches in an attempt to bring them into union with the Roman Catholic Church, and last but not least, it targeted the Catholic faithful, both within and outside of Europe.

While the idea of bringing various groups of Eastern Christians to the Roman Catholic fold was high on the agenda of Catholic missionaries who were active in the Ottoman Empire, they were generally explicitly forbidden by their own superiors, as well as the local Ottoman authorities to proselytize among the Muslims.[6] Still, it is the third component of the contemporary understanding of mission, i.e., pastoral care provided to Catholics without access to regular priestly care, that absorbed considerable if on occasions, not most of the missionaries' attention. Between the end of the sixteenth and end of the seventeenth century, the primary aim of Catholic missionary projects in Ottoman Europe, especially in its northern parts, was to locate various Catholic groups who were scattered in this part of the empire and reinforce their Catholicism.

Despite the great diversity of early modern Catholic missionary projects and experiences throughout the Ottoman world, international scholarship has tended to privilege missionaries' interactions with the Arabic-, Syriac-, Coptic-, and to a lesser extent Armenian-speaking Eastern Christians in the Levant.[7] In the context of Ottoman Europe, regional historians have long been interested in Catholic missions, but despite some rich and informative

[6] This does not mean, however, that the ideal itself of 'converting the Muslims' was not part of Catholic missionary discourses (especially among the Jesuits). On the controversial issue of the Jesuit proselytization of Muslims in Europe and the fathers' attempt to combat Islam with "pen and ink," see Emanuele Colombo, "Jesuits and Islam in Early Modern Europe," in Ines G. Županov (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, (Oxford: OUP, 2019), 349-379.

[7] The latest publication on the topic is Cesare Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie: communicatio in sacris, coesistenza e conflitti tra le comunità cristiane orientali (Levante e Impero ottomano, XVII-XVIII secolo)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 2019).

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research,[8] a great number of works have been characterized by narrow regional foci, nation(al)ist biases,[9] and confessional allegiances of the scholars themselves.[10] As a result, one still gets a fragmentary and polemical picture of the Catholic missionary enterprise in Ottoman Europe, often concerned mostly with national(ist) narratives rather than with the dynamics of the sixteenth-eighteenth century global Catholic missionary enterprise. My dissertation project is therefore conceived as a step towards reconsidering this traditional particularist approach and thinking of this region along the grain of the narrative of 'early modern global Catholicism'.

The territories of Ottoman Europe came into the focus of Rome-directed Catholic missionary endeavors already in the 1570s, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (p. 1572-1585). Even though the Ottoman conquest of southeastern Europe ushered in a gradual process of conversion of the local populations to Islam, as well as settlement of Muslim populations from other parts of the empire, this process affected different parts of Rumeli in different ways and was more acute in the cities.[11] In many parts of Rumeli, especially in the rural areas, the population remained mostly Christian throughout the period of Ottoman rule. Majority of these Christians were Orthodox, but various Catholic (in parts of Bosnia, Slavonia, Hungary, and the Banat) and also Protestant groups (in parts of Slavonia, Hungary, and the Banat) continued to live in the region. This amalgam of Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds (South-Slavic-, Romanian-, Hungarian-, and Turkic-speaking) made the region an ideal ground for Catholic missionary activity. The papacy's interest in these territories increased even more after the foundation of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (hereafter, Propaganda Fide) by Pope Gregory XV (p. 1621-

[8] The most in-depth study on the organization of Catholic missions in the Balkan peninsula and Hungary is Antal Molnár, *Le Saint– Siège, Raguse et les missions Catholiques de la Hongrie Ottomane, 1572–1647,* (Rome—Budapest: Biblioteca Academiae Hungariae, 2007). See also, idem, *Confessionalization on the Frontier. The Balkan Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality,* (Rome: Viella, 2019). From the great oeuvre of the late István György Tóth on the Catholic missions in early modern Tripartite Hungary, see István György Tóth, *Misszionáriusok a kora újkori Magyarországon [Missionaries in early modern Hungary],* (Budapest: Balassi kiadó, 2007). See also Peter Bartl, *Die Albaner in der europäischen Geschichte: Ausgewählte Aufsätze,* (London: Centre for Albanian Studies, 2016); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1648: Centre and Peripheries,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); and Ines Angeli Murzaku, *Returning Home to Rome. The Basilian Monks of Grottaferrata in Albania,* (Grottaferrata: Poligrafica Laziale, 2009).

[9] Marko Jačov, *Spisi Kongregacije za propaganda vere u Rimu o Srbima,* I, *(1622-1644)* [The documents of Propaganda Fide about the Serbs, I, (1622-1644)], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1986).

[10] Srećko M. Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens und der Herzegowina, Voremanzipatorische Phase 1463–1804,* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1984).

[11] On the vast regional differences in the dynamics of conversion to Islam, see Gábor Ágoston, "Muslim Cultural Enclaves in Hungary under Ottoman Rule", *Tomus* XLV, no. 2-3 (1991): 181-204; Nikolay Antov, "Emergence and Historical Development of Muslim Communities in the Ottoman Balkans: Historical and Historiographical Remarks", in Theodora Dragostinova and Yana Hashamova (eds), *Beyond Mosque, Church, and State. Alternative Narratives of the Nation in the Balkans,* (Budapest—New York: CEU Press, 2016), 31-57.

1623) in 1622. Catholic missionary presence in the area was relatively continuous, until the outbreak of the War of the Holy League in 1683.

The timeframe of the dissertation encompasses the period between the second half of the sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth century. Within this temporal framework I will pay special attention to the period between 1570 and 1622, and 1647 and 1683, respectively. The emergence of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in 1622 is traditionally regarded a watershed moment in the organization of world missions, since the establishment of the dicastery entailed a more centralized, organized, and controlled agenda of the Catholic Church in the furthering of its reform program. Nevertheless, concerning the territorial scope of this work, the period before the founding of Propaganda Fide is of crucial relevance. It was during this time that some of the most illustrative missionary reports were written about the ethno-confessional composition and inter- as well as intra-communal dynamics of the region, which subsequently led to the expansion of papal knowledge on northern Ottoman Rumeli. The period after 1647 and before the outbreak of the Austro-Ottoman War in 1683 constitutes another milestone in the development of missionary activity in the area. From the onset of the missions, the Franciscan friars of Bosnia—who legally became Ottoman subjects after 1463—were in a permanent competition with missionaries belonging to other religious orders (especially, the Jesuits) and with lay priests; however, by the middle of the century the Franciscans managed to supersede them and gained control over the local Catholics. From the second half of the seventeenth century, the dynamics of power relations among the local Ottoman ruling elite also changed, which in turn rearticulated the Catholic missionary scheme as well. The Austro-Ottoman War of 1683-1697 rewrote the socio-economic and demographic map of the area, which subsequently changed the intensity, means, and goals of Catholic missionary activities in Ottoman Europe. With the conclusion of the war in 1699, the Ottoman Empire had to surrender a great extent of its European dominions, including a big part of the Hungarian territories (together with Transylvania), Croatia, Slavonia, Podolia, parts of Dalmatia, and the Morea. This event also marked a new phase in the development in Ottoman-European power relations.

The dissertation centers on two main topics, *marriage* and *baptism* in the context of communities where people with various ethnic and denominational backgrounds lived in close proximity. On one hand, marriage and baptism were the two sacraments that entailed the greatest number of 'deviations' from Tridentine stipulations, therefore these were the most documented topics about which the missionaries informed the papacy. The amount of this primary source material hardly allows for a meaningful engagement in a quantitative analysis

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of nonstandard sacramental practices, nevertheless, the data extracted from these sources is still suggestive in terms of which practices were present and widespread; how certain customs prevailed while others seemingly disappeared; and how various missionaries in different periods coped with these intricate issues. On the other hand, marital and baptismal practices are a perfect means to study the interactions among and within various religious groups and the variety of contacts among different communal and clerical representatives.

The dissertation, however, aims to go beyond a mere discussion of marriage and baptism customs and will engage with questions that pertain to local demography, economy, and taxation as well. The issues to be discussed include: Catholic marriages administered by Orthodox priests or Ottoman judges, marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity, mixed marriages (Catholic-Orthodox, Catholic-Muslim), Catholic baptism of Muslim children in mixed marriages, baptism of Catholics by the Orthodox priest, and baptism with other liquids than water. I will approach the variety of marital and baptismal customs from a comparative perspective and analyze the way in which they were embedded in and in dialogue with problems of the same sort that Catholic missionaries encountered in other parts of Ottoman Rumeli and the Empire, as well as in other missionary territories throughout the world during the period in question.

How did marriage and baptism 'models' of various denominational groups converge and how did the coexistence of Islamic law, Orthodox Christian canon law, Tridentine stipulations, and local customs shape these practices? My aim is to determine whether the mentioned local non-standard practices reconfigured confessional divisions both on cross- and intra-communal levels, and also to identify the strategies and possible motivations of some key agents, i.e., Catholic missionaries, Orthodox priests, and Ottoman judges, as well as Ottoman subjects at large. I will argue that these agents were not just passive spectators but active participants in the articulation of each other's communal and confessional transformations, and in the shaping of local articulations of what it meant to be a Catholic, or even an Orthodox or a Muslim. By placing this issue in the focus of the research, my dissertation will also address larger conceptual problems that stand at the heart of the OTTOCONFESSION project[12] this dissertation is part of, i.e., to challenge the 'timelessness' of the meaning of being a 'Christian' or a 'Muslim' and underline these categories' historical contingency.

[12] The OTTOCONFESSION project (2015-2020, Project ID: 648498), led by Professor Tijana Krstić at Central European University examines the development and articulation of confessional discourses in the Ottoman Empire in both community-specific and cross-confessional perspectives between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Project website: https://cems.ceu.edu/ottoconfession.

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I. 3. Historiographical Background

I. 3. 1. Introduction

On March 8 1622, following the establishment of Propaganda Fide, Giovanni Battista Agucchi, special papal secretary and member of the Congregation, divided the contemporarily known world into thirteen parts, out of which eight were in Europe.[13] This partition of the world already foreshadowed that the target of Catholic missionary endeavors would not only be the non-Christian 'pagans' or 'infidels' but also the Christian 'heretics' (i.e., different Protestant denominations) and 'schismatics' (i.e., Eastern Christians), as well as those Catholic minority groups who lived among non-Catholics and/or non-Christians, without regular access to Catholic pastoral care. Even though on a theoretical level these agendas were well defined and separated among the different bodies of the dicastery and other congregations, in practice there were several overlaps among them.

Since the end of the nineteenth century a great number of scholar-ecclesiasts (members of the Catholic religious orders and the clergy) from around the world have worked on the processing of the rich material of the Vatican archives in order to bring it closer to the larger scholarly community as well as the public. From China to Brazil through Southeast Europe, the value of missionary sources for the study of local Christianities started to become acknowledged. In this way, the research of sixteenth-eighteenth century Catholic missions gradually became part and parcel of regional church and cultural histories, and subsequently penetrated the field of early modern studies.

In spite of the fact that over the years the study of early modern Catholic missions has generated a vast amount of scholarship in various scholarly traditions, there has generally been a disconnect between the works that focus on Catholic missions within and outside of Europe. The large variety of missionary constellations indeed resulted from the peculiar geopolitical dynamics of each area. Still, the arbitrary division(s) scholars of the field postulated concerning the separation of missionary territories, gave rise to a fragmented scholarship, where certain territories, such as Ottoman Europe often fell between the cracks.

[13] Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le Monde et / ou l'Europe: la Congrégation de Propaganda Fide et la politique missionnaire du Saint-Siège (XVIIe siècle)," *Institut d'histoire de la Réformation. Bulletin annuel* 35 (2013-2014): 29-48.

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Nearly fifty years have passed since the publication of Josef Metzler OMI's edited opus, commemorating the 350th anniversary of the foundation of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide".[14] The volumes featured a number of excellent articles, several written by Metzler himself, that covered topics related to the history and activity of the Propaganda from its foundation up to 1972. One of the greatest merits of the collection was that it provided an extensive analysis of the missionary activity of the Congregation both inside and outside of Europe. This way, the work set out to present the missions within Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa within the same interpretative framework, as part of the global Catholic missionary enterprise. Although it did not generate a large-scale response and following in the scholarly community, this approach did demonstrate the great potential that lay ahead of missionary studies.

I. 3. 2. Global Catholicism in Southeast Europe—A Short Historiography

The recognition of the importance and the exploration of the corollaries (socio-political, cultural, religious, etc.) of Catholic missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire, especially concerning the Catholic groups of Constantinople and the various Christian communities of the Levant started at the end of the nineteenth century.[15] It was in the same period that the Franciscan from the Banat of Bulgarian origin, Eusebius Fermendžin, discovered the untapped potential of the archival material of the Propaganda Fide for the study of Catholicism and confessional coexistence in the Balkan peninsula.[16] After Fermendžin, other scholar-ecclesiasts from the countries of the Balkan-peninsula, and to a lesser extent from Hungary, followed in his footsteps.

Several 20th-century Croatia- and Bosnia-born clerics (mostly Franciscan friars), serving or studying in Rome became equally fascinated with the collection of the Propaganda

[14] Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum (350 anni a servizio delle missioni 1622–1972), vol. I-III*, (Rome—Freiburg—Vienna: Herder, 1971).
[15] Alfonse Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople*, (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1894); Vladimir I. Lamansky, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise: documents, extraits, notices et études servant à éclaircir les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les Grecs, les Slaves et la Porte ottomane à la fin du XVe et au XVIe siècl*e, (Saint Petersburg, 1884).
[16] Eusebius Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ab a. 1565 usque ad. a 1799. Zagrabiae*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium 18, (Zagreb: Hartman, 1887); idem, *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica ab a. 925 usque ad. a 1752, Zagrabiae*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, (Zagreb: Hartman, 1892).

and published a great number of studies and monographs, enriching the local history of the region.[17] Considering their ethno-religious background and the turbulent historical era they produced their works in, it is all the more understandable that in the time of 'national awakening,' these authors became the greatest apologists of the Catholic cause and emphasized the suffering (and endurance, due to the relentless work of the Franciscans) of the Catholics of Bosnia under the 'Ottoman yoke' and/or from the 'vexations' of the Orthodox. As a response, historians of Serbian origin and of Orthodox Christian background turned into defenders of the Orthodox cause. One of the most representative pieces, conceived in this nationalist-confessional(ist) spirit was the book of the Serbian scholar, Jovan Radonić, where the author examined the relationship between the Roman Curia and the South-Slavic lands from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.[18] Even though Radonić was very selective in terms of primary sources, in order to illustrate and prove the 'irremediable destruction' that had been inflicted by the Roman Catholic Church upon the Orthodox South Slavs, his work still represents pioneering research that scholars up to this day build on. The works and source publications of Marko Jačov were similarly characterized by a somewhat conscious 'source inclusion-exclusion' technique in order to underpin certain of the author's arguments, but here again the overall value of these works should not be disregarded but read against the grain of potential nation(al)ist-confessional(ist) agendas.[19] In this way, one might get beyond the predictable biases about the significance, impact, and result of Catholic missions in the Balkan territories under Ottoman rule.

Unlike Croatian and Serbian ecclesiastical history writing, which considered the exposition of the repercussions of sixteenth-eighteenth century Balkan Catholic missions as their primary agenda (mission, if you will), on the Hungarian side it was only Tihamér Vanyó

[17] Among the countless number of publications, representative works are Julijan Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and the Bosnian Franciscans], (Sarajevo: Prva hrvatska tiskara, 1912); Krunoslav Draganović, *Massenübertritte von Katholiken zur "Orthodoxie" im kroatischen Sprachgebiet zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft,* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1937); Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna. Razvoj i Uprava Bosanske Vikarije i Provincije 1340-1735,* (Rome: Hrvatski Povijesni Institut, 1968); and Karlo Jurišić, *Katolička crkva na biokovsko-neretvanskom području u doba turske vladavine* [The Catholic Church in the Biokov-Neretva region during Turkish rule], (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1972). For more bibliographical references, see Molnár, *Le Saint– Siège.*

[18] Jovan Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje of XVI do XIX veka* [The Roman Curia and the South-Slavic lands from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1950).

[19] For the bibliographical references of his source collections, see fn. 207 in *Subchapter I. 6*.

OSB[20] and the Catholic priest and papal prelate Ferenc Galla[21] who recognized the significance of missionary documents for the study of the cultural history of early modern Hungary. They departed from the legacy of the cleric Vilmos Fraknói who approached the relationship between the Roman Curia and Hungary from a mainly political-diplomatic historical point of view.[22] It was only in the 1980s when Hungarian historians started exploring again the material of the Propaganda Fide archive.

The 1980s marked a defining period also in the American scholarly circles, especially concerning the development of the study of Christian communities under Ottoman rule. In 1982 Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis published their seminal work, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*.[23] The ambitious two-volume collection of essays has changed the approach towards the research of *dhimmi*s (non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim-ruled state who had legal protection) in the Ottoman world and showed how various Christian and Jewish communities scattered throughout the empire were an integral and often well-integrated part of Ottoman society rather than being isolated and disconnected from Muslims.[24] In 1983, Charles A. Frazee attempted to offer a synthesis of Catholic missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire and provide a comprehensive analysis on the status of Catholic and Eastern Christian communities in the realm from the conquest of Constantinople to 1923.[25] Ambitious as this project was, due to a very selected choice of secondary sources and even more limited reliance on primary sources, the book failed to deliver its promised objective and invited harsh criticisms from contemporary leading scholars in Ottoman Studies. According to Benjamin Braude: "The book curiously duplicates the very problem it attempts to analyze, for its Roman-centricity and unfamiliarity with Ottoman life reflect the very weaknesses that crippled the Roman Catholic Church's drive for unity with the East throughout these

[20] Among his works, see: Tihamér Vanyó, *Püspöki jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona országainak egyházmegyéiről (1600-1850)*, (Pannonhalma: Római Magyar Történeti Intézet, 1933). For the bibliography of his works, see Antal Molnár, "Egy magyar egyháztörténész a 20. Században. Vanyó Tihamér OSB" [A Hungarian ecclesiastical historian in the 20th century. Tihamér Vanyó OSB], *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 6, no. 1-2 (1994): 37-50.

[21] For the bibliography of his works, see István Fazekas, "Galla Ferenc „Pálos missziók Magyarországon" című kiadatlan munkája" [The unpublished work, entitled *Pauline missions in Hungary* of Ferenc Galla], in Gábor Sarbak (ed.), *Pálos rendtörténeti tanulmányok* [Essays on the Pauline order], (Csorna: Stylus Ny., 1994), 219-228.

[22] See, his opus: Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szent-székkel*, I-III [The ecclesiastical and political connections of Hungary with the Holy See], (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1901-1903). Fraknói's legacy is carried on by the MTA-PPKE Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group led by Péter Tusor: https://institutumfraknoi.hu/.

[23] Benjamin Braude and Bernad Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982).

[24] For a more detailed discussion on the repercussions Bernard and Lewis' collection had on the field and of the issue of accommodating religious plurality in the early modern Ottoman Empire, see *Subchapter I. 4.*

[25] Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923*, (New York: CUP, 1983).

centuries."[26] Despite the criticisms, however, there have been no new attempts to supplant Frazee's work and approach the Catholic missionary enterprise in the Ottoman lands in its entirety. Still, the scholarly interest in the impact of early modern Catholic (and later Protestant) missionary propaganda on the Christian communities scattered throughout the Ottoman realm gradually increased in different scholarly sub-fields.

In 1994, the French historian Bernard Heyberger published his magisterial, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* where he analyzed the interactions between Eastern Christianity and Western Catholicism from the end of the sixteenth to end of the eighteenth century.[27] This way he demonstrated how the peculiar local dynamics together with the presence of Catholic missionaries and other Western agents shaped the confessional awareness of the Eastern Christian churches in the Middle East under Ottoman rule. At the same time, he drew attention to the richness of the source material of the Roman archives.[28] In the same period, scholars from the southeastern and central parts of Europe also started showing more and more proclivity towards the exploration of the rich Vatican archives.

Moving beyond the national(ist)/confessional(ist) motivations of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian historiography and addressing the insufficient interest in Hungarian scholarly circles in the history of Rome-directed Catholic missions in Ottoman Hungary,[29] in 2002, the

[26] Benjamin Braude, « Charles A. Frazee. *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. vii, 388. $59.50, *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 4, (October 1984): 1127, https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/89.4.1127. Accessed on 20.01.2020.

[27] Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique: Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994).

[28] In the first, approximately fifteen years of its publication, Heyberger's study mostly had an impact on the French and Italian scholarly circles. It has only been in the past ten years that his *histoire croisée de la confessionnalisation* approach started receiving more attention in the international scholarly milieu. Bernard Heyberger, "Pour une "histoire croisée" de l'occidentalisation et de la confessionnalisation chez les chrétiens du Proche-Orient," *The MIT-Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3 (2003): 36-49. For other representative studies on Middle Eastern Christian communities, see more recently: Aurélien Girard and Bernard Heyberger (eds), *Chrétiens au Proche-Orient*, special issue of the *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 171 (June-Septembre 2015); Andreas Schmoller (ed.), *Middle Eastern Christians and Europe. Historical Legacies and Present Challenges,* (Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2018); and Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie.*

[29] The religious and cultural life of early modern tripartite Hungary has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in the past two decades. These studies, however, have predominantly focused on the territories of Royal Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, and consequently, the study of Catholic missionary activities has been limited to these areas. See, for instance: Christine Peters, "Jesuits, Confessional Identities and Landlordship in God's Transylvanian Vineyard, 1580–1588," in Elaine Fulton and Maria Crăciun (eds), *Communities of Devotion. Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800,* (Farnham—Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 197–226; Maria Crăciun, "Traditional Practices: Catholic Missionaries and Protestant Religious Practice in Transylvania," in Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (eds), *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe,* (Manchester—New York, 2002); idem, "Implementing Catholic Reform: The Jesuits and Traditional Religion in Early Modern Transylvania," in Anna Ohlidal and Stefan Samerski (eds), *Jesuitische Frömmmigkeitskulturen: Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570–1700,* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 37–61; Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism in Eighteenth–Century Transylvania. Culture, Politics and*

Hungarian scholar Antal Molnár published his major study, entitled *Catholic missions in Ottoman Hungary I. (1572– 1647).*[30] Filling a major niche in contemporary scholarship, Molnár examined the institutional side of sixteenth-seventeenth-century Catholic missionary activities in the Balkan peninsula and Hungary, with a special emphasis on the peculiar dynamics that had existed among and within the different religious orders, and between the particular orders and the Roman Curia. Despite the work's relevance to not only Central and Southeast-European historiography but also to the international scholarship on early modern Catholic missions, it was not until 2007 that the work appeared in French[31] and gained a wider scholarly recognition. Parallel with the activity of Antal Molnár, the late István György Tóth assumed the task of publishing the primary source material of the Roman archives,[32] whilst presenting the cultural history of Catholic missionary activities in early modern tripartite Hungary to an international audience.[33]

Concerning the territorial scope of this dissertation,[34] it is also important to list some representative works from Romanian historiography. Compared to the great zeal with which Serbian and Croatian scholars 'unearthed' the history of Catholic missions in the Ottoman Balkans and the long-term primary source publication projects of Hungarian historians, before the 2000s Romanian scholarship only sporadically dealt with the topic of Catholic missions in the Romanian-speaking territories of Ottoman Europe. In the 1970s a number of primary documents concerning Catholic missionary endeavors in Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and the Banat appeared in Romanian translation in the multi-volume source collection, *Foreign Travelers about the Romanian Lands.*[35] In the same period two articles by Pietro Tocănel were published in the already mentioned edited Propaganda Fide anniversary volumes of Josef

Religion, 1693–1773, (Farnham—Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); and idem, *Narratives of Adversity: Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773),* (Budapest—New York: CEU Press, 2012).

[30] Antal Molnár, *Katolikus missziók a hódolt Magyarországon I. (1572–1647)* [Catholic missions in Ottoman Hungary I. (1572– 1647)], (Budapest: Balassi, 2002).

[31] Molnár, *Le Saint–Siège*.

[32] On this part of his work, see *Subchapter I. 6*.

[33] His most important works, considering their international outreach: István György Tóth, "The Missionary and the Devil: Ways of Conversion in Catholic Missions in Hungary," in Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (eds), *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400-1750,* (Budapest: CEU-ESF, 2001), 79-89; "Between Islam and Catholicism: Bosnian Franciscan Missionaries in Turkish Hungary, 1584-1716," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 89 (2003): 409-433; and "Between Islam and Orthodoxy: Protestants and Catholics in South-Eastern Europe" in Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion 1550-1660,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 536-557. Besides these works, Tóth published a great number of articles in Hungarian, which I am not enumerating here.

[34] Within the scope of this subchapter, I will not discuss Bulgarian, Albanian, and Greek historiography. Relevant works will be referred to in the subsequent parts of the dissertation.

[35] Maria Holban (ed.), *Călători străini despre Țările române* [Foreign travelers about the Romanian lands], II-V, (Bucharest: Editura științifică, 1970-1973).

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Metzler.[36] Still, the most relevant contribution to the field of missionary studies from Romanian historiography is considered to be the work of the Greco-Catholic priest, Lucian Periș. He devoted special attention to the examining of the confessional outlook of early modern Transylvania and the Romanian principalities, with a special focus on the Jesuit and Franciscan missions in these areas.[37] More recently, Adrian Magina[38] and Rafael-Dorian Chelaru[39] have been exploring the repercussions of Catholic missionary endeavors in the Banat and the Romanian principalities. While Adrian Magina has focused on the interaction between Catholic missionaries and various Catholic groups in the Banat region in the early modern period, Rafael-Dorian Chelaru has analyzed the dynamics of Catholic missions in the Western Balkans and the territories of Moldavia and Wallachia between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

What is conspicuous in this succinct historiographical discussion is that the history of early modern Catholic missions in the region under examination as well as globally has been fashioned predominantly by members of the Catholic clergy and the religious orders. Even when other scholars joined this effort, it was common that these historians themselves were also practicing and devoted members of the Catholic church. This profile of the field's key practitioners has been a double-edge sword. On one hand, a member of the Catholic clergy or a congregation could have a unique sensibility when approaching such a topic as Catholic mission in a particular time and place. On the other hand, the confessional affiliation of these scholars also calls for a constant awareness of the possible bias in the research they produce. As the case of Croatian and Serbian historiography illustrates, the ethno-national, regional, and confessional concerns that have dominated this scholarship gave rise to a vast number of

[36] Pietro Tocănel, "Laboriosa organizzazione delle missioni in Bulgaria, Moldavia, Valacchia e Transilvania," in Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis*, I/2, 239-274; and idem, "Assestamento delle missioni in Bulgaria, Valacchia, Transilvania e Moldavia," in Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis*, II, 722-743.

[37] Lucian Periș, *Prezențe catolice in Transilvania, Moldova și Țara Românească (1601-1698)* [Catholic presence in Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia (1601-1648)], posthumous volume, edited by Ovidiu Ghitta, (Blaj: Buna Vestire, 2005). Concerning Catholic missionary activities in Wallachia and Moldavia, see also Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor: contrareforma în țările Române în secolul al XVII-lea*, (Bucharest: EAR, 2008).

[38] Among his many works see for instance, Adrian Magina, "Religie prescrisă – religie trăită. Biserică, tradiție, superstiție în comunitățile sârbești din Banat în secolul al XVII-lea" [Prescribed religion – lived religion. Church, tradition, superstition in the Serbian communities of the Banat in the seventeenth century], *Archeologie-Istorie* XIV, no. 2 (2006): 115-124; Adrian Magina and Livia Magina, "*Mores et ceremonias ecclesiasticas ignorabant.* Religie populară in comunitățile catolice din Banat in secolul XVII-lea" [Popular religion in the Catholic communities from seventeenth century Banat], *Banatica* 18 (2008): 321-346.

[39] Cristian Luca and Rafael-Dorian Chelaru, "The Levantine Merchants Antonio de Via and Bartolomeo Locadello – protectors of the Catholic missionarism in Wallachia (first half of the XVII century)," *Istros* XVII (2011): 123-143; Rafael-Dorian Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation: Catholic Identity and Islam in the Western Balkans (Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries)", *Revista istorică* XXII (2012): 294-324; idem, "Catolicism și disciplinare socială în Moldova secolului al XVIII-lea în surse misionare" [Catholicism and social disciplining in eighteenth-century Moldavia in missionary sources] in Cristian Luca, Claudiu Neagoe, and Marius Păduraru (eds), *Miscellanea historica in honorem Professoris Marcel-Dumitru Ciucă septuagenarii,* (Brăila-Pitești: Istros-Odessos, 2013), 463-486.

apologetical works, advocating either the Catholic or the Orthodox cause. As emphasized above, this nation(al)ist-confessional(ist) trend gradually started changing in the 2000s.

As scholars from around South-East and Central Europe published more and more works and explored more and more facets of Catholic missionary activities in the various regions of early modern Ottoman Europe, international scholarship on both inner and overseas missions flourished on a much greater scale. Considering the main focus and theoretical approach of this dissertation, I would like to highlight one major publication from this period. This work is the 2009 special issue of *MEFRIM* that appeared under the title, *Administrer les sacrements en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: la curie romaine et les dubia circa sacramenta* with a seminal introductory article by Paolo Broggio, Charlotte Castelnau-L'Estoile, and Giovanni Pizzorusso.[40] The aim of the volume was to illustrate how from the end of the sixteenth century onwards the number of doubts concerning the validity of the sacraments gradually increased, as a result of, among other reasons, the expansion of Christianity. This process gave rise to questions concerning the adaptation of the administration of the sacraments to new geographical and social conditions encountered by various Catholic missionaries in different parts of the globe. Focusing primarily on the sacrament of marriage and baptism both in the Protestant regions of Europe and overseas missionary territories, the articles illustrated how this type of missionary source could be an essential tool to comprehend the globalizing impetus of Catholicism. In this way, the authors of the volume invited their readership to think jointly of these missionary worlds and the various spaces of Catholicity. Even though Ottoman Europe (and the Ottoman Empire in general, for that matter) could have offered excellent case studies that might have further nuanced the ideas propounded in this journal and other international scholarly outlets dealing with early modern missionary Catholicism, it was not only until 2016 that an edited volume with an international outreach devoted a separate article to the northern parts of seventeenth-century northern Rumeli.[41]

By bringing together different scholars of the field, the book, edited by Alison Forrestal and Seán Alexander Smith and entitled *The Frontiers of Mission. Perspectives on Early Modern Missionary Catholicism,* aimed to demonstrate how the globalization of Catholicism did not

[40] Paolo Broggio, Charlotte Castelnau de L'Estoil, and Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le temps des doutes: les sacrements et l'Église romaine aux dimensions du monde," in *Administrer les sacraments en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: La Curie romaine et la dubia circa sacramenta, Mefrim* 121, no. 1 (2009): 5–22.

[41] Forrestal and Smith (eds), *The Frontiers of Mission.* Unfortunately, while providing excellent methodological insights, the newest and most cutting-edge publication on the topic of early modern global Catholicism edited by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, devoted only one article to the Ottoman Empire that focuses on the French Jesuit missionaries in Ottoman Istanbul while leaving the rest of the empire out of analysis. See Adina Ruiu, "Missionaries and French Subjects: The Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire", in Hsia (ed.), *Catholic Global Missions,* 181-205.

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simply entail a spiritual transfer of the faith but resulted in the creation of "new Catholic landscapes." The main agenda of the volume was to illustrate the different ways in which early modern missionary Catholicism was a not a uniform but a coordinated and locally contingent enterprise. Thus, it was particularly important that besides studies focusing on Madagascar or Chile, for instance, this time the editors included an article by Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, in which the author, following in the footsteps of Antal Molnár, presented an important episode from the Catholic missionary activity of seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli.[42] In his article, Ó hAnnracháin provided a brief overview of the Jesuit mission to northern Rumeli during the first decades of the seventeenth century, highlighting certain aspects of the fierce competition that existed between the Jesuits and the local Bosnian Franciscans. Ó hAnnracháin's piece was followed in the volume by the work of Megan C. Armstrong, where the author examined some facets of the dynamics of the Franciscan competition over the Holy Land between 1517 and 1700. Regrettably, even though both articles examined Catholic missionary activity and its concomitant challenges in the Ottoman lands, the works did not speak to one another, so-to-say, nor did they address larger conceptual issues that problematize the approaches to sixteenth-seventeenth century Catholic missions on an imperial and local level.

Regarding the dynamics of Catholic missions in the early modern Ottoman Empire in general and its European territories in particular, because of the Rome- and order-centric approach that has mainly dominated the research heretofore, it is still not sufficiently clear how and to what extent the Ottoman imperial and provincial framework determined the nature of missionary endeavors on the ground. In other words: How did the architecture of religious coexistence in the Ottoman context shape what it meant to be a Catholic in this region? Were the Catholic missionaries' experiences in these areas commensurable with those elsewhere, both within and outside of the Ottoman Empire?

[42] Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, "Catholic Missionary Activity in the Northern Balkans in the Seventeenth Century," in Forrestal and Smith (eds), *The Frontiers of Mission*, 136-159.

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I. 3. 3. Global Catholicism on the Ground—Shaping Tridentine Reforms

In the last couple of decades, the role of Catholic missionaries in furthering the tenets of a 'reformed Catholicism' has been the subject of extensive scholarly scrutiny.[43] Several scholars challenged previous assumptions about the homogeneity of the category of 'Catholic missionary' itself and strived to see behind the 'glass of order-centrism.' This ongoing research has highlighted the heterogenous nature of various groups of missionaries and demonstrated that they cannot be simply described as 'harbingers' of a renewed Catholic religiosity. Instead, their missionary endeavors should be approached as products of the multilayered social, political, economic, and legal frameworks they were part of.

Building on the findings and results of both regional and international scholarship, I demonstrate what it meant to be a Catholic missionary in early modern northern Ottoman Rumeli, as well as introduce other, rather 'unexpected' actors who also shaped the impact of Tridentine reforms in this region, in particular the Serbian Orthodox clergy and the local Ottoman *kadi*s. My objective is to shed light on heretofore less explored interactions between Catholic missionaries and other local communal representatives who were part of the complex religious and legal economy of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, I bring various groups of people in the center of analysis, who were basically the catalysts of these interactions, but who, in the traditional institutional history of the missions, figure as rather 'passive' participants.

This aspect of early modern missionary Catholicism, i.e., how local agents shaped and were themselves shaped by the form of Catholicism that missionaries had introduced to them, has more recently come into the focus of scholars dealing with Catholic missions in the Americas and Asia.[44] As Mark Christensen, among others, remarked concerning Catholic missionary activities in New Mexico: "the establishment of Catholicism in the New World hinged upon the agency of the natives and their desire, not their ability, to convert and stay converted."[45] Irrespective of the location, 'native'/ 'indigenous' interaction and collaboration, be that on communal or individual levels, was indispensable to the realization of the missionary project.[46] And this 'native' collaboration could take on a variety of forms.

[43] See fn. 3 for some of the representative literature.
[44] On the issue of local groups being active participants in the shaping of the type of Catholicism that was introduced to them, see, for instance Tara Alberts, *Conflict and Conversion: Catholicism in Southeast Asia, 1500-1700*, (Oxford: OUP, 2013).
[45] Mark Christensen, "Missionizing Mexico: Ecclesiastics, Natives, and the Spread of Christianity," in Hsia (ed.), *Catholic Global Missions*, 17-41, 22.
[46] Christensen, "Missionizing Mexico," 40.

Introducing the variety of agents who, in one way or another participated in the Catholic missionary endeavor in northern Ottoman Rumeli will allow one to approach Catholic missions in the region not merely as Rome-initiated projects but as outcomes of the peculiar entanglements of the local, trans-, and inter-imperial networks, missionary ambitions, papal objectives, Orthodox interests, the interests of the Ottoman administration, and not least, the strategies of various local religious groups. The aim of this approach is not to simply 'provincialize' Rome, but to highlight the many faces and meanings of 'Catholic mission.'

The aim of introducing such actors as the Ottoman *kadi* to the study of Catholic missions in early modern northern Ottoman Rumeli is to emphasize the significance of non-Christian agents in the articulation of local communal and confessional affiliations, and in this way also highlight the relevance of Catholic missionary activities to the field of Ottoman studies. As the detailed historiographical synopsis above has illustrated, the scholars who almost completely stayed out of the debates regarding the impact of Catholic missions in Ottoman Europe were Ottomanists. The topic of Catholic missions has generally figured in mainstream Ottomanist historiography only tangentially, and the study of the Ottoman Christian and Jewish subject population has been to a large extent based on the available Ottoman administrative source material (tax and court registers, for instance). While Ottomanists often use various diplomatic correspondence (such as the famous Venetian *dispacci*),[47] they rarely explore Catholic missionary sources, in spite of the fact that they convey valuable information concerning, among others, one of the most important cogs of the Ottoman provincial society, the *kadi*. The function of the judge in the Ottoman provinces has generally been described in Ottomanist historiography[48] in terms of brokering communal peace and stability, embodying and enforcing imperial legal and administrative authority on the local level, and serving as the main link between the imperial center and the provinces.[49] But what were the strategies of these *kadi*s in maintaining this stability? How did they interact with their Christian subjects and their clerical representatives, and how did the latter, in turn, deal with the local *kadi*s?

[47] See, Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Fonds for the Sultan: How to Use Venetian Sources for Studying Ottoman History," *News on the Rialto* 32 (2013): 22-28.

[48] It is outside the scope of this subchapter to discuss the vast literature on the institution of the *kadi* and the functioning of the judicial courts. The relevant studies are referred to in the subsequent parts of the dissertation.

[49] Ronald C. Jennings, "Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure in Seventeenth Century Ottoman Kayseri: The Kadi and the Legal System", G.– P. *Studia Islamica* 48(1978): 133-172; Rositsa Gradeva, "On Kadis of Sofia, Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries," in her, *Rumeli under the Ottomans, Fifteenth– Eighteenth Centuries: Institutions and Communities*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004), 67–106; Engin Deniz Akarlı, "The Ruler and Law Making in the Ottoman Empire," in Jeroen Duindam, Jill Harries, Caroline Humfress, and Nimrod Humfritz (eds), *Law and Empire. Ideas, Practices, Actors*, (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2013), 87-111.

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The other actors who decisively shaped the course of Catholic missionary activities in northern Rumeli (and in other parts of the Balkan peninsula as well) were the Serbian Orthodox[50] *pop*s (~priests) and their *vladika*s (~bishops). Adequately characterizing and evaluating the role of these Orthodox agents in their respective communities has posed a conundrum in historiography. Illustrative of this 'uncertainty' is the fact that contemporary scholarship still heavily relies on the almost 75 year old work of the Hungarian historian László Hadrovics, and gives a general description of the lifestyle of the Serbian Orthodox clergy as differing from the Catholic one in the sense that the former were more integrated into their communities, often as married men, and the Orthodox bishops, who resided in their bishoprics, assured the continuity of priestly presence within various communities.[51] Whilst the missionary sources that describe the daily activities of Orthodox priests do report on a closer relationship with certain local groups (both nominal Orthodox and Catholics), and characterize the local Orthodox priests as less educated and more lenient towards breaching particular canon law stipulations, these reports do not provide much direct information about the way the gradual arrival of Catholic missionaries could have affected the confessional awareness of the Orthodox clergy and their flocks, and what kind of inner transformations (if any) was the Orthodox Church experiencing, irrespective of any Catholic influence. A closer examination of the sources could reveal previously unexplored aspects of the daily interactions among the local Orthodox clergy, diverse groups of various ethnic and denominational affiliations, different Catholic missionaries, and local Ottoman power brokers. This way, it can not only be shown how the implementation of Tridentine reforms and the local articulation of Catholicism was contingent upon the presence and influence of Orthodox priests, but it can also be illustrated how the Orthodox clergy and various Orthodox groups were themselves shaped by these inter-confessional encounters.

The practice of Christians opting for the Ottoman judge for a variety of reasons[52] in itself was not a particularity of seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. As contemporary sources attest, Christians (Orthodox and Catholics alike) across the empire continuously appealed to the local Ottoman judge for adjudicating various cases. Formally,

[50] The history of the Serbian Orthodox Church is discussed more extensively in the next chapter.
[51] See, László Hadrovics, *Vallás, egyház, nemzettudat. A szerb egyház nemzeti szerepe a török uralom alatt* [Hungarian translation of the 1947 French edition, *Le peuple serbe et son eglise sous la domination turque*], (Budapest: OMIKK, 1991), 20.
[52] Catholics opted for the Ottoman judge as well as the Orthodox priest either because the missionaries would not bless a particular union due to the violation of canon law, or for practical reasons, such as being already familiar with a particular *kadi* or Orthodox priest, or because there was no Catholic priest available or the closest one was too far.

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within the bureaucratic and legal system of the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslim subjects had the right to resort to their own ecclesiastical or communal courts—when these were available and accessible—for solving different cases pertaining to intra-communal matters, such as marriage, divorce, or inheritance. They were obliged to use the *sharia* (Islamic law) court only in those cases that involved disputes or transactions with Muslims. In addition, non-Muslim subjects could also resort to the *sharia* court whenever they found it more appropriate or advantageous.

Contemporary scholarship has interpreted this practice within the larger context of legal pluralism that applied to the non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire, which allowed for considerable amount of 'forum shopping.'[53] Yet, does the notion of 'forum shopping' quite encapsulate the essence of this process? Would Catholics appeal to the Ottoman judge simply because he would give a more favorable judgement, or was there more behind people's motivations in choosing these authorities? And what was the case with appealing to the Orthodox priest? To what extent could these two authorities be put on a par with one another? What could these acts of various groups and individuals tell us about the changes in the communal leadership and the nature of religious authority that Catholics, as well as other religious groups (primarily Orthodox Christians, but also Muslims) underwent in the period under discussion? How would this inform our understanding of the way imperial subject status and communal belonging in the Ottoman Empire intersected with and influenced confessional allegiances, beliefs, and practices? Accordingly, this dissertation will also raise questions about and shed light on the Ottoman politics of managing religious diversity in the confessional age, which will bring nuance to and problematize the discussions in current Ottomanist historiography regarding the notion of *millet*.[54]

[53] On this practice, whereby the litigants take their suits to the court that is most likely to provide favorable judgment to them, see Evgenia Kermeli, "The Right to Choice: Ottoman Justice vis-à-vis Ecclesiastical and Communal Justice in the Balkans, Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries," in Andreas Christmann and Robert Gleave (eds), *Studies in Islamic Law: A Festschrift for Colin Imber,* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 165–210; Sophia Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World: Interpersonal and Family Cases Brought before the Shari 'a Courts During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Cases Involving the Greek Community)," in Amila Buturović and Irvin C. Schick (eds), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History,* (London—New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 243-273; Karen Barkey, "Aspects of Legal Pluralism in the Ottoman Empire," in Richard J. Ross and Lauren Benton (eds.), *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500–1850,* (New York: NYU Press, 2013), 83–107; Antonis Anastasopoulos, "Non–Muslims and Ottoman Justice(s)," in Jeroen Duindam, Jill Harries, Caroline Humfress, and Nimrod Humfritz (eds), *Law and Empire. Ideas, Practices, Actors,* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2013), 275-293.

[54] See, *Subchapter I. 5. 2.*

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I. 4. The (Ethno-)Religious Composition of the Northern Balkan Peninsula and Southern Hungary (cc. 1300s–1600s)—Territorial Focus

I. 4. 1. Introduction

In 1571, a Ragusan Observant Franciscan and bishop of Stagno, named Bonifacije Drakolica (also known as Bonifacio di Ragusa) was commissioned by pope Pius V (p. 1566-1572) to visit the convents of the Franciscan province of *Bosna Argentina* in order to reform them in the spirit of the *Tridentinum*. The completion of this task, however, did not mark the end of Drakolica's activities; the following year he returned to Bosnia and this time, he also visited the Christian population across the Danube and the Sava. Upon examining some of these people, he found that they were Catholics who were miraculously still attached to the Catholic faith.[55] In 1580, Pope Gregory XIII dispatched Drakolica with two companions, Antun Matković, bishop of Bosnia, and the Jesuit Bartolomeo Sfondrati to visit the northern European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, so Drakolica embarked upon another journey across parts of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Hungary.[56] In 1581, he visited Bosnia again, then Požega (today Croatia), Pécs (today Hungary), and finally, reached Timișoara (today Romania), where he died at the beginning of 1582.[57]

This brief outline of the itinerary of the first papal visitor to northern Ottoman Rumeli almost completely maps the 'route' that I will follow in this dissertation. As it has been underlined, in terms of territorial scope, I am primarily focusing on the northern parts of Ottoman Rumeli, i.e., on Bosnia, southern Hungary, and the Banat, which in Ottoman administrative terms approximately corresponded to the *eyalet*s[58] of Bosnia, the southern parts of Kanije and Budin, and Tımışvar.

[55] István György Tóth, *Litterae missionariorum de Hungaria et Transylvania (1572-1717), vols I-V, vol. I*, (Rome-Budapest: Biblioteca Academiae Hungariae – Roma, Fontes 4, 2002), 102.

[56] The visitation of the southern parts of the Balkan peninsula and Constantinople were assigned to Pietro Cedulini, bishop of Nona. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 124. On Cedulini's mission, see A. Gottlob, "Die lateinischen Kirchengemeinden in der Türkei und ihre Visitation durch Petrus Cedulini, Bischof von Nona (1580–1581)", *Histor. Jahrbuch* VI (1885): 42–72; on Drakolica's visitation, see István György Tóth, "Raguzai Bonifác, a hódoltság első pápai vizitátora (1581–1582)," [Bonifacio di Ragusa, the first papal visitor of Ottoman Hungary] *Történelmi Szemle* 3–4 (1997): 447–443. In the next chapter I will further discuss the relevance of these two papal visitors.

[57] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. V*, 3178-3179.

[58] *Eyalet* or 'province' was the primary administrative unit of the empire. In 1609, there were 32 eyalets but their number fluctuated both before and after this date depending on conquests, territorial losses, and administrative reorganization.

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Map 1. The geographical focus of the dissertation illustrated on a satellite map

The choice of this particular territorial focus, however, invites further explanations and specifications. What made these regions a relatively viable ground for Catholic missionary activities? What were the components that connected these territories, and what justifies referring to them using the heuristic spatial term, ‘northern Ottoman Rumeli’?

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I. 4. 2. The Contours of 'Northern Ottoman Rumeli'

The reform program of the post-Tridentine papacy was characterized, among others, by a new awareness about the existence and condition of the Christian population of the empire in general and the Balkan peninsula and Hungary in particular. The visitations of Bonifacije Drakolica and other subsequent visitors, as well as the Jesuit reports composed after the official launching of the Jesuit mission in 1612-1613 in Pécs, Belgrade (today Serbia), and Timișoara, constituted the main source of information upon which the papacy built its missionizing agenda. It was a period of mapping out the key areas with a 'representative'[59] number of at least nominally Catholic population, and the local possibilities of organizing and, more importantly, maintaining a mission. The Hungarian scholar Antal Molnár has devoted extensive research to analyze the characteristics and special dynamics of this 'exploratory phase' of the Catholic missionary endeavors in these regions. His meticulous work has shown that in the case of Ottoman Hungary, Rome-directed Catholic missions were eventually restricted to the southern parts of the region, i.e., to Slavonia, Srem, and the Banat.[60]

After the tripartite division of the Kingdom of Hungary, the surviving Catholic elite of the Ottoman-occupied areas found refuge in the Habsburg-governed parts of the kingdom (Royal Hungary), and in the one and a half century to come Roman Catholic Hungarian bishops and archbishops governed *in absentia* their dioceses under Ottoman rule. In practice, this meant that they did not renounce their jurisdiction over these areas; moreover, they also used every means at their disposal to tax the lands that had previously belonged to their respective dioceses.[61] From the beginning of the seventeenth century, besides the bishops of Eger and Vác, the archbishops of Kalocsa as well as the bishops of Csanád and Pécs began to map out and tax

[59] I use the term 'representative' rather loosely here, since oftentimes a 'representative number' would only mean a few Catholic households.
[60] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 14.
[61] The double-taxation (i.e., both by the Ottoman and the Hungarian party) of certain parts in the central and northern parts of Ottoman-governed Hungary—commonly referred to as *condominium* in Hungarian Ottomanist historiography— was a crucial factor that determined the radius of Rome-organized Catholic missions in the area. Ottoman taxes were much higher than the Hungarian taxes, and by the seventeenth century almost half of the areas of Ottoman Hungary fell outside the scope of Hungarian taxation. For more details on the Ottoman-Hungarian *condominium* and its territorial specificities, see Ferenc Szakály, "Egy „világtörténeti curiosum": magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban," [A "world historical curiosity": Hungarian taxation in Ottoman Hungary] *Valóság* 5(1979): 23-37. On the problem of the Ottoman-Christian *condominium* in Hungary, as well as Europe, see, more recently, Antal Molnár, *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság. Magyar és horvát katolikus egyházi intézmények az oszmán uralom alatt* [Ottoman Hungary – Ottoman Croatia. Hungarian and Croatian Catholic ecclesiastical institutions under Ottoman rule], (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudomány Intézet, 2019), 25-215, with further bibliographical references.

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their estates in the Ottoman-held areas.[62] The radius of their jurisdiction could not, however, penetrate the southern parts of the country. Hence, the villages of the Drava-Sava, as well as Timiș-Mureș interfluve were only taxed on an *ad hoc* basis, and even these attempts, only lasted for a limited period.[63] The reason for these constraints was attributable a) to the distance of these territories from Royal Hungary, b) to the resistance of the local South-Slavic-speaking population[64] who by this time outnumbered the Hungarian-speaking one and who refused to pay taxes to the Hungarian ecclesiastical and state authorities, and c) to the activity of the local Ottoman authorities who were protecting imperial as well as their own local interests.[65] Hence, the Hungarian Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy had to organize a strong basis in those areas where the local circumstances were favorable to vindicate their interests.

Besides mapping out their landholdings in the Ottoman-governed areas, Hungarian bishops and archbishops also had to organize their local representation, which they primarily achieved through the Jesuit missions of Pécs, Andocs, and Gyöngyös (all, in present-day Hungary), which were under the jurisdiction of the Austrian province of the order, and consequently, more connected to Royal Hungary and the Viennese court than to Rome. The second means of local representation was through the activity of the Hungarian Franciscan convents of Szeged, Gyöngyös, and Kecskemét (all, in present-day Hungary).[66] This Hungarian Catholic institutional system that connected Ottoman and Royal Hungary strongly resisted the penetration of Rome-backed missionary institutions that were expanding from the south: for instance, the missionary bishop of Belgrade only had the right of confirmation and visitation in the local Hungarian parishes but without having actual jurisdiction over the local Hungarian priests and their flocks. Likewise, north of the Pécs-Szeged line, only the Bosnian Franciscan-administered parishes came under the jurisdiction of missionary bishops.[67] The resistance of

[62] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 448. On the incomes of the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy in the sixteenth century, see, István Kenyeres, "Konfliktus vagy konszenzus? A katolikus egyházi vagyon sorsa a 16. századi Magyar Királyságban" [Conflict or consensus? The fate of the holdings of the Catholic Church in sixteenth-century Royal Hungary], in Szabolcs Varga and Lázár Vértesi (eds), *Egyházi társadalom a Magyar Királyságban a 16. Században* [Ecclesiastical society in sixteenth-century Royal Hungary], (Pécs: PHF, 2017), 293-317.

[63] After the fall of Szigetvár (1566) there is barely any data, concerning Hungarian attempts to tax the villages of the Drava-Sava interfluve. Szakály, "Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban," 25.

[64] It must already be prefaced here that the South-Slavs of southern Ottoman Hungary were not only 'Serbs' (a problematic ethnic label in itself for the analyzed period), as it is often simplified in Hungarian historiography. Even if the number of South-Slavic groups, whose confessional loyalty lie with the Serbian Orthodox Church and who migrated to Hungarian territories, was significantly higher, one should not disregard the Catholic South-Slavic population who migrated from Bosnia, Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Kosovo. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 105-106.

[65] Concerning the territorial distribution of Hungarian taxation attempts and the case of South-Slavic inhabited territories, see Szakály, "Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban," 25-31.

[66] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 448. See also his, *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság,* 79-215.

[67] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 448.

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the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy and its local delegates in Ottoman Hungary to 'foreign intrusion' did not only circumscribe the scope of Rome-directed Catholic missionary activities, but also determined the local agents upon which the papacy could build its missionizing program.

Since the areas of Slavonia, Srem, and the Banat had already been key operational areas of the Franciscans of Bosnia, as well as the merchants of Ragusa, it was imperative to win them over for the Roman cause. The local embeddedness of both the friars and the merchants quickly turned them into the two main pillars of Catholic missionary endeavor, which consequently gave rise to several other conflicts and challenges with which Roman authorities had to cope.[68] The studies of Ferenc Szakály and Antal Molnár have demonstrated that due to certain local particularities of the southern parts of Ottoman Hungary (most importantly, the high number of the South-Slavic-speaking population, the resistance to ecclesiastical and state control from Royal Hungary, and the expansion of Bosnian Franciscans and Ragusan merchants to these areas), these territories should be considered as northward extensions of the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman rule rather than inalienable parts of Hungary.[69] Following these authors' line of reasoning, I would similarly argue that the territories of Slavonia, Srem, and the Banat should be treated in their own right, since they integrated in different ways both into the administrative system of the Ottoman Empire and the intricate web of early modern Catholic reforming initiatives. Moreover, due to the fact that the Bosnian Franciscans made inroads to the area already in the Middle Ages and they strengthened their hold on it with the help of both the Ottomans and Rome, [70] it is imperative to extend the boundaries of the mentioned territories to include Franciscan strongholds in contemporary Bosnia too in order to adequately capture the political, social, economic, and religious dynamics of the region that I call 'northern Ottoman Rumeli.'

[68] This topic is discussed in more details in the next chapter.
[69] See, Ferenc Szakály, "Szerb bevándorlás a török kori Magyarországra" [The migration of the Serbs to Ottoman Hungary], in Ferenc Glatz (ed.), *Szomszédaink között Kelet-Európában* [Among our neighbors in Eastern Europe], (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1993), 75-89; Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 14-24; 437-449.
[70] The expansion and factionalism of the Bosnian Franciscan order is discussed in the next chapter.

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I. 4. 3. Bosnia, Slavonia, Srem, and the Banat in the Late Middle Ages

I. 4. 3. 1. Introduction

The dynamics of sixteenth-seventeenth century Catholic missions in northern Ottoman Rumeli were unavoidably informed by the transformation of the political, demographic, religious, and linguistic map that the region underwent in the preceding centuries. Therefore, besides understanding some of the main intricacies of the institutional and organizational background of these missions, it is also imperative to shed light on the history of the late medieval polities encompassing Bosnia, Slavonia-Srem, and the Banat, their (ethno-)religious composition, the nature of the Ottoman conquest, and the concomitant population migrations across the Balkan peninsula.

The peculiar evolution and geopolitics of the area led to various and often conflicting understandings and meanings of these geographic terms that call for a critical engagement with these toponyms, keeping in mind their historicity, regionalism, the potential inconsistencies they carried within, and the flexibility of their border zones. Even though, the territorial boundaries of these lands were often shaky and contested, there were still elements in this scenery that would eventually give missionaries (or anyone living in or passing through the region) a certain sense of stability and orientation.

While the incorporation of these regions into the Ottoman realm and their concomitant division caused further confusions on the ground, the rivers and mountains that partitioned this landscape would still serve as solid orientation points in demarcating these areas. In 1655, for instance, the bishop of Bosnia Mariano Maravić described Bosnia as the land that was girded by five rivers, the Drina in the East that separated it from Serbia; the Neretva and Rama divided it from Herzegovina and Dalmatia; on the West it was bound by the river Sava that separated it from Croatia; and on the North was also bordered by the Sava.[71] The river Sava became, thus, the boundary that separated Bosnia from Slavonia-Srem, whilst sixteenth-seventeenth century Slavonia and Srem came to be understood as the territory between the Sava, Drava, and Danube rivers. In the Banat area the Timiș, Mureș, Criș, and Danube rivers would serve as main points of orientation.

[71] Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*, 475-476.

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I. 4. 3. 2. Bosnia

The sixteenth-seventeenth century understanding of Bosnia was circumscribed by the perception of the area by the Ottoman administration, the Franciscans, the Habsburgs, the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the papacy—just to name the most important actors who were actively engaged in shaping the political, geographic, and ideological contours of the territory. The borders of the Ottoman-governed eyalet of Bosnia (e. 1520) by the seventeenth century came to extend over the boundaries of medieval Bosnia to include certain areas of historical Slavonia, as well as parts of Dalmatia and Croatia.[72] This territorial reorganization of the region also gave additional grounds to the Franciscans of Bosnia to further underpin their territorial claims in Slavonia as well.[73] But what made the region of Bosnia unique and contested even prior to becoming one of the most important administrative units of the Ottoman Empire?

From the twelfth century until the Ottoman conquest in 1463, Bosnia was one of the major points of contention in the power struggles between the Hungarian Kingdom, the Byzantine Empire, and the Kingdom of Serbia.[74] Bosnia first flourished under the reign of ban Kulin (r. 1180-1204) when the country was nominally Catholic and under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik, Croatia). Kulin established good relations with Ragusa and issued a charter in 1189 granting Ragusan merchants the right to trade throughout his banate tax-free.[75] During the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the Roman

[72] Markus Koller, "Bosnia," in Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 91-93, 91.

[73] There are several missionary letters and reports that inform about the continuous quarrels concerning the radius of the jurisdiction of the Franciscans in Slavonia-Srem. The bishop of Bar Pietro Massarecchi, for instance, in 1632 held against the Bosnian Franciscans that they wanted to adjust the borders of the missionary bishoprics to the Ottoman *sanjak* (~subprovince, governed by a *sanjakbey*) borders. Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 397.

[74] On the dynamics of the relationship between the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and Serbia during the thirteenth century, see Judit Gál, "IV. Béla és I. Uroš szerb uralkodó kapcsolata" [The Relationship between Béla IV of Hungary and Uroš I of Serbia], *Századok* 147 (2013): 247-251. For the medieval perceptions of Bosnia by contemporaries, see Neven Isailović, "Pogled iznutra i pogled sa strane – percepcija srednjovekovne bosanske države i njenih stanovnika u domaćim i stranim izvorima" [Inside view and outside view – The perception of the medieval Bosnian state and its inhabitants in domestic and foreign sources], in Elmedina Duranović, Enes Dedić, and Nedim Rabić (eds), *Bosna i njeni susjedi u srednjem vijeku. Pristupi i perspektive* [Bosnia and its neighbors in the Middle Ages. Approaches and perspectives], (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2019), 33-59.

[75] John V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest,* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 17-21. The good relationship between Bosnia and Ragusa was relatively untroubled until the beginning of the seventeenth century. For more recent studies on the history of medieval Bosnia, see: Dženan Dautović, Emir O. Filipović, and Never Isailović (eds), *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations. Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads,* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2019); Emir O. Filipović, *Bosansko Kraljevstvo i Osmansko Carstvo (1386-1463)* [The Bosnian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire (1386-1463)], (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 2019).

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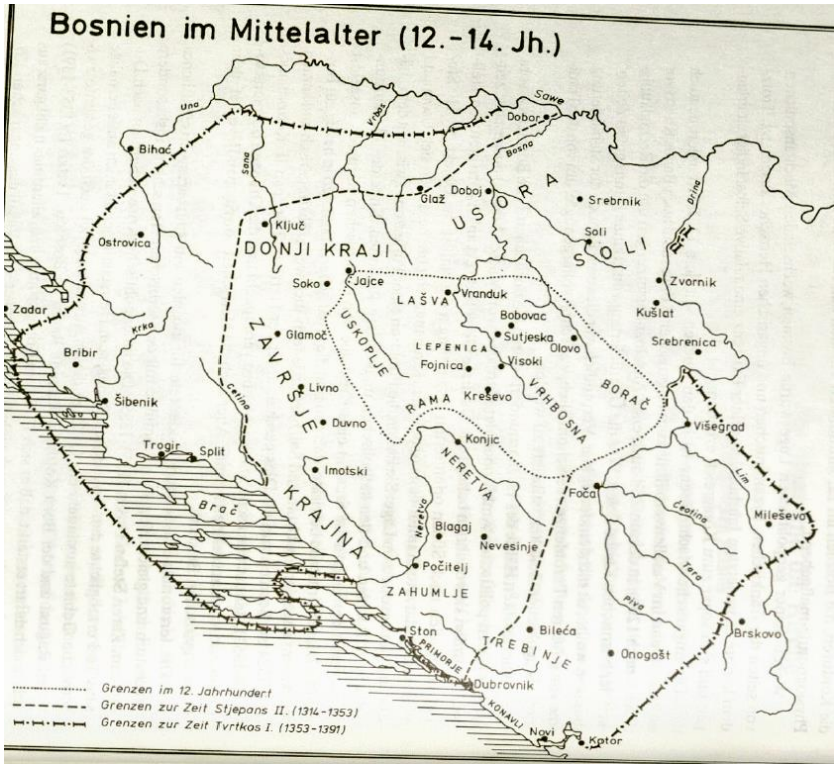
papacy repeatedly called on the Hungarians to crusade against the 'heretics' in Bosnia,[76] which eventually proved to be an opportunity for conquest to the Hungarians, until the 1240s, when they had to withdraw their troops from the Bosnian lands due to the impeding Tatar attacks from the north.[77] After having reclaimed its independence, Bosnia's political position was further strengthened and consolidated under the rule of the Kotromanić dynasty—in 1377, Tvrtko Kotromanić I proclaimed himself king of Serbia and Bosnia, and it was during his reign that the territory of the medieval Bosnian polity reached its largest expansion.[78]



Map 2. Bosnia in the Middle Ages. Source: Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien*, 28.

Bosnia was divided into the following regions: the Po-Drina (the region of the Drina river), Central Bosnia, Soli (Tuzla), Usora, the Donji Kraj, and after 1326, Hum (approximately corresponding to present-day Herzegovina).[79] In terms of the religious landscape of the region,

[76] A more recent approach concerning the nature of papal rhetoric against 'Bosnian heretics': Dženan Dautović, "Vampiri, lisice i korov. "Sveta retorika" i propagandno djelovanje protiv Bosne u pismima postlateranskih papa prve polovine 13. stoljeca" [Vampires, foxes, and weeds. "Holy rhetoric" and propaganda against Bosnia in the letters of post-Lateran popes of the first half of the 13th century], in Duranović et al (eds), *Bosna i njeni susjedi u srednjem vijeku*, 59-80.
[77] Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 143-147.
[78] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 75-76. Louis I's (r. 1342-1382) wife Elisabeth was also a member of the Kotromanić family (she was the first cousin Tvrtko Kotromanić) that also points to the growing importance of forging alliances towards reaching a greater territorial expansion as well as consolidation of the Bosnian polity.
[79] Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 18.

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Orthodox groups predominated in the east near Serbia and the Drina and in most of Hum, while Catholic ones predominated in the West, the North, and also in Central Bosnia, until an independent Bosnian Church emerged in the central region in the middle of the thirteenth century.[80]

Despite the fact that Bosnia enjoyed relative stability under the reign of the Kotromanić, the state's development was highly affected by the special geopolitical status Bosnia occupied among the other polities of the medieval Balkans. It has become almost a trope in the scholarship dealing with the historical development of the country and the Bosnian Church to depict the region as a sort of 'no-man's land' that developed between the 'East' and 'West,' not having been conquered by either.[81] This resistance—both a conscious enterprise and a 'natural development' due to the mountainous features of the territory—eventually manifested in the emergence of an autonomous ecclesiastical institution, i.e., the Bosnian Church.

The Bosnian Church was an independent ecclesiastical institution in medieval Bosnia and considered heretical by the Catholic Church of Rome. Its origins are traced to the Catholic bishopric of Bosnia that in the first half of the thirteenth century renounced its allegiance to Rome, due to various power struggles with the Kingdom of Hungary. After the bishop of Bosnia—who had been appointed by the Hungarian king—relocated to Diakóvár (Đakovo, today Croatia) in southern Hungary,[82] the local Bosnian clergy gradually developed its own ecclesiastical structure, i.e., the Bosnian Church, which in terms of functioning was reminiscent of a monastic order and was led by its own bishop, called *Djed* (grandfather). The adherents of the church simply referred to themselves as *krstjani* (Christians). [83] The emergence, theological and alleged heretical character, and gradual disappearance (or, I would rather say, absorption) of the Bosnian Church has been the subject of a great scholarly controversy, mostly among regional historians, and there is still no consensus about the whys and hows of this particular church.[84] It is beyond the scope of this subchapter to provide a synopsis and critical evaluation

[80] Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans,* 17-21.
[81] The literature is immense. Representative works with further bibliographical references, include: Ivo Andrić, Die Entwicklung des geistigen Lebens in Bosnien unter der Einwirkung der türkischen Herrschaft, *Sveske Zadužbine Ive Andrića* 1 (1982): 7-327; Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität*; and Molnár, *Katolikus misszíók.*
[82] On the bishopric of Bosnia at Đakovo, see Bálint Ternovácz, "Crkvene veze između Bosne i Kraljevine Ugarske do sredine 14 veka" [Ecclesiastical relations between Bosnia and the Kingdom of Hungary until the middle of the 14th century], in Duranović et al (eds), *Bosna i njeni susjedi u srednjem vijeku,* 81-99.
[83] From the vast number of older studies on the topic, see Sima Ćirković, "Bosanska Crkva u bosanskoj državi," [The Bosnian Church in the Bosnian state] in E. Redžić (ed.), *Društvo i privreda srednjovjekovne bosanske države* [The society and economy of the medieval Bosnian state], (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987), 191-254.
[84] Probably the most well-known study in English is John V. A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in State and Society from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975). For an overview of historiography, see Pejo Ćošković, *Crkva*

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of these debates. Suffice it to say that due to the scarcity as well as politicized character of the primary sources[85] (the accusations of heresy came from the Hungarian king and the papacy), and the often nationalistic character of the secondary literature, one cannot easily account for the genesis of the Bosnian Church and its alleged dualistic character or, according to some scholars, schismatic[86] nature.[87] What can be ascertained is that after the middle of the thirteenth century, when the accusations of heresy became regular, the Bosnian Church with its monastic character became a symbol of resistance against the establishment of a Latin church-structure in parts of Bosnia.

The existence of this particular church in medieval Bosnia as well as the other existing denominations shed light on the already fragmented and confused religious landscape of the area. Thus, the sixteenth-seventeenth-century perceptions about the religiosity of the local Catholics in Bosnia were just as much determined by the new Ottoman 'realities' as they were circumscribed by this medieval legacy of the region. When the Franciscans[88]—the exponents of the papacy and later main protagonists of seventeenth-century missionary activities—first appeared in Bosnia in the thirteenth century, they were supposed to eradicate 'Bosnian heresy' and reform the Bosnian Church. Based on the extant sources, however, it would be difficult to say what the Franciscans' reforming process actually entailed on the ground, and more importantly, to determine the exact criteria according to which the local population would claim adherence to the Catholic, Orthodox, or Bosnian Church (if one can really speak of a clear-cut division among the three, even, nominally) and the names they would use to identify themselves in front of the Franciscans and otherwise.

The first written source concerning the activity of the Franciscans in Bosnia is a charter from 1248 but they permanently settled only in 1291. From then onwards they gradually took

Bosanska u XV. Stoljeću [The Bosnian Church in the Fifteenth Century], (Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju, 2005), 21-73. From the more recent literature that brings new insights to the study of the Bosnian Church, see Luka Špoljarić, "The Renaissance Papacy and the Catholicization of the 'Manichean Heretics': Rethinking the 1459 Purge of the Bosnian Kingdom," in Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *Global Reformations: Transforming Early Modern Religions, Societies, and Cultures,* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 153-175.

[85] For a critical examination of the extant sources concerning the Bosnian Church, see Srećko M. Džaja, *Die „Bosnische Kirche" und das Islamisierungsproblem Bosniens und der Herzegowina in den Forschungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg,* (Munich: Trofenik, 1978), 9-34.

[86] Fine, *The Bosnian Church,* 140-145. However, the Bosnian Church was also accused of holding heretic beliefs by the Orthodox Church.

[87] On the discrepancies in the more recent historiography of the Bosnian Church, see Dženan Dautović, "Crkva Bosanska: Moderni historiografski tokovi, rasprave i kontroverze (2005-2015)" [The Bosnian Church: Modern historiographic trends, debates and controversies], in Vera Katz (ed.), *Historijska traganja* [Tracing history], (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2015), 129-131.

[88] Regional scholarship has devoted an extensive number of studies to the activity of the Bosnian Franciscans from the Middle Ages to the present day. Representative works include, but are not limited to, Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci*; Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*; Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität.*

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over the inquisitorial assignment from the Dominicans.[89] They soon superseded the Dominicans and acquired full hegemonic status over the Catholic Church in Bosnia; in 1327 and 1330 Pope John XXII (p. 1316-1334) accorded full autonomy to the Franciscans.[90] Due to their inquisitorial assignment, they first settled in the main political centers (Mile, Bobova, and Sutjeska) and were closely related to the royal court and the Catholic ruling class. In 1339, the Franciscans established the Bosnian vicariate (*Vicaria Bosnae*), which encompassed a wider region than the territory of the banate of Bosnia. The Franciscan presence was consolidated in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the papacy changed the order's inquisitorial assignment into a mission. At the beginning, the members of the vicariate were recruited from Italian-, Spanish-, German-, French-, and Polish-speaking friars, but from the fifteenth century onwards (especially, following the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia), the local friars took over.[91] During the fifteenth century, the Bosnian vicariate became a very dynamic institution in the Balkan peninsula; besides the great number of convents erected on the territory of medieval Bosnia, several friaries were established in Royal Hungary, Venetian Dalmatia, Ragusa, and southern-Italy, and a number of friars were also active in Wallachia and Bulgaria.[92] In 1517, the Bosnian vicariate acquired the title of a province.[93]

[89] On the activity of the Dominicans, see Stjepan Krasić, *Dominikanci u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* [The Dominicans in medieval Bosnia], (Đakovo: UPT, 1996).
[90] Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien,* (Werl/Westfalen: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1991), 55-77; Antal Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans between Roman Centralization and Balkan Confessionalization," in his, *Confessionalization on the Frontier*, 17-31; 18-22.
[91] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 20.
[92] On the expansion of the vicariate, see Basilio Pandžić, *Historia Missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, Vol. IV. – Regiones Proximi Orientis et Paenisulae Balcanicae,* (Rome: Francescani, 1974), 109-143.
[93] Džambo, *Die Franziskaner,* 55-77; Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 21.

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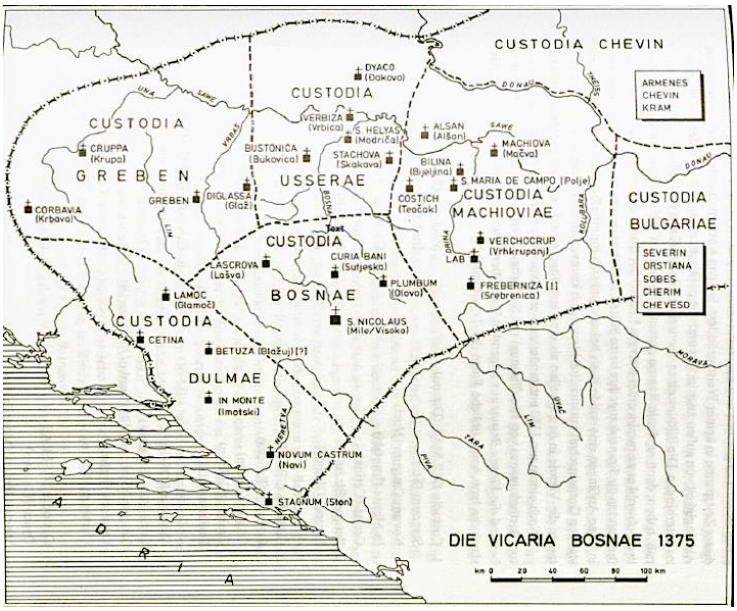

Map 3. The Bosnian Vicariate in 1375. Source: Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien,* 79.

Since from 1252, the Bosnian bishop resided outside Bosnia in Đakovo (today Croatia), local Catholics were left without an ordinary.[94] From 1369, the popes had accorded a wide range of missionary authorizations to the Franciscans in order to safeguard and maintain Catholicism in the territory. For instance, due to the lack of priests, the Franciscans had the right to administer the sacraments to the faithful. Over the course of the fifteenth century, the friars gradually assumed the role of all ecclesiastical institutions, and thus became the principal representatives of the Catholic Church in Bosnia and also, decisive agents of the local social, religious, cultural as well as economic transformations.[95] Besides the local tradesmen, the flourishing of trade and mining in the Bosnian lands during the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century attracted a number of Saxon miners and Ragusan merchants to the area that subsequently increased Catholic influence and gave an additional color to the local ethno-linguistic composition. According to the available data, it appears that the Franciscans soon became embedded in the local entrepreneurial as well as patronage networks of a number of wealthy merchants and miners.[96] Thus, surpassing by far the role of other Franciscan groups

[94] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 21. See, also Ternovácz, "Crkvene veze između Bosne i Kraljevine Ugarske".
[95] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 20-21. See, also Paweł Cholewicki, "The Role of the Franciscans in the Kingdom of Bosnia during the Reign of King Stjepan Tomaš (1443-1461)," in Ildikó Csepregi (ed.), *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, Vol. 25*, (Budapest: CEU Press, 2019), 107-120.
[96] Džambo, *Die Franziskaner,* 160-189.

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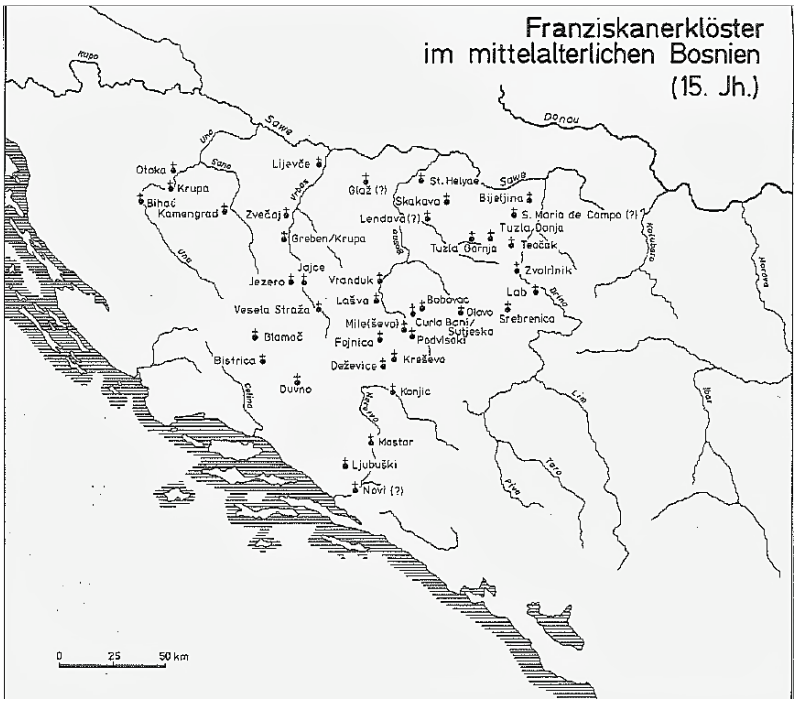
throughout Europe, the Franciscans in Bosnia came to play a major role in the development and expansion of urban-like settlements in the region.[97]

The beginning of the fifteenth century marked a boom in the building of friaries parallel with the flourishing of trade. Based on the extant written and archeological records there were thirty-nine friaries[98] in the territory of medieval Bosnia, most of which were erected near the key mining and commercial centers, such as Olovo, Kreševo, Fojnica, and Srebrenica.[99]



Map 4. Franciscan convents in fifteenth-century Bosnia. Source: Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien,* 168.

Even though the vicariate officially belonged to the observant branch of the order, their peculiar ecclesiastical (and political) position entailed the preservation of some conventual tendencies as well, with Roman endorsement.[100] As it was also common in many other cities in other parts of Europe, the rising Catholic urban population was the biggest financial supporter of the monasteries: besides money donations, they also left property to the order, including mines, mills, and land—a feature that formally contradicted the mendicant character of the order that forbade the friars to possess landed property and immovable goods.[101]

[97] Cf. for instance, Nigel Baker and Richard Holt (eds), *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); William M. Johnston and Christopher Kleinhenz (eds), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism,* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[98] Officially friaries, but with a monastic character.
[99] Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität,* 159-161; Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 21.
[100] Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität,* 196-197*;* Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 21.
[101] Džambo, *Die Franziskaner,* 149-188. See, also Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 20-21.

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It is challenging to assess the actual impact and nature of the missionary work of the Franciscans in the territory of Bosnia and beyond during this time. Even though the Franciscan chronicles[102] that report about the mass conversion of people to Catholicism should be taken with a grain of salt, in the long term the friars achieved a slow but steady progress, at least in the central areas of the country. Moreover, there were also correlations between the gradual disappearance/absorption of the Bosnian Church with its 'heretic' character and the continuing expansion of the Franciscan order. The main distinguishing features of the newly articulated Bosnian Catholicism in terms of its organization were its monastic structure and the fact that the friars rejected a bishop as their ordinary.[103] Shortly after the establishment of the Bosnian vicariate, the friars started claiming the right to tithes in the diocese of Bosnia, which was naturally opposed by the bishop of Bosnia, now residing in Đakovo.[104] Thus, the Bosnian Catholic Church represented by the Franciscans eventually took over the role and status of exactly that Bosnian Church that originally the Franciscans were supposed to 'reform.'[105]

[102] Probably, the most well-known Bosnian Franciscan chronicles are the eighteenth-century works of Nikola Lašvanin and Filip Lastrić. See, Nikola Nikola Lašvanin, *Ljetopis*, ed. and transl. by Fr. Ignacije Gavran, (Sarajevo—Zagreb: Synopsis, 2003); and Filip Lastrić, *Pregled starina Bosanske provincije*, ed. and transl. by Fr. Šimun Šimić, (Sarajevo—Zagreb: Synopsis, 2003).
[103] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 23.
[104] Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 159-160.
[105] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 22.

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I. 4. 3. 3. Slavonia and Srem

The gradual Ottoman conquest of the middle parts of the Kingdom of Hungary and their subsequent integration into the Ottoman administrative system posed a peculiar problem to several contemporaries in terms of how the territories that were conquered as well as those that were not should be referred to. When it comes to Catholic missionaries, one might notice that those who got more immersed in the local dynamics of a certain area frequently talked about the pertinent Ottoman-administered *eyalet*s and the *sanjak*s,[106] whereas others (as well as several other historical actors in general), often resorted to already familiar geographical/historical terminologies that were inherited from the medieval period. Such were the notions of *Slavonia* and *Srem*, situated in southern Ottoman Hungary.

Slavonia and Srem (or Srijem) are historical toponyms originating from the Middle Ages, and their geographical and political (as well as ideological) boundaries were subject to constant changes over the centuries. Before the Ottoman conquest, Slavonia was a self-governing banate (*Szlavón bánság*) of the Kingdom of Hungary in what is today northwestern Croatia,[107] and comprised three counties (*županije/vármegye*), Križevci/Körös, Zágráb/Zagreb, and Varaždin/Varasd.[108] Srem (the area on the southern Pannonian Plain, currently divided between Croatia and Serbia) was divided into the following counties: Virovitica/Verőce, Požega/Pozsega, Vukovo/Valkó, Srem/Szerém, and partially, Križevci/Körös and Baranja/Baranya; each of these units was headed by a local landlord, named *župan/ispán*.[109] Throughout the Late Middle Ages, the area was predominantly inhabited by a Slavic-speaking population, next to the Hungarian-speaking one.[110] Similarly to medieval Bosnia, Eastern Slavonia was built and subsequently developed on strong regionalism and the rule of local tradition(s). As mentioned above, this regionalism was among the main factors that after the tripartite division of the Kingdom of Hungary hindered the Hungarian Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy from taxing their southernmost estates under Ottoman rule.

[106] It is important to bear in mind that that the borders of the Ottoman-governed *eyalet*s as well as *sanjak*s also frequently changed.
[107] On the changing meanings and boundaries, as well as shifting political loyalties of medieval and Ottoman Slavonia, see Molnár, *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság*, 215-231, with further literature.
[108] Until the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Varasd had its own *župan/ispán*, who had the same judicial role as the ban of Slavonia. Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Szlavónia a késő középkori Magyar Királyságban," [Slavonia in the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary] *História* 5-6 (2011): 19-23; 19.
[109] Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube 1526-1690*, (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2006), 9.
[110] For a more detailed elaboration about the ethnic distribution of the territories of Slavonia, with numerical data, see András Kubinyi, "A Magyar Királyság népessége a 15. század végén" [The population of the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the fifteenth century], *Történelmi Szemle* XXXVIII, no. 2-3 (1996): 135-161.

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Map 5. Slavonia in the fifteenth century. Source: Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Szlavónia a késő középkori Magyar Királyságban" [Slavonia in the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary], 19.

In terms of religious distribution, the area was populated by Catholics, whose number gradually increased concomitant with the fifteenth-century migration of South-Slavic groups from the central, western, and northern parts of the Balkan peninsula under the pressure of the Ottoman conquests. These waves of migrations did not only increase the number of South-Slavic-speaking Catholics, but they also brought a great number of Orthodox Christians to the area. The first areas to get an influx of South-Slavic-speaking groups during the fifteenth century, was the Drava-Sava interfluve, i.e., the territories of the medieval counties of Srem, Vukovo, and Požega.[111] The Orthodox groups settled in the eastern parts of Srem, as well as in the territories west of the Voćin-Cernik line, while the Catholic groups from central Bosnia established themselves in the area between west Srem and the Požega-Velika line, which approximately corresponded to the medieval counties of Vukovo, eastern Požega, and the trans-Drava area of Baranja.[112] From the 1530s, this religious landscape was further complicated by the emergence of strong Protestant minority-groups (mainly, Reformed and anti-Trinitarians, and a smaller number of Lutherans) south of the Drava, in the areas of Valpovo, Osijek, and Vukovar.[113]

[111] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 104. See, also Engel Pál, "A török dúlások hatása a népességre: Valkó megye példája" [The effect of Turkish raids on population figures: the case of the county of Vukovo], *Századok* 134 (2000): 267-321.
[112] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 104.
[113] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 105. Within the framework of this dissertation, I will not speak separately about the history of the Reformation in the Croatian historical lands, nor will the history of the Reformation in the

The main protagonists in catering for the needs of the Catholics of Slavonia and Srem were the Franciscans of Bosnia. The first four convents of the Bosnian vicariate were established already in the fourteenth century in Slavonia and Srem (in Đakovo, Vrbica, Alšan, and Čerević), and soon afterwards the number of friaries multiplied over the course of the fifteenth century in the whole territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.[114] As Franjo E. Hoško observed, "the explicit signs of the stratification of the Franciscans in the territory of Slavonia, Srem, and Bačka can already be discerned at the beginning of the fifteenth century," and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the vicariate extended again across the Sava in Slavonia.[115] This expansion was informed by the following factors: the shortage of the native clergy beyond the Sava, Tisa, and Danube; the pastoral and missionary tradition of the Franciscans; the special privileges the friars acquired, first from Rome, and then after 1463 from the Ottoman administration; the problematic financial situation of certain friaries; and the connection of the friars with those Catholic groups who migrated north.[116] The Franciscans, however, were not the only ecclesiastical representatives to whom the gradual Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula brought not only calamity and challenges but also opportunities for expansion.

As the Ottomans made further inroads into the Serbian Despotate, despot Đurađ Branković (r. 1427-1456) started establishing stronger ties with the rulers of the Kingdom of Hungary in order to build a strong alliance against the Ottomans. Previously, Đurađ's uncle, prince Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389-1427), bequeathed to Đurađ those counties (*županije/vármegye*) in Hungary that had been gifted to him by King Sigismund of Luxembourg (r. 1387-1437) in the early fifteenth century, including Belgrade and the remaining parts of the

Kingdom of Hungary in general be part of my analysis. Since these are well-researched topics both in Hungarian and Croatian historiography (even though Croatian studies on the topic to a great extent come from literary scholars and linguists), I will only refer to aspects of the Reformation in Slavonia (and Hungary, respectively) that are relevant for the present topic. Molnár, *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság,* 227-229, with further literature. For a short survey about the Reformation in the Croatian context, see Nataša Štefanec, "Die Reformation bei den Kroaten: Überblick," in Vincenc Rajšp et al (eds), *Die Reformation in Mitteleuropa*, (Wien-Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2011), 81-96. Concerning the research results and desiderata of Croatian historiography, see the articles in Zrinka Blažević et al (eds), *The Reformation in the Croatian Historical Lands. Research Results, Challenges, Perspectives,* (Zagreb: Biblijski institut, 2015).

[114] Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Franjevci u Srijemu, Slavoniji i Bačkoj Potkraj Srednjeg Vijeka" [The Franciscans in Srem, Slavonia, and Bačka in the late middle ages], *Croatica Christiana periodica,* Vol. 11, no. 19 (1987): 116-130; 122-123, with further details about the locations and history of the particular monasteries that were erected in these territories.

[115] Hoško, "Franjevci u Srijemu," 124.

[116] Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Djelovanje Franjevaca Bosne Srebrene u Slavoniji, Srijemu, Ugarskoj i Transilvaniji Tijekom XVI. I XVII. Stoljeća" [The activity of the Franciscans of Bosna Srebrena in Slavonia, Srem, Hungary, and Transylvania during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], in *Povijesno-teološki simpozij u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti bosanske kraljice Katarine (Sarajevo 24. i 25. listopada 1978.)* [Historical-theological symposium on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the death of the Bosnian Queen Katarina (October 24-25, Sarajevo 1978], (Sarajevo: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1979), 103–115; 104.

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Banate of Mačva.[117] The era of the despots Lazarević, Branković, and their successors who established themselves in the newly acquired lands in Hungary along with the nobility and the population who followed them, marked a milestone in terms of the penetration of Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical structures into Hungary. [118] Thus, important precedents must have been created already during this period that in the sixteenth century would contribute to the further expansion and strengthening of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Srem, Bačka, and the Banat.[119]

As this overview illustrates, the religious and demographic landscape of late medieval Eastern Slavonia and Srem was informed by a variety of interrelated factors. These included the complex political status that the areas occupied within the Kingdom of Hungary; the rising local interests of various Serbian despots and landlords; the increasing number of the Orthodox and Catholic South-Slavic-speaking population; the gradual penetration of the Franciscans of Bosnia as well as the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church into the region; the expansion and consolidation of Ragusan merchant colonies;[120] and the steady northward advance of Ottoman troops who by the second half of the sixteenth century will have succeeded in conquering the biggest part of these regions as well.

[117] Đurađ, however, had to surrender the Mačva estates, including Belgrade to Sigismund and put his seat to Smederevo. Ferenc Szakály, "Szerbek Magyarországon – Szerbek a Magyar történelemben" [Serbs in Hungary – Serbs in Hungarian history], in István Zombori (ed.), *A szerbek Magyarországon* [The Serbs in Hungary], (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1991), 11-50. See, also Vladimir Džamić, "The Syrmium Branković Dynasty and Founding the Holy Mount of Fruška Gora," in Dragan Vojvodić and Danica Popović (eds), *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2016), 473-485.

[118] On the problem of reconstructing the structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church in fifteenth-century Hungary see Antal Molnár, "Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet a hódolt Magyarországon," [The organization of the Serbian Orthodox church in Ottoman Hungary] in Tamás Csáki and Xénia Golub (eds), *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban – Az eltűnt Rácváros emlékezete* [A Serbian cathedral in the Tabán – The memory of a lost city], (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2018), 32-63, 39. In general, on the eparchy of Buda, see Ivan Stojanović, "Srpska pravoslavna eparhija budimska i kultura" [The Serbian Orthodox eparchy of Buda and its culture], *Komunikacije, mediji, kultura* 11 (2019): 141-158.

[119] The sixteenth-seventeenth century development of the Serbian Orthodox Church in northern Ottoman Rumeli is discussed in the next chapter.

[120] Ragusan merchants appeared in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century and became mostly active in Srem. The kings of Hungary gave a wide range of privileges to the merchants, and thus, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, they had strengthened their positions in the kingdom, whilst maintaining tight connections with the other colonies in Bosnia and Serbia. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 50. See, also Costin Feneșan, "Ragusa (Dubrovnik) und das Banat in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Banatica* 5 (1979): 277-284.

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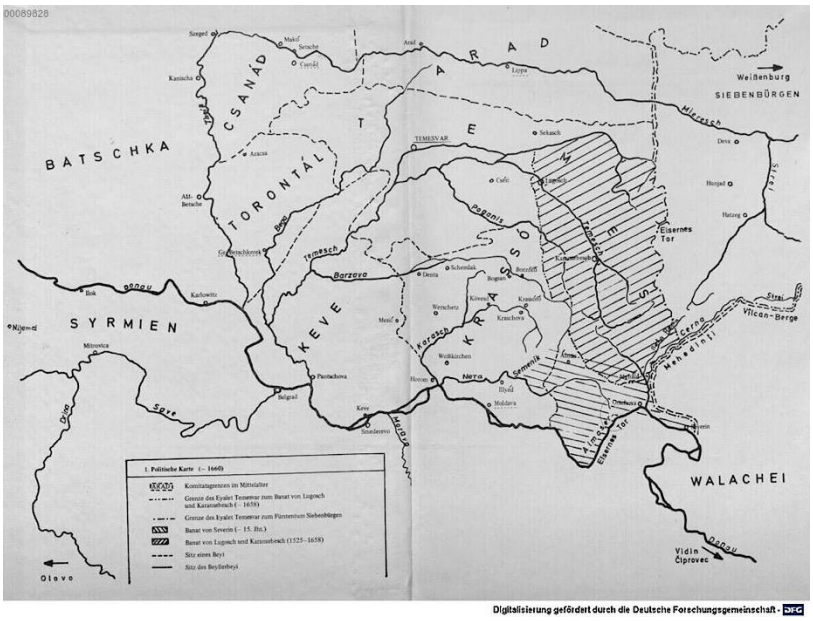
I. 4. 3. 4. The Banat

The present-day understanding of the *Banat* refers to the territory that is bordered by the river Mureș to the north, by the Danube to the south, by the Tisza in the west, and by the Eastern Carpathians in the east, and is today shared between Romania, Serbia, and Hungary. In the Middle Ages, the territory was part of the Kingdom of Hungary and divided into six counties (*vármegye*), Krassó, Keve, Temes, Csanád, Arad, and Torontál; besides, a smaller part of the Banate of Severin also belonged to this region.[121] The area came to play an imperative administrative, military, as well as economic role in the foreign policy of the Hungarian kings during the late medieval period.[122]



Map 6. The distribution of the Banat. Source: Krista Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission Des 17. Jahrhunderts Im Südöstlichen Niederungarn*.

[121] For more details on the medieval geography as well as topography of the region, see György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The historical geography of Hungary in the Arpadian era], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963); László Koszta, "Dél-Magyarország egyházi topográfiája a középkorban" [The ecclesiastical topography of southern Hungary in the middle ages] in Kollár Tibor (ed.), *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages], (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 41-81.

[122] Adrian Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare. Biserici tradiționale, reformă si Islam în Banat (1500-1700)* [From exclusion to cohabitation. Traditional churches, reform, and Islam in the Banat (1500-1700], (Cluj-Napoca: Academia română, 2011), 35.

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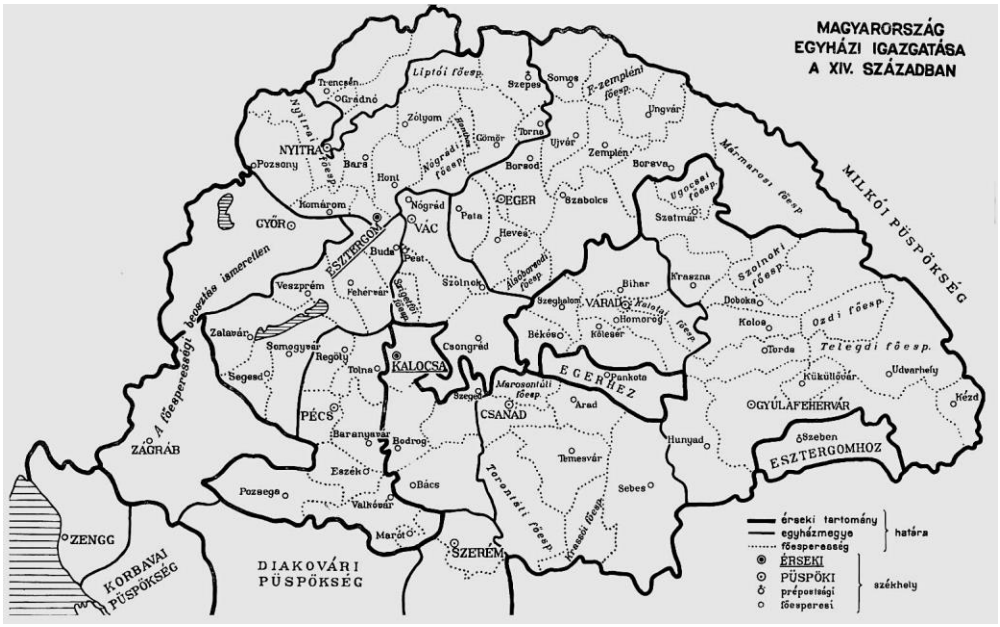
During the Middle Ages, this frontier area of the Kingdom of Hungary was under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Csanád (established around 1030, during the reign of King Saint Stephen), which assured the continuity of Catholic presence in the region. Due to the efficient organization of the bishopric, a papal tithe register from the first half of the fourteenth century listed more than 200 Catholic parishes in the area, most of which were situated in the plain parts of the region (i.e., in the north, west, and south-west). In the mountainous area of the Banat (i.e., in the south and south-east) it was only Lugoj, Caransebeș (both, in today Romania), and some other smaller settlements that had a Catholic parish. [123] The reason for this difference in the number of Catholic parishes between the plain and the mountainous regions of the Banat is attributable to multiple reasons.



Map 7. The ecclesiastical organization of the Kingdom of Hungary in the fourteenth century. Source: https://mek.oszk.hu/09100/09175/html/12.html

From the twelfth century onwards, but especially during the fourteenth century, a number of Romanian-speaking Orthodox groups migrated to the mountainous areas of the Banat and established settlements therein, which were subsequently grouped into eight districts, Lugoj (Lugos), Caransebeș (Karánsebes), Mehadia (Mehádia), Almăj (Halmos), Izvoarele Carașului (Krassófő), Izvoarele Bârzavei (Borzafő), Comiat (Komját), and Ilidia (Ilyed)

[123] Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare*, 48.

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(presently, each locality is situated in the Romanian part of the Banat).[124] Their appearance further complicated the convoluted ethnic and religious composition of the region. Starting from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the western and southern parts of the counties of Keve and Krassó were predominantly inhabited by Orthodox South-Slavs[125]—contemporarily referred to as *Rascian*s.[126] From the end of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth centuries, the number of these groups further increased, due to the already mentioned population migrations from the Balkan peninsula, as well as the new territorial acquisitions of the Serbian prince Stefan Lazarević and despot Đurađ Branković that further encouraged movement to the area. These groups settled in the areas of Pančevo, Vršac, Bečej, and Zrenjanin (presently, all cities are part of the province of Vojvodina, in Serbia). The kings of Hungary, Albert (r. 1437-1439), Władisław I (r. 1440-1444), and Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490) encouraged the settlement of Orthodox South-Slavic groups in the aforementioned territories, and also in the Caraș-valley, Csanád, Arad, and the county of Temes. This is why by the sixteenth century, the county of Torontál came to be commonly referred to as 'Rascia.'[127]

In line with the religious and foreign policy of the Hungarian Kingdom,[128] in the second half of the fourteenth century, King Louis I (r. 1342-1382) tried to implement restrictive measures against the local Orthodox of the Banat, which also included the encouragement of Catholic missionary activities in the area. Louis gave permission to the observant Franciscans of the Bosnian Vicariate[129] to build convents and thus strengthen the institutional structures of local Catholicism; the rights of the Franciscans were reconfirmed in 1428 by Sigismund of Luxembourg (r. 1387-1437), which further encouraged their expansion.[130] On one hand, these Franciscans would cater for the needs of the local Catholics (Hungarian-, Romanian-, and

[124] Dumitru Țeicu, *Banatul Montan în Evul Mediu* [The mountainous Banat in the Middle Ages], (Timișoara: Banatica, 1998), 408-409.
[125] Even though, scholarship typically uses the term *Rascian* synonymously with the term, *Serb*, I prefer the less loaded notion, *South-Slav*. I talk about this problem of labeling different local ethno-religious groups in the next subchapter.
[126] Krista Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission Des 17. Jahrhunderts Im Südöstlichen Niederungarn* (Munich: Ungarisches Institut München, 1979), 14.
[127] Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission*, 14.
[128] On the conflicts between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Wallachia, see Șerban Papacostea, "Întemeierea Țării Românești și a Moldovei și Românii din Transilvania" [The establishment of Wallachia and Moldavia and the Romanians from Transylvania] in idem, *Geneza Statului în Evul Mediu Românesc* [The birth of the state in the Romanian Middle Ages], (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1988), 76-97.
[129] The independent *Vicaria Hungariae* was established in 1448. For further details on the spread of Bosnian Franciscan observantism, see Hoško, "Franjevci u Srijemu, Slavoniji i Bačkoj;" Jenő Szűcs, "A ferences obszervancia és az 1514. évi parasztháború. Egy kódex tanúsága" [Franciscan observantism and the peasant revolt of 1514], *Levéltári Közlemények* 43 (1972): 213-263.
[130] Adrian Magina, "Parohiile Catolice din Banat în Epoca lui Sigismund de Luxemburg" [The Catholic parishes of the Banat during the Reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg], *Analele Banatului* XX (2012): 173-188, 174.

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Slavic-speaking),[131] whose number also increased concomitant with the arrival of Catholics from Bosnia, Serbia, Ragusa, and Dalmatia,[132] while on the other hand they were also entrusted with regaining the local Orthodox (regardless of their ethno-linguistic background) to Catholicism.[133] The Franciscans, however, mostly achieved results in the plain areas of the Banat, where there had already existed a significant number of Catholic population. Louis I's anti-Orthodox policies eventually did not have a large-scale impact on the ground.

Due to the increasing Ottoman threat, from the fifteenth century onwards Hungarian kings accorded a number of privileges to both Romanian- and South-Slavic-speaking Orthodox groups in exchange for their military service in anti-Ottoman campaigns.[134] Considering the presence of the Orthodox church in the area, similarly to the case of Slavonia-Srem, prior to the sixteenth century the available sources do not allow the exact reconstruction of the local ecclesiastical structures of the Orthodox church. A number of scholars, however, agree that already from the fifteenth century some kind of Orthodox monastic tradition existed in the area.[135]

The religious and ethno-linguistic map of the late medieval Banat was a panoply of South-Slavic-, Hungarian-, and Romanian-speaking Catholic and Orthodox groups scattered in

[131] In the fourteenth century, Hungarian-speaking groups constituted the majority of local Catholics. However, the impact of Catholicism on the Romanian-speaking population was also not negligible, though it mostly affected the elites. Between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries, practically, the entire Romanian-speaking nobility converted to Catholicism, due to the political pressures that came from the Kingdom of Hungary (of course, one cannot completely rule out the existence of other types of motivations for conversion on individual levels). Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare*, 48. See, also Viorel Achim, "Catolicismul la Românii din Banat în Evul Mediu" [Catholicism among the Romanians of the Banat in the Middle Ages], *Revista istorică* 1-2 (1996): 41-55. The ethnic distribution of Catholics gradually started changing in the fifteenth-century and continued throughout the sixteenth century, during the Ottoman conquest and subsequent imperial integration of these territories. Hungarian-speaking groups, who until the end of the fourteenth century lived predominantly in the northern and western parts of the Banat, started abandoning the area in the beginning of the fifteenth century. By the second half of the seventeenth century, several areas (especially, certain cities, like Timișoara) will have almost completely lost their Hungarian-speaking population. Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission*, 12-24.

[132] Probably, the most and at the same time, the less well-known among these South-Slavic Catholic groups is that of the *Krashovani* (Carașoveni, Krašovani, Karrasovánok), who inhabited seven settlements between Caraș and Bârzava: Carașova, Lupac, Nermet, Clocotici, Rafnic, Vodnic, and Iabalcea (currently, these villages are part of the Romanian Banat). Țeicu, *Banatul Montan*, 409. There is still no scholarly consensus about the exact 'ethnic' origin of these groups. See, Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission*, 17-18.

[133] Magina, "Parohiile Catolice din Banat," 174. See, also idem, "Răufăcători sau ...schismatici? Statutul ortodocșilor bănățeni în jurul anului 1400" [Wrongdoers or schismatics? The status of the Orthodox of the Banat around 1400], in D. Țeicu and I. Cândea (eds), *Românii în Europa Medievală (între Orientul Bizantin și Occidentul Latin)* [The Romanians in medieval Europe (between the Byzantine East and Latin West], (Brăila: Istros, 2008), 283-293.

[134] Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission*, 14-15. See, also Adrian Magina, "From Custom to Written Law: Ius Valachicum in the Banat," in Martin Rady and Alexandru Simon (eds), *Government and Law in Medieval Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia*, (London: UCL, 2013), 71-79; idem, "*Universitas valachorum*: Privilege and Community in the Medieval Banat," in Suzana Miljan and Éva B. Halász (eds), *Reform and Renewal in Medieval East and Central Europe: Politics, Law and Society*, (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 493-502; idem, "Răufăcători sau ...schismatici?," 283-293.

[135] Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare*, 45; Zach, *Die Bosniche Franziskanermission*, 18.

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the plain and mountains parts of the region. With the penetration of Reformist ideas in the area in the sixteenth century, this denominational outlook gained an additional 'color' by the emergence of Protestant (mainly Calvinist and anti-Trinitarian) groups in certain territories.[136] The Ottoman conquest of the region and its aftermath only further complicated this ethno-religious distribution through the emergence of Muslim groups in various areas, as well as the new waves of South-Slavic Christian population migrations.

[136] On the history of the Reformation in the Banat, see Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare*, 63-81.

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I. 4. 4. Bosnia, Slavonia-Srem, and the Banat under Ottoman Rule

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention over the past century.[137] Two of the most salient research topics in this context have been the issue of migration and various population movements that were triggered by the Ottoman incursions into the area, and the dynamics of conversion of the local populations to Islam.

In the past, these two phenomena were juxtaposed as either/or causes for the demographic change in the Ottoman Balkans, with Turkish scholars emphasizing colonization, and Balkan nationalist scholars emphasizing physical destruction, violence, and forced conversion of the local populations.[138] However, more recently, a scholarly consensus emerged that the gradual incorporation of southeastern Europe into the Ottoman Empire entailed a concomitant process of 'colonization' by Muslim groups from Anatolia and the onset of conversions of various local non-Muslim groups and individuals to Islam.[139] The Ottoman imperial settlement policy as well as the spread of Islam across the empire in general and the Southeast European provinces in particular, however, was not a uniform process, since it affected particular areas in very different ways over an extended time period.[140]

In the southeastern parts of the Balkan lands as well as Anatolia, the major colonizing agents and auxiliary military corps of the Ottomans were the nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkic herdsmen, known as the Yürüks.[141] They played a major role in the consolidation of Ottoman rule on the local level as well as the formation of Muslim communities in various areas. The

[137] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss this extensive historiography. For an insightful edited volume addressing some of the most pressing theoretical, methodological, and historiographical issues in the research of the Ottoman conquest of Southeast Europe, see Oliver Jens Schmitt (ed.), *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Interpretations and Research Debates*, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016). See, also Helmedach et al. (eds), *Das osmanische Europa*.

[138] Among the classical works on the topic, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler" [Exiles as a settlement and colonization method in the Ottoman Empire], *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13 (1952): 56-78; and Halil Inalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* II (1954): 104-129. Cf. Hristo Gandev, *The Bulgarian People during the Fifteenth Century: A Demographic and Ethnographic Study*, (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1987). For a detailed discussion of historiography see Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 28-64; Nikolay Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West". The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), 34-49.

[139] Antov, *The Ottoman Wild West*, 31-57.

[140] Tijana Krstić, "New Directions in the Study of Conversion to Islam in Ottoman Rumeli, 14th – 17th Centuries – Reconsidering Methods, Theories, and Terminology," in Schmitt (ed.), *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans*, 165-187; Antov, "Muslim Communities in the Ottoman Balkans," 31-57.

[141] Vjeran Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity(ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th – 18th Centuries)," *OTAM* 34 (2013): 115-161; 118. See, also Nikolay Antov, "Demographic and Ethno-Religious Change in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Dobrudja (NE Balkans) and the Related Impact of Migrations," *Journal of the Institute of Croatian History* 51/1 (2019): 57-101. In a similar way to the name 'Vlach,' the term 'Yürük' also acquired an administrative legal meaning in the time of Mehmed II. Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach," 123-124.

settlement of Muslim Turkic tribes from Anatolia, however, was less intense in the western and north-eastern parts of the peninsula. Therefore, in such areas as Bosnia, the Ottoman authorities needed to mobilize additional groups who would eventually take over, at least some of the political-military functions that in other regions were represented by the respective Yürüks.[142] Thus, in terms of the solidification of imperial power, the role the Yürüks had in the various provinces of Anatolia and the southeast Balkan territories, in the western and north-eastern Balkan lands came to be subsumed by the indigenous nomadic and semi-nomadic groups of Orthodox Christian Vlachs. [143] Besides the Vlachs, the Orthodox Christian Vojnuks, Filorici, and Martolosi are known to have carried out similar political and military functions as agents of the Ottomans during their conquests as well as consolidation of their power in the region. [144]

In the medieval Balkan polities, the Vlachs had a special legal status and were employed in various military services, the transportation of goods, and the colonization of uninhabited lands. It seems that the Vlachs' colonizing and military potential was later also exploited by the Ottomans, who further encouraged their movement to various parts of the peninsula until the middle of the sixteenth century.[145]

[142] Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach," 118-121.

[143] The origin, history, and ethnic as well as confessional affiliation of the Vlachs of Southeast Europe has been a major and controversial topic in Balkan historiographies. Despite numerous studies on the subject, there is still no consensus regarding the emergence and exact ancestry of this group of people. What seems mostly accepted in contemporary scholarship is that the term 'Vlach/vlach' or 'Eflak' in Ottoman parlance was a legal and administrative (rather than ethnic) term and used to denote nomadic and/or semi-nomadic pastoral clan groups who for their various services for the state enjoyed a number of taxation privileges. In terms of their religious affiliation, it is generally accepted that most of them were Slavic- and/or Romanian-speaking Orthodox Christians. The existence of Catholic and Muslim Vlachs, however, should not be neglected either. Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach," 124-130. More recently, a special issue of *Balcanica Posnaniensia* was dedicated to the examination of the history and historiography of the Vlach question in Europe. See, Ilona Czamańska and Marius Diaconescu (eds), *Ius Vallachicum*, *Balcanica Posnaniensia* XXII/1 (2015): 5-175. See, also Neven Isailović, "Legislation Concerning the Vlachs of the Balkans Before and After Ottoman Conquest: An Overview," in Srđan Rudić and Selim Aslantaş (eds), *State and Society in the Balkans Before and After the Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, (Belgrade: Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, 2017), 25-43.

[144] See, Alexander Lopasic, "Islamization of the Balkans with Special Reference to Bosnia," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, no. 2 (1994): 163-186. See, also Ayşe Kayapınar, "Les filoricis dans la région timoko-danubienne à l'époque ottomane (XVe-XVIe siècles)", in Faruk Bilici et al (eds), *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIVe-XXIe siècles): études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu*, (Brăila: Istros, 2007), 243-288. According to Alexander Lopasic, since a number of Vlachs, Vojnuks, and Martoloses in time converted to Islam, their role in the Islamization of the Balkan lands in general and Bosnia in particular should also be stressed. Lopasic, "Islamization of the Balkans," 164-166.

[145] Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach," 118.

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Map 8. Ottoman Expansion in Southeast Europe. Source: Dennis P. Hupchick, *The Balkans*, xxii.

The Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, traditionally assigned to the year 1463[146] and the subsequent establishment of the Ottoman administrative system in the Bosnian lands (the *sanjak* of Bosnia was founded in 1463, Herzegovina in 1470, Zvornik in c. 1481, Klis in 1537, and Bihać before 1620; the Eyalet of Bosnia was established in 1580) sparked major population movements from the mid-fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. This did not only redraw the demographic map of Bosnia but also changed the ethno-religious composition of the western and northern parts of the Balkan lands—as it has already been previously highlighted. Since certain urban as well as rural parts of Bosnia were heavily depopulated as a consequence of warfare,[147] Vlachs came to play a crucial role in repopulating the northeastern and northwestern areas as well as the basin of the Neretva river.[148] One, however, has to also bear in mind that the Ottoman wars were not the sole factor that informed the dynamics of migrations

[146] The conquest of the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a protracted process that started in 1386, when the Ottoman troops devastated Hum (today Herzegovina) and lasted until the fall of Bihać in 1592.
[147] A number of contemporary sources inform about the scale of movement of people from the Kingdom of Bosnia to the coastal towns of Dalmatia, and even to Italy. Assessing the actual scale of these migrations with numerical data, however, presents a number of challenges. For more details, see Emir O. Filipović, "The Ottoman Conquest and the Depopulation of Bosnia in the Fifteenth Century," in Rudić and Aslantaş (eds), *State and Society in the Balkans*, 79-103 with further literature.
[148] Koller, "Bosnia and Herzegovina," 91.

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in the Balkan peninsula in general and Bosnia in particular. As Emir O. Filipović highlights: "We must not generalize, simplify and throw the blame exclusively at the Ottoman expansion, because, it has to be taken into consideration that the conquest of the Balkans was a lengthy and protracted process during which not everybody migrated, not everybody left their homes, and for every abandoned village, there are two or three that were not."[149]

Be that as it may, the Ottoman conquest and the following integration of the Bosnian lands into the empire brought a number of Slavic-speaking Orthodox groups to Northeast and Central Bosnia (i.e., to the regions of the Drina and Usora rivers) which subsequently also strengthened the status of the Serbian Orthodox Church in those areas.[150] At the same time, these events similarly marked the gradual intensification of conversions of the local population to Islam[151]—at first, preponderantly in the urban areas, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century some *nahiye*s[152] in central Bosnia, such as Sarajevo also had become predominantly Muslim.[153] Overall, Bosnia became one of the regions of the Balkan lands that experienced the quickest and most intense process of conversion to Islam. This phenomena was informed by several factors, including urbanization, the presence of Sufi brotherhoods, and the military as well as economic stability that was brought by the Ottomans.[154] As regards the Catholic

[149] Filipović, "The Depopulation of Bosnia," 94. For the case of Ottoman Hungary, see Géza Dávid, "Towns, Villages, Depopulated Settlements – Population Movements in Ottoman Hungary," *Hungarian Studies* 27/2 (2013): 251-261.

[150] For more details about the migrations of Orthodox groups to Northeast as well as Central Bosnia and the proliferation of Orthodox monasteries in those areas, see Adem Handžić, "Etničke promjene u Sjeveroistočnoj Bosni i Posavini u XV I XVI" [Ethnic changes in the population structure of Northeastern Bosnia in the 15th and 16th centuries], in his, *Studije o Bosni – historijski prilozi iz osmansko-turskog perioda* [Studies on Bosnia – historical contributions from the Ottoman-Turkish period], (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, 1994), 15-23 and A. Handžić, "O kretanju stanovištva u region srednjeg toka Bosne (meduprostor Maglaj-Doboj-Tešanj) od druge polovine XV do kraja XVI st." [The migration of Christian-Orthodox population into Central Bosnia (between Maglaj, Doboj, and Tešanj) from the mid-15th to the end of the 16th century], in his, *Studije o Bosni*, 23-33.

[151] The 'Islamization' of Bosnia has been a major research topic within the field of South-East European studies. On the history and historiography concerning the dynamics of conversion to Islam in Ottoman Bosnia, see more recently Sanja Kadrić, "The Islamisation of Ottoman Bosnia: Myths and Matters," in Peacock (ed.), *Islamisation*, 277-296. See, also Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia. Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society*, (Brill: Leiden, 2015). From the older literature, see Adem Handžić, "O širenju islama u Sjeveroistočnoj Bosni u XV I XVI vijeku" [On conversion to Islam in Northeast Bosnia in the 15th and 16th centuries], his, *Studije o Bosni*, 33-75, and A. Handžić, "O širenju islama u Bosni – s posebnim osvrtom na srendnju Bosnu" in his, *Studije o Bosni*, 75-91.

[152] ~District, subdivision of a *sanjak* or *kaza*.

[153] A. Handžić, "O društvenoj strukturi stanovništva u Bosni početkom XVII stoljeća" [On the social structure of the population of Bosnia at the beginning of the seventeenth century], in his, *Studije o Bosni*, 235-253; 244.

[154] Kadrić, "The Islamisation of Ottoman Bosnia," 278-280; Lopasic, "Islamization of the Balkans," 164-186. Another often-discussed and controversial issue in the historiography of the spread of Islam in Bosnia is the potential role played by the Bogomil heretics (or the *Krstjani* of the Bosnian Church; although, such an equation is often made between the Bogomils and *Krstjani*, it is not entirely certain that the *Krstjani* were Bogomil heretics). According to a number of older scholarly opinions, the proselytizing activities of the Hungarian kings as well as the Franciscans among the Bogomils and the alleged similarities between the teachings of Bogomilism and Islam led to the 'mass conversion' of this 'heretic' group, which, in turn accelerated the spread of Islam in Bosnia. See,

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population of the region, even though a number of people migrated north in multiple waves and settled in various areas of Slavonia-Srem and the Banat, a representative number of Catholic groups continued to live in the *sanjak*s of Bosnia, Zvornik, and Herzegovina and they kept being pastored by the Bosnian Franciscans.

The conquest of Belgrade in 1521, the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the subsequent Ottoman conquering wars between the 1530s and 1590s on the southern marches marked the final phase of the incorporation of the southernmost parts of the Kingdom of Hungary into the Ottoman realm. Concerning the territories of Slavonia-Srem, the population was relatively small until the end of the 1520s when the Ottomans introduced the *timar*[155] system in the areas beyond the Sava. The implementation of this land tenure regime entailed a number of obligations for the *reaya* (~tax-paying subjects), which also led to population migrations toward the north and west.[156] A large number of Vlachs from the *sanjak* of Smederevo settled in Srem, and a number of settlers most probably from Northwest Bosnia came to the regions of Posavina (the inner areas of the Sava river basin) and the *kaza*[157] of Požega and also acquired Vlach legal status.[158] Concerning the distribution of Muslim groups in the area, there were a few Muslim villages in Srem and most of them were located near Mitrovica (today Serbia). In Slavonia, a few Muslim-inhabited villages were found around Osijek, Orahovica, and Cernik (all in today Croatia), and a larger group lived in the villages around Požega.[159] Just like in most areas across the Balkan lands under Ottoman rule, the population of the towns (*kasaba*s) had a Muslim majority by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[160]

As I have underlined above, from the fifteenth century onwards the number of South-Slavic-speaking Catholic as well as Orthodox groups increased in the area due to various population migrations. According to the calculations of Nenad Moačanin, the Christian population of Slavonia-Srem in 1544 amounted to around 8000 households.[161] The continuously growing number of Catholics[162] in the area was conducive to the development of

also Antonina Zhelyazkova, "Islamization in the Balkans as a Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective," in Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi (eds), *The Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography,* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 223-267; 245-249.

[155] ~Prebend, revenue grant in return for military service.

[156] Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 15.

[157] ~Judicial district, under the jurisdiction of a particular *kadi*.

[158] Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 15.

[159] Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 24. For the Muslim-inhabited *vakf*-villages around Belgrade, see Aleksandar Fotić, "The Belgrade Kadi's Müraseles of 1683: The Mirror of a Kadi's Administrative Duties," in Dragana Amedoski (ed.), *Belgrade 1521–1867*, (Belgrade: Turkish Cultural Center, 2018), 65-79.

[160] The *varoš*es (~suburbs) were usually inhabited by Christians (both Orthodox and Catholic).

[161] Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 23 with additional data.

[162] The population of Slavonia-Srem (Christian as well as Muslim) significantly increased in the seventeenth century, after the war of 1593-1606 (Fifteenth Years War). At the same time, the Catholic merchants of Bosnia

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prosperous parishes, which in turn became essential to the sustenance of Bosnian Franciscan friaries as well as the upkeep of the Catholic missionary church organization.[163]

The conquest of Timișoara in 1552 and the subsequent establishment of the *eyalet* of Tımışvar[164] marked the final phase of the incorporation of the Banat region in the Ottoman Empire as well as the onset of major political, administrative, legal, and social transformations.[165] From the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards, in parallel with the northward advancement of Ottoman troops, Hungarian-speaking Catholic groups gradually started abandoning the area to safer zones (in Royal Hungary or Transylvania) and their emigration accelerated in the first half of the sixteenth century. And whilst the number of Hungarian-speaking Catholics was dwindling under Ottoman rule, the presence of South-Slavic-speaking Catholics who arrived in multiple waves from Bosnia, Serbia, Dalmatia, and Ragusa became more prominent in certain areas (there were Catholic groups, for instance in Timișoara and its hinterland, Lugoj and Caransebeș, along the Tisza and lower Mureș rivers, and in the Caraș valley).[166] Even though some Reformist ideas made inroads into the area in the 1530s-1540s, which led to the emergence of some Protestant communities mainly in the urban centers (Timișoara, Lipova, Zrenjanin/Veliki Bečkerek, Lugoj and Caransebeș), their number (and impact) gradually started diminishing from the end of the sixteenth century onwards. Besides Catholics and a smaller number of Protestants, the largest number of Christians of the area were the South-Slavic- and Romanian-speaking Orthodox, who by the second half of the sixteenth century had vastly outnumbered the Catholics and except a few cities, such as Timișoara or Lipova, even the Muslims.[167] The Muslim population of the region

gradually became the most influential local tradesmen, to the detriment of Ragusan and Muslim merchants. See, Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 104-113.

[163] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 104-105. See, also Josip Buturac, *Katolička crkva u Slavoniji za turskoga vladanja* [The Catholic Church in Slavonia during Ottoman rule], (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnost, 1970).

[164] For a detailed account on the borders of the *eyalet* and the *sanjak*s therein in the sixteenth century, see Klára Hegyi, "A temesvári vilájet népessége és katonaparasztjai" [The population and soldier-peasants of the *eyalet* of Tımışvar], *Történelmi Szemle* 3-4 (2005): 297-314; 298-299.

[165] The Banate of Lugos and Karánsebes remained an administrative territorial entity of the Principality of Transylvania (itself, a tribute paying polity of the Ottoman Empire) until 1658. Although prior to this, the area was not under direct Ottoman control, due to the fact that both the Jesuit and Bosnian Franciscans missions extended to these territories and were inextricably linked to the missions that were in Ottoman territories, I am including the region in the discussion.

[166] Josef Wolf, *Development of Ethnic Structure in the Banat 1890-1992*, (Vienna: Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, 2004), 17.

[167] Wolf, *Ethnic Structure in the Banat*, 17; Hegyi, "A temesvári vilájet," 299-300. For a detailed elaboration on the distribution of settlements by 'ethnicity' with important insights on the methodological and conceptual issues that problematize the assessing of the exact ethnic composition of a particular village, see Hegyi, "A temesvári vilájet," 303-304.

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mostly consisted of the military and other local representatives of power as well as particular segments of the urban population (for e.g., craftsmen and tradesmen).[168]

I. 4. 5. Conclusion

The above discussion aimed to highlight that the political, demographic, religious as well as linguistic transformations that Bosnia, Slavonia-Srem, and the Banat had experienced between the 1300s and 1500s are crucial factors to understand the interconnectedness of these regions. At the same time, these changes are also imperative to capture some of the intricacies that eventually came to inform the way these areas with their heterogenous Catholic and other denominational groups were incorporated into seventeenth-century Catholic reforming and missionary initiatives as well as into the administrative system of the Ottoman Empire.

The protracted Ottoman conquest of the Balkan lands and its repercussions generated a number of population migrations across the peninsula from the end of the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. The most conspicuous effects this had concerning the territories under analysis, is that the areas of Slavonia-Srem and the Banat gained an additional number of South-Slavic-speaking Orthodox as well as Catholic population, a number of whom originated from Bosnia. On its end, Bosnia—besides its own migratory processes and population gains and losses—saw the gradual absorption of the independent Bosnian Church into the emerging Franciscan vicariate. While the various population movements as well as the gradual incorporation of these lands into the Ottoman realm entailed a number of cultural and societal challenges, these developments also gave (further) possibilities for expansion for a number of local actors, such as the Franciscan friars of Bosnia, the ecclesiastical representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, or the merchants of Ragusa. All this brought about a number of changes in terms of the ethno-linguistic as well as religious distribution of these regions.

[168] Wolf, *Ethnic Structure in the Banat*, 17; Zach, *Die Bosnische Franziskanermission*, 14. According to the available data, it seems that the majority of the Muslim population of Ottoman Hungary, including the region of the Banat was of Balkan origin. Ágoston, "Muslim Cultural Enclaves in Hungary," 181-182.

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The Vlach colonizations and migrations led to the increasing of the number of the Orthodox Christian population in various parts of northern Ottoman Rumeli,[169] which in turn also led to the solidification of the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church over these territories. Whilst the number of Catholic groups dwindled or even disappeared in particular areas, in several territories the presence of Catholics remained continuous, with regions, such as Slavonia even having seen a gradual population gain. This gave further incentives to the Bosnian friars to maintain and strengthen their presence in these areas. The emergence of Muslim communities in the analyzed territories was a protracted development informed by a variety of socio-economic, cultural as well as religious factors. And while Bosnia and parts of Slavonia-Srem experienced a more intense process of 'Islamization' (i.e., the spread of Islam), in the Banat this change occurred on a much smaller scale and was concentrated to a couple of urban centers.

[169] On the problem of exactly determining the number of the Orthodox and their ratio to the Catholics, see Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens*, 104-112.

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I. 5. Accommodating Religious Difference in the Ottoman Empire (1500s–1600s)—Theoretical-Methodological Considerations and Terminology

I. 5. 1. The Problem of Christian *Millet*s in the Ottoman Empire

Following the imperial incorporation of the Arab lands by Selim I (r. 1512-1520) in the beginning of the sixteenth century and the concomitant extension of the Ottoman rule over the three main holy places of Sunni Islam in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, the expansionist politics of Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566) further consolidated the empire's power in Southeast Europe. By the end of the sixteenth/beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire had come to extend over three continents, and the absorption of these highly diverse lands posed numerous economic, socio-political, and legal challenges to the realm.

One of the most conspicuous and recurring problems in the administration of the Ottoman territories in the empire in general and its European dominions in particular was their social, religious, and ethno-linguistic diversity. Despite the penetration of the Ottoman administrative, military, and religious structures into the conquered areas, recognition of social heterogeneity and religious plurality played a pivotal role in the Ottoman management of the conquered populations.

The conceptualization of the problem of the Ottoman politics of managing religious diversity (in terms of the realm's non-Muslim population) has been a major issue in Ottomanist scholarship.[170] According to older historiography,[171] the Ottoman state ruled its non-Muslim subjects (*dhimmi*s) within the framework of the *millet system*, i.e., an empire-wide institution that Ottoman sultans employed to manage the autonomy (fiscal, liturgical, legal, etc.) of the non-Muslim communities of the empire.[172] Thus, Ottoman non-Muslims were supposedly

[170] The seminal study on the topic is: Benjamin Braude, "The Foundation Myths of the Millet System", in Bernard and Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 69-90. Other representative works include, but are not limited to Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (1994): 135-158; Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions," 97-108; Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768. The Ottoman Empire*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); Eleni Gara, "Conceptualizing Interreligious Relations in the Ottoman Empire: The Early Modern Centuries", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 116 (2017): 57-93; Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Beyond the *Millet* Debate: The Theory and Practice of Communal Representation in Pre-Tanzimat-Era Cyprus," in Marinos Sariyannis (ed.), *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire*, (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2019), 71-97.

[171] The landmark study was Hamilton A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, (Oxford: OUP, 1950).

[172] Challenging the views propounded by Gibb and Bowen and the historians who followed them, Benjamin Braude underlined the necessity to historicize the term *millet* and drew attention to its uncritical use before the nineteenth century, see Braude, "The Foundation Myths of the Millet System".

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organized into three coherent entities (*millet*s) that were separated along religious lines: Orthodox Christians were organized into the Orthodox *millet* (*millet-i Rum*), Jews into the Jewish millet (*millet-i Yahudiyan*), while members of the Armenian Church were organized into the Armenian millet (*millet-i Ermeniyan*).[173] These *millet*s—the argumentation goes—enjoyed communal autonomy in terms of religious affairs, family law, inheritance rights, or other intra-communal legal matters that did not involve Muslims. In addition, the religious authorities of these communities were also regarded as leaders and communal representatives of a particular *millet*, so-called *millet başı*s ('heads of the *millet*,' ethnarchs) by the Ottoman authorities.[174]

In the aftermath of the publication of Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis's seminal work, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (1982), Ottomanist scholars thoroughly deconstructed the postulates of the *millet* system theory. As a result, it has been proven that the idea of an empire-wide institutional organization of non-Muslims into three autonomous *millet*s has no adequate contemporary source-base evidence and as such is an anachronism for the early modern era.[175]

After all, the process of accommodating religious difference in the empire in this period included a much larger variety of non-Muslim religious groups of various denominations. For instance, we now know that other Orthodox patriarchates—those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem—communicated independently with the Ottoman government rather than always through the mediation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[176] The alleged ecumenical control of the Patriarchate of Constantinople also came to be eventually challenged by rival patriarchates, such as the Patriarchate of Peć, after its official restoration in 1557 or the archbishopric of Ohrid.[177] Furthermore, other Christian groups of Eastern Christians (for e.g., the Maronites, Jacobites, or Nestorians) in the Arab provinces were also granted the separate legal status of a *taife* (~community), which allowed them to have their own communal leadership and potentially arbitrate in legal cases that did not involve Muslims.[178] In the past decades, scholars have also underlined that the problem of accommodating religious difference

[173] Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions," 97.
[174] Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions," 97.
[175] Braude, "The Foundation Myths of the Millet System," 69-90; Gara, "Conceptualizing Interreligious Relations," 57-93.
[176] Hasan Çolak, *The Orthodox Church in the Early Modern Middle East: Relations between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015), esp. 39-109.
[177] See, also Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions," 102.
[178] Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World. The Roots of Sectarianism,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 41-68.

in the Ottoman Empire also involved not only non-Muslims but various groups of Muslims as well.[179]

Contemporary scholarship, for the most part has accepted the view that for the sixteenth-seventeenth century Ottoman Empire one cannot yet talk about institutionalized forms of Christian or Jewish *millet*s on an empire-wide level, but rather about communities or groups of people (mostly referred to as *taife*, *cemaat*, *din*, *mezheb*, or more rarely *millet*[180] in Ottoman parlance) defined by cultural, geographic, economic, religious, and linguistic factors and connected to the Ottoman government through a set of locally contingent arrangements.[181] The actual mechanics and parameters of non-Muslim communal and confessional belonging in the Ottoman provincial society, however, is yet to be fully understood.[182]

Besides the interpretative framework of the *millet system*, Ottomanist historiography has also emphasized the Ottoman policy of conquest that entailed embracing and accommodating the multitude of groups of people of the empire divided by language, religion, and culture.[183] Central to this policy were the various negotiating strategies (that could include the granting of various privileges, reconfirming previous rights, and/or maintaining previous laws and customs) the Ottomans employed to win the local population over. In turn, this would lead to the gradual consolidation of their power in a particular area. The issue of accommodating the several micro-communities/groups of Catholics in early modern Ottoman

[179] See, for instance, Nabil Al-Tikriti, "*Kalam* in the Service of the State: Apostasy and the Defining of Ottoman Islamic Identity," in H. Karateke and M. Reinkowski (eds), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power,* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 131-151; Ayfer Karakaya Stump, *The Kizilbash-Alevis in Ottoman Anatolia—Sufism, Politics and Community*, (Edinburgh: EUP, 2020).

[180] Whilst *millet* as an empire-wide institution did not exist in the early modern Ottoman context, the notion itself was employed in a number of interconnected meanings. Prior to the nineteenth century (before the *Tanzimat* reforms), the term *millet* had three basic meanings that were used simultaneously in the Ottoman Empire: religion, religious community, and nation. On the specific usage and context of each of these meanings, see Michael Ursinus, "Millet," in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Accessed on 30.10.2020. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0741

[181] See, Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions," 102.

[182] More recently, a number of studies have reinforced the idea that the diverse confessional groups in the early modern Ottoman Empire cannot be thought of as autonomous and homogenous blocks, but rather must be understood through each other's history and diversity, in an entangled and dialogic way. See, Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (eds), *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries*, (Gorgias Press, forthcoming 2021). For a recent publication on the issue of how landscape could inform the articulation of non-Muslim communal life, see Ana Sekulić, *Conversion of the Landscape: Environment and Religious Politics in an Early Modern Ottoman Town*, PhD Thesis, (Princeton University, 2020).

[183] Whilst the term *istimalet* has been most frequently employed by scholars in relation to the non-Muslim communities of the empire, it has recently been argued that the Ottomans applied this accommodationist policy to their Muslim subjects as well, more specifically as a strategy of encouraging soldiers to fight in various Ottoman campaigns. See, Elias Kolovos, "*Istimalet*: What Do We Actually Know about It?," in Sariyannis (ed.), *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire*, 59-70 with further details about the history and historiography of the concept.

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Rumeli in general and its northern parts in particular can shed additional light on the complexities of non-Muslim communal life in the Ottoman realm.

After the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463, the rights of the Franciscan order were confirmed in the *ahdname* (~capitulation)[184] of Milodraž by sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446; 1451–1481), and between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries these rights were periodically reconfirmed and further supplemented in various *fermans*. These rights mainly concerned the safety of life and possessions of the order, the ownership of churches, and free worship as well as movement across the Ottoman realm.[185] Similar privileges were granted to the merchants of Ragusa in 1430 by Murad II (r. 1421-1451), the Catholic community of Galata after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Franciscans of Szeged after the Ottoman siege of the city in 1543, and the Franciscans of Gyöngyös in 1544.[186] All these various rights entailed some sort of administrative and legal autonomy within the realm, but the actual degree of this 'autonomy' as it played out on the ground is a lot more contentious issue to determine.[187]

While non-Muslim subjects within the administrative and legal system of the Ottoman Empire formally did have the right to resort to their own ecclesiastical or communal courts for solving different intra-communal affairs that did not involve Muslims, they did not always have the possibility and access to do so. Non-Muslim courts were not generally available throughout the empire, and even when they were, they were not always an 'attractive' option.[188] When it comes to Catholics in northern Ottoman Rumeli in the analyzed period, the problem of the availability of communal or ecclesiastical courts becomes all the more apparent.

Even though the Bosnian Franciscans had some sort of jurisdiction over the local Catholics, their authority was oftentimes contested on multiple fronts, be it by their own flock or by the Serbian Orthodox clergy, the Ottoman *kadi*s, the Jesuits as well as members of the secular clergy. Moreover, there is also no contemporary source-based evidence that would testify to the existence of any kind of Catholic-affiliated courts in the regions in question. As the analyzed examples will demonstrate, not only did local Catholics (and non-Muslims in general) appeal to the *kadi* for solving different cases, but the Bosnian friars themselves (as

[184] The *ahdname* denotes a peculiar group of diplomatic and legal documents in Ottoman political discourse. Traditionally, the beneficiary of the *ahdname* is a foreign subject with special privileges in the territory of the Ottoman Empire.
[185] The legal status and privileges of the Franciscans of Bosnia under Ottoman rule is further discussed in the next chapter.
[186] Just like in the case of the Franciscans of Bosnia, between the second half of the sixteenth and end of the seventeenth centuries, the Franciscans of Gyöngyös as well as Szeged continuously asked for various safe-conducts and their reconfirmation from the respective local Ottoman authorities. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 113-114.
[187] Kermeli, "The Right to Choice," 166-167.
[188] Kermeli, "The Right to Choice," 167-170.

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well as other religious representatives, regardless of their denomination) brought their various business to the Ottoman court.

It is undeniable that the several privileges granted to Catholic religious orders in general and Bosnian Franciscans in particular were crucial elements in the articulation of Catholic communal life in northern Ottoman Rumeli, but they were not the sole factors that informed the dynamics of being a Catholic Ottoman subject in these parts of the realm in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. After all, the accommodation of religious difference in the early modern Ottoman Empire was a multi-level and multi-directional process and the granting and/or withdrawal of particular privileges and exemptions was only one layer. The challenge is to move beyond this vertical level of state-community power relations and focus on horizontal interactions among and within various Ottoman communities.[189]

The analysis of marriage and baptism customs on intra- as well as inter-denominational levels will foreground the interactions that emerged through these practices among and between different religious and/or communal representatives as well as various religious groups and individuals in the analyzed regions. This will both complement and complicate the current discussions about the way imperial subject status, communal belonging, confessional affiliation, and religious belief and practice could shape one another in the empire.

[189] Cf. Eleni Gara, "In Search of Communities in Seventeenth Century Ottoman Sources: The Case of the Kara Ferye District," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 135-162; Hadjikyriacou, "Beyond the *Millet* Debate," 75-76; Krstić and Terzioğlu (eds), *Entangled Confessionalizations?*.

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I. 5. 2. Approaching Catholicism and Religious Coexistence in Early Modern Southeast Europe

Since the formulation of the original theory of *confessionalization* by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling and its subsequent criticisms, [190] the study of early modern Catholicism has been subject to a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. Over the past two decades, scholars have come to focus especially on the local forms of Catholicism and their relation to the universalistic claims of the Roman Catholic Church.[191]

Already in 1997, Heinrich Richard Schmidt in his programmatic article and critique[192] concerning the 'etatistic narrowing' (top-down approach) of Reinhard and Schilling's method emphasized that "confessionalization was a communal process: certain gender and social groups within the rural communities took up guidelines and instructions "from above" (from clergymen and state authorities) and put them into practice because they fitted in with their particular interests."[193] Whereas Schmidt's main reference point were Protestant communities, concerning the Catholic side, Marc R. Forster adopted the concept of 'local Catholicism' in order to shed light on the negotiated character of Catholicity,[194] while Peter Hersche criticized the presupposed disciplining effects of Tridentine norms and underlined the importance of concentrating on the 'simple believer' in order to capture the essence of the formation of a 'Catholic confessional culture.'[195] "In a confessional cultural perspective, one could discern how variably the Tridentinum was appropriated, reframed, and implemented in different

[190] For a summary of the main tenets of the *confessionalization* thesis and its main criticized aspect, see Ute Lotz-Heuman, "The Concept of "Confessionalization": A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute," *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93–114. For the latest publication probing the heuristic potential of *confessionalization* for the study of the social, political, and religious transformations of Ottoman communities during the early modern era, see Tijana Krstić, "Can We Speak of 'Confessionalization' beyond the Reformation? Ottoman Communities, Politics of Piety, and Empire Building in an Early Modern Eurasian Perspective," in Krstić and Terzioğlu (eds), *Entangled Confessionalizations?*.

[191] Daniel Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln. Katholische Reform und lokale Glaubenspraxis in der Eidgenossenschaft (1560–1790)*, (Frankfurt—New York: Campus Verlag, 2017), 14.

[192] Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung'. *Historische Zeitschrift,*" 265 (1997): 639–682.

[193] H. R. Schmidt as paraphrased by Lotz-Heumann in "The Concept of "Confessionalization," 110.

[194] Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque. Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004). For additional methodological insights, see also, Thomas Kaufmann, "What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?," in P. Ingesman (ed.), *Religion as an Agent of Change,* (Leiden: Brill, 2018) Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, 583-647.

[195] Peter Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung: Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter*, (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 2006). See also, Gaspar von Greyerz, *Religion und Kultur: Europa 1500–1800*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000). Recent studies that focus on this locally contingent nature of confessional meaning-making and engage with the notion of *confessionalization* do not generally view it as a top-down or bottom-up, but as an open-ended process and as an interaction among different actors. Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 17.

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regions and according to diverse levels of action."[196] Along this line of reasoning, Simon Ditchfield argued that in terms of approaching early modern Catholic missionary activities from a glocal perspective, one needs to "restore agency to those working on the ground – both missionaries and missionized" and explore the different local economies of reciprocity.[197]

When it comes to the specific issue of approaching Catholicism as well as religious coexistence in Ottoman Southeast Europe, one is bound to encounter a number of regional studies that are informed by their own historiographical traditions and divided accordingly, along ethnic, confessional, or geographical lines.[198] On the opposite end of these works which focus on how the confessional communities of Rumeli led separate lives from one another, there are those studies that emphasize the fluidity and the lack of clear-cut confessional boundaries between them and that usually operate with the notions of 'popular religion,' 'religious syncretism,' or 'crypto-Christianity' to describe particular 'non-standard'/shared/mixed/hybrid religious practices.[199] And while these studies drew attention to a number of important inter-communal religious phenomena, they have failed "to critically assess the politics of the sources on which they have drawn and historically contextualize the phenomena they labeled in this way"—as Tijana Krstić most recently highlighted.[200] Hence, the problem does not merely lie in labeling certain customs of particular religious groups or individuals as 'crypto-religious' or 'syncretistic,' but in the way these designations often become 'umbrella terms' that tend to fix a number of inter-religious phenomena in time and space, obfuscating their locally negotiated and cumulative nature.

Against the backdrop of these studies, in terms of analytical vocabulary and methodological approach, in this dissertation I critically engage with the notions of 'local Catholicism', 'Catholic confessional culture' as well as some of the new epistemological approaches to the study of *confessionalization*[201] to capture the locally contingent, internally

[196] Günther Wassilowsky, "The Myths of the Council of Trent and the Construction of Catholic Confessional Culture," in Wim François and Violet Soen (eds), *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545-1700)*, Vol. I, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 69-101; 93.

[197] Simon Ditchfield, "The "Making" of Roman Catholicism as a "World Religion"", in Jan Stievermann and Randall C. Zachman (eds), *Multiple Reformations? The Many Faces and Legacies of the Reformation*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 189-205; 190-191. See, also idem, "Decentering the Catholic Reformation. Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World," *Archiv for Reformationsgeschichte* 101, no. 1 (2010): 186-208; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Mission Frontiers: A Reflection on Catholic Missions in the Early Modern World," in Forrestal and Smith (eds), *The Frontiers of Mission*, 180-195. See, also my discussion at the end of *Subchapter I. 3. 2* and in *Subchapter I. 3. 3*.

[198] See, also my discussion in *Subchapter I. 3*.

[199] For more details and literature references, see *Subchapter IV. 4. 3.*

[200] Krstić, "Can We Speak of 'Confessionalization' beyond the Reformation?".

[201] See, Cornel Zwierlein, "'Konfessionalisierung' europäisch, global als epistemischer Prozess. Zu den Folgen der Reformation und zur Methodendiskussion," in Christoph Strohm (ed.), *Reformation und Recht*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 1-52. See, also Guy Stroumsa, "The Scholarly Discovery of Religion in Early Modern

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plural, and multifarious nature of Catholic meaning–making. At the same time, I complement these approaches drawing on additional insights from the anthropology of religion, theology, and Ottoman as well as Eastern Christian studies. In my understanding, the adjective 'confessional' connotes an altered and stimulated awareness about someone's denominational belonging, but without necessarily being attached to one concrete written confession or creed. Accordingly, the notion is deployed to describe, for instance, those cases where a particular religious group—in this case Catholics—had to juggle the legal and religious choices at their disposal represented by various agents, while trying to maintain and in several instances prove their own 'Catholicism'.

Among the different approaches to religious syncretism,[202] I follow the symbolic-functional approach that conceptualizes syncretism as a sort of culture play as well as power game in which people actively take part by using different symbols and metaphors.[203] In this view, "syncretism involves not only an exchange of elements between religions but also their adaptation to a new structural context, a procedure which often changes their meaning."[204] In a similar vein, I seek to look at crypto-Christianity from the perspective of the missionary as well as the 'missionized' and, thus, view it both as an epistemological construct and as a locally negotiated practice/interaction. And while I have engaged with the notions of religious syncretism and crypto-Christianity, I have opted to refrain from employing the term 'popular religion,' since the notion itself is too vague to conceptually encompass the complexity of local variants of Catholicism. Moreover, it inevitably invites a preemptory judgment on the daily habits of particular communities, instead of focusing on the multilayered contexts and complex agency that gave birth to such practices in the first place.[205]

Times," in Jerry H. Bentley (ed.), *The Cambridge World History, Vol. VI, The Construction of a Global World, 1400-1800 CE, Part 2: Patterns of Change,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), 313-334; Krstić, "Can We Speak of 'Confessionalization' beyond the Reformation?".

[202] For an overview, see Magdalena Lubanska, *Muslims and Christians in the Bulgarian Rhodopes. Studies on Religious (Anti)Syncretism*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 32-40.

[203] Lubanska, *Muslims and Christians*, 39.

[204] Lubanska, *Muslims and Christians*, 39.

[205] See, also *Subchapter I. 3. 3.*

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I. 5. 3. Missionary and Ottoman Taxonomies—Conceptualizing Ethno-Religious Affiliations in Northern Rumeli

On January 31, 1613, the Dalmatia-born Jesuit Bartol Kašić composed a report for his Roman superiors about the current status of the missions in and around the cities of Timișoara, Belgrade, and Pécs.[206] In this report, Kašić gave a detailed account of the ethnic and religious composition of these areas, as he understood it. His narrative is illustrative of the way Catholic missionaries in general and in northern Ottoman Rumeli in particular tried to classify the variety of people they encountered in terms of their language as well as ethnic and denominational affiliation.

According to Kašić, the city of Timișoara, the seat of the *eyalet*, was inhabited by more than a thousand Catholics, some Hungarian-, others yet Wallachian (~Romanian)-speaking ("di lingua valacha"), but most of them Slavic-speaking ("di lingua schiavona"). In the *sanjak*s of Csanád, Gyula, and Lippa there were also many other, mostly Hungarian-speaking Catholics, and in the *sanjak* of Karas there were mostly Wallachian- and Rascian-speaking ones ("di lingua valacha e raziana").[207] At the same time, the father described these lands as having been inhabited by several other "sects": the largest group were the "Serbs of the Greek sect" who—according to Kašić—were commonly called "Rascians" ("ratiani che chiamano volgarmente sarbgli della seta graeca"); there were also many Hungarian-speaking Calvinists and Lutherans; quite a few "Arian Anabaptists" among whom some were Judaizers,[208] while others just got confused by all the different views propagated by various "sects".[209] In the *eyalet* of Kanije, Kašić found innumerable Christians (i.e., Catholics), part of them Hungarian-speaking, but most of them Croatian-speaking Šokci[210] ("sokaci di lingua croata").[211]

[206] *EHJM I/1*, 69-78.
[207] *EHJM I/1*, 71.
[208] This is, most probably a reference to the Transylvanian Sabbatarians who emerged at the end of the sixteenth century and held Unitarian and Judaizing beliefs. For the history of this peculiar religious group, see Róbert Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok és Péchi Simon* [The Transylvanian Sabbatarians and Simon Péchi], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).
[209] *EHJM I/1*, 73.
[210] The ethnonym *Šokac* traditionally denotes a Croatian-speaking South-Slavic ethnic group indigenous to the historical regions of Slavonia-Srem, Baranya, and Bačka. In terms of their religious affiliation, the *Šokci* are Catholics who most probably migrated from Bosnia to the mentioned territories during the sixteenth century. On the disputed origins of the term *Šokac* and the scientific as well as pseudoscientific discussions that inform the understanding of its past and present meanings, see Ružica Pšihistal, "The Ethnomyth of Šokci," *Narodna umjetnost* 48 (2011): 85-110.
[211] *EHJM I/1*, 73.

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While the Ottoman central government in general did not distinguish between different Christian denominations, nor were they especially concerned with matters of ethnicity *per se*,[212] when looking at a contemporary source issued by the local Ottoman administration (and considering other similar pertinent documents) that concerned inter-Christian relations in the analyzed regions, one can notice that on occasions communal and confessional belonging also came to be conceptualized in more precise terms by the respective local authorities. A *ferman* (~imperial command, order) from 1615, which was meant to prevent the Orthodox priests from collecting marriage and church taxes from the Catholic, was issued based on the request and complaint of the "Hungarian and Šokac unbelievers" ("Macār ve Şokça keferesi"), who belonged to the "Catholic religion and ritual (custom)" ("Frenk ve Lātīn dīni ve āyīni") and were different in customs from the "Greek Orthodox and Serb and Vlach unbelievers" ("Rūm ve Sırf ve Eflāk kaferesiniñ āyīnleri").[213] Thus, on the local level the Ottoman administration would even recognize smaller ethno-denominational groups, such as the Catholic Šokci.[214]

The above mentioned seventeenth-century Catholic missionary report and the contemporaneous Ottoman *ferman* testify to the great variety of ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups that populated these parts of Rumeli, and demonstrate the perpetual challenge both Catholic missionaries and Ottoman authorities faced in their attempts to categorize these different kinds of people, and eventually classify them as 'communities' in their own right. These taxonomical inconsistencies and uncertainties were not only characteristic of sixteenth-seventeenth century ecclesiastical and communal authorities (be that Christian or Muslim) but they also keep featuring in historical scholarship up to this day.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to present the various theories concerning the ethnogenesis as well as proto-nationalism of the Croatians, Serbians, Bosnians, and other

[212] According to Islamic law, the population of a Muslim-ruled state consisted of believers, i.e., Muslims and non-believers, i.e., non-Muslims. As a result of the legal and administrative development of the Ottoman Empire, however, sultanic law (*kanun*) started dividing Ottoman subjects according to their service to the state, hence it differentiated between the ruling (military) class, the *askeri* and the ruled one, the *reaya* (lit., 'flock') with further subdivisions on both ends. For more details, see Vjeran Kursar, "Some remarks on the Organization of Ottoman Society in the Early Modern Period: The Question of "Legal Dualism" and Societal Structures," in Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moačanin, and Vjeran Kursar (eds), *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies*, (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 837-856.

[213] Boškov, *Turski dokumenti*, 29.

[214] More recently, Vjeran Kursar has argued that the local Ottoman administration in the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman rule would often use more precise local ethnic as well as denominational terms when it came to classifying the various groups of people who inhabited a particular area—distinctions that the central government would not normally be aware of. Vjeran Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions and Identities in the Early Modern Ottoman Balkans and the *Millet* System Theory," in Maria Baramova, Plamen Mitev, Ivan Parvev, and Vania Racheva (eds), *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe, 16-19th century*, (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), 97-108.

groups of the Balkan peninsula.[215] Here, I only want to problematize certain points as regards the issue of assigning particular ethnic labels to particular groups of people in sixteenth-seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. How could one adequately refer to the Catholics "di lingua schiavona" and the Catholic Šokci "di lingua croata," respectively? Which group (if any) could be potentially (and justifiably) referred to as 'Croatians' in the ethnic sense of the word? Similarly, it is no less problematic to call Orthodox South-Slavs 'Serbians' by default—even if contemporary sources on several occasions do so.[216] How would Catholics "di lingua raziana" be properly categorized in terms of their ethnicity? And for which social groups (the Jesuits, Bosnian Franciscans, Orthodox prelates, local Ottoman officials, and/or the common people) did this variety of ethnic and confessional labels attain more meaning? The variety of the questions one could pose in this respect is, without doubt, endless. All these groups must have had some sort of idea about their ethnic/ethno-geographic as well as religious affiliation but how stable those self-designations were and how they may have changed depending on the situation and interlocutors/audience as well as local circumstances and equations of power, is a matter of debate and a great methodological challenge.[217]

As these examples suggest, contemporary sources used a variety of terms to denote the ethnicity as well as language of the groups who inhabited these parts of Ottoman Europe during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.[218] Since these contemporary designations usually significantly differ from the terminologies that are employed today, one needs to find a somewhat 'balanced' vocabulary to describe sixteenth-seventeenth-century ethnic affiliations with present-day ethnonyms. Thus, in my dissertation instead of speaking about 'Catholic Croatians' or 'Orthodox Serbians,' I will mainly employ the less politically and ideologically

[215] For representative literature tackling the topic, see Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens*; Radoslav Katičić, "Ilirci i ilirski jezik," *Forum* 27 (1988): 675-688; John V. A. Fine, Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans. A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006); Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije Ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illiryanism], (Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2008).

[216] Cf. Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach," 127-128.

[217] Cf. Baki Tezcan, "Ethnicity, race, religion and social class: Ottoman markers of difference," in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*, (London—New York: Routledge, 2012), 159-171. See, also Barbara-Stollberg Rilinger, "Einleitung," in Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (eds), *Konfessionelle Ambiguität. Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiose Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Heidelberg: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013), 9-27.

[218] Another prevalent term that from the end of the fifteenth century onwards was continuously employed to denote various groups of South-Slavic people and their language was that of 'Illyrian'. Early modern Illyrism is considered to have been a discursive and ideological product of the South Slavic branch of the Humanist "res publica litteraria" which played a crucial role in the symbolic construction of the Illyrian transnational identity and which aimed to create a culturally, ethnically, and confessionally unified and homogenous supraregional state. See, Zrinka Blažević, "How to Revive Illyricum? Political Institution of the Illyrian Emperors in Early Modern Illyrism," in. Ulrich Heinen (ed.), *Welche Antike? Konkurriende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock*, (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2011), 431-445.

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loaded term of 'South-Slavic-speaking' when talking about various groups or individuals of different denominational affiliations and of South-Slav origin who inhabited the territories of northern Ottoman Rumeli in the analyzed period. In a similar vein, I will refer to 'Hungarian- or Romanian-speaking' Christians of a particular denomination instead of speaking of 'Hungarians' or 'Romanians.' My usage of this terminology is motivated by strictly practical considerations and is not meant in any way to downplay the crucial role certain missionaries (and Rome's literary program, in general) played in the linguistic and literary development of South-Slavic languages as well as in the growing articulation and importance of ethnic affiliations.

In terms of urban as well as rural settlement names, for the sake of easier identification, I give their present-day form (whenever they can be identified), and in certain cases, also give the geographical specifications as they appear in the sources; in parentheses, I provide the potential name variations and the countries in which these places are currently located. When a contemporary place name cannot be matched to a present-day location, the geographical coordinates become especially important in determining where a particular missionary could have been at a particular time. In the case of the names of the large number of missionaries with South-Slavic origins, I use their name in the Slavicized form, even though most of them latinized their name when they wrote to Rome (for e.g., signing Tomanovich instead of Tomanović, Berniakovich instead of Bernjaković, and so on).[219]

[219] For a biography of a large number of missionaries (including their name variations) who were active in northern Ottoman Rumeli, see Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. V.*

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I. 6. Sources

As I have highlighted, in terms of primary sources, the dissertation will predominantly draw on published and unpublished Catholic missionary letters and visitation reports sent to the various decision-making bodies of the Roman Curia. Most of the original documents are found in the Roman archive of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and a smaller, but significant part is in the Roman archives of the Holy Office, the Vatican Apostolic Archives, and the Roman Jesuit Archives. A certain amount of the relevant documents has been published in various source collections; still, there is a great amount of unexploited archival material.

The first, more extensive source publications on Catholic missionary activities in Ottoman Central and Southeast Europe are the already referred source collections of Eusebius Fermendžin OFM.[220] Even though, the volumes were published at the end of the nineteenth century, they are still among the most comprehensive source collections focusing on the work of Catholic missionaries, with a special focus on the activity of the Franciscans of Bosnia. After Fermendžin, Marko Jačov published several volumes of edited sources, but one needs to bear in mind that they are characterized by quite a selective incorporation of texts, focusing almost exclusively on the Serbian Orthodox community.[221] The late István György Tóth made available a great number of primary source materials from different Roman archives (but mainly from Propaganda Fide) to a larger reading public. His most extensive collection of sources contains a large number of letters sent by the missionaries of tripartite Hungary to Rome from the beginning of the Catholic missions until the Peace of Passarowitz.[222] Concerning the territories of northern Ottoman Rumeli, one should also mention the invaluable source collection of Jesuit reports concerning the Principality of Transylvania and Ottoman Hungary between 1609–1625, edited by Mihály Balázs, Ádám Fricsy, László Lukács, and István Monok.[223]

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[220] Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae* and *Acta Bosnae*.

[221] The source collections published by Marko Jačov: *Spisi tajnog Vatikanskog arhiva XVI-XVIII veka* [The documents of the Secret Vatican Archives, sixteenth-eighteenth centuries], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1983); *Spisi Kongregacije za propaganda vere u Rimu o Srbima,* I, *(1622-1644)* [The documents of Propaganda Fide about the Serbs, I, (1622-1644)], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1986); *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la Guerra di Candia (1645-1669),* I-II, (Bibiloteca Apostolica Vaticana: Vatican City, 1992); *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani tra le due guerre: Candia (1645-1669) Vienna e Morea (1683-1699),* (Vatican City: Bibiloteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998).

[222] Tóth, *Litterae missionariorum*, *Vols I-V*.

[223] Balázs Mihály, Ádám Fricsy, László Lukács, and István Monok (eds), *Erdélyi és hódoltsági jezsuita missziók I/1– 2 (1609–1625) = EHJM* [Jesuit missions in Transylvania and Ottoman Hungary I/1– 2 (1609–1625)], (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990). For the history of the order in Hungary, the following source collection is indispensable: Ladislaus Lukács, *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae, I-IV, (1550-1600),* (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu: Rome, 1969-1986). Concerning the missionary activity of the Jesuits in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli, the works of the Croatian Jesuit, Miroslav Vanino are worth mentioning. Just to enumerate some of the most relevant ones: Miroslav Vanino, "Kašićevo izješće o Don Šimunu Matkoviću (1613)",

Among these works, I have mainly used the volumes of Eusebius Fermendžin, István György Tóth, Mihály Balázs et al., and to a lesser extent Marko Jačov. My choice was motivated by the reliability, philological punctuality, and selection of the sources. In this respect, the works of Fermendžin, Tóth, and Balázs are especially valuable, since the authors follow a territorial approach in the selection of their sources, and most noticeably in the case of István György Tóth, the philological accuracy is remarkable. Besides these collections of published primary sources, the amount of the unpublished archival material is enormous. This is why, in this dissertation, I am also drawing on a large variety of archival documents, primarily from the archives of Propaganda Fide, the Holy Office, and the Jesuits in Rome.

The literary activity of the Bosnian Franciscans and the Jesuits as well as the literary program of sixteenth-seventeenth-century Catholic missions in Southeast Europe is a topic of special relevance that would deserve a separate study. In this dissertation, I do not offer a separate analysis of these creations, but I refer to those Catholic devotional, theological, and catechetical works that I consider relevant to the topic. These literary works in general are particularly important from a linguistic point of view, especially considering the evolution of the Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian languages. Moreover, the dynamics behind their production also informs us about the conflicting views within the Roman Curia and between the Curia and various South-Slavic-speaking authors concerning the 'linguistic unification' of the South Slavs.[224] At the same time, some of these works could also give a certain idea about the knowledge that was or could have been available to various local Catholics about the meanings of Catholic confessionalism (~a loyalty to and identification with Catholicism).

In terms of the Ottoman primary sources that pertain to the present topic, they have been mostly translated and published.[225] These documents are, for the most part, various sultanic decrees (*ferman*s) and legal certificates (*hüccet*s), which add crucial details to the understanding of the status of Catholics (and Christians in general), the Bosnian Franciscan order, and the

Vrela i prinosi 1 (1932): 80-99, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja SI (1601–1654)," *Vrela i prinosi* 2 (1933): 1–43, and *Autobiografija Bartola Kašića,* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1940).

[224] On the literary agenda of Rome in the Balkan lands and Hungary, see Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 367-437. See, also Zdenko Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come: The Counter-Reformation, the Republic of Dubrovnik, and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 225-261; Marko Karamatić (ed.), *Matija Divković i kultura pisane riječi* [Matija Divković and the culture of the written word], (Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija, 2014).

[225] Josip Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta,* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1930); Vančo Boškov, "Turski dokumenti o odnosu katoličke i pravoslavne crkve u Bosni, Hercegovini i Dalmaciji (XV–XVII vek)" [Turkish documents about the relationship of the Catholic and Orthodox churches in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia (15th–17th centuries)], *Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti* 131 (1992): 7–95; Michael Ursinus, *Fojnica: osmanski dokumenti iz arhiva Franjevačkog Samostana* [Fojnica: Ottoman documents from the archives of the Franciscan monastery], (Fojnica: Franjevački samostan Duha Svetoga, 2018).

Serbian Orthodox Church within the empire as well as their relationship with one another and the local Ottoman magistracy. Unfortunately, most sixteenth–seventeenth–century court registers (*kadi sicil*s) concerning the regions in question were destroyed, except the *sicil*s of Sarajevo from 1551–1552, 1556–1558, and 1565–1566, a partial register from Tuzla from the first half of the seventeenth century, Mostar from 1632–1634, and Timișoara from 1652–1653.[226]

The number of sources coming from the Orthodox side is, regrettably, quite poor for the region under scrutiny. There is one register of the patriarch of Peć from 1660–1666 (listing, for instance the benefactors of different churches or those who made donations to the patriarchal visitors) in which the region of northern Ottoman Rumeli appears.[227] The other type of available and more numerous Orthodox sources, are the inscriptions on various liturgical books and objects. Although at first sight they provide very limited data, they offer valuable information about the contemporary circulation of the Orthodox artefacts. Moreover, they also shed light on the relationship between the local Serbian Orthodox metropolitanates and Mount Athos.[228] Nevertheless, in this thesis I will not discuss this type of source material.

Due to the scarcity and specific character of the pertinent Ottoman and Orthodox documents, most of the consistent data about the local intra- as well as intercommunal relations of seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli come from Catholic missionary sources. Although, these often 'standardized' sources represent the 'Catholic side' of the story and thus, pose a number of interpretative challenges, their value to early modern Ottoman history is no less than their importance to the history of Catholic missions. Despite the fact that a great number of these letters do indeed concern various inter-missionary conflicts and organizational as well as financial issues, often seemingly 'tuning out' the local Ottoman context,[229] this is only one side of the coin, so-to-say. Besides the fact that they provide a great amount of crucial

[226] This is why, in the future it would be especially important to extend the scope of analysis to include other Balkan territories, such as Bulgaria, where a sizeable amount of court records is available for the seventeenth century, and they have already been extensively researched by Ottomanists. See, for instance Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans*.

[227] I.D. Suciu and R. Constantinescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria mitropoliei Banatului* [Documents concerning the history of the metropolitanate of the Banat], (Timișoara: Editura Mitropoliei Banatului, 1980), 108–149.

[228] Most recently, Antal Molnár has drawn attention to the relevance of this source material, see Molnár, "Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet," 32-63. The information extracted from these types of sources could refine the image that Catholic missionary sources provide about the local Orthodox clergy as being 'less educated' and more lenient towards breaching particular canon law stipulations.

[229] These are the letters that generally figure in the more traditional 'institutional history' approach to these missions. However, even these sources can be read from different perspectives. For instance, letters where missionaries coming from the Italian peninsula complain about the weather in the Banat, can provide important data concerning the climate of the region in the seventeenth century.

information about the local marriage or baptism customs of different religious groups, they equally often speak about the intricate functioning of the Ottoman provincial governance.[230] Due to the fact that they address a number of social, cultural, religious, financial, and political issues, the further exploration of Catholic missionary sources in general is indispensable to reveal previously uncharted aspects of religious coexistence in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

[230] These documents can give valuable information about the relationship among the provincial governors and at the same time shed new light on the dynamics of tax collection in the Ottoman provinces in the middle of the seventeenth century. For instance, in a letter from 1647, the bishop of Belgrade, Marino Ibrišimović described how the *pasha* (~governor general) of Bosnia demanded taxes from the Catholics of Slavonia, claiming that these Catholics belonged to the bishopric of Bosnia, hence they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Bosnia. Allegedly, the *çavuş*es of the *pasha* collected 180 *scudo*s from the Catholics who lived in the villages around Požega three years before. Ibrišimović turned for help to the *pasha* of Kanije, who sent 300 horsemen to beat the *çavuş*es of the *pasha* of Bosnia and cut the beard of their leader. Then, the *pasha* of Kanije ordered the bishop of Bosnia to be killed if he ever came to these territories of Slavonia again. This decision was also motivated by the fact that the *pasha* of Bosnia claimed the taxes from the local Catholic churches and monasteries based on an order of the *pasha* of Buda. This extensive report is published in Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. III*, 1635-1648.

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II. Global Catholicism and its Local Agents in Northern Ottoman Rumeli (1570s–1680s)

II. 1. Protecting and Safeguarding the Christian Communities of the Ottoman Empire and Rumeli

II. 1. 1. Introduction

The conquest of Constantinople (1453) and the concomitant expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Southeast Europe resulted in a shift in the power relations among various European polities. Against the backdrop of the shifting configurations of power as well as diplomatic alliances, the Roman papacy was also compelled to change its medieval crusading agenda in the following century.

In order to strengthen and secure their political-diplomatic position, Ottoman sultans accorded various *ahdname*s (~capitulations, trading privileges-cum-peace treatises) to countries such as England, France, Venice, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Dutch Republic, which not only facilitated the development of trade, but they were also conducive to the onset of Catholic and later (from the eighteenth century onwards) Protestant missionary activities throughout the realm. These capitulations enabled the Catholic Church to send missionaries to the Ottoman lands (mainly to the Near East), leading to a direct exposure of ethnically and linguistically diverse Christian and Muslim communities to the missionary propaganda of Rome.

As far as those Catholics who were not Ottoman subjects were concerned, especially traders, pilgrims, and missionaries, their presence and activities in the Ottoman Empire were championed primarily by the Venetians in the sixteenth century, and then by the French, starting in the early seventeenth century.[231] Since Ottoman Christians of the Latin rite formally depended on the spiritual power of the patriarchal vicar sent by the Holy See to Constantinople, who was not officially recognized by the Porte, the intervention of the ambassadors of the Catholic powers was often required by various Latin ecclesiastical authorities to obtain orders from the sultan in their favor. In turn, the mediating work of particular European diplomats in support of the Latin clergy also led to the addition of particular articles concerning religious

[231] Aurélien Girard, "Impossible Independence or Necessary Dependency? Missionaries in the Near East, the "Protection" of the Catholic States and the Roman Arbitrator," in Massimo Carlo Giannini (ed.), *Papacy, Religious Orders and International Politics*, (Rome: Viella, 2013), 67-94.

issues to the capitulations.[232] Hence, polities, such as Venice and France, would become key political agents of Catholic reform initiatives in the Ottoman diplomatic sphere, and protectors of the missionary orders, including the Jesuits and the Franciscans. As a consequence of the capitulations between France and the Ottoman Empire in 1604 (renewed and extended in 1673 and 1740), Roman Catholic pilgrims and priests were accorded the right to visit the Holy Places in Palestine under the French flag, moreover French clerics started to settle in Jerusalem.[233] The clergy who served the French consuls in Constantinople, Izmir, Sidon, Alexandria, and Aleppo were also conferred diplomatic status. Since they were under the protection of the French government, these missionaries could freely move in the empire.[234] Due to this advantageous diplomatic position, France could easily proclaim itself the shield of all Catholics and Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire; still, Venice remained a competitor for France in the fight for being the protector of Catholic missionaries in the Near East.[235]

Thus, the vying for the position of the 'protector' of the Catholic Christians in the Ottoman Empire led to the intensification of inter-imperial rivalries on the ground, especially between the Venetians and the French, but it also involved the Habsburgs. Even though, France played a key role in safeguarding of Latin clerics in the Holy Land, "the most Christian" kings were not the exclusive protectors of Catholic worship neither in Jerusalem, nor in the other provinces of the empire. In 1616, in the renewal of the Treaty of Zsitvatorok, the Habsburgs were granted similar privileges that France had obtained in 1604 concerning the right of religious (i.e., "priests, friars, and Jesuits") to reside and have freedom of worship as well as the right to repair their own churches in the Ottoman territories. With certain modifications this stipulation was reiterated in the subsequent treaties between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs (in 1642, 1649, 1699, and 1739), but also in the capitulations that were granted to France in 1673 and to Poland in 1699.[236] Overall, the ambition of various European powers to fashion themselves as the sole official protectors of Catholic worship in the Ottoman Empire (with or

[232] Elisabetta Borromeo, "La clergé Latin et son autorité dans l'Empire Ottoman. Protégé de puissances de l'Europe catholique? (XV-XVIII siècles)," in Nathalie Clayer, Alexandre Papas, and Benoît Fliche (eds), *L'autorité religieuse et ses limites en terres d'islam. Approches historiques et anthropologiques*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 87-109; 93.

[233] The custody of the Holy Places was a source of rivalry among Latin, Orthodox, Armenian, Maronite, and Jacobite religious authorities—each of them competing to be recognized by the Porte as the sole legitimate guardian of these places of worship. Borromeo, "La clergé Latin et son autorité," 94.

[234] Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 59.

[235] Girard, "Impossible Independence," 84.

[236] Borromeo, "La clergé Latin et son autorité," 96-97. See, also the forthcoming book of Radu Dipratu, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire. Catholic and Capitulations*, (London: Routledge, 2021).

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without formal papal endorsement) led to the gradual abandonment of the idea of a crusade, "or a united Christian front against the "infidel," in favor of a *Realpolitik* in which national rivalries posed an obstacle to the unitary representation of Catholicity."[237]

When it comes to the territories of northern Ottoman Rumeli (and Rumeli in general), the issue of protecting and representing the interests of local Catholics was even more complicated. While, during the seventeenth century, the Austrian Habsburgs (repeatedly) obtained some sort of privilege in particular *adhname*s and *nişan*s that would technically allow them to appoint and protect the Catholic clergy (primarily, the Jesuits) in Ottoman-governed territories, in practice, the radius of Habsburg influence would rarely extend beyong the Pécs—Szeged line until the end of the seventeenth century.[238] After all, the various privileges that defined and regulated the position of Ottoman Catholics were individually negotiated with different Catholic groups across the empire.[239]

As I have previously highlighted, the two main pillars in preserving the local structures of the Catholic Church as well as safeguarding Catholic worship in northern Ottoman Rumeli were the merchants of Ragusa and the Franciscans of Bosnia. Nevertheless, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, the Venetians, the particular rulers of various Italian city-states (such as Savoy or Mantua), and to a lesser extent, the French, were not absent from the Catholic missionary activities that were directed to the various areas of Ottoman Europe, but their function and role in particular missionary endeavors was different compared to the role assumed by the local merchants of Ragusa or the Franciscan friars of Bosnia.[240] While neither of these European power players could (or probably, even would) unequivocally proclaim themselves as the sole protector of Catholics in Ottoman-ruled Southeast Europe, they were still crucial elements in the various diplomatic schemes that were directed towards the 'liberation' of the South-Slavs.[241]

[237] Adina Ruiu, "Conflicting Visions of the Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire, 1609–1628," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 260-280, 261, fn. 2. As regards the Middle East, in particular, the very ideal of the crusade was, of course, not easily dismissed, but as a 'reality' the crusades were substituted by concentrated missionary activity that specifically targeted the occupation of the holy sites as well as the 'reconciliation' of Eastern Christians with the Church of Rome. Girard, "Impossible Independence," 70-72.

[238] See also, *Chapter I. 4. 1.*

[239] See also, *Chapter I. 5. 2.*

[240] For instance, in the second half of the seventeenth century, it appears that the Franciscans of the provinces of Ragusa, Dalmatia, Albania, Bosna Argentinae, and Bosna Croatiae received grain from the King of Spain. Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*, 505-606. Moreover, according to the available sources from the same period (1660s), the Franciscans of Bosnia made depositions in the *Banco dei Poveri* in Naples. APF SOCG, vol. 305, fol. 305 r.-fol. 307 r; fol. 427 r.

[241] Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, 261-297. See, also Peter Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie und osmanischem Reich*, (Munich: Harrasowitz, 1974).

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II. 1. 2. Ragusan Merchants and Priests in Ottoman Southeast Europe

The Ragusan Republic was a *de facto* independent polity under the nominal rule of the Hungarian king during the late medieval period. The minor duties of the city towards the king consisted of a small annual tribute and a number of symbolic acts through which the Ragusans recognized the king's sovereignty.[242] But this relatively comfortable and secure state of affairs could not last for long. At the end of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth centuries the Ottomans gradually acquired control over the Balkan lands, and thus it was only a matter of time until they also reached the hinterland of Ragusa in the first decades of the 1400s, and by the 1480s the Ottoman forces had completely besieged the city on the land side.[243]

On December 6, 1430 sultan Murad II (r. 1421-1451) issued a *ferman* that ensured Ragusa's territorial integrity and guaranteed the protection of Ragusan trade as well as the free movement of its merchants within the empire. Since this initial charter did not demand any tribute from the city, its inhabitants were reluctant to establish stronger ties with the Sublime Porte. In 1440, the sultan asked for a formal submission from Ragusa in the form of a yearly tribute, which the Republic refused to do. After many negotiations the two parties reached an agreement whereby Ragusa came to be placed under Ottoman protection, and Ragusan merchants gained a number of privileges in the empire: they could move freely, carry arms, they only had to pay a 2% tax on sold goods compared to other merchants who paid 4-5%, etc..[244] With the *ahdname* of 1458, Ragusa officially became an Ottoman tribute-paying polity, and held that status until 1806 when it was conquered by Napoleon. The basic obligations and privileges of the Republic were enshrined in this 1458 capitulation, and except for small modifications they were only reconfirmed by the sultans in the following centuries. The city-state was obliged to pay an annual tribute (*harac*) and owed a loosely defined "fidelity," "truthfulness," and "submission" to the sultan, who in return offered his protection, guaranteed life protection and safety to the Ragusans, and just as previously, granted them a great number of trading privileges in the provinces of the empire.[245]

[242] Lovro Kunčević, "Discourses on liberty in early modern Ragusa," in Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen (eds), *Freedom and the Construction of Europe, Volume I, Religious and Constitutional Liberties,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), 195-215; 197.
[243] Kunčević, "Discourses on liberty," 197.
[244] Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, 69.
[245] Lovro Kunčević, "Janus-faced sovereignty: The international status of the Ragusan Republic in the early modern period," in Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (eds), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2013), 91-123; 92.

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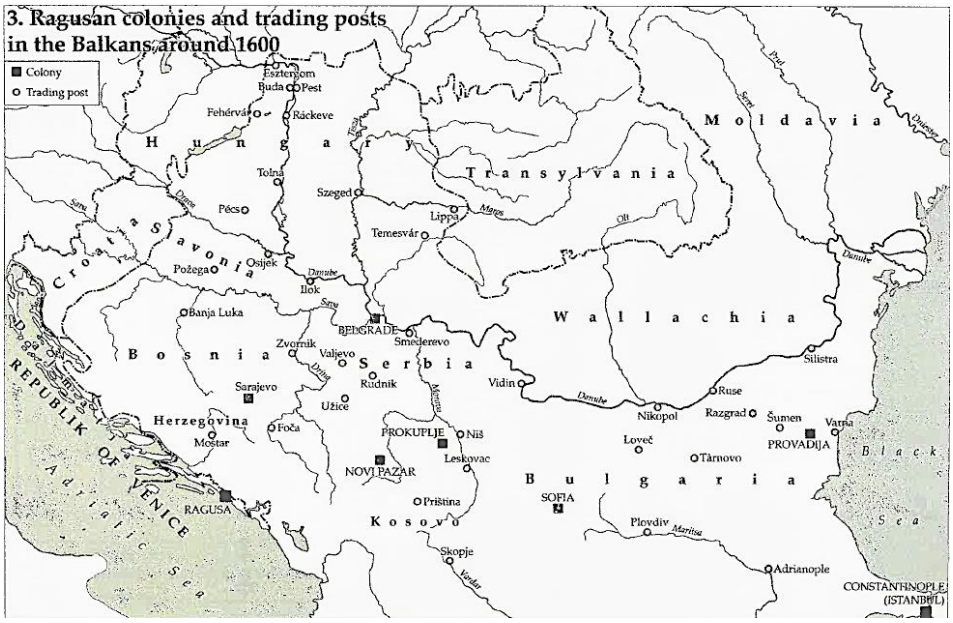
The primary element that defined the religious activity of the Republic throughout the Southeast European provinces of the Ottoman realm was the right to operate and have jurisdiction over the chapels of their trading colonies.



Map 9. Ragusan colonies and trading posts in the Balkan lands and Hungary around 1600. Source: Antal Molnár, *Confessionalization on the Frontier*, 211.

From the end of the fourteenth/beginning of the fifteenth century onwards, one finds Ragusan priests in the various trading colonies of the republic throughout the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire. In the second half of the sixteenth century, most of the major Ragusan merchant communities had their own priest: missionary as well as Ragusan sources frequently mention the local chaplains in Janjevo, Skopje, Novo Brdo, Novi Pazar, Trepča, Prokuplje, Sofia, Andrianople, Provadija, Târnovo, Smederevo, Belgrade, Buda, and Timișoara.[246] Ragusan trading colonies were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ragusa, who appointed the chaplains for the respective colonies upon the request of the merchants.[247]

In parallel with the growth of the Ragusan trading network during the sixteenth century, the Franciscans of Bosnia also expanded northward and established themselves in Slavonia-Srem and the Banat—as I have outlined in the previous chapter. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the cooperation between the Bosnian Franciscans and the Ragusan merchants seems to have been relatively undisturbed.[248] The merchants often intervened on

[246] Molnár, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade (1612-1643)," in his, *Confessionalization on the Frontier*, 65-123; 73-74.
[247] Molnár, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade," 74.
[248] Molnár, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade," 75.

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behalf of the friars as well as the local Catholics at the Porte: the merchants ensured that particular *fermans* that the Franciscans had obtained were renewed, for instance those that involved the right of worship or that prohibited the Orthodox clergy from collecting the marriage tax from the Catholics.[249] The main 'symbol' of this Ragusan-Franciscan alliance is considered to have been the chapel of Belgrade.

After the Ottoman conquest of the city, the Ragusan archbishop delegated secular priests to Belgrade, but in the 1560s the Bosnian Franciscans also appeared in the area and from then on, the friars gradually took over the role of Ragusan priests in catering for the needs of the Belgrade Catholics.[250] The cooperation between the merchants and the friars started to crumble in the early seventeenth century, concomitant with the launching of Catholic missions in the area as well as the gradual strengthening of the Bosnian Catholic merchants.[251] On one hand, the newly appointed missionary bishops often challenged the Ragusan's right of patronage over their churches as well as the right of the Ragusan archbishop to appoint chaplains. On the other hand, the Bosnian Franciscan friars switched alliances and began to collaborate with the rising Bosnian merchants, which marked the beginning of the slow but steady withdrawal of Ragusa from Balkan trade and at the same time demonstrated the growing local power and influence of the Bosnian Franciscans and merchants.[252]

[249] Vjeran Kursar, "Bosanski franjevci i njihovi predstavnici na osmanskoj Porti" [Bosnian Franciscans and their representatives at the Ottoman Porte], *Revue de Philologie Orientale* 60 (2011): 371-408, 375.
[250] Molnár, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade," 75.
[251] For a detailed discussion on the factors that informed the conflict between the Ragusan merchants and Bosnian Franciscans, see Molnár, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade," 65-123. See, also Antal Molnár, "The Struggle for the Chapel of Novi Pazar (1627-1630)," in his, *Confessionalization on the Frontier*, 123-135.
[252] See, Molnár, "The Struggle for the Chapel of Novi Pazar," 123-124.

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II. 1. 3. Franciscans in Ottoman Bosnia—From Roman Inquisitors to Privileged Ottoman Subjects

Even though the Ottoman conquest of the Bosnian Kingdom had devastated several areas, both the Franciscan vicariate as well as various Ragusan, Saxon, and local merchant groups managed to pull through these calamities. One of the major reasons behind the Ottomans' policy of toleration and accommodation in the conquered territories was to maintain and exploit their economic and commercial potential. Thus, it was imperative not to let the miners and tradesmen of Bosnia leave the region. The same applied to the Franciscans, who, as mentioned earlier, were essential cogs in the economic apparatus of the region.

In the aftermath of the conquest the number of friars as well as their monastic houses declined, but the order eventually managed to recover and adapt to the new circumstances. The Franciscan friars legally became Ottoman subjects, which meant that besides their papal privileges, they now also started enjoying a number of sultanic prerogatives as imperial subjects. According to traditional historiography, the rights of the Franciscan order were (re)affirmed in the 1463 *ahdname* of Milodraž by sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446; 1451–1481). Formally, this document guaranteed the safety of life and possessions to the order (as long as they obeyed the sultanic commands), and at the same time ensured that the friars could stay in the sultan's domains, those who fled the territory could return, and they could use their churches.[253] Although, the *ahdname* itself has a peculiar history,[254] it has been regarded both by the Bosnian friars and several modern historians as the central document that defined the presence and activity of the order in the empire.[255] The legitimacy of the existence of the friars within the realm, however, could hardly be reduced to one single document. [256] In a similar way to other non-Muslim groups throughout the empire, the mechanics of Franciscan communal

[253] Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens*, 181–185.

[254] On the controversy concerning the authenticity of the *ahdname* granted to the Franciscans in Bosnia, see Vančo Boškov, "Pitanje autentičnosti Fojničke Ahdname Mehmeda II iz 1463. Godine" [The question of authenticity of the ahdname of Fojnica by Mehmed II from 1463], *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 27–30 (1977–79): 87–105. In his study, Boškov has emphasized that the *ahdname* cannot be analyzed in isolation but only in connection with the *ferman* of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) from 1483 given to the Franciscans as well as within the context of sultanic *ahdname*s from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *ferman* demonstrates that there was an *ahdname* of Mehmed II granted to the friars, which disappeared very early. Its copy (or compilation based on the 1483 *ferman*) was most likely created in Dubrovnik or Venice at the turn of the seventeenth century. So, even though the original *ahdname* is lost, the validity of its content is generally accepted by historians.

[255] In her doctoral dissertation, Ana Sekulić offers a more nuanced approach concerning the components that determined the status of the Bosnian Franciscans within the Ottoman Empire. See, Sekulić, *Conversion of the Landscape*. See, also Ana Sekulić, "From a Legal Proof to a Historical Fact: Trajectories of an Ottoman Document in a Franciscan Monastery, Sixteenth to Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 62 (2019): 925-962.

[256] Cf. Sekulić, *Conversion of the Landscape*, 14-15.

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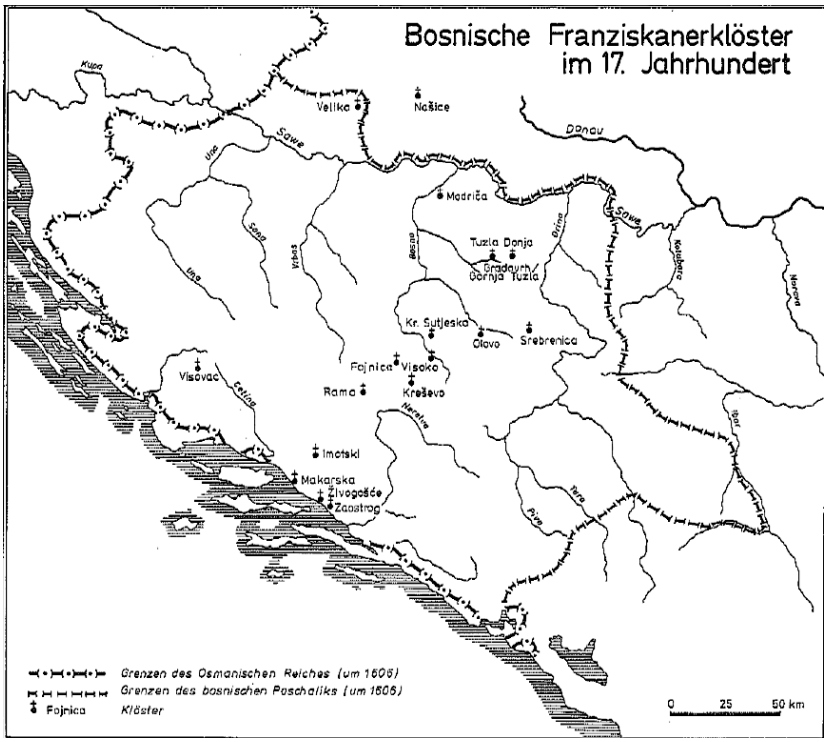
and religious life in the Ottoman provincial society was conditioned by and maintained through a set of locally contingent and cumulative arrangements.

As it was already mentioned, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the alleged rights of the friars were periodically reinforced and further supplemented in various *fermans*. These entitlements seem to have included: the right to travel freely in the Ottoman lands, carry arms, own and restore churches, have rights to the local mines, a certain tax exemption, and protection from the harassments by Orthodox bishops.[257] Nevertheless, the confirmation and actual implementation of these rights kept remaining dependent upon the local authorities, so there was often a discrepancy between the written word and actual everyday practice. Some of these perceived discrepancies, however, could gain additional meaning when analyzed against the backdrop of larger imperial dynamics.



Map 10. Bosnian Franciscan convents in the seventeenth century. Source: Srećko Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens,* 162.

When in 1573, Bonifacije Drakolica reported to the papacy about the results of his previous visitation to the province of *Bosna Argentina*, he remarked the following: "All the churches with the monasteries that are in the empire have been sold to their owners from time immemorial, for no other reason than extorting money from them [i.e., the owners]. The friars

[257] Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens*, 181–185.

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of the province of Bosna have pledged all the vessels and sacred garments so as not to get deprived of their churches."[258] This particular episode in the life of the order needs to be interpreted within the larger context of the imperial affair that is known in contemporary scholarship as the "confiscation and sale of monasteries."[259] This event is associated with the rule of Selim II (r. 1566-1574), who in 1568 confiscated all church and monastic estates with the intention of selling them to obtain money for the state treasury, but gave the monasteries priority to buy them back.[260] The above quoted part from Drakolica's report also seems to refer to the confiscation affair, which apparently affected the Bosnian Franciscan province as well.[261] This also puts into a larger imperial context why it was necessary for the friars to look for additional means of gaining income and why the parishes in Slavonia-Srem[262] became indispensable for the upkeep of the monasteries in Bosnia.

Another element that further problematizes the 'protected' image of the order is connected to the fact that according to the Franciscan narrative, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, the friars were under constant 'surveillance' by the local Ottoman magistracy. The latter, despite the protected position of the order, kept asking for ever greater amounts from the Franciscans in the form of various extra taxes, fines, or fees (especially when it came to getting permissions for restoring churches or quarrels with the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy), and it also became more frequent that certain friars were accused of being foreign spies (usually for the Habsburgs or the Venetians). [263] However, one has to be cautious when trying to draw any kind of overarching conclusions from these sorts of narratives as regards the 'mistreatment' of the friars by the Ottomans.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman central government was forced to restructure its administrative system as well as revenue management—a decision that

[258] "Tutte le chiese che sono in Turchia con gli monasterii sono state vendute alli proprii possessori suoi dalli immemorabili tempi, non per altro che extorquere quelli danari da essi, li frati della provincia di Bosna hano impegnato tutti gli vasi et veste sacri per non privarsi dalle loro chiese." Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 106.
[259] Aleksandar Fotić, "The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and Their Estates at the Time of Selim II," *Turcica* 26 (1994): 33-54.
[260] For a detailed description of the process, its legal repercussions and the way it was carried out, see Fotić, "The Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries," 33-54.
[261] In a report from 1638, the Bosnian Franciscan Jeronim Lučić (at that time bishop of Drivasto, *de facto* Bosnia) also made reference to the confiscation affair and the way it impacted the Bosnian Franciscan province. See, Krunoslav Draganović, "Biskup fra Jeronim Lučić i njegovo izvješće svetoj stolici o prilikama u Bosni i Slavoniji (1638)" [Bishop Jeronim Lučić and his reports to the Holy See about the situation in Bosnia and Slavonia (1638)], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 6 (1982): 73-99, 95. Previous scholarship on the topic focused almost exclusively on how Selim II's policies affected the Orthodox churches and monasteries of the empire, without touching upon the Catholic case. More recently, Ana Sekulić has argued that the confiscation of the monasteries also impacted the friars of Bosnia. Ana Sekulić, "From a Legal Proof to a Historical Fact," 925-962; esp. 939-942.
[262] The need for new parishes was also motivated by the significant growth in the number of friars (which the convents could not accommodate any longer) during the first half of the seventeenth century.
[263] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 23; Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität*, 184-212.

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was motivated by a variety of factors, including climate change, social unrest, incessant warfare, and the factionalization of the ruling elite.[264] Thus, from the second half of the 1580s, the Ottoman polity deployed a variety of methods to further centralize the management of revenues. These included the devaluation of the currency, the sale of offices to tax-farmers, or the confiscation of properties that were all tailored to put some of the financial burdens onto the elite, while some other measures were taken to recompense them.[265] At the same time, the government redesigned the taxation system and cast extra costs onto the *reaya*, increased the rate of the *cizye* (poll-tax on non-Muslim subjects), and imposed extra taxes.[266] Therefore, while it is fairly certain that the friars were inspected on occasions by the local Ottoman authorities and asked to pay certain sums in the form of extra taxes or provide other goods, this was something that affected the subjects of the sultan across the empire in this period.[267] Moreover, according to Jesuit and secular priest reports, the Bosnian Franciscans themselves often resorted to the technique of denouncing their co–religionist adversaries as 'foreign spies' to the local Ottoman authorities.[268]

Overall, Ottoman subjecthood brought both advantages and limitations for the Franciscans and it also led to the conservation and further molding of the medieval Franciscan church structure, which subsequently enhanced the distance between Rome and the Franciscan order in Bosnia.[269] The friars were not willing to conform to the ecclesiastical stipulations set down by the Council of Trent, and refused to reorganize the structure of the Bosnian Catholic Church according to the Tridentine episcopal model.[270] The leaders of the Franciscan province wanted to control the Bosnian bishop and restrict his sphere of action to sacral acts and keep the province's authority over matters of church governance. Accordingly, the provincial

[264] For details, see Pál Fodor, *The Business of State. Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition (1580s-1615)*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018), 38-55.
[265] Fodor, *The Business of State*, 333.
[266] Fodor, *The Business of State*, 333.
[267] Cf. Olga Zirojević, *Crkve i manastiri na području Pećke patrijaršije do 1683 Godine* [Churches and monasteries in the area of the Peć Patriarchate until 1683], (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1984), 28-30; Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität*, 137-138.
[268] According to the available Catholic sources, it appears that the lack of knowledge of the local language could easily incite the local Ottoman authorities to treat a particular Catholic religious as a spy. See, Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität*, 187.
[269] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 84.
[270] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 84. It is important to note that when it comes to the ecclesiastical reforms of the Council, especially in terms of the acknowledgment of episcopal authority, most of the regular orders (the Jesuits and Franciscans, in particular) perceived these stipulations as an infringement on their autonomy. The same applies to various European Catholic monarchs who continuously challenged and even blocked a number of proposals of the Council. See, Ignasi Fernandez Terricabras, "The Catholic Reformation and the Power of the King: Implementation of the Decrees of the Council of Trent in the Absolute Monarchies," in Wim François and Violet Soen (eds), *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545-1700), Vol. II*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 221-255.

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minister and chapter of the Franciscan province had the right to appoint parish priests and the bishop (or the apostolic vicar) only had the right of confirmation.[271] Needless to say, not all of the members of the Franciscan order saw an 'enemy' in Rome and its reforming as well as missionary initiatives, and this ambivalent attitude became especially conspicuous in the years following the founding of the Propaganda Fide. A group of friars started to become more lenient towards accepting the jurisdiction of the congregation in the hope that through their collaboration with Rome, they could gain the upper hand in the governance of the province.[272] This marked the beginning of a decades-long conflict within the province that besides the friars, also involved a number of other power players, including first and foremost the local Ottoman authorities, as well as various authorities in Rome and at the Viennese court.

Maintaining the image and status of protector of the local Catholics was, thus, a challenging task for the Bosnian Franciscans. And while trying to detach themselves from Ragusan dependence and navigate their new legal status as Ottoman imperial subjects, from the second half of the sixteenth century, the friars also had to reckon with the expanding jurisdiction and influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

[271] Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 23.
[272] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 287.

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II. 1. 4. The Restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć and the Consolidation of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Northern Rumeli

In the previous chapter I have described how concomitant to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula and the gradual northward migration of the various Slavic-speaking populations of the region, the number of Serbian Orthodox communities gradually increased in Central and Northeast Bosnia, parts of Slavonia-Srem, the Banat, and also other territories of Ottoman Hungary, north of the Sava and the Danube.[273] In 1557, the Patriarchate of Peć (today Kosovo)[274] was restored and gained independence from the Patriarchate of Constantinople as well as the Archbishopric of Ohrid, and as such, it was integrated into the Ottoman administrative apparatus. Thus, in a similar way to the Greek one, the Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy came to occupy a privileged political and economic position in the empire, started collaborating closely with the local Ottoman dignitaries, and continuously tried to assert its jurisdiction over the local Catholics as well.

The main focus of the restored patriarchate was directed towards organizing new eparchies and strengthening monasticism by rebuilding as well as renewing destroyed or dilapidated monasteries[275] and encouraging artistic activity therein.[276] Expanding its hegemony over the Ottoman territories of the north–western Balkans and Hungary, by the middle of the seventeenth century the network of Serbian Orthodox eparchies and monasteries extended from Skopje to Buda, from the Dinaric Alps to the eastern border of Transylvania and northern–

[273] Cf. *Subchapter I. 4. 3, I. 4. 4.* See also, Antal Molnár, "The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Attempts at Union with Rome in the 17th Century," in his, *Confessionalization on the Frontier*, 157-169. See, also Hadrovics, *Vallás, egyház, nemzettudat*; Antal Molnár, "Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet a hódolt Magyarországon," [The organization of the Serbian Orthodox church in Ottoman Hungary] in Tamás Csáki and Xénia Golub (eds), *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban – Az eltűnt Rácváros emlékezete* [A Serbian cathedral in the Tabán – The memory of a lost city], (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2018), 32–63.

[274] The patriarchate of Peć was established in 1346 and abolished in 1459, after the conquest of the Serbian Despotate. Subsequently, most of its former eparchies were absorbed by the Bulgarian Orthodox Archbishopric of Ohrid. The patriarchate was restored during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566), under the influence of his grand vizier, Sokollu Mehmet Paşa (Mehmed-paša Sokolović, d. 1579).

[275] Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Istorija Stare Srpske Književnosti* [The history of old Serbian literature], (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1980), 256-257; Zirojević, *Crkve i manastiri*, 29-31. For a detailed elaboration on the divergent attitudes informed by the precepts of Islamic law towards the (re)building as well as renovating of Christian church buildings in the fifteenth-sixteenth century Ottoman Empire in general and the areas under the jurisdiction of the Peć patriarchate in particular, see Zirojević, *Crkve i manastiri*, 17-33.

[276] See, Zoran Rakić, "Art of the Restored Patriarchate of Peć (1557-1690)," in Dragan Vojvodić and Danica Popović (eds), *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2016), 497-514.

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Bulgaria.[277] Continuing as well as reviving their medieval tradition, the monasteries yet again became the most important spiritual and cultural centers of the Serbian Orthodox Church.[278] As regards the territories of northern Ottoman Rumeli, the founding of the monastery of Krušedol (today Serbia) at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Đorđe (Maksim) Branković (d. 1516) is considered to have been an essential milestone in the consolidation of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Srem and at the same time, a crucial moment that significantly influenced the formation and development of the Holy Mount of Fruška Gora (today Serbia).[279] The transcription and illumination of books became one of the most relevant activities of the Fruška Gora monasteries, and thus, it was especially important from a cultural, political, as well as ideological point of view that after 1557 these monasteries came under the jurisdiction of the renewed patriarchate.[280] The proliferation of the monasteries in central and northeast Bosnia, Srem, and the southern Banat led to the strengthening of the Serbian Orthodox Church in northern Ottoman Rumeli and at the same time, assured the continuity of Orthodox clerical presence in these areas.[281]

[277] Molnár, "The Serbian Orthodox Church," 160-161. See, also Jenő Szentkláray, *A szerb monostoregyházak történeti emlékei Dél-Magyarországon* [Historical monuments of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Southern Hungary], (Budapest: MTA, 1908); Zirojević, *Crkve i manastiri*.
[278] See, Sima M. Ćirković, *The Serbs*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 138-139.
[279] Džamić, "Founding the Holy Mount of Fruška Gora," 473-476. The other important clusters of monasteries ('holy mountains') in the territory of the patriarchate were the Ovčar-Kablar monasteries in the gorges of the West Morava river (today, in western Serbia) and the Jašunje monasteries near Leskovac (today Serbia).
[280] Džamić, "Founding the Holy Mount of Fruška Gora," 481.
[281] For the distribution of Orthodox monasteries and eparchies in sixteenth-seventeenth century Bosnia, see Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität*, 127-131; for Slavonia and the southern Banat, see Molnár, *Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet,* 42-53. See, also Radmila Tričković, "Srpska crkva sredinom XVII veka" [The Serbian Church in the middle of the seventeenth century], *Glas* 320 (1980): 61–164.

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Map 11. The Patriarchate of Peć in the mid-seventeenth century. Source: Sima M. Ćirković, *The Serbs,* 135.

The legal basis that defined the status as well as rights of the Serbian Orthodox Church within the administrative and fiscal system of the Ottoman Empire were the *berat*s (~diploma of appointment) that were issued by the central government to Orthodox patriarchs and metropolitans throughout the realm.[282] These documents granted various Orthodox church leaders the jurisdiction over their own church affairs as well as in other intra-communal matters (such as marriage or inheritance issues). In line with the fiscalization of the ecclesiastical administration by the Ottoman government, Orthodox hierarchs came to be understood as tax farmers (*mültezim*) who presided over a rich and large tax farm (*iltizam*); this Ottoman imperial policy, in turn, transformed ecclesiastical properties into taxable concessions.[283] In this way, patriarchs and metropolitans also earned the right to collect taxes from their respective

[282] On the relevance of patriarchal *berat*s (including the publication of a number of *berat*s that were issued to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem) with an extensive historiographical overview of the topic, see Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution. A Study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berats*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2019).

[283] For a detailed discussion about the dynamic of the patriarchal tax farm, see Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan. Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries*, (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 107-139. Orthodox eparchies and metropolitanates became separate revenue sections (*mukataa*) within the economic system of the empire and so did the patriarchal (and higher ecclesiastical) offices. Therefore, Orthodox church leaders were practically bidding against each other every time it came to the filling of a particular office. See, also Molnár, *Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet,* 37-39.

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congregations (which they performed with the help of Janissary escort), and based on the size of their eparchy, they annually had to pay a lump sum (*kesim*) to the Ottoman treasury.[284]

Relying on their own sultanic *berats,* Serbian Orthodox patriarchs and metropolitans considered that they had authority over the local Catholic population and the right to demand taxes from them, which act was naturally opposed by the Bosnian Franciscan friars, who were also referring to their own rights and privileges. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, several sultanic decrees (*fermans*) and legal certificates (*hüccets*) were issued in response to the many complaints of the Franciscans alleging that the friars kept being harassed by Orthodox priests, metropolitans, and bishops (who, according to the sources, could either be under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Peć or that of Constantinople), who had been trying to collect taxes from them and their flocks, and in this way encroached upon the friars' autonomy.[285]

According to Radmila Tričković, it seems that at least from the early seventeenth century (but potentially, even already after 1557) the Orthodox metropolitan of Bosnia appointed by the Peć patriarch had the rights to collect taxes from the Catholics in the eparchies belonging to the "episcopate of the clergy of the Latin Church" ("piskopija duhovnika Crkve latinske," i.e., the Ottoman synonym for the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina in the author's understanding).[286] Tričković mainly based her argument on a *defter* (tax register) of the *Kalem-i Piskopos* (Ecclesiastical Chancery in Istanbul) covering the period between 1640 and 1655 that recorded the state revenues from the Orthodox Church districts of the empire, including the area of the Peć Patriarchate. At the same time, she also relied on information from certain late seventeenth-century *berats* that had been given to the metropolitans of Smederevo-Požarevac and Herzegovina, respectively, concerning the metropolitans' rights of taxing particular groups of Catholics.[287] Thus—the argumentation goes—the position of the Franciscans in the empire was legalized within the framework of the Patriarchate of Peć; the

[284] Besides, for their *berats* as well as upon the enthronement of the new sultan, Orthodox hierarchs had to give a *pişkeş* (~gift, tribute) to the treasury.
[285] For the several pertaining documents, see Boškov, "Turski dokumenti"; Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta*.
[286] Tričković, "Srpska crkva," 134-140.
[287] Tričković, "Srpska crkva," 134-135. It is important to mention that in 1662 a letter was sent to Rome, signed by the Catholics of Banja Luka (today Bosnia) that described how in 1661 the patriarch of Peć visited them with an order from the Ottoman authorities that stated that the patriarch had the right to visit the whole of Bosnia as well as the neighboring provinces. At the same time, the order allegedly forbade Catholic bishops to visit their diocese and stipulated that without the license of the patriarch provincials or guardians could not be elected and priests could not celebrate the mass or contract marriages. APF SOCG, vol. 305, fol. 251 r.; fol. 279 r/v. The bishop of Belgrade Matej Benlić also referred to this affair concerning the Catholics of Banja Luka. APF SOCG, vol. 305, fol. 184 r. Interestingly, when describing the "persecution" of local Catholics by the Orthodox to Rome, both Benlić and a number of other Bosnian Franciscans spoke about by the Patriarch of Constantinople and not of Peć. See also, APF SOCG, vol. 305, fol. 186 r; Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae*, 503; 504.

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friars were put on equal footing with Orthodox priests and monks and had the right to pastor their Catholic flock. Due to their dogmatic differences, however, the Bosnian Franciscans as "priests of the Latin Church" kept enjoying a certain autonomy and their relationship to the patriarchate was reduced to financial obligations.[288]

As the above discussion has demonstrated, it appears that there was a legal basis that would back up the Orthodox Church's claim to tax the friars as well as the local Catholics and, in this way, assert some sort of jurisdiction over them. Therefore, in a sense, it is also likely that the term "piskopija duhovnika Crkve latinske" was a political/ideological construct of the Serbian Orthodox Church that was transferred into Ottoman legal discourse, and which eventually would give Orthodox hierarchs leverage to extort money from the friars and their flock. Needless to say, for their part, the friars would also deploy a number of counter arguments, including earlier Ottoman decisions to prove that they were not subordinated to the patriarchate, and hence, they did not need to pay taxes for its ecclesiastical representatives.[289]

Based on the available Ottoman material and the current scholarly opinions, it is hard to unequivocally determine the extent to which the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina was legally subordinated to the patriarchate. Nevertheless, the existing sources are illustrative of how the terms and conditions of the Franciscans' legal and fiscal position vis-à-vis the Porte as well as the Serbian Orthodox Church were continuously renegotiated. Besides, the contentious Orthodox-Franciscan relationship pointed beyond the struggle for obtaining and maintaining certain legal and economic prerogatives within the empire, and further problematized the issue of who actually had the upper hand in representing the Catholics of northern Rumeli.

[288] Tričković, "Srpska crkva," 136.
[289] Boškov, "Turski dokumenti"; Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta*.

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II. 1. 5. Ottoman *Kadi*s and Their Christians

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century (i.e., the official launching of Catholic missionary activities), there were practically three major local Christian (groups of) agents who competed for the jurisdiction over the Catholics in northern Ottoman Rumeli: the Franciscan friars of Bosnia, the merchants of Ragusa, and the Serbian Orthodox clergy. In terms of the local control of the Catholics, however, it is important to also bear in mind that these heterogeneous groups of people were also the subjects of the sultan. One of the most 'visible' signs of their Ottoman subjecthood was the fact that besides their own religious representatives, they also came under the immediate jurisdiction of the local *kadi*s—installed by the Ottoman central administration in the various provinces of the empire—that eventually would affect several aspects of their everyday lives.

In general, the judges were among the most relevant figures in the day-to-day administration of the Ottoman Empire. They were *medrese* (~religious college for higher education) graduates, who were appointed by the *berat*s of the sultan, served regular terms, and advanced within their office by merit as well as length of service.[290] As probably the most important representatives of the Ottoman bureaucratic as well as legal system on the local level, judges were involved in a number of administrative, judicial, and notarial duties, including the collection of imperial taxes, the management of customs and other revenues, the maintenance of roads and bridges, presiding over the religious, social, and economic life of a particular city, or the supervision of the operation of religious foundations.[291] A number of Ottoman judges would also leave an imprint on the cultural life of particular urban areas, as the example of several Belgrade *kadi*s from the seventeenth century illustrates.[292] "Furthermore, it was regarded as one of the primary duties of the cadi to prevent oppression of the people by the executive and to uphold the *shari'a* and the *kanun* against any infringement by the governors and their subordinates."[293] At the same time, it appears that at least from the reign of Selim I (r.

[290] Ronald C. Jennings, "Limitations of the Judicial Powers of the Kadi in the 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," *Studia Islamica* 50 (1979): 151-184; 164. For more details on the education as well as the procedure of appointing judges, see Yavuz Aykan and Boğaç Ergene, "Shari'a Courts in the Ottoman Empire Before the Tanzimat Reforms," *The Medieval History Journal* 22/2 (2019): 203-228; 210-213.
[291] Fotić, "The Belgrade Kadi's Müraseles," 66. On the vast number of potential duties of the *kadi*, see Rossitsa Gradeva, "The Activities of a Kadi Court in Eighteenth-Century Rumeli: The Case of Hacioğlu Pazarcik," *Oriente Moderno* 18 (1999): 177-190.
[292] Aleksandar Fotić "Belgrade: A Muslim and Non-Muslim Cultural Centre (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)," in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, (Rhetymnon: Crete University Press, 2005), 51-76; 62.
[293] Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, (Oxford: OUP, 1973), 220.

1512-1520), Ottoman sultans promulgated various *adaletname*s (~rescripts of justice) to admonish officials not to abuse their subject population; *kadi*s could theoretically face severe consequences if they exploited the poor.[294]

Every urban as well as rural settlement within the realm was part of a particular judicial district (*kaza*) which was under the jurisdiction of the respective *kadi*.[295] Even though some high-ranking *kadi*s were part of the very rich *ulema*, generally Ottoman judges did not receive a regular pay and they served a particular *kaza* only for a limited time period (for one, two, or sometimes, three years).[296] They could, however, gain a substantial amount of revenue from various court fees (for e.g., divisions of inheritance, notarial services, registration of marriage, etc.), which could also easily lead to various forms of corruption.[297] In the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries some *kadi*s would tour their districts (*devre çıkmak*) and collect fees or illegal fines in order to secure a larger income for themselves. As a response, a number of sultanic decrees were issued to prevent the judges and their assistants from making such tours, unless they had been specifically ordered by the sultan to do so.[298]

There could be one or more *kadi*s in a particular *sancak* depending on its extent and the nature of settlements therein. Concerning the territories under analysis, for instance, it seems that at a given time there were around twenty-five/thirty active judges in the *sancak*s embracing the territories of Slavonia-Srem and the Banat during the seventeenth century.[299] Regardless of their exact number, the judges of northern Ottoman Rumeli presided over a relatively large number of Christian population who belonged to their respective *kadilik*.[300] In general, Ottoman *kadi* courts administered their cases according to Hanafi jurisprudence and sultanic law (*kanun*). The courts usually functioned in a particular location, such as a mosque, a spot in the marketplace or the residence of the *kadi*, but in certain instances (for e.g., in the case of land disputes) courts could be mobile as well.[301]

[294] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 1-39; 10-12.
[295] Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650. The Structure of Power*, (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 232.
[296] Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 100.
[297] Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 100; Aykan and Ergene, "Shari'a Courts in the Ottoman Empire," 215-216; Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, 212-214.
[298] Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, 214.
[299] This number is only approximate, which I primarily based on the maps found in the work of Nenad Moačanin that illustrate the seats of *sancak*s, *kaza*s, and *nahiye*s as well as the *kasaba*s. Since the number of *kaza*s and their boundaries were prone to constant changes, especially during the seventeenth century, it is difficult to give the exact number of judges in a given *sancak*. See, Moačanin, *Town and Country*.
[300] Géza Dávid, "Administration in Ottoman Europe," in Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (eds), *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age. The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World,* (London: Longman, 1995), 71-91; 72.
[301] Aykan and Ergene, "Shari'a Courts in the Ottoman Empire," 208-209.

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In spite of the fact that in the seventeenth century the actual length of a *kadi*ship would rarely exceed the period of twenty months in a particular *kaza*,[302] due to the multiplicity of functions they would generally undertake, judges could easily acquire a high prestige in their respective communities, both among Muslims and non-Muslims. Unfortunately, the available sources for seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli do not allow to exactly reconstruct how frequently Catholics (and non-Muslims in general) would appeal to the *kadi* or determine the ratio of bringing intra-communal or family matters to the Ottoman judge to taking them to a Catholic communal or religious leader. Nevertheless, the existing documents still demonstrate that also in the case of Catholics there was a great variety of cases that ended up in the *sharia* court, such as administering or dissolving marriages, issues of church ownership, the renovation/rebuilding of various Christian churches, land disputes, taxation issues, inter- and intra-missionary debates, or the right to preach in a particular territory.

Thus, it seems that *kadi*s became active and indispensable participants in the everyday lives of their Christian subjects also in this part of the realm. In this way, they added an additional layer of complication to the local articulations of communal as well as confessional belonging.

[302] Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, 214.

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II. 2. The Post-Tridentine Papacy and its Reform Program in Ottoman Rumeli

II. 2. 1. Introduction—The Holy See and the Christians of the Ottoman Empire

Even though the Council of Trent (1545-1563) itself was not particularly concerned with questions pertaining to crusade, world-evangelization, or proselytization,[303] from the 1570s onwards, the Church of Rome kept attempting to gradually take control over the missions globally. Accordingly, it also strove to undertake the role of missionizing in the Catholic-inhabited territories of the Ottoman Empire, sought to achieve union with the Eastern Christians of various denominations who lived throughout the Ottoman realm, and at the same time tried to build a potential alliance against the Ottomans.

The missionary zeal of Rome, however, was not merely a post-Tridentine reform development—it had much earlier precedents. As early as the fourteenth century, the Roman Curia commissioned the Franciscans to missionize in the territories of China, certain areas under Mongol control, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, and assigned Iran and Central Asia to the Dominicans. Even if the collapse of the Mongol Empire in the second half of the fourteenth century brought about the waning of Catholic missions, they recommenced in the mid-fifteenth century with the papacy granting first to the Portuguese then to the Spanish monarchs the right of patronage (*Padroado/Patronato*) over all the churches in their expanding overseas jurisdiction. Missionary activity continued in the sixteenth century, especially after the foundation of the Jesuit order in 1534.[304]

I have emphasized above that the launching of Catholic missions in the Ottoman Empire was connected to the gradual consolidation of the Ottoman realm in the European diplomatic sphere in the sixteenth century. At the same time, the second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the emergence of a number of 'reform popes,'[305] who significantly contributed to the

[303] On the problem of the adjective 'Tridentine' becoming too detached from what actually happened at the Council and the extent to which it makes sense to label global missionary Catholicism as 'Tridentine,' see Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Catholicism," in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 15-33. See, also John W. O'Malley, "What Happened and Did Not Happen at the Council of Trent?," in François and Soen (eds), *The Council of Trent, Vol. I*, 49-69; Wassilowsky, "The Myths of the Council of Trent," 69-101.

[304] Tejirian and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion*, 50-51. See, also fn. 3 for relevant literature.

[305] The literature on the post-Tridentine reform papacy is immense. For an insightful study on the relationship between Roman centralization and the development of the modern state, see Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna*, (Bologna: Mulino, 1982). See, also Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).

enhancement of Rome's centralizing missionary agenda as well as the crystallization of its 'uniatist' program. Consequently, this reform program also impacted the Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire, both in terms of (re)discovering the variety of Catholic communities scattered throughout the realm, whose number as well as exact nature was barely known in Rome in this period, and of potentially bringing back the large number of Eastern Christians to the Roman Catholic fold.

As part of the papacy' reform program and aspirations to restore the unity of the Roman Catholic Church, in the second half of the sixteenth century Pope Gregory XIII founded the Greek (f. 1577) and the Maronite colleges (f. 1584) in Rome and the Illyrian college in Loreto (f. 1580)[306] in order to train new clergymen from the Greek islands, the Levant, and different parts of the Balkan peninsula who would return to their congregations and preach in the reformed Roman Catholic spirit.[307] Just like Pope Gregory XIII, Pope Clement VIII (p.1592-1605) also showed great interest in the Eastern Churches and sent a number of delegations trying to persuade the religious leaders of these congregations to join Rome and form a possible alliance against the Ottomans. In order to further Rome's missionary activity, in 1599 Clement VIII established the short-lived Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), which was the predecessor of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,* e. 1622).[308]

The founding of Propaganda Fide by Gregory XV in 1622, January 6[309] represented one of the most significant events of the second phase of the Catholic revival,[310] and a crucial turning point in the development of missionary propaganda in the Ottoman territories. At the same time, the establishment of the dicastery was Rome's 'counter-measure' against both the patronage rights that the papacy had granted to the Iberian monarchies at the end of the fifteenth

[306] The college was briefly moved to Rome in 1593, then returned to Loreto in 1624.
[307] On the Maronite College, see Aurélien Girard and Giovanni Pizzorusso, "The Maronite College in Early Modern Rome. Between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Letters," in Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 174-197. On the other 'national colleges' in Rome, see, Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso e Matteo Sanfilippo (eds), *Chiese e Nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani Secoli XV-XVIII,* (Rome: Viella, 2017), especially the articles by Antal Molnár, Cesare Santus, Jadranka Neralić, Anna Esposito, and Laurent Tatarenko. From the older works dealing with the printing and teaching program of Rome for the South-Slavs, see Jovan Radonić, *Štamparije i škole Rimske kurije u Italiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* [Printing houses and schools of the Roman Curia in Italy and the South Slavic lands in the 17th century], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1949); Bazilije Pandžić, "L'opera della S. Congregazione per le popolazioni della Peninsola Balcanica," in Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, vol. I/2,* 291-315.
[308] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* 78.
[309] For a more recent discussion about the foundation and activity of the Propaganda, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo. La Congregazione Pontificia de Propaganda Fide,* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2018). See also Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.*
[310] Joseph A. Griffin, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide: Its Foundation and Historical Antecedents," in J. S. Cummins (ed.), *Christianity and Missions, 1450–1800,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 57-97.

century, and the strengthening of the overseas expansion by the Dutch Republic as well as England.[311]

The Congregation's intention to centralize the missions was apparent from the very beginning. Francesco Ingoli[312] – the secretary and quasi 'non-official head' of the Congregation – had stated that the main goal of this institution was to establish a missionary clergy and hierarchy, having a missionary program that would be built on the following main principles: the rejection of proselytization by coercion, total forbearance of political activity, and the necessity of a close collaboration with the bishops.[313] Even if at its origins the Propaganda tried to distance itself from and secure the autonomy of the missions against the main European power players (i.e., Venice, France, and the Habsburgs), in practice the papacy sought their protection, especially in the Middle East.[314]

After the founding of Propaganda Fide, the relevance of the various *nuncio*s (~papal ambassadors) significantly increased.[315] They became the agents of papal diplomacy who represented the interests of the congregation outside of Rome, provided information to the papacy about the local circumstances of a particular area, and thus, they practically generated the start of the organization of the missions in various territories.[316] The domains of Hungary and the Balkan lands formally came under the jurisdiction of the *nuncio* of Vienna and the *nuncio* of Venice, respectively. However, it soon became clear that in the Ottoman-governed regions of Southeast Europe the contribution of the respective papal ambassadors could not yield the expected results. Therefore, in 1623, the role of the two *nuncio*s was taken over by the archbishop and the merchants of Ragusa, as well as other influential Christian power brokers (both on the local and trans- and inter-imperial levels).[317]

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[311] The Propaganda often worked against colonial interests. On the conflicting loyalties (i.e., between Rome and the colonial empires) of the missionaries, see, Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La congregazione Romana "De Propaganda Fide" e la duplice fedeltà dei missionari tra monarchie coloniali e universalismo pontificio (XVII secolo)," *Librosdelacorte.es* 6 (2014): 228-241.

[312] On the life and activities of Ingoli, see Josef Metzler, "Francesco Ingoli, der erste Sekretär der Kongregation," in Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Vol. I/2*, 197-244.

[313] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 202.

[314] Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient;* Girard and Heyberger (eds). *Chrétiens au Proche-Orient;* Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*.

[315] The office of the *nuncio*s started to be reorganized and extended in the aftermath of the Council of Trent as part of the centralization program of the papacy. See, Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 121-122.

[316] On the role of the *nuncio*s, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, "„Per servitio della Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide:" i nunzi apostolici e le missioni tra centralità romana e Chiesa universale (1622-1669)," *Cheiron* 15/30 (1998): 201-227.

[317] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 210-216. See, also Bartl, *Der Westbalkan*; Antal Molnár, "A Forgotten Bridgehead between Rome, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire: Cattaro and the Balkan Missions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): 494-528.

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I have repeatedly emphasized that the Republic of Ragusa came to assume a crucial role in the organization as well as maintenance of Catholic missions in Ottoman Southeast Europe (at least, in the first half of the seventeenth century).[318] Collaboration with its merchants was critical for the successful realization of the missionary project. Since the subjects of the republic enjoyed various privileges within the empire, including the right to move freely across the realm, missionaries who were not Ottoman subjects frequently travelled with Ragusan caravans, often dressed as merchants themselves, while merchants also played an essential role in the postal service between Rome and various missionaries.[319]

From its very foundation, it was central to the missionizing program of the Propaganda to print catechetical, liturgical, and polemical works as well as grammar books and dictionaries in a variety of languages. Accordingly, the polyglot printing press of the Propaganda (e. 1626) collected different kinds of letters (i.e., Latin, Greek, Arabic, Cyrillic, Glagolitic, etc.) in order to further Rome's large-scale goal of world evangelization in multiple languages.[320] As part of this plan of global evangelization, in 1627, Pope Urban VIII (p. 1623-1644) established the *Collegio Urbano*, the training seminary for the members of the secular clergy from various mission territories (such as Northern Europe, the Near East, or the Balkan lands).[321]

In terms of canon law consequences, the founding of the Propaganda Fide introduced the legal concept of *terrae missionis* (~missionary territories; distinct from the *terrae Sedis Apostolicae*, the areas with a proper ecclesiastical hierarchy and governance) in order to designate those territories that were under the direct jurisdiction of the congregation and administered by the missionaries on the local level.[322] Connected to this change, another important legal development initiated by the congregation was the systematization and standardization of apostolic faculties (*facultas apostolica*).[323]

[318] See, Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come.*
[319] See, Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 47–74.
[320] Willi Henkel, "The Polyglot Printing-office of the Congregation," in Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, vol. I/1*, 335-350.
[321] Giovanni Pizzorusso, "I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: il Collegio Urbano e la Tipografia poliglotta. Note di ricerca su due istituzioni culturali romane nel XVII secolo," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 116, no. 2 (2004): 471-498.
[322] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 202-203.
[323] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 203. For more details on the granting of missionary faculties, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le fonti del Sant'Uffizio per la storia delle missioni e dei rapporti con Propaganda Fide," in *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione*, atti del colloquio, Roma, 21–23 febbraio 2008, (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 2011), 393–423. See, also Ferenc Galla, "Magyar tárgyú pápai felhatalmazások, felmentések és kiváltságok a katolikus megújhodás korából I." [Papal authorizations, dispensations, and privileges concerning Hungary from the period of the Catholic reformation], (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1947).

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From the fourteenth century onwards, the popes accorded a number of papal faculties, first to the Franciscans and the Dominicans and later to the Jesuits as well that authorized the performance of various pastoral activities in the territories without a permanent Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy. [324] The most common authorizations gave the right to absolve in the cases reserved for the pope or the bishop, such as heresy, marriage impediments, breaking sumptuary restrictions during Lent, using portable altars, or the consecration of churches. Whilst these faculties were essential for the successful operation of various missionaries throughout the world,[325] in several instances the actual scope of these authorizations caused confusion on the ground, and often pinned missionaries against one another as well as those missionary bishops who were assigned to a particular area by Rome.

[324] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 203.
[325] For the apostolic faculties of the Jesuits active in Constantinople, see Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (=ARSI), Fondo Miscellanea, vol. 720/A/II/3a, fol. 16 r/v.

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II. 2. 2. Catholic Missions in Northern Ottoman Rumeli

South-Slavic-speaking Christians were on the horizon of the Roman papacy already during the Council of Trent, through the debates about the legitimacy of Church Slavonic and the Glagolitic rite.[326] Thus, some sort of awareness existed about the Christians of the Balkan peninsula even in this period, but the actual distribution, nature, as well as religious and ethno-linguistic background of these groups was largely unknown.

The first real steps in assessing the status and number of Catholics as well as the possibilities of a potential mission in Ottoman Rumeli were taken during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (p. 1572-1585).[327] In 1580, he dispatched two apostolic visitors to Ottoman Europe: the visitation of the southern parts of the Balkan peninsula and Constantinople were assigned to Pietro Cedulini, bishop of Nona; the northern parts, comprising Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Hungary, were delegated to Bonifacije Drakolica, bishop of Stagno and his two companions, Antun Matković, bishop of Bosnia and the Jesuit Bartolomeo Sfondrati.[328] With their reports both visitors, but especially Cedulini, made indispensable contributions to the expansion of papal knowledge about these regions as well as the conditions of local Catholics. It was also during this time that the ambitious Jesuit Antonio Possevino formulated his grandiose plan for the evangelization of the world, including the Christian communities under Ottoman rule.[329] After the visits of Cedulini and Drakolica, at the beginning of 1584, Pope Gregory XIII sent yet another visitor, namely Aleksandar Komulović prebend of Spalato (Split, today Croatia) and the Jesuit Thomaso Raggio to the central parts of the Balkan peninsula (i.e., Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria). Just like their predecessors, Komulović and Raggio also brought to Rome's attention the existence of a number of Catholic groups who lived scattered across these areas without priestly care.[330]

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[326] In the sixteenth century it was commonly accepted that St. Jerome had translated the Old Testament not only into Latin but also into Slavonic. This misattribution became part of the Reformation controversies through the work of Hieronymus Emser (in which he refuted Martin Luther) in 1524 and his theory remained unchallenged also at the Council of Trent. Francis J. Thomson, "The Legacy of SS. Cyril and Methodius in the Counterreformation," in E. Konstaniou (ed), *Methodios und Kyrillos in ihrer europäischen Dimension,* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005), 87-246. See, also Stjepan Krasić, *Počelo je u Rimu. Katolička obnova i normiranje hrvatskoga jezika u XVII. stoljeću* [It began in Rome. Catholic renewal and the standardization of Croatian language in the 17th century], (Dubrovnik: Matica Hrvatska, 2019).

[327] There are a few data that suggest that apostolic visitations to the Balkan lands were already initiated during the pontificate of Pius V (p. 1566-1572). Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 123.

[328] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 124-136 with further details about the visitors' itineraries as well as the information they gathered during their journeys. See, also Gottlob, "Die lateinischen Kirchengemeinden in der Türkei," 42–72; Tóth, "Raguzai Bonifác," 447–443.

[329] John Patrick Connelly, ''Antonio Possevino's Plan for World Evangelization," *The Catholic Historical Review* 74, no. 2 (1988): 179–198.

[330] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 136-138.

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The visitations of Cedulini, Drakolica, Komulović, and their Jesuit companions were essential milestones in terms of the launching of Catholic missionary activities to various areas of Ottoman Europe and bringing previously 'unknown' Catholic communities to the horizon of the papacy. The role of the Jesuits in the fashioning of this 'new' knowledge about the existence and condition of the Christian population of the empire in general and northern Rumeli in particular also started crystallizing in this period.

From the very foundation of the order[331] onwards, the fathers showed continuous interest in the status of Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire. Following the request of the Catholic community of Galata (descendants of the Genoese colony later joined by the merchants from Venice and other Italian city–states)[332] to send educators to Istanbul, in 1583 Pope Gregory XIII and the Jesuit general Claudio Aquaviva sent five Jesuit missionaries to the Ottoman capital. With the assistance of both the French and Venetian ambassadors, the fathers could start their teaching and pastoral activity in the city.[333] From the end of the sixteenth century onwards there were various other Jesuits active in different parts of the empire, including northern Ottoman Rumeli, but without yet establishing a permanent mission there.

After the death of Pope Gregory XIII (d. 1585), the new pope, Sixtus V (p. 1585-1590) did not show particular interest in the organization of missions. His successor,[334] Pope Clement VIII (p. 1592-1605), on the other hand was much more involved in reviving the papacy's political and diplomatic endeavors in organizing an alliance against the Ottomans.[335] In this agenda, however, the Catholic groups of the Balkan peninsula mainly figured as potential military allies rather than missionary targets. Nevertheless, the attempts of Clement VIII towards the centralization of the missions also made a case for those Catholics who lived scattered throughout the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire. However, his plans

[331] It would be impossible to list here all the excellent works that have been written about the Jesuits and their role in spreading and fostering Catholicism around the world. From this great bulk, I would only like to single out a few: Adriano Prosperi, "„Otras Indias'', missionari della Controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi," in *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura* (Florence: Olschki, 1982), 205–234; Luce Giard and Loius de Vaucelles (eds), *Les Jésuites à l'âge baroque: 1540–1640* (Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 1996); Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008); and Ines G. Županov (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, (Oxford: OUP, 2019)**.**

[332] After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the rights of the Galatans were guaranteed by an imperial *ferman* that assured them the privilege to trade within the empire, it provided security for their lives and property, and it assured freedom to practice the Catholic faith. See, Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923* (London – New York: CUP, 1983), 5–6.

[333] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* 73.

[334] There were three very short-lasting pontificates between Sixtus V and Clement VIII.

[335] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 139. Already, the apostolic visitor Aleksandar Komulović was entrusted with a number of diplomatic tasks, among which the scouting of potential members for an alliance against the "Turks" occupied a prominent place. See, Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, 193-225.

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towards the betterment of the condition of these Catholic groups were only theoretical at this point.[336]

In the context of northern Ottoman Rumeli, between the end of the papacy of Gregory XIII (1585) and the beginning of the pontificate of Paul V (1605), the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina and, to a smaller extent, the Benedictine congregation of Meleda (Mljet, today Croatia) sent various members with apostolic faculties to missionize in these areas and provide pastoral care to the local Catholics.[337] The actual Roman involvement/initiative in the launching of Catholic missions as well as the maintenance of continuous missionary presence in these areas came with the pontificate of Pope Paul V (p. 1605-1621). Two separate Jesuit missions were launched in this period, one in Pécs and one in Belgrade in 1612 and later, in 1613, the fathers also settled in Timișoara.[338] Since from its very foundation the Jesuit mission of Pécs (later supplemented with the missionary stations of Kecskemét, Gyöngyös, and Andocs) was under the jurisdiction of the Austrian province of the order and, consequently, more connected to Royal Hungary than to Rome, the territory of Pécs and its surroundings will only be partially referred to in the following.[339] The fathers remained active in northern Ottoman Rumeli, albeit with small interruptions, until the middle of seventeenth century.

The Jesuit missions to northern Ottoman Rumeli commenced under the protection and patronage of the merchants of the Republic of Ragusa. The fathers were entrusted with the promulgation and local implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, especially concentrating on the acceptance and correct administration of the sacraments. This task, however, faced serious challenges and was complicated by several factors, and as detailed as their instructions were, they failed to address a number of issues the Jesuits were bound to face in this religiously, ethnically, and legally pluralistic context of northern Ottoman Rumeli.

The most challenging task the fathers had to face, acknowledge, and eventually overcome was the fact that their missionary outposts were situated in multiple and overlapping jurisdictions of authority. From the beginning of their missionary activity in the area, especially in Belgrade and the neighboring region of Slavonia, their presence and jurisdiction were contested by the local protectors of the Catholics, i.e., the Franciscans of Bosnia, who—as previously highlighted—were granted a wide range of missionary authorizations by the papacy

[336] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 141-142.
[337] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 142-152.
[338] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 152–186.
[339] For more details about this missionary station, see Antal Molnár, "Jezsuiták a hódolt Pécsett (1612–1686)," [Jesuits in Ottoman Pécs (1612–1686)] in Ferenc Szakály (ed.), *Pécs a törökkorban* [Pécs in Ottoman times], (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1999), 171–264.

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from the fourteenth century onwards to safeguard and maintain Catholicism in the region. But it was not only the Franciscans who contested and infringed upon the authority of the Jesuits.

Since in the late sixteenth century, the Serbian Orthodox Church got a stronger foothold in parts of Bosnia and expanded and strengthened its position in Srem, Bačka as well as the Banat, Orthodox priests and *vladika*s increasingly started causing problems to the Bosnian Franciscans and kept encroaching on the friars' (claimed/alleged) jurisdiction. Their disputes were further complicated by the local hegemony of Ottoman *kadi*s, who repeatedly proved to be more attractive legal 'alternatives' to some local Catholics as well as Orthodox than their own local religious authorities. The presence and activity of a number of (often locally very influential) secular priests in the area, most prominently in Srem, added further complication to this jurisdictional conundrum.[340] Thus, the challenging assignment for the newcomer Jesuits was to insert themselves into this already complex matrix of local power relations whilst keeping up their missionary and pastoral agenda of rehabilitating the local Catholics in the spirit of a revived Catholicism, informed by the decrees of the council of Trent.

[340] In several parts of sixteenth-seventeenth Ottoman Europe, such as Albania, Slavonia-Srem, or the central and northern parts of Ottoman Hungary parishes were administered by various members of the secular clergy (who, in the Balkan peninsula were generally under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ragusa). Besides, due to the great shortage of ordained Catholic priests, the function of the parish priest in certain areas of Ottoman Hungary or even Moldavia was often filled by the so-called 'licentiates' (Hun. 'licenciátus,' lay educators) who received various faculties from the local bishop to perform various pastoral activities, except hearing confessions and celebrating the mass. István György Tóth, "Diákok (licenciátusok) a moldvai csángó magyar művelődésben a XVII. században" [Students (licentiates) in the Hungarian culture of the Csangos of Moldavia in the 17th century], in István Zombori (ed.), Az értelmiség Magyarországon a 16.-17. században [The intelligentsia in Hungary in the 16th-17th centuries], (Szeged, 1988), 139-147; János Sávai, *Missziók, mesterek, licenciátusok* [Missions, masters, licentiates], (Szeged: Agapé Ferences Nyomda, 1997); Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 74-121; 348-354.

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II. 2. 3. Local Agents of Tridentine Reforms

The history of Catholic missions to various areas of Ottoman Europe was inevitably a history of conflict, competition, and power-mongering among actors who belonged to different confessional, ethnic, and social backgrounds and represented certain imperial, papal, local, and/or individual interests. The papacy's interaction with various missionaries who were dispatched to or were already active in different territories under Ottoman rule was complicated by several elements, and the authority of Roman superiors tended to fade in face of the realities on the ground. The successful integration of a particular missionary in a particular area hinged upon the connections he could build both on a local and imperial (within, as well as beyond the Ottoman Empire) level, and the way he could capitalize on these networks.

Concerning the importance of being solidly embedded in local relations, the Franciscans of Bosnia represented a peculiar case. As I have highlighted in the previous section, after the Franciscans legally became Ottoman imperial subjects, their papal privileges were complemented with a number of sultanic prerogatives. The actual implementation of these rights, however, was always contingent upon the relationships the Franciscans could foster with the local Ottoman authorities.[341] Besides the administrative and political connections with particular local Ottoman dignitaries, some friars also had family connections in the communities where they were preaching, and in several cases, their extended family networks also included Muslim members, which often worked in the friars' favor.[342] In order to maintain and advance their multi-pronged privileged position, the Franciscans would not only further strengthen their foothold in Bosnia, but they would expand north and north-east, and establish themselves in Slavonia, Srem, the Banat, and even Bulgaria and Wallachia. Upon the commencement of Rome-directed Catholic missionary activities in Ottoman Europe, the expansion and authority of the Franciscans started to be contested, on one hand by the appearance of the Jesuits in the 1610s in Slavonia, Srem, and the Banat, and on the other, by the growing influence of secular priests in Srem after 1622[343]—both of which eventually also

[341] Local Ottoman authorities would often play a decisive role in the election results of the provincial chapters as well. See, Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 287-299.

[342] For instance, the brothers of the Bosnian Franciscan Jeronim Lučić were Muslims and so was the family of Martino Barguglianin, who in 1631, was elected the head of the Bosnian Franciscan Province. István György Tóth, *Misszionáriusok levelei Magyarországról és Erdélyről* [Missionary letters about Hungary and Transylvania], (Budapest: Osiris, 2004), 22.

[343] The power of the secular priests operating in Srem grew during the activity of Pietro Massarecchi (d. 1634) first as apostolic visitor, then as missionary bishop of the analyzed regions. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 348-350.

contributed to the souring of the relationship between the Bosnian friars and the merchants of Ragusa.

Most of the Jesuit fathers dispatched to these parts of the empire were locally–born, of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, who either returned to their homeland (or to a territory close to it) after years of study and service in Rome, Padua, or other cities in the Italian peninsula or after a period of active duty in the neighboring territories of the empire, such as Royal Hungary or the Principality of Transylvania.[344] The first Jesuit missionaries to northern Ottoman Rumeli received detailed instructions[345] from their Roman superior general Claudio Aquaviva, one of the most ardent promoters of the global Jesuit missionary enterprise,[346] where he outlined the primary agenda of the mission and the fathers' main tasks. The main objective of the mission was to assess and make contact with the Catholic communities in the region and provide them spiritual support. In accordance with the cautious nature of Jesuit missionary instructions,[347] this particular document also specified that the missionaries should not enter into religious polemics with Muslims, nor try to proselytize among them;[348] likewise, they should also not get too intimate with Muslims or visit their houses, nor should they inquire about the business of the "Turks" (i.e., Muslims) or the law of Mohammed; they should not enter mosques and avoid moving around fortifications, so that they do not make the "Turks" (i.e., Muslims) suspicious; they should be careful with heretics (i.e., Protestants) and avoid any unnecessary quarrels with them and the Bosnian Franciscans; they should live in poverty and visit women only in the presence of witnesses.[349] The instruction did not deal separately with the Orthodox (or in contemporary parlance, the "schismatics"), which at first sight might seem a little unusual, especially considering the active role the fathers assumed in the Greek Islands and the Levant in preparing and potentially realizing union(s) with the Eastern Christian

[344] Just to mention a few examples: the Jesuits Gergely Vásárhelyi, István Szini, and Zakariás Jékel were Transylvanian–born, Bartol Kašić SJ was born on the island of Pag, in Dalmatia, and George Buitul SJ was born in Caransebeș (Karánsebes, part of the Banate of Lugos and Karánsebes, today Romania).
[345] *EHJM I/1,* 55–57.
[346] For some of Aquaviva's letters, encouraging Jesuit missionary activity, see the documents in ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, vol. 703/2a.
[347] See, for instance, the detailed instructions the Jesuits got, especially concerning the way they should proceed in public disputations with heretics. ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, vol. 720/I.
[348] The Jesuits in the Republic of Ragusa (today Dubrovnik, Croatia) were similarly instructed and were warned not to deal under any circumstances with the conversion of the "Turks" (i.e., Muslims). ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, vol. 720/A, fol. 105 r/v.
[349] *EHJM I/1,* 55–57.

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churches therein.[350] In the case of the Jesuit missions to northern Ottoman Rumeli, however, this task was to a certain extent played down by the local circumstances.[351]

Looking at the detailed instructions that the fathers received upon embarking on their missionary quest, one might notice that their activity was imagined as if it would unfold in a 'vacuum,' tuning out the actual local circumstances and power structures. Even if there were attempts, in response to several complaints, to reconcile the differences between the Jesuits and Bosnian Franciscan by establishing the border of their missionary bishoprics, Roman intervention usually only further exacerbated the tension between the two orders.[352] Concerning the contacts with the local Orthodox prelates and Ottoman dignitaries, however, the best advice missionaries generally got from Rome was to be cautious and avoid conflicts.

The official focus of the missionaries' pastoral work, regardless of the order to which they belonged, centered on the acceptance and correct administration of the seven sacraments. At the same time, missionary pursuits were informed by complex political, confessional, ethnic, and familial affiliations. Breaching certain of the new sacramental stipulations was a common occurrence in nominally Catholic groups throughout the world, and thus, a challenge that Catholic missionaries shared, regardless in which territory they were active. They operated under different circumstances in various territories, but they equally had to find acceptable solutions for various local 'deviant' practices (with or, potentially, without Roman endorsement), and the territories of Ottoman Europe were no exception. Similar problems would invite similar solutions, and Roman authorities and missionaries alike would often turn to already 'tested' and seemingly convenient resolution strategies. On one hand, this could lead to the tuning out of the actual local particularities, but on the other, by employing this comparative technique, the global vision of Catholicism would often materialize in the missionaries' actions on the ground.

[350] See, K. T. Ware, "Orthodox and Catholics in the seventeenth century: schism or intercommunion?," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. Derek Baker (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 259–277; Karen Hartnup, *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks'. Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy,* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2004).

[351] The idea of bringing the Orthodox back to the Catholic fold most probably kept informing the Jesuits' understanding of their missionary vocation in these parts of the empire as well. However, in contradistinction to the often romanticized reports of the French Jesuits about the amical and cordial relationship they fostered with the Eastern Orthodox clergy in the Levant and the Greek islands, in the case of northern Ottoman Rumeli, except for a very few, rather isolated cases, the Jesuits spoke in quite somber terms about the Serbian Orthodox clergy, and described how they displayed a largely hostile attitude towards the fathers (and Catholic religious, in general). See also, Molnár, "A szerb ortodox egyház," 76–90.

[352] For instance, in 1615, the Holy Office ordered that the Jesuits should not go into those areas of the province of Bosna Argentina where the friars have their friaries, and the fathers' pastoral activity should also not exceed the Drava river. The respective part of the order is quoted in Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 183. In 1618, the Holy See appointed Petar Katić as bishop of Prizren with a seat in Belgrade and assigned to him the pastoral care of the Catholics of Serbia and Srem. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 190. On the factors (ecclesiastical, economic, legal, etc.) that informed the Jesuit-Bosnian Franciscan conflict, see also Molnár, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade".

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Concomitant to the Catholic evangelization outside Europe, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards the missionary activity also increased inside the continent—a project in which the Jesuit fathers assumed a crucial role. The commitment of the Catholic Church to target the illiterate and 'uneducated' people in the villages led to the realization that 'Christian Europe' had its own 'interior Indias.'[353] It was a common practice of the Jesuit superiors to commission the printing of overseas missionary letters so that the fathers active in the interior missions (i.e., in Europe) could read them and find their 'own Indies' in the territories where they operated.[354] Several Jesuit fathers found these 'Indies' in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli as well—an area that as the previous chapter demonstrated, in the preceding centuries underwent a number of political as well as demographic changes that would decisively inform and circumscribe the development and parameters of Catholic communal life. As a result, the Jesuits would often encounter nominally Catholic groups who had sometimes lived for several decades without priestly care or who lived scattered in the villages without any instruction in faith or laws. In most instances, however, these groups were not simply 'ignorant' Catholics but people who lived in close proximity to Orthodox, Muslim, and/or Protestant groups, and were, thus, exposed to their customs, rituals, laws, and not least, to their communal and religious representatives.

Even though Roman authorities should have officially refused to accept any sort of deviation from the standard Tridentine sacramental practices, the papacy gave leeway to several missionary requests—as some of the cases analyzed below will also illustrate. In other cases, however, Rome remained silent, leaving missionaries to their own devices—a challenge so characteristic of the global Catholic missionary enterprise.[355] This 'silence' also contributed to steering both Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, who otherwise generally condemned the idea of Catholics turning to the local Orthodox or Muslim authorities (at least, when their audience was the papacy), towards approaching Ottoman authorities to obtain permissions to renovate or build a church, minister to a particular group in a particular territory, or get orders to be protected from the tax–collection of the Orthodox clergy. [356] A local Ottoman authority who,

[353] See, Prosperi, "Otras Indias,"; Federico Palomo, "Jesuit Interior Indias: Confession and Mapping of the Soul," in Županov (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, 106-127.
[354] For such an order issued for the Jesuits in northern Ottoman Rumeli from 1631/32, see ARSI, Fondo Romana, vol. 22, fol. 37 r.
[355] See the articles in Hsia (ed.), *Early Modern Catholic Global Missions.*
[356] Among various examples, I would like to single out a few: for instance, in a letter from the mission in Bácska in 1622 the Ragusan secular priest Paolo Torelli informed the Propaganda that he had gotten permission to rebuild two churches (Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 131); the Bosnian secular priest, Don Simone Matković continuously emphasized in his letters to Propaganda Fide that with the help of his connections at the Ottoman magistracy he could regain churches from the Calvinists along the Drava (Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 136); also according to a report of Simone Matković from around 1628, the Bosnian Franciscans in Zrenjanin (Hun. Nagybecskerek, today Serbia)

thus, endorsed the renovation or rebuilding of a particular Christian church for a particular sum of money or authorized the activity of a missionary in a certain territory, implicitly became a 'participant' in maintaining (or even strengthening) the presence of a particular denomination in a particular area.[357] What is more, in numerous instances Jesuits and Franciscans asked for Ottoman intervention in the settlement of their own inter-missionary conflicts. The dynamics of these local powerplays did not only determine the tactics of the missionaries on the ground, but it also informed the development of missionary strategies in Rome.

Besides the occasional papal dispensations granted to different missionaries, Rome also had to find a way to deal with the multiplicity of agents, vindicating their pastoral rights over a particular group and territory. Thus, one of the most notable repercussions of the emergence of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was the gradual effacement of the role of the Jesuits in the missionary programs, due to the empowerment and predominance of Bosnian Franciscans in the Catholic missions in Ottoman-governed Southeast Europe. The reason for this provision of the Propaganda was manifold.

After the establishment of the Congregation, the members of the regular orders were not only under the jurisdiction of their superiors any longer, but they also came under the direct authority of the Congregation, which subsequently enhanced their role in papal diplomacy.[358] The Jesuits, however wanted to keep their autonomy and privileged status in organizing their own missions, and therefore the dicastery did not completely succeed in integrating them within its centralized missionary program.[359] In the case of the Jesuit missions in northern Ottoman Rumeli, it gradually became evident to the Roman authorities that without the local know-how and sometimes even knowledge of the local languages, the activity of the fathers was bound to face serious challenges. And it became even clearer that local power relations were primarily

claimed that they had an order from the pasha of Buda according to which they [i.e., the Franciscans] had exclusive rights to minister to the Catholics of the region (Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 260).

[357] Needless to say, that the local Ottoman authorities could just as easily hinder or completely halt the activity of a particular missionary.

[358] Massimo Carlo Giannini, "Introduction," in Giannini (ed.), *Papacy, Religious Orders and International Politics,* 9–17. See, also Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität,* 203-206.

[359] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 201–202. The controversial and tense relationship between the Propaganda and the Jesuit order has been subject to several studies, examining the possible implications of what has been traditionally dubbed as 'anti-Jesuitism.' Nevertheless, problems that pertain to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and privileges were not only characteristic of the relationship between the Jesuit order and the Propaganda, since all the regular orders wanted to defend their own privileges, which guaranteed their autonomy in relation to ecclesiastical power. As Giovanni Pizzorusso has highlighted, in several instances particular members of the Propaganda were not more "anti-Jesuit" than certain Jesuits were "anti-Propaganda." See, Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le pape rouge et le pape noir. Aux origines des conflits entre la congrégation « de Propaganda Fide » et la Compagnie de Jésus au XVII^{e} siècle," in Pierre–Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire (eds), *Les Antijésuite. Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne,* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 539–561. The present case could further complicate our understanding of the relationship between the Propaganda and the Jesuit order, and also, other regular orders.

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determined by the decrees (or sometimes, even whims) of the Ottoman authorities and not by Rome. At the same time, as I have already mentioned, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Bosnian Franciscan province experienced a significant growth. According to the available sources, between 1600 and 1639 the number of friars nearly tripled (in 1639 amounting to 412 friars).[360] Taking all these factors into consideration, it seems logical that the Propaganda eventually decided to side with Bosnian Franciscans—or, more precisely, with the more pro-Rome faction of the Bosnian Franciscans[361]—who were familiar with the local circumstances and most importantly, occupied a special political and social status within the Ottoman Empire.

Thus, by the middle of the seventeenth century the Bosnian Franciscans had managed to supersede their missionary adversaries and gained local control.[362] At the same time, the proliferation of the Franciscans in Slavonia and Bulgaria[363] led to further conflicts within the already factionalized province, and these quarrels continued and even intensified after 1647, when both the bishop of Belgrade and the bishop of Bosnia came to be appointed from the Bosnian Franciscan order.[364] In addition to these internal struggles, the friars also could not neutralize the local hegemony of Orthodox priests and Ottoman judges.

[360] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 290. In 1655, however, the province counted again a smaller number of 300 friars. Eusebius Fermendžin, *Chronicon Observantis Provinciae Bosnae Argentinae,* (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tiskar, 1890), 41.
[361] On the factionalization and the intense power struggles within the Bosnian Franciscan province from the 1630s onwards, see Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 287-317; 358-367. See, also Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*.
[362] For more details, see, Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 287–367.
[363] On the settlement and missionary activity of the Franciscans in Bulgaria, see Elmira Vassileva, "The Activities of the Franciscan Order in the Ottoman Territories (17th Century): Missionary Approaches," *Études balkaniques* 3 (2017): 415-449.
[364] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók,* 358-367.

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II. 3. Conclusion

As the above analysis has shown, there was no shortage of 'contestants' when it came to claiming jurisdiction over the different groups of Catholics in sixteenth-seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. Accordingly, this rivalry gave a specific outlook to the process of potentially fashioning oneself as the (sole) official protector of Catholicism in the area.

It seems that until the second half of the sixteenth century, the local representation and protection of Catholics was undertaken primarily by the merchants of Ragusa and their chaplains as well as the Franciscans of Bosnia. Both the merchants and the friars had a number of legal as well as ideological means at their disposal to prove themselves worthy of this 'safeguarding' role. Eventually, the Bosnian Franciscan province managed to strengthen its hegemony vis-à-vis the Republic of Ragusa, but the practical authority of the friars kept being contested by the Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the same time, all the mentioned local Christian 'power brokers' had to face the local power and attractiveness of Ottoman judges. The onset of Catholic missions in the area further problematized these jurisdictional conflicts since they brought a number of other actors to the picture (such as Jesuit missionaries, secular priests, and missionary bishops), who were continuously vying for more influential positions in terms of pastoring the local Catholics.

The dynamics of Catholic missions in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli, thus, came to be informed and circumscribed by a number of written and unwritten rules of coexistence among the Bosnian Franciscans, Jesuits, lay priests, the Orthodox clergy, Ottoman judges and other members of the local administration, and not least, by the active role different religious communities assumed in this dialogue. The complex and multilayered interaction among these representatives did not just dictate the course of implementation of Tridentine reforms and the efforts to reinforce Catholicism in the region. It also shaped these diverse local religious and communal power brokers' as well as their denominational groups' sense of communal boundaries.

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III. Implementing Tridentine Marriage Reforms in Northern Ottoman Rumeli in the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries

III. 1. Introduction: The Post-Tridentine Papacy and the Administration of the Sacraments

It has become almost a trope in the previous scholarship on early modern Christianity that the post-Tridentine clergy perceived the sacraments as heightened articulations of Catholic religiosity and regarded the implementation of reformed sacramental practice as the main objective of their pastoral work. The debates and controversies about the sacraments, however, did not cease even after the decisions of the Council entered into force. These developments were to a great extent informed by the expansion of Catholicism through various missions globally and the concomitant increasing awareness of the existence of the variety of non-Catholic liturgies, sacramental theologies, and local adaptations of Catholic sacramental and devotional practices.[365]

Before 1100, the word *sacramentum* was employed in numerous interconnected meanings by theologians. St. Augustine, for instance, defined the sacrament as *sacrae rei signum* (~sign of the sacred thing), "the image of the union of Christ and the Church."[366] Between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries various theologians enriched sacramental theology and refined canon law relating to the administration of the sacraments. Among the most influential treatises were Hugh of Saint Victor's (d. 1141) *De sacramentis*, Pierre Lombard's (d. 1160) *Sentences*, followed by the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) in the thirteenth century. According to twelfth-century sacramental theology, "the sacraments were the ritual mysteries, or rites, of the church."[367] Accentuating ritual performance, verbal formulas, and material elements in sacramental practice remained a prevailing tendency throughout the Middle Ages and came to be reiterated in the early modern period.[368]

[365] Trent Pomplun, "Catholic Sacramental Theology in the Baroque Age", in Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A. G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800,* (New York: OUP, 2016), 136-149; esp. 136-137.
[366] Paolo Broggio, Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, and Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le temps des doutes: les sacrements et l'Église romaine aux dimensions du monde" in *Administrer les sacraments en Europe et au Nouveau Monde*, 6.
[367] Philip L. Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments. The Sacramental Theology of Marriage from its Medieval Origins to the Council of Trent,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 21.
[368] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments*, 21.

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After 1220, most probably due to the influence and popularity of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, the number of sacraments started to be consistently listed as seven (i.e., baptism, chrismation, Holy Eucharist, repentance, ordination, marriage, and holy unction),[369] and this change was concomitant with the new prominence of clerical authority and *cura animarum*(~caring for the souls, i.e., pastoral care).[370] In 1439, at the Council of Florence, the *Decree for the Armenians* gave a list and definition of the sacraments, replicating almost verbatim the ideas put forward by Thomas Aquinas in *De articulis fidei et ecclesiae sacramentis*. "All these sacraments are made up of three elements: namely, things as the matter, words as the form, and the person of the minister who confers the sacrament with the intention of doing what the church does. If any of these is lacking, the sacrament is not effected."[371] Parallel with this theological development, the collections of canon law accumulated, among others an entire body of legislation on the sacraments: the Decree of Gratian (*Decretum Gratiani*, second half of the twelfth century) and the Decretals of Gregory IX (1234).[372] The first canons of the Tridentine decrees on the sacraments, reflecting on pre-Tridentine theological developments and in response to Protestant and Orthodox theologies, collectively anathemized anyone who would claim that these were not founded by Jesus Christ, that there were less than seven, or that any of them was not *vere et proprie* a sacrament—equally stressing that all of the sacraments were necessary to partake in divine grace and obtain salvation.[373]

As regards the administration of the sacraments in various parts of the world, missionaries received detailed instructions and various apostolic faculties (~papal authorizations) from Rome regarding the ways they should proceed in their missionary and pastoral work. Nevertheless, they kept appealing to the papacy with various problems and

[369] The actual number of the sacraments has been the subject of several controversies among (and even within) many of the Christian Churches. It is well known that during the Protestant Reformation the Catholic Church's view on the seven sacraments was vehemently challenged by Protestant theologians who argued that only the sacrament of baptism and the Eucharist had a scriptural basis. The Eastern Orthodox Church accepted the seven sacraments, since their presence had been attested from Antiquity in the Orthodox East. This number, however, was not formally limited within the Orthodox fold (neither in the *Euchologion*, nor the patristic tradition). Orthodox theologians claim that the acknowledgment of the seven sacraments was sort of a 'common knowledge,' against which no one raised any concerns or doubts. John Karmiris, "Concerning the Sacraments," in Daniel B. Clendenin (ed.), *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective*, (Michigan: Baker Academic, 2003), 21-33; 23. The number seven started to be more unequivocally accepted from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, as a result of the proliferation of the Orthodox confessions of faith.

[370] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments*, 24.

[371] *Bull of Union with the Armenians*, https://www.ewtn.com/library/COUNCILS/FLORENCE.HTM#3 Accessed on 15.02.2018.

[372] Broggio, et al., "Le temps des doutes," 6.

[373] "If any one saith, that the sacraments of the New Law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ, our Lord; or, that they are more, or less, than seven, to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament; let him be anathema." *The Council of Trent, Session VII, On the Sacraments in General, Canon I,* http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch7.htm. Accessed on 28.08.2017.

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doubts (*dubia*) they faced on the ground. The period between the second half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century was thus aptly referred to as the "time of doubts" ("le temps des doutes").[374] Accordingly, a number of scholars has demonstrated that both in the case of European and non-European Catholic groups, various missionaries were occasionally more tolerant and adaptable when it came to the administration of different sacraments.[375] Pierroberto Scaramella also underlined the important fact that prior to the Council of Trent, the commentaries and glosses on the conciliar decrees that were formulated by jurists and theologians—interpreting the doubts that had been sent to them about theological, doctrinal, and pastoral issues—were an integral part of the canonical tradition of the Italian peninsula.[376] After the Council of Trent, however, this practice changed: the papacy prohibited the publication of any comments on the decrees of the Council. This marked an important change in the period and a major separation of ecclesiastical discipline from the science (i.e., interpretation) of the law, giving exclusive rights to the dicasteries of the Roman Curia to solve different *dubia* of legal and theological nature.[377] Thus, in a certain sense the *dubia*s came to symbolize a "restriction of the space of thought and liberty of theology and canon law,"[378] giving rise to several conflicts and misunderstandings among the papacy, Catholic powers, and religious orders, as well as various local Catholic groups.

As it has already been highlighted, in the 1570s the territories of northern Ottoman Rumeli came into the focus of Rome-directed Catholic missionary and pastoral endeavors, only to invite even more attention after the launching of the Jesuit mission in the area in the 1610s, and the foundation of Propaganda Fide in 1622, respectively. But how were the sacramental reforms of Trent received, contested, and brokered in this religiously, ethnically, linguistically, and legally pluralistic context?

[374] This description was employed by Paolo Broggio, Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, and Giovanni Pizzorusso in their seminal study from 2009, in which they approached *dubium* as an integral part of Catholic orthodoxy within the sphere of negotiation. See, in Broggio, Charlotte et al., "Le temps des doutes," 5.
[375] For an overview of the literature, see *Subchapter I. 3.*
[376] Pierroberto Scaramella, "I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio e la questione dei matrimoni misti nella casistica delle congregazioni romane (secc. XVI-XVIII)" in *Administrer les sacraments en Europe et au Nouveau Monde,* 76.
[377] Scaramella, "I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio," 76.
[378] Broggio, et al., "Le temps des doutes," 12.

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III. 2. The Theological and Legal Framework of the Institution of Matrimony in the Catholic, Orthodox, and Islamic Traditions

III. 2. 1. Introduction

Despite the fact that following the Council of Trent the Catholic Church aimed at unifying the institution of marriage, the implementation of the new matrimonial decrees in practice only brought more confusion in terms of its administration and the legitimization of 'problematic' marriages, such as marriages in the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity, second marriages, or marriages officiated by non-Catholic authorities. The regulation and standardization of marriage practices would have meant achieving a new level of disciplining of various Catholic groups as well as asserting authority over them. However, subjecting the phenomenon of marriage that had been heretofore rather flexible was received with skepticism, disbelief, and resistance both by the people who were supposed to accept these rules and by the agents who were supposed to enforce them.[379]

In the following section I will examine the inter- and intra-communal dynamics of various forms of illicit and invalid marriages and analyze these phenomena both on local and trans-imperial levels. The objective of this section is to demonstrate how the belief of certain local denominational groups in the value (sacramental, legal, every-day, and/or otherwise) of marriage played out on the ground and how various nominally Catholic groups and individuals coped with the fact that their Catholicity started to be (re)assessed based on particular standards, of which they might or might not have been aware. In dialogue with the current theoretical and methodological approaches of international scholarship, in this chapter I move beyond the idea of a post-Tridentine standardization of the administration of the sacrament of marriage and present the different ways in which Catholic missionaries active in northern Ottoman Rumeli and local Catholics made sense of the new marriage regulations of Trent, and occasionally made them more agreeable to their own needs. At the same time, this part of the dissertation seeks to reevaluate the function of Orthodox priests and Ottoman *kadi*s in Catholic matrimonies, approaching them not merely as confessional rivals with whom the missionaries always had to compete but as agents active in shaping local articulations of what it meant to be a Catholic.

[379] On the problem of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in dealing with the Tridentine decrees on matrimony, see Cecilia Cristellon, "Does the Priest Have to be There? Contested Marriages before Roman Tribunals", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 3 (2009): 10-30.

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The chapter, thus, will shed light on the ways in which Catholic missionaries and local Catholics interacted not only with one another but also with other 'religious and communal brokers' in a particular local context, where they were part of the complex religious and legal economy of the Ottoman Empire.

III. 2. 2. The Sacrament of Marriage before and after the Council of Trent

In 1373, Pope Gregory XI, responding to the doubts raised by the vicar of the Bosnian Vicariate, Bartholomeus, extensively elaborated on the problem of marriage practices among the people of Bosnia. According to Bartholomeus' narrative, Bosnian men ("Bosnenses")[380] took wives if the latter promised to be good to them ("si eris mihi bona"),[381] with the condition that the men could dismiss them whenever they wanted, and only one in a hundred men was still with his first wife, except the converts [i.e., Catholic converts]; the vicar was not sure whether these marriages could be regarded as proper marriages ("si debet dici verum matrimonium").[382]

Were Bartholomeus to write a report on Catholic marriages in Bosnia two centuries later, after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, he would have likely remarked on similar ambiguities and lack of fixed dogmas.[383] After the Council, when, among others, marital canons and decrees were solidified, one of the distinguishing marks of a 'true' Catholic became to accept marriage as one of the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church, as well as the new

[380] Here, most probably referring to the members of the Bosnian Church, since a differentiation is made between them and the converts, i.e., converts to Catholicism, who regard marriage as a sacrament. The Orthodox are referred to in the text as "greci" and "scismatici".

[381] On this type of 'Bosnian-style' marriage (*modo Bosignorum*), see Dženan Dautović, "The Papacy and Marriage Practices in Medieval Bosnia," in Dženan Dautović, Emir O. Filipović, and Never Isailović (eds), *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations. Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2019), 113-136, with further literature.

[382] Dragutin Kniewald, *Vjerodostojnost latinskih izvora o bosanskim krstjanima* [The authenticity of Latin sources on Bosnian Christians], (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1949), 115-276, 158. On Bartholomeus' *Dubia*, see also Jaroslav Šidak, "Franjevačka 'Dubia' iz g. 1372/3. kao izvor za povijest Bosne" [The Franciscan 'Dubia' from 1372-73 as a source for the history of Bosnia] in idem, *Studije o Crkvi bosanskoj i bogumilstvu* [Studies about the Bosnian Church and Bogomilism], (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1975), 225-248.

[383] See, also Dautović, "Marriage Practices in Medieval Bosnia," 113-136. It is interesting to note that a contemporary source with the *Dubia* that lists the errors of Bosnian Christians emphasizes that Bosnian 'heretics' deny the sacrament of matrimony (and the other sacraments as well) and claim that no one can be saved in marriage. Kniewald, *Vjerodostojnost*, 168.

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canonical stipulations that circumscribed this sacrament.[384] Within this heightened insistence on its sacramental value, the contractual nature of matrimony was also transformed.[385] However, numerous questions and ambiguities persisted. What then, did it actually mean to understand marriage as a *sacrament* in pre- and post-Tridentine Catholicism?

The discourse on marriage being one of the sacraments of the Catholic Church started in the twelfth century—a fruitful period during which canon lawyers and theologians alike attempted to standardize the doctrine of marriage both on theoretical and practical levels[386]—and continued up to the sixteenth century (a revisionist time both on the Protestant and Catholic fronts),[387] when it was identified as a dogma of faith at the Council of Trent.[388] According to the regulations of medieval canon law,[389] in accordance with natural law and Roman law, particularly as it was framed in the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Emperor Justinian, in order for a marriage to be valid the verbal consent of the spouses was enough (*solus consensus*). In spite of the fact that secular authorities preferred public weddings, *clandestine marriages*[390] were

[384] *The Council of Trent. Doctrine on the Sacrament of Matrimony. Canon I.* http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch24.htm. Accessed on 08.06.2017. Concerning the problems about accepting marriage as a sacrament even within the Church itself, James A. Brundage highlighted: "Although Roman Catholic doctrine insisted that marriage was a sacrament, it was a marginal sacrament because of its links with the unholy combination of sex and pleasure." James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe,* (Chicago—London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 574.

[385] Canon lawyers in the high-middle ages attempted to interpret the institution of marriage itself *as* a contract, but theologians were warier about such a formulation and would rather claim that marriage was *like* a contract. See Philip L. Reynolds, "Marrying and Its Documentation in Pre-modern Europe: Consent, Celebration, and Property" in Philip L. Reynolds and John Witte, Jr. (eds), *To Have and To Hold. Marrying and Its Documentation in Western Christendom, 400-1600,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 1-43; 4.

[386] See Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society,* 49. See, also David D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage. Symbolism and Society*, (Oxford: OUP, 2005).

[387] The ideological transformation of the sacramental and remedial (i.e., *remedium* against lust) meaning of marriage and whether it belonged to the same genus with the other six sacraments was subject to extensive and often heated theological debates from the twelfth century onwards, but it is beyond the scope of this chapter to enter into details on the innumerable stages of this change. On the theological development of marriage as a sacrament, see Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments.*

[388] Even though the Tridentine and post-Tridentine marriage doctrines were in a great part answers and critics of the Lutheran (and Erasmian) doctrine on the institution of matrimony, here I will not enter into an extensive discussion on the theological background of marriage in the Protestant traditions, since the analyzed marriage cases (with few exceptions) involve Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims. Nevertheless, one must not disregard the Protestant context and should interpret the seventeenth century reforming initiatives of the Catholic Church on the institution of marriage in the light of the marital and social reforms of the long sixteenth century. On the Protestant reformation on marriage in general see John Witte, Jr., *Law and Protestantism. The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), also Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany,* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995).

[389] On medieval canon law and the functioning as well as jurisdiction of canonical courts, see James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, (London—New York: Routledge, 1995).

[390] The concept of *clandestine marriage* denoted a type of marriage which was conducted outside of the official ecclesiastical framework. Already before the Council of Trent, the Roman Catholic Church had tried to regulate and prohibit this practice, nevertheless regarded it as valid until the decrees of the Council came into force. From *clandestine marriage* one should differentiate the canonical term of *secret marriage,* which simply referred to the exclusion of the public from the wedding with the permission of the local ordinary. Protestant churches looked at *clandestine marriage*s with contempt and regarded them as signs of the decline of patriarchal authority. On this aspect, see also Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society*.

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equally valid in the eyes of the Church.[391] This practice was accepted by most medieval theologians, who continuously sought ways to reconcile this custom with the sacramental value of matrimony.[392] "By the later thirteenth century, it became widely accepted that it was the simple exchange of present promises between the parties that rendered the marriage a sacrament."[393] In general, the groom had to give to the bride (or sometimes to her family) a betrothal gift, which was often joined with another gift on the wedding day itself or the morning after. The bride had to bring into the new household her dowry and the husband was obliged to keep a substantial amount of this dowry which he would return to the wife's family in case she died before him or the marriage was annulled. The husband also had to have his own dower to support his wife and children in case he died first.[394] Even though, marital contracts were frequently accompanied by property contracts, marriages were also considered valid without these settlements.[395]

In their attempt to redefine marriage along sacramental lines, canonists were also bound to take into consideration the great amount of marriage customs that prevailed in Europe.[396] The theory of Peter Lombard[397] that marriage in contradistinction to the other six sacraments of the New Law was purely remedial and could not bestow the gift of grace upon the believer, remained a prevalent and relatively unchallenged tenet until 1220.[398] From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, the theological consensus on this issue started to be altered by the claim that marriage was equally able to provide sanctifying grace *ex opere operato* ("from the work performed;" the grace-conferring power is inherent in the sacramental rite itself, regardless of the faith or morality of the minister or the recipient)[399] but the view of the canonists on this issue only started to fundamentally change in the fourteenth century.[400] Philip

[391] Jutta Sperling, "Marriage at the Time of the Council of Trent (1560-70): Clandestine Marriages, Kinship prohibitions, and Dowry Exchange in European Comparison," *Journal of Early Modern History* 1-2 (2004): 67-108, 25. Despite some leniencies, there were attempts already in the Middle Ages to make the legal validity of a marriage contingent upon two requirements: having one single spouse and prohibiting marriages within the seventh degree of consanguinity. Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest. The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 35.
[392] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments,* 28. On the sacrament of matrimony in medieval theology, see also Attilio Carpin, *Il sacramento del matrimonio nella teologia medievale. Da Isidoro di Siviglia a Tommaso D'Aquino*, (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 1991).
[393] John Witte Jr., *From Sacrament to Contract. Marriage, Religion, and Law in the Western Tradition,* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 94.
[394] Witte Jr., *From Sacrament to Contract*, 94. See, also Siniša Mišić, "Srpska porodica u poznom srednjem veku" [The Serbian family in the late Middle Ages], *Etnoantropološki problemi* 10, no. 2 (2015): 357-381.
[395] Witte Jr., *From Sacrament to Contract*, 90.
[396] Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society*, 54.
[397] Peter Lombard's sacramental theology was mainly based on two sources, Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* and Odo, *Summa sententiarum*.
[398] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments,* 7.
[399] The disposition of the recipient, however, condition the measure of grace received.
[400] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments,* 7.

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L. Reynolds observes that providing sacramental meaning to marriage endorsed the Church's sole jurisdiction over the institution of matrimony and placed marriage in salvation history.[401] Even though the Catholic marriage started to be officially regarded as a sacrament through the ecclesiastical regulations imposed on this institution, matrimony remained just as much a civil as a spiritual affair.[402] While on a theoretical level ecclesiastical courts had exclusive jurisdiction over the validity of marriage and secular courts were responsible for cases involving material issues, on a practical level this separation was often not strictly followed.[403] Concomitant to the spread of the Protestant reformation, the exclusive jurisdiction of the Catholic Church over marriage gradually came to be challenged, with sixteenth-century Protestant critics assessing the accumulated canon law of marriage as unclear, arbitrary, and easily corruptible,[404] and claiming that instead of canon law, it is civil law that should regulate marriage.[405]

The marriage reforms of Trent were promulgated in the twenty-four sessions of the decree of *Tametsi* (from the Latin, 'although'; the first word of Chapter 1, Session 24, *De reformatione matrimonii*)[406] on November 11, 1563, after more than fifteen years of debate. According to *Tametsi*, for the sacrament of marriage to be administered, the consent of both parties and the presence of the parish priest and two witnesses was obligatory, and the event had to be preceded by the promulgation of three marriage banns. Before the Tridentine reforms the presence of the priest was not mandatory at the wedding and the officiant was often a family member who did not necessarily have to be a Catholic.[407] As emphasized above, in the medieval Catholic tradition two baptized Christians raised marriage to the sacramental level, without the need of any formalities, witnesses, or clerical presence.[408] Hence, prior to the decisions of the

[401] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments,* 30.
[402] See, also Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments,* 36.
[403] Reynolds, *How Marriage Has Become One of the Sacraments,* 35. On the collaboration of ecclesiastical and secular courts during the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries (a period of heightened preoccupation with the norms of sexual behavior and its relation to the disintegration of the social and political order) see, also Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society*; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*.
[404] Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society,* 28.
[405] John Witte, Jr. and Gary S. Hauk (eds), *Christianity and Family Law: An Introduction,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), 251.
[406] On the debates and discussions resulting in the final decree, see Giuseppe di Mattia, "Il decreto *Tametsi* e le sue radici nel concilio di Bologna", *Apollinaris* 53 (1980): 476-500; Gaetano Cozzi, "Padri, figli, e matrimoni clandestini (metà sec. XVI – metà sec. XVIII)", *La cultura* 2 (1976): 169-213; Reinhard Lettmann, *Die Diskussion über die klandestinen Ehen und die Einführung einer zur Gültigkeit verpflichtenden Eheschlissungsform auf dem Konzil von Trient: eine kanonistiche Untersuchung*, Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, vol. 51, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1967); Jean Bernard, "Le decrét *Tametsi* du concile du Trente: Triomphe du consensualisme matrimonial ou institution de la forme solennelle du marriage?", *RDC* 30 (1980): 209-233. The decree of *Tametsi* was in force until 1908, when it was replaced and complemented by the decree of *Ne temere.*
[407] Cristellon, "Does the Priest Have to be There?," 14.
[408] Witte Jr., *From Sacrament to Contract,* 91.

Council it was very problematic to assess what constituted a valid marriage ceremony. Even *Tametsi* eventually opted for not entering into historical debates on the issue of clandestine marriages and decided that they were valid if the Church had not annulled them.[409] Besides these mandates, the Council also prescribed the registration of baptisms, marriages, and deaths. With these new stipulations the Church partially abolished the medieval practice of clandestine matrimony. *Tametsi* also imposed new, stricter regulation over the marriages of persons without a permanent address, forbade forced marriages, regulated the permitted times of wedding celebrations,[410] standardized the law concerning affinity and consanguinity, and restated the prohibition on concubinage among the laity.[411]

The doctrine of matrimonial indissolubility also became a central element of the Tridentine marriage stipulations, as articulated in Canons IV-VIII. The notion of indissolubility was already present in the early Christian Church, but it was only with Augustine's writings that it gained theological authority.[412] The Tridentine decrees forbade the dissolution of marriages for any reasons except the death of one of the spouses.[413] Divorce only entailed separation from bed and board (*a mensa et thoro*), and it gave no right of remarriage. The theological underpinning of the binding nature of marriage was one of the greatest points of controversy in the disputations with the Protestant and Orthodox churches. According to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, marriage was a sacrament that created an eternal bond between two persons, a union that was meant to emulate the love between Christ and the Church,[414] bestowed upon the people by Jesus Christ. The Tridentine regulations also outlawed the practice of polygamy and agreed that heresy, irksome cohabitation, the absence of one of the spouses, and adultery were not valid causes to end a marriage.[415]

In general, the post-Tridentine interpretation of the theological and canonical meaning of the new marriage decrees was dominated by the work of the Spanish Jesuit, Tomás Sánchez

[409] John Russel S. J., *The "Sanatio in Radice" before the Council of Trent,* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964), 81.
[410] Concerning the solemnity of marriages, the Tridentine rulings stipulated that weddings cannot be celebrated from the Advent of Jesus Christ until the day of the Epiphany, and from Ash-Wednesday until the octave of Easter, inclusively.
[411] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 564. See also E. Hillman, "Polygamy and the Council of Trent," *Jurist* 33 (1973): 358-376.
[412] Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society*, 51. See, also D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, 74-131.
[413] *The Council of Trent. Doctrine on the Sacrament of Matrimony. Canon VIII.* http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch24.htm. Accessed on 08.06.2017.
[414] "Indissolubility as an essential property of marriage lies neither in the contract nor in the sacrament of marriage. It is based on the union between Christ and the church by the mystery of incarnation." Domingo, "Thomas Sanchez," 254. See, also E. Christian Brugger, *The Indissolubility of Marriage and the Council of Trent,* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2017), 2.
[415] *The Council of Trent. Doctrine on the Sacrament of Matrimony. Canon II., V., and VII.,* http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch24.htm. Accessed on 08.06.2017.

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(d. 1610), *De sancti matrimonii sacramento disputationum* (first volume: 1602, Genoa; second and third volumes: 1605, Madrid). Even though Sanchez's work was probably as controversial and problematic as marriage itself, it remained an influential compendium on matrimonial problems until the proclamation of the first Code of Canon Law in 1917.[416]

From the twelfth until the mid-sixteenth century, the theological understanding of marriage went through many iterations until it became a dogma of faith at the Council of Trent. This marked the beginning of a new phase in the life of the Catholic Church, whereby its various members faced the challenge of having to harmonize the accumulated medieval canon and customary law with the stipulations of the Council, while grappling with the consequences of the expansion of Catholicism as well as religious coexistence throughout the world.

[416] On the controversies surrounding Sanchez's treatise on marriage and his contribution to the canon law of marriage, see Domingo, "Thomas Sanchez", 245-259. On Thomas Sanchez's casuistry and probabilism, see Stefania Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism: A History of Probabilism*, (Oxford: OUP, 2017).

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III. 2. 3. Marriage in Orthodox Canon Law

The High and Late Middle Ages were not only decisive periods for the Catholic Church in terms of the development of the sacramental theology of marriage. Answering their own local challenges and partially also responding to the developments within the Catholic fold, the Eastern Orthodox Churches similarly experienced a time of (re)articulating their stance on matrimony between the ninth and fifteenth centuries.[417]

In the Orthodox tradition, the sacraments are the "efficacious instruments of grace for those who participate in them."[418] In this context, the *sacrament* or *mystery* of marriage is formally interpreted as a type of religious and legal contract.[419] From the end of the ninth century onwards, the Byzantine Orthodox Church made efforts to impose stricter regulations on matrimonial practices and made church nuptials obligatory, abolished the custom of marriage by common law (i.e., a public wedding with familial support),[420] and marriage itself became a sacrament, remaining an integral part of the customary system through the prescribed public nature of the wedding.[421] In the fourteenth century, Stefan Dušan (r. 1331-1355) made attempts to enforce church marriage (*venčanie*), and in the fifteenth century, Metropolitan Fotij condemned common law marriage as a form of illicit fornication, and couples who refused to marry in a church and be blessed by a priest were placed under penance for three years and refused participation in ecclesiastical rites.[422]

Even though, in the Orthodox context the development of the canonical understanding of marriage is more traceable in the sources than the theological one, some distinguishing features are nevertheless apparent. As I have emphasized above, according to the Catholic doctrine, the sacraments, including marriage, were a means of achieving sanctifying grace *ex*

[417] It is important to note here that Orthodox sacramental history has predominantly been fashioned by Orthodox theologians and active members of the clergy, who oftentimes simply disregarded the historical context in which these events occurred. Accordingly, these works should always be read critically and against the background of the wider socio-political events these religious transformations were part of.
[418] Quoted from Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem's (p. 1669-1707) *Confession* in Karmiris, "Concerning the Sacraments," 21.
[419] Even though Orthodox marriage is regarded as a sacrament or mystery, it generally falls within the category of *sacramental*s (~sacred signs that remind us of the sacraments). Assigning sacramental or/and contractual value to the institution of marriage in different religious traditions is a rather arbitrary practice. As the analyzed examples will illustrate, the attitudes towards matrimony showed a great variation both on inter- and intra-confessional levels, and in most cases the notion of marriage encapsulated a range of converging and diverging discourses.
[420] Eve Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900-1700*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 84.
[421] Svetlana Ivanova, "Judicial Treatment of the Matrimonial Problems of Christian Women in Rumeli during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Amila Buturović and Irvin C. Shick (eds), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History* (London—New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 153-201; 155.
[422] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 84-86.

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opere operato ("from the work performed"). In the Orthodox tradition, the approach towards this issue has been nearly identical, but some modern Orthodox theologians tend to emphasize that the completeness and effectiveness of the sacraments is contingent upon the "canonical position of the officiating clergy and upon the effect, both *ex opere operato* and *ex opere operantis*" ("from the work of the doer").[423] Moreover, according to the Orthodox understanding divine grace cannot be obtained outside of the 'true church,' hence, the Orthodox Church does not automatically recognize as full those sacramental acts which are performed outside of its framework.[424]

These differences between Catholic and Orthodox sacramental theology seem subtle, but they still problematize the very issue of approaching and conceptualizing *sacramentality* in a particular context. In other words: how do certain acts acquire sacramental value, i.e., the characteristic of being capable to point beyond themselves, and who has the authority to assign this particular significance?

As it has been highlighted above, the Catholic Church's insistence on the exact matter, form, minister, and intention of the sacraments already started gaining momentum in the fifteenth century, and as it will be demonstrated in the subsequent chapters of the dissertation, on particular occasions this created major points of contention and misunderstanding with the Orthodox clergy in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. In the Orthodox tradition the exact form and effect of the sacraments, just like their number was not defined in absolute terms, since these were the mysteries of the Church, unknowable to anyone but God (according to the principles of Orthodox apophatic theology).

Similarly to the Catholic practice, marriage was a monogamous institution according to Orthodox canon law, and it was preceded by an engagement (a public ceremony, theoretically as binding as marriage itself), during which the prenuptial agreements were settled.[425] In the

[423] Karmiris, "Concerning the Sacraments," 22. Karmiris, however, also emphasizes that the efficacy of the sacrament does not depend on the faith or moral qualifications of either the minister or recipient. But, as Francis J. Thomson highlights, the correct disposition or will of the recipient is essential to receive fruitful grace (i.e., the fullest amount of grace). Francis J. Thomson, "Economy: An Examination of the Various Theories of Economy Held within the Orthodox Church, with Special Reference to the Economical Recognition of the Validity of Non-Orthodox Sacraments," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 16, no. 2 (1965): 368-420; 396-397. This view, concerning the disposition of the believer is the same in Catholic sacramental theology. See, Roger W. Nutt, *General Principles of Sacramental Theology*, (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2017); esp. 99-151.

[424] In special circumstances, the sacraments of those heterodox who want to return to the Orthodox fold might be recognized by economy (*oikonomia*; discretionary deviation from the strict application of canon law without subsequent dogmatic compromise). Karmiris, "Concerning the Sacraments," 23. In the next chapter, I will illustrate how this issue came to underpin a number of conflicts between Catholic missionaries and Orthodox clergymen in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli regarding the administration as well as validity of the sacrament of baptism.

[425] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 155.

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medieval Slavic context, nevertheless, canon law prescripts did not enter into many details regarding the political and economic aspects of marriage, making only a few suggestions and regulations: "Certain provisions of Byzantine secular law entered the compendiums of the Slavic Orthodox churches from the Procheiron and Justinianic Code, but they are found primarily in *zakonici*[426] and *nomocanon*s,[427] which were intended as reference books for the upper clergy, and not in the abridged codes in parish manuals."[428] From the twelfth to the fifteenth century Orthodox marriage legislation developed based on the tome of Patriarch Sissinios of 997, which also prompted the patriarchal synod in 1166 to extend the marriage impediment of consanguinity up to the seventh degree (collateral blood relatives)—a controversial ruling that invited opposition within the Orthodox fold.[429]

The propriety of remarriages was a debated topic in the Orthodox Church already in the Byzantine period. The dominant position in Byzantine canon law, which was also gradually adopted by the Slav Orthodox churches, discouraged but did not explicitly prohibit remarriage.[430] Directed by the often-quoted formulation of Gregory the Great (d. 604) that "the first marriage is law; the second, dispensation; the third, transgression; the fourth, dishonor: this is a swinish life,"[431] by the fourteenth century the rules of canon law had stipulated that at most three consecutive marriages were allowed, regardless of the causes of the termination.[432] The levied fee increased with each marriage, and as it will be shown, this became a prevalent custom in Ottoman Rumeli and a primary source of conflict between Catholic missionaries (especially Bosnian Franciscans), Orthodox priests, and Ottoman authorities. Formally, however, the Orthodox Church tried to prevent separations by imposing strict grounds for seeking a divorce, which included physical violence against the wife, attempted murder of one spouse by the other, adultery of the wife (but not the husband), mental illness, absence or impotence (not infertility) of the husband for three years or more, and alcoholism.[433]

[426] ~Law code.
[427] A *nomocanon* is a collection of ecclesiastical law, containing parts both from civil and canon law. Concerning the development of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the most relevant *nomocanon* was the one enacted by St. Sava (commonly referred to as *Zakonopravilo*) in 1219.
[428] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 82. The parish service books (*trebnici*) were practical guidebooks for priests and contained abbreviated codes.
[429] Spyros Troianos, "Byzantine canon law from the twelve to the fifteenth centuries" in Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (eds), *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 170-171. Western canon law before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) included similar impediments on consanguinity; a group of texts attributed to Gregory the Great (*Responsa Gregorii*) stipulated that marriages between blood kin within seven degrees were not valid, and the couples needed to separate. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 140-141.
[430] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 105.
[431] Quoted in Levin, *Sex and Society*, 107.
[432] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 155.
[433] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 155.

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Despite the fact that within the context of *economy* (*oikonomia*), the Orthodox Church permitted remarriage in order to avoid debauchery, the Church also imposed preventive measures on the parties willing to enter such a new union, including penance (which could last from a couple of months to years, depending on the church father whose rule was followed), property sanctions, and limitations on remarriage.[434] Orthodox canon law, in force in the Ottoman Balkan peninsula from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century also controlled the status of the offspring following a divorce by means of custody and allowance.[435]

The different forms of theological thinking (i.e., apophatic and cataphatic)[436] that informed the sacramental understanding of marriage in Eastern Orthodox and Latin Christianity, respectively, led to the development of divergent discourses concerning the sacramental theology of marriage in the two traditions. In terms of the development of canon law precepts of marriage, however, one can observe that both in the Orthodox and Catholic contexts the insistence on the publicity of the wedding as well as other practical rulings that aimed to regulate the everyday aspects of matrimonies became more and more imperative throughout the centuries.

[434] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 108; Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 155. Regarding the context of seventeenth-century Bulgaria, Ivanova also mentions that the Orthodox Church had to make concessions concerning marriage restrictions, sometimes explicitly motivated by the fact of wanting to divert people from appealing to the local *kadi*.

[435] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 155.

[436] In general, Eastern Orthodox theology is defined as being *apophatic* (~negative). Nevertheless, the *apophatic* is also present in the theological tradition of Latin Christianity (for e.g., in Thomas Aquinas).

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III. 2. 4. Marriage in Islam

Having illustrated the main features of the development of the canonical as well as theological understanding of marriage in Latin and Eastern Orthodox Christianity between the ninth and sixteenth centuries, I will now turn to discussing the third form and interpretation of marriage that similarly played a crucial role in shaping marital practices in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli—marriage in Islam.

The Muslim marriage (*nikâh*) was a form of civil-legal contract that gave legitimacy to sexual relations between a man and a woman.[437] The core element that guaranteed its validity was the prenuptial contract, which could control different aspects of matrimonial life, including possible grounds for divorce, but its most important element was the wedding gift (*mehr*) that the groom gave to the bride.[438] The *mehr* consisted of two parts: the first was presented to the bride at the wedding, the other the wife received only in case of the husband's death or divorce.[439] The payment of the dower literally meant that the husband acquired the ownership (*milk*) of the wife's vulva, thus legitimizing sexual intercourse. In Hanafi jurisprudence, the payment of the dower became the central element that distinguished marriage from fornication.[440] A *mehr* was also provided to the Christian wife, but she could not inherit from a Muslim; inheritance rights would be transferred to the children. In addition to the dower, the husband also had to pay his wife maintenance (*nafaqa*) for as long as the marriage existed.[441] The marriage (contract) was performed in the presence of the local *kadi* or *imam* before two adult Muslim male (or one male and two female) witnesses, which gave the marriage legal validity.[442]

In Sunni Hanafi law marriage was a private agreement that did not demand judicial intervention or the registration of the marriage. In the Ottoman Empire, however, there were attempts to make marriage registration at court obligatory, especially during the tenure of

[437] The validity of a marriage contract in Sunni Hanafi Islam was dependent on a variety of legally determined conditions, including the registration of marriage, the verbal formula used for the conclusion of a marriage, witnesses, the permission of the women's guardian, the consent of the bride, the equality of the spouses (in terms of religion and lineage), and the dower. For more details about each of these conditions, see Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 165-183.
[438] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 156. In the pre-Islamic period it was customary to give the dower to the legal guardian (*wali*) of the bride. Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, (Oxford: OUP, 1983), 161.
[439] Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 161. See, also Colin Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud. The Islamic Legal Tradition*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
[440] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 174.
[441] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 183.
[442] Gara, "Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar," 116-117.

Ebu's-su'ud Efendi as *şeyhülislam* (1545-1574). A *fatwa* (~nonbinding legal opinion) of Ebu's-su'ud testifies that by his time an imperial decree had made marriage registrations mandatory in order to provide evidence in cases of dispute and probably to prevent illicit unions.[443] The *sharia* enlisted a number of impediments that made a marriage invalid: blood relationship, foster-relationship, relationship by marriage,[444] the existence of a previous marriage, the existence of a threefold *ṭalāq* (~divorce), social inequality (in the Hanafi tradition in terms of religion and lineage (*nasab*)), difference of religion, and other temporary obstacles, such as the lack of the minimum age for a legal marriage.[445]

The shariatic *nikâh*, however, was not a homogenous legal category. One of the most contentious legal concepts that related to it was the notion of *mut'a* (~enjoyment, marriage of pleasure)[446] that was employed in Islamic law in the sense of *temporary marriage*.[447] Even though the traditions on the issue of *mut'a* are contradictory, scholarship generally accepts that the practice was used in the time of the Prophet who allowed it on certain occasions (for e.g., during military campaigns), and it was later forbidden by the caliph 'Umar (r. 634-644) at the end of his caliphate.[448] By the eighth century, all the Sunni schools of law had forbidden *mut'a* (with certain concessions, nonetheless), and it only came to be officially recognized by the Shi'ites.[449] Nevertheless, the practice allegedly did not 'disappear' from the everyday life of Sunni Muslim communities either.[450] Concerning the Ottoman Empire, sixteenth-seventeenth-century Christian sources often referred to the problem of *temporary marriage* under the name of *kiambin*, *kebin*, *chiebin*, or *kepinion*. According to these sources, Muslim men could contract

[443] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 165. Nevertheless, the systematic recording of marriages was only introduced by the Ottoman state in 1881. Gara, "Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar," 117.
[444] In the Islamic tradition, besides the impediment of foster-relationship or affinity (created by any form of sexual conduct), the attitude towards consanguineous marriage, similarly to Christianity (both Catholic and Orthodox) was an equally complex issue, and except for the prohibition of uncle-niece marriage the allowed degrees of consanguinity were close to the Levitical guidelines. Marriage impediments based on consanguinity and affinity in Islamic law are the following: blood relationship between the man and his female ascendants and descendants, his sisters, the female descendants of his brothers and sisters as well as his aunts and great-aunts; foster-relationship in the same degrees as blood relationship; and affinity by marriage, i.e. between a man and his mother-in-law, daughter-in law, step-daughter, etc., in the direct line; marriage with two sisters or with an aunt and niece simultaneously was also prohibited. J. Schacht et al., "Nikāḥ," in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0863. Accessed on 18.03.2018.
[445] For more details on shariatic marriage impediments, see J. Schacht et al., "Nikāḥ."
[446] To be distinguished from *mut'a* used in the sense of compensation, i.e., a set of clothing that was given to the wife if repudiation took place before consummation and no *mehr* was stipulated in advance. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 167. See, also Imber, "Women, Marriage, and Property," 97-98.
[447] W. Heffening, "Mutʿa", in P. Bearman et al (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0819. Accessed on 13.07.2020. See, also Khalid Sindawi, *Temporary Marriage in Sunni and Shi'ite Islam. A Comparative Study*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013).
[448] Heffening, "Mutʿa."
[449] Heffening, "Mutʿa." On the practice of *temporary marriage* in contemporary Iran, see Shahla Haeri, *Law of Desire. Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran,* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014).
[450] Heffening, "Mutʿa." See, also Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 163.

such type of 'temporary marriages' with a Jewish or Christian woman in front of the *kadi* and minimum two witnesses, and it was also common in certain parts of the empire that two Christians contracted such a marriage in front of the *kadi*; the time to be lived together was usually determined in advance after which the wife could lawfully leave her husband and vice versa.[451]

Formally, Islamic law gave unrestricted right to the husband to repudiate his wife, while the wife only had limited capacity to obtain a separation.[452] Divorce, however, remained a 'claim of God' (*haqq Allah*) and not of man (*haqq al-'ibad*) and therefore, legally, it was the will of God that brought a separation into effect.[453] In practice this meant that whenever a husband pronounced a valid repudiation formula (such as, "You are divorced"), a divorce immediately followed, regardless of the intention of the husband or the presence or lack of any witnesses.[454] "The formal validity of the divorce, according to the jurists, depended on the form of the language (*sigha*) utilized, the sound state of mind of the exercising husband, and whether the wife was in a state of purity."[455] But despite being present and accepted in the Islamic traditions, "the majority of jurists held that a divorce without a compelling reason was reprehensible (*makrūh*), to be exercised sparingly and avoided if possible."[456] There were four ways of separating in Islam: the first was the *ṭalāq* (repudiation; the husband's exclusive right to dissolve a marriage), the second method of terminating a marriage was the *tafriq* (judicial divorce; might be sought by either of the spouses if they have sufficient grounds to appeal to the court), the third way was the *khul'* (mutual divorce; the exclusive right of the woman, who initiates a divorce, and offers financial compensation for the husband), and the fourth was the *faskh* (annulment; initiated for breaching the matrimonial contract, for e.g., marriage without the right witnesses, marrying within the prohibited degree of kinship, or apostasy of one of the spouses).[457] Divorce was, thus, present in a variety of forms in Islamic matrimonial practices.

Whereas in the Catholic tradition the notion of *divorce* was considered incompatible with the idea of *marriage,* in the Islamic context the discourse on divorce and the conditions

[451] See, also N. J. Pantazopolous, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule* (Thessaloniki: Insitute for Balkan Studies, 1967), 93. The problem of *temporary marriage* is discussed in more details in the next chapter.
[452] Colin Imber, "Women, Marriage, and Property: *Mahr* in the *Behcetü'l-Fetāvā* of Yenişehirli Abdullah," in Madeline Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era,* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 81-105, 84.
[453] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 197.
[454] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 198-199. See, also Imber, "Women, Marriage, and Property," 84-86.
[455] Abed Awad and Hany Mawla, "Divorce. Legal Foundations," in Natana J. DeLong-Bas (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Women*, (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 219-223; 220.
[456] Awad and Mawla, "Divorce. Legal Foundations," 219-223.
[457] Awad and Mawla, "Divorce. Legal Foundations," 220.

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that justified appealing for a separation were integral parts of the discourse on marriage. "Considering the importance of marriage as a social institution and as a foundation for righteous societies, the Quran does not go into any procedural details about marriage as a civil agreement between two people, whereas procedures relating to divorce (*ṭalāq*) are mentioned several times."[458] Issues pertaining to divorce also became part and parcel of the classical works of Islamic jurisprudence, as well as the collections of Ottoman *fatwa*s.[459]

[458] Mona Siddiqui, *The Good Muslim. Reflections on Classical Islamic Law and Theology,* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 12.
[459] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 204.

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III. 3. Negotiating Illicit and Invalid Marriages in Northern Ottoman Rumeli

III. 3. 1. The Decree *Tametsi* and Its Local Implementation

Already from 1571, not long after the conclusion of the Council, Pope Pius V sent apostolic visitors first to the papal state then to other parts of Italy in order to hold ecclesiastical synods and familiarize the lower clergy with the decisions of the Council.[460] According to the Tridentine instructions, the *Tametsi* had to be promulgated and explained at every parish, and after thirty days it became valid and binding.[461] The first chapter of the *Decree on Reformation* also underlined that the *Tametsi* should be periodically re-announced, and as often as possible during the first year of its declaration.[462] In many parts of Europe and in overseas missionary territories alike, the *Tametsi* was neither proclaimed nor explained to the faithful (and even if it was announced, it was not observed), sometimes for several decades after its acceptance at Trent.[463]

Not having proclaimed the orders of Trent was a perfect tool in the hands of the missionaries to influence and implore papal authorities to show more leniency towards digressions from marriage norms. The motivation of the missionaries in employing different types of negotiation techniques, both on the ground and with their Roman superiors, was informed by the local specificities of the territory in which they operated as well as the nature of the various local groups and communal leaders with whom they interacted.

[460] István György Tóth, "Raguzai Bonifác, a hódoltság első pápai vizitátora (1581-1582)" [Bonifacio di Ragusa, the first papal visitor of Ottoman Hungary (1581-1582)], in idem, *Misszionáriusok a kora újkori Magyarországon* [Missionaries in early modern Hungary], (Budapest: Balassi kiadó, 2007), 11.

[461] Vanyó Tihamér, *Püspöki jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona országainak egyházmegyéiről (1600-1850)* [Reports of bishops on the bishoprics of the countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown (1600-1850)], (Pannonhalma: Római Magyar Történeti Intézet, 1933), 54.

[462] *Decree on Reformation, Chapter I*, http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch23.htm. Accessed on 08.03.2018.

[463] For e.g., in the territory of Normandy *Tametsi* was not proclaimed until the seventeenth century, see Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 565, fn. 59; concerning the survival of 'deviant' marriage practices in the Scottish Highlands, see W. D. H. Sellar, "Marriage, Divorce, and Concubinage in Gaelic Scotland", *Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness* 51 (1978/80): 464-493. In certain parts of Italy and France people refused to celebrate their weddings publicly, because they were afraid that malevolent neighbors might try to cast a spell on the marriage. See, Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World. Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice,* (London—New York: Routledge, 2000), 113. In the case of missionaries in Goa, the most acute problem concerned the language in which the decrees were published, since the lack of knowing the local languages consequently meant that the *Tametsi* or any other Tridentine stipulation could not reach the local population in their own language. Missionaries in China and Japan continuously sent their questions to Propaganda, asking whether in remote places it was permitted not to publish the decisions of the Council, which in turn was allowed by the papacy. See, for example the countless number of pertaining documents in APF Risoluzioni, Decreta, and Acta.

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Before the onset of his second mission to northern Ottoman Rumeli in 1581, the Observant Franciscan Bonifacije Drakolica had gotten an extensive list of instructions from pope Gregory XIII in 1580, a great amount of which related to the propagation of the regulations of the Council, with a special focus on the administration of the sacraments among which marriage provisions occupied a central place.[464] Gregory XIII instructed Bonifacio to particularly address the first canon of marriage decrees, i.e., the fact that marriage has to be accepted as one of the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church and the parish priest must be present at the officiation. The instruction aimed to enumerate all possible scenarios the missionary could encounter in the area, so it stipulated, among other points, that those marriages that had been contracted without a priest and witnesses before the pronouncement of the Tridentine decrees were still valid. It also stated that in those places where there was a shortage of priests and the decrees on matrimony had not yet been pronounced, the visitor should not pronounce the *Tametsi* either in order not to burden the local Christians who would then need to wait for the visitor's return. The Franciscan also got the faculty to give dispensations to couples who had gotten married in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity due to their 'ignorance' (i.e., without being aware of it).[465]

Besides the instructions pertaining to the sacraments, Drakolica also got several catechetical and devotional works in Latin and Italian (such as, the Bible, the decrees of the Council, the *Cathechismus Romanus* in Latin and vernacular, breviaries, sermons, confession manuals, canonical tracts, and polemical works), and also the manuscripts of a short catechism for simple priests ("sacerdoti semplici") and a *dottrina christiana*[466] for the local believers in Cyrillic that were meant to be emended by local linguistic experts before the publication in Rome.[467] From Bonifacio's reports one also finds out that the Franciscan visited the parishes of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that he occasionally returned several times to the same place, and that

[464] Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae,* 321-334.
[465] Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae,* 329-330. See, also ARSI Italia vol. 171, fol. 386 r/v.
[466] According to Antal Molnár, these manuscripts were the works of Aleksandar Komulović and Šime Budinić. Komulović's catechism, *Navch charstianschi za slovignschi narod* appeared in 1582, while Budinić's translation of Petrus Caninisius' *Short catechism* appeared in 1583, both in Latin and Cyrillic script, entitled *Summa nauka christianskoga*. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 372-373. See, also Vine Mihaljević, "Katekizmi u bosanskoj biskupiji prije Divkovićevih katekizama" [Catechisms in the bishopric of Bosnia before Divković's catechism], *Bosna Franciscana* 7/11(1999): 70-81.
[467] Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae,* 332-334. It is important to note here that these parts of the instruction also took the Orthodox into consideration and provided a short list of the works that might prove beneficial to reach them, such as Christian doctrines (*dottrina christiana*), the decrees of Council of Florence, and the rules of St. Basil. It is interesting to observe the uncertainty in terms of reaching the Orthodox in these areas. The instruction ordered the mentioned works to be in Greek, but only distributed in small numbers, because of the doubts concerning the languages known by the local Orthodox, who even if they followed the Greek rite might not have spoken the language, i.e., Greek. The rules of St. Basil were ordered both in Greek and Italian, since from Italian it would be easier to translate the work into 'Illyrian' and then use it in certain monasteries.

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he held synods with the few priests he could find in the region (one, somewhere between Požega and Pécs, and the other in Bač). He also preached to the Catholic groups he found in Timișoara and the neighboring villages but his activity in Timișoara was short lived since he died at the beginning of 1582.[468] Despite the fact that one does not know how exactly Drakolica 'translated' the Tridentine decrees into understandable forms for the local clergy during the synods he held, based, for instance, on the 1582 catechism of Aleksandar Komulović, one might reconstruct some of the main points that were probably communicated to the local priests (and thus, subsequently to the local Catholics) on such occasions.

In terms of marriage, the catechism enlisted the most important elements that circumscribe this sacrament, in a short and intelligible form. These instructions included the words that should be said by the bride, groom, and the priest when performing the marriage; they reiterated that marriages should be administered either by the parish priest or by a member of the regular orders in case there is no priest available and in front of two or three witnesses; and underlined the importance of having children as well as the insolubility of matrimonies.[469] The activity of Bonifacije Drakolica and the time he spent in various territories give additional meaning and context to the subsequent reports of missionary bishops and apostolic visitors, regarding the promulgation of Tridentine decrees.

When in 1626, the bishop of Smederevo, the Ragusan Franciscan Alberto Rengjić presented two complicated marriage cases to the Propaganda and asked for advice, it was still not clear whether the decrees of the Council had been announced in and around Belgrade or not.[470] In the first case, as presented by Rengjić, a man had been living together with his father, stepmother, and stepsister. He got his stepsister pregnant, so they contracted a marriage in front of the *kadi*. After having lived together for several years, the man simply wanted to repudiate the current wife and marry another in front of the Catholic parish priest, saying that he had

[468] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 101-106. Bonifacio di Ragusa was not the only one who was entrusted to propagate the decrees of the Council among the Catholic groups, as well as the local clergy of the Balkan peninsula. In 1584, Pope Gregory XIII sent a new apostolic visitor, Alexandar Komulović, prebend of Spalato and the Jesuit Thomaso Raggio to the territories of Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria. They held a synod in Albania, where they proclaimed the decrees of the Council, but due to the great shortage of priests, they did not proclaim the *Tametsi.* ARSI Italia, vol. 171 fol. 386 r/v; 390 r-391 v.

[469] Aleksandar Komulović, *Navch Charstianschi za Slovignschi Narod, u Vlaasti Iazich. Dottrina Christiana per la Natione Illirica nella Propria Lingva*, (Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1582), 70-72.

[470] APF SOCG vol. 56, fol. 243 v. See also, Vanyó Tihamér, *Püspöki jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona országainak egyházmegyéiről (1600–1850)* [Episcopal reports about the dioceses of the Holy Crown of Hungary (1600-1850)], (Pannonhalma: MTA, 1933), 53–54. The problem of holding an ecclesiastical synod in Belgrade also persisted in the following decades, as it is attested, for instance in the 1643 report of Giacomo Boncarpi bishop of Himeria (*de facto* Belgrade). Boncarpi's report also has an important passage in which he states that the regulars (i.e., members of the regular orders), mostly the Jesuits in Pécs and Timișoara did not want to swear to observe the synodal decrees and make a profession of faith according to the stipulations of the Council. Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. II*, 1381.

married the first wife due to fear of the Ottoman authorities. Since the proclamation of *Tametsi* was uncertain, Rengjić had doubts about the validity of the marriage administered by the *kadi*.[471] In the second case, the bishop narrated the case of a man who married a woman in front of the Orthodox priest. After having had children, the man wanted to dismiss his wife and marry another woman in front of the parish priest. The man claimed that his first marriage was null since it had not been administered by a Catholic priest.[472] As a response, the Propaganda ordered the bishop to proclaim the decisions of the Council, especially concerning the sacrament of marriage, in order to prevent further exemptions that happened under the pretext that the Tridentine decrees had not been announced[473]—an order Rengjić was reluctant to completely execute. He promised to supervise and control the marriage regulations of the Council as much as possible, but he was uneasy to publicly announce them due to the fact that the people of the region usually regarded the orders coming from Rome as 'new faith' and due to his fear of the Ottoman authorities as well as his adversary, Tommaso Ivković, the Bosnian Franciscan and bishop of Scardona (*de facto* bishop of Bosnia).[474]

On one hand, this example shows the range of factors and complex negotiations affecting the implementation of the Tridentine reforms (involving Rome, the local Catholic bishops, the Orthodox clergy, the Ottoman authorities, and the subject population). On the other hand, it also challenges the idea that the local Catholics were as 'ignorant' as generally presented by the missionaries, since it shows that certain people were actually quite aware of the legal choices at their disposal and strategies for 'circumventing' the system. In the first case presented here, the man allegedly claimed that the marriage was contracted 'in fear,' which according to Catholic canon law could have potentially constituted a valid ground for annulling

[471] APF SOCG, vol. 56, fol. 242 r. Let me reiterate that theoretically, marriages contracted before the proclamation of *Tametsi* were valid even if potentially contracted by a non-Catholic person, in the present case, the *kadi*. Marriages contracted after the pronouncement of *Tametsi* were valid (at least, technically) only if administered by a Catholic priest in the presence of two witnesses. The issue of marriages administered by non-Catholic communal authorities will be discussed in *Subchapter III. 3. 3.*

[472] APF SOCG, vol. 56, fol. 242 r.

[473] "Sacra congregatio, ne de caetero detur occasio incolis partis Hungariae sub Turcis existendibus solvendi matrimonia sub praetextu, quod ibi non fuerit publicatum concilium Tridentinum, mandavit episcopo praedicto scribi, ut illud et in specie decretum de matrimonio publicari faciat." APF Acta vol. 4, fol. 32r. Published in Julijan Jelenić, "Spomenici kulturnoga rada bosanskih Franjevaca (1437-1878)" [Memorials of the cultural work of Bosnian Franciscans (1437-1878)], *Starine JAZU* 36 (1918): 81-162; 94. I consulted the original document.

[474] APF SOCG, vol. 56, fol. 231 r/v. Dozens of letters inform us about the perpetual quarrels between Alberto Rengjić and Tommaso Ivković over the disputed border of their missionary bishoprics. Unlike the Ragusan Francisan Rengjić, the Bosnian Franciscan Ivković had well-established connections with the local Ottoman magistracy. This is testified, for instance, by the *berat* of Murat IV (r. 1623-1640) from 1626, issued on the request of the *naib* (~assistant of the judge) of Sarajevo which names Ivković the provincial of the Bosnian Franciscan province. The *berat* is published in Boškov, "Turski dokumenti," 35. Concerning the conflicts between the two bishops, see for instance APF SOCG, vol. 56, fol. 212 r/v; fol. 216 r/v; fol. 217 r.; 280 r.; Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 198-201; 219-221; 247-248.

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a marriage, regardless who contracted it and when, in case the fear was so great that it significantly altered the respective man's free will.[475] The second case shows that some local Catholics had a certain kind of knowledge about the fact that a marriage administered by a non-Catholic clergyman could potentially be considered invalid. Importantly, this kind of "vernacular legal knowledge" was also widespread among the Ottoman Muslims in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as studies based on court records and other contemporary sources suggest.[476]

The Jesuit Jacob Tuglino reported in 1630 from Belgrade that there were still many abuses concerning the sacrament of marriage, partly because it was still uncertain whether the Tridentine decrees had been locally announced or not, and partly because the great shortage of priests provided a perfect 'excuse' to evade these stipulations.[477] As a result, the Propaganda entrusted the bishop of Scardona, Tommaso Ivković to give information on a number of issues related to the publication and explanation of *Tametsi.* Among others, the Propaganda expressed its uncertainties regarding the following points: first, the cardinals wanted to know whether the decrees of the Council together with the order on marriage were published in Bosnia and in Ottoman Hungary, and whether the stipulations were published in every parish; in which parishes were the decrees published and in which were they not; how were marriages celebrated, and whether marriages were registered; whether marriages were celebrated according to the Roman ritual, and which were the reasons why the Tridentine marriage stipulations could not be observed.[478] From Ivković's answers,[479] however, it is not easy to extract an adequate and non-biased image of the local circumstances.

Since his relationship with Alberto Rengjić was full of tensions, due to the disputed border of their bishoprics, one should take with a certain amount of skepticism Ivković's claim that the Tridentine decrees together with *Tametsi* were published in all the parishes under his

[475] Ferenc Galla, "Magyar tárgyú pápai felhatalmazások, felmentések és kiváltságok a katolikus megújhodás korából I." [Papal authorizations, dispensations, and privileges concerning Hungary from the period of the Catholic reformation], (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1947), 117.

[476] See, Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab,* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London: University of California Press, 2003), 129-209; Nir Shafir, "Vernacular Legalism in the Ottoman Empire: Confession, Law, and Popular Politics in the Debate over the "Religion of Abraham (*millet-i Ibrahım*)," *Islamic Law and Society* 28 (2021): 32-75.

[477] Galla, "Magyar tárgyú pápai felhatalmazások," 119-120.

[478] "P. An publicatum sit Concilium praedictum in Bosna, et in partibus Ungariae sub Turcis et praesentis in materia Matrimonii. 2. An sit publicatum in singulis Parochiis iuxta prescriptum eiusdem Concilii in eadem materia. 3. In quibus parochiis sit publicatum, et in quibus non. 4. Quibus modis nunc in illis locis celebrentur matrimonia, et quibus praesentibus vel assistentibus. 5. An matrimonia notantur in libro peculiari a Parochiis iuxta Rituali Romanum. 6. An Matrimonia celebrentur iuxta dictum Rituale. 7. quenam sint causae, quare Sacrum Concilium in eadem materia matrimoniorum non possit in illis partibus observari." APF Acta, vol. 7, fol. 143 r.

[479] Ivković's report is published in Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 368-370.

jurisdiction, and each priest had a copy of the Roman Ritual and administered marriages according to it.[480] Considering the literary activity of some of the Bosnian Franciscan friars, however, one can observe that the topic of marriage and the post-Tridentine stipulations that regulated it, did occupy a prominent place in these devotional works.[481] It is, therefore, not unlikely that most parishes did indeed have the *Roman Ritual* and were aware of the stipulations of the Council (how they molded it in practice is, of course, another issue). Nevertheless, it is still improbable that in the territory of Bosnia there were no divorces as Ivković claimed,[482] and that it was only in a little territory under his jurisdiction at the border of Ottoman Hungary (it is not surprising that this was the contested territory between him and Rengjić) that some who left their first spouse and contracted a second marriage could be found.[483] To the query of the bishop whether these people had to return to their first marriage, the Propaganda gave an affirmative answer.[484]

In 1638, the Jesuit Giacomo Micaglia lamented on the countless digressions in the administration of marriages he encountered among the Catholics of Timișoara and its neighboring villages.[485] The Propaganda just like in previous cases made any further action contingent upon the promulgation of *Tametsi*, then transferred the case to the Congregation of the Council.[486] Micaglia, just like his fellow missionaries, could not provide a definite answer to the Propaganda's question: he stated that he could not tell whether *de jure* the decrees were received or not, but in the cities the people kept these regulations, which would indicate that the *Tametsi* had been pronounced; however, if the Tridentine decrees had not been announced in the region, marriages contracted by the Ottoman judge or the Orthodox priest would be valid. Some Catholics, however, considered these marriages not to be 'real marriages,' and the couples who got married in such a way were cursed and basically, ostracized from the

[480] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 368-369.
[481] Matija Divković, *Nauk Karstianski za Slovinski Narod*, (Venice, 1611); Ivan Bandulović, *Pisctole i Evangelya priko Svega Godiscta*, (Venice, 1626); Ivan Ančić, *Porta Caeli et Vita Aeterna*, (Ancona, 1678); idem, *Speculum Sacerdotale*, (Ancona, 1681).
[482] Compared to other regions, the sources informing about marriages and divorces in the territory of Bosnia are indeed much less numerous until the eighteenth century. One should nevertheless be cautious drawing conclusions about the number of divorces in the region. Looking at the available sources from the other territories of the Balkan peninsula and comparing them to those from Bosnia, I find it improbable that principally, there were significant differences in the number of separations. The relative scarcity of the sources for the seventeenth century is more attributable to the local dynamics of the region, more specifically to the local control of Bosnian Franciscans (and their refusal to accept episcopal authority), as well as the friars' relationship with the Ottoman authorities.
[483] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 369.
[484] Jelenić, "Spomenici," 102.
[485] Miroslav Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja SI (1601–1654)," *Vrela i prinosi* 2 (1933): 1-43; 31-32.
[486] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 329.

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community.[487] Because of the many doubts, the missionary proposed the formal pronouncement of the marriage decrees in order to avoid further deviations.[488]

Due to the lack or inaccuracy of numerical data about the actual number of divorces, it is difficult to discern an exact pattern and whether there was a correlation between the supposed propagation of *Tametsi* and the irregularities in marriage customs. Nevertheless, it is plausible that in those territories where the stipulations were pronounced (possibly, even more than once) and explained to the people, and where priestly care was also regular (more prevalent in urban areas, but sometimes challenging to sustain in rural ones, especially in mountainous villages), the number of deviations was lower.

Regardless of the many probable local scenarios, the sole fact of having officially promulgated the stipulations of Trent would, naturally, not immediately change previous marriage customs embedded within the everyday life of different Catholic groups potentially for centuries. It could, however, provide an additional set of rules, so-to-say, for the local Catholics which they could accept, reject, and/or even manipulate. Its promulgation or lack thereof could also be a good 'tool' at the disposal of the missionaries, Jesuits and Bosnian Franciscans alike, who could use it to obtain concessions and dispensations from the papacy to make the new and rigid requirements more digestible to the local population. As some examples analyzed above illustrate, the Propaganda became aware of the loopholes created by the eventuality that the decrees of the Council had not officially been promulgated in certain parts of northern Ottoman Rumeli, but they did not have many means at their disposal to substantially challenge local custom and provide a viable alternative. In most cases, the actual realization of this 'new mode' of religious life depended on the local political, legal, and social circumstances, and only tangentially on Rome.

It already becomes visible that there was a strong divergence between the ideal type of 'post-Tridentine Catholicism'[489] embodied within various canons and decrees and these rules' practical implementation. This apparent discrepancy, however, does not mean that there was no dialogue between 'written rule' and 'everyday practice.' Quite to the contrary, it only underlines that the perceived discrepancies on the ground were the result of this interaction.

[487] Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja," 32-33.
[488] Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja," 32-33.
[489] Cf. John W. O'Malley, "What Happened and Did Not Happen at the Council of Trent?," in Wim François and Violet Soen (eds), *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545-1700), Vol. I*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 49-69; Günther Wassilowsky, "The Myths of the Council of Trent and the Construction of Catholic Confessional Culture," in François and Soen (eds), *The Council of Trent, Vol. I*, 69-101.

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III. 3. 2. Using and Abusing Marriage—Changing Patterns of Kinship and Ritual in Matrimonial Bonds

III. 3. 2. 1. Marriages in the Forbidden Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity

Breaching the Tridentine stipulation about the accepted degrees of consanguinity and affinity, public honesty,[490] the obligatory presence of the Catholic parish priest and witnesses at the wedding, and the accepted times for celebrating weddings was a common occurrence in Catholic communities throughout the world and a challenge that missionaries shared regardless in which territory they were active.[491] The most prevalent among these violations pertained to the issue of forbidden degrees of kinship.

Already from the second half of the twelfth century, the number of papal marriage dispensations[492] that were granted for couples who had gotten married within the forbidden degree of consanguinity gradually started to increase: for instance, Pope Alexander III (p. 1159-1181) ordered local bishops to dispense in those individual marriage cases where the couples were related in the fourth or fifth degree of kinship; Innocent III (p. 1198-1216) gave eleven or twelve dispensations; but the real breakthrough came with Innocent IV (p. 1243-1254) who conferred more than 220 dispensations and this practice was continued by Nicholas IV (p. 1288-1292) and Boniface VIII (p. 1294-1303).[493] The popes of Rome could not, however, single-handedly deal with the rapidly growing number of requests (not only pertaining to marriage)

[490] The impediment of *public honesty* concerned the idea of a prior public engagement with a close relative of any of the future spouses.

[491] As the countless number of papal dispensations in the archive of Propaganda Fide attest, marriages in the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity were common in practically every missionary territory, regardless whether these missions were directed to 'pagans'/new converts to Catholicism or 'errant' Catholics. A great number of examples can be found in the pertaining volumes of ACTA, Decreta, and Risoluzioni. Considering the seventeenth-century Balkan peninsula in general see, for e.g., different cases from the Greek islands: APF Acta, vol. 4, fol. 96 v.; Dalmatia: APF Acta, vol. 3, fol. 210 r, vol. 4, fol. 7 r., fol. 53 v., fol. 54 r; vol. 6, fol. 76 r.; Montenegro: APF Acta, vol. 4, fol. 17 v., APF SOCG, Vol. 125, fol. 120 r.-v.-121 r., fol. 253 v.-254 r.

[492] *Papal dispensations* suspended the obligatory applicability of canon law in those cases that fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. See, also in Robert Benedetto (ed.), *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History: The Early, Medieval, and Reformation Eras. Vol. I,* (London: Westminster John Know Press, 2008), 490-491. On the contemporary practice of papal dispensations and their theological background, see Pyrrho Corrado, *Praxis dispensationum apostolicarum,* (Naples: Apud Franciscum Savium typographum curiae epsicopalis, 1641).

[493] John Russel S. J., *The "Sanatio in Radice,"* 24-25. See, also Ana Marinković, "Social and Territorial Endogamy in the Ragusan Republic: Matrimonial Dispenses during the Pontificates of Paul II and Sixtus IV (1464-1484)," in Gerhard Jaritz et al. (eds), *The Long Arm of Papal Authority. Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and Their Communications with the Holy See,* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2005), 177-186. From the early fourteenth century until the Ottoman conquest, several papal marriage dispensations were similarly granted to the rulers and nobility of Bosnia. Dautović, "Marriage Practices in Medieval Bosnia," 113-136.

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that kept reaching them. Therefore, from the thirteenth century onwards, they started delegating more and more supplications to the Apostolic Penitentiary. By the second half of the fifteenth century, the Penitentiary had become the main office in adjudicating marital matters and kept this role until the post-Tridentine reorganization and centralization of the Roman Curia.[494]

As regards the Tridentine canonical regulations in terms of the forbidden degrees of kinship, they prescribed that marriages contracted up to the fourth degree of consanguinity and second degree of affinity were forbidden and the parties who would not comply with this would be excommunicated.[495] In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Thomas Sanchez also dedicated Book Eight of his *Disputationes* to dispensations in general and marriage dispensations in particular, and demonstrated their growing importance in canon law and pastoral practice.[496] Despite the fact that Catholic missionaries operated under different circumstances in various territories, they equally had to find acceptable solutions for this problem, and Ottoman Rumeli was no exception. Starting from the Greek islands and up to Slavonia, 'errant' marital customs continued to be practiced within smaller, endogamic communities, and religious and secular authorities alike, including Catholic missionaries, repeatedly encountered this custom on the ground.

Thus, when in 1606-1607, two Ragusan Benedictine missionaries, Antonio Velislavi and Ignatio Alegretti, visited the regions of Požega, Timișoara, and Srem, one of their major complaints concerning the sacrament of matrimony was the fact that due to the lack of birth records there were several marriages contracted within the prohibited degree of consanguinity.[497] The lack of these records was a general problem across the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman rule, which illustrates that in those territories where there was neither a rather solid Catholic ecclesiastical structure, nor favorable social and economic circumstances, these Tridentine stipulations could not find a receptive ground.[498] According to the report, in these

[494] In the fifteenth century, the Apostolic Penitentiary dealt with various violations of canon law, including irregular clerical ordinances, sodomy, or sacrilege, but it seems that the biggest number of cases involved irregular marriages. On the institutionalization of the Penitentiary, see Ludwig Schmugge, *Marriage on Trial. Late Medieval German Couples and the Papal Court,* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 1-55. See, also Kirsi Salonen, "The Curia: The Apostolic Penitentiary," in Keith Sisson and Atria A. Larsson (eds), *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy: Growth of an Ideology and Institution*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 259-275.

[495] *The Council of Trent. Doctrine on the Sacrament of Matrimony. Canon III.* http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch24.htm. Accessed on 08.06.2017.

[496] Domingo, "Thomas Sanchez," 250.

[497] Molnár Antal, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése a hódolt Dél-Magyarországról (1606)" [Ragusan Benedictine missionary reports from the southern parts of Ottoman Hungary (1606)], *Lymbus* 3 (2005): 55-62; 60.

[498] To my best knowledge the sole, *de facto* record of baptisms from the seventeenth century concerning the territories under scrutiny belongs to Ivan Dezmanić, the missionary prefect of Carașevo and Caransebeș, who gave an extensive list of the people he baptized between 1641 and 1648. The report is published in Zach, *Die Bosnische Franziskanermission.* During his visitation between 1651 and 1658, covering the territories of Bosnia, Slavonia,

"provinces" (as the visitors refer to it) there remained twenty-seven parishes, but it was visible that there used to be more than 200.[499] Out of this twenty-seven parishes, only six churches had a roof and the local Catholics were catered for by lay priests and Bosnian Franciscans.[500] In response to the deficiencies in record keeping in general, in 1613, the Holy Office ordered that in case a marriage was not registered it could be examined through witnesses whether the wedding had actually occurred,[501] and another papal decree from 1625 stated that in those territories where there was no priest, marriages with two witnesses were also valid.[502] On one hand, with these orders the papacy tried to find the most appropriate way to control and eliminate clandestine marriages, but on the other hand, it generated loopholes that could be exploited by missionaries and Catholic groups alike.

A few years after the visit of Velislavi and Alegretti, with the expansion of the Jesuit mission of Belgrade, Bartol Kašić, István Szini, and Marino de Bonis reported on the presence of similar problems among the Catholic communities in the region of Timișoara. The Jesuit missionaries emphasized many times in their letters to the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva that they had compelled men to return to their first wives and had remedied marriages that were not administered according to the prescribed ecclesiastical rituals and were contracted in the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity.[503] In a report from 1614, for instance, Szini provided a more thorough account of a complicated marriage case, asking for the advice of Kašić. Szini narrated the case of a woman who in her previous marriage was married to her current husband's relative, and Szini asked whether he could give a dispensation, since making people separate was dangerous in these territories.[504]

Even though according to the Tridentine marriage stipulations marriages in the forbidden degrees of consanguinity or affinity should have been dissolved, that would have divided these small Catholic groups even more, since at any point they could join local

and Srem, Matej Benlić, the bishop of Belgrade, reported on the number of men and women he confirmed, but unlike Dezmanić, he did not provide any names. Even if missionaries in several cases underscored the relevance of their pastoral activity with numerical data, these numbers must be handled carefully. A more systematized recording of baptisms and marriages, as required by the Council, can only be attested in the eighteenth century, from which period one record book of baptisms and one of marriages is available, covering the period between 1708-1749 and the territories of Bosnia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, and Wallachia. See, APF SC, Bosnia, vol. Misc. 4 and 5.

[499] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok," 60. The number 200 could remind one to the papal tithe register from the first half of the fourteenth century that similarly enlisted more than 200 Catholic parishes in the Banat. It is highly possible that the missionaries were familiar with this previous report, otherwise it would be hard to tell on what they based this particular number.

[500] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok," 57-60.

[501] "Matrimonium si non reperitur scriptum in libro Parochi potest probari per Testes." APF Decreta, fol. 52 r.

[502] APF Risoluzioni, fol. 143 v.

[503] *EHJM I/1*, 191; 201; 249; *EHJM I/2*, 368.

[504] *EHJM I/1*, 193.

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Orthodox, Protestant, or Muslim groups. Or more precisely, they could appeal to another communal and/or religious representative (which, as it will be shown in the next chapter, they often did), which in turn could easily lead to the abandoning of the Catholic faith. In order to avoid such a loss of believers, the papacy decided to make concessions on the subject of legitimization of endogamic marriages: in 1620, Pope Paul V issued a breve to the Jesuit Marino de Bonis whereby he endorsed the missionary to validate those marriages where the spouses were related in the second or third degree of consanguinity or affinity, since—as the missionary had described in his supplication—the dissolution of such consanguineous marriages could not be without scandal in this region.[505]

Just like the countless number of papal dispensations granted for different marriages contracted in the prohibited degrees in general, this particular papal breve also bears testimony to the fact that even if the missionaries' opinions in several cases went against the established canon law prescripts, they did play a crucial role in the decision-making process of the papacy when granting marriage dispensation. Thus, even though missionaries were officially not allowed to comment on the canons and decrees of the Council, by expressing their 'uncertainties' they did succeed to leave an imprint on Tridentine stipulations.[506] This does not mean, however, that the papacy was always permissive towards these 'deviant' practices and gave up on the idea of regulating and controlling them.

The 1631-report of the bishop of Scardona Tommaso Ivković to Propaganda Fide drew attention to the lack of marriage records (which probably meant that there were no baptismal records either) in several parishes. [507] According to the bishop, the reason why parishes could not keep these records (even though, they tried to) was the fact that the houses (i.e., households) that belonged to a particular parish were scattered throughout the area, in the valleys, mountains, and forests (in some places there was only one Catholic household, while in others there could be up to ten), and they were mixed with the houses of the Orthodox and Muslims.[508]

[505] More precisely, Marino de Bonis SJ asked the pope to grant a dispensation to three or four couples (or to any number that seemed legitimate) from the ones he had found in the "province located between Wallachia and Transylvania" and who had contracted a marriage within the forbidden degrees of kinship. *EHJM I/2,* 379.

[506] It is important to bear in mind that despite the various instructions particular missionaries received from Rome, they were often left to their own devices, which could easily result in the corruption and individual interpretation of certain decrees.

[507] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 368-370.

[508] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 369. In 1624, the apostolic visitor Pietro Massarecchi, and in 1655, Mariano Maravić, then bishop of Bosnia spoke in very similar terms about the distribution of households. Draganović, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija," 43; Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae,* 479. The issue of Catholics living mixed with Orthodox, Protestants, and Muslims in the mountains and forests also figures in the reports of the Jesuits who were active in and around Timișoara (see, for instance the lengthy 1617-report of Marino de Bonis, *EHJM I/2,* 285-296). If one tries to look for local patterns of daily coexistence between the cities and rural areas, one can observe that the mountainous and woodland rural settlements provided an 'ideal' environment for people who

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In order to reach these households and administer the sacraments to the local Catholics, the friars had to use portable altars[509]—a common practice the Franciscans resorted to due to geographical seclusion of certain areas throughout Bosnia, as well as the Banat. In a similar way to the complaints of the Benedictines and Jesuits during their missionary activities at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the regions of Slavonia-Srem and the Banat, the lack of record keeping was apparently a challenge in the areas of Bosnia as well, making it difficult to track and comply with the ban on forbidden degrees of consanguinity.

In his extensive report that encompassed the period between 1672 and 1675 and covered the contemporary regions under the jurisdiction of the Bosnian Vicariate, the Bosnian bishop Nikola Olovčić (d. 1701) elaborated on the common practices of breaching the canon law, including marrying within the forbidden degree of kinship.[510] In one case, Olovčić described the peculiar case of a woman who contracted a marriage and consummated it in a prohibited time, after which she escaped from her husband and married another man, but after the second husband's death she was still not willing to return to the first one. After the women's third escape, her first husband totally rejected her and married another woman.[511] The bishop asked for a dispensation for the woman and her first husband so that he could stay with his second wife, with whom he was in a third degree of kinship.[512]

It is important to underline here that in the eyes of the Catholic Church adultery did not qualify as a valid reason to terminate a marriage[513] and according to the canonic regulations the woman should have returned to her first husband and he would have been obliged to take her back. The Muslim practice, on the other hand, was much stricter on the issue, since adultery (*zina*)[514] was considered a *hadd* crime—i.e., a transgression for which sanction was mandated and fixed by God—and it entailed punishment of both parties with one hundred lashes and public lethal stoning. The act of adultery was determined in front of the *kadi* either by proof

belonged to various ethnic, religious, and potentially social backgrounds to live in relatively close proximity (I say relatively, since, as the missionaries' reports attest the houses could be very far from one another). In the cities, one might notice a gradual transformation of the cityscape, so that by the second half of the seventeenth century, the non-Muslims (i.e., Orthodox, Catholics, and sometimes, Protestants) were pushed to the outskirts of the cities (and even there, generally each of these groups had their own districts). The Muslims lived inside the town (only a few Catholic merchants, i.e., Ragusans could live within the city itself). This does not mean that in the cities different religious and ethnic groups would not mix, but the rural and urban patterns of daily coexistence had very different dynamics, which was informed to a great extent by the geographical features of the area.

[509] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 369.

[510] Jelenić, "Spomenici," 143.

[511] In the Islamic practice, in the case when the husband initiated the separation, he was permitted to divorce his wife twice before the separation became irreversible. See, Siddiqui, *The Good Muslim*, 20.

[512] Jelenić, "Spomenici," 149.

[513] *The Council of Trent. Doctrine on the Sacrament of Matrimony. Canon VII.*, http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch24.htm. Accessed on 08.06.2017.

[514] *Zina* (~unlawful sexual intercourse) encompassed adultery, fornication, prostitution, bestiality, and rape.

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(i.e., four male eyewitnesses) or by confession (by the person who had committed the sin), and it was also legitimate for the husband to kill his wife and her lover if they were caught in the very act.[515] In a case reported by the bishop of Bosnia in 1681, a man killed his wife because he had caught her committing adultery, and after several years he wanted to take another wife.[516]

In the same year (1681), the Bosnian bishop also turned to the Propaganda for dispensations in four marriage cases contracted within the forbidden degree of kinship, in the second, third, and fourth degrees and administered by the Ottoman *kadi.* The case was transferred to the Holy Office who ordered that in the case the married couples were Catholic and they were willing to contract the marriage in front of the Catholic priest and witnesses, the requested dispensation could be given in the mentioned degrees.[517] The bishop also asked the Propaganda, who transferred the case to the Holy Office, whether the children from a man's second marriage can marry the blood relatives of the first wife.[518] Just as in the previous cases mentioned, the impediment of consanguinity was a stipulation towards which the post-Tridentine papacy was more disposed to reach an agreement with the missionaries.

Understanding and adapting to the local circumstances was crucial to missionary success but this context could be used and abused in various ways. In the above-mentioned report from 1631, Tommaso Ivković gave an illustrative account of the local particularities: he claimed that the reason for the deviations from the normative marriage practices was the presence of the Ottomans, and this was the reason why he could only act in a limited capacity.[519] In Ivković's view, as long as these conditions prevailed, there would be no chance of getting rid of these local customs. In one of his previous letters, Ivković was also explicit about the fact that the local know-how was essential to comprehend the dynamics of this region. He insisted that there were not so many deviations as someone (i.e., his rival, Alberto Rengjić, bishop of Smederevo) had informed the Propaganda, who did not possess sufficient knowledge about these lands, and the scandals that occurred were not only in the matter of marriages but also in other sacraments and it was impossible to remedy them, because the "patron" of this land was

[515] Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam,* (New Delhi: AES, 1995), 11.
[516] "Unus occidit propriam uxorem, ut ipse ait in adulterio comprehensam, et iam ab aliquot annis intentat ducere aliam." ACDF RD, Censure in diverse materie dottrinali, fol. 251 r.
[517] "si contracti sint Catholici et penitentes de nulliter contracto matrim. et velint ritu Catholico coram Parocho et testibus contrahere posset concede dispensatione super d. gradibus." ACDF, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 251r.
[518] APF Acta, vol. 50, fol. 195 v. Unfortunately, I was not able to find this question among the reports sent to the Holy Office but judging from other examples it is not unlikely that the Holy Office gave an affirmative answer.
[519] "Quello che non si osserva, in materia de questo sacramento del matrimonio la causa è il tirano. Perchè chi non vuol viver christianamente, ma si vuol rumper il collo, può far facilmente, perchè niuno gli può impeder, perch' si aiuta col braccio di Turchi, nè meno noi lo potiamo astringer in causa si fatta, perchè la nostra auttorità non s'estende a tanto in questi parti." Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 369.

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barbaric and acted as he wished.[520] The suffering under the "Ottoman yoke" was a common trope in the letters of the Bosnian Franciscans when they approached the papacy, but regardless of these conflicts and/or agreements between the friars and the local Ottoman magistracy, Ivković's report remains instructive in the sense that it reflects on the importance of the changed local social and political circumstances, embedded within the Ottoman provincial context.

If one looks back at particular territories of Medieval Europe (with a solid Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy), it can be observed that getting a papal dispensation for marrying or being able to stay married to a relative in general was a rather straightforward process, which started with a request/petition from one of the involved parties or their representative.[521] Petitions were then considered and adjudicated on a case-by-case basis, and the respective exemptions were usually granted without any significant difficulties.[522] What changed with the reform program of the post-Tridentine papacy and the gradual expansion of Catholicism in various parts of the globe was that a number of territories without a permanent Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy—such as several areas in northern Ottoman Rumeli—acquired some sort of representation in Rome through various missionary channels. As a consequence, a number of previously 'invisible' couples married in the forbidden degrees of consanguinity and affinity also gained access to papal dispensations.

The above detailed breve of Paul V illustrates that certain marriage dispensations could now be formulated in such a general way that they would technically target a particular territory (in this particular example, the area between Wallachia and Transylvania),[523] not only a particular couple.[524] Considering that in the territories of Ottoman Rumeli in general and its northern parts in particular, the Catholics were rather unevenly distributed (especially from the second half of the seventeenth century; there are records of villages with only a few Catholic

[520] "Et noi gli rispondiamo che per Iddio gratia non s' n' trovino tanti abusi e scandali di quanti ne sono state informate le Paternità Loro Eminentissime et Dio gli perdoni a chi disturba noi, e cotesta Sacra Congregatione. Perch' Eminentissimo Padre, quell tale non ha tanta praticha del paese, quanta s'mostra d'haver. Perch' i Turchi sono Turchi […] et occorendo qualche scandalo, non solo in materia del matrimonio, m'anco in materia d'altri sacramenti è impossibile di poter lo rimediar né voi di là, né noi di qui, per esser il patron del paese barbaro e libero far male." Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I,* 366.

[521] Cf. Schmugge, *Marriage on Trial*; Jaritz et al (eds), *The Apostolic Penitentiary*.

[522] Dautović, "Marriage Practices in Medieval Bosnia," 115-118.

[523] Looking at other parts of the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman rule, one can encounter similar cases: for instance, in 1626 the bishop of Stephanens (today Herzegovina) obtained a dispensation for those couples who married in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity and legitimized the children from these inter-marriages. The dispensation was issued in order to prevent the local Catholics to appeal to the Orthodox priest, who thus would draw them to the Orthodox rite. APF Acta, vol. 4, fol. 7 r. Around the same time, a faculty was granted to the apostolic visitors of Dalmatia so that they could give dispensations to the couples who had married within the forbidden degrees of kinship. APF Acta, vol. 3, fol. 210 r. In 1627, a similar faculty was given to the bishop of Makarska. APF Acta, vol. 6, fol. 76 r.

[524] Nevertheless, certain missionaries and missionary bishops did ask for (and obtained) marriage dispensations by mentioning the respective couples by name: APF Acta, vol. 4, fol. 17 v; fol. 53 v.; fol. 54 v.

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households),[525] choosing to marry a close relative, in most cases was probably a means of survival as well as a way of avoiding a potential mixed marriage (i.e., a marriage with an Orthodox, Protestant, or Muslim).[526] In light of this, it is important to read these missionary reports while keeping in mind the context in which these 'problematic' marriages actually took place.

As I have highlighted at the beginning of this subchapter, breaching the Tridentine stipulations concerning consanguinity and affinity was a common phenomenon in the world of early modern global Catholic missions. Consequently, various missionaries also wrote in rather standard terms about them, and generally explained their presence with the 'ignorance' or 'disinterest' of the local population, as well as their unwillingness to obey the new rules. But this 'standardizing' trend, so-to-say, did not mean that the conditions for wanting to or having to contract such a marriage were the same everywhere. In the first chapter, I have described how the gradual Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula and the concomitant population migrations rewrote the demographic map of northern Ottoman Rumeli. Due to the population movements in the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as the Ottoman-Habsburg war between 1593-1606, some areas in Slavonia-Srem lost a considerable number of their Christian population.[527] Besides this demographic-ethnic redistribution, the geographic features of the area played a similarly decisive role in determining local marriage patterns, including consanguineous marriages.[528]

[525] See, for instance Tóth, *Relationes*, 177-182; 209-211; 212-225.
[526] In 1626, the bishop of Cattaro (today Kotor, Montenegro), for instance also detailed why people would resort to contracting a marriage within the prohibited degree of kinship. The bishop highlighted two reasons in particular, one was poverty, and the other was the fear of being taken away by the Ottomans. APF SOCG, vol. 56, fol. 364 r.
[527] After the war, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the region experienced a significant population increase with the inflow of new inhabitants, both Christian and Muslim. Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 103-105.
[528] Cf. Charlotte de Castelnau, "Le marriage des infidels au XVIe siècle: doutes missionnaires et autorité pontificale," in *Administrer les sacraments en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: La Curie romaine et la dubia circa sacramenta*, *Mefrim* 121, no. 1 (2009): 95-121; 104-111; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Imperial China and the Christian Mission," in idem (ed.), *Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, 344-364; 361-363.

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III. 3. 2. 2. Clandestinity, Public Honesty, and Wedding Time

During his mission in Caransebeș in 1627, the Jesuit George Buitul reported that despite the fact that he administered twenty marriages, he had many difficulties with the local population, who still married clandestinely. As Buitul narrated, the couples who were about to get married first made a promise to each other as a type of contract, and only after that they went to the priest—and this custom proved to be challenging to uproot.[529] Previously, in 1619, the bishop of Prizren Petar Katić as well as Marino de Bonis SJ also reported about the presence of clandestine marriages in the area of Belgrade.[530]

Concerning clandestinity, the decrees of the Council stipulated that in those territories where the conciliar decisions were not observed, clandestine marriages were illicit but valid and the couples did not need to separate. As it was mentioned in the previous subchapter, in 1613, the Holy Office instructed that in case a marriage was not registered, its having taken place could be confirmed through witnesses,[531] and in 1625, another papal decree stipulated that in the territories without a priest marriages with two witnesses were also valid.[532] Similar cases about clandestine marriages were reported from the mountainous areas of Albania from 1682, and here again the validity of a marriage without a priest and witnesses was contingent upon the dissemination of the orders of the Council, i.e., in case the orders of the Council were not announced, these marriages were considered valid.[533] Similar papal orders were reissued during the pontificate of Benedict XIV (p. 1740-1758), up to the middle of the eighteenth century.[534]

Regarding the mode of contracting a particular marriage, clandestinity was not the only problem which the missionaries had to solve. The Tridentine decrees also determined the accepted times for celebrating weddings, i.e., they prohibited wedding celebrations from the

[529] Periș, "Documente," 193. Similar complaints were formulated by the apostolic visitors of Dalmatia around 1625. APF Acta, vol. 3, fol. 210 r.
[530] *EHJM I/1*, 343; *EHJM I/2*, 379.
[531] APF Decreta, fol. 52 r.
[532] APF Risoluzioni, fol. 143 v.
[533] "Cum in Albaniae Montibus videat adhuc passim abusus ducendi uxores absque interventu Parochi, et testis ullius, num sint administranda Sacramenta illis sic conjugates. Responsum fuit, si in illis locis nunquam fuit publicatum concilium matrimonia sunt vera si alie ad sint circumstantie et sic illis conjugatis ministrari possint Sacramenta, si obicem non ponunt." APF Risoluzioni, no folio nr.
[534] 1726: "Matrimonia etiam sine presentia Parochi contracta, esse valida, si Decretum Concilii Tridentini de Reform: Matrim: requirens presentiam Parochi in Parochia, in qua contrahuntur non sit publicatum si loca et Parochie - sint Parochiis destituta, aut sit impossibile servare solemnitatem contractis Matrimonialis a concilio prescriptam." APF Decreta, fol. 59 v.; 1745: "Ubi lex Tridentini non obtinet, matrimonia clandestina, licet illicita, esse valida, et non esse separanda." APF Risoluzioni, no folio nr.

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Advent of Jesus Christ until the day of the Epiphany, and from Ash-Wednesday until the octave of Easter, inclusively. This regulation also caused a number of misunderstandings on the ground and was often violated, both on the part of local Catholics and particular missionaries.

In 1625, the Propaganda issued a decree stating that on account of the imminent Ottoman threat, weddings could be celebrated even in the prohibited times.[535] In 1629, it advised the Bosnian Franciscan Marco Bandulović to celebrate marriages without festivities so the local Catholics would not appeal to the local *kadi* or Orthodox priest to officiate the marriage.[536] Despite these concessions and efforts the friar must have made, in 1631, he still criticized the custom of the local Caransebeș population of celebrating marriages in forbidden times and of having celebrations during Christmas, Easter, or the day of saints for three days or even longer with singing, getting drunk, dancing in circle, and whistling.[537] In his report from the region of Belgrade and Timișoara, the Marino de Bonis SJ described similar habits of the local Catholic populations already in 1617, implicitly blaming the influence of the customs of the Orthodox who did not consider drunkenness a sin but a sign of respect for the saint. These Orthodox practices were generally described as results of the lack of a developed theological system; nevertheless, one also has to bear in mind that drawing on the writing of St. Paul, Orthodox theologians permitted the practice of drinking wine, eating meat, and marriage, based on the argument that they were all parts of God's law.[538] In 1644, the bishop of Bosnia Toma Mrnavić, also turned to Propaganda Fide regarding the issue of marriages conducted in prohibited times. His query was then transferred to the Congregation of the Council who asserted that the bishop should conform to the stipulations of the Council of Trent, which only forbade celebration and sexual relationship in these times, not the marriage itself.[539]

Besides obtaining papal dispensations and missionary faculties to absolve couples related in the second, third, and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, as well as decrees allowing weddings in the prohibited times, missionaries also turned to Propaganda for guidance in the case of breaching the impediment of public honesty. In 1631, a dispensation was granted

[535] APF Acta, vol. 3, fol. 182 v.
[536] "nuptia celebrentur sine pompis et festivitatibus, quod si hoc etiam a Catholicis obtineri non poterit, ne Turcarum vel hereticorum Ministros pro celebratione Nuptiarum adeant." APF Acta, vol. 6, fol. 263 v.-264 r.
[537] "De nuptiis vero, quae prohibitis ab Ecclesia temporibus celebrantur nullae admonitiones, et correctiones nunc vellent, quia illa barbara et rustica natio etiam sine nuptiis principaliorum sanctorum Nativitatis ac Resurrectionis Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi triduo, et apud aliquos etiam ulterius encoenia cum cantionibus, phistulis, coreis, instrumentis rusticis, poculis, ebriebatibus ac varietate ciborum sollemnitantur et celebrantur etc." Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 364.
[538] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 70.
[539] APF Acta, vol. 16, fol. 154 r.-154 v.; Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 441.

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to the secular priest Simone Matković concerning this impediment.[540] In 1649, a Bulgarian Franciscan Gabriele Thomasi reported from Caransebeș about a case where a young nobleman got engaged to a young woman who died a couple of days later, therefore the marriage was not consummated. Following this, the man married the sister of the deceased girl in front of the Orthodox priest. Thomasi asked for a dispensation for the couple, lest the whole family converts to Orthodoxy.[541]

In addition to the more pragmatic argument of not wanting to lose believers from the Catholic fold, in his argumentation Thomasi also demonstrated his theological awareness of the obstacles in front of such a marriage, i.e., the impediment of public honesty (*justitia publicae honestatis*), referring to Catholic-Reformation theologians (Francisco de Toledo, Martinus Azpilcueta, and Andreas Scotus) and Canon III of the Tridentine marriage decrees. The relationships of affinity that were created through such a prior engagement posed an obstacle to entering a new marriage with any of these new relatives. Even though the Council made concessions regarding this impediment and reduced the prohibited relationships only with the blood relatives in the first degree of either the man or the woman, the reported marriage should have been annulled. The death of the original betrothed, however, and the fact that the marriage had not been consummated, gave Thomasi valid grounds to ask for a dispensation and exploit the ambiguities of this impediment.[542] Another letter probably dating from the 1650s from somewhere in southern Ottoman Hungary, reported on a man who after having had sexual intercourse with a woman, married the woman's sister.[543] In 1668, Michele Radnić, then guardian of Olovo, reported on a similar breach of the stipulation on public honesty in the territory of Bačka.[544]

From the above presented cases, one could see that besides trying to solve the pressing issue of people contracting matrimonies within the forbidden degrees of kinship or trying to

[540] "super impedimentos publicae honestatis dispensaret cum Vucosaro et Magdalena in Ungaria sub Turcis degentibus ut eo non obstante possent inter se contrahere matrimonium." APF ACTA, vol. 7, fol. 61 v. From a comparative perspective it is also important to note that in the case of the marriage practices of the Ruthenians, in 1630, a missionary also reported about a similar case of public honesty, where a man married the sister of his deceased wife and obtained a dispensation from the patriarch of the *schismatic* priest. APF ACTA, vol. 6, fol. 244 r/v.

[541] "È occorso qui giorni passati una cosa il quale questo havendo un giovane nobile disponsato una ragazza, è stato ancori il matrimonio rato, sed non consumato. Dopo pochi giorni la ragaza mori, la quale haveva una sorela carnalle, et havendo buoni mobile et imobili, è andato et ha pigliato la sorela della sua moglie, ben vero che il matrimonio non ha consumato con la prima, li ha sponsato e copulato un prete scismatico […] adeso si piace Vostra Signoria faci questa gratia di procurare la dispensa, perché si non si dispenser, lui se farà heretico con tutta la sua famiglia." Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. III,* 1746.

[542] On the impediment of public honesty, see *Collectio declarationum sacrae congregationis cardinalium sacri Concilii Tridentini, Vol. 7,* (Rome: Typis Caroli Mordacchini, 1816), 288-290.

[543] APF SOCG, vol. 218, fol. 46 r.

[544] APF SOCG, vol. 306, fol. 380 r.

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circumvent the impediment of public honesty, missionaries also struggled to make the Tridentine stipulations concerning the time and publicity of the wedding acceptable to the local Catholics. The available papal orders that specifically targeted these problems were often rather general and vaguely formulated that on one hand, could give missionaries a certain sense of freedom, but on the other hand, they could just as well contribute to the proliferation of further confusions on the ground.

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III. 3. 3. Contesting the Indissolubility of Matrimony—Catholics in front of Orthodox Priests and Ottoman *Kadi*s

III. 3. 3. 1. Introduction

As I have previously emphasized, within the bureaucratic and legal system of the Ottoman Empire, the non-Muslim imperial subjects had the right to appeal to their own communal or ecclesiastical courts and they were equally allowed to resort to the local *sharia* court for solving various cases, most commonly pertaining to marriage, divorce, and inheritance. This cross-institutional and cross-confessional dialogue has generally been interpreted within the larger context of *legal pluralism* that applied to the Christians living in the Ottoman Empire and the concomitant practice of *forum shopping*.[545]

At the same time, contemporary scholarship has also highlighted the relevance of the sixteenth-century formalization of the Ottoman learned hierarchy (*ilmiye*) as well as the proliferation of the Ottoman (*Hanafi*) legal culture that, in turn, gave rise to more 'legally educated' subjects (Muslims and non-Muslims alike) throughout the realm.[546] Moreover, research on non-Muslims' usage of Islamic courts in different parts of the empire also suggests that non-Muslim interpreters could have been present during hearings, and that in some cases there could even be non-Muslims serving as witnesses, bailiffs, or inspectors, which could make the *sharia* court look much less 'foreign.'[547] Concerning Catholics, however, the *sharia* court was not the only 'alternative' they could choose from. In the context of northern Ottoman Rumeli besides frequently turning to the local *kadi*, a number of Catholics also appealed to the Orthodox priest or bishop for officiating a marriage.

The objective of this subchapter, therefore, is to analyze those cases when the Orthodox priest or the Ottoman judge basically acted as a 'surrogate Catholic priest,' the strategies they employed, and the Catholic missionaries' responses to them. The countless number of

[545] See fn. 52 for the relevant literature. This practice was not only characteristic to Christians, but it could also be employed by Muslims. In the sixteenth century in the larger cities of Greater Syria, Muslim wives resorted to the *Shafi* judge (since *Shafi* doctrine allowed separation in case of desertion) instead of the *Hanafi* jurist to obtain a separation in the case of disputed maintenance issues. Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud,* 186; Aykan and Ergene, "Shari'a Courts in the Ottoman Empire," 208-209.

[546] Selma Zečević, "On the Margin of Text, On the Margin of Empire: Geography, Identity and Fatwa-Text in Ottoman Bosnia," PhD Thesis (Columbia University, 2007), 92-110; Kermeli, "The Right to Choice," 207; Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 129-20; Timothy J. Fitzgerald, "Reaching the Flocks: Literacy and the Mass Reception of Ottoman Law in the Sixteenth-Century Arab World," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 2/1 (2015): 5–20; Shafir, "Vernacular Legalism."

[547] Anastasopoulos, "Non-Muslims and Ottoman Justice(s)," 286.

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missionary letters and Ottoman documents from the analyzed regions testify to the convoluted networks and activities of these religious and communal representatives. The analyzed cases will demonstrate how these local agents, belonging to different confessional, ethnic, and social backgrounds and representing imperial, papal, local, and/or individual interests became brokers of Tridentine marriage reforms and legal pluralism in northern Ottoman Rumeli in the seventeenth century and the 'tactics' through which the subject population became active participants in these legal–confessional negotiations.

III. 3. 3. 2. *Kadi*s vs. Missionaries in Northern Ottoman Rumeli

In 1606, the Ragusan Benedictine Antonio Velislavi reported that in the region of Požega, Srem, and Timișoara many men renounced their first wives for their ugliness or other reasons and married another woman. He also encountered women who left their first husband so they could marry another man, and in many cases these women resorted to the help of the local Ottoman authorities to obtain the permission or dispensation for contracting the marriage.[548] Velislavi also underlined that in order to contract a marriage considered illegitimate in the eyes of the Catholic Church, many went to the local Ottoman *kadi* for officiation.[549]

Repudiating a wife or leaving a husband (for the above enumerated reasons) was a prohibited custom in Catholic canon law but formally permitted in Islamic law. Despite the fact that the *ṭalāq* (~repudiation; triple divorce) was the exclusive right of the husband, he was also entitled to transfer this right to the wife.[550] A report by the bishop of Bosnia from 1676 specifically referred to this practice of the Muslim population and the way it could intermingle

[548] "Item si trovano infiniti huomini che repudiata la prima moglie, o per bruttezza, o per altro disgusto, pigliano altra moglie, et all'incontro donne, che lasciato il primo marito se ne pigliano un altro a modo loro, et quel che è peggio, vogliono per forza la licenza di poterlo fare, o vero l'assolutione dopo che l'hanno fatto, ricorrendo a quest'effetto all'autorità di superiori Turchi." Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61. In 1668, Michele Radnić, the guardian of Olovo, informed the Propaganda about the marriage customs of the Catholics of Bačka, and stated that there were three women who left their legitimate husbands, claiming that since there were men who had also left their first wives, they (i.e., the three women) were allowed to do the same thing. "Tra i quali scandali il primo e che tre donne legitimante legate in matrimonio le ha disciotte, dandone altre a i mariti dicendo che'esso puo far questo il che vedendo molti han lasciato le sue prime mogli, e presente altre illegitimante." APF SOCG, vol. 306, fol. 381 r.

[549] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61. Unfortunately, there are no exact numbers given about this practice concerning each visited territory.

[550] Awad and Mawla, "Divorce," 221.

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with the everyday customs of the local Catholics. According to the report, a man married a woman whose previous husband was still alive, but the man had converted to Islam and according to the Muslim practice repudiated his wife and gave her permission to marry, who she wanted.[551]

Several studies have examined how Ottoman Christians (especially women)[552] brought their marriage/divorce cases to the *kadi* court in hope of a more favorable judgment than an ecclesiastical or communal court would normally provide.[553] Despite the fact that in the analyzed regions the presence of ecclesiastical courts *per se* is not attested, as far as the Catholic groups are concerned, the missionaries sent by Rome or the local Bosnian Franciscans also could function as quasi judges when it came to resolving complicated marriage cases. Similarly, several documents attest that the Orthodox priests exercised decisive judicial control in the area, even if the sources do not enable the reconstruction of the exact functioning of episcopal courts as in the case of the Greek or Bulgarian lands. But as Evgenia Kermeli rightly points out: "the challenge is not to prove the existence of such judicial bodies, but to determine their jurisdiction; to discuss the body of law used; and to determine the degree of interaction between different legal systems in the Ottoman Empire."[554]

According to the above quoted Benedictine report, among the visited places there was an Ottoman judge in the following locations: Brodski Drenovac (in the source, Drinovaz, today Croatia);[555] Našice (in the source, Nassice, today Croatia);[556] Đuričić (in the source, Guraseci, today Croatia);[557] and in Smederevo (in the source, Asmederevo, today Serbia).[558] Certainly,

[551] "era che uno haveva conratto Matrimonio con una Loguale haveva già un' altro manilo che era vivo ma d'era fatto Turco, e come tale la haveva repudiata conforma publica solita a Turchi e datole licenza di maritarsi con chi voleva." ACDF RD, vol. Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 143 r.

[552] As the analyzed reports testify, the gender of the claimants who opted for the Ottoman judge or the Orthodox priest for officiating a marriage varied, and since in most cases missionaries gave no numerical data it is impossible to determine whether women or men appealed to these authorities more frequently on the one hand, and whether the *kadi* or the Orthodox priest was a more 'attractive' alternative, on the other. But looking at the larger seventeenth (and eighteenth)-century imperial framework, which was characterized by an increased appeal to the *sharia* courts by an increasing number of Christian women, it is possible that in northern Rumeli the gender proportions were similar. Due to the nature of the available Ottoman source material, studies have primarily focused on the experience of Orthodox Christian women, but from the information that missionary sources provide, it is safe to assume that Catholic women appealed to the *sharia* court no less frequently.

[553] See, for instance, Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli;" Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World;" Kursar, "Non-Muslim Communal Divisions;" Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*.

[554] Kermeli, "The right to choice," 169.

[555] Since according to the Ottoman sources from the end of the sixteenth century, Drenovac was a seat of a *nahiye*, it is highly possible that a *kadi* resided there. Moačanin, *Town and Country*, xiii.

[556] Našice was a *varoš* (~market town, suburb) in a *nahiye*.

[557] Possibly, there was a judge there, but I could not confirm this based on the map of the *sanjak* of Požega as reconstructed by Nenad Moačanin.

[558] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 58-59.

there must have been already more active *kadi*s in the area,[559] at least in the seats of the *sanjak*s, like Požega, which the report does not mention separately. Nevertheless, it is illustrative that in those places where the missionary explicitly mentioned the presence of a judge there was also a Catholic religious representative, either a Franciscan or a lay priest. This is a crucial detail to understand how the simultaneous presence of different religious and communal representatives could influence the dynamics of a particular territory and the daily lives of the groups who lived therein.

Why did Catholics seek the service of the *kadi* when there was a Catholic religious or a lay priest available? Various missionaries who operated in different parts of Ottoman Rumeli, the Benedictine Antonio Velislavi including, generally claimed that people appealed to the local *kadi* to contract illegitimate marriages (i.e., marriages that went against the canonical regulations of the Catholic Church). But was this always the case? Were these appeals simply informed by wanting to obtain a more 'favorable' judgement or was communal and confessional belonging in certain cases articulated along different coordinates?

As this particular Benedictine report attests, marrying in front of the *kadi* did not necessarily mean that a couple was obliged to conform to any sort of non-Christian marriage ritual. According to Velislavi, when contracting a marriage in front of the Ottoman judge, the marrying couple would put their hands on the gospel and make the sign of the cross.[560] Even though Velislavi's description of such a Catholic marriage ritual in the presence of the judge so far seems to be rather unique for the territories under analysis, one might still assume that in other cases the process would have been similar.

Already in 1560 Guillaume Postel (d. 1581), the French linguist and diplomat, published in his *De la République des Turcs* an interesting account of the so-called *temporary marriage* (referred to as *kiambin, kebin/kepin* or *kepinion* in the sources), a practice especially popular among the foreigners residing in the empire.[561] Even though, formally, the Sunni Hanafi school of law forbade *temporary marriage* (in contrast to the Shi'ite practice that allowed it), there is evidence that some sort of temporary marriages were contracted throughout the empire, in

[559] The number of *kaza*s grew during the seventeenth century, concomitant with the growth of the population of the towns, especially in Srem. Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 13.
[560] "Item molti vanno a contraer li detti illegitimi matrimonii avanti il Caddi turco, in mano del quale giurano sopra il libro d'Evangelii et sopra la croce per verba con presenti vis, volo." Published in Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.
[561] Colin Imber, "Guillaume Postel on temporary marriage," in Sabine Prätor (ed.), *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte: Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich*, (Istanbul: Simurg Historia, 2002), 179–183. The problem of *temporary marriage* is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

particular in the southern parts of the Balkan peninsula, and especially between Christians.[562] According to Postel's account:

> "All immoral foreigners make use of this kind of marriage and use *sophistry* in dealing with the Turks, because *qadis* and *subashis* are permitted to authorize the said *kebin*, mainly between Christians, *only in the form and with the oath or sacrament of marriage*. They make them swear as follows: 'You, so-and-so, promise on the Faith of God and *your Law* to take so-and-so as wife and spouse, just as *your God, your Law and custom* (italics mine) commands you, and pay her so-and-so much dower."[563]

In 1599, the Ragusan chaplain Vincenzo di Augustino in his report concerning Ottoman Buda spoke in similar terms about the marriages of those Catholic Ragusan merchants who were married by the *kadi*.[564] In order to avoid the sanctions of the Ottoman authorities, Ragusan merchants (permanent foreign residents in the empire) married their maidservants-turned-concubines before the *kadi*. According to Augustino, the Ottoman judge in question asked whether the man was taking the woman willingly and according to the "Christian law" ("si è contento di essa, e se la piglia di buona voglia, et secondo la legge christiana"); then the man also had to give the woman a certain amount of dowry, and all this was written down by the respective *kadi*.[565]

Antonio Velislavi's description nicely fits into the Postel-Augustino narrative about the course of a matrimony of two Catholics performed by the Ottoman judge. But while Postel and Augustino refer specifically to the 'foreign residents' of the empire, such as Ragusan merchants, Velilslavi's account speaks in more general terms about this custom, and considering the subsequent missionary reports pertaining to the analyzed territories, one can see that seeking the service of the *kadi* to contract a marriage (not necessarily a temporary one) was a more general characteristic of the Ottoman Catholic population. As underlined above, what other

[562] Pantazopolous, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula,* 94–102.
[563] The passage is published and translated in Imber, "Guillaume Postel," 181.
[564] Antal Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda: Vincenzo di Augustino and his Report to the Roman Inquisition about the Situation of the Balkan Catholicism," *Dubrovnik Annals* 18 (2014): 95-121.
[565] Antal Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik," 112-113. Concerning the registration of marriages, it is important to mention an alleged practice of the Bosnian Franciscans as described by the secular priest Pietro Sabbatini in around 1650. Sabbatini noted that the friars often did not go in person to marry a certain couple, but they sent a servant or an ecclesiastical procurator with a book or a note for this task, and as such they married the people; on other occasions they sent only a booklet of some sort, which the couple had to put under their pillow on the wedding night, so in case the Ottoman authorities came the booklet would serve as testimony that they had been married—a custom that had allegedly been practiced by the Franciscans before the arrival of the vicar. Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. III,* 1826. Even if Sabbatini's reproach towards the Franciscans cannot be taken without reservations, it can nevertheless be indicative of certain local administrative trends, namely that the Franciscans needed some sort of written document for the Ottoman authorities that proved that one of the friars had married a particular couple. According to studies by Ottomanists, in parts of Ottoman Bosnia the practice of registering marriages at the court existed in the seventeenth century. See Gara, "Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar," 119-120.

reports failed to mention was the actual procedure that occurred during such a non-Christian administered matrimony. It is possible that other missionaries stayed silent on the subject either due to lack of information or because they were unwilling to report to Rome that Ottoman judges remained more 'attractive' alternatives than Catholic priests and missionaries, in spite of the fact that usually one or two Catholic religious or secular priest was also active where a particular *kadi* was present and despite the occasional papal marriage dispensations that recognized 'irregularly' contracted marriages.

The Jesuit missionary Giacomo Micaglia in 1638, during his activity in Timișoara and its surroundings still reported that the local Catholics contracted marriages outside the official ecclesiastical framework: men chose other wives, despite the fact that their first wives were still alive, and if the Catholic priest was unwilling to bless such a union, they referred to the local Ottoman *kadi* or Orthodox priest.[566] As a response, the Propaganda Fide gave permission to Micaglia to celebrate matrimonies without the compulsory announcement of marriage banns so that people would not appeal to the Orthodox priest or the Ottoman judge.[567]

A plausible explanation for the *kadi*s' 'lenient' approach to the marriage ceremonies of Christians (in the empire in general and northern Rumeli in particular) can be manifold. Given that the territories in which such events occurred were characterized by the coexistence of Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, and Muslim groups (with different ethnic backgrounds but with a predominant South-Slavic component), varieties of marriage customs were integral to daily cohabitation and were likely not considered particularly 'deviant' by either Catholics or Muslims. Moreover, besides the *sharia* and the *kanun*, local judges were also aware of local traditions and many times took these customs into consideration in their decision making.[568] As Boğaç A. Ergene also highlights, "provincial courts were a part of the socio-political environment in which they operated; they not only influenced the local dynamics but were also influenced by them."[569] And as evidence from other parts of the empire also illustrates, establishing strong connections with certain local groups and individuals was one of the

[566]Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja," 31-32.
[567] APF Acta, vol. 13, fol. 171 v.–172 r.
[568] Cemal Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe," in Thomas Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, Vol. 2*, (Leiden—New York—Köln: Brill, 1994), 606.
[569] Boğaç A. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire. Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2003), 3. In this Benedictine report is also mentioned that in case a Catholic ended up in the *sharia* court for a certain crime, the judge made them swear upon the missal and the cross. Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.

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prerequisites for creating a profitable judicial career in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[570]

The problem of the validity of marriages concluded in front of non-Catholic authorities, such as Ottoman *kadi*s, became a point of contention among missionaries, sometimes leading up to heated clashes, especially between the Jesuits and the Bosnian Franciscans. As Ottoman subjects, the Bosnian Franciscans had a much longer first-hand experience with various Ottoman judges than the Jesuits, and in certain instances that provided them with a different perspective on missionary tasks. As I have highlighted above, until the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuits were in a continuous quarrel with the Bosnian Franciscans over the question of which order should have the upper hand in missionizing to the regions of Slavonia, Srem, and Timișoara, and this conflict often took the shape of debates concerning the 'right way' of administering the sacraments. What is particularly interesting in these inter-missionary debates are the emerging (and in many cases clashing) discourses on the issue of marriages contracted through the mediation of other communal representatives, such as Orthodox priests or Ottoman judges.

In his report from 1613, detailing his visit to the Catholic communities from Belgrade up to Buda, the Jesuit Bartol Kašić complained that many men got divorced and remarried following the example of the "Serbs" (i.e., the Orthodox), while others separated, having been convinced by some (i.e., the Bosnian Franciscans) that marriages conducted in front of the *kadi* or the Orthodox priest were not valid.[571] Kašić further explained that the claim of the Franciscans that those who had married their first wife in front of the *vladika* or the *kadi* were allowed to take another wife demonstrated that these Franciscans did not recognize the decrees of the Tridentine Council.[572] Namely, that marriages contracted before the decree of *Tametsi* was promulgated were valid regardless of who had officiated them, and divorces were prohibited. However, as it occurs in more letters written by Bosnian Franciscans, the *Tametsi* had been proclaimed in the region of Bosnia (which according to the Franciscan understanding also comprised the parishes of Slavonia and Srem), long before these marriages were contracted, in which case they were indeed not valid.[573] But since divorce was an accepted legal

[570] Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society*, 25.
[571] "Vi sono molti imbroglio dei matrimonii, perché alcuni alla imitatione serbgli caciar le mogli e pigliar altri. Altre havendo contratto il matrimonio coram Kaddi o ministry heretici et schismatici, sono da alcuni persuasi che tali matrimonii irriti et cusì facil pigliare altre moglie." *EHJM I/1*, 75.
[572] *EHJM I/1*, 76.
[573] For instance, according to the above quoted letter by Tommaso Ivković, the decrees of the Council were announced more than forty years ago in Bosnia, APF SOCG, Vol. 73, fol. 52 r. In Ottoman Hungary, however, according to the extant documents in most dioceses, they were not publicized. When in 1626, Alberto Rengjić presented two complicated marriage cases to the Propaganda (previously discussed) and asked for advice, it was

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category within both Orthodox canon law and Islamic law, it is also possible that Bosnian Franciscans were simply more accepting of the legal pluralism as practiced in the Ottoman Empire and viewed a marriage conducted in front of the *kadi* or the Orthodox priest as a legally valid but breakable bond. It must be emphasized, however, that since like other religious orders the Bosnian Franciscan order was also not a monolith, other motivations could have also figured in the friars' decision making, such as getting a fee when a couple contracted a new marriage.

Bartol Kašić SJ was not only firm in his conviction that marriages administered by the Ottoman judge were valid marriages, in one special case he even 'advocated' for a divorce to be administered in the *kadi* court. The Jesuit father described one particular instance when a Catholic priest married a woman at the *kadi* court, causing a great scandal among the local Catholics (Kašić is not specific here, but the scandal seemed to have been due to the priest having gotten married, not necessarily because this happened with the local *kadi*'s mediation).[574] The priest asked Kašić to absolve him, but the father said that he could not simply hide this scandal with a secret confession but he needed to go to the local *kadi*, who according to local custom would give him a letter of divorce (*hüccet*, ~legal certificate); afterwards, he would need to publicly swear in the church, in front of the Catholics, that he would leave his wife, and give the letter of divorce to the father, who then would absolve him.[575] Allegedly, the priest got the asked *hüccet* from the *kadi*, who according to the report was aware of the fact that 'Latin priests' were not supposed to get married.[576]

still not clear whether the decrees of the Council were announced in and around Belgrade, APF SOCG, vol. 56, fol. 243 v. See also, Vanyó, *Püspöki jelentések*, 53–54. Therefore, it would be difficult to determine whether in the region in question the announcement actually occurred prior to the arrival of the Jesuits or not.

[574] Vanino, "Autobiografija Bartola Kašića," 76.

[575] "Publice ibis ad cadiam, ut tibi suo more det scriptum libellum repudii; deinde coram catholicis promittes illam a te relinquendam esse adhibito iuramento, teque sacramentali confessione tantum sacrilegii scelus deleturum, postremo publice coram populo ante altare in templo s. Andreae poenitentiam postulaturum offerendo Patri libellum repudii." Vanino, "Autobiografija Bartola Kašića," 76.

[576] Vanino, "Autobiografija Bartola Kašića," 76. It is safe to assume that the respective *kadi* was aware of such a stipulation concerning the marital status of the Catholic clergy. A document from around 1636 that listed the 'abuses' and 'scandals' of the Bosnian Franciscans also mentioned that some friars married publicly in front of the *kadi*, which caused great scandal among the local Catholics, as well as the Muslims. Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 680. Despite the document's emotionally charged nature (according to István György Tóth, the list was most probably composed by an older Bosnian Franciscan friar, who was displeased with the current state of the province), it is highly possible that this accusation was grounded, especially considering that the issue of certain Catholic priests and religious getting married was a general problem in early modern Southeast Europe and not only. Another interesting story from 1647 concerns the story of a Bosnian Franciscan lay friar who was a healer. He abandoned the order, got married at the *kadi* court, then got divorced after five years, and remarried again before the *kadi*, and eventually, converted to Islam (later he attempted to return to the order, but in vain). Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. II*, 1546-1547. In 1639, the Bosnian Franciscan Girolamo Lučić, then bishop of Drivasto (today Drisht, Albania) reported a similar case about a Ragusan Franciscan who became a doctor for the Ottomans in Sarajevo, abducted a Christian girl with the help of the Ottomans, and married her at the *kadi* court. APF SOCG, vol. 299, fol. 41 r.

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A small number of Ottoman documents provide additional insight into the complex legal and religious economy surrounding the contracting of marriages in the region of northern Rumeli. For instance, a 1562 *ferman* ordered the judges of the *eyalet*s of Budin (Buda) and Tımışvar (Timișoara) to examine the process of marriage fee collection of the Bosnian Franciscans;[577] a *buyuruldu* (~order of a high Ottoman official to a subordinate) of the imperial *kaymakam* (deputy of the *grand vizier*) from 1575 ordered the *kadi*s not to marry the Christians from Foča (today Bosnia), Prijepolje (today Serbia), and Čajniče (today Bosnia);[578] and a *hüccet* of the *kadi* of Kreševo (today Bosnia) from 1598 issued to the Bosnian Franciscan guardian confirmed that the friar named Luka did not marry the wife of Gabriel to another man.[579] As it can be seen, the enumerated documents are all from the second half of the sixteenth century, and unfortunately, the available seventeenth century Ottoman sources are rather silent on the topic as regards the involvement of *kadi*s in Catholic marriages.[580] A number of seventeenth-century missionary reports, however, demonstrate that in certain areas, the practice was prevalent also in this period.

Concerning seventeenth-century Ottoman Rumeli in general, various judges did not only infringe upon the jurisdiction of the local Catholic ecclesiastical representatives, but they also challenged the authority of the Orthodox clergy. Svetlana Ivanova has shown that in the town of Vidin (today Bulgaria) certain *kadi*s abused their position in order to collect taxes from the local Orthodox Christians: in 1700 a *ferman* was sent to the local authorities of Vidin, issued as a result of the complaint of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who claimed that certain *kadi*s and *nâib*s (~assistants of the judge) said that without a letter (*mürâsele*) from them, matrimonies cannot be contracted; another *ferman* sent to the judge of Vidin also gave evidence about the

[577] Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta*, doc. 48. Matašović only gives the summary of this document, which is incorrect, since the regesta says that *kadi*s should not marry local Catholics. The original document, however, is an interesting *ferman* of Suleiman the Magnificent that was issued based on the accusations of the Peć patriarch, Makarije against the tax collection practices of the Bosnian Franciscans. I thank my colleagues, Ana Sekulić for having shared the original document with me, and Günhan Börekçi for having translated it.

[578] Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta*, doc. 91.

[579] This example shows that sometimes the friars themselves sought the intervention of a judge in matters under their own jurisdiction. Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta*, doc. 145. The friars, just like Ottoman Christians in general sought justice at the *kadi* court whenever they deemed it necessary (such as, in cases pertaining to taxation, the renovation of churches, or land disputes) and whenever a particular business also involved Muslim parties. Among the several documents in Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta*, see, for instance doc. 19, 23, 53, 112, 122, 127, 157, 225, 498. See, also Ursinus, *Fojnica*.

[580] As I have emphasized in the introductory chapter, very few seventeenth-century court records for northern Ottoman Rumeli are available. Therefore, it cannot be determined how these *sicil*s would shape and refine the information that missionary sources provide about the local *kadi*s and their Christian subjects. A few court documents concerning seventeenth-century Belgrade have been preserved in other archival collections. The marriage cases they report about, however, mainly concern the local Muslims. See, Dragana Amedoski, "Belgrade Women in Ottoman Society: Muslim Women from Belgrade at Sharia Court (17th Century)," in idem (ed.), *Belgrade 1521–1867*, (Belgrade: Turkish Cultural Center, 2018), 53-65.

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existence of such abuses concerning the activities of the former *kadi*.[581] The cross-institutional dynamic and competition is remarkable here: the *ferman* was issued based on the complaint of the Orthodox bishop because the Ottoman judges had actually mimicked the Orthodox practice of collecting marriage fees.[582]

Not only were various marriages and divorces performed by non-Catholic authorities, but the fact that they were generally completed through financial transactions turned marriage (and separation) itself into a commodity to negotiate among the local religious brokers and the communities themselves.[583] Although, in the missionary reports concerning the cases from northern Ottoman Rumeli financial motivations do not figure when it comes to resorting to the *kadi*, it is fairly certain that these judges also asked for a certain sum, and in some cases they could even offer a better 'financial deal' than the Orthodox or the Catholic priests.[584] Concerning Bosnia, the practice of Catholics contracting a marriage and initiating a divorce at the *kadi* court continued throughout the eighteenth century.[585] Several documents attest that especially divorces and the annulment of marriages between Muslim men and Catholic women, as well as the various cases when the Franciscan friars and/or other local Catholics tried to prevent at the court the marriages of Catholic women to Muslim men constituted a good source of income for the local judges.[586]

Through a variety of examples both from northern Ottoman Rumeli and other parts of the empire, the preceding discussion highlighted the role Ottoman judges could assume in the marriages of Catholics. Even though the *kadi* court could potentially offer a much simpler way to avoid canonical restrictions,[587] the various appeals of the local Catholic population to the

[581] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Ottoman Rumeli," 164. It is illustrative that according to the report of the Bosnian Franciscan Giovanni Desmanić concerning mid-seventeenth-century Banat, Orthodox prelates similarly demanded Catholic priests to get a permission from them [i.e., the Orthodox clergy] in order to administer a marriage. Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. III*, 1655.

[582] Some scholars have argued that the Bosnian Franciscans also mimicked the tax-collecting practices of the Orthodox clergy. See, Molnár, "Bosnian Franciscans," 211-231. See, also *Subchapters II. 1. 3* and *II. 1. 4*.

[583] It seems that only Jesuit missionaries did not demand any sort of marriage fee (or other fees) from the Catholics. In 1621, the Jesuit Marino de Bonis accused the secular priest, Paolo Torelli, active in the region of Bač (today Serbia), that he married divorced couples for money. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 206.

[584] Cf. Gradeva, "Orthodox Christians in the Kadi Courts: The Practice of the Sofia Sheriat Court, Seventeenth Century," in her, *Rumeli under the Ottomans*, 165-194; 184. The competition between Orthodox prelates and *kadi*s in general and the reasons why Orthodox Christians appealed to the *kadi* court has been well and extensively researched. See, for instance, Ivanova, "Christian Women in Ottoman Rumeli"; Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World;" and Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans*. See, also my discussion in *Subchapter II. 1. 5*.

[585] A decree of the Holy Office from 1757 ordered the apostolic vicar of Bosnia to warn the local Catholics that if they marry at the *kadi* court and not in front of the parish priest and two witnesses, they are not considered legitimately married neither in the eyes of God, nor the Church, and their children are considered illegitimate. Therefore, they should marry according to the Tridentine prescripts. APF Risoluzioni, no folio nr.

[586] Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 309-310.

[587] At the court there were no investigations into the motives of divorcing, no conciliation terms, and no bans on subsequent marriages.

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Ottoman judge in terms of marriage cannot be always reduced to simply wanting a more favorable judgement than another type of court or authority would provide. After all, *kadi*s were not only imperative and indispensable in contracting and dissolving marriages; various other types of cases of the local Catholics[588] ended up in the *sharia* court—as it was highlighted in the previous chapter. Compared to the multiplicity of functions (judicial, administrative, cultural, and religious) and the concomitant prestige, authority, and power that different *kadi*s had in their respective localities, the sphere of action of the local Catholic religious representatives was often a lot more limited. Whilst the Bosnian Franciscans as the 'safeguards of Catholicism' in the area for centuries could justifiably vie for and potentially gain the position of 'communal leader' of a particular Catholic group, other 'foreign' Catholic religious started off from a more disadvantageous position. Still, regardless of the missionaries' belonging to a particular order and their respective legal status (Ottoman-subject, Ragusan-subject, or local-born returning to their homeland) they unexceptionally had to prove themselves worthy of leading and a representing a certain Catholic community or group. Thus, in terms of authority and influence Ottoman judges on occasions could easily undermine various Catholic religious or lay priests and become the better and more suitable candidates for performing certain tasks, such as the administration of marriages.

[588] The category of 'local Catholics' was a heterogenous group that included a wide variety of agents, such as various Catholic missionaries and other members of the clergy, Ragusan and Bosnian merchants, and different local Catholic groups and individuals who inhabited the territories of northern Ottoman Rumeli.

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III. 3. 3. 3. The Lure of Orthodox Priests

In the previous part, I have discussed the potential motivations why various nominally Catholic groups and individuals sought the service of the Ottoman judge instead of a Catholic religious representative (even when one was locally present) to contract a marriage. There was, however, another option that proved to be just as much, if not more attractive on occasions, than the local *kadi*. They were the Orthodox priests (*pop*s) and their *vladika*s, who—as it was illustrated in *Chapter II. 1. 4.* —by the beginning of the seventeenth century, practically had become the most decisive Christian ecclesiastical authorities in the area.

Jesuit reports inform us in great detail about the existence of a significant number of Orthodox priests (*pop*) in the territories under analysis and considering the large number of eparchies and metropolitanates therein,[589] one could perhaps take at face value the assertion of Marino de Bonis SJ that there was no village without an Orthodox priest.[590] In contrast, there were only one or two fathers stationed together at a particular missionary outpost. Compared to the Jesuits, the Bosnian Franciscans (and even a number of secular priests) were in a more advantageous position in countering the authority and influence of the Orthodox clergy among the local Catholics. This was mainly due to the higher number of the Franciscans in the area, as well as their embeddedness in the Ottoman provincial society. But even as Ottoman subjects the friars seems to have still had a less solid legal position in Ottoman Europe compared to the one enjoyed by Serbian Orthodox priests, *vladika*s (~bishops), and metropolitans. In turn, the Serbian Orthodox clergy continuously tried to harness this profitable status to extend their jurisdiction over the local Catholics, collect various taxes from them, and if possible, also convert them to Orthodoxy. In this way, they became the greatest competitors of the Bosnian Franciscans, since the territory of the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina to a large extent overlapped with the area under the control of the Peć Patriarchate, and it even extended into areas under the control of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople.[591]

In a report from 1617, Marino de Bonis SJ lamented that due to the coexistence with the Orthodox and Muslims, the Catholics of the region among the Sava, Drava, Drina, and Danube rivers did not consider drunkenness a sin, they remarried easily, and did not regard

[589] See, Molnár, "Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet," 32–63.
[590] *EHJM I/2,* 289.
[591] See, also *Subchapter II. 1.*

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marriage between relatives unsacred, except marriage with the godparents.[592] He also held it against the Catholics of the Timișoara region that they regarded marriage as terminable, and if a woman paid a certain sum to the Orthodox priest, he dissolved the marriage.[593] During his visit in 1631 in Caransebeș and its surroundings, the Bosnian Franciscan Marco Bandulović encountered similar deviating marriage customs. In his letter addressed to cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi he described that the practice among the local Catholics was that if a man did not like any more his wife, or a woman did not want to be any longer with her husband, they went to the Orthodox priest to officiate a new marriage. He argued that in order to eliminate this practice a papal admonition was necessary, since the people did not believe him that the pope would not approve of such a way of administering a marriage.[594] From a comparative perspective, it is illustrative that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Bulgarian Catholic bishop Philip Stanislavov informed the papacy that the Paulician heretics of Rumeli could not comprehend why divorce was not permitted to them, since it was a common practice both among the Muslims and the Orthodox.[595] In 1638, Giacomo Micaglia SJ, and then in 1651, Rodolpho Calleli SJ reported about similar practices among the Catholic population of Timișoara, underlining that divorces were still abundant in the region, men left their wives even if they were still alive and took another in front of the Orthodox priest.[596]

Just like one could see in the case of Ottoman judges, marrying and separating Catholics could become a major source of income for the local Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy. The issue of whom marriage fees and other church taxes ought to be paid to, was a permanent source of conflict between the Bosnian Franciscans and Orthodox *vladika*s, the latter continuously attempting to collect these taxes from the Catholics too. From the middle of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries several *ferman*s and *hüccet*s from the *sanjak*s of the

[592] "Per le continua pratica e vicinanza, che danno li sudetti miserabili popoli con scismatici e turchi, tengono che sia cosa santa s'imbriacarsi, e molti viti abominevoli non tengono che siano pecatti, caciar la prima moglie, e pigliarne un altra tengono che sia lecito; non si guarda tra di loro molto l'affinità nè consanguinità solamente il compare, e la comare con li quali et ad vigesimum gradum tengono sia grandissimo sacrilegio congiungersi in matrimonio." *EHJM I/2*, 299.

[593] "Tengono che il vincolo del matrimonio sia solubile et dispensabile; la onde passim alle moglie danno il repudio pigliandole altre pagando un tanto al Popa." *EHJM I/2*, 290.

[594] "Adhuc pessimam habent consuetudinem, ita quod si viro non placet mulier vel mulieri vir, proprias relinqunt et alienas sibi accipiunt, et hoc per haereticos sacerdotes, et ideo bene esseret, ut Sua Sanctitatis illis hominibus aliquas particulares admonitorias literas per me, vel aliquem alium religiosum (ne per manus saeculariam ad manus Turcicas perveniant) scribere faciat, ne talia imposterum audeant perpetrare, quia aliquoties ab illis audivi talia dicere, utrum Beatitudo Sua ipsis talia concedere vellit, et ego semper dixi non, sed mihi forsan non credunt, quia putant, quod talia de meo capite dicerem etc." Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 364.

[595] Ivanova, "Christian Women in Rumeli," 153.

[596] Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja," 31-32; Adrian Magina and Livia Magina, "Mores et ceremonias ecclesiasticas ignorabant: Religie populară în comunitățile catolice din Banat în secolul al XVII-lea" [Mores et ceremonias ecclesiasticas ignorabant: Popular religion in the catholic communities of the Banat in the seventeenth century], *Banatica* 18 (2008): 321-346, 341.

*eyalet*s of Bosnia, Budin, Kanije, and Tımışvar inform about the various alleged tax collecting abuses of the Orthodox metropolitans and *vladika*s towards the local Catholics and the Franciscans.[597] For instance, in 1601, a *ferman* of sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) was sent to the *sanjakbey* and the *kadi*s of the *sanjak* of Zvornik that—on the basis of a petition filed by the Bosnian Franciscans—forbade Orthodox metropolitans to collect the wedding tax from the Catholics, i.e., 12 akçe for the first marriage, 24 akçe for the second marriage, and 48 akçe for the third marriage, as well as the tax from Catholic priests in the amount of 12 akçe.[598]

These Ottoman sources do not only document the various grievances that were expressed by the Bosnian Franciscans but also show how the friars as the religious and communal representatives of the local Catholics[599] tried to define and delimit the boundaries of their own religious community (confession, if you will) in the eyes of the Ottoman authorities. According to the summary of a 1615 *ferman* of sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617), 'Catholic confessionalism' was described in the following terms: "We are of the Latin faith and our sect is utterly different from the faith of the Serbs, the Greeks, and the unfaithful Vlachs, and we are not connected to them in any ways. Marriage fees and other alms we ought to give to the priests of our faith, the Franciscans."[600] Such a rather simple line of argumentation was probably, generally enough for the respective Ottoman authorities to keep acknowledging the status of an individual *taife* of a particular religious community.[601] But how different the 'Latin faith' really was from 'the faith of the Serbs'? Besides their larger number and availability, what were those elements that made the local Serbian Orthodox clergy attractive to the local Catholics?

In 1617, reporting on the situation of the mission in Belgrade and Timișoara, the Jesuit Marino de Bonis noted that despite the fact that the Serbian Orthodox priests were not educated and could barely read the Ruthenian script ("il karaktere Ruteno"), they were able to easily affect the Slavic-speaking simple Catholics not just due to the common language and continuous interactions, but also because of the similarities between the two religions, i.e.,

[597] See, Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta,* doc. 66, 82, 96, 97, 114, 123, 238, 530, 812; Boškov, "Turski dokumenti," doc. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19.
[598] Boškov, "Turski dokumenti," doc. 11.
[599] At least, this is how the friars tried to fashion themselves. As several cases that are analyzed in this dissertation illustrate, the authority of the locally active Franciscans was often contested by exactly those Catholic groups to which they were supposed to pastor.
[600] "Mi smo latinske vjere, i naša je šljedba od vjere Srba, Grka i Vlaha nevjernika sasvijem različita, i s njima mi nemamo nikakvih veza. Ženitbene pristojbe i druge crkvene daće dosada smo davali svećenicima naše vjere, franjevcima." Matašović, *Fojnička Regesta,* doc. 238.
[601] Nevertheless, the very existence of the several *ferman*s and *hüccet*s that were issued based on the petitions of the Franciscans of Bosnia also demonstrates that belonging to one religious community and not another, was an issue that repeatedly had to be reiterated and somehow proved. One can partially also reconstruct the Orthodox side of the story, i.e., how the Serbian Orthodox clergy argued when it came to prove that they had the right to collect the taxes from the Catholics too and also minister to them. See, my discussion in *Subchapter II. 1. 2.*

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many elements of exterior worship and profession of the faith.[602] In order to understand how harmful these priests could be, one needs to know that besides the fact that they speak Slavic ("linguaggio schiavono") well, they are infected by the errors of the "Greek sect" ("sono tutti infetti degli errori della setta greca") and they recognize the patriarch of Constantinople as the head of the church and the people follow them in this conviction.[603] A few years earlier, Bartol Kašić SJ spoke in similar terms about the local Orthodox and emphasized that the more the religion of "Greek rite Rascians or Serbians" resembles the Catholic religion in terms of rite and creed, the more the Orthodox priests can deceive the "simple folk."[604]

Besides the mentioned similarities between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, another report dating from 1634 concerning the Catholics of Slavonia provided additional reasons that would lead local Catholics to appeal to the Orthodox priests to officiate marriages and perform baptisms. Despite its anecdotal character, the description gives valuable details about the local dynamics of the region, especially in terms of the mobility and availability of different religious representatives. According to the letter of the Catholics of Ilok (today Croatia), Ljuba (today Serbia), and other villages,[605] there were two Bosnian Franciscan convents near Ilok, both of which the friars gradually abandoned because of the alleged persecutions by the Ottomans. The guardian of the convent of Sarengrad (today Croatia) was accused of taking soldiers from the Habsburg Empire and plundering the Ottoman lands. This guardian, Gasparo Piombese, was beheaded and cut in half and impaled in Ilok. Nevertheless, the friars visited their flock in disguise and administered the sacraments. In the meanwhile, other priests (i.e., secular priests) arrived, and the Bosnian Franciscans withdrew to their convent in Olovo (today Bosnia), but due to the negligence of these lay priests more than twenty families converted to the "rite of the Rascians" (i.e., to Orthodoxy.) After a while, only two lay priests remained in the region, Don

[602] "Impero ché se bene i serviani, o vogliamo dire a loro modo Serbgli, siano tutti idiote et illiterati, et i preti loro che chiamano Popi, a peno sanno pocho legere il karaktere Ruteno, del resto sono ignorantissimi affatto, non dimeno sono di danno grandissimo alli catolici slavoni più semplici, i quali facilmente si conformano agli costumi et riti loro, non solo per la conformità del istesso genio et linguagio et continua prattica un con l'altro, ma anchora per la simiglanza della religione in molte cose nel culto esteriore et professione della fede." *EHJM I/2,* 289. On the transference of Orthodox icons into Catholic devotional practices, see Margarita Voulgaropoulou, "From Domestic Devotion to the Church Altar: Venerating Icons in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Adriatic," *Religions* 10, no. 390 (2019): 1-41.

[603] *EHJM I/2,* 289.

[604] "In questo dominio vi sono molte sette, per lo piú peró sono ratiani che chiamano volgarmente sarbgli della setta graeca, gente motto perfida et maledetta, i quali quanto ci piú assomigliano nel rito et professione, tanto piú facilmente inganano i semplici." *EHJM I/1*, 71. The problem of the conceptualization of 'rite' is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

[605] There are a number of letters that were written in the name of particular local Catholic communities to Rome. The authorship of these letters, however, is often questionable. In certain cases, it is almost certain that the letters were composed either by a Bosnian Franciscan friar or a secular priest in order to make their case stronger and more believable in Rome. Even if a particular letter was penned by a local Catholic, it remains still problematic to assess to what extent they represented the views as well as problems of a particular community.

Gregorio and Don Giovanni. The latter one due to his extreme drunkenness could not administer to his flock, and therefore, for almost a year no mass was held in the region. For all these reasons, few Catholics got married or baptized, many died without having received the sacraments, their children got baptized by the "Preti Rasciani" (i.e., Orthodox priests), and also these Orthodox priests administered marriages.[606]

The question, nevertheless, remains: what were the differentiating features of Catholic and Orthodox confessional belonging? In which cases were these designations simple 'labels' and when were they associated with a deeper meaning? How could various local groups of people distinguish and most importantly, decide between Catholicism and Orthodoxy? In the field of Eastern Christian studies of the past decade, various scholars have been asking whether it would be possible to speak of an Orthodox 'confessional culture' in the *Slavia Orthodoxa*, in the sense outlined by Thomas Kaufmann for the Lutherans.[607] As regards the Serbian Orthodox context of seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli (or even the Catholic one, for that matter) what would be the components that would qualify as 'confessional propria'?

Concerning the territories under analysis, the Jesuits often enumerated the distinguishing features of the Orthodox from which one might deduce what potentially constituted such 'propria'.[608] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Bartol Kašić SJ described the Orthodox Christians of Srem as follows: "Even though there are Serbian Christians who from their childhood grew up in the rite of the Greek schism, they still do not know what the schism actually is. They do not know the lessons and articles of the Christian faith [the twelve articles of faith; i.e., the Apostles' Creed],[609] the Ten Commandments, the Our Father, they rarely confess, and they take the eucharist barely once a year in both kinds."[610] According to the Jesuit narrative, the Orthodox priests did not teach people how to pray but

[606] APF SOCG, vol. 125, fol. 394 r.-395 v. In the same year, the apostolic visitor Donato Jelić also described how in the diocese of Antivari (Bar, today Montenegro) the lack or distance of a Catholic priest prompted the people to seek the service of an Orthodox one ("perché non trovano commodamente il sacerdote cattolico chiamano li scismatici"). APF SOCG, vol. 299, fol. 263 r; also fol. 260 r. These reports of Jelić were published by Basilius Pandžić OFM. See, Pandžić, "De Donato Jelić, O. F. M. Missionario Apostolico (1600-1676)," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 56 (1963): 436-456.

[607] See, Brüning, "Die Orthodoxie im konfessionellen Zeitalter," 45-75; Makrides, "Konfessionalisierungsprozesse," 77-110.

[608] The latest general overview on the relationship between the Jesuits and the Orthodox from the sixteenth century until the present day is: Paul Shore, "Jesuits in the Orthodox World," in Ines G. Županov (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, (Oxford: OUP, 2019), 318-349.

[609] NB. The *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* employed by the Eastern Christian Churches is also divided into twelve articles of faith. See, also Anna Ohanjanyan, "Creedal Controversies among Armenians in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 27 (2020): 7-69; esp. 34-42.

[610] "Erant autem christiani Serblii in ritu schismatico Graeco educati ab infantia, nihil tamen scientes se tales esse, neque quidnam sit schisma neque quaenam sint rudimenta fidei christianae aut articuli fidei aut decalogi praecepta aut orandi formula Dominica neque sacramentorum poenitentiae et Eucharistiae frequentia, quam sub utraque specie vix semel singulis annis sumunt." Vanino, *Autobiografija*, 43-44.

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only how to make the sign of the cross; however, they insisted that the crossing should not start from the left side (in contradistinction to the Catholic practice) since, according to their interpretation, that is where the power of the devil came from.[611]

As these examples show, it was customary for the Jesuits to speak in negative terms about the local Orthodox people and their ecclesiastical leaders, typically by listing all the things that they were not doing or did not know. However, when the fathers were reproaching the local Catholics for their ignorance and indifference, their description differed very little from the above quoted characterization of the Orthodox.[612] Following Bartol Kašić's reasoning, the Orthodox would be distinguishable from Catholics by the fact that they grow up in the rite of the Greek schism and have some sort of idea/awareness about the meaning of the schism (that Kašić reproached them that they do not), take the eucharist *sub utraque specie*, and make the sign of the cross starting from the right side. Whilst, formally the last two pertain to the outward manifestations of faith in the form of ritual activities (though, with doctrinal implications),[613] the understanding of the schism implies a more sophisticated form of confessional meaning-making.

Both Marino de Bonis and Bartol Kašić SJ would emphasize in their reports that even though Orthodox people did not know how to talk about their religion and various beliefs, when the fathers would inquire them, they would still adhere to those tenets that their *pop*s taught them and which they corroborated with various absurd stories. Among others, local Orthodox *pop*s taught their flocks that the pope did not have any sort of authority over Christians, because he lost his power due to a grave sin. According to the story, God blessed the pope with a golden beard which symbolized his authority over Christians. The pope, however, fell in love with a young virgin, who asked him to cut his beard off. When the virgin saw how easily the pope would fulfill her request, she went into hiding. After this, God stripped the pope from his papal

611 *EHJM I/2,* 290.

612 Cf. *EHJM I/1,* 128. In this report, Bartol Kašić SJ described certain events when a large number of Christians (most likely, not only Catholics) repeatedly gathered on a hill to listen to the mass celebrated by the father. During the second mass, Kašić talked about the articles of faith, and briefly also about the Ten Commandments and the holy sacraments. He then asked the people to repeat after him and say the Our Father, the Ave Maria and the Credo out loud, in their own language. Kašić then realized that actually no one knew these prayers, and one could only imagine how much more ignorance there could be in the matters of other Christian dogmas and the sacraments.

613 Concerning the confessionally distinguishing role of the sign of the cross, it is interesting to note that already in 1613, the Jesuit István Szini reported that he had heard that around Timișoara, about thirty Romanian–inhabited villages ("30 villas valachorum") left all "schismatic sects" ("ad omnes sectae schismaticorum sic valedixere") and formed their own spiritual community. One peculiar characteristics of this community was that when they were praying in front of the cross that they had erected in the open, they did not make the sign of the cross, claiming that once the cross was there it was no longer necessary to make the sign. *EHJM I/1,* 159. Making the sign of the cross could, thus, not only potentially serve to differentiate Orthodox from Catholics but could also become a suitable tool for a particular group to vindicate a separate denominational status—as the here detailed case illustrates.

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honor and ever since, the popes are only usurpers on the papal throne.[614] The motif of the golden beard of the pope also appears in the 1640 visitation of Pietro Bogdani, archbishop of Gallipoli concerning the Orthodox of Bulgaria. According to Bogdani's variant of the story,[615] after the pope fell in love with a Roman girl and cut his beard off for her, he was so ashamed that could not attend the seventh synod but instead, he stayed in Rome and divided the faith ("restando a Roma divise la fede").[616] It is not surprising that the Jesuits (and Catholic ecclesiasts in general) found these kinds of stories absurd and ridiculous but placing these accounts in a larger context, the attitude of the Jesuits bears perfect testimony to the idiosyncratic and lopsided nature of the knowledge that was circulating about the everyday religiosity of the Eastern Orthodox throughout early modern Europe.

The distinguishing role of the beard was not a novelty in the Eastern and Western Churches, and it has been an important issue since the fourth century. According to the available data, by the sixth-seventh centuries it had become a requirement for the Greco-Christian clergy as well as monks to wear a beard, and by the tenth century the issue had turned into a major point of contention between the Greek and Latin Churches.[617] At the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence St. Mark of Ephesus, a strong opponent of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, also pointed out that: "Whoever commemorates the Pope as an orthodox prelate has taken upon himself the whole of Latinism, even to the shaving off the beard on his chin."[618] Although, according to the available portraits, popes still wore a beard during the seventeenth century, the tradition as conveyed by the Orthodox priests to the people proved much stronger in terms of living as well as understanding Orthodox religiosity. Thus, it becomes especially important to analyze how on the level of everyday religiosity different Orthodox (as well as other denominational groups) tried to interpret their own denominational affiliation. So, did the local Orthodox really not know what the schism was or were they just trying to give meaning to it according to an interpretative system that was 'foreign' and in some ways 'inferior' to the Jesuits?

[614] *EHJM I/1*, 72; *EHJM I/2*, 290.
[615] This 'anecdotal' story about the schism was a recurring element of early modern anti-Latin Orthodox polemical texts and that has survived in several variants in various Slavic source collections. See, Ágnes Kriza, "Az ortodox polemikus irodalom kezdetei a Habsburg monarchiában. Szapolyai János levelezése az áthoszi szerzetesekkel (1533-1534)" [The beginnings of Orthodox polemical literature in the Habsburg monarchy. The correspondence of János Szapolyai with the monks of Athos (1533-1534)], *Századok* 1-6 (2010): 1121-1164.
[616] Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae*, 70. It is interesting to note that Pope Adrian I (p. 772-795) actually did not attend the seventh ecumenical council but was represented by his delegates.
[617] Henry Chadwick, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 12.
[618] Quoted in A. Edward Siecienski, *The Papacy and the Orthodox: Sources and the History of a Debate*, (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 337.

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The insistence of the fathers on the familiarity with the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments followed the standard organization of catechisms and certain confessions of faith (not only Catholic ones).[619] However, it was exactly in the very act of prayer that doctrinal differences could become easily marginal or even invisible.[620] This also problematizes the issue of how the Jesuits (and other members of the Catholic clergy in general) perceived the Orthodox (or any other religious group) they encountered—as a clearly defined confessional community or rather as 'Catholics gone astray'.[621] Maria Crăciun has raised a similar question in the context of late sixteenth-century Jesuit missions among the Protestants in Transylvania.[622] She emphasized how crucial it was to determine how the Jesuits perceived local Protestantism and to what extent they looked at it as a perverted form of traditional Catholicism.[623] Since the Jesuits during their mission in northern Ottoman Rumeli repeatedly emphasized how similar Catholicism and Orthodoxy were, one might assume that this understanding was largely informed by the aspiration towards bringing back these Eastern Christians to the Catholic fold. And whilst the fathers could have exploited some of these similarities to their own advantage,[624] it seems that it was generally the Serbian Orthodox clergy who could more effectively capitalize on these resemblances.

This puts into another perspective the reasons why local Catholics appealed to the Orthodox priest or the *vladika* to officiate a marriage, grant a divorce, or perform a baptism and not to a Bosnian Franciscan, a secular Catholic priest, or a Jesuit, or even a *kadi*, in those cases when these religious and communal brokers were simultaneously present in a particular territory. Considering the confusion and sometimes confessional indifference on the ground and the specific dynamic of religious coexistence, it becomes more understandable why Orthodox priests could often become such viable alternatives to the Catholic ones.

[619] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo. Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, (New Haven—London: Yale University Press, 2003), 161-162.
[620] Pelikan, *Credo*, 162.
[621] Cf. Karen Hartnup, *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks'. Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy,* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 68-70.
[622] Crăciun, "Catholic Missionaries and Protestant Religious Practice in Transylvania," 75-94; See, also idem, "Implementing Catholic Reform," 37–61.
[623] Crăciun, "Catholic Missionaries and Protestant Religious Practice," 77.
[624] Like, for instance in several instances during the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions among the Eastern Christians in the Levant. Kallistos T. Ware, "Orthodox and Catholics in the seventeenth century: schism or intercommunion?," in Derek Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 259-277. See, also Robert John Clines, "Confessional Politics and Religious Identity in Early Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire," (PhD dissertation, Syracuse University, 2014). On very few occasions did certain Jesuits in northern Rumeli report about the gains that they made among the Orthodox. For instance, Marino de Bonis SJ described how some Orthodox sent their sons to learn at the school of the Jesuits and let them become Catholics. *EHJM I/2*, 291.

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III. 4. Conclusion

Concomitant to the gradual Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula and Hungary, the political, social, religious, economic, and legal structures of northern Ottoman Rumeli underwent significant alterations. All these changes inevitably impacted the attitude of diverse local Catholic groups towards marriage over the course of the seventeenth century. The coexistence of Islamic law, Orthodox Christian canon law, Tridentine stipulations, and local customs, enabled the development of a *modus vivendi* where the ecclesiastical and secular legitimization of divorces, second marriages, and other problematic marriage cases became common.

Reinforcing confessional boundaries (i.e., people's awareness of the specificities/distinguishing features of their own religion) by means of imposing stricter marriage regulations as they were formulated in the canons of the Tridentine decrees could not yield the results the Roman congregations and various missionaries had been hoping for. Hence, in several instances, the intention of keeping and/or regaining Catholic believers overwrote ecclesiastical stipulations. The practical implementation and shaping of different decrees eventually became a sort of 'power game' between Catholic missionaries, Orthodox priests, Ottoman judges, and various local groups and individuals (Catholics as well as non-Catholics) on the ground.

Ottoman *kadi*s as well as Orthodox priests could become equally 'accepted mediators' in the eyes of the local Catholic population when it came to the administration of various types of matrimonies. The frequency of marriages administered by these non-Catholic agents illustrates that the local Catholic population often crossed voluntarily the religious, cultural, legal, and potentially, ethno-linguistic divide to adapt to the transformed living conditions and integrate within the new social and legal structures. As the analyzed cases have shown, Catholics frequently became active participants in extending the jurisdiction of Orthodox priests as well as *kadi*s in matters of family law, which curbed the influence and jurisdiction of Catholic missionaries, fueling the tensions and instigating competition among these authorities. Appealing to the *kadi* or the Orthodox priest, however, had their own distinct dynamics and motivations.

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While the continuous appeals to the *sharia* court could have affected conversions to Islam in the long term,[625] in the case of marriages, Catholic missionaries seemed less alarmed about such a possibility compared to the disquiet about conversion to Orthodoxy in those instances when Catholics approached the Orthodox *pop* or the *vladika*.[626] An Orthodox priest could and usually did take such opportunities to convert local Catholics, and divorces and second marriages were ideal case scenarios for such undertakings.[627] A registering of a Catholic marriage by a *kadi*, however, was probably considered more of a bureaucratic/notarial act, reflective of the multifunctional role the judge occupied within the institutional framework of the *sharia* court.

The presence of the missionaries oscillating between Tridentine decrees and local marital habits eventually further complicated the local Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim, and Protestant communities' intra- and intercommunal relations. The various 'deviations' resulting from confessional coexistence was on the daily agenda of the missionaries and, as these reports attest, it was truly puzzling to find the most appropriate strategy to persuade the local population of the erroneousness of their practices. In several reports it was also emphasized that despite occasional digressions or the sort of 'cherry-picking' from particular normative Catholic practices, these people still considered themselves to be Catholics.[628] Hence, they would not necessarily perceive borrowing certain habits and rituals or even representatives from the other's religion as incompatible with adherence to the Catholic faith. Therefore, the reports of the missionaries ought to be taken with a grain of salt, especially concerning the problem of confessional boundaries. Not observing strictly some of the standard forms of Catholic rituals or not knowing the articles of faith or particular prayers did not automatically mean that these people were not aware of the distinct character of their own religion. Rather, they embraced and followed an adapted local version of Catholicism, which inevitably had several irreconcilable elements with the stipulations of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.

[625] According to certain scholarly opinions there was a correlation between the level and pace of Islamisation of a given area and the number of cases brought by Christians to the *kadi* court. See, Gradeva, "Orthodox Christians in the Kadi Courts," 170-171.

[626] Cf. Krunoslav Draganović, *Massenübertritte von Katholiken zur "Orthodoxie" im kroatischen Sprachgebiet zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft,* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1937). Despite its apologetic rendering of the 'mass conversion' of Catholics to Orthodoxy, Draganović presents important ideas in terms of the local dynamics of conversion. On Orthodox conversions to Islam, see Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change and Communal Politics in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768. The Ottoman Empire,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 139–162; Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans*.

[627] I discuss this issue further in the next chapter.

[628] Periș, *Documente*, 190; Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I.,* 128; Tade Smičiklas, *Oslobodjenja Slavonije, Vol. II.,* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1891), 1-2.

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IV. Confessional Transgressions in the Household—Mixed Marriages and Baptisms in Early Modern Northern Rumeli

IV.1. Introduction—The Problem of *Disparitas Cultus* and the Impediment of Mixed Religion

Questions pertaining to the ways different 'confessional transgressions' could reshape family and communal structures have been high on the agenda of scholars in the field of early modern studies in the past two decades.[629] One of the major topics in this context has been the problem of marriages between people with different denominational affiliations. Whereas the works that focus on Central and Western Europe have mainly concentrated on examining mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants, studies on Ottoman Southeast Europe have mostly analyzed the dynamics of mixed marriages between Orthodox Christians and Muslims.[630] Due to the nature and scarcity of the sources concerning seventeenth-century Ottoman Rumeli, the problem of Catholic-Muslim and Catholic-Orthodox marriages has so far been less explored.[631]

As I have illustrated in the previous chapter, the coexistence of people of various denominational and social backgrounds within the same territory could result in a number of 'non-standard' Catholic practices in terms of contracting matrimonies: marriages were contracted between relatives, people got divorced, remarried, and the marriages of Catholics were often administered by the local *kadi* or the Orthodox priest. Besides these customs, the quandary about the validation of mixed marriages, i.e., marriages with Muslims or Orthodox was also among the pressing concerns with which the missionaries had to grapple.

[629] Essential studies on the topic include but are not limited to: Keith Luria, *Sacred Boundaries. Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France,* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe,* (Cambridge—London: Belknap Press, 2007); Duane J. Corpis, *Crossing the Boundaries of Belief: Geographies of Religious Conversion in Southern Germany, 1648-1800* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2014); and Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie.*

[630] For the European context, see the literature listed in previous footnote. For cases pertaining to matrimonial matters in Ottoman Southeast Europe, see Buturović and Shick (eds), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans*; Elias Kolovos, "A Town for the Besiegers: Social Life and Marriage in Ottoman Candia outside Candia (1650-1669)," in Antonis Anastasopoulos, *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840* (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2008), 103-177; Ioannis Zelepos, "Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans from a Legal Point of View: The Institution of *Kiambin*-marriages", in Eliezer Papo and Nenad Makuljević (eds), *Common Culture and Particular Identities: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans,* (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2013), 43-53. On the dynamic of Orthodox-Catholic mixed marriages in the Greek islands and the Levant, see Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie,* 219-224.

[631] Cf. Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 294-324.

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The problem of validity of Christian–non-Christian marriages emerged already in early Christianity. Apostle Paul needed to provide guidelines to the Corinthians in terms of their marriages with the Romans or Jews, neither of whom shared the Christian view about the perpetual value of the matrimonial bond.[632] Paul overcame this theological issue by affirming that "the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy" (1 Corinthians 7: 12-14). Thus, according to Paul, even marriages with 'infidels' became unbreakable and perpetual bonds, the only exception being those cases when the infidel spouse chose to leave the Christian one: "if the unbeliever departs, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God has called us to peace" (1 Corinthians 7: 15; the so-called, *Pauline privilege*).[633] Over the centuries, Paul's view on marriages with infidels started to be gradually challenged and modified. Pope Innocent III (p. 1198-1216) refined the Pauline view and added that the Pauline precepts, including the *Pauline privilege,* needed to be interpreted *in favorem fidei,* i.e., a Christian could only live with their infidel spouse if the infidel partner accepted to stay in the marriage *absque contumelia creatoris* (~without offending God) and would not lead their Christian partner to mortal sin.[634] Otherwise, the pope could dissolve such mixed marriages based on the *disparitas cultus* (~disparity of cult) diriment impediment.[635]

In the aftermath of the Council of Trent and concomitant to the gradual expansion of Catholicism in different parts of the world, the question of mixed marriages became all the more significant and challenging to handle. The encounter with various groups of 'infidels' from the sixteenth century onwards prompted the papacy to make certain modifications to the Pauline precepts, which in turn did not only alter Rome's stance on Catholic–non-Christian marriages, but also affected the attitude towards religiously mixed marriages with Orthodox Christians, Protestants, as well as confessionally 'in-between' groups, such as the Paulician 'heretics' of Bulgaria.[636] The idea that the *Pauline privilege* needed to be adapted to various

[632] Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*, 296-297.

[633] According to the Roman Catholic historical and canonical understanding, the *Pauline privilege* allows the dissolution of a marriage between two non-baptized persons if one (but not both) of the spouses converts to Christianity, and the 'infidel' partner chooses to leave the marriage. Hence, the 'privilege' also technically permits a second marriage for the new Christian convert.

[634] Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*, 297. See, also Mauro Bucciero, *I Matrimoni Misti. Aspetti Storici, Canonici e Pastorali*, (Rome: Millenium Romae, 1997).

[635] In ecclesiastical law a *diriment impediment* to marriage is a factor that makes the contracted matrimony in question void. According to the *disparitas cultus* it was prohibited to marry a nonbeliever, i.e., a person who was not baptized. A marriage contracted in such a way was regarded as a form of concubinage and the Catholic party (in most cases women) was prohibited from taking part in the sacraments. See, Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 307-308.

[636] For instance, in 1608, the bishop of Sofia the Bosnian Franciscan Petar Zlojutrić, reported about the newly converted 'Paulician heretics' near Chiprovtsi in Bulgaria who had married multiple times and were not willing to

local circumstances gradually became part and parcel of Catholic theological thinking during the seventeenth century, especially through the works of Jesuit moral theologians (both probabilist and anti-probabilist).[637]

The missions that targeted different Christian (both Catholic and non-Catholic) groups who lived in various parts of the Ottoman Empire led to the realization that in certain territories, such as various areas across Rumeli, it was customary for the Catholics to intermarry with the local Muslims and Orthodox. It, thus, became a pressing question both for the missionaries on the ground and their Roman superiors how to handle mixed marriages with these particular kinds of 'infidels' and 'schismatics'.[638]

Whereas according to the *sharia* a Muslim woman legally was not allowed to marry a non-Muslim man, a Muslim man could marry a non-Muslim woman.[639] These women were not obligated to convert to Islam, but in those cases when they chose to stay Christian, they could not inherit from their Muslim husbands. At the same time, it was also prescribed that these Christian wives should properly exercise their own religion.[640] As the cases analyzed below will illustrate, the fact that Catholic women would not automatically convert to Islam but would keep at least certain elements of their Catholicity caused several problems to missionaries who were active in Rumeli. A mixed marriage, thus, would not necessarily lead to the disappearance of the confessional boundary between Catholicism and Islam (as they were locally present and practiced) but would rather reconfigure it.[641]

Marrying the Orthodox was no less of a problematic and sensitive issue in the eyes of the Catholic Church. At the end of the twelfth century, the Italian canon lawyer Uguccione da Pisa (d. 1210) complemented the canonical and theological discourses on mixed marriages and added that marriage should be founded on the sacrament of baptism—which was the main door

return to their first wives after their conversion. The missionary proposed to the Holy Office to have recourse to the method that had been employed in the case of the Moriscos from Spain, which stipulated that new converts were able to choose freely one of their wives (not necessarily the first one). Antal Molnár, "Anfänge der Mission der bosnischen Franziskaner in Bulgarien an der Wende des 16-17. Jahrhunderts. (Petar Zlojutrić und die Römische Inquisition)," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 34, 3-4 (2006): 243-265; 259. This decision concerning the choice among multiple wives of new converts was formulated in 1571 by Pope Pius V (p. 1566-1572) in the Apostolic Constitution *Romani Pontificis*. Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*, 298.

[637] Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*, 298-301.

[638] See, Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*; Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*; Amsler et al. (eds), *Catholic Missionaries in Early Modern Asia*.

[639] Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud,* 173.

[640] For instance, a number of *fatwa*s of Ebu's-su'ud and certain contemporary Sunni catechetical works, such as Lütfi Pasha's (d. 1563), *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* (Mill Kutuphanesi, Ali Emiri Collection Ms. 257, fol. 50a) stipulate that a non-Muslim woman should be knowledgeable in her faith (i.e., she should be familiar with the holy books and precepts of her religion) in order to be considered lawful to her Muslim husband and regarded as a *kitābī* (i.e., as belonging to the community of the people of the book, the *Ahl al-Kitāb*). I thank my supervisor Tijana Krstić for having shared these important details with me.

[641] Cf. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 143-192.

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to the other sacraments.[642] Thus, technically the marriage of two baptized Christians was not invalid, even if one of the parties was a 'heretic' (i.e., a Protestant) or a 'schismatic' (i.e., an Orthodox). Marrying non-Catholic baptized Christians remained nevertheless prohibited by the diriment impediment of *mixed religion* (*impedimentum mixtae religionis*).

In the following centuries, various Catholic ecclesiastical and secular authorities continuously strived to curb the practice of Catholics contracting marriages with different adherents of Eastern Christianity in order to hinder conversions to Orthodoxy. In 1309, the Declaration 8 of the Council of Pressburg explicitly forbade Catholics to marry heretics or schismatics—a position that was also officially approved by pope Clement VI (p. 1342-1352) in 1346.[643] Concerning the territories under analysis, in 1428 King Sigismund of Luxembourg (r. 1387-1437) attempted to implement strict regulations in the region of the Banat and tried to prevent the Orthodox from mixing with the local Catholic population, including the prohibition of mixed marriages.[644] In spite of the fact that according to the available data Sigismund's rulings were not enforced in practice, they are nevertheless illustrative as a late medieval precedent of trying to enforce confessional uniformity on a local level.

Even though at the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence (1431-1449) different attempts towards reconciliation were made with the various representatives of the Eastern Churches, Rome's interest in Greek Orthodox communities became more enunciated from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards—in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453) and the Balkan Peninsula and the concomitant proliferation of Greek Orthodox groups in the Italian Peninsula and Venetian Dalmatia.[645] This renewed focus on 'the Greeks' culminated during the pontificate of pope Gregory XIII (p. 1572-1585) who in 1573 established the *Congregazione dei Greci* to control and regulate the 'errors' committed by the Greek clergy, and then in 1577, founded the *Pontificio Collegio Greco di Sant'Atanasio* in Rome for the religious education of priests and theologians of the Greek rite.[646] The common goal of the

[642] Ermanno Orlando, "Mixed Marriages between Greeks and Latins in Late Mediaeval Italy," *Thesaurismata* 37 (2007): 101-119; 102.
[643] Orlando, "Mixed Marriages between Greeks and Latins," 104.
[644] Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae,* 129.
[645] From the vast literature that have examined the dynamics of Eastern Christian presence on the Italian Peninsula and the Adriatic region, see for instance Vittorio Peri, "Chiesa Latina e Chiesa Greca nell'Italia Postridentina (1564-1596)," *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI Secolo. Italia Sacra* 20 (1973): 271-469; Anthony O'Mahony, "Between Rome and Constantinople: The Italian-Albanian Church: A Study in Eastern Catholic History and Ecclesiology," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 8 (2008): 232-251; Murzaku, *Returning Home to Rome*; Margarita Voulgaropoulou, "Transcending Borders, Transforming Identities: Travelling Icons and Icon Painters in the Adriatic Region," *Rebus* 9 (2020): 23-74.
[646] See, Vittorio Peri, "La Congregazione dei Greci (1573) e i Suoi Primi Documenti," *Studia Gratiana* 13 (1967): 131-256.

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congregation and the seminary was to educate Greek-rite priests, who upon returning to their homeland (for instance, to the Balkan peninsula or the Levant) would convince various local Orthodox communities to enter into union with the Church of Rome.[647] Already during this period several accounts reached the congregation from various parts of the Italian peninsula about the customs of the Greeks in matrimonial matters, including mixed marriages.[648] With the launching of Catholic missions to different parts of the Ottoman Empire, this knowledge about the marital practices of the Orthodox was augmented, which in turn also further articulated Rome's stance on Orthodox-Catholic marriages.

For its part, the Orthodox Church was no less strict in terms of applying strict provisions to those who wanted to marry a non-Orthodox person. Thus, Orthodox marriage stipulations required both members to be Orthodox Christians and considered marriage to a nonbeliever (i.e., a non-baptized individual) as fornication and the Orthodox party was prohibited to partake in communion.[649] Just like the Catholic counterpart, the Orthodox held equally adverse and often ambiguous opinions concerning mixed marriages with Catholics. The *Syntagma* (1335) of Matthew Blastares (d.1360) did not explicitly forbid marriage to a Catholic but did oblige the Catholic party to renounce their heresy.[650] According to the Serbian *trebnici*, Roman Catholics were explicitly characterized as *heretic*s in matters pertaining to marriage only in the sixteenth century.[651] According to different seventeenth-century missionary sources, various members of the Serbian Orthodox Church became unswerving in demanding the Catholic party to abjure their Catholicity when contracting a marriage with an Orthodox in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć.[652]

Whereas in other parts of Central and Western Europe Catholic ecclesiastical authorities sometimes perceived Catholic-Protestant intermarriages as possible ways to eradicate heresy

[647] In 1591, upon the order of pope Gregory XIV (p. 1590-1591), the *Collegio Greco* came under the jurisdiction of the Jesuit order and started to function according to the rules of the *ratio studiorum*. For more details, see, Jan Krajcar SJ, "The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time, (1591–1604)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965): 85–118. See, also Cesare Santus, "Tra la Chiesa di Sant' Atanasio e il Sant' Uffizio: Note sulla Presenza Greca a Roma in Età Moderna," in Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso e Matteo Sanfilippo (eds), *Chiese e Nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani Secoli XV-XVIII*, (Rome: Viella, 2017), 193-225.

[648] Orlando, "Mixed Marriages between Greeks and Latins," 115. Policies that targeted Catholic-Orthodox marriages were similar in different parts of the Italian peninsula, such as Ancona, Naples, or Messina, where the local Catholic ecclesiastical authorities tried to hinder mixed marriages in order to prevent the conversion of the local Catholics to Orthodoxy. Orlando, "Mixed Marriages between Greeks and Latins," 101-119.

[649] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 101-102.

[650] On Blastares' *Syntagma*, see Victor Alexandrov, *The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares. The Destiny of a Byzantine Legal Code among the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians. 14-17 Centuries*, (Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau-Gesellschaft, 2012).

[651] Levin, *Sex and Society*, 102-103.

[652] The issue is discussed in detail in *Subchapter IV. 3.*

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and facilitate conversions to Catholicism,[653] in the case of Ottoman Southeast Europe such prospects would rarely appear in missionary sources. Due to the scarce number of Catholics in the area,[654] neither marriages with the Muslims nor with the Orthodox were usually perceived as potential occasions to convert the non-Catholic party, but they were considered threats that would lead the Catholic spouse to abandon their faith.

IV. 2. The Social and Religious Dynamics of Intermarrying with Muslims

IV. 2. 1. The Social Status of Catholic Women in Early Modern Ottoman Rumeli

The institution of marriage was a means of social and economic stability as well as cohesion in various Christian and Islamic cultures. During the early modern period, it was imperative for Muslim and non-Muslim women alike throughout the Ottoman Empire to secure their livelihoods and ensure a stable socioeconomic position; and marriage was among the most established ways to achieve this goal.[655]

In contrast to the traditional image that interpreted the role of Muslim women in the early modern Ottoman society in terms of subordination and passivity, from the 1970s onwards a number of studies started deconstructing this view and moved beyond the narrative of 'female subjugation.'[656] A number of scholars have demonstrated that besides often being in subservient positions, women also had their own legal autonomy when it came to representing their interests at the Ottoman court concerning various economic transactions, divorce suits, or pious endowments.[657] As regards early modern Ottoman Europe, over the past decades several studies

[653] Cf. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 143-192.
[654] Even in those exceptional cases when the number of Catholics was higher than the Orthodox, like on the island of Syros, Catholic prelates also tried to use every means at their disposal, including the bribing of local Ottoman officials, to prevent Catholic-Orthodox unions. Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*, 219-221.
[655] On the social status of women in the early modern Ottoman Empire, see Haim Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980): 231-244; Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Amira El-Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996); Peirce, *Morality Tales*.
[656] The seminal work on the topic is Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18 (1975): 53-114.
[657] See the previous two footnotes for representative literature.

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examined the role of women from different social, religious, and linguistic backgrounds in the practices of cultural and social interaction, inclusion, and exclusion on intra- as well as inter-communal levels.[658] Numerous works were devoted to analyzing the function of Muslim and Orthodox Christian (and to a lesser extent Jewish) women within the household as well as in their respective communities and the way they could navigate the legal choices at their disposal and had their voices 'heard' in various parts of sixteenth-eighteenth century Ottoman Rumeli. When it comes to the understanding of Catholic women's means of empowerment and modes of disempowerment, however, the research gaps are far more numerous. This lacuna is mainly attributable to the very few and often obscure traces Catholic women left in contemporary sources.

In the following sections, I will focus on various constellations of Catholic-Muslim mixed marriages, and in particular, contour the figure of the Catholic woman who chose to marry a Muslim man but did not convert to Islam.[659] Even though, I will not specifically focus on the analytical category of gender, the subsequent cases will still be illustrative of certain behavioral patterns that were often characteristic of Catholic women across Ottoman Rumeli in the analyzed period.

[658] Buturović and Shick (eds), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans.*
[659] Cf. Gabriella Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone," *Hungarian Historical Review* 4 (2015): 314-345.

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IV. 2. 2. *Till Time Do Us Part*—The Problem of Temporary Marriages between Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Rumeli

In his visitation report from 1623-1624, Pietro Massarechi made the following observations: "In the matters of marriage—as far as we could understand and know—in the three provinces of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Hungary people do not marry in the prohibited degrees, they do not marry heretics, and even less the Turks. […] But it is true that in Albania and also in Bosnia, the Turks take Christian women, either by force or for love as wives."[660] Although the apostolic visitor made a number of generalizations in this report and many of his remarks were not even based on first-hand experience, one should nevertheless ponder certain details in his description.

I have already demonstrated in the previous chapter how common it was among Catholics across Ottoman Rumeli in general to marry in the forbidden degrees of kinship. But how common it was among Catholics to marry Muslims (or Christian non-Catholics in general) in the territories under analysis is a much more complicated question to answer. Compared to the missionary reports that inform us about the frequency of endogamic marriages or marriages concluded by the Ottoman *kadi* or the Orthodox priest, in terms of Catholic-Muslim marriages in northern Rumeli only a few sources provide valuable information. Considering the territorial, social, and demographic features of northern Ottoman Rumeli on one hand, and the scale and dynamics of conversions to Islam in Bosnia and Albania on the other, Massarecchi's observation concerning the fact that Muslim-Catholic marriages were more frequent in Albania and Bosnia than in Serbia, Bulgaria, or Hungary seems probable, though with certain reservations.

It cannot be emphasized enough that Catholic missionaries and apostolic visitors tended to speak in very general terms about certain regions, such as Bosnia or Hungary, even when their visits were restricted to only a few localities or when they relied on second-hand evidence. This technique of constructing the missionary space often adumbrated the potential local differences that existed within a particular territory. Accordingly, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Hungary could hardly be put in the same category—as it has been done by Masarecchi—in terms of the local dynamics of mixed matrimonies. Despite similar shortcomings, the available

[660] "In Matrimonio per quanto s'e potuto comprendere, et sapere nelle tre Provintie Servia, Bulgaria, et Ungheria non congiongono in gradi prohibiti, ne con Eretici, et molto meno con Turchi […] Egli e ben vero, ch'in Albania, et ancora in Bosna, vengono pigliate le Christiana dai Turchi per mogli, et chi per forza, chi per amore." Draganović, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija," 14.

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sources pertaining to the region add important details to the dynamics of Catholic-Muslim marriages in early modern Ottoman Europe.

The already quoted Ragusan Benedictine, Antonio Velislavi, in his report from 1606-1607 on the regions of Požega, Srem, and Timișoara described that there were Catholic women who fell in love with Muslims, but due to the legal disparities, they could not obtain a marriage license. For this reason, these women were abducted, in most cases apparently not against their will by the respective Muslim men and contracted a marriage. Nevertheless, these women wanted to continue living as Christians, and despite the canonical prohibitions they still wanted to take part in the sacraments, which they achieved with the help of their Muslim husbands who in some cases did not refrain from using violence against the missionaries in order to force them to minister to their wives. Still, the children born from such a marriage became Muslims, just like their father.[661] Due to the lack of court records for the regions that were visited by Velislavi, one cannot determine the frequency (and exact terms) of such Catholic-Muslim marriages.

As certain sources (i.e., Catholic missionary reports, Western travelogues, and Orthodox sources) from Bulgaria, the Greek islands, and the Levant attest, Christian-Muslim as well as inter-Christian marriages could potentially be contracted according to the Islamic practice of the so-called *temporary marriage* (*nikâh nunkuta/mut'a/kiambin*).[662] As it has been underlined in the previous chapter, in the Islamic tradition, this type of marriage "for sexual pleasure" was endorsed by the prophet Muhammad, who allowed soldiers to contract *mut'a* marriages when they were on long campaigns.[663] In the Ottoman Empire, *temporary marriage*s were contracted at the *kadi* court in the presence of at least two male witnesses and the man paid a specified sum as dowry (*mehr*).[664] These types of marriage contracts were formulated drawing on land rental agreements that endowed the Muslim husband with the right to "lease the field of the woman" for a specified period that—in contradistinction to the other types of marriages—could last from a day up to twenty years or potentially even more.[665] The children

[661] "Item si trovano molte donne christiane che inamorate di Turchi, non potendo haver licenza di sposarsi con quelli per la diversità delle leggi, s'accordano d'esser violentate da quelli, per poter scusarsi che non vi sia concorsa la voluntà loro, con ciò sia che volendo esser continuar nel resto la vita christiana, pretendono di non esser prohibite dai sacramenti ecclesiastici, li quali si fanno dare per forza mediante l'autorità de loro mariti che dominano. E ben vero che quantunche la donna sia christiana, tuttavia la prole resta turca, come il padre." Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.

[662] See, Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 246-247; Kolovos, "A Town for the Besiegers," 103-177; Zelepos, "Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans," 43-53.

[663] M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, "Căsătorii între Turci și Creștine Ortodoxe în Imperiul Otoman și în Țările Române" [Marriages between Turks and Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian Principalities], *Revista Arhivelor* 67 (2005): 98-117; 101.

[664] Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 246.

[665] Zelepos, "Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans," 44; Levin, *Sex and Society*, 104.

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from such a union were considered legitimate under Islamic law and had full inheritance rights after the death of the father. The practice was strongly contested by various Orthodox Church authorities, Catholic missionaries, and formally, it was also against the precepts of Sunni Islam.[666]

Concerning northern Ottoman Rumeli, due to the scarcity and sometimes cryptic nature of the sources, it is difficult to determine whether Christians in general contracted such type of marriages, and whether Catholic women in particular entered such arrangements with Muslim or Christian men. In fact, it is problematic to assess overall the extent to which *temporary marriage*s were contracted throughout Ottoman Rumeli (and in the empire in general) within Sunni Muslim, Christian, or even Jewish communities[667] in the analyzed period. Even if such temporal arrangements were made between Christians of the same or different denominations or between Muslims and non-Muslims, the specific duration of the marriage would not be entered in the official marriage record but would be agreed upon privately and orally.[668] Hence, based on the available Ottoman court records it cannot be determined whether a particular marriage was a *mut'a* marriage or not.[669] But according to Joseph Schacht, even though the Sunnis did not officially permit *temporary marriage*s, the "actual conditions are hardly different on both sides, because of the facility of divorce, the stability of most *mut'a* marriages among the Shiites, and the possibility of concubinage; among the Sunnis, too, the effect of a *mut'a* can be achieved by an informal agreement outside the contract of marriage."[670] What further problematizes the proper evaluation of this type of marriage is the fact that the sources that inform us about them almost exclusively come from the higher Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy or Catholic missionaries and travelers.

As I have highlighted in the previous chapter, some Catholic sources are vocal about this practice, but what they suggest is that they were common among Catholic Christians and figured as the preferred option among the foreign Catholic residents of the empire (such as Ragusan merchants in Rumeli or other European merchants and diplomats who resided in the Levant).[671] In his visitation report that was composed between 1623 and 1624, the bishop of

[666] On the problems and controversies of conceptualizing *mut'a* in the Islamic traditions, see W. Heffening, "Mutʿa."
[667] For the Jewish context, see Lena Salaymeh and Zvi Septimus, "Temporalities of Marriage: Jewish and Islamic Legal Debates," in Charlotte Fonrobert et al. (eds), *Talmudic Transgressions: Engaging the Work of Daniel Boyarin*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 201-239.
[668] Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 246, fn. 25.
[669] Cf. Kolovos, "A Town for the Besiegers," 113.
[670] Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 163.
[671] For the Greek Orthodox communities, see: Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World" with further literature. For other examples describing the practice of Christians (both Catholic and Orthodox) contracting temporary marriages, see Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-*

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Bar (today Montenegro), Pietro Massarechi also encountered this practice of *temporary marriage* in Sofia (today Bulgaria) and described that there were men who ransomed Christian female slaves for the sake of prostitution, while others married women by "Chiebin."[672] Men resorted to this custom so they would not get punished by the Ottoman authorities who would not allow otherwise such a form of concubinage ("quali non permettono facilmente donne publiche esposte"). If they [i.e., the Ottoman authorities] found a man in "suspicious houses" and with "bad women," they would punish these men severely. Moreover, if the woman [i.e., the prostitute] in question was a Muslim, the respective man either would lose his life or would need to abandon his Christian faith. In order to avoid punishment, these men appeared at the *kadi* court and contracted a *temporary marriage* with these Christian women ("pigliavano donne Bulgare à chiebin comparendo inanzi il giudice").[673] Massarechi's description is similar to the accounts of Guillaume Postel and Vincenzo di Augustino (that were discussed in the previous chapter) and one might also assume that the marriage of those Catholics at the *kadi* court that the Benedictine Velislavi witnessed (or was made aware of)[674] could have been a temporary arrangement. But were *temporary marriage*s administered by the *kadi* actually common between Catholics in northern Ottoman Rumeli in the sixteenth-seventeenth century?

Various Catholic missionaries and apostolic visitors frequently mentioned the problem of Catholics getting married at the *sharia* court, but in the sources that I have consulted the term *kiambin* (or any other variants of the notion) does not appear concerning the territories under analysis. It is interesting that the problem of *temporary marriage*s does not appear even in the reports about Bosnia, among all the cases of polygamy,[675] repudiation, or even murder for adultery as described in certain missionary documents.[676] While Catholic Ragusan merchants reportedly resorted to this type of marriage in various major urban centers of Rumeli (such as

1660), (Paris: Boivin, 1940); E. Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Ierodikeio Herakleiou. Tritos Kodikas (1669-1673 kai 1750-1767)* [The Ottoman court of Herakleion. Court record no. 3 (1669-1673 and 1750-1767)], (Herakleion: Vikelaia Dimitiki Vivliothiki, 2003); Michèle Longino, *French Travel Writing in the Ottoman Empire. Marseilles to Constantinople, 1650-1700*, (New York: Routledge, 2015); 249. See, also *Subchapter III. 3. 3. 2* where Velislavi's report is discussed and compared to two other Catholic sources that describe this type of marriage.

[672] Draganović, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija," 21.

[673] Draganović, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija," 21.

[674] Velislavi narrated what happened at the *kadi* court during a matrimony between two Catholics, but one still cannot be certain whether the missionary actually witnessed these events.

[675] In the Islamic tradition, according to the prescriptions of the *sharia* men were allowed to marry up to four wives, but there was no limitation established concerning the number of concubines and female slaves. Even though it was an approved practice, as it is attested by data concerning different parts of the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman rule, polygamy was not widespread. Ivanova, "Christian Women in Ottoman Rumeli," 157-158. Catholic missionaries, however, used this designation often to describe men who rejected their legitimate spouse and married another woman, even though 'technically' in most cases they did not simultaneously have more than one wife.

[676] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. IV*, 2615-2623. For other pertinent examples, see also some of the cases analyzes in the previous chapter.

Buda or Sofia), I find it less likely that in the case of an ordinary Catholic couple, especially in the villages, there was a need for such an arrangement.

Be that as it may, considering the sources that are of Catholic provenance, one can see that the observers who used the term *kiambin* referred to specific temporary arrangements that were made between two Christians (a Catholic man and a Christian woman[677]) at the *kadi* court, but they did not touch upon the problem whether *temporary marriage*s were also characteristic of religiously mixed marriages. Allowing some sort of *temporary marriage*s to be contracted was not only a means for the Ottoman authorities to legitimize marriage bonds between non-Muslims, but it could also be a way to legitimize various forms of prostitution, which in itself was a contentious legal category in Islamic law.[678]

Turning one's attention to the Orthodox context, a rather different image of *temporary marriage* emerges. According to Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical sources, *kiambin* marriages were equally contracted between two Orthodox Christians as well as between Orthodox Christian women and Muslim men in the central and southern parts of Rumeli, especially in the Aegean islands, between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.[679] The problem of *kiambin* marriages within Greek Orthodox communities has been the subject of a number of studies in Ottomanist historiography.[680] This scholarship usually took at face value the fact that *temporary marriage*s were present in virtually every part of Ottoman Southeast Europe, including Serbia, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, Epirus, the Peloponnese, and even the Romanian Principalities that were tribute-paying polities of the Ottoman Empire.[681] Such observations, however, have mostly been based on the works of Nikolaos Pantazopoulos without much critical reflection on the social, territorial, and religious dynamics of each of these territories or the actual sources upon which Pantazopoulos based his arguments.[682] There is indeed a number of Greek Orthodox sources that inform about how the Church tried to curb the practice of *kiambin* marriage and regarded as adulterers those who contracted such a union and

[677] Based on the sources, it cannot be ascertained whether these women were Catholic or Orthodox Christians.
[678] See, Marinos Sariyannis, "Prostitution in Ottoman Istanbul, Late Sixteenth-Early Eighteenth Century," *Turcica* 40 (2008): 37-65.
[679] The presently known earliest reference to *kiambin* marriages appears in an encyclical letter of Patriarch Maximos III that was composed in 1477. Zelepos, "Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans," 45.
[680] See fn. 657 for pertinent literature.
[681] See, Zelepos, "Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans," 47-48; Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 247; Cf. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula*, 91-113.
[682] Elias Kolovos, on the other hand, has illustrated how unique Ottoman Crete was compared to several other parts of the empire both in terms of mixed marriages as well as in registering matrimonies at court. Kolovos, "A Town for the Besiegers," 111-114.

registered their marriage at the Ottoman court.[683] But what actually constituted a *temporary marriage*, especially when it was contracted between two Orthodox Christians was not always unequivocally formulated.

Some of the extant sources demonstrate that the simple fact of two Orthodox Christians appealing to the *kadi* court to contract a marriage could easily incite various members of the higher Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy to label these unions as *kebin*, regardless whether there was any kind of temporal arrangement involved. Such a marriage would not be recognized as valid and the children would be considered illegitimate in the eyes of the Orthodox Church. One of the instances when the existence of actual *temporary marriages* was more likely was when the accusations of the Church targeted the marriage practices of Muslim merchants (in the Black-sea area, for e.g.) or garrison soldiers with Orthodox women.[684] The other scenario was when particular Orthodox men were accused of having had multiple wives simultaneously in different locations.[685]

Studies on the everyday lives of Orthodox communities in the central and southern parts of the Balkan lands have underlined the importance of the economic factor in opting to marry a Muslim man (or even a Christian one) at the *kadi* court.[686] Marrying a Christian woman could have also been financially more beneficial to a Muslim man, since the *resm-i gerdek* (or *resm-i arus*, marriage tax that had to be paid by the imperial subjects, both Muslim and non-Muslim, to the revenue holder of a particular area) was usually lower (generally, half of the amount) in the case of Christian girls than Muslim ones.[687] Besides this general imperial marriage tax, Ottoman Christians had to pay a marriage fee to their own ecclesiastical authorities (referred to as *nikâh resmi* in the contemporary Ottoman documents)—which could become a contentious issue among Orthodox prelates, Bosnian Franciscans, and *kadi*s, as it has been illustrated in the previous chapter. The economic incentive was most probably imperative in some marriage

[683] Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 247; Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula*, 95-102; Bulgaru, "Căsătorii între Turci și Creștine Ortodoxe," 105-112.
[684] Cf. Bulgaru, "Căsătorii între Turci și Creștine Ortodoxe," 98-117.
[685] These accusations against the husbands were brought to the ecclesiastical court by one of the wives (more precisely, the one who claimed to be the lawful one) in order to obtain a letter of divorce. Whether any of the marriages was contracted at the *kadi* court is not specified. Gennadios M. Arampatzoglou, *Fotieios Bibliothiki, Vol. 1-2, Vol. 2* (Istanbul: Typis Fazilet, 1933, 1935), doc. 13; 70. I thank my colleague Anastasia Theologou for translating these sources into English for me.
[686] According to Orthodox Christian customary law in general, it was the woman who was supposed to give a dowry to her husband when contracting a marriage. Thus, in order to avoid financial burdens, Orthodox women chose to marry Muslim men and Orthodox couples also often opted for the *sharia* court to register their marriages. Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 247-248.
[687] Bulgaru, "Căsătorii între Turci și Creștine Ortodoxe," 103; Laiou, "Christian Women in an Ottoman World," 248. For more details on the imperial marriage tax, see also Gül Akyilmaz, "Bâd-ı Hevâ Vergilerine Bir Örnek: Resm-i Ârus" [*Resm-i arus*: an example of *Bad-ı Heva* taxes], *Selçuk Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 7(1999): 115-128.

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cases (either mixed or inter-Christian (Orthodox-Catholic)) that were contracted at the *kadi* court but overgeneralizing the significance of the economic motivations for Christian couples can easily downplay the relevance of other aspects (social, demographic, personal, and emotional) that 'guided' these matrimonies, and can similarly belie the intricacies of local tax collection practices. It would also be rather problematic to stretch the arguments regarding the dynamic of *temporary marriage*s based on the examples of Orthodox communities in the Bulgarian and Greek lands (that belonged to eparchies that were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople) to the other parts of the peninsula, i.e., to those territories and Orthodox groups that were under the jurisdiction of the Peć Patriarchate.

As the analysis so far suggests, just like the concept of marriage, the notion of *kiambin* was not a homogenous and monolithic but a fluid and multivalent category that encapsulated a variety of marital practices. It could designate a marriage between a Catholic or a Muslim merchant or soldier with a Christian (Catholic or Orthodox) woman for a certain time period; it could refer to a matrimony (either with or potentially without a temporal agreement) of two Orthodox Christians contracted at the *kadi* court as well as to the simultaneous marriages of Orthodox men with different Orthodox women in different places (potentially administered by the *kadi* but not necessarily); and it could theoretically also refer to the temporary marriage of two Muslims.[688] In other words, it is difficult to discern whether all individuals who made reference to this concept understood its legal basis or used it more loosely as a synonym for a forbidden union or even a form of prostitution.

[688] Although that would not be called *kiambin* but *mut'a* in a contemporary source.

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IV. 2. 3. Remaining a Catholic in a Mixed Marriage

In 1613, Bartol Kašić SJ reported the following to his superiors from the mission in Belgrade: "It happens often that a [Catholic] woman who wants to free herself from her annoying husband becomes a Muslim, because that way the Christian husband can no longer have her, unless he also becomes a Muslim. And thus, not being able to keep his [current] wife, he takes another."[689] Whilst some women in northern Ottoman Rumeli opted for conversion to Islam in order to escape from an unwanted marriage with a Catholic man,[690] others chose to stay Catholic (at least, in an idiosyncratic way) even after marrying Muslim men.

The report of the Benedictine Antonio Velislavi from the beginning of the seventeenth century, mentioned earlier in this chapter, described how Catholic women tried to obtain a marriage license to marry Muslim men and how they wanted to continue their Christian lives and not be prohibited from partaking of the sacraments.[691] The report of Pietro Massarechi from 1623-1624 also testifies that Catholic women could potentially seek the service of their own ecclesiastical authorities to contract a religiously mixed marriage. Massarechi writes: "indeed, that priest would be badly punished who would dare to assist a matrimonial contract between a Turkish man and a Christian woman; because, when a Turkish man wants to take a Christian woman by force or by her consent, according to Turkish law he deserves capital punishment if he employs a Catholic priest [to administer the marriage]."[692] The French envoy Louis Deshayes, baron de Courmenin, similarly highlighted in his travelogue (describing his travel to Constantinople and the Holy Land in 1621) that in parts of the Balkan peninsula it was a means of survival for Catholic women (and their families) to marry Muslim men "who have prestige and authority in the country."[693] These women did not always convert to Islam after marriage, and their Christian family hoped that the new Muslim relatives would protect them from the harassment of the local Ottoman authorities.[694]

[689] "Molte volte occorre che la donna per liberarsi dal marito fastidioso, se non la lascia, si fa turca, perché non la può più tener il cristiano, se non si farà, ancor esso turco. Et cusì non potendo passar senza la moglie, pigliar altri." *EHJM I/1*, 75.

[690] For other examples of Catholic women converting to Islam to obtain a separation from their husbands, see: Jelenić, "Spomenici," 137.

[691] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.

[692] "anzi sarebbe di mala maniera castigato quell Prete, ch'havesse ardire d'assistere a un contratto Matrimoniale fra Turco et Christiana; poiche quando un Turco volesse pigliar una Christiana per forza o per consenso di lei, meriteria pena capitale per legge Turchesca, se si servisse in tal caso di Prete catolico." Draganović, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija," 14.

[693] Louis Deshayes, *Voyage de Levant*, (Paris, 1645), 90.

[694] Deshayes, *Voyage*, 90. See, also Antal Molnár, "A hódoltság francia szemmel. Louis Deshayes, baron de Courmenin utazása Konstantinápolyba és a Szentföldre (1621)" [Ottoman Hungary in the eyes of the French. The

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It does not come as a surprise that in terms of administering marriages between Catholics and Muslims, neither the papacy nor missionaries on the ground showed any sort of permissiveness towards them. Marriages with 'infidels' were regarded as illicit after all. The problems started when such religiously mixed unions could not be prevented, since once contracted, they were considered illicit but not automatically void. Thus, when it came to the handling of the issue of Catholic women who did not convert to Islam but wanted to continue taking part in the Catholic sacraments, missionaries on the ground became perplexed and kept appealing to their Roman superiors for guidance.

During the seventeenth century, missionaries from various parts of Ottoman Rumeli reported about worrisome issues regarding the marriages of Catholic women with local Muslim men. In 1610, the bishop of Antivari Marino Bizzi informed the papacy that he had promulgated an order that forbade those parents who had married their daughters to Muslims and the respective girls alike to take part in the sacraments.[695] During his visit in the northern parts of Ottoman Europe, Pietro Massarechi found out about a woman whose Muslim spouse let her live "without offending God" and therefore, the local priest listened to the woman's confession and admitted her to the Eucharist.[696] Regarding the issue of confession, in 1672, the bishop of Bosnia Nikola Olovčić narrated the case of a woman who abjured her Catholic faith and converted to Islam. The bishop nevertheless absolved her in secret, since there was nothing else that he could do.[697] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Antonio Velislavi also noted that many people voluntarily gave their daughters to Muslims, they celebrated together at the wedding, after which they asked for absolution.[698] In 1671, the Holy Office got a question from the mission in Albania regarding whether the missionaries could listen to the confession of those Christian men who were married to Muslim women. Since there was no hope that these women would convert to Christianity, when they would meet the Christian wives of Muslims, these Muslim women could easily confuse the Christian ones (in their Christian faith).[699] The

travel of Louis Deshayes, baron de Courmenin to Constantinople and the Holy Land (1621)], *Történelmi Szemle* XLIX (2007): 35-61.

[695] Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 304.

[696] "Reperitur aliquis Turca, qui sinit talem coniugem vivere sine contumelia Creatoris, et Parochus audit confessionem huiusmodi mulieri, admittitque Ad mensam Sanctissimae Eucharistiae." Draganović, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija," 14.

[697] "Post hoc unam foeminam de Bagnaluca, quae fidem catholicam abiuraverat et Turca facta fuerit, absolvi secreto; aliud nihil facere potui." Jelenić, "Spomenici," 133.

[698] "Item permolti christiani danno volontariamente le loro figliole per moglie a Turchi, et tanto essi quanto il resto del parentando vanno a quelle nozze nefande, et poi domandano e vogliono l'assolutione.". Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.

[699] "Se li missionarii possino ascoltare la Confessione e dare l'assolutione a quei Christiani che hanno per Moglie Donne Turche, le quali non ni e speranza che siano per abbracciare la fede Christiana, e cosi all'incontro confusare Donne Christiane maritate con Turchi." ACDF, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 285 r. Formally, the *sharia* prohibited

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answer of the Holy Office was that if the marriage occurred before the conversion of the wife to Islam, the man could receive absolution, whereas if the marriage was contracted after the wife's conversion, he could not.[700] On one hand, the asking for absolution by various Catholic individuals[701] in different scenarios could become a suitable means of expressing their own awareness about belonging to one denomination and not another (if only, formally). On the other, the granting or refusal of absolution could turn into a perfect 'tool' in the hands of the local Catholic ecclesiastical representatives to circumscribe people's Catholicity. The missionaries' attempts, however, towards somehow hindering Catholics from mixing with members of other religious groups in most cases bore no fruit.

Throughout the seventeenth century, one encounters a variety of cases where various devotional, practical, and/or personal needs and motivations (for e.g., religious feasts, fairs, funerals, or exorcisms) brought people of various denominational, social, and linguistic backgrounds together.[702] Accordingly, weddings (either intra- or interconfessional) together with other religious feasts provided great occasions for different people and cultures to intermingle and create new or subvert old communal and confessional divides. Already in 1580, the Jesuit Bartolomeo Sfondrato reported to his Roman superiors that close to the Neretva river in Bosnia, on a farm Muslims ('new converts' who retained elements of their 'old' faith) celebrated the day of Saint Nicholas for two days with their Christian (most probably Orthodox) relatives.[703] In 1643, the bishop of Bosnia Toma Mrnavić refused to proclaim the bull of Pope Urban VIII that regulated the cult of saints, because certain Catholic saints were also venerated by the Orthodox Christians as well as the Muslims, and the bishop wanted to keep this local tradition intact.[704] Just to highlight two other illustrative examples. The fact that some of these

Muslim women to marry non-Muslim men. The probable scenario here (also based upon the answer of the Holy Office) is that these women converted to Islam after the marriage had been contracted—which as the opening case of this subchapter illustrated could be used as a means to separate from an unwanted Christian husband. According to Catholic canon law such a marriage was illicit but not immediately void and the couple did not have to separate as long as the infidel spouse did not offend God and did not convince the Christian spouse to become an infidel. According to the *sharia*, if the woman embraced Islam the man had to convert as well, otherwise their marriage became null. Thus, because of the stipulations Islamic law a Christian man being married to a new convert woman to Islam would be of a very short duration.

[700] "Quatenus agatur di matrimonio contracto in statu impedimentis disparitatis cultus, et quatenus lex ecclesiastica inducens huiusmodi impedimentum ibi non sit invincibiliter ignota, praedictes coniuges pretendentes permanere in hujusmodi conjugio non posse absolvi, si vero agatur de matrimonio contracto ante conversionem alterius conjugis, posse absolve, nec cogendum Christianum coniugem deferere Infidelem, sed illum posse segui consilium Apostoli, quatenus conjux infidelis Velit absque injuria creatoris cum fideli cohabitare et non adsit periculum preversionis." ACDF Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 286 r.

[701] According to the available sources, more women than men.

[702] For representative examples, see for instance: Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 127-130; 269-277; 295-303; 641-644; *EHJM I/1*, 69-78; 91-92; 115-130; 145-146; 222-225; 247-250; *EHJM I/2*, 352-353.

[703] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 112.

[704] The saints in question included Saint George, Elijah, Vitus, Nicholas, Martin, and Gregory. APF SOCG, vol. 17, fol. 3 r. Propaganda Fide informed the bishop that the bull did not prohibit the celebration of these particular

gatherings happened voluntarily might demonstrate that both on individual and communal levels, the emerging constellations of religious coexistence enabled the possible transition across different religious traditions. In terms of marriages, the fact that in several cases Catholic women were not forced to marry Muslim men might demonstrate that they were aware that living in a mixed marriage and household was not necessarily incompatible with retaining elements of their own Catholicism.[705]

Finding the proper way to somehow stay (and be considered) Catholic in a religiously mixed marriage, however, was not easy. The missionaries in general were less accepting and tolerant about these unions, and their refusal to administer to these women could generate violence on the ground. Similarly to the Benedictine Antonio Velislavi at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1647, Gregorio Masarecchi also described how he had been beaten several times by the Muslim husbands (who, according to Masarecchi, were new converts to Islam) of Catholic women, because he was not willing to administer the sacraments to these women.[706] But what was the motivation of these Muslim husbands to let and even help their wives stay Catholic and why not try to convince them to convert to Islam?

Rafael-Dorian Chelaru interpreted the violence inflicted upon the missionaries as a plausible way for the renegade husbands to continually keep at least their wives in the Catholic fold.[707] Approaching the problem from this perspective is certainly thought-provoking. But on the other hand, one should also not forget about the fact that even in a Christian-Muslim marriage the non-Muslim woman had to be knowledgeable in her own faith and properly exercise her religion.[708] Hence, motivations of this sort might have also been behind the conflicts described by Antonio Velislavi and several other missionaries. What further problematizes the judgement and interpretation of this issue is the lack of concrete numeric data that would give information about how many men in mixed marriages were renegades from Christianity, but presumably they were in majority. So, if they were converts, what elements of their Christian traditions (be that Orthodox or Catholic) did they want to retain, if any?[709] As it

saints, so they ordered the promulgation of the bull again. APF SOCG, vol. 17, fol. 8 v. Cf. APF SOCG, vol. 299, fol. 333 r. (report on the dynamics of Orthodox-Catholic coexistence in parts of Montenegro).

[705] In a report from 1641, the bishop of Sappa (today Sapë, Albania) described how when he did not allow Catholic women married to Muslim men to the sacraments, these women used to 'blame' their ignorance/'non-knowledge' concerning the fact that it was against 'God's law' to marry a Muslim. Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 305.

[706] Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 305.

[707] Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 309.

[708] See, fn. 636.

[709] From the abundant literature on the problem of Christian converts to Islam, see, for instance: Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575-1610*, (Oxford: OUP, 2017); Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam.*

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will be discussed later on, whereas it was customary for Muslim husbands to try to coerce missionaries to admit their wives to the sacraments, when it came to baptizing their children, this was generally performed upon the mother's request, in secret, even against the will of the father. In any eventuality, the attitude towards admitting Catholic women married to Muslim men to the sacraments was not unequivocal, neither among the missionaries, nor among the various decision-making bodies of the Roman Curia.

Propaganda Fide was generally stricter than the Holy Office when it came to the adjudication of this contentious issue. In 1629, to the question whether Christian women who got married to Muslim men either by free will or force should be admitted to the sacraments the Propaganda gave a negative answer, because these women lived in a perpetual concubinage and mortal sin.[710] Nevertheless, in 1676, the Propaganda issued yet another order that forbade a Christian spouse to contract a new marriage with another Christian, even if their current spouse apostatized.[711] The Holy Office, on the other hand, oftentimes exhibited a more lenient attitude.[712] An undated resolution issued by the Holy Office upon a question sent by Propaganda Fide stated the following:

> "If those [Catholic] girls who are married to Turks who had been baptized in their childhood because their parents loved them, want to keep their faith, can they contract a valid and legitimate marriage [with the mentioned men]? It has to be answered that such marriages where there are no other diriment impediments are valid contracts that cannot be disputed, because both of the spouses are baptized and even though the man lives as a Turk, if his Christian wife lives in a real Christian way, she can and should be admitted to the sacraments. But because these matrimonies are technically speaking gravely illicit, at least because of the great danger of perversion [of the faith] of the mentioned girls and the offspring, the missionaries must do as much as ever and try to prevent them [i.e., such mixed matrimonies]."[713]

[710] "Circa articulum an mulieribus Christianis Matrimonio sponti vel vi cum Turcis copulatis administranda sint Sacramenta Sacra Congregatio negative respondit, quia cum in perpetuo concubinatu et consequenter in peccato mortali existante, ad sacramentorum participationem non sunt admittenda." APF ACTA, vol. 6, fol. 269 v.

[711] "Coniuges fideles non posse ob alterius coniugis reditum ad infidelitatem aliud matrimonium contrahere cum alio fideli." APF Decreta, fol. 76 v.

[712] This was reflective of the occasional clashes that characterized the relationship of Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office, the latter having been often more adapting and 'tolerant' in terms of accommodating local religious practices. The Propaganda often accused the Holy Office of issuing ambiguous orders that could be misinterpreted and abused by various missionaries on the ground. Cf. Christian Windler, "Ambiguous Belongings: How Catholic Missionaries in Persia and the Roman Curia Dealt with *Communicatio in Sacris*," in Hsia (ed.), *Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, 205-234; especially 223-229.

[713] "Se quelle figlivole che sono maritate ai Turchi quali sono stati battezzati da piccolo per esser stati tiami i loro genitori, e dette figlivole voglino mantenersi nella fede, possano contrarre il matrimonio valide, e licite. Se si debba rispondere che tali Matrimonii, ove qual che altro impedimento dirimenti non opti, sono valide contratti che sieno, non si posso discorre, poiche ambedue i conjugi sono battezzati e tutto che l'uomo viva da Turco, se la donna Cristiana con esso lui sposata viva in realta cristianamente o si può o si deve ammettere ai Sagramenti. Sono però tali matrimonii regolarmente parlando gravemente illeciti, almeno per lo pericolo grande che vi e di

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As it can be seen, the answer of the Holy Office conformed to the decrees of Pope Innocent III in terms of allowing the Christian wife to be admitted to the sacraments, as long as there was no danger that the Muslim husband would lead the respective wife 'astray' in the matters of faith. It is also interesting to observe how the fact that the Muslim husband was baptized in his childhood[714] was used as an argument to justify the reason why the wife should be admitted to the sacraments. Another order gave permission (faculty) to local bishops to give dispensations from the impediment of *disparitas cultus* after having examined carefully the individual cases and only in those places where the number of 'infidels' was higher than the number of Christians. Accordingly, the respective couple was allowed to stay married as long as they did not offend God ("absque contumelia Creatoris") and their offspring would be considered legitimate.[715] One encounters stricter decisions from the Holy Office only towards the end of the seventeenth century. Thus, reacting to the doubts sent from the region of Shkodër (today Albania), it forbade the admittance of Catholic women to the sacraments, if they married Muslim men at the *kadi* court.[716]

In seventeenth-century Ottoman Rumeli it was often customary for Catholic women married to Muslim men to remain Catholic and express their desire to partake in the Catholic sacraments. Missionaries, however, were usually uneasy to grant their requests. While within the legal-confessional framework of Sunni Islam it was allowed in a mixed marriage for the wife to stay Christian as long as she properly exercised her own religion, Catholic ecclesiastical law was rather equivocal on the topic which often caused confusion and ambiguity both within the Roman congregations and on the ground. This often prompted missionaries to take matters in their own hands and arbitrate independently.

perversione di esse figlivole, e della prole, e perso debbono i missionarii far quanto mai fanno, e possono per impedirgli." APF Risoluzioni, no folio nr.

[714] I will illustrate in the next section how in confessionally mixed regions Muslim couples would take their children to the local Catholic ecclesiastical representative (in several cases, a Bosnian Franciscan) to get them baptized, due to various protective functions Muslims attributed to the Christian baptism.

[715] "Illustrissimus Dominus Noster concessit Episcopo N. facultatem ad annos ... dispensandi super impedimento disparitatis cultus, gravibus tamen ex causis in Singulis casibus in quibus dispensandum erit et in Locis tantum ubi sunt plures infideles, quam Christiani: ita ut in eo matrimonio postmodum quatenus absque contumelia Creatoris fieri potest contrahentes remanere libere et licite possint prolesque ex inde suscipiendos legitimos decernendi super quibus ejusdem N. conscientia oneratur et predicte Dispensationes gratias concedantur." APF Risoluzioni, no folio nr.

[716] "Sacramenta adminstranda non sunt Mulieribus Catholicis, quae sponsae Matrimonia cum Infidelibus contraxerunt more Turcico." ACDF, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 650 r.

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IV. 3. The Repercussions of Catholic-Orthodox Marriages

IV. 3. 1. Abducting Women for the Sake of Marriage

In 1632, the magistrates, priors, representatives, and the local Catholics of (Ottoman) Hungary, Bosnia, and other neighboring provinces ("Noi Conti, Governatori, Priori, Eletti, et Popoli de Cattholici della parte del Regno d'Ungaria della Bosna et altre Provincie convicine") reported their grievances to the Propaganda, and claimed, among other things, that the local Orthodox bishops took Catholic women by force or with the help of the Ottoman authorities and made them live as schismatics ("le fanno vivere schismatiche").[717] Even though this letter was most probably not composed by the undersigned 'magistrates' and other local Catholic representatives,[718] the practice it makes reference to, i.e., the abduction of Christian women (or of any religion or denomination) by Muslim or Christian (mostly Orthodox, but also Catholic) men was a prevalent problem throughout the early modern Ottoman Empire.

The custom of abduction was a multi-level social phenomenon in the sixteenth-seventeenth century Ottoman realm that involved a variety of actors and strategies on the ground. While at the beginning of the sixteenth century the act of abduction could still be employed as a means of public assertion of sultanic power, by the middle of the century imperial law had introduced a number of strict measures that aimed to extirpate the practice, and the sultan himself became "the prosecutor of abduction."[719] The abduction of women in particular was part and parcel of the Ottoman sultan's right to plunder, and the custom was also appropriated by the lower echelons of the society.[720] Abduction was a complex legal problem and a criminal act that could entail rape and/or forced or consensual marriage.[721] The practice was firstly criminalized by Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) and his statutes were also endorsed by his successors, Selim I (r. 1512-1520) and Suleiman (r. 1520-1566).[722] Formally, the

[717] APF SOCG, vol. 75, fol. 414 r. Published in Jačov, *Spisi,* 188-189. I consulted the original document.
[718] Propaganda Fide was suspicious about the 'truth content' of this letter and asked for the expert opinion of the archbishop of Bar. The archbishop, in turn discredited the content of the letter point by point. Jačov, *Spisi,* 190-191.
[719] Leslie Peirce, "Abduction with (Dis)honor: Sovereigns, Brigands, and Heroes in the Ottoman World," *Journal of Early modern History* 15 (2011): 311-329, 312.
[720] Despite the fact that abduction in general had never been a strictly royal prerogative, Leslie Peirce claims that there was a gradual change by the early seventeenth century in terms of shifting the focus from stories about "abductor-sultans" to epic-romantic tales commemorating the lives of bandit-heroes. Peirce, "Abduction with (Dis)honor," 312-313.
[721] Peirce, "Abduction with (Dis)honor," 317.
[722] Pierce, "Abduction with (Dis)honor," 316-317. See also, Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, 97-98.

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punishment for abduction was castration, but whether such harsh sentences were actually carried out is difficult to determine from the sources.[723] Abduction, nevertheless remained a criminal offence against the honor, integrity, and reputation of the household and, hence, of the imperial government during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Concerning seventeenth-century Ottoman Europe, when in 1632, the bishop of Antivari refuted the claims of the above cited letter written by the alleged representatives of Ottoman Hungary and Bosnia, he also replied to the point concerning the issue of 'forced marriages,' i.e., marriages by abduction. [724] Thus, he stated that according to "Turkish law" ("per legge Turchescha") a marriage contracted by force and without the consent of both parties is void, and the perpetrator is severely punished, and in particular in those cases when an Orthodox Christian commits such an offence to a Catholic or vice versa. [725] The bishop only stated that the person who commits such a criminal act is severely punished, but whether by 'severe punishment' he understood castration or not is impossible to tell.

Marriage-by-capture was not only condemned in the Islamic and sultanic law, but it was also strongly denounced in the Christian tradition. In Roman law, the legal category of *raptus* (from the Lt. rapere, 'to seize, snatch, drag off') comprised a variety of crimes related to property, including the abduction of women in general and bride-kidnapping in particular.[726] Already the law of Emperor Justinian (r. 527-565) in the mid-sixth century regarded the rape or abduction of a woman as an impediment to marriage.[727] By the last decade of the eleventh century canon law jurists had started to define *raptus* as sexual offense.[728] Despite several regulatory attempts by the ecclesiastical as well as the secular authorities, marriage by abduction remained prevalent in different areas of Europe (particularly in the frontier areas)

[723] Peirce, "Abduction with (Dis)honor," 318-319.
[724] Seventeenth-century Ottoman Europe, as well as the Venetian Mediterranean provides a number of excellent case studies regarding the many faces of the practice of women-abductions. For representative studies examining the local dynamics of this custom, especially in terms of family and/or communal honor, see for instance Mirna Šolić, "Women in Ottoman Bosnia as Seen Through the Eyes of Luka Botić, a Christian Poet," in Buturović and Shick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans*, 307-335; Eric Dursteler, ""Convenient to the Piety of Our Signoria and to the Honor of the Lord God": Gender and Institutional Honor on the Early Modern Dalmatian Frontier," *JEMH* 15 (2011): 367-384; Valentina Cesco, "Female Abduction, Family Honor, and Women's Agency in Early Modern Venetian Istria," *JEMH* 15 (2011): 349-366; and E. Natalie Rothman, "Conversion and Convergence in the Venetian-Ottoman Borderlands," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41 (2011): 601-633.
[725] "Etiam per legge Turchescha è nullo il matrimonio contratto per forza e renitente la parte, et il rattore è punito gravem[en]te in particolare quando questa forza venisse fatta dal Schismatico al Catholico, et è converso: massime in una Città, e Luoco dove commanda il Vesiero, che non si può corrompere, se non con gran somma di denari." Jačov, *Spisi*, 190.
[726] For a detailed discussion on the several forms of abduction and its sanctions from Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, see Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*.
[727] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 119-120.
[728] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 209.

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throughout the Middle Ages.[729] In the mid-sixteenth century, *Tametsi* also outlawed the practice of forced marriage (i.e., marriage-by-capture) and missionaries strove to eradicate this custom globally, with Ottoman Europe being no exception.

Despite the fact that marriage-by-capture or 'bride-theft' was equally denounced by the various local Christian ecclesiastical and communal representatives as well as the local Ottoman authorities, it remained an integral part of local marriage practices.[730] The frequently quoted report of the Benedictine Antonio Velislavi from the beginning of the seventeenth century already described how certain Catholic women voluntarily accepted to be abducted by Muslim men. However, the missionary also added that some women were actually abducted against their will, in which case they could receive the Catholic sacraments without problems—at least, according to the missionary's judgment of the situation.[731] Similar missionary accounts reached the Propaganda also from the Catholic-inhabited parts of Albania, where several women accepted *raptus* voluntarily because they were poor.[732] In 1637, the bishop of Sappa (today Sapë, Albania) Francesco Bianchi presumed that almost every Muslim man from his diocese had a Christian wife. Some of these women were kidnapped, while others were sold by their family head who were the local tribe leaders.[733] In 1646, the bishop of Scardona (*de facto* bishop of Bosnia) asked for advice from the Holy Office regarding the issue of Catholic women who were abducted by Orthodox men. Some of these women escaped from their Orthodox husbands and returned to their parental home. After their husband got married again, they also wanted to remarry. The Holy Office ordered the bishop to conform to the prescriptions of canon law.[734]

It was not only Orthodox and Muslim men, however, who abducted Catholic women for the sake of marriage—Catholic men could just as well resort to this practice. Around 1650, the secular priest Pietro Sabbatini informed the Propaganda about such abuses of the local Catholics in the area of the bishopric of Belgrade. The missionary described that the Christians [i.e., Catholic men] often took maidens and widows by force with the help of the Ottoman authorities and married them at the *kadi* court.[735] Marriage-by-capture was also prevalent

[729] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*. See, also George Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Centry France*, (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991).
[730] Cf. Daniel G. Bates, Francis Conant and Ayse Kudat, "Introduction: Kidnapping and Elopement as Alternative Systems of Marriage," *Anthropological Quarterly* 47 (1974): 233-237.
[731] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.
[732] APF SOCG, vol. 125, fol. 312 r.
[733] Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 305.
[734] Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 439.
[735] "Li Christiani pigliano molte volte le Citelle et Vedove con forza di Turchi e le sposano al tribunal loro. Fanno divortii con pigliar un'altra moglie al Tribunal Turcico celebrano tal volta le solennità delle nozze notte nei tempi prohibiti." Tóth, *Litterae*, 1827. A particular abduction story involving Catholics was also narrated in the peculiar

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among the Catholics in parts of Bosnia and missionary bishops kept reporting about this practice also throughout the eighteenth century.[736]

The abduction of women was, thus, a locally established practice in different parts of seventeenth-century Ottoman Rumeli, including areas in the northern regions that men of various denominational and social backgrounds would resort to in order to contract a marriage (according to the available sources, predominantly with Christian women). Moreover, as some of the here analyzed examples also demonstrated, resorting to this mode of contracting a matrimony could create new local alliances and extend kinship networks on communal and interdenominational levels. Bride-kidnappings, however, did not always occur with the woman's consent. When Catholic women were taken by (or, were potentially sold to) Muslim or Orthodox men by force, it could potentially become a rather contentious issue (particularly, in the case of marriages with Orthodox men) how to still remain Catholic, if only within the confines of the household.

life story of Magdalena Vuksanović, a Catholic girl from the central Bosnian town of Jelaške. According to her biography, a Catholic man named Franjo fell in love with Magdalena, but because the girl turned him down, Franjo's Muslim brother Mustafa suggested to abduct the girl and offered his help to Franjo. For a detailed analysis of the biography, see Antal Molnár, "La Schiavona. A Bosnian Girl between Catholic Hagiography and Balkan Female Transvestism," in idem, *Confessionalization on the Frontier*, 183-203.

[736] Chelaru, "Between Coexistence and Assimilation," 310-311.

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IV. 3. 2. Catholics and the 'Rite' of the Orthodox

I have described above that Orthodox stipulations towards mixed marriages were generally stricter in practice than the Catholic canon law or *sharia* regulations, and contemporary sources would often bear testimony to this. Thus, in a letter from 1617, the Jesuit Marino de Bonis stated the following:

> "They [the Orthodox] have great hatred towards the Roman faith, just like towards any Catholic who passes to their rite, which often occurs on the occasion of [Catholic-Orthodox] marriages. When the [Orthodox] husband takes a wife from the Catholics, they make her abjure the Catholic faith and baptism first that had been administered to her by Catholic priests, and then she is rebaptized, because the Roman baptism is considered invalid [by the Orthodox]."[737]

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Catholic missionary Paolo Pasquali spoke in similar terms about the marriage practices of the local Orthodox population of Venetian-ruled Kotor (today Montenegro), and underlined that in case Orthodox men married Catholic women, they [i.e., the Orthodox] 'forced' these women to pass to the 'Greek rite,' i.e., they made them fast for forty days as a sign of abandoning a polluted rite in favor of a pure one.[738]

Similar accounts about the practices of various Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities (be that Greek-, Serbian-, or Romanian Orthodox) kept reaching Rome from virtually every part of Ottoman Europe throughout the seventeenth century. From the Greek lands through Serbia and up to Moldavia Catholic missionaries, apostolic visitors, and missionary bishops gave various testimonies about the hatred Orthodox clerics harbored towards the 'Latin' clerics and how mixed marriages and other contentious marital issues (such as, divorces) could turn into perfect occasions to win people (mostly women) over to Orthodoxy.[739] But what these accounts also

[737] "Portando grand odio alla fede romana; onde come alcun catolico passa al rito loro, come spesso ocorre, con occasione delli matrimonii, quando il marito piglia la moglie dal catolico, la fanno abiurar la fede romana et il batesimo, che da preti catolici havea preso, et poi lo ribatizano, tenendo per invalido il batesimo alla Romana." *EHJM I/2*, 290.

[738] "L'abuso che hanno nel matrimonio e, che maritandosi con donne del nostro rito le sforzano a passare al rito greco facendole digiunare prima 40. giorni in segno d'haver abbandonato un rito polluto, et havere abbraciato un'altro puro." APF SOCG, vol. 299, fol. 55 r. On the mediating role of the bay of Kotor between Rome and the Ottoman Empire, as well as the attempts to unite the local Orthodox Serbs (who kept arriving to the Venetian-held areas after the outbreak of the Cretan War) with the Catholic Church, see Antal Molnár, "A Forgotten Bridgehead between Rome, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire: Cattaro and the Balkan Missions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): 494-528. See also, Molnár, *A szerb ortodox egyház*, 76-89.

[739] For instance, in 1624, the bishop of Bacovia (today Bacău, Romania) appealed to the Holy Office and asked how he should proceed in the cases of those women who for the slightest discord with their husbands asked for a divorce. Since the bishop denied their request, these women went to the Orthodox bishop who ordered them to first get rebaptized, then he would dissolve the marriage in question and grant a license to marry again. The Holy

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demonstrate is that the Orthodox clergy had a particular sense of awareness and understanding about the distinctiveness and 'purity' of the 'Greek rite' in contradistinction to the 'Latin' one. Accordingly, this might also prove that the political and fiscal status of the Orthodox Churches within the Ottoman realm was not the sole element that informed the various attempts of the Orthodox clergy to convert Catholics, but that these efforts could have also been confessionally motivated.[740] But what did the adherence to a particular *rite* actually entail in the contemporary Orthodox and Catholic understanding?

From its early history, the term 'rite' denoted a variety of religious acts or customs, and from this meaning it evolved into a concept with much broader connotations that included matters of faith, practice, and religious regulation.[741] Thus, by the ninth century "from a denotation of religious acts or customs, the word evolved to assume the larger signification of an entire confession or religious denomination."[742] In the eleventh century the 'Greek rite,' for instance came to be known as the main symbol of schism in the West, and "faith itself was sealed in the sign of ritual divergence."[743] At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Pope Innocent III (p. 1198-1216) distinguished 'rite' from 'custom' in the context of the issue of those 'Greeks' who wanted to return to the Church of Rome. In the middle of the fourteenth century Pope Clement VI (p. 1342-1352) accused 'Greek schismatics' in the Balkans of heresy, because they refused to recognize as valid baptism and confirmation according to the 'Latin rite.'[744] Thus, throughout the Middle Ages the concept of 'rite' went through many iterations before it was assigned an almost completely liturgical meaning at the Council of Trent. Nevertheless,

Office ordered the bishop to teach these men and women that divorce and remarriage were prohibited by divine law and appealing to the Greek Orthodox bishop who makes them to get rebaptized was a sacrilege, since the sacrament of baptism could not be repeated. APF Decreta, fol. 71 v: "Episcopi Bacoviensis in Moldavia petentis, quomodo se gerere debeat, cum saepe contingat in sua Diecesi, ut Mulieres ob levissimam causam discordiae cum Maritis, petant divortium, quod si eis denegetur, adeunt episcopum Grecum schismaticum, qui illas rebaptizari mandat, postea matrimonium dissolvit, ac concedit licentiam contrahendi de novo sine spe, quod amplius redeant ad fidem Catholicam, cui Illustrissimus ordinauit responderi ut huiusmodi homine et mulieres instruat, iure divino prohiberi, coniuges legitimo Matrimonio copulatos separari, ad effectum de novo contrahendi: et recurrentes ad Grecos, seque rebaptizari facientes, committere sacrilegium, cum Sacramentum baptismi reiterari non possit: et si cum alio, vel alia contrahant vivere in continuo concubinatu, cum sola prima, vel primus sint vera uxor, et vir."

[740] The issue of ritual purity also informed a number of polemics within the Orthodox Church itself during the seventeenth century. A number of Russian Orthodox clerics, for instance, cultivated a distinct sense of purity of their Orthodoxy in contradistinction to the "contaminated Orthodoxy" of the Greeks. On their end, certain Greek Orthodox hierarchs on Mount Athos would not accept Russian and Serbian ecclesiastical works and even consider them heretical. Nikolaos Chrissidis, *An Academy at the Court of the Tsars. Greek Scholars and Jesuit Education in Early Modern Russia*, (DeKalb: NIU Press, 2016), 16-35.

[741] William W. Bassett, *The Determination of Rite*, (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1967), 24.

[742] Bassett, *The Determination of Rite*, 22.

[743] Bassett, *The Determination of Rite*, 16.

[744] Bassett, *The Determination of Rite*, 27-33.

the various Roman congregations kept employing the term in a more flexible manner and not only in a strict liturgical sense.[745]

One might, therefore, also assume that in those Jesuit (or other Catholic missionary) accounts that detailed how Catholic people 'passed' to the 'Greek rite' or how various Orthodox clerics demanded individual Catholics to embrace the 'Greek rite' with clearly definable acts (such as rebaptism), the meaning of 'rite' encapsulated a wider range of connotations that pointed beyond the sense of 'religious custom' and/or 'liturgy'. Besides, even the Jesuits were not always consistent in terms of assigning particular names (and descriptors) to particular religious groups. Marino de Bonis SJ, for instance, spoke about the "customs and rites" ("costume et riti") of the Serbian Orthodox (named by Bonis as "serviani" and "Serbgli"), and he also referred to their religious practices as "exterior cult/worship" ("culto esteriore").[746] Bartol Kašić SJ spoke about the "Greek sect" and their "rites and profession of the faith" ("rito et professione").[747] In 1631, the secular priest Simone Matković explained "the extreme needs of the innumerable Christian people of the Greek rite, albeit schismatics" ("gl'estremi bisogni dell'innumerabili popoli christiani del rito Greco, benchè scismatici"), whose number greatly exceeds the number of any other "sect or rite" ("e di gran lunga superano il numero di qualsivoglia altra setta o rito").[748] In another report from 1622, the same Matković spoke about converting "heretics" (i.e., Protestants) in Mohács (today, Hungary) to the "Roman rite" ("convertire quelli eretici al Rito romano").[749] In 1676, the Bosnian Franciscan Giovanni a Derventa reported about Romanian-speaking people of the "schismatic rite" ("gente Vallaca, del rito schismatico") in Lugoj (today Romania), and he specifically emphasized that he calls them "of the schismatic rite", because from the "Greeks" they are different in many respects ("dico schismatico, perchè da Greci in molte cose sono differenti").[750] In the same report, Derventa recalled a quarrel between the missionary Stefano Marković and the local Orthodox *vladika* at the *kadi* court. According to Derventa, the reason for this argument was that the local Orthodox brought their children to Marković to baptize them and Marković also administered the marriages of these Orthodox people. The *kadi* apparently decided in favor of the missionary,

[745] Bassett, *The Determination of Rite*, 38-48. Cf. Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*, 382-383.
[746] *EHJM I/2*, 289.
[747] *EHJM I/1*, 71.
[748] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 354.
[749] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 137.
[750] Tóth, *Relationes*, 220.

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but the *vladika* could not accept it and "kept shouting that it was against, he did not say rite, but their faith" ("gridando, ch'era contro, non diceva rito, ma loro fede").[751]

As a reaction to the Orthodox practice of demanding the Catholic party to abjure their faith and get rebaptized according to the 'Greek rite' in order to enter into marriage, Roman Catholic authorities as well as missionaries on the ground tried to impose similar restrictive measures. In 1627, the bishop of Mostar (today Bosnia) alleged that the Bosnian Franciscans rebaptized those Orthodox girls who wanted to marry Catholic men.[752] To the question of the bishop of Trebinje (today Bosnia) from 1632 whether he had to allow Catholic women to marry Orthodox men, the Holy Office answered that the bishop should not allow these unions, unless the Orthodox party abjured their faith first or at least made a profession of faith before the marriage, as it was stipulated by Propaganda Fide in 1628.[753] In 1669, the problem of Catholic women marrying Greek Orthodox men was raised again, and it was asked whether the sacraments should be administered to those women who by entering a marriage with Orthodox men passed to the Greek rite and they would not abandon it, either because of fear from their husbands or other reasons. The answer of the Holy Office was to conform to the rulings of Pope Clement VIII that stipulated that the Catholic husband should not follow the rite of the Greek wife, the Catholic wife should not follow the rite of the Greek husband, and the Greek wife should follow the rite of the Latin husband—but if these stipulations cannot be met, each spouse should remain in their own catholic rite.[754] In 1668, the bishop of Cattaro (today Kotor, Montenegro) expressed his refusal to permit the communication between the "Latins" and the "Schismatics," including mixed marriages, even if the Orthodox husband would allow the

[751] Tóth, *Relationes*, 221. While, in case of necessity (*in casu necessitatis*), Roman congregations sometimes made concessions in terms of allowing the Orthodox clergy to administer certain sacraments (mainly baptisms) to the Catholics, according to my best knowledge, the Orthodox hierarchy did not officially make such compromises that would allow the Catholic clergy to baptize the Orthodox or administer their marriages. Hence, it is very plausible that the Bosnian Franciscan Derventa did not exaggerate in describing the Orthodox bishop's behavior.

[752] Jačov, *Spisi*, 91.

[753] "Se il vescovo deve permettere che le Donne Cattoliche si maritano con li Scismatici. R. Episcopus non permittat coniugia inter Catholicos, et Schismaticos, nisi premissa abiuratione facienda a Schismaticis, vel saltem Professione fidei facienda ante matrimonium iuxta decisa per Sacram Congregationem." APF Decreta, fol. 204 r/v. The Holy Office also advised the bishop to make sure that the orders of the Council had been announced in his diocese and whether in the respective diocese exists the custom of Catholics contracting marriages with the Orthodox and whether these marriages would be administered by Catholic or Orthodox priests: "Verum Episcopus certioret utrum in illius Diecesi publicatum fuerit Concilium Tridentinum. Utrum in eadem Diecesi adest consuetudo prescripta quod catholici contrahant matrimonium cum Schismaticis, et utrum celebrentur Matrimonia coram Parochis Catholicii, an vero coram Schismaticii dummodo in illis locii tolerentur Schismatici."

[754] "An Sacramenta ministrari debeant mulieribus, quae occasione matrimonii, ad ritum graecum transierunt, et in eo persistere volunt aut ob gravem metum sibi a maritis incussum, aut ob alias causas quae facile superari possunt. Et quid si sint constitutae in articulo mortis? R. Satagendum esse ut servetur Constitutio 34 Clem. VIII qua sancitur ut maritus latinus uxoris graecae ritum non sequatur, et latina uxor non sequatur ritum mariti graeci; graeca vero uxor sequatur ritum mariti latini: quod si fieri non possit, quisque coniugum in suo ritu catholico tantum permaneat." *Collectanea S. Congregationis vol. I*, 55-56.

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Catholic wife to take part in the sacraments.[755] In 1680, the bishop of Bosnia asked whether the marriage of a Catholic and an Orthodox is valid if there is the (possible) intention to "defile" or eventually, "dissolve" the marriage. The answer of the Holy Office was that if these intentions were part of the marriage contract, the marriage is not valid, if they were not, the matrimony is valid.[756]

The above presented examples nicely illustrate the taxonomical inconsistencies that informed the understanding of Catholic missionaries about various local Orthodox groups (and not only) in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. At the same time, these cases also show how the concept of 'rite' was employed by missionaries both in the stricter sense of 'religious and/or liturgical custom' and in the wider sense, potentially comprising matters of practice, faith/belief, and canonical regulation. But it is exactly this elusive terminology that could demonstrate how intertwined religious practice and belief were in the articulation and conceptualization of missionary knowledge about the Orthodox in general and Orthodox-Catholic mixed marriages in particular.

[755] APF ACTA, vol. 37, fol. 170 r.

[756] "An sit validum matrimonium contractum inter catholicum et schismaticum haereticum cum intentione foedandi vel solvendi matrimonium. R. Si ista sint deducta in pactum, seu cum ista conditione sint contracta, matrimonia sunt nulla; sint aliter, sunt valida." APF Collectanea, fol. 75 r.

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IV. 4. In the Name of the Holy Spirit(s)—The Sacrament of Baptism between Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam

IV. 4. 1. Introduction

In the previous sections, I have discussed how the Tridentine reforms concerning the sacrament of marriage were received, molded, and contested in sixteenth-seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. I have demonstrated how the religious, linguistic, and legal plurality of the area as well as the interaction among various religious and communal agents gave rise to a distinct dynamic of confessional (as well as communal) meaning-making within various local Catholic groups. In these discussions I have already emphasized how the sacramentality of marriage rested upon the receiving of the sacrament of baptism—the *ianua sacramentorum* (~the door of/to the sacraments).

The first of the seven sacraments, the door giving access to the other sacraments as well as to the Church; the rite of initiation into the Christian community; the way towards the liberation from sins and rebirth in Christ, and the road to salvation—these are several of the key connotations the sacrament of baptism encapsulates in the Catholic tradition. By the beginning of the fifth century the theology of baptism had already reached a flowering period when central points of dogma as well as liturgy were formulated.[757] Even though in the early middle ages one can only speak about a rather simple theology of baptism, due to its connection to the doctrine of the Church Fathers as well as the growing scholarship of early Scholasticism, the period from the sixth until the end of the eleventh century was foundational for the later development of the sacramental theology of baptism.[758]

With the rise of scholastic theology and the concomitant development of the formal classifications of the sacraments, from the twelfth until the sixteenth century the sacramental theology of baptism also came to be systematized.[759] Thanks to the teachings primarily of Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Bonaventure (d. 1274), Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and Duns Scotus (d. 1308),[760] by the time of the Council of Florence (1431-1449) the

[757] Burkhard Neunheuser, *Baptism and Confirmation*, (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2018), original edition: *Taufe und Firmung*, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1964), 2-161.
[758] Neunheuser, *Baptism and Confirmation*, 161-199.
[759] Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism. From the New Testament to the Council of Trent*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 135. See, also Marcia L. Colish, *Faith, Fiction and Force in Medieval Baptismal Debates*, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014).
[760] Neunheuser, *Baptism and Confirmation*, 199-221.

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main dogmas of Catholic baptism had been crystallized. Thus, the decree for the Armenians (1439) defined the sacrament of baptism as follows:

> "Holy baptism, which is the gateway to the spiritual life, holds the first place among all the sacraments; through it we are made members of Christ and of the body of the Church. And since death entered into the universe through the first man, "unless we are born of water and the Spirit, we cannot," as the Truth says, "enter into the kingdom of heaven" (cf. John 3:5). The matter of this sacrament is real and natural water; it makes no difference whether cold or warm. The form is: I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Yet we do not deny that through these words: Such a (this) servant of Christ is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Holy Ghost or: Such a one is baptized by my hands in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, a true baptism is administered since the principal causes, from which baptism has its power is the Holy Trinity; the instrumental cause, however, is the minister, who bestows the sacrament externally; if the act which is performed through the minister himself, is expressed with the invocation of the Holy Trinity, the sacrament is effected. The minister of this sacrament is a priest, who is competent by office to baptize. In case of necessity, however, not only a priest or a deacon, but even a layman or a woman, yes even a pagan and a heretic can baptize, so long as he preserves the form of the Church and has the intention of doing as the Church does. The effect of this sacrament is the remission of every sin, original and actual, also of every punishment which is due to the sin itself. Therefore, no satisfaction must be enjoined for past sins upon those who immediately attain to the kingdom of heaven and the vision of God."[761]

Scholastic definitions of the sacraments in general and baptism in particular resulted in generic descriptions that were often unrelated to the liturgical text and practice.[762] As a result, ritual diversity prevailed in the Catholic world until the seventeenth century (and beyond).[763]

The pertinent canons of the Council of Trent—mainly, in response to the Protestant reformers' attacks on Catholic baptismal theology as well as rite[764]—reiterated the above cited earlier tenets from the decree for the Armenians and further refined the boundaries of the particular doctrines on baptism. The fourteen Tridentine canons (re)stated, among other points that the baptism of Christ had greater efficacy than the baptism of John; reaffirmed the necessity of true and natural water for baptism, and condemned a mere metaphorical understanding of

[761] https://sensusfidelium.us/the-sources-of-catholic-dogma-the-denzinger/council-of-florence-1438-1445-decree-for-the-armenians/. Accessed on 18.12.2020.
[762] Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism*, 158.
[763] In the Western Christian tradition between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries the various forms of the Roman-Germanic ritual were most commonly employed in the administration of baptisms. The liturgical texts were largely the same, but with differing rubrics as well as sequence of formulae. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism*, 134-135.
[764] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 43-71. See, also Geoffrey W. Bromiley, "Baptism in the Reformed Confessions and Catechisms," in Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross (eds), *Baptism, The New Testament and The Church*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 402-419.

the sacrament; reinforced the commitment to the theological necessity of infant baptism[765] and outlawed rebaptism; reasserted that if the proper matter and form (the Matthean formula) was used, with the intention of doing what the Church does, even baptisms performed by heretics could be considered valid.[766] The Catechism of the Council of Trent also dealt with the rituals of baptism and divided them into three categories: 1. rituals performed before coming to the baptismal font (standing at the church door, catechetical instruction, exorcism, salt, sign of the cross, and saliva); 2. rituals enacted after coming to the font (renunciation of Satan, profession of faith and expression of the desire to be baptized, and baptism); 3. ceremonies after baptism (chrism, white garment, and lighted candle).[767] Even though the Catechism covered the baptismal ceremonial that was common in most Western diocesan rituals, it did not deal with the minute variations of formulae and exact sequence.[768] Concerning more concrete attempts towards the standardization of baptismal liturgy (and the Roman liturgy in general), it was only in 1614, when the first edition of the Roman Ritual was issued.[769]

The sixteenth-seventeenth-century expansion of Catholicism in different parts of the globe and the concomitant proliferation of missionary agents in particular areas both inside and outside of Europe led to the rapid increase of various kinds of uncertainties around the administration of baptisms. At the same time, the continuous queries that reached the Roman congregations, gave further incentive to Rome to move towards the unification of the baptismal rite. The expressed uncertainties of the various missionaries in general touched upon both the formal and material aspects of baptism, including verbal errors in the enunciation of the ritual formula, use of liquids other than natural water, or the postponement of the time of baptism. Usually, the Catholic Church allowed baptisms to be performed *sub conditione* (conditionally, i.e., on the condition that the person in question was eligible to receive the sacrament), but conditional baptism in itself could not become a universal solution to the all the problems that kept reaching the papacy from various parts of the world, including Ottoman Europe.

[765] On the commitment of the Catholic Church to infant baptism and its repercussions in moral theology, see Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*, 327-350.
[766] http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch7.htm. Accessed on 01.09.2020.
[767] Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism*, 155.
[768] Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism*, 155.
[769] *Rituale Romanum*, (Rome: Ex Typographia Camera Apostolica, 1615). In terms of prayers, the Ritual to a great extent drew on the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (*Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*). See, also Joseph A. Jungmann, SJ, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, (Allen: Christian Classics, 1986), 127-141.

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IV. 4. 2. The Problem of (Re)baptizing Catholics and Orthodox in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Rumeli

The attitude of the Orthodox Church towards the baptism of Catholics was expressed in various ancient canons that were subsequently incorporated into Orthodox canon law precepts.[770] According to these canons, Catholic baptism (and 'heterodox' baptism in general) was not automatically considered invalid but if a Catholic person wanted to convert to Orthodoxy, they had to first renounce their heresy by signing an appropriate confession of faith, after which they were usually received by chrismation into the Orthodox fold.[771] New converts were rebaptized in case their 'heterodox' baptism was found invalid based on deficient faith and/or practice. However, the exact criteria according to which Roman Catholic baptism could be deemed invalid was not clearly conceptualized. [772]

The baptism of the 'Latins' was already the subject of intense scrutiny at the time of the Great Schism (1054), and Orthodox Church authorities condemned various Roman Catholic baptismal practices, such as the act of single immersion[773] or the use of salt. A number of sources suggest that after 1054 the Orthodox kept denouncing the validity of Catholic baptism and if conditions allowed, re-baptized Catholic converts.[774] Between the second half of the eleventh and the end of the fifteenth century, rebaptizing Latin converts in case of 'deficient' baptism (for instance, baptism by affusion or sprinkling) became a custom of the Eastern Churches.[775] In order to somehow regulate this, the pan-orthodox synod of Constantinople in 1484, besides denouncing the Council of Florence, ruled that Latin converts to Orthodoxy should be admitted into the Orthodox fold only by chrismation and signing a particular

[770] George Dragas, "The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special Reference to the Decisions of the Synods of 1484 (Constantinople), 1755 (Constantinople) and 1667 (Moscow)," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44 (1999): 235-271, 235; David Heith-Stade, "Receiving Converts in the Orthodox Church. A Historical-Analytical Study of Eighteenth-Century Greek Canon Law," *Ostkirkliche Studien* 59 (2010): 99-110, 103.
[771] Dragas, "Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 235.
[772] Dragas, "Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 235-236.
[773] Based on the teachings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (lived around the late fifth/early sixth century), Orthodox theologians advocated triple immersion and emersion. In the Orthodox tradition Pseudo-Dionysius was regarded a saint who lived in the second century, before Augustine and, thus, he became an authoritative writer in Orthodox sacramental theology. The authority of Pseudo-Dionysius became a point of contention between the Eastern and Western Churches, the Orthodox blaming the 'Latins' for not recognizing the authority of Pseudo-Dionysius. See, Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius. A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence*, (Oxford: OUP, 1993). I thank my colleague Anna Ohanjanyan for having drawn my attention to this important detail of Orthodox sacramental theology.
[774] Dragas, "Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 236-237.
[775] Most prominent among them being the Russian Orthodox Church.

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confession of faith that would include the renunciation of 'Latin errors.'[776] Even though the Synod tacitly accepted Catholic baptism as valid by *economy* and this order was not unequivocally abrogated until the middle of the eighteenth century,[777] the Orthodox clergy did not uniformly abandon the practice of rebaptizing Catholics[778]—as several of the here analyzed cases also illustrate.

In the previous chapter, I have shown that in early modern Ottoman Rumeli it was customary that on the occasion of Catholic-Orthodox mixed marriages the Orthodox clergy demanded the Catholic party (usually women) to abjure their faith first. This requirement was often accompanied with the stipulation to get rebaptized according to the Greek rite. Yet, besides mixed marriages, Catholics also sought the service of the Orthodox clergy to perform baptisms in case there was no Catholic priest available or for other practical as well as personal reasons.[779] The involvement of Orthodox priests in the baptism of Catholics caused several problems to various missionaries on the ground, which in turn also prompted the various Roman congregations to continuously redefine and/or reconfirm their stance on the baptism of Catholics performed by non-Catholic religious representatives.

Throughout the seventeenth century it was a matter of continuous debates whether 'heretic' or 'schismatic' priests could legitimately administer the sacrament of baptism to the Catholics in general, and whether such baptisms could eventually be considered valid or not. As it was emphasized above, according to the Decree of the Armenians (1439) and the Council of Trent (1545–1563) if the proper matter, form, and intention was used, in case of necessity even baptisms performed by heretics or schismatics could be considered valid. In spite of the fact that dozens of missionary reports kept informing the Roman papacy that in most cases neither the matter, nor the form of baptisms performed by the non–Catholic clergy conformed to the stipulations of the Catholic Church, the Holy Office periodically reconfirmed the

[776] The English translation of text of the Synod of 1484 concerning the reception of Catholic converts into the Orthodox Church is found in Dragas, "Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 238-241.
[777] In 1755, the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril V (p. 1748-1751; 1752-1757) promulgated a decree that rejected the validity of Western Christian baptism. Already in 1722, a synod in Constantinople ruled for the rebaptism of Latins as a retribution for the schism that Catholic missionaries caused in Syria. The 1755 synodal decisions of Cyril V were a culmination of earlier efforts, but they did not become a universal norm across the Orthodox world. Heith-Stade, "Receiving Converts in the Orthodox Church," 99-110; Dragas, "Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 242-248.
[778] The position of the Russian Orthodox Church on rebaptism, for instance, was officially articulated by the Moscow Synod of 1620 as well as 1621, which stipulated the rebaptism of Latins and Uniates drawing on the canons of the Council of Trullo (691-692). These views remained relatively unchallenged until the Moscow Synods of 1655 and 1656. Dragas, "Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 250.
[779] See, for e.g., APF SOCG, vol. 125, fol. 394 r.-395 v.

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stipulation that in case of absolute necessity, i.e., in the absence of any other Catholic person, Protestant or Orthodox priests could baptize the children of Catholics.[780]

Concerning northern Ottoman Rumeli, the two Jesuit missionaries Bartol Kašić and Marino de Bonis provided information about the role of Orthodox priests in the performance of baptisms in the region. Kašić, for instance, wrote that many Catholics took their children to the Orthodox priests for baptism either due to the lack or misdemeanor[781] of certain Catholic priests. Kašić asked these Orthodox priests about the words uttered during the pouring of the water so he would know whether he needed to rebaptize these people *sub conditione*.[782] It is important to note that already in 1590, the Holy Office issued an order that recognized as valid the baptismal formula of the Serbian Orthodox ("Rasciani Scismatici"): "… sia battezato il servo di Christo in nomine Patris Amen, In nomine Filii Amen, et In Nomine Spiritus Sancti Amen."[783] Kašić did not specify what the priest had actually answered him as regards the baptismal formula he employed;[784] he only described that according to the Orthodox priests in question one could only be legitimately baptized by a priest [i.e., an Orthodox priest]. Marino de Bonis also confirmed what Kašić described, claiming that the Orthodox priests said that the baptisms administered by the Catholic secular clergy were not valid.[785]

Kašić further inquired about the baptism of children in the face of death in case there was no priest.[786] To this, an Orthodox priest replied that the godfather had to take the dead child and turn the body towards the east and three times utter "here is the faith," then bury the child in the church (according to Bonis where the rain falls in), and finally, ask the priest to perform forty liturgies; through these acts the child would be saved and considered baptized.[787] The

[780] See, for instance APF Decreta, fol. 84 r.
[781] With such descriptions, the fathers usually referred to the Bosnian Franciscans.
[782] *EHJM I/1*, 72.
[783] APF Decreta, fol. 80 r/v. It is an interesting addition that in 1621, the French envoy Louis Deshayes encountered (or heard of) people around the villages of Belgrade who claimed to be Catholics, but they did not attend the mass nor received the sacraments, and they were baptized only in the name of John the Baptiste. Deshayes, *Voyage de Levant*, 56. Similarly to the case of the Serbian Orthodox, in 1633, the Holy Office issued yet another order that recognized the baptismal formula of the Armenian 'schismatics'. *Collectanea*, 19.
[784] Even if these priests had given a concrete answer to the Jesuit missionary, it would have been nearly impossible to verify the validity of the Orthodox prelates' claim. The same was also true for Roman authorities, who could only rely on the account of the missionaries about the baptismal practices of the Orthodox.
[785] *EHJM I/2*, 290.
[786] *EHJM I/1*, 72. According to Catholic canon law, in this case, theoretically, even physicians or midwives could perform emergency baptisms in order to save newborns from eternal damnation. Such a baptism was considered legitimate also in the case if the body of the newborn was not completely out of the mother's body, as long as it was possible to touch the baptizands head with holy water, even, in some cases, inside the uterus. Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*, 335.
[787] "il patrino deve pigliar quel fanciullo morto et voltato verso l'oriente e tre volte dimandar adorando et chiandosi intona: che la fede, ce la fede, ce la fede, et poi seperirlo sotto il tetto de qualque chiesa et facendone dir 40 liturgie, si salvarà quel putto et resterà battezato." *EHJM I/2*, 72. It is interesting to note that in the western medieval baptismal rites the threefold immersion sometimes was performed in a way that the priest made the sign of the

missionary Paolo Pasquali spoke in similar terms about the Serbian Orthodox of the Greek rite from the diocese of Kotor (Cattaro, today Montenegro). Pasquali described that according to the custom of the Greek Church, they did not baptize infants only after a few months after their birth, and because they would not allow anyone but the priest to baptize, some children even would die without baptism.[788]

The fate in the afterlife of unbaptized children was a widespread concern in various parts of the Catholic world during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. It was generally believed that infants who died without baptism (too young to have committed sins, but not having been freed from original sin) could not enter heaven or hell but would permanently stay in the state of *Limbo*. And even though the *Limbo of Infants* never became an official doctrine of faith of the Catholic Church, it remained a widespread belief until the mid-twentieth century (and even beyond).[789] In terms of the fate of unbaptized children, the Orthodox Church in general follows the teaching of the Cappadocians fathers, Gregory of Nanzianus (d. 390) and Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395). According to Gregory of Nanzianus, after death, unbaptized infants would acquire a blissful state (although, not eternal glory), since they did not have actual sin; and because their original sin was inherited, they would come to be deemed innocent and worthy of paradise.[790] On his end, Gregory of Nyssa believed that unbaptized infants would certainly attain eternal glory.[791] And while, neither Church Father was explicitly against pedobaptism, Gregory of Nanzianus thought that it was better to wait until the child reached an age (around the end of the third year, according to him) when they would be able to comprehend something from the sacrament itself.[792] All this puts into perspective the reasons why a number of Jesuits (and Catholic missionaries, in general), such as Bartol Kašić were more concerned about the baptism of children in the face of death (implicitly advocating the immediate baptism of newborns) than their Orthodox counterparts.

cross with the infant's body, first directing the baby's head to the east. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, 49.

[788] APF SOCG, vol. 299, fol. 56 r. Basilian missionaries recorded similar practices in Himara, southern Albania. Ines Angeli Murzaku, "The Basilian Monks and their Missions in 17th-18th Centuries to Chimara (Himara) Southern Albania," *The Downside Review* 135 (2017): 21-34; 28.

[789] https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20070419_un-baptised-infants_en.html

[790] I thank my colleague Anna Ohanjanyan for having shared these crucial details with me. See, Gregory of Nanzianus's *Oration 40 on Holy Baptism*. https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/310240.htm. Accessed on 01.05. 2021.

[791] Gregory of Nyssa, *On Infants Early Deaths*: https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2912.htm. Accessed on 01.05. 2021.

[792] https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/310240.htm

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Marino de Bonis' report almost verbatim repeated Kašić's description of the Orthodox practice of 'baptizing' dead infants, but Bonis also added that some Orthodox having seen the devotion of the Jesuits, rejected their priests and sent their children to learn at the school of the Jesuits and even let them become Catholics.[793] The fathers decided to conditionally re–baptize these Orthodox children and also those Catholic ones who were baptized by Orthodox priests due to the lack of Catholic ones, since the fathers were uncertain about the validity of the baptism performed by the Orthodox.[794]

Uncertainty in general was part and parcel of the Catholic missionary enterprise in the early modern period. The first papal visitor to northern Ottoman Rumeli reported in 1581 that around the city of Timișoara he found unbaptized people in more than seventy villages and several people claimed that for thirty years no one had administered baptisms. He baptized these people *sub conditione,* since he found it difficult to believe that there had been no Catholic priests in the area for that long.[795]

Concerning the Bosnian Franciscans, it was allegedly common among the friars to conditionally rebaptize the Orthodox. In 1627, the bishop of Mostar claimed that in his diocese the Bosnian Franciscans rebaptized those Orthodox girls who wanted to marry Catholic men and with this, they caused a great scandal.[796] In 1640, a certain Matej Milatić in a letter to Francesco Leonardi archdeacon of Traú (today Trogir, Croatia)[797] accused the Bosnian Franciscans that they did not admit to the communion and the Catholic rite those Orthodox who abandoned the "schism," unless they first rebaptized them *sub conditione*.[798] Milatić also urged the Propaganda to print in "Cyrillic letters" the profession of faith that Orthodox converts to Catholicism were supposed to sign.[799] Upon this complaint, the Propaganda Fide ordered the friars not to baptize those Orthodox who were baptized according to the *Euchologion* but admit

[793] This information somehow balanced all the negative reports about the ignorance and illiteracy of the local Orthodox. The French traveler and diplomat, Louis Deshayes spoke in similar terms about the Greek Orthodox of Constantinople who sent their children to the school of the Jesuits. See, Antal Molnár, "A hódoltság francia szemmel," 59.
[794] *EHJM I/2,* 291.
[795] Tóth, *Litterae I*, 118.
[796] Jačov, *Spisi*, 91.
[797] The Dalmatian Franciscan missionary was active in the Paštrovići district on the Montenegrin coast and was an ardent promoter of the union of the local Orthodox of Montenegro as well as Serbia with the Church of Rome. See, Lovorka Čoralić, "Prilog životopisu barskoga nadbiskupa Franje Leonardisa (1644-1645)" [Contribution to the biography of Francesco Leonardi, archbishop of Bar], *Chroatica christiana periodica* 55 (2005): 79-95; Molnár, "A Forgotten Bridgehead," 494-528.
[798] APF SOCG, vol. 299, fol. 90 r. Published in Jelenić, "Spomenici," 445. I consulted the original document.
[799] The profession of faith in question was the one issued by Pope Urban VIII (p. 1623-1644) in 1633. *Professio Orthodoxae Fidei ab Orientalibus Facienda,* (Rome: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1633).

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them to the Catholic fold by only making an appropriate profession of faith.[800] As a follow-up to the stipulation of the Propaganda, in 1641, the Franciscan provincial Martino di Rama wrote to the congregation that he was grateful that he finally received the permission from the Holy See to convert the Orthodox to Catholicism and promised that all those who were baptized according to the Greek rite and wanted to become Catholics, would not be baptized again by the Franciscans, but they would only need to make a profession of faith. The provincial also emphasized that the friars resorted to rebaptism only in those instances when they were not sure whether particular Orthodox converts had been previously baptized or not.[801]

As regards northern Ottoman Rumeli, the issue of reconciling the Serbian Orthodox with the church of Rome started to figure more prominently in the letters of the friars from the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, in a report from 1648 Giovanni Dežmanić claimed that he converted many Orthodox back to Catholicism, including an entire village near Carașova (today Romania).[802] According to his record of baptisms that he composed between April 1641 and July 1647, he baptized around 103 adults among whom there were several Orthodox.[803] Thus, in this case the friar apparently decided to rebaptize these people, since it is highly unlikely that they had not been previously baptized according to the Orthodox rite. In the case of Orthodox children, on the other hand, it is more difficult to assess whether they had been also baptized by an Orthodox priest prior to their Catholic baptism.[804] In contrast to Dežmanić, the bishop of Belgrade, the Bosnian Franciscan Matej Benlić described that he confirmed both

[800] Jačov, *Spisi*, 446. In 1641 the bishop of Sophia Pietro Diodato held a diocesan synod in Chiprovtsi (today Bulgaria), where he also warned the local clergy not to rebaptize the Orthodox but accept them to the Catholic fold by a profession of faith. Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae,* 124. Some years later, Diodato reported to Rome that when he converted two schismatics he first had them make a profession of faith, then he confirmed them *sub conditione*. Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae,* 209.

[801] Jačov, *Spisi*, 498-499. The Franciscan practice of rebaptizing the Orthodox had medieval precedents. The late fourteenth/early fifteenth century privileges that the Bosnian Franciscans obtained/had reconfirmed (from the papacy as well as secular authorities, such as King Sigismund of Luxembourg (r. 1387-1437)) formally gave them the necessary legal 'backup' and even encouragement to resort to this practice. Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae,* 54-56; 129.

[802] Tóth, *Relationes*, 82-83.

[803] Zach, *Die Bosnische Franziskanermission*, 75-111.

[804] Due to the large number of South-Slavic- and Romanian-speaking Orthodox in the Carașova-Caranebeș area, one can notice in Dežmanić's record that in most cases of infant baptism the sponsors of the children were Orthodox Christians. To a question of the bishop of Bosnia from 1676 concerning whether Orthodox Christians could be the sponsors of the children of their Catholic friends upon baptism or confirmation, the Holy Office gave a negative answer. ACDF RD, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 395 v. This order has been misidentified as a ruling against Muslim godparantage but the phrase "Schismatici heretici" in contemporary parlance would never refer to Muslims. Cf. Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, "An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo)," *Southwestern Journal of Antropology* 6 (1950): 341-368; 349-350; E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, (London: Cornel University Press, 2012), 140 (referring to Mintz and Wolf). Simultaneously with Giovanni Dežmanić, the Bulgarian Franciscan Gabriele Thomasi was also active in the area and he reported to Rome about the baptism of a number of Protestants of various denominations. Tóth, *Litterae III*, 1690-1691.

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Orthodox and Protestants during his visitation in Slavonia-Srem between 1651 and 1658, without making reference to any instance when he would have rebaptized any non-Catholic person.[805] In 1676, the bishop of Bosnia Nikola Olovčić still asked the Propaganda whether Orthodox converts should be rebaptized *sub conditione*, since it was certainly known that the local Orthodox priests were uneducated, ignorant, and barely knew how to properly baptize. The answer of the Propaganda was that the bishop should inform about the form, matter, and manner according to which these 'questionable' baptisms were performed.[806]

Whilst in terms of reporting about baptisms *sub conditione* missionaries were rather 'vocal,' they usually stayed more silent about the way they themselves actually performed baptisms on the ground and the extent to which they could conform to the Tridentine precepts, especially in terms of ritual. These issues became especially pressing in those cases when there was no church available (or the closest available church was in ruin) where missionaries could properly administer the sacraments—a complaint that so often figured in the reports of Catholic missionaries in general and from northern Ottoman Rumeli in particular. For instance, the two Ragusan Benedictines Antonio Velislavi and Ignatio Alegretti upon their visit in Slavonia-Srem and the Banat in 1607 noted that most of the churches in the area did not have a roof, there were no altars, bells, shrines, or baptismal fonts. Therefore, the few local Bosnian Franciscans and lay priests baptized children in the fields or in private houses with the Sunday holy water or the water they blessed on the spot.[807] The Jesuit missionaries of Slavonia-Srem and the Banat also frequently reported about the lack of proper churches and liturgical equipment. Therefore, they often had to set the altar at private houses and pray in open air (usually where a Catholic church used to be and which was also an occasion when people of various denominational backgrounds gathered, including Orthodox and Muslims, not only Catholics).[808]

I have emphasized in the previous chapter that the Bosnian Franciscans had their faculty to use portable altars in case of necessity. The friars also obtained other papal concessions, such as to consecrate priests or oil in tabernacles in case there was no church or to administer the sacrament of confirmation without the mitre in case of Ottoman threat.[809] And just like the Jesuits, the Franciscan friars also often celebrated the mass in private houses. The lack of

[805] Iván Borsa and István György Tóth, "Benlich Máté belgrádi püspök jelentése a török hódoltság katolikusairól 1651-1658 [The report of Matej Benlić, bishop of Belgrade about the Catholics in Ottoman Hungary, 1651-1658], *Levéltári Közlemények* 60 (1989): 83-142; 89-138.
[806] ACDF RD, vol. Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 395 v.
[807] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 129. Baptisms in private houses with solemnities were also common among the Catholics of Constantinople. APF Acta, vol. 26, fol. 81 r.
[808] For representative examples, see for instance *EHJM I/1*, 87; 124; *EHJM I/2*, 353.
[809] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 185-186; APF Acta, Vol. 5, fol. 309 v.-310 r; APF SOCG, vol. 218, fol. 666 r.

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churches and/or baptismal fonts in general kept being a problem throughout the seventeenth-century world of Catholic missions. Thus, an order of the Holy Office from 1663 allowed the administration of baptisms with all solemnities and the customary ecclesiastical ceremonies in those places where there was neither church nor any baptismal font.[810]

Whereas in terms of the minister and even the form of baptism, the Catholic Church showed some leniency, in terms of the material substance of baptism, Roman authorities were generally stricter. In conformity with the canons of the Council, in 1602 the Holy Office stipulated that even in case of necessity rose water, sweat, tear, urine, and spittle were not proper and valid baptismal matter and any contrary opinion should be considered heretical.[811] In 1619, the bishop of Prizren Petar Katić reported from the mission of Belgrade that many people were baptized *sub conditione,* since the baptisms performed by Protestant and Orthodox priests were invalid, because some baptize with wine, aqua–vitae, or butter, others first utter the words, then sprinkle the water on the child or vice versa.[812] Both within the framework of Protestant and Orthodox theologies there was room that would technically allow the administration of baptisms with liquids other than water in case of necessity. Nevertheless, the availability of blessed natural water, could also cause a problem for Catholic ecclesiastical representatives on the ground. At the end of the sixteenth century the Ragusan chaplain Vicenzo di Augustino described that there were many places in Ottoman Hungary where there were no churches and no baptismal fonts, and therefore, priests were forced to baptize people at private houses and on the road, also with non-blessed water. It also often occurred that due to the extreme cold, the churches were not reachable, or it was so cold that even the wine froze in the chalices. For such reasons, it was necessary to baptize wherever and as one could.[813]

The above-detailed sources are rather unique in terms of explaining the problems that could arise on the ground when a particular missionary wanted to administer a baptism with blessed natural water. However, based on the other missionary sources for the territories under analysis that report about unfavorable weather conditions, the lack of churches and/or baptismal

[810] APF Risoluzioni, fol. 93 r. This was most likely the reiteration/reconfirmation of a previous order.
[811] "Baptismi materiae aptae non sunt aqua rosacea, sudor, lacryma, urina, et sputum etiam in casu necessitatis, et contraria opinia damnatur, ut heretica." APF Risoluzioni, no fol. nr. As a result of the several missionary reports about the various abuses in baptismal practice that reached the papacy from different parts of the world, this stance was also periodically reiterated by the Holy Office. See, for instance ACDF St. St., De Baptismo Dubia 1602-1677, fol. 617 r. In the second half of the seventeenth century, for e.g., Capuchin missionaries in the Near East described how it was customary upon Christian baptism to clap the hands, shout, and throw grain, roses, and odorous water on the child—practices that Muslims had when they circumcised their sons. APF Acta, vol. 26, fol. 227 v.
[812] Antal Molnár, "Három hódoltsági levél a Római Inkvizíció levéltárából" [Three letters about Ottoman Hungary from the Archive of the Holy Office], *Lymbus* 2 (2004): 51–59; 53.
[813] Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda," 217.

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fonts, or the use of portable altars, it is safe to assume that oftentimes Catholic missionaries had to be 'creative' when it came to administering baptisms with the proper matter.[814]

Just like in several other places throughout the world,[815] the issue of baptizing people according to the precepts and standards of the Catholic Church was complicated by a number of challenges that missionaries were bound to face in northern Ottoman Rumeli. The insistence on the correct matter and form of baptism on the Catholic side illustrates how, in practice, performing certain acts in a prescribed way and order and with a particular substance could raise particular rituals to a sacramental level, or to the contrary, undermine the sacraments' validity. The attachment to the sacramental ministry on the Orthodox side and less concern with the sacramental matter as well as form—reflective of the different conceptions about the essence of sacramentality[816]—could, thus, easily result in practices that would not fit the Catholic standard.

[814] As regards baptismal matter, it is interesting to note that the Paulicians of Bulgaria had a sort of 'initiation ritual' that was equaled with baptism by missionaries, the so-called 'baptism of fire'. According to the Bulgarian bishop Peter Bakshev, Paulician priests used to touch the four sides of the head of the baptized person with a burning candle. Paulicians did not abandon this practice even after their official conversion to Catholicism. Hristo Saldzhiev, "Continuity between Early Paulicianism and the Seventeenth-Century Bulgarian Paulicians: The Paulician Legend of Rome and the Ritual of the Baptism by Fire," *Studia Ceranea* 9 (2019): 657-679; 673-675. Concerning early modern Ottoman Rumeli, I have not encountered this practice elsewhere. Curiously, the closest similar practice that I could identify comes from early seventeenth-century Egypt, where Christians allegedly baptized with "water and fire," lightly touching the forehead of the baptizand with a hot iron. Deshayes, *Voyage*, 331.

[815] See, for instance the articles of Aliocha Maldavsky, Guillermo Wilde, Dominique Deslanders, and Alan Strathern in Hsia (ed.), *Catholic Global Missions*.

[816] See, also *Subchapter III. 2. 3*.

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IV. 4. 3. Catholic Missionaries and the Baptism of Muslims—The Question of Religious Syncretism and Crypto-Christianity in Ottoman Rumeli

In 1640, the apostolic visitor Pavao Pellizer Rovinjanin gave the following description about the garden of the Bosnian Franciscans in Visoko (today Bosnia): "There is a beautiful fountain in the garden, where in the evenings Christian and Muslim children come to play. And I saw that the Christian children took the Muslim children by the hand and told them: 'Let's go to the fountain so that we can do to you what our priests do to us.' So, they led them to the fountain and sprinkled water on their heads, as if they were baptizing them."[817] This rather poetic section from Pavao Rovinjanin's visitation report draws attention to one of the most contentious issues of the Catholic missionary enterprise in the sixteenth-seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire—the baptism of Muslims.

The issue of Ottoman Muslims getting baptized for a variety of reasons has attracted some scholarly attention over the past century but there are still several unexplored facets of the whys and hows of this highly heterogenous phenomenon.[818] At the beginning of the dissertation, I have highlighted that Catholic missionary activity in early modern Ottoman Europe mainly concentrated on providing pastoral care to different local Catholic groups as well as persuading particular Orthodox ecclesiastical leaders and their flocks (and to a lesser extent, Protestant ones) to (re)turn to the Roman Catholic fold. Any proselytizing activity among the Muslim population was generally explicitly prohibited both by the missionaries' superiors as well as the various local Ottoman authorities.[819] However, the dynamics of

[817] "Vi è una bella fontana vicino alla scieppe dell'horto, ove la sera vengono li Putti, e de Christiani e de Turchi, ivi a giocare atorno la fonte; e vidi che li Putti Christiani pigliano per la mano li putti delli Turchi, e dicono: Andiamo alla fonte, che faremo a voi, chello fanno li nostril sacerdoti a noi; li conducano alla fonte e li gettano dell'aqua sopra il capo, come se li avessero battezzare." Stipan Zlatović, "Izvještaj o Bosni god. 1640. o. Pavla iz Rovinja" [Report on Bosnia from 1640 by Pavao Pellizer Rovinjanin], *Starine* 23 (1890): 1-39, 25.

[818] F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 20-37; Stavro Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 227-246; Speros Vryonis, "Religious Change and Patterns in the Balkans, 14th-16th Centuries," in H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis (eds), *Aspects of the Balkans. Continuity and Change*, (Paris: Mouton, 1972), 151-177; Noel Malcolm, "Crypto-Christianity and Religious Amphibianism in the Ottoman Balkans: The Case of Kosovo," in his, *Rebels, Believers, Survivors. Studies in the History of the Albanians,* (Oxford: OUP, 2020), 55-68.

[819] Since officially they were forbidden from evangelizing among the Muslims, Catholic missionaries had to find other ways to approach the 'infidels.' For the Jesuits, the apostolate to the Muslim slaves in Naples and other cities of Spain constituted a perfect 'alternative' during the seventeenth century. See, Emanuele Colombo, "Infidels at Home. Jesuits and Muslim Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Naples and Spain," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 192-211. See, also Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 87-122.

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coexistence would sometimes result in Muslims seeking the service of Christian religious representatives (Orthodox and Catholic alike), including for the performance of baptisms.[820]

When it comes to the problem of Muslims asking for baptism, one can differentiate among three types of common motivations that informed these particular requests: 1. Muslims demanding baptism for prophylactic, apotropaic, and other protective as well as healing purposes; 2. Christian spouses (women) in Christian-Muslim mixed marriages wanting to have their children baptized, usually in secret and against the will of the Muslim spouse; and 3. Christian converts to Islam wanting to get baptized and profess and practice their Christian faith secretly.

The practice of baptism for a variety of remedial purposes was allegedly already common among the Anatolian Muslims of Asia Minor in the twelfth century. A contemporary Byzantine source suggested that it was a widespread custom among the Muslims of Anatolia ("Agarenes" in contemporary parlance) to take their children to the Orthodox priest to get them baptized. The "Agarenes" resorted to this act because they believed that their children would be possessed by demons and smell like dogs without receiving Christian baptism.[821] The belief that Christian baptism takes away 'bad smell'—an idea that was most probably connected to corporal health—persisted in Asia Minor and it later apparently also became a common conviction in various parts of the Ottoman Empire.[822] In the middle of the sixteenth century Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (d. 1592), Ferdinand I's (r. 1556-1564) ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, described how he knew several "Turks" who had taken their children to get baptized in secret, because they had been convinced that the ceremony had "some good" in it ("renfermoit en elle-même quelque chose de bon").[823]

Scholarship has traditionally interpreted this practice within the framework of Christian-Muslim religious syncretism and, thus, baptism for prophylactic-apotropaic purposes came to

[820] In this discussion, I focus on Catholic priests and missionaries who were involved in the baptism of Muslims in Ottoman Rumeli. Nevertheless, it is fairly certain that Serbian Orthodox priests also performed such activities on occasions, but unfortunately the available sources do not speak about this issue. In the seventeenth century, a synodal decision of Constantinople threatened Orthodox priests with defrocking if they kept baptizing Muslim children. Vryonis, "Religious Change in the Balkans," 174.

[821] Vryonis, "Religious Change in the Balkans," 173-174; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 31-33. In this section, Hasluck makes reference to a work by Giovanni Battista Casali (d. 1648), *De Thermis et Balneis Veterum* where the author described how "certain tribes on the confines of Armenia" believed that baptismal water would wash away their bad odors. Allegedly, the Patriarch of Constantinople also spoke about Christians who asked for baptism for the sake of obtaining corporal cleanliness and not for the sake of "purifying their souls". The Agarenes were, thus—the argumentation goes—persuaded by these groups to resort to Christian baptism for the same reason, i.e., to avoid their children being tormented by demons or smelling like dogs.

[822] Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 31-32.

[823] Ogier Ghisellin de Busbecq, *Lettres, Vol. II*, (Paris, 1748), 111-112.

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be placed in the melting pot of 'folk/popular Christianity' and 'Islam'.[824] The belief in the healing-protective power of baptism was not, however, merely symptomatic of Christian/Muslim folk religiosity but it had a much longer and complicated history.

Already in early Christianity, biblical healing scenes from the New Testament performed by Jesus Christ were interpreted as prefigurations of Christian baptism.[825] In medieval Europe it became a widespread belief that Christening water had healing powers for any ailment of humans and animals alike.[826] In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits in New France (and not only) turned sickness and disease into a missionary strategy and used them as opportunities to baptize and convert the sick and the dying.[827] In the Islamic tradition, a number of distinctive meanings (drawing on the Qur'an, various Muslim rituals, Islamic literature, as well as the particular socio-cultural and political context(s) within which Islam developed) have been attached to the image of water, such as, the source of life, divine blessing and/or punishment, knowledge, fertility, or ritual purifier.[828]

As regards northern Ottoman Rumeli, in 1624, Pietro Massarechi spoke in the following terms about the baptizing practices of the Bosnian Franciscans and the beliefs local Muslims attached to the Christian baptism:

> "In Bosnia the friars baptize, and they do not abstain from baptizing the children of the Turks, even outside of the Province. But the friars do not baptize [these Muslim children] for any superstition, which the parents of the child might believe, for instance that the child would be victorious in battles, freed from epilepsy, fears, evil spirits, and other similar things. The priests do not intend to do this but baptize these children in good faith, so that in case the child dies before the use of reason, he would be saved. And in some places, the children are baptized by force, however, this should not be allowed and should be avoided as much as possible."[829]

[824] See, fn. 779.
[825] Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water. Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism,* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
[826] Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual,* 61.
[827] Mary Dunn, "Bedside Manners: Sickness and the Jesuit Mission in Early Modern France," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5 (2018): 567-585.
[828] Cyrus Ali Zargar, "Water," in John Andrew Morrow (ed.), *Islamic Images and Ideas. Essays on Sacred Symbolism,* (London: McFarland & Company, 2014), 112-124.
[829] "In Bosna i frati battezzano, et non s'astengono n'anco fuori della Provintia di battezzare li figliuoli de Turchi, ma non per superstitione alcuna, poiche questa possono hauere i Parenti del fanciullo, che sia v. g. fortunato, ch'abbi à essere Vincitore nelle battaglie, che sia libero di malcaduco, di paure, di spiriti maligni et cose simili, il che i Sacerdoti non intendono, ma bona fide li battezzano, che se morirà auanti l'uso della ragione, egli è saluo. Et in alcuni luoghi li figliuoli dei parenti sono battezzati per forza, tuttavia non si deve permettere et schiuar quanto si può." Draganović, "Izvješće," 14.

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Already in 1599, the Ragusan chaplain of Buda Vincenzo di Augustino outlined similar practices and explained that Muslim, Protestant, as well as Orthodox people would often bring their children to the Catholic priest to have them baptized. The Muslims would resort to this practice against epilepsy. The chaplain asked whether they could baptize the children of Muslims with or potentially, without the consent of the parents.[830] In 1675, Mariano Matković, the vicar of Srem informed the Propaganda that the "Turks" forced several priests to pray upon their sick children and baptize them in secret.[831] In 1622, the bishop of Antivari reported about similar problems to the Holy Office and described that the Muslims forced Catholic priests to baptize their children not for the sake of becoming Christians, but because baptism would protect them from epilepsy, plague, and ulcer. The bishop asked whether he could at least baptize them with water but without the proper form. The Holy Office emphatically denied this request, since baptism was the door to the other sacraments and the declaration of the Catholic faith.[832]

Roman authorities could hardly know the extent to which such 'irregular' baptisms would eventually occur on the ground, but in case they did, and later a Muslim who had been baptized wanted to actually convert and asked for a proper baptism, it would raise other issues. Was the baptism administered with a 'superstitious' purpose a 'true baptism' and should Muslims who were baptized originally with such intention be baptized again *sub conditione*? The answer of the Holy Office was that these people should not be baptized again.[833] Another decision of the Holy Office from 1683 concerning Albania underlined that the children of Muslims should not be baptized for any "superstitious" reasons and if the child would be raised as a Muslim. However, if the child was in danger of dying or the parents consented that after the baptism the child would be raised by Christians, and when the child grew up, they would

[830] Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda," 216-217. Unfortunately, the answers of the Holy Office to Vincenzo di Augustino's questions so far have not been located.
[831] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. IV*, 2678.
[832] "Sacerdotes quotid coguntur a Turcis ad baptizandum eorum infantes non ut fia Christiani, sed pro salute corporali ut subtrahant eos a fetore morbo caduco, periculo maleficiorum, et Luporum: an saltem ficte possit eis administrari materia baptismi absque debita forma. R. ad III. nihil faciendum esse cum Baptismus sit janua Sacramentorum, et protestatio fidei nostre, nec ullo modo possit, aut debeat fingi." APF Risoluzioni, no fol. nr.
[833] "VI. Facendo i Turchi battezzare i loro figliuoli per altro fine che di farsi Cristiani, si domanda se in caso che questi figliuoli fatti maggiori domandassero il battesimo, debba questo darsi di nuovo, o pure basti il primo che hanno ricevuto. VII. Se sia vero il battesimo che si riceve con fine superstizioso di maniera che debba darsi di nuovo sub conditione […] R. ad VI. non esse iterum baptizandos. ad VII. juxta sextum." APF Risoluzioni, no fol. nr. Another order from the same period, however, issued to the bishop of Scutari (today Shkodër, Albania) stated that in case Muslim children had been baptized without the proper intention they should be baptized again. APF Risoluzioni, fol. 46 r.

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make a profession of faith, the respective (Muslim) child could be baptized.[834] With such answers, the dicastery practically gave some sort of legitimacy to these 'unorthodox' baptisms of Muslim children, probably in hope that with certain stipulations missionaries could eventually win over or back certain Muslims to Catholicism.

It would be difficult to determine the extent to which the Bosnian Franciscan friars or other Catholic missionary agents acted in 'good faith' when they baptized the children of Muslims, especially if there is any truth to Massarechi's claim that the friars also baptized some of these children by force.[835] After all, baptizing a Muslim child, even at the moment of death and/or if the baptism was requested for healing-protective purposes could have formally counted for the friars as having gained a new soul to Catholicism. It is important to note, however, that besides potential 'spiritual gains,' taking care of the sick as well as healing was also part and parcel of the Franciscan spiritual tradition, including the Franciscans of Bosnia.[836]

In the analyzed period, fear of different maladies consumed Christians and Muslims alike, and the Bosnian Franciscan friars were essential agents when it came to curing different illnesses. With the consolidation of the Jesuits in northern Ottoman Rumeli at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the fathers also started 'competing' for the role of spiritual as well as physical healers.[837] Catholic missionaries employed a variety of traditional means, such as medicinal herbs for healing purposes but they also used devotional objects, like *Agnus Dei* medals, amulets, relics, or holy water, and one should also not forget about one of the most 'efficient' missionary healing methods, exorcism.[838] These various objects and techniques appealed not only to Catholics but also often attracted Muslims, Orthodox, and Protestants of different social backgrounds.[839]

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[834] ACDF RD, vol. D.B D.B.1, fol. 490 r/v. The stipulation concerning the separation of Muslim children from their Muslim parents was the reiteration of a previous decision from 1637 that the Holy Office gave to the Dominican missionaries in the Middle East. APF Risoluzioni, fol. 28 v.

[835] It is possible that Massarechi was not exaggerating, as the issue periodically crops up in other missionary sources as well. The problem of baptizing Muslim children against the will of the parents apparently persisted up to the eighteenth century. A consultorial decision of the Holy Office from 1705 ruled against this practice, unless the child in question was "in articulo mortis" ("at the moment of death"). APF Risoluzioni, fol. 35 v.

[836] On the monastery medicine of the Franciscans of Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, see, Andrija Nikić, "Franciscans and Medicine in Herzegovina," *Acta med-hist Adriat* 2 (2004): 155-170; idem, "Pharmacy of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik as Franciscan Contribution to the History of Pharmacy," *Acta med-hist Adriat* 4 (2006): 153-162. See, also Armin Skrbo et al, "Bosnian Franciscans and the Monasteries in Kresevo and Fojnica as Source of Scientific Bibliography," *Mater Sociomed.* 2 (2017): 149-154.

[837] In the documents that I have consulted concerning seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli, I have not encountered any mention of the Jesuits baptizing Muslim children. Nevertheless, the fathers gradually earned a reputation as great healers and exorcists also among the Muslims.

[838] Tóth, "The Missionary and the Devil," 79-89.

[839] For representative examples concerning healing objects, exorcisms, and other miracles associated with healing, see, for instance: Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda," 215; *EHJM I/1*, 32; 33; 37; 119; 121; 125; 180; *EHJM I/2*, 377-378; 412; Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 288; 291-292; *Vol. II*, 1164; 1246.

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The issue of Muslims asking for baptism from Christian priests for prophylactic-apotropaic purposes was informed by a variety of interrelated factors that point beyond the hermeneutic of 'folk Islam' and/or 'Christianity.' The association of baptism with healing gradually became part and parcel of early Christian theological thinking, which in turn, gave basis for later medieval developments in terms of assigning healing and protective power to the blessed Christening water by different Christian groups. Concerning the present case, the role of the spiritual as well as physical healer that the Bosnian Franciscans and later also the Jesuits came to assume within Christian communities, was conducive to the transference of the idea to particular Muslim groups and individuals that Christian baptism and other devotional objects and rituals had healing and protective power.

The other incentive that directed the baptism of formally Muslim children is connected to those cases when Christian women in Christian-Muslim mixed marriages wanted to have their child baptized, usually in secret and against the will of the father. This problem was evidently present only in those areas where Christian-Muslim mixed marriages were more frequent. Hence, the few missionary queries pertaining to this problem that I have so far identified involve the territories of Bosnia and Albania.[840] In the previous section, I elaborated on how Catholic women married to Muslim men oftentimes, instead of converting to Islam, wanted to continually exercise their religion and partake in the Catholic sacraments. Since missionaries in general were less tolerant towards these women and used different argumentation to deny them admittance to the sacraments, it was not uncommon that the respective Muslim husbands forced missionaries to minister to their wives. When it came to baptizing a child from such a mixed marriage, however, the fathers (even if they were renegades from Christianity) would often have a different perspective.

During the seventeenth century, a number of *dubia* were addressed to the Holy Office in which missionary bishops active in Albania or Bosnia inquired whether they could baptize a child born of a Catholic mother and a Muslim father, if the mother wanted to have the child baptized against the will of the father, who would probably want to raise the child as a Muslim. According to the orders of the Holy Office, the children in question were supposed to be baptized, or if it was a more complicated case, the decision was left to the bishop's conscience.[841] This ruling, however, anticipated that the child in question would be raised as a

[840] This does not necessarily mean that this issue would never arise in Slavonia-Srem or the Banat but considering how rare this phenomenon seems to have been even in Bosnia or Albania and comparing it to the ethno-religious distribution of Slavonia-Srem and the Banat, it is likely that such baptisms barely if ever occurred.
[841] ACDF RD, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 395 r/v; APF Risoluzioni, fol. 28 r.; fol. 29 r.; fol. 45 r.

Catholic—as the above quoted decisions of the Holy Office concerning the rearing of baptized Muslim children also stipulated. According to the *sharia*, however, the children from a Muslim-non-Muslim mixed union were supposed to be raised as Muslims. To what extent Muslim fathers would take their children to the Christian priest for baptism is hard to tell but it is safe to assume that the practice was very rare, though apparently not completely absent. An Ottoman source from 1568 spoke disapprovingly about the fact that Muslim villagers in Debar (today Dibër, Albania) took their infants first to the priest who gave them Christian names, and afterwards to the Muslim clergy.[842] A *fatwa* of Ebu's-su'ud Efendi (d. 1574) stipulated that in case a Muslim father took his small son to a church to have him baptized, the child would need to become a Muslim again.[843]

The third scenario of 'Muslim baptism' is connected to those cases when Christian converts to Islam wanted to get baptized and asked for permission to profess and practice their Christian faith clandestinely—a practice generally referred to as 'crypto-Christianity' in contemporary scholarship.[844] Crypto-Christian groups and individuals existed in various parts of the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period, but their presence is predominantly attested in the regions of Trebizond (north-eastern Turkey), Crete, Cyprus, Albania, and Kosovo.[845] Ottoman crypto-Christians[846] were Catholic or Orthodox converts to Islam who while publicly professing Islam (i.e., they made a profession of faith, attended mosques, had their sons circumcised, etc.), in private kept adhering to Christianity and practiced (as much as conditions allowed) Christian rituals, such as observing Christian feasts, fasting, having their children baptized, and other Christian devotional practices.[847] While crypto-Christian practices

[842] Malcolm, "Crypto-Christianity," 60-61.
[843] Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Ebusuud Efendi Fetvaları* [The fatwas of Ebusuud Efendi], (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 92. I thank my colleague Evren Sünnetçioğlu for having shared this source with me.
[844] Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity," 227-246; Peter Bartl, "Religion und Konfession im montenegrisch-albanischen Raum im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver Jens Schmitt (eds), *Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, (Vienna: OAW, 2009), 309-327; Rafael Dorian Chelaru, "Cristiani pubblici vs. Cristiani occulti: practice de simulare și dissimulare în comunitățile catolice din Albania sec. XVII-XVIII în sursele misionare" [Cristiani pubblici vs. Cristiani occulti: practices of simulation and dissimulation in the Catholic communities of 17th-18th century Albania in missionary sources], *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* XXXV (2017): 237-254; Malcolm, "Crypto-Christianity," 55-68. On the problem of crypto-Christianity in the late Ottoman Empire and the factors that informed it, see Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 111-156. On the history of the phenomenon of 'crypto-religiosity,' see Maurus Reinkowski, "Hidden Believers, Hidden Apostates: The Phenomenon of Crypto-Jews and Crypto-Christians in the Middle-East," in Dennis Washburn and Kevin Reinhart (eds), *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 409-433.
[845] Malcolm, "Crypto-Christianity," 55.
[846] The term 'Crypto-Christian' ('Cristianus occultus') should not be confused with the notion of 'Crypto-Catholic' ('Catholicus occultus'), a term which Catholic missionaries employed in the Levant in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to refer to Oriental 'schismatics' who only outwardly converted to Catholicism. See, Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*.
[847] Malcolm, "Crypto-Christianity," 55.

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started being documented by various missionary agents from different parts of the Ottoman Empire from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, the more systematic and consistent application of the term 'Cristiani occulti' ('hidden Christians') for denoting a particular group of people who outwardly adhered to Islam while in private practicing Christianity, began in the second half of the seventeenth century.

During his visit in Bosnia in 1580, the Ragusan Jesuit Bartolomeo Sfondrato reported to his superior that in Sarajevo many Catholics converted to Islam (to avoid additional tax burdens) but in the villages many new converts kept a number of their Christian traditions.[848] For instance, when they circumcised their sons, even though they could not give them the names of Christian saints, they would give the name "Christmas" ("tuttavia resto il nome di Natale;" probably a reference to the name Božič).[849] At the same time, these people also claimed that they were only "Turks" on the outside (lit., for the Ottomans it was enough that they proved themselves to be Muslims by performing certain acts), honoring God, living well, and attending the mosque but simultaneously they celebrated Christmas and the feasts of saints.[850] In his often-cited report from 1599, the Ragusan chaplain of Buda Vincenzo di Augustino explained to the Holy Office that there were some men who after having been captured by the Ottomans converted to Islam (either by force or willingly), they got married and had children but later wanted to become Catholics again. Since such a man could not abandon his family, he wanted to confess and make peace with God, so that he could "live as a Christian in his heart" ("viver interiormente da christiano"), say the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and perform in secret whichever Christian practices he could, but on the outside, he would remain a Muslim and keep exercising his merchant profession.[851] In the 1620s, the Jesuits in Ottoman Buda spoke in similar terms about Christian converts to Islam who visited them in secret and swore that they had only externally been Muslims but in their mind they had been Christians ("testati cum lacrymis se cultu quidem externo Turcos, sed mente christianos et esse et velle").[852]

During the seventeenth century a number of requests kept reaching the Roman congregations from parts of Bosnia, Albania, and Kosovo (the biggest number of documented cases coming from Albania and Kosovo) about Muslims (mostly men) who wanted to get baptized and afterwards live as 'hidden Christians,' since it was dangerous to publicly profess

[848] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 113.
[849] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 114.
[850] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 114.
[851] Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda," 216.
[852] *EHJM I/2*, 412.

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their Christianity.[853] The Holy Office was against this practice and in 1635, for instance, ruled that a Muslim who had asked for baptism with such conditions should not be administered the sacrament of baptism, unless the man in question moved to a place where he could openly profess his religion.[854] Interestingly, this particular decree of the Holy Office draws attention to one of the most essential factors that informed the articulation and subsequent evolution of the practice of crypto-Christianity, namely location.

Crypto-Christianity as an individual religious practice and strategy could virtually crop up in any part of the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period, but crypto-Christianity as a communal phenomenon was very much contingent upon the geography of the areas where these groups were located as well as their connection to the Ottoman polity.[855] Hence, one finds groups that would eventually be called 'crypto-Christian' mainly within the mountainous areas of the realm. In 1661, the bishop of Durazzo (today Durrës, Albania) Simeon Laskaris spoke in the following terms about the dynamics of religious coexistence in the mountainous region of Himara:

> "The infidels who are united with the Christians are of the Mahometan sect, but all of them celebrate the feasts of saints, such as St. George, St. Nicholas, and other devoted saints. They have no mosques nor teachers of their sect. They promise to marry their daughters to the Christians and pay them each a few coins. They get baptized and die in a Christian way […] they also assert that if some Christian Prince came to dominate this Province, they would all become Christians, but it can be said that they are Turks, because they always eat meat."[856]

Abstaining from eating meat on certain days were distinguishing features of being a Catholic, and Muslims who wanted to profess Catholicism in secret frequently employed this sumptuary stipulation as an argument to convince missionaries to baptize or absolve them and let them live interiorly as Christians as long as they fasted on Fridays and Saturdays and celebrated Christian holidays.[857] In 1676, the bishop of Bosnia wrote about women who technically converted to Islam in their childhood but inside they remained believing Catholics. The bishop

[853] Jačov, *Spisi*, 93; Jačov, *Le Missioni Cattoliche, Vol. II*, 276; APF Risoluzioni, fol. 54 r.; fol. 202 r; ACDF RD, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 652 v.
[854] APF Risoluzioni, fol. 54 r. The more systematic condemnation of crypto-Christianity as a sort of communal phenomenon by the Roman papacy started at the end of the seventeenth century and continued during the eighteenth. Malcolm, "Crypto-Christianity," 63-65.
[855] Cf. Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy*, 111-156.
[856] Jačov, *Le Missioni Cattoliche, Vol. II*, 187.
[857] APF Risoluzioni, fol. 54 r.; ACDF RD, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 652 v.

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detailed how these women were forced to eat a little meat even on days of fasting so that the Muslims do not become suspicious of them.[858]

While in general the Ottoman sources of the analyzed period are not particularly informative when it comes to the problem of crypto-Christianity, certain contemporary *fatwa*s contain cases which seem to relate to this issue. For instance, according to a *fatwa* of *şeyhülislam* Sun'ullah Efendi (d. 1612): "Question: If Zeyd the Muslim is in the company of infidels, day and night, goes to their weddings, where he drinks wine and eats pork, and buys and sells wine, and sends his children to the church and have them learn the Bible, what would be necessary for Zeyd? Answer: He is required to renew his faith and marriage and be severely punished." Another *fatwa* of *şeyhülislam* Abdürrahim Efendi (d. 1716) stated the following: "Question: After the zimmi Zeyd was honored with the glory of Islam, what would be necessary for Zeyd if he still eats and drinks on those known days of the infidels' blasphemy and he also follows the rituals of their false belief? Answer: It is required to severely punish him, and he has to renew his faith and marriage."[859]

'Crypto-Christianity' (and 'crypto-religiosity' in general) was an everyday strategy (a means of survival, if you will) that resulted from a peculiar constellation of communal and religious life and was contingent upon the location as well as social status of various groups and individuals. Whether these people would call themselves Muslims or Christians would mostly depend on what kind of authority was posing the question and when. At the same time, the emergence of the category 'hidden Christian' was also reflective of the changes that occurred on the level of missionary discourse in terms of articulating as well as conceptualizing the knowledge acquired on the ground about different modes of everyday religiosity.

[858] ACDF RD, Dubia Varia 1669-1707, fol. 391 v.
[859] These *fatwas* are quoted in Tacetdin Bıyık, *Osmanlı Fetvalarında Mûsikî* [Music in Ottoman fatwas], PhD Thesis, (Süleyman Demirel University, 2019), 404; 402. I thank Günhan Börekçi for the English translation of these sources.

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IV. 5. Conclusion

The peculiar dynamics of religious coexistence in northern Ottoman Rumeli during the seventeenth century gave rise to a number of hybrid marriage and baptismal practices on the ground. Consequently, the existence of such customs would often cause problems for the local communal and religious leaders.

Christian-Muslim mixed marriages as well as the matrimonies of Christians at the *kadi* court would on occasions be contracted as *kiambin* marriages. The practice violated Catholic and Orthodox canon law as well as Sunni Hanafi practice, but it was, nevertheless, employed as a unique composite legal device custom-tailored for the use of Christians at the *sharia* court. From the Catholic point of view, there was a lot of doctrinal ambiguity when it came to the question of validity of Catholic-Muslim marriages, which was only further complicated by the fact that a number of Catholic women married to Muslim men strived to keep, at least some aspects of their Catholicism within the household.

In this respect, these women came to assume a similar role to the one played, for instance, by Morisco and Marrano women in sixteenth-century Spain.[860] Thus, in terms of gendered domesticity, it becomes especially relevant that according to the available data, it was mostly Catholic women who tried to get their formally Muslim children baptized. In other parts of early modern Europe, such as France, a number of Catholic as well Protestant writers encouraged domestic proselytizing, while others also drew attention to the danger of women's natural propensity for religious heterodoxy and heresy (once, they entered the public).[861] This ambiguous image of women that generally permeated Catholic religious discourses makes it all the more understandable why certain Catholic missionaries instead of encouraging mixed marriages tried to find ways to prevent or even nullify them. Even though Propaganda Fide issued a couple of stricter and the Holy Office some more 'lenient' orders regarding the admittance of Catholic women (who were married to Muslim men) to the sacraments, it appears that in the end it was still the missionary in a particular location who would have the final say.

Concerning Catholic-Orthodox mixed marriages, a different image emerges from the sources in terms of gendered domestic devotional practices. It seems that when Catholic women married Orthodox men (often, by means of abduction), there was little chance that they could

[860] Cf. Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 1-19; 38-87; Renée L. Melammed, "Crypto-Jewish Women Facing the Spanish Inquisition: Transmitting Religious Practices, Beliefs, and Attitudes," in Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (eds), *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Social Change*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 197-219.
[861] Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 197-200.

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keep performing their Catholic rituals even within the household.[862] However, due to the resemblance between the two religions that would so often inform people's attitude towards religious practices and beliefs, it is possible that such constellations of Catholic-Orthodox cohabitation would result in new mixed beliefs and rituals that would create new or perpetuate already existing confusions. Most probably, this was not so much of an issue for the local people as it was for the missionaries.

Whereas from the Catholic perspective, there was a certain room for ritual plurality as long as it did not harm doctrinal uniformity, missionaries in particular areas frequently equated and/or confused Catholicism with the 'Latin rite'.[863] Besides vindicating the propriety of one ritual over another, Jesuits, Bosnian Franciscans, and Orthodox prelates also tried to (de)limit each other's area of jurisdiction while receiving Catholics into the Orthodox fold or admitting Orthodox to the Catholic fold.[864] Even though the practice of rebaptism was a contentious issue in both the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, Catholic missionaries as well as Orthodox priests continuously resorted to it, and usually found a way to somehow justify their actions. Their competition, in turn, could easily transform the sacrament of baptism into a territory marker.

Religious geography becomes simpler once one comes down from the mountains—to paraphrase the words of Bruce Masters concerning the complex religious landscape of the Ottoman Arab World.[865] While his observation would probably not hold for the whole of Ottoman Europe, it still points to the crucial impact geography could have on particular religious beliefs and practices. Religious geography might not necessarily become simpler once one is out of the mountains, but it might be a lot easier to handle—at least when one looks at it from the missionary perspective. And from this perspective, one could get a better grasp of such 'twisted' phenomena as 'crypto-Christianity' or Muslims getting baptized for healing and protective purposes.

[862] At the same time, it is also important to keep in mind that the same was often the case for Orthodox women who happened to marry Catholic men.
[863] Cf. Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*, 7-8; 382.
[864] Based on the available sources, it is hard to tell whether people were always aware of what a particular baptism performed by a particular ecclesiastical representative meant and entailed. For instance, seeking the service of the Orthodox priest instead of the Catholic one, could easily result in someone becoming formally Orthodox without actually having wanted to convert.
[865] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 48.

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V. Global Catholicism going Local—Lessons from Early Modern Northern Ottoman Rumeli

"Believe me, these are unknown Indies" —lamented the Jesuit Marino de Bonis in 1619 from Belgrade[866] in face of the convoluted religious, political, and legal landscape of early modern northern Ottoman Rumeli. The missionary's observation was, however, more than a mere rhetorical formula. It perfectly captured the commensurability of the Catholic missionary experiences within and beyond Europe. At the same time, it also pointed to the challenge of being a 'good' Catholic and the perplexing assignment of being a 'successful' Catholic missionary—a supposed agent of the global Catholic enterprise, no less—in this particular time and place.

In the strict sense, there were no 'pagans' in early modern northern Ottoman Rumeli. Instead, there were a number of alleged Catholics who would often have different ideas about the manifest signs of their Catholicism than the missionaries. And next to these Catholics, there were a number of other confessional groups (claiming adherence to Orthodoxy, Islam, Protestantism, or potentially, to something 'in-between') and several types of local power brokers (like the Bosnian Franciscans, secular priests, Ragusan merchants, Orthodox priests and bishops, Ottoman judges and other members of the local administration) who would decisively shape the local economies of confessional meaning-making and consequently, the significance and impact of Catholic missionary activities.

My dissertation has demonstrated that the implementation of Tridentine reforms in the analyzed areas was informed, circumscribed, and complicated by a range of factors, including local demography, geography, the specific nature of the local communal and religious leaders as well as the peculiar dynamics of their interactions, and not least, the local articulations of communal and denominational belonging. The multi-directional mimicry and adaptation in terms of legal and religious practices among Catholic ecclesiastical representatives, Orthodox prelates, Ottoman judges, and the local communities gave a distinct aspect to daily coexistence in the area. In turn, this resulted in various confusions, uncertainties, as well as creative 'solutions' in terms of adapting, molding, and/or rejecting religious beliefs and rituals.

Papal orders that targeted the various problems concerning the administration and validity of marriages and baptisms were often vague and ambiguous (just like the doubts that they were addressing). This indeed could often lead to the multiplying of uncertainties both in

[866] *EHJM I/2*, 353.

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Rome and on the ground, but at the same time it could also turn a particular 'space of Catholicity' into a space of experimentation. At first sight, the 'social disciplining' endeavors of various missionaries seem to have borne no fruit in the long term. However, several reports attest that there existed particular and sometimes, very peculiar 'boundary drawing' efforts both within Catholic and non-Catholic groups.

Some Catholics started banning those coreligionists from their circles who got married at the *kadi* court;[867] others asked for absolution after they had married off their daughters to Muslims;[868] and others yet asked for permission to practice Catholicism in secret while publicly professing Islam.[869] The secular priest Simone Matković, writing in the name of the "innumerable Christian people of the Greek rite" in Srem, explained how every time he went to Rome these groups implored him to send them good priests "of their own rite".[870] Another common means for various religious groups, including Catholics, to 'draw' the boundaries of their community was the acceptance or refusal of the Gregorian calendar. This decision was informed by economic (accepting the Gregorian calendar could lead to confusion concerning the time fairs should be held), linguistic (for instance, some Slavic-speaking Catholics showed more leniency towards accepting it than Hungarian-speaking ones), and/or confessional motivations (many people believed that accepting the new calendar promoted by the missionaries would mean embracing a 'new faith').[871] The local circumstances in northern Ottoman Rumeli (and Ottoman Europe, in general) were certainly conducive to the proliferation of several non-standard religious customs and beliefs both for Catholics and non-Catholics. Still, the area cannot be reduced to a melting pot of 'syncretistic,' 'crypto,' or 'folk' Christianity and Islam.

The various case studies from the analyzed regions have illustrated that the transformation(s) of the confessional landscape could in some instances lead to the reconfiguration of confessional barriers, thus further complicating the aspects of 'agency' and multi-directional 'communal disciplining' on the local level. Overall, this leads to the problematization of the very notion of the 'agent of confessionalization'. As the examples analyzed here have shown, when it comes to the case of Catholic missionaries, it is hard to exclusively see in them the embodiment of the 'agent of Catholic confessionalization'.

[867] Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja," 33.
[868] Molnár, "Raguzai bencés misszionáriusok jelentése," 61.
[869] Molnár, "A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda," 216; *EHJM I/2*, 412.
[870] Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 354–355.
[871] *EHJM I/1*, 74-75; 91; *EHJM I/2*, 401-402; Tóth, *Litterae, Vol. I*, 200.

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Overall, by having shed light on the multiple facets, connotations, and repercussions of Catholic missionary activities, this study sought to prove that the history of early modern global Catholicism in northern Ottoman Rumeli was not the mere sum of the local histories of the particular missions. Instead, it was an entangled history of the local variants of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam embedded into the Ottoman provincial society and power dynamics that informed it. At the same time, by integrating the inquiries and results of research fields that rarely or insufficiently talk to each other—early modern global Catholicism, Southeast and Central European history, and Ottoman studies—this study aspired to create a new framework for studying confessional transformations in early modern Europe that does not privilege Catholic and/or Protestant Christianity but incorporates Orthodoxy and Islam as well—with their own varieties.

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St. St. = Stanza Storica

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APF = Archivio Storico della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o de «Propaganda Fide» (Roma)

Acta = Acta Sacrae Congregationis

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SC = Scritture riferite nei Congressi

Bosnia Miscellanea: vols. 4 and 5

SOCG = Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali

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Vol. Decreta

Vol. Risoluzioni

ARSI = Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Roma)

Misc. = Miscellanea

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FG = Fondo Gesuitico

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